Autobiography of Rev. William King

written at intervals during last three years of his life

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Autobiography of Rev. W. King, Jan. 6 1892

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I was born near Newton Lim.... in the County of London Derry
Ireland on the 11th of November 1812 and I was the youngest of 7
children. My ancestors on my Father's side came from England in the
reign of William Prince of Orange and settled on lands then given to
Protestant settlers on easy terms and on my Mothers side the

came from Scotland during the persecution of Charles Second and settled
in the Province of Ulster not far from London Derry a strong Protestant
city and well fortified for those times. It was considered impregnable
during the seige of 1688, and the only hope of the enemy taking the city
was by starvation the cannon of those days could make but little impression upon its walls, which were from thirty to forty feet thick.

When six years of age I was sent to one of the public schools near to my Fathers, which was taught by a Roman Catholic, who was a good classical scholar but of a hasty and violent temper he would sometimes beat the scholars unmercifully for the most triffling offence. Patience with the faults of youth was a virtue which he did not possess. rather wild and came in for a share of his correction. In the school the bible was taught as a class book, and the children of Protestant parents were taught also the shorter catechism in addition to the other branches of an English education, Saturday afternoon the were also those on the bible and shorter catechism. I remained at that school until I was 13, and during that time I acquired a knowledge of reading writing English grammar arithmetic geography and history. When I was 13 my Father removed to a larger farm situated on the banks of Laugh Foyle where a stream of pure water empties in Loch Foyle just opposite Mouelle where the Atlantic steamers land their passengers for Derry Part of this farm was marsh and was covered with the tide twice every 24 hours

and in spring tides the water rose 12 feet, but when the tide receded the marsh and strand was left bare about one mile and a half. There being no Common school near I remained at home during two years, and wrought on the farm, learned to drove and ride horses and acquired some knowledge of farming read a good deal of history and biography. It was a favourite amusement, in a summer evening to take a horse and go down to the river when the tide was in and take a swim in the salt water, during the two summers, I was at home I became quite an adept in riding and swimming.

I believed that all knowledge is useful even of the common affairs of life and when the opportunity appears of acquiring knowledge it should be embraced. I find in my own experience the knowledge I had acquired of riding and managing a horse of great use to me both in the South and also in the Western part of Canada. In the South the roads are bad for carriages and almost every one both ladies and gentlemen ride. At Buxton when attending to the matters of the settlement I had to go on horseback. In my fifteenth year I was sent to an Academy near Colerain taught by the Rev. Mr Bryce to study Classics, with the view of preparing to enter College. The Rev. Mr Bryce the headmaster of the Academy, was a Scotchman, Presbyterian a Minister of the Secession Church and was well known as a Classical scholar. Three of his sons became distinguished teachers. Dr Bryce his eldest son was the distinguished head and proprietor of Bryces Academy in Belfast where he taught during forty years, and many of the distinguished ministers and statesmen received their early training at that Academy. Thomas his second son taught an Academy in Dublin and David a third son taught the New Academy in Edinburgh. The old gentleman had peculiar views about the British Government, he considered it corrupt and that ministers should have nothing to do with it. He refused to take the Regnum Donum a salary which the Government was then paying to all the Presbyterian ministers

in Ireland. He refused to accept the Royal bounty and wrote a pamphlet from the text Mat. XXVIII, 15, "they took the money, and did as they were taught" severely criticising the conduct of those ministers who took the bounty. I remained at that Academy three years, studying principally classics. During my stay at the Academy I made up my mind to study for the Ministry and in my second year I made an open Profession of faith in Christ and became a minister of the Presbyterian Church. In the fall of 1830 I had finished my course at the Academy and was ready to enter College, there were two Colleges either of which I might enter, one in Belfast and the other in Glasgow. The Belfast College at that time was strongly leavened with the Arian heresy. two of the Professors were open and avowed Arians. My Father who was a staunch orthodox Presbyterian did not think it safe to send me to Belfast so he concluded to send me to Glasgow University.

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On the first of November 1830 I left Ireland for Scotland and entered Glasgow University in the senior Greek Class, taking with the Greek Logic and Mathematics. The College was a miserable pile of buildings in the Gothic style of architecture and dated from the tenth century. and was well enclosed. The students came from all parts of the British Empire, from India Australia, Canada and the West Indies, but most of them from Great Britain and Ireland. The number of students on the College roll was fifteen hundred they were scarlet cloaks with wings instead of sleeves that hung from their shoulders something like the Grecian toga, and gave the students a fine appearance as they crowded with the morning classes. Besides the course in Arts, there was a course in Latin, Medicine, and theology for the young men who wished to study any of those branches as a learned profession. The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1830 were stirred to their very centre by two great questions that were then at issue, the one was the first Reform bill brought into Parliament by Lord John Russel and the other was West India emancipation brought in by William Wilberforce. The latter question had been before Parliament for more than twenty years. Both questions were now getting ripe for settlement the Politics of the County

was at that time in a wretched condition, and the Government was corrupt and rotten to the core. The manner in which members were sent to Parliament, were wholly inconsistent with the liberties of the people. Ministers did not represent the people the People had no hand in sending them there. The members represented the rich pockets of a few individuals and not the people and when they went to Parliament the interests of the people were neglected. When the feudal system prevailed in England certain old Castles and Monastries had the right conferred upon them by act of Parliament of sending members to the lower house, and the person who owned any of these Castles or Monasteries had the privilege of sending the members to Parliament. These were called Pocket Boroughs, and were often sold at a very high figure. A gentleman who wished to send his son to Parliament had only to buy one of those boroughs and nominate his son for the seat. Old Sarum for example, which was an old Monastery, I believe and only a rookery of crows had the privilege of sending three members to Parliament, while Glasgow with a population of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants could only send one member.

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One of the objects of the reform bill was to do away with the Pocket Boroughs and get the members elected by the people. The battle was a hard one the party in power contending for the old corrupt system and the first reform bill was only carried by one of a majority. But it was the beginning of a series of reforms which has now reached heavy universal suffrage and vote by ballot. Both the political and emancipation questions were thoroughly discussed in the College both Professors and students taking a deep interest in them. One of the Professors Sir Daniel Sandford Professor of Greek, an Englishman and a Gold Medallist of Oxford, while 14 the reform bill was before Parliament often addressed large public meetings in Glasgow in favour of the bill. It was during these discussions that I became a reformer in Politics and has continued so ever since. until we got a reform Parliament that emancipation could be carried every time Wilberforce brought the question of emancipation up in Parliament it was voted down by the Tories and it was not until a reform Parliament was elected in 1832, that the question of emancipation was carried.

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question of slavery was thoroughly discussed during the winter and summer of that year and the miserable conditions of those held in bondage brought fairly before the people by a Royal Commission, that had been appointed by Parliament in 1831 to enquire into the condition of those that were held in bondage in the West Indies. The report of this Commission was laid before Parliament and circulated over the country it had the effect of swaying the moral sentiment of the people against slavery as practised in the Plantations. The slave trade had been abolished and the horrors attending their capture on the coast of Africa and of the middle passage across the Atlantic was put an end to. It had also been declared by the highest Court in England that no slave could be held in bondage in England the moment he landed on British soil he was free. This same doctrine the people wished to extend to every part of the British empire. The question of emancipation entered into Politics and became the principal issue at the Polls, in the first election that took place after the passage of the reform bill, members were pledged to vote for emancipation two lecturers were appointed to enlighten the public on the great questions at issue one Peter Bothwick employed by the Planters and the other George Thompson employed by the Abolition Society.

The question discussed by Mr Bothwick on behalf of the Planters was gradual emancipation with remuneration, and by Mr Thompson on behalf of the Abolition Society was immediate emancipation without remuneration. But it was found by the Commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into the state of slavery in the West Indies, that nearly all the Plantations were heavily mortgaged. Many of the mortgages were held by widows and orphans in England. therefore to emancipate without remuneration would ruin many families in England who had invested moneys in those mortgates believing that they were good securities. In this state of things the Abolition party and all the Churches with them agreed to remunerate the Planters that they might pay off their mortgages; Both parties agreed to emancipate, the Planters gradual, and the Abolishonists immediate.

Messrs Bothwick and Thompson came to Glasgow in the winter of 1831 and during 12 successive nights they discussed the question of slavery in all its aspects Hebrew, Greek and Roman. Sir Daniel Sandford Professor

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of Greek was Chairman and the Greek word Darebos for slave was thoroughly discussed in all its meanings, both in the old and new testament. crowds that attended the discussion were so great that half an hour before the doors were opened the crowd that gathered on the outside was so great that when the doors were opened the hall was filled at once, and hundreds had to leave without gaining admittance. It was my privilege to hear those discussions, and I warmly expound the cause of the slave, but little did I think then that in a few years I would be placed in the midst of a slave country where I could judge of the ends of the system from actual experience and observation. The number of slaves held in bondage in the West Indies, were estimated at 800,000. It was considered dangerous to the state and not good for the negro himself to be set free at once without any moral training. The Government therefore agreed to give the Planters £20,000,000 pounds sterling by way of remuneration and seven years servitude of the slave in order to prepare him for freedom, This was called the Prentice System. the master had no power to sell or to abuse the negro, he was considered as a Prentice putting in his time, and at the end of seven years he would be free. But a difficulty arose from the system of prenticeship, which had not been anticipated, the slaves got it into their heads that they were free that the Government had paid for them to their Masters and that the Planters were still holding them in bondage for their own benefit. This feeling became general on the Plantations, the negroes refused to work and the masters had no power to force them, they were to be treated as prentices and not as slaves. The discontent was general among the slaves and the Planters were dissatisfied with the prentice system and petitioned the British Government to remunerate them for the seven years labour to which they were entitled by the act of emancipation. A Commission was appointed by Parliament to enquire into the value of the seven years labour, and the Planters gave evidence on oath before the Commission that the labour of the Negro was worth so much a day to them. Government paid what the Planters had sworn their labour was worth and the negroes were set free. It now became the Planters turn to pay the negro for his labour and he offered him just the one half of

what he had sworn before the Parliamentary Commission it was worth,
this dissatisfied the Negroes and many of them on the Islands of Trinidad,
Barbadoes and Jamaica refused to work, and some of them left the Plantations,
especially in the Island of Jamaica where they settled on Government land
and supported themselves and their families by their own industry.

The Plantations now left without labourers, the Planters petitioned Government for permission to hire labour in India to supply the place of the Negroes who refused to work for the wages offered. This permission was granted and an act of Parliament passed regulating the traffic. By the Act, the Planter was allowed to hire labourers in India for a certain number of years, pay their passage to the West Indies, and, at the end of the contract pay up their wages, and give them a free passage back to India. This is the origin of what is known as the Cooley System of labour. The labour which is now principally employed in the West Indies.

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When I entered Glasgow University I had read a good deal of Latin and Greek that enabled me to enter the Senior form and in three years to graduate in the Arts department. I left the College in April 1833 and returned home to Ireland. I was then 21 years of age. At that time flaming accounts were published of the cheapness, and fertility of farming lands in Canada and the United States, and strongly advising farmers with some means to go there, holding out the inducement to farmers that in a few years they would be independent free holders. These placards were posted up in every village and market town in Ireland. My second brother who was a good farmer, and loved the occupation, persuaded my father to sell out and go to America. The farm which the family occupied part of it was fee simple and part rented, the family were doing well on it, I do not remember how many acres was in it, but it was large enough to employ two span of horses and two servants besides my brother the year round. But my brother was dissatisfied and was seized with the mania of emigrating to America.

The whole family agreed to sell and try their fortune in the New World. In the spring of 1833 both farms were disposed of, the one held in fee simple and the one held by lease. The land was good, my brother

raised from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat to the acre and to show what good land was then worth in Ireland my father received \$120 dollars per acre for the free-hold property.

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The potato erop in Ireland was remarkably good that year both in quantity and quality. In America the crop was very poor and the merchants were shipping them from Ireland to New York; My brother had a large crop and as he was going to America he resolved to ship the whole crop by a passenger ship from London Derry to Philadelphia and as the family were not able to go out before the fall I was appointed to go out as supercargo with the venture. In the first week in April a few days after I had returned from College I shipped on board the good ship Dorothy; Captain D..... Commander from Derry to Philadelphia and landed safely there on the 10th of June after a passage of thirty days, at the time it was considered a good passage for a sailing ship. Steam ships across the Atlantic were then unknown. Indeed there was a volume written by Dionysius Lardner to prove that it was impossible for a steam ship to cross the Atlantic. The event however falsified the prediction Dr Lardners volume and the Great Western Steam Ship arrived about the same time in New York the merchants of Liverpool proving by actual experiment that a steam ship could cross the Atlantic in safety.

Our vessel arrived in the Delaware river opposite Philadelphia on the Sabbath and we had to lye in the stream opposite the Orly until Monday morning when the Custom house officers and the health officer would come on board pass our baggage and examine the health of the ship.

Monday was a holiday in the City General Jackson President of the U States General Scott, Commander in Chief of the Army, Black Hawk and the Prophet Chief of the Indian tribes that had been lately subdued were making a tour through the Northern Cities, and had arrived at Philadelphia on their way to New York. The President was accompanied by several companies of soldiers, the people had turned out in their holiday dress to see the procession as it passed through the peaceful streets of the City. The day was fine a cloudless sky and a bright sun. Black Hawk and the Prophet were fine looking Indians they were the observed of all observers,

and attracted more attention than either the President of General.

Black Hawk was the first Indian I had ever seen. I had heard much of the Children of the Forest and I looked upon Black Hawk and the Prophet as fine specimens of the Indian race.

An incident occurred on my first visit to Philadelphia that had a practical bearing on my whole life. When at the University a College chum was in the habit of coming to my lodgings at night to study and discuss the lessons with me, but he also brought with him Japanese cigars and learned me to smoke, on the voyage the cigars had given out. On my first landing in Philadelphia I went to and bought a dozen cigars lighted one and began to smoke. But not having been smoking for some time the cigar sickened me. I reflected for a moment and considered the habit of using tobacco a bad one and resolved then and there to give it up for ever. I threw down the cigar I was smoking and tossedthose I had bought into the gutter, and have never used tobacco since. When in the South I was often tempted by the rich Havannah cigars highly perfumed which were offered to me but I steadily refused to touch the weed and I have never had any desire to smoke since.

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The freight of which I was supercargo was placed in the hands of an agent and disposed of in a few days at remunerative prices. I was then left free until the family should come out and they were not to sail from London Derry until September. I was to remain in Philadelphia and New York until they came out. I employed the summer months in visiting friends in Philadelphia and New York; and making myself acquainted with the customs and manners of the country. The frank and open manners of the people I found to be different from what I had been accustomed to in the Old Country. In September the family arrived in New York and as the winter was now approaching they concluded to take lodgings and stay in New York until spring. It was the intention of the family when they left Ireland to settle in Canada in the Niagara District, but during the winters redidence in New York they received such unfavourable accounts of Canada as a place for farming they were told that the people went six

months of the year clothed in Buffalo and Bear skins to keep them warm, But they received glowing accounts of the Western States especially of Ohio, which was then comparatively a new country and settling up first with a farming population. The family changed their mind with regard to settling in Canada and determined to go to Ohio in spring. I had received a letter from an old school mate who had settled in Ohio near Cleveland and was teaching school there to go and spend the winter with him. I accepted his invitation and left New York on the first of October for the West in one of the fine steamers that ply on the Hudson river between New York and Albany. The weather was fine the air fresh and balmy. Nature was changing her summer robe, and puting on the variegated tints of autumn which are so beautiful in an American forest. I enjoyed very much the scenery on the Hudson River which can scarcely be surpassed for beauty. On our arrival at Albany we were transferred to a Railway of about 12 or 14 miles that ran between Albany and This was the only railway that was in the United States at that time, travelling in those days had to be done by rivers, canals and stages. Leaving the railway at 34 we took passage on the Erie canal for Buffalo, the boat was drawn by a span of horses that travelled on the tow path at the rate of two miles an hour. We were just eight days in going from to Buffalo. We were detained two days by a breach in the canal at H...., the passage was generally made in six days. When the breach occurred the Captain offered to carry the passengers round the breach and send them on by the boat on the other side, but those who wished to remain on the boat until the breach was repaired might do so. Most of the passengers remained I with the rest. I was in no hurry, I spent the time in going out into the country and seeing the farms. The land was rich and in a high state of cultivation. The farmers were of Dutch decent. There was a passenger on the bat who made considerable noise at that time in the U States from the peculiar views which he held concerning Christs second coming. His name was Millar he was busy propagating his views. believed that Christ would come, on the 23rd of April 1843 and reign personally on Earth, and that the saints who were dead would rise from

their graves and reign with him. On the 23rd of April 1843 Millar and a number of his followers assembled in large tent at Boston, waiting for Christs coming, but after waiting for several days and Christ did not come, and as the event had falsified the prediction, the party broke up and concluded to wait until Christ did come. Arrived at Buffalo we took a 36 boat for Cleveland and arrived the next day at ten o'clock. Cleveland was then a small village of about 3000 inhabitants. The Ohio canal had just been finished connecting Cleveland with the Chio River. Garfield who afterwards became President of the U States, was one of the boys employed in riding horses along the towpath on the canal. Cleveland and that part of Ohio called the Western reserve was settled by persons from the state of Connecticut. In the reign of Charles II when Connecticut received its Charter, the Western boundary was imperfectly known. Some persons who had visited the Isthmus of Darien, reported that standing on the heights of the Isthmus both seas were visible the one on the East and West could be seen at the same time. It was supposed that the Western boundary of Connecticut was not far from the Pacific ocean. As all North America was considered to be but a narrow strip of land between two oceans the Charter of Connecticut extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But after the American revolution, when the 13 States were formed into a Union, North America was better known. Connecticuts claim to the West was settled by giving her 4,000000 of acres in the N East part of Ohio called the Western reserve, these lands were sold to persons from the New England states; of the old puritan stock and the money set apart for educational purposes. Connecticut today has the highest educational fund of any state in the Union and it was said that in the census of 1870 every child born in Connecticut of the age of 21 could read and write. My friend Mr Bryce Hunter who had invited me to spend the winter with him lived about 20 miles south east of Cleveland in the township of Northfield. He was deputy Sheriff and boarded in the family of Mr Wallace, whose son was Sheriff at the County of I boarded in the same house with my friend. The Wallace family were originally from Connecticut of the old Puritan stock. The family consisted of

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two sons and a daughter all grown up. The oldest son was a Doctor the second was Sheriff of the County.

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The father had a woolen manufactory, called Brandy Wine mills, where the farmers obtained a market for their wool and received in exchange blankets and clothing for their families; There was a College about three miles east of Mr Wallace in a village called Ravena. The College had been established only a few years before by the New England settlers. The Chair of Mathematics was at that time vacant and the Trustees hearing that a young man a graduate of Glasgow University was living at Mr Wallace and unemployed came and offered me the Professorship which I had to decline as I intended to travel south and west as soon as spring would open.

The district school of Northfield, had no teacher, the winter I was 40 there, and they could get none. Teachers were not as plenty in those days as they are now. Mr Wallace was one of the trustees, and asked me if I would not take the school for a few months while I remained adding that the district was poor and could not give me anything like the salary I deserved. I told him I would take the large and advanced scholars and teach them without any remuneration. There was a large number of young men and women that could only go in winter their services were required at home in summer. My offer was accepted and the trustees gave notice to the district; that a young gentleman from Glasgow University would 41 open the school on Monday for young men and women only. This was my first opening in teaching. On the day appointed the school was filled with young men and women. The house itself was of the primitive kind. It was built of rough logs with a large fire place at the north end capable of taking in four foot wood. The windows ran along each side and nearly filled the whole space. The desks were placed beneath the windows and ran along the whole side of the log building and were fastened to the wall, sloping a little downward. The scholars when sitting at the desks had their face to the window and their back to the teacher.

The literary qualifications of the teachers employed in those days was not of a very high order, there was no regular Board to examine teachers.

When a young man applied for a school the trustees of the school section examined him and if found qualified to teach gave him a certificate to that effect which entitled him to receive the public money appropriated to that section. The pay averaged from 16 to 20 per month and board, each family giving a week's board. The examinations were of a very superficial kind a few oral questions asked in arithmetic and English grammar and a few verses read in the bible was generally the extent of 43 the examination. The consequence was that many of the teachers employed had a very limited knowledge both of grammar and arithmetic. On examining the scholars for classification I found they were not far advanced in the common branches of an English education, they told me the last teacher was not able to carry them through the whole grammar and arithmetic. I told them I intended to put them through both branches before the end of the term and hoped they would apply themselves; They promised to do their best and I had no reason to complain of their diligence, they applied themselves closely to study and made great progress, at the end of the term they passed a fair examination in all the branches taught.

44 On the first of April I closed the school and bid farewell, to the parents and scholars with whom I had spent a pleasant winter. On the 10th of April 1834 I started south for the Ohio River intending to go down the River to Cincinatti, and from that north to Fort Wayne to the head waters of the M..... and come down that river to Lake Erie from there to Cleveland, where I expected to meet the family who would leave I left for Cleveland in the stage coach a large lum-New York in May. bering vehicle with leather straps for springs, drawn by four horses and capable of holding nine passengers inside and four outside; The road was rough and after two days and two nights jolting we reached the Ohio River 45 at a small village called G....., where we expected to get a steamer for Cincinatti, but after waiting a whole day and night without getting one I hailed a large raft that was floating down from Pitsburgh with a wooden shanty on it, if they would take a passenger. They requested me to come on and sent a skiff ashore for me. The day was fine, the air fresh and balmy the peach trees were in blossom and the farmers were busy

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on the banks of the river putting in their spring crops, the spring there being three weeks earlier than at Cleveland. The time passed pleasantly as we floated down the river at the rate of four miles an hour. I got on the raft in the morning and remained on it until the evening when a steamer passing from Pitsburgh took me off and carried me to Cincinatti where I remained a few days to recruit and make arrangements for the journey North West to Fort Wayne. The country between Cincanatti and Fort Wayne was very thinly settled, most of it was primitive forest, and still in the hands of Government, and now on the market for sale. The lands were rich heavily timbered with oak ash maple hickory and in some places with walnut; Farmers and speculators were coming in and buying up the land. I found five persons at the Hotel where I was staying who were going to Fort Wayne, for the purpose of seeing the country and buying land and as the country was now very thinly settled, with bad roads part of the journey would have to be performed on foot unless we could hire some mode of conveyance so, we concluded to go together.

A stage took us the first sixty miles of the journey to the head waters of St Mary, where it left us to make the rest of the journey 160 miles the best way we could. Three of the party had an Indian with a cance to take them down the St Mary's river to Fort Wayne three of us resolved to take the journey on foot. The road ran along the east side of the river the few settlers who were on its banks had found their way there by boats that came up the river from Fort Wayne. The first day we travelled forty miles and stopped during the night at a farm house, there were no taverns, but their want was supplied by the early settlers who received us kindly and kept us for the night at a moderate price the early settlers had made considerable clearings and raised an abundance of food, and cattle, but there was a drawback to the nurture of their stock owing to a plant that grew in the woods in that part of the country of which the cows eat in spring the milk of the cows that eat of it could not be used, it produced what was called milk fever, and strange to say botanists could not discover the plant that produced the fever. It came early in spring among other plants, but neither the farmer nor the botanist could discover the particular plant that produced the milk fever. On the third day two of my travelling

companions gave out. I felt a little fatigued but a nights rest always restored me.

49 I proceeded on my journey and left my two companions trying to get some of the farmers to convey them to Fort Wayne. But the roads were so bad no farmer would engage to take a waggon through such roads. They succeeded in hiring two saddle horses, and arrived the day after me in Fort Wayne. The village contained about 800 inhabitants, and derived its name from General Wayne, who had been successful in subduing the Indians in the North West. The village was full of land speculators who had come there from different states attracted by the fame of the rich lands, heavily covered with valuable timber and now offered for 50 sale by the Government for \$450 per acre. There was also at that time some talk of making a canal from Fort Wayne to Lake Erie along the M.... river. This canal was made a few years afterwards and is still in running order and does a considerable business, but its traffic is lessened by two rail roads that rum from Fort Wayne to Toledo.

I stayed only a few days at Fort Wayne and proceeded on foot, south along the N.... river to a village at its mouth called M..... an old trading post with the Indians for their furs, a part of the tribe of P...... still lived there on their reserve. I was only two days in reaching the mouth of the river. On the first days travel I met with an accident that was likely to detain me unless I could get it repaired. In passing through a thick piece of bush I tore my pants, and the rent was such that unless I could get it mended I could not proceed. It was toward evening when the accident happened. I had no change of raiment I had only the suit I wore, with a few collars and neck ties, in a small hand satchel. I determined to stop all night at the first house I came to if they would keep me, but there was no house near and the evening was closing in. I heard a cow bell, and a few rods ahead I saw a cow coming out of the woods, and starting before me on the same path I was I knew I must be near some house and followed her. In a short time just as it was getting dark I arrived at a neat log cabin, situated on a high bluff bank of the river, on a piece of land that had been

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cleared at some early period by the Indians. There was no house within five miles and it was now dark so that I could not well proceed further, I asked if I could stay with them they kindly consented. The inmates were a new married couple from the New England states, they had settled there the summer before, intending to grow with the growth of the country. They were educated and refined in their manners above the common backwoods settlers; the house was clean and tidy, having one small spare bed room, which I occupied. The lady remarked before going to bed that my pants had met with an accident, but if I would keep my bed in the morning she would repair the breaches made in them, so I kept my bed, the husband got the breakfast while his good wife repaired the pants. At nine I was on my way again, refreshed by the nights sleep in the evening I arrived at M.... where I spent the night and next day proceeded twelve miles farther down to the mouth of the river where Tolededo now stands, but there was no toledo there then, it was a rough broken farm which the owner would gladly have sold for \$5000. There was a store house behind where the City of Toledo now stands where a steamer from Cleveland to Detroit lands two days in the week to take passengers and freight to Cleveland. I learned the steamer would not be there for two days and as there was no accommodation there for staying. I crossed the river in a cance, and struck fifteen miles on an Indian trail through the black swamp to catch the stage that ran from Parrysburgh to When I met the stage the road was so bad the four horses attached to it could scarcely take the stage with the passengers baggage through the swamp the passengers were walking and as I had no baggage I told them I was in a hurry and walked ahead of the stage and when it arrived at I was at my supper.

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I remained at all night, next morning I took the stage for Cleveland where I met our family that had arrived a few days before from New York where they had wintered on their arrival from the Old Country.

The next day the family took the steamer from Cleveland to Manhattan, the ware house at the mouth of the stream where the steamer called on her way to Detroit. On landing at Manhattan we hired two waggons to take the

family and baggage to Maume, and from that to the head of the rapids to a place called Providence; where we intended to stop a few days and see the country. There was only a store and tavern in the place both were kept by Manor, a half blood Indian and a Chief of the P..... tribe, part of which had settled around him. His father was a Frenchman and his mother a squaw, Manor himself spoke the French English, and India fluently and although not acquainted with letters, his natural talents and tact served him in stead this appeared in the mode of bookeeping. 56 On sending an account to a customer who had been trading with him he had a cheese charged to his account. The customer said he never had a cheese. Well said Manor did you not get something round. Yes I got a grindstone but I forgot to put a dot in the middle of it, The article charged in his book was entered in the form of an O, and he had forgot to put the dot in the middle to mark the difference between a grindstone and a cheese. The tavern was of the primitive kind found in the Western states in those early times where sawn lumber was scarce. It was a long building 40 x 25 composed of hewn logs two stories high; the lower story served as kitchen dining room and bar room it had two bed rooms portioned off the one end. 57 The upper story 40 feet long and 24 wide, was one long bedroom with two rows of short posted bedsteads 6 on each side a row of windows four on each side gave abundance of light to the bedroom. Those beds were often full every night with families coming to settle in that part of the country on lands lately obtained from the Indians. To dispose of the guests at night one row of beds was allotted to the ladies and the other to the gentlemen. Manors daughter showed the women up to their apartment first, and when they were safely beded, the men went up with Mr Manor who saw them safely put to bed. The men got up first in the morning and when they had dressed and went down stairs the women rose dressed and followed them. There was no temperance society in those days 58 whisky was just as free as water. It stood on the sideboard, with water beside it for every one to go and take what he wanted, and if they were

guests at the Hotel no charge was made. Travellers going up and down the

river invariably called and took a glass with water. I was amused one day on seeing a number of footmen who were going up the river call and one of them an Irishman steped up to the bar and having filled a tumbler half full of old Rye he drank it off with a relish that showed he liked it and turning to his companions he said with a strong Irish accent "Had my Mother given milk like that, I would have been sucking yet". intended going further up the Maumu river to settle on a farm that I had selected on the banks of the river, at Fort Defiance. The farm contained 59 300 acres and had twenty acres cleared on it. The family could have settled on it at once and commenced farming, and if they did not like the place they could easily dispose of it at a remunerative price, as land was rising rapidly in value. As it was, they settled in the bush off from the river and had to suffer the privations endured by those who first settle on a bush farm where there is no clearing no schools and no churches. While waiting at Manors for a boat to go up the river Manor informed my brother John, who was a farmer, that there was good land back from the river about 12 miles, from the river and covered with valuable timber. It was Government land and could be bought for \$1,25 an acre and offered 60 to take my brother out to see it and if he did not like it he might go to the place I had selected farther up the river. He also stated that it was sickly on the river and that they would have better health back from the river. My brother John who was the farmer went out with Manor to see the land, and after riding over it and looking at it he liked it and concluded that he would go no further but purchase in the Six mile woods that was the name that was given to the tract of land. It was six miles wide and twenty miles long with a strip of oak openings on each side of The land office was 40 miles south my brother and I went to the Land office and entered 640 acres a section which he had selected and paid the cash for it. On our return from the land office, we began to make such preparations as was necessary to begin life in the bush, such 61 as axes saws lumber and provisions. An experienced woodman was also hired to go into the woods with the family. There was no house nor clearing on the place, nor any neighbour nearer than two miles.

family from Switzerland and three from New York state had settled in the woods that spring but they had scarcely made any clearings. The forest was in its primitive beauty. The trees were of a large and healthy growth some of the oaks were four feet in diameter and some sycamores and walnut were of the same size there was scarcely any underwood it had been destroyed by the lumuriant growth of the large timber, one could ride easily through the woods on horseback. Deer turkey pheasants and wolves were in abundance. The latter were so plenty, and bold that we could scarcely keep them from prowling about the house. I never had seen a wolf before and the first winter that we were in the woods, when I saw them coming about the house I took them for large dogs. But as settlers came into the wood the wolves soon disappeared. The Government offered a bounty of seven dollars for every wolfs scalp brought to the County Treasurers office both Whites and Indians were engaged in destroying them and an expert hunter made it more profitable to hunt wolves than any other game.

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In two days all preparation was made necessary for a start. In the first week in June the family left the Maumu River with four waggons, carrying the family lumber and provisions to begin life in the bush.

The first work to be done was to clear a small piece of ground and erect a shanty with the lumber brought in from the river. A shanty was soon erected consisting of two rooms, and a space cleared around it.

This was a needful precaution as we had reason to see not many days after. About a week after we had settled in the woods one evening my eldest brother and I left the shanty to take a stroll in the wood. The weather was close and sultry we had scarcely proceeded forty rods from the shanty when we heard the sound of a mighty rushing wind coming from the west. I mounted allog and could see a cyclone coming with a spiral motion, it was about one mile wide and swept every thing before it the forest fell before it like grass before a mower, large trees were either uprooted or twisted round broken off and dashed to the ground the storm was attended with thunder lightening and heavy rain it was about sunset and it became suddenly dusk the desolation that was going

on around us could only be seen by the flashes of lightening. My brother and I were in the midst of it when we saw it coming we sat down under a 65 large tree. The storm lasted only about 15 minutes, and when it was past we found the tree under which we sat had been broken off about six feet above our heads and carried off by the storm had the body of the tree been dashed to the ground we certainly would have been killed but God mercifully preserved us, and those in the shanty none were hurt. But oh what desolation, the beautiful forest was laid flat with such a mass of broken and fallen timber, that there was no possibility of passing through it. One whole week was spent in cutting a way out to the opening. The work of clearing was now begun, and I was determined to learn to chop and hew timber which I found afterward to be of great use to me in directing the 66 settlement at Buxton so I bought me an axe and went into the woods with the man we had employed to build a log cabin. Of rather large dimensions, the building was to consist of two parts each part 18 x 24 set in the same line with 12 feet between them, the whole enclosed under one roof, the logs were to be hewn on two sides; and flattened at the corners. The first work to be done was to go into the woods select the timber and hew it there. This had now become a difficult task since the cyclone had passed through and destroyed the building timber A work that would have been comparatively easy had the timber been standing as it was, when the land was bought had the cyclone happened one month earlier it is likely we never would have settled there but like many others who came from the Old Country and purchased land before they have much experience of the 67 country and after settling on it they find the place does not please them, but their money is invested, and they cannot sell and they have to remain. The family was settled there twelve years before they had a church or The first day that I wrought on the wood with the axe my hands schools. blistered and my arms at night were tired but a nights rest refreshed me and I soon became accustomed to the work, but I was determined to learn and at the end of two months I could work all day without feeling tired, and could cut down a tree, and take cut about with my companion in cutting up the body of the tree. Before the fall the house was up roofed chinked and plastered and made comfortable for the winter. There was

no want of fuel, two large open fire places one on each end that took in three feet wood. Kept both ends of the house comfortable during the winter. When spring arrived there was a sufficient plot of ground cleared to put in summer crops. The land was rich of a black vegetable mould and every species of crop put into it grewwell especially corn and roots of every kind. It was too rich to produce wheat but in a few years when the stumps began to rot and the soil had to be turned up it became good wheat land. I remained with the family one year until they were comfortably settled. But as I was young, full of hope and had finished my literary course in the University of Glasgow I was determined to teach a few years before I would study theology to be no longer a burden to the family but to support myself and paddle my own cance. In the fall of 1835 1845 a friend of mine in Florence, Alabama wrote to me that I could get a situation there as a teacher in an Academy at a salary of \$800 a year. So I wrote to my friend that I would accept the situation and that he might expect me about December. In the latter part of November I borrowed from a Shylock in Maumu \$100, for which I gave my note payable in twelve months for 125, this was to carry me to Alabama. I did not wish to take it from my brother. The family had been at great expense crossing the Atlantic, staying all winter in New York purchasing 640 acres of land that would cost \$16 dollars an acre to clear and scarcely 70 any thing beyond food could be raised off it for years. I determined to be no burden to the family but to be selfsupporting.

I left the Six Mile Woods on the last week in November to go south by way of Cincinati. The family were deeply affected at my departure. I was the youngest tenderly brought up, and knew but little of the world. I was now about to embark on its stormy sea and fight the battle of life. I was going among strangers Some thousands miles south, to what was considered an unhealthy place and they might never see me again. My Mother as she held my hand to bid me farewell the tears streamed down her aged cheeks, and her voice almost chocked as she said farewell. It was the last time we ever met on Earth. When I returned four years after to meet the family my Mother was dead. Her memory is still fresh her tender love for me, first taught me to kneel

by her side and say the Lords prayer, as soon as I was able to read she bought me a bible and set me down by her side while she was sewing or knitting and made me read the bible to her until I went through both the old and new testament.

Travelling in those days in the United States was not so easy as it is now long journeys in the interior were performed by rivers and stage. I went from Maumu to Cincipatti by stage. A storm set in snow fell six inches deep and the Tennessee River froze over in two nights and navigation was stopped on that river and that was the only way I could go to Florence Alabama. The distance was about 600 miles from Cincipmatti most of the way was through the forest and there were no stages running that distance, I wrote to my friend that I could now go. A steam boat was passing from Pitsburgh to New Orleans and called at Cincinati. I secured a passage and started down the river to New Orleans, where I would neither have succour nor post.

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In going down the Mississippi River I found the country was greatly agitated by the discovery of a plot to fire the principal cities rob the Banks and escape with the booty to Texas, then a Province of Mexico. 73 A person Murrell a desperate character who had been several years going through the Southern slave states, and had organised a gang of some 500 desperados. The country was rich and thinly settled, and was well adapted for carrying on their nefarious work of stealing slaves from plantations and carrying them to a distance and selling them. Sometimes they would carry a slave two or three hundred miles, before they would dispose of him. When the slave was first taken he was dressed and travelled with his new master as a body servant who would provide him with a horse. The master would pass as a speculator who, wished to purchase a Plantation they would put up at some wealthy Planters where they would be hospitably 74 entertained. The servant would go to the kitchen and mingle with the household slaves and his Master would spend the evening with the Planter and if possible sell his servant who was instructed by his new master to run away, steal a horse and follow his master who would wait for him, in this way the master would travel selling his body servant perhaps two or three times and then the master in travelling through a long stretch of

forest would shoot the servant and cast him into some pool where he would never be found and never tell tales on his master, who had already received two thousand dollars by the sales that he had made. The gang was so well organised and were so numerous that in the event of any one of the gangs charged with stealing the negroes they were selling they had his papers to prove that they had been regularly bought. There was a case of this kind occurred in New Orleans; with Murrell himself he had stole five from a plantation on the river and took them down to New Orleans to sell them. It so happened that a Planter on board, conversing with the slaves, knew their master and suspecting that something was wrong he told the Captain of the boat, who charged Murrell with stealing them and said that he would carry them back to their proper owner. Murrell said nothing but walked off and left them with the Captain who in a few days was ready to start up the river with a cargo and 200 passengers but just as the Captain was ready to start Murrell who in the mean time had got regular bills of sale and handed them to the sheriff who with Murrell boarded the steamer and had the Captain arrested for unlawfully detaining the gentlemans property. The gentleman who had told the Captain was gone, the Captain had no proof, the boat and passengers could not be detained. So the Captain could not wait to get proof and had to deliver the negroes to the sheriff who marched off with Murrell in triumph who said to the Captain on leaving the boat, I have taught you a lesson not again to detain a gentlemans property on hearsay.

This gang of desperados was so well organised that it was difficult to unravel the plot. Virgil A. Stewart the deputy sheriff of Mississippi undertook the work. He first found Murrell who was then in Miss. and on whom suspicion rested that he was one of the principal leaders if not the principal leader. Stewart soon ingratiated himself with Murrell who did not know him, but he knew Murrell who at first was reticent but after living and drinking together Murrell became communicative and considered Stewart as a fit person to be associated with them, in a few days he was enrolled as one of the number, and went up and down through several states with him until he knew all the names of the principal leaders in the different states. The plot was now ripe for execution and the time

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appointed was Christmas a week which was a regular Saturnalia in the slave states, parties in each of the principal cities were selected on a given night to set fire to the cities and in the midst of the confusion to rob the Banks and fly with the booty to Texas. In the meantime Stewart had informed the sheriffs of Miss. and Tenesses of the plot Had Murrell arrested and lodged in jail in Nashville, several of the others were arrested and lodged in jail in Miss. and Louisiana. As I went down the River I was informed that he had been taken the week before out of jail and hung, when I came to Iouisiana at Jackson I saw them hung there and was informed that one desperate character was shot in the jail in Woodville Miss. by a planter whom he had injured. Such was the state of society when I went south in Dec. 1835. I did not go directly to New Orleans but landed at Natchez, one of the principal and oldest cities in the state of Miss. It is situated on a bluff bank on the east side of the river about three hundred miles above New Orleans. I had letters of introduction to two wealthy planters in the neighbourhood of that one was a Frenchman Captain Surgett the other Mr Robin Dumbar of Scotch decent. I went to the principal hotel, and entered my name in the Register as coming from Canada. I made some enquiries of the Bar tender about the two planters mentioned 80 above and found they lived only a few miles from town. I observed after signing my name in the Register several gentlemen, went and looked at the Register. At that time the planters were very suspicious of strangers. A young man from Massachusetts had [come] to Natchez seeking employment as a school teacher. Suspicion rested on him that he was one of Murrells gang. He was arrested, and brought before the Vigilance Committee. These Committees were formed in every town and village throughout the southern states, and all the men from 18 years of age to 40 were enrolled as a secret Police and they patrolled the city and country every night and any suspicious person found by them was brought before the Vigilance Committee and made to give an account of himself and if his account was not satisfactory, he was roughly handled. The poor fellow had no friend in the city that knew him and although he told them a straight story who he was, where he came from and the purpose for which he came south, yet the Committee did not believe him and some proposed to hang him up others

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to give him forty lashes and send him out of the country. A third party proposed to lodge him in jail and send for parties, who lived at a distance from the city and knew him and whom he said could testify as to his character and corroberate the statements he had given of himself.

The last proposition was adopted, he was lodged in jail, and the parties sent for. Who hearing of the dangerous condition of their friend. came immediately and testified that he was a young man of good moral character and of a respectable family and he was sure that nothing would be further from the young mans purpose than to join in any plot against the peace and prosperity of the country. He was then discharged and the Committee gave him a certificate of character which they said he might show in the event of his being arrested again on suspicion. I met the young man three months after this event when riding out in the country near Jackson Louisiana, he not then completely recovered from his fright, he had not found any employment that suited him and that he intended to return home again. I remained a few days at the Hotel which was the principal resort of the wealthy planters in the neighbourhood they talked freely of the conspiracy that had been unravelled, and of the dangers which still threatened the country from a number of the gang who were still at large and were rendered desperate by the exposure of their plans, and would stop at no crime even arson and murder in order to obtain revenge. Among the planters who came to the Hotel was Captain Surgett to whom I had a letter of introduction, I handed him the letter and when he read it he shook me heartily by the hand, welcomed me to that part of the country and with French politeness invited me to go out and see him at his plantation. I accepted the invitation and next day went out. I found it was only three miles from the city with a good road. The country around Natchez is rolling and the roads are generally good unless in very wet weather. The house was a large two story building, of French style with a veranda on three sides, supported with Ionic columns with Corinthian chapiters, and embeded in the midst of evergreens and flowering shrubs many of which were then in bloom such as the musk rose and cape jesamine. The plantation consisted of several thousand acres and was cultivated by three

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^{*} Both Ionic and Doric are written in the M.S.

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hundred hands all told and an overseer who had the oversight of the work, and saw that the hands were not idle. He generally carried a large whip with a heavy lash as the badge of his authority which he had no hesitation of using on the back of a negro who was perceived idling his time as a gentle hint to attend to his work. The lady of the mansion was refined in her manners was well educated, and had travelled a good deal both in the United States and in Europe. Her domestic arrangements were complete, servants were well trained for the different departments of household work. The waiters in the dining room were light Mulatos, refined in manner, indeed all the domestic servants in the large planters families, were light Mulatos, and some of them so nearly white, that it required the prac-I remained with the tised eye of an old planter to detect the negro blood. Captain all night, and next morning I expressed a wish to take a stroll over the plantation and see the negroes pick the cotton. The Captain provided me with a saddle horse and went with me. It was near the end of the cotton season. In good cotton fields there are generally three pickings the first the beginning of August the second the latter part of September and the last the latter part of November and December. The cotton is planted in the latter part of February and is hoed and kept clear of weeds until June, when it begins to blossom and continues to blossom until the frost comes. It grows in good land four feet high with a straight upright stem with lateral branches two feet long from each side of the stem, those on the lower part blossom and ripen first. The plant when in blossom was beautiful and is the shape of a cone. The plants are four feet apart in the ground and the balls when green are about the size of a small pullets egg have fine clefts which open when they are ripe and let the cotton hang down it is then ready for picking. The cotton when thus It is then taken to the cotton gin where picked is called seed cotton. the seed is separated from the fibre and is put up in bales of 400 pounds I went over the plantation with Captain each and sent to the market. Surgett and saw how cotton was cultivated and prepared for the market. I visited Mr Dunbar and met with the same hospitality and kindness and when

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he understood that I had come recently from Edinburgh he insisted that I should go and spend a few days with him which I did and he gave me letters of introduction to other wealthy planters to Doctor Foster. Col. Binglie and among others to Judge Cameron who came from North Carolina when the country was new and settled in Miss. about 30 miles from Natchez with a colony of Highlanders who all spoke the Gallic, and the slaves that were brought up in the family also spoke the Gallic. There was neither a College nor Academy in Natchez where I could get employment. either kept tutors or sent their sons and daughters from home to get a liberal education. I was invited by the planters to open an academy and they would patronise me But the country was in a disturbed state and I did not wish to be entangled with any business that would confine me to the country. I wanted a situation in a College or Academy where I would have no responsibility but my class and could leave at the end of the term; if I did like to stay in the country I was informed in Natchez that I would likely get employment in Jackson a town twelve miles inland from Bayou Sara. There was a College and an Academy there and two female schools where planters daughters were educated. It was the principal seat of learning in the state of Louisiana. I went from Natchez to Bayou Sara in a steam boat that runs to New Orleans on landing at the Bayou, I went to Mr Newport who kept an Hotel, and he furnished me with a saddle horse to go to Jackson. I found there was a meeting of the Trustees of the College and the President Dr Shamer was with them. I went into the room where they were, they were just finishing their business when I went I then spoke to the President and told I sat until they were done. 90 him my business, he asked for my credentials. I showed him my certificates of attendance at Glasgow University, he said that was all right, he then examined me [in] Greek and Mathematics. He seemed satisfied and said there was no vacancy there in the College but there might be one soon, and if I was in the neighbourhood the first vacancy that would occur I would get it. One of the Trustees Col. Brian asked me what I intended to do. I told him, that I intended to take the first situation that offered for

teaching. Heasked me if I would accept of a situation as tutor to three families his own and two others. I said I would like to see the situation before I could give an answer. I went out with him and saw the place. The three families lived near each other their plantations joined. One of the families was a pure Spaniard but spoke the English very well. The 91 other two families, the were of Irish decent but their wives were sisters of the Spaniard. The three families were cousins. I liked the situation and agreed to teach for 800 a year and my board, and to get a horse to ride when I wanted. The school house was a neat frame building near Col. Brian where I was to board, and the yard was neatly laid out and planted with flowering shrubs which grow well in that climate such as crape myrtle roses and cape jesamine with several beautiful magnolias. I opened the school on the first of January 1836 with seven scholars three from the Spanish family and two from each of the English families. I was 92 now entering on the real business of life to support myself and to do good to others. I felt happy and things went on pleasantly for about two months when an event occurred that nearly broke up the school and came near putting an end to my teaching in the south. One of the Spanish boys had a feud of long-standing with his cousin Eli Brian, one day going home they quarrelled and the Spaniard struck his cousin on the head with a porter bottle and came near breaking his skull. Two of the families kept their children at home for a few days until they would see what would be done in the matter. The Spaniard came to me to know what I would do with I told him that I would not tolerate such conduct in the school and if I found him guilty I would thrash him and make him obey. The father said that he was going to take his children from the school; very well I said, he was at liberty to withdraw them but if they came back I 93 would certainly correct the boy and make him behave himself. The planter felt annoyed that I was going to treat his boy as he was in the habit of treating his slaves when they offended him, so he took his children away. The two remaining families asked me what I was going to do. I told them, I would teach the year out as I had agreed, and that I would relinquish my claim to that part of my salary which the Spaniard was to pay. Colonel

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Brian said that if I would stay and teach the two families they would pay my whole salary, only they requested me to take in any more scholars that might come. I told him I had no objections to teach as many as the school room would hold. In a few days the scholars began to come in, the preparatory department of the College was not doing well some of the pupils had rebelled and beaten two of the teachers who came from the New England states and wereoffensive to southern boys. The boys connected with the outrage were expelled, two of them sons of Judge Scott, a wealthy planter and a Senator in the Louisiana Legislature. The Judge came to me and asked me if I would take his two sons. They had lost their character, by the scrape they had got into, and the Judge told me to do what I pleased with them only he wanted them educated, one was 18 and the other 16. The first day the boys came to me I kept them in at night and talked kindly to I told them they could redeem their character by good behaviour and epplying themselves to their books. I would teach them if they would only apply themselves, they promised amendment and kept their word, they were with me two years and I had not two better boys in the school, they were diligent and obedient they applied themselves to their books and made good progress. Before I opened the school for all who would choose to come, I had only two scholars; By the end of the year I had forty. A number who were dissatisfied with the teaching at the College came to me, my name was getting up as an excellent teacher, and for governing bad boys, several boys that the teachers could do nothing with at the College came to me and I had no trouble with them. At the end of the first year I held an examination, at which the planters attended who had their sons with me, they were so well pleased with the progress that they gave me an assistant appointed three Trustees to look after the interests of the school and raised my salary to 1000 dollars. The Preparatory department of the College was going down all the teachers were from the New England States, the Head Master was not well, and could not govern the school. My school was rising in numbers and reputation, the other was going down. In two years the head master resigned and that department was closed up. Louisiana College was a State institution and belonged to no denomination

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it had a preparatory department called Matthews Academy the head master was called the Rector of the Academy. There boys were prepared for any of the professions, the College or the counting room. Three languages were taught and spoken in the preparatory department, English, French and Spanish. French and Spanish boys came from Central America Yukitan, and New Orleans and many of the boys trained there could speak read and write the three languages. Those boys could easily get lucrative situations in the large cotton ware houses in New Orleans where these languages were required, the City of New Orleans consisted of three municipalities one English another French and a third Spanish; all business was done in each principality in its own language. But in the legislature and in law it was done only in two languages English and French something like 98 what it is done in Quebec, indeed the lower Mississippi is just a duplicate of the lower St Lawrence as far as the language and manners of the people are concerned only the planters on the Mississippi River are much wealthier than the French on the lower St Lawrence and more independent in their religion. The Priests have to look after their own salary, the State will not collect it for them; and many of them do not go nor let their families go to Confession. Jackson, the seat of Louisiana College is an inland town, situated 12 miles east of the Mississippi River in the midst of a rolling county, abounding with natural springs and very healthful. The health of the place and beauty of the scenery made it a fit place for the College Academy and female schools established there. The College and Schools with the health of the place attracted many of the wealthy planters to come there and settle temporarily, with their families for the sake of educating their children, that while the sons were attending the College and the daughters the female schools, they would be under the care of their parents. This was particularly the case with rich widows, who had children to educate. They would leave their plantations in care of an overseers, and they would come with their servants and equipage living in high style and driving about the country in summer when the roads were good. At the closing of the College and schools in June for the summer vacation, the Town was filled with the wealth and, beauty and fashion of

the State. The large Hall of the Preparatory department during the week of the examinations was adorned with evergreens and flowers of the magnolia and at the close of the examinations, the Students of the College gave a 101 ball to the young ladies of the female schools, this was the great event event of the season and the ball was always well attended, by the lovers of pleasure, from all parts of the State. What struck me as singular was the absence of all professors of religion at these balls. Professors of religion in the south considered that a ball-room was no place for them. I had the charge of the Hall and the buildings of the preparatory depart-The first year I was in the College, the students thought I would not be willing to let them have the Hall for a ball, because I was a professor of religion. They came and asked me for it. I told them the Hall was not mine to give that favour belonged to the Trustees of course the Trustees 102 gave the Hall at once. But when the ball was going on I went in to see that no injury was done to the buildings. The dancers thought it strange to see me there, and one of them said to me Mr King, I thought you did not go to a ball. I said I did not come to dance I only came to look after the building, that it was not being injured. The south did not mix things sacred and profane they drew a definite line between the Church and the They drew the line at balls cards and theatres, these were places where the ungodly might go, but it was no place for Christians. vacancy produced in the preparatory department by the resignation of the 103 Head master and his assistants was offered to me by a unanimous vote of the board of Trustees. After due deliberation I accepted the offer, and was duly installed as Rector of Matthews Academy. I was to have four teachers to assist me chosen by myself and paid by the State 1000 dollars each. I asked the Trustees to give me the tuition fees, for my salary which they I also asked them to change the laws, that required all agreed to do. boys above 12 years of age there to be treated as gentlemen, no matter what they did they were not to be corrected. I wished to have the power to correct, but I would hold myself responsible to the Trustees for the use of that power. This was also granted, so I was installed as Rector 104

of Matthews Academy with full power over both Teachers and pupils.

One of the evils I had seen connected with the Government of the Academy was, that the teachers had no power over the boys, when they misbehaved, the teachers could not correct and the boy set the teacher at defiance the result was the southern boys accustomed to command and impatient of sentiment rebelled, and as they could not be corrected they had to be expelled. I had a trial of some of those who had been expelled and I had no trouble with them, and I knew if I had the full power to correct I would have no trouble with them in the Academy. On entering the duties of my office I found things in a very bad state. The buildings 105 of the Academy were situated on two sides of a square, were two stories high and ran the whole length of the square, with galleries in front of both buildings looking into the square. The upper story of the building was laid off in rooms of sufficient size to hold two boys, with a bed furniture and fire place in it; stoves were unknown then in those days. lower stories of the two buildings were used for class rooms with a large Hall in one of them, that was used for various purposes both by the College 106 and the Academy. The Rectors house was at one end of the square together with a large dining hall, and houses for the servants. When the boys went to their rooms at night, the teachers had no control over them until the morning and they generally did what they pleased. Sometimes, they would go out a skylarking in the village and country and be out all night. Sometimes they would have company with them in their rooms feasting and drinking and having a good time generally and wholly neglecting their To remedy this evil the first thing I did was to form a large dormitory in the lower story and have all the beds brought from the rooms and put into it, each bed enclosed with mosquito bars and curtains, at 107 one end of the dormotory was a room in which two of the unmarried teachers slept, in the event of any of the students becoming sick they could be properly attended to. A lamp was kept burning all night both in the dormitory and the teachers room. All the students at the Academy studied under a teacher every night from seven oclock until nine, when we had

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prayers and they retired to their sleeping apartments and were under the care of the teachers, until the morning. The private rooms were all whitewashed and completely renovated, the school rooms were painted and furnished with new desks the old ones being sadly cut up and mutilated by the boys. On the first of January 1840 I had all things in order the school with a full staff of teachers the Boarding house with servants and a Matron to look after them. My reputation had been established as a teacher, and especially in the management of rude boys, on the day of opening the Academy all the old scholars came, with a number of new ones; the first thing I did was to arrange the classes according to each boys standing and placing them under the care of teachers, I myself taking one of the higher classes to teach in order that I might be in school the whole day having an eye to everything that was going on, and if anything was going wrong I might right it, this vigilance was absolutely necessary in consequence of the loose manner in which things had been conducted. next thing I did was to call all the boys into the Hall and talk to them. I told them that the sitting rooms and school rooms had been put in good order and I hoped they would keep them in that state, that I had arranged their sleeping apartments in one place where they would be under the care of two teachers, who would sleep in the same place and in the event of any of them becoming sick during the night they would have proper attention and as they had been reported formerly to leave their rooms at night and visit, neighbouring plantations for improper purposes, that would now be done away with and I hope would never be resumed again, my intention was to give them every opportunity to study, and I hoped that none would idle away their time, but that everyone would try to learn as much as they could and conduct themselves both in the school, and out of it as young gentlemen. be treated kindly by me but if any of them so far forgot himself as to act improperly I certainly would correct him that power was placed in my hands and I would certainly use it. They were now placed on their own responsibility, and good conduct would be rewarded and evil conduct would be punished. I now dismissed the school for the first day, and told them all

to be in the class rooms tomorrow morning at nine oclock when the bell The boys were all in their places in fine spirits and in good time and began to study diligently. All things went on well for about two months when an event happened that was likely to break up the establishment if not speedily put down. Two boys one named Foster the son of a 112 wealthy planter near New Orleans, and about sixteen years of age the other named Smith, the son of a wealthy planter in the adjoining Parish and about the same age as Foster. These boys had quarrelled in the playground in the morning and at noon on coming out from dinner on the gallery of the dining room Foster struck Smith and knocked him down. from the dining room and caught them both and took them to my room (where I had an office fitted up in the building that I taught in.) I took them 113 both into the office and locked the door. On questionning the boys I found that Smith had given the offence by using some offensive language to Foster who resisted it by knocking Smith down. I pointed out the impropriety of their conduct, by showing that Smith should not have used such language. and that Foster should not have taken the law into his own hand but should have informed me and I would have punished Smith but as they were both guilty I could not let such a flagrant breach of the law pass without punishment, and I would have to punish both, but when I went to punish Smith I found 114 him armed with a pistol and a bowie knife which I took from him and laid them on my desk and told him the school was not a fit place for such weapons. So I punished both and told them to tell their fathers when they went home, that they had behaved badly at school and that I had punished them for it. But they never told their parents nor did they tell any of the scholars that they were punished but I never had any more trouble with them afterwards, and the rest of the scholars learned that I would punish if they did wrong. 115 The example set that day had a happy influence and I had few occasions to use the power I possessed afterwards. I soon found that another reform was necessary to be introduced in the school. I found on enquiry that most of of the students carried concealed weapons and they were ready to draw them on one another when they quarrelled in the playground. The English and

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French boys carried pistols and bowie knives and the Spanish boys carried in their breast pocket the stilletto or Spanish dagger with a steel blade about 12 inches long, with a sharp point, and an ivory handle, a most dangerous weapon in a quarrel a pistol will sometimes miss fire but the dagger in the hand of a Spaniard never misses its aim. On learning the fact most of the boys carried concealed arms, I called all the scholars into the Hall and told them what I had learned, and the danger of carrying such weapons, in having them either on their persons or in their rooms accidents often happened of a most serious kind from the careless use of fire arms, and if such an accident should occur I would feel myself responsible for it by permitting fire arms to be kept and used on the premises. order all persons carrying concealed weapons or having shot-guns or rifles in their rooms to carry or send them home during the next eight days and all fire arms or daggers found on the premises after that time would be forfitted and I had given orders to the servants attending the rooms if they found any of these articles there to bring them to me. My order was strictly obeyed and at the end of eight days, all the boys were strictly disarmed and all shot-guns and rifles were removed from the premises. In a few weeks however, some of the boys began to bring pistols and bowie knives into their rooms and they were found there, by the servants and brought to me, the boys came to me enquiring after their articles. told them that I had them, locked up and that they were confiscated, and would not be given up unless to their fathers, to whom, I would give them after explaining how they came into my possession. The boys who had broken the law were ashamed to tell their fathers what they had done, the fathers never came so the pistols and daggers remained in my possession confiscateduntil I was leaving the south when I returned the articles to their owners, but the law of confiscation had the effect of clearing the premises of all deadly weapons and I had no more trouble while I remained in the Academy.

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In a few months the whole establishment was in good working order the boys were obedient and diligent in their studies, the boarders spent two hours every night from 7 to 9 preparing their lessons under the care of a teacher and at nine we had prayers - after which all the boys retired to their dormitory for the night; the teachers seeing that they all went They rose at 6 breakfasted at 8 and went to their classes at 9. I was not married then, and the boarding house was managed by a Matron and six servants but all under my control. The College premises were also placed under my care. The students of the College proper slept in their rooms and they were aware that the boys of the Academy were prevented from going out at night; It was my custom after seeing my boys all safe in bed to have my horse saddled and brought to me, at 10 oclock by my coloured servant that I kept to take care of my room and horse. I mounted him, and rode round all the premises which were 100 acres in extent and sometimes I would go several miles into the country to see what was going on. these excursions I would sometimes meet students going out to the country for a spree. Sometimes I would meet the Patrol visiting the negro quarters to see that they were all in their right place and if any negro was found off the plantation to which he belonged without a written permit from his master he was whipped and sent home. I never went to bed till 12 oclock and was up in the morning at 6. I enjoyed those rides in the lovely nights that we had in Louisiana, in spring the air was filled with the fragrance of the magnolia, honeysuckle and cape jesamine and the woods were vocal with the song of the mocking bird the nightingale of the I would sit in my room at night and throw my window up and listen with delight to the varied notes of that wonderful bird. The birds were beautiful in their plumage and in their song, the breezes were fragrant and balmy but the land was cursed with slavery.

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I may mention here an incident that occurred, after I had been appointed Rector of Matthews Academy and before I took possession of the premises, future that had a forceful effect on my whole/life. The Sabbath before I took possession of the premises I attended the Presbyterian Church in the village.

The former Rector Mr Bullen who was now about to leave and return to the 123 North was superintendant of the Sabbath School of the Presbyterian Church, and as that was his last Sabbath he was to give a farewell address to the I visited to hear the address. He took for his theme the text "what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his soul, or what will a man give in exchange for his soul". He dwelt principally on the nature of the soul, and the danger of losing it by a person's being entangled with the riches and pleasures of this world and he urged upon his young hearers to secure first the salvation of the soul and to make sure of the world to come. The text with the remarks, made such an 124 impression on my mind that I resolved that I should never allow myself to be entangled with the world which resolution by God's grace I was enabled to carry out in my future life. I saw the danger to which I would be exposed from the world in the situation I was about to enter upon. was the prospect of wealth and a gay and fashionable world with all its pleasures spread out before me, including the human heart to settle down in their midst and make this world my portion - and to forget the prepara tion for the next. Mr Bullen was a good man a devoted Christian and a 125 strong abolitionist. When leaving the country he set the slaves free that he had purchased for servants. One could not get faithful and trustworthy servants unless you bought them. There were some planters who had only a few slaves not enough to work on a plantation with profit; these they hired out for servants at from \$150 to \$200 dollars a year that class of servants soon became demoralized and you could not trust them. A person living there and requiring servants it became a matter of necessity to purchase them. There were many conscientious men from the North, who lived there and purchased the servants they required and kept them until the wages paid yearly 126 would amount to the sum paid for them when bought and then give them their freedom and sent them to Liberia A colony established on the West Coast of Africa, where slaves who had been manumited by their masters were sent, the slaves thus set free were not allowed to remain among those that were still held in bondage, their influence was considered by the planters to be

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injurious and the law compelled you to send those that had been freed out of the country. If a man gave his slave his freedom in the south and allowed him to remain there, the master would be held responsible for his conduct, and if his master refused to be responsible, for his conduct the law would order the slave thus set free to be sold and then the purchaser would be responsible for his good behaviour. After the passage of the fugitive slave law there was no part in the United States or territories where a slave could say he was free from his master, to be free he had to be carried beyond the jurisdiction of the U States. When I gave my slaves their liberty I had to take them to Canada. My brother James when he gave his slaves their freedom, he sent them to Liberia. Sometimes however when a master gave permission to his slave to purchase his freedom by hiring out and giving his wages to his master, until he had paid the price of his redemption, the master would get an act of the Legislature passed declaring him or her free with permission to remain in the country. Those slaves who thus purchased their freedom were generally mechaniks, who still continued when free to work at their trade. There were some curious cases of that kind occurred. A woman named Phylis, a good washer ironer and semstress both she and her daughter were slaves. The master gave the mother the liberty of purchasing her own freedom, which she soon did by hiring out, the master had an act passed by the Legislature of Louisiana securing her freedom with the permission to remain in the State. He then gave her permission to purchase her daughter which she did, but instead of giving the daughter her freedom the master gave the mother a bill of sale for her daughter and she became the slave of her mother, who taught her to wash iron and sew and she wrought with the mother as her slave. They were both honest and industrious and soon acquired a nice cottage and garden and they went in the village by the name of free Phillis and her daughter.

In 1841 - after I had been four years in the south I married Miss
Mary M. Phares, the oldest daughter of John E. Phares a wealthy planter
who lived only three miles from the College. I had now lived long enough
in the country to see the evils of slavery. The evils, of the system

that were necessarily connected with it bore as heavily on the white families as on the black the moral evils connected with the system were such that it could not exist with Christianity it would either destroy Christianity or Christianity would destroy it, they could not exist together. When I lived in the south slavery had reached the zenith of its power and was ripening for destruction. It made and unmade Presidents at pleasure 130 it decided Legislation and dictated the home and foreign policy of the United States. It was repressive in its nature no law could bind it; compromises were only made to be broken when it suited the interests of the south to do so. they wished to extend slavery and plant it in free states, the free soil party who opposed that movement proved but a feeble barrier against the spread of slavery. Texas was taken by an unjust move from Mexico and annexed to the Union and carved into four large slave states for the purpose of extending slavery. The south claimed the right of carrying their slaves everywhere, a southern member stated in Congress that the day was not far distant when he would call the roll of his slaves at the 131 base of Bunker Hill, a monument erected in Massachusetts to commemorate freedom. The Supreme Court had decided that the slave was a chattel, and that he had no rights which they were bound to respect. The south to enforce these claims went to war and that settled the question of slavery by proclaiming liberty throughout the whole land to all the inhabitants thereof. The planting of slavery in the U States teaches a sad but instructive lesson, it shows the necessity of meeting an evel in the bud and not permit it to grow until it threatens both the life and happiness of the nation. In 1620 when the Plymouth Fathers landed in Massachusetts, for the purpose of establishing freedom, in the same year a vessel from the coast of Africa landed 20 slaves in Virginia. Little notice was taken of the event but 132 the evil seed was sown and it soon began to grow and spread its baleful influence and in 1797 when the Constitution of the U States was adopted the 20 slaves had increased to half a million. Even then the formers of the Constitution, imagined there was no danger and that the evil itself would die out and that the States where the evil existed would take the necessary

steps to remove the evil the State of New York and Massachusetts had taken the necessary steps to free those that were held in bondage. It was supposed the other states would follow their example and no provision was made in the Constitution of the U.S. to abolish slavery trusting to the 133 public sentiment that was then strong and freely expressed by the founders of the Constitution, against the continuance of slavery. The labour of the slave at that time was not remunerative and their natural increase in the farming states, would render them a burden to the farmer unless a market could be found for the surplus slaves raised on the farm. market was afforded by the invention of the cotton gin, which made slave labour remunerative in the cotton growing states. Up to the invention of the cotton gin the seed of the cotton could only be separated from the fibre by hand-picking, and that process was so slow, that it did not remunerate the planter to raise it. But Whitney who invented the cotton 134 gin, a machine for separating the seed from the fibre, rendered slave labour profitable, quadrupled the price of cotton land and afforded a ready market for the surplus slaves raised in the farming states. Cotton became a valuable article of commerce, and found a ready market in Europe. It could be raised in large quantity by slave labour in the United States, and just as the price of cotton went up the price of slaves went up with it, and a large traffic was thus opened, up between the farming and cotton growing states. The surplus slaves raised in Virginia Maryland and Kentucky, were collected annually by slave dealers and carried to the cotton and sugar 135 growing states where they were readily disposed of. A traffic was thus carried on between the farming and cotton growing states demoralising in its nature and evil in practice, it was the means of separating parents and children brothers and sisters, never to meet again in this world. Marriage was encouraged in the farming states for the purpose of raising slaves for the southern market, this was a part of their profit; horses mules and slaves were annually collected by the Negro traders in the farming States and carried south in November and sold in New Orleans and Mobile two of the great slave marts in the south there were some heart rending scenes

136 witnessed in farming states when the parents were obliged to part with the children that they had raised, to the Negro traders, to be carried south never to see them again those slave mothers loved their children with the same affection that a white mother loves her children. mothers never recovered those cruel partings, but went down to their grave broken hearted. One fine looking quadroon who had made her escape to Canada after she had lost all her children, but one the youngest girl which she managed to bring with her told me with tears streaming down her cheeks that she had raised three beautiful daughters, light quadroons whom the 137 master said he would never sell any of her family but he got into financial difficulties, and the Negro trader offered him a high price for the three daughters and he let them go this broke the mothers heart and she resolved to take the first opportunity to make her escape to Canada, which she accomplished with her youngest daughter. Her master lived in the northern part of Kentucky near the Ohio River. She dressed her little daughter in boys clothes disguised herself and one moonlight night started for the Ohio River which she soon reached found a skiff which she took and crossed the river to the state of Ohio where she was put on the underground Rail Road and run safely through to Canada. This is only one example of many hundreds of 138 parents with their children who escaped from Kentucky Maryland and Missouri by the underground rail way, to Canada, to escape their being sold to the Negro traders to be taken south and sold to cotton and sugar plantations where they were generally treated with cruelty oftentimes being over wrought and under fed. The treatment which the slave received on the cotton and sugar plantations, depended altogether on the will of the master, where they had a cruel master they were cruelly treated and where they had a humane master they were treated humanely The nefarious Court having decided that a slave had no rights which they were bound to respect and the evidence of a negro would not be taken in Court against the master.

The master being thus clothed with absolute and irresponsible power, could do what he pleased with his slave and no one could call him to account for his cruel treatment, hence they were often shot, maimed, and branded

with the letter 0, when they attempted to escape from such cruel treatment. The whole evil of slavery lay in clothing men with such absolute power, wicked men were sure to abuse that power. Some of the masters who were kind and humane treated their slaves with kindness and would not allow the overseers on the plantation to whip or abuse them. But they were all closely watched and not allowed to leave the plantation without a written 140 permit from the master. There was a secret police established through all the slave states in which all the white young men from 18 to 40 years of age were enrolled these patrols had Captains appointed over them each Captain had a certain district appointed to him whose duty was with his men to visit the plantations from time to time, and see that all was right and if they found slaves moving about off their plantations without a permit from their masters, they could whip them and send them to their masters. They could visit the negro cabins at night and if they found any of the family out, they would take a note of it, and visit the cabin the next day and if the person could not give a proper reason for their absence they 141 would be punished for it. This strict surveillance made it difficult for a negro to escape from the cotton and sugar plantations they had to travel by night guided by the North star, lie, concealed in some swamp or out house during the day, steal what they could get to eat, or call at some negro cabin who would always give, and never betray them, they had the greatest difficulty in avoiding the secret police which generally went about at night. They were often caught by the patrol when walking their way to Canada, put in jail until their master came and claimed them. The physical treatment was bad but the moral treatment was worse they were not permitted to read 142 to teach a slave to read the bible in Louisiana the first offence was fine and the second offence was imprisonment Similar laws prevailed in all the southern states.

When I was married and began to raise a family I could see the moral aspect of slavery in corrupting the white population, there was the sin of Sodom - fullness of bread and plenty of idleness, in the sunny south human passions were strong and lust reigned there without restraint. All that

was pure and lovely in the one sex was made the sport of the other who only lived to gratify his passions to raise a family of boys under such corrupting influence was almost sure to corrupt their moral principles and 143 ruin them both for the life that now is and that which is to come. danger I could not conceal from my wife who saw it as well as I did. had seen seven young men that I had educated fill a premature grave by fast living, two of them belonged to one of the Senators of Louisiana, and neither of the youths had passed his 23rd year. It was my duty to report annually to the Legislature of Louisiana the state of the Academy of which I was the Rector. The Legislature met in New Orleans which was then the Capital of the State, on the first week of January. I generally went to the City and 144 spent that week in the Capital. The city was then full of visitors from all parts of the state, from Christmas until the 8th of January was a regular Saturnalia. Schools were closed and the negroes had their Christmas holidays, Dina and Sambo were dressed in their best and enjoyed high carmival on the plantations, great licence was given to them on such occasions by their masters. I mingled freely with the members of the Legislature many of them had sons with me at the Academy. I could see a great deal that I did not like. The public and private morals were corrupt, they were lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, drinking, gambling, horse riding and dancing were common on the Sabbath Theatres were open and 145 brothels were licensed and established by law. there appeared to be no restraint on the people everyone seemed to act like the children of Israel when they had no King to do that which was right in their own eyes.

I was determined not to bring up my family in such a state of society and to avail myself of the first opportunity to resign leave the country and take my family with me. But then I could not see the way open to leave the country, but hoped God would open up the way and make it plain. In 1842 the conflict between the established Church of Scotland and the British Parliament, the Government claimed the right to control the Church in matters purely ecclesiastical this claim the Church denyed and would acknowledge none but Christ to be the supreme head of the Church. The

conflict between the Church and State was brought to an issue where the State nominated a minister and placed him in his charge at the front of the contrary to the will of the Church. This was a case where the Church had clearly the right to act, they remonstrated and carried the case through all the Courts and finally took it to the House of Lords. The Church got no redress the case went against them in the Courts and in the House of Lords. The only thing them left to the Church to maintain her principles and her honour was to leave the established Church and her emoluments and establish herself as a free Church. On the 23rd of May 1843 400 ministers with their congregations left the established Church. relinguished their claim to the Churches and State endowments, amounting to 1,00,000 pounds sterling and formed a free Church Assembly with Dr Chalmers as Moderator of the first Assembly. I took a deep interest in the conflict between Church and State and hoped I would be able to enter the free Church College in November and finish my theological studies under Dr Chalmers. The way was dark before me, my oldest boy was nearly three years old and I wished to remove him from the south before he was capable of knowing betwirt right and wrong. But I could not well leave without some good excuse. I was popular as a teacher with the scholars and Trustees of the College and I was doing well in a pecuniary point of view.

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In June 1843 the Trustees of the College proposed to make an alteration in the government of the College, namely to place the College proper and the Academy under one hear. The government of the two departments were separate and independent of each other. Dr Lacy was the head of the College proper I was Rector of the Academy. The President of the College was not able to govern the boys and he was very unpopular. I refused to comply with the change proposed, and would resign. This was just the opening I desired in order to resign and leave the country. The Trustees hesitated to make the change unless I would remain. I told them I would not stand in the way of any change they might wish to make, that I intended to leave the country and return to Scotland and finish my theological studies. So the Trustees agreed to pay mysslary to the end of the year

and the salaries of the three teachers that I had employed, whom they promised to keep in the Academy. I now began to prepare for leaving the During my stay in the Academy I had taken an interest in the poor whites who were unable to pay for an education, I collected a number of them in the neighbourhood and brought them into the Academy and had them taught at my own expense. One of them a young man from the North who gave evident signs of talent, to whom I had given not only an English 150 education, but I had taught him classics and had him prepared to enter the College in the fall. I found that there were fourteen Senatorial districts in the State, and each Senator had a right to place a student in the College and have him educated at the expense of the State but it required a certificate from the Senator nominating the student and a certificate from the Governor of the State, approving of the nomination. I got the proper recommendation from Judge Scott one of the Senators, and took it to the Governor of the State, who lived on a sugar plantation on the Mississippi a few miles above New Orleans. I went to the Governor got his signature and the nomination and gave it to the young man who was placed in the College as a State student got a Collegate Course and studied law, and 151 when I visited New Orleans ten years afterwards I found my old friend living in princely style in New Orleans, married to a wealthy southern lady and one of the first lawyers in the city. An incident occurred when I was going down the River steamers to the Governors, that shows how accommodating the Captains of the Packet boats were in those days. I told the Captain of the steamer that I had a message to the Governor of the State and I wished the boat to stop at his residence on the bank of the river as we passed to New Orleans. When the boat came opposite the Governors residence she stopped, put out a plank and sent me ashore and waited until I called on the Governor and returned. I spent the summer 152 in make ing preparations to go in the fall to Edinburgh. I placed a farm that I owned in Illinois in the hands of my Father in law to dispose of for me. The negroes that I owned and those that were coming to me by inheritance I had to provide for. I intended to give them their freedom but there were legal difficulties in my way and I could not let them free

I purchased a plantation, adjoining Mr Phares my Father in law and placed them on the plantation under, his care, with instructions that they should support themselves and keep up the plantation and whatever they made 153 above supporting themselves was tobe placed to my credit. Three years afterward when I returned to take an account of what they had done I found that I was in debt one thousand dollars they had not supported themselves, however, I could not blame them, the cotton crop had failed during two years having been destroyed by the army worm a caterpillar that is the great pest on cotton plantations. This worm is produced some seasons in such numbers that they cover the ground for a mile wide and march in a solid phalanx forwards, eating everything that is green and tender especially cotton they are so numerous that they will destroy a cotton field of some 154 twenty acres in a few days. They eat all the leaves off and leave the stalks bare, and the balls that are forming die. There is no remedy found yet to destroy this pest.

In November I had made all my arrangements for leaving, but I concluded to go alone to leave my wife and child with her father and I would return in Spring and take them over to Edinburgh in summer, when the sea was calm. I expected a rough passage in winter, and I was not disappointed. sailed from New Orleans in the first week of December in a cotton ship bound for Liverpool. Captain Brown, a Scotchman and an old experienced sea Captain said he never had a rougher passage from the time we left 155 the mouth of the Mississippi River until we reached the mouth of the Mersey, which was twenty-five days, we had storms nearly the whole time and in passing the Bermudah Isles, it blew so hard that the ship had to lie too for twelve hours with her head to the storm and let the waves beat over There was one consolation however a cotton ship will not sink she her. is as light as a cork and where she had sea room in mid-Atlantic, there was no danger of her going down. I was sea sick the whole voyage, and when I arrived in Liverpool I was scarcely able to walk, but in less than a week I was quite well and strong and when I arrived in Edinburgh I was in good health and spirits.

While at Liverpool I met with a person who afterwards became famous 156 among the Mormons. This was no less a personage than Brigham Young, who after the death of Joe Smith, became the leader of the Mormons in Utah. At that time he was only an elder in the Mormon Church and had been sent with two others to England to preach and gather as many young good looking women as converts to the Mormon faith and send them to Navon to Joe Smith in the meantime Brigham was to order 300 riding habits for those young women, whom Joe Smith intended to mount them on horseback and ride out with him as a bodyguard on the Prairy of Mormons. Brigham was then a young man of medium bone stout built with a keen black eye, a black bushy beard, and rather a pleasing countenance. I was getting a suit of clothes 157 at a Merchant Tailors, and while I was in speaking with the Tailor who appeared to be a convert to Mormonism, Brigham and his two companions came in about the riding habits which they expected to be ready in Spring. the summer of 1844 Joe Smith appeared at the head of this cavelcade of young women riding on the plains of Illinois. But that was about the last of Joe Smiths appearance as a Mormon Leader. In the fall of that year he was shot in attempting to escape from prison where he had been confined, charged as being accessory to the murder of the Governor of N.O. who had been assassinated some time before by a body of who were used by Joe to put out of the way anyone who was strongly opposed to the Mormons. The Governor of Missouri had banished the Mormons from his State as dan-158 gerous citizens, and shortly after he lost his life. The Mormons were rather reticent and were not willing to talk with me when they knew that I was from the U States and was well acquainted with their doings in Illinois. But after they left the Tailor informed me that they were quite successful in making converts in England. Since that time Mormonism has become a power in the U States but that system of iniquity is about to be broken up.

In the first week in January 1944 I entered the Free Church College as a student of Divinity under Dr Chalmers as the Principal of the College and Professor of Divinity. The Doctor had been Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh but at the disruption he left that position and became the head of the Free Church College. When he left many of the

Divinity Students left with him and joined the Free Church. His fame as a Professor had drawn Students from all parts of the British Empire from Canada United States West Indies India, Europe and the British Isles.

The number of Divinity Students enrolled that year was three hundred.

When I called on Dr Chalmers to be enrolled as one of his Students, he asked me what Church I belonged to, I told him the Presbyterian Church of the United States, he requested me to join the Free Church and I would then be under the care of the Edinburgh Presbytery. I consented to do so and he gave me a note to Dr Candlish who was Chairman of the Examining Committee of the Edinburgh Presbytery. who examined me with two others one of whom was a German Jew who afterwards became Professor of Hebrew in Aberdeen College. This was my first acquaintance with Dr Chalmers and Dr Candlish and they both became warm friends of mine, during the three years I stayed in Edinburgh.

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The Free Church Disruption had quickened the Spiritual life of Presbyteriasm wherever the English language was spoken. Deputations had been sent to England Ireland and the United States to raise funds to assist in erecting 400 new Churches that would be required for those congregations that had left the establishment. The congregations left the Churches when they came out and the ministers left the State endowment and cast themselves on the voluntary contributions of the people for their support. But they had strong faith in the righteousness of their cause and the liberality of the people, and they were not disappointed during the first year after the disruption the congregation that came out with the ministers raised enough to build 400 Churches 300 School houses and support their ministers, one of the delegates that went to America was Dr Cuningham one of the Professors Dr Chalmers supplied his place in the Free College as well as his own Department. Besides his duties in the College Dr Chalmers in the summer of 1844 laid the foundation of a plan, which he had long cherished for raising the lower Classes from that state of moral degradation into which they had fallen from neglect "called the territorial System" The plan since has been successfully carried out through all the large Cities in

It consisted in taking a certain district of the City where Scotland the population had been neglected the parents never going to Church and the Children growing up in ignorance and vice to place in that district a School and a minister, to divide the district into twelve smaller divisions and appoint a gentleman and a Lady who were to visit all the families in their division once a week converse with the Parents read the scriptures and pray with them, invite the parents to come out to the Church on Sabbath just as they were and to send their children to the School provided for 163 The visitors met once a week on Saturday night in the school room them with Dr Chalmers the teacher and the missionary, reports were given into the Doctor by the visitors and teacher, those reports gave an account of what progress attended the labours of the visitors in their several districts, and if they had any difficulties in their districts these were laid before the meeting and considered The district contained about 150 families with at least five in each family and the subdivisions had about twelve families each a number of boarders were found among those families, some who had seen better days but who had been brought down by drinking and to hide their shame gravitated into these slums of poverty and vice and from that state of moral degradation they would never rise unless a moral in-164 fluence were brought to bear upon them. The principle that lay at the foundation of the whole plan was this "When man has fallen into a state or moral degradation no matter what causes may have operated to bring him into that condition, from that state he will never rise himself unless a moral influence be brought to bear upon him" The School and the Church that was placed in the district for the benefit of these poor person would have empty benches unless Christian worthies who had the love of God in their hearts, would call upon them in their homes, talk kindly to them, persuade the Parents to come to Church on Sabbath and get them to send their children to the day school and Sabbath School, This organization employed, 165 a gentleman and Lady who visited the twelve families every week conversed with them, and generally held a prayer meeting these visits were looked for by the people after a few weeks just as regular as the week came round, a good deal of tact was required in visiting to make these poor people feel

at ease and to converse freely with them, and make yourself perfectly at home with them The first and second call would often have no effect in bringing out either the Parents to Church or the children to School, the parents if they ever had Church going habits, had lost them and the children had never been in the habit of going to School. but constant visiting had 166 the effect of bringing them out. The place for making the first experiment was in West Port, a district lying at the lower end of Grass Market and was considered one of the lowest and most degraded slums in Edinburgh indeed it had acquired an unenviable notoriety for wickedness two persons had formerly lived in that slum, called Burk and Hare, who kept a low boarding house where labourers coming from Ireland to labour during the harvest in Scotland, were in the habit of stopping a number of those strangers were murdered by Burk and Hare, by smothering and their bodies were sold to the College The [y] had murdered a number before they were discovered for dissection Hare revealed the secret turned Kings evidence, and had Burk arrested and 167 Hare after the trial went to America. The place still had a bad name, and the close where they lived was called Burks Close in that close the School was opened in an old tan, loft, that served for the school on week days, and for Church on Sabbath The 24 labourers visiting the district every week talking kindly to the people soon had the effectof bringing scholars to the day school and sabbath schools, for the day School had a most efficient teacher was appointed and a Staff of willing teachers for the Sabbath School of which I became superintendant, which office I held until I was Licensed by the Edinburgh Presbytery and sent as a missionary to Canada in the fall of 1846. The boys collected from the Street when first placed in School were in such a state of filth and rags that their bodies had to be washed and their hair cut, before they could be set on the benches Two baths were prepared in connection with the School one for the boys and another for the girls, with a proper person to superintend each, the boys had their hair cut close by a barber and perfumed which so pleased the boys that when they saw a few thus dressed by the Barber willingly came of their own free will to be washed and perfumed, girls washed their clothes and combed their hair, A seamstress was

appointed to assist them in making and mending their own clothes. Material 169 and soap, was provided by the Lady visitors. In a few weeks all the Scholars had a clean appearance. The cleaning up of the Scholars had an influence on the Parents, who began to come to Church with their clothes clean and tidy. the girls also began to knit and sew for their Brothers. By constant visiting and Christian kindness both Parents and children soon began to have a clean and tidy appearance and by the end of the first year all the boys and girls in the school were clean and plainly dressed. first not more than 40 or fifty of the adult population could be got out to Church on Sabath, the excuse being that they had no proper clothing to 170 go to Church with, and when urged by the visitors to come just as they were, they would hear the Gospel just as well in common clothes as if they were well dressed, then they would promise the visitor that they would go out if the visitor would be there and the parties would come and look into the Church and if something should prevent the visitor from being at the Church, the person would return home but if the visitor was there they would go in and hear the Sermon. The missionary was one of the Students chosen by Dr Chalmers, from his class. He (the missionary) was well qualified for the position. He was a good preacher with a fine missionary spirit, kind and affable in his manner constant in visiting the families in the district 171 and he soon became popular among them The congregation increased in numbers and respectability, and the School was gradually filling up with Scholars.

A night school was opened for boys that were grown up and could not attend the day school. This was the most difficult part of the work the boys had been allowed to grow up without any restraint or moral training. they did not know the name of Jesus only to swear by Him. In School they were up to all manner of mischief and the boys without would disturb those that were within. on a signal given the lights would be put out and the boys would pitch into each other, and for a few minutes all would be in confusion until the gas was again lited and order restored. It became necessary, during the first winter of the night School to have a Policeman

placed at the door of the Schoolroom to keep the boys without from distur-But the second winter all this difficulty bing those that were within. disappeared the boys began to like the School and to Study and gave no trouble, and many of those boys that were wild at first became diligent Students and soon learned to read and write, attended the Sabbath School and became useful members of Society. Some of the visitors became disheartened with the work there was so much apathy manifested by the parents to come out to Church and so much drunkenness and Sabbath desecration among the people in the district that their faith began to fail. difficulties were stated by the visitors to the Dr Chalmers at the meeting on Saturday night the Dr would encourage them to prayer and perseverance in the work with the firm faith that their labour would not be in vain they were now sowing the seed but there would be a harvest, when they would return with the sheaves rejoicing. The Doctor's faith was strong in the Gospel as the only means of raising man from the fallen and degraded condi-The Doctor did not live to see the success tion in which Sin has left him. of his plans, but when I visited West Port in 1860, I found a large and flourishing Church with a Communion roll of 500 members and since that time it has gone on increasing in numbers and respectability a few years ago the congregation had to erect a larger building called Chalmers memorial Church and the congregation reported last year at their annual meeting 1000 members with a large day school and Sabbath School. now among the largest in Edinburgh. Such is the result of Christian effort, in raising a fallen people in one of the worst Slums in Edinburgh. territorial system has been adopted in other cities where a congregation will take a district, and plant a mission Church in it, workers from the congregation visit the poor people, and by Christian kindness compel them to come in The members of those mission Stations are required to pay something from the beginning in order to cultivate a Spirit of independence and self respect. The first theological Class in the free College, was not only remarkable for the number 300, but for the character of the Students many of them had been teachers in the Parish Schools and had

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received a classical education, with the intention of entering the Church, but without patronage there was no hope of succeeding in the Established Church, but now when patronage was done away with in the Free Church, many of them left teaching and went to the Free College with the view of becoming Ministers of the Free Church. as the disruption had created a great demand for them both at home and in the Foreign field. The Professors in the College were careful to know that all the students attending theology were really converted, to ascertain this a number of the Students were allotted by the Professors to each of the ministers of Edinburgh who invited them at different times to tea and conversed with them on religious subjects and personal piety. The Professors also were in the habit of inviting them at different time to spend the evening with them and converse with them on the same subject. By the end of the first session the Christian character of the Students was pretty well understood by the Professors, end of the Session a circular was printed by the Professors and a copy given to each of the Students The circular stated, what the view and aim of Students should be, who were studying in the ministry I am afraid After the death of the Fathers of the Free Church that wholesome regulation has not been kept up. There are some of the ministers who have lately come out in the Free Church who are not very sound in the faith. At the end of the first Session in April I left Edinburgh to return to Louisiana, by one of the Liverpool packets that sailed every week to New York. I arrived in Liverpool, the Packet that was to sail that week had her complement of passengers and could take no more. I would have to wait a week in Liverpool for the next Packet if I could not go by the one that was now to sail. While I was talking with the agent in the office the Captain I told him I wanted to go with him to New York but I understood that he had his complement of passengers and I asked him if he had his complement of hands, he said he wanted a second Mate I told him that I would ship with him as Second Mate the Captain said that he would take me. I had learned something of Navigation, could take the sums Altitude at noon could calculate Latitude and Longitude so I bought me a red shirt, and a

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Sou' Wester and shiped as Second Mate on the good ship Patrick Henry for
New York. When we left the harbour I was on the quarter deck doing duty,
and every day at noon I took the suns altitude with a quadrant that the
Captain furnished me with the rest of the time I was in the Cabin reading
until the Pilot came on board at New York then I was again on the quarter
Deck doing duty; and when the Manifest was handed in to the proper authorities in New York my name was read out as Second Mate.

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I proceeded at once to Louisiana when I landed in New York, and on my way South I passed through Baltimore and Washington City. When at Baltimore I had the pleasure of sending a telegram to Washington to Mr McLay a member of Congress that I wished to see. That was in May 1844. and was the first telegraph line used in the United States, Mr Morse the inventor of the telegraph had got the United States to put up a trial line between Baltimore and the United States and the Government was working the line under the direction of Mr Morse. I sent a message from Baltimore to Washington, Asking if Mr McLay a member of Congress was in Washington that I wanted to see him I received an answer in ten minutes that he was and requesting me to go on to Washington that was the first line of telegraph then known in the world. today (1892) the wires of the telegraph cover every land and every sea The speeches in the British Parliament at night are read at the Breakfast table next morning in Vancouver on the Pacific Coast the same as in London, so the few that got the same news to read in the morning with the citizens of London or Paris or Berlin, news, that has travelled during the night across the Atlantic, and 4000 miles across North America, and the telephone has united the inhabitants of even large cities so that they can talk as one family In June I arrived in Jackson Louisiana and found my Wife and child well. in July I started again to return to Edinburgh and take my Wife and child with me I was to go up the Mississippi river to St Louis and from that to Chicago by boat and Stage and from Chicago to Detroit by steamer on the upper Lakes there was no railways in those days. It was the month of August when I passed through

[#] This is either underlined or crossed out in the M.S.

the upper lakes the weather was damp and chilly. I intended to stop at Detroit and go into Ohio to see my Fathers family before going to New York to take the Packet for Liverpool. At Detroit my boy took what the Doctors called intermittant fever. On the third day he appeared to be better and the Doctors said I could go on to Ohio, that he would be well in a few 182 So I left Detroit on a Steam boat for Toledo where I took the canal to go to Fathers who lived about thirty miles from Toledo. before I reached Waterville on the Canal my boy got worse and died on the canal boat, I got out at Waterville to get a coffin for my child, and wait till it was made. there I hired a team to take myself Wife and child out to my Fathers and there I buried him, in a grave yard on my Fathers farm. where most of my Fathers family have been buried since This was a severe trial to my Wife but she bore the dispensation with Christian fortitude and in a week she was able to go with me to New York. where we took a sailing 183 Packet for Liverpool and arrived there in fourteen days and twelve hours. We had a fair wind all the way and sometimes a stiff breeze carrying us forward at the rate of 300 and sometimes 360 miles a day. We spent a few days in Liverpool Barnum was there stopping at the same Hotel, and was preparing to exhibit Tom Thum. who had crossed in the same Ship that we did on her preceeding voyage from New York. In a few days we started for Edinburgh by Railway and arrived there in September rented lodgings and sat down for two years hard study.

My Wifes health was improved by the sea voyage and I found myself in good health and spirit for studying, when the classes in the College opened. Dr Chalmers was Professor of Systematic Theology, Dr Welsh Church History, Dr Black Biblical Criticism, Dr Duncan of Hebrew and Dr Buchanan Pastoral Theology. Dr Fleming was also appointed to lecture on Geology in connection with the Mosaic account of the creation of the world Besides the regular Students who attended the Classes a number of gentlemen of leisure attended as amateur students, especially Theology and Geology; among these was Hugh Millar the celebrated Geologist and writer who edited the Edinburgh Witness that was the organ of the Free Church; The Cromasty

stone mason as he sometimes called himself might be seen in the after noon 185 coming into Dr Flemings class with the Shepherds Plaid and Highland bonnet on and after the lecture go up to the Professor and examine the specimens of Geology and converse with him on the subject of the lecture, At that time a book appeared called the vestigesof creation, supposed to be written by one of the Chambers of Edinburgh Professor Playfair in his lectures demolished the whole theory put forth by the author of the vestiges of creation concerning the creation of the world and the origin of man, and showing that the Mosaic account was perfectly consistent with Science when properly understood the Professor would take the students out on summer evenings and give them a practical lesson on the Geological formation of Arthurs seat and the hills around Edinburgh those lectures on Geology were 186 of great use to the Students in giving them correct views of the Mosaic account of the creation of the world which was then, beginning to be discussed by a certain class of Scientists who believed everything but the In the winter of 1845 the City of Edinburgh was greatly agitated bible. by a Delegation sent by the Abolition Society of the United States to Scotland to stir up the people against the Free Church because after the Disruption they had sent a Delegation to the United States to raise money to assist in building Churches for the congregations that had left the The Delegation in visiting the United States went as far establishment South as Virginia, South and received subscriptions there from Merchants 187 and others, the Abolitionists in the Northern States considered that money should not have been taken from any of the slave states for religious purposes, and they sent this delegation to Edinburgh with the "cry send back the money". The Delegation consisted of George Thompson the well known Abolition Lecturer in England, George B..... from Boston and Fredrick Douglas formerly a slave. The lectures were attended by crowded audiences Placards were put up everywhere the large hall was filled to overflowing. in the city crying send back the money. Children on the streets, when they saw a free Church minister they would cry to him "send back the maney" The question raised by the cry send back the money was one of casuistry 188

and this set the people to think and the Newspapers to write about what sort of money should be used for religious purposes. A large congregational Church in which one of the meetings was held had been built solely by the liberality of two West India Merchants who had been slave owners in the West Indies who had sold their slaves returned to Edinburgh with a large fortune, and with part of it built the Church. Other Churches had been assisted with funds obtained from the West Indies when slavery existed there, A pamphlet was written at the time by one of the Students called the Free Church and her accusers, in which the question was discussed when money received from slave owners, could be used how many hands must it pass through before it could be applied to religious purposes. The delegation from the Free Church had received large subscriptions from Merchants in Boston and New York who traded with the Southern Planters and supplied them with goods and Merchandise, was the money received from the Planters by the New York Merchant and given to the Delegation sancticied and fit for religious purposes? no objection however was raised by Mr Thompson and those with him against the reception of money from Northern Merchants. it was only when it was taken direct from the Planters, that the sin consisted as they expressed it. The Delegation from the United States had by some means learned that I was a slave owner, and was studying in the Free Church for a Minister I came in for a part of the abuse they were giving to the Ministers of the Free Church In one of their public meetings the Delegation stated that oneof the students attending the Free College was a slave I was not named but the Students all knew that I came from a Slave State and that my wife was the Daughter of a planter, I was not able then to explain my position. I was a Slave owner but there were legal difficulties in the way that I could not then set them free, but those difficulties were removed two years afterward when I gave them their freedom I told Dr Cuningham my position and said that I would go on the platform and explain my position but he advised me to say nothing, about it. I was abused in good company When a person is doing that which is right and gets abuse for it, he need be in no haste to vindicate his character it will

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vindicate itself. When Fredrick Douglas had heard two years after that I had given my slaves their freedom and brought them to Canada and planted a colony of freedmen there called the Elgin Settlement He came from Rochester New York called a public meeting in the settlement and apologized for the hard things he and others had said about me in Edinburgh he had been wrong informed with regard to my position. Ten years afterward I was able to vindicate my character before an Edinburgh audience at a public meeting called in the same Hall where I had been abused. the Ministers of Edinburgh and Professors of the College were on the platform and the Lord Provost in the Chair. When I explained to the meeting what I had done with my Slaves and what I was doing for the social and moral improvement of those slaves who had fled from the United States and found an Asylum in Canada A resolution was passed unanimously by the meeting approving of my conduct.

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In the summer I remained in Edinburgh and spent my time in reading and preparing for the winter session and assisting Dr Chalmers in the West Port mission visiting superintending the Sabbath School, and occasionally preaching The first session I preached was in West Port and Dr Chalmers often attended the afternoon session in West Port, but he was not present that afternoon that I preached but none of his students were afraid to speak before him he was kind in his criticism, and the student was perfectly at his ease when speaking afterwards I often spoke before him at the weekly committee meetings in West Port he would often call upon me to open the meeting with prayer and after the meeting in fine summer evening I often walked with him to Morningside about a mile and a half out of town, When sickness and death visited my family he was constant in his attentions often visiting my wife on her death bed talking kindly to her with regard to her Spiritual state, and when she died he assisted at the funeral The kindness which I received from him on that trying occasion will never be forgotten his sympathy and kind words were a great comfort to me in that painful Towards the close of the first year after we arrived in bereavement. Edinburgh my wife gave birth to a daughter After the birth of the Child my wife showed some symptoms of consumption, She went out one night in

November to hear Dr Chalmers, who was to preach in West Port and Baptise our child. The evening was damp and chilly. I brought her home from the Church in a Cab next day she complained of being unwell and coughed I sent for Doctor Simpson who came at once to see her. On a little. 195 examining her case he told me that she had consumption and that she would not live that both lungs were affected, and that she might probably live I asked him if a change of climate would not do her good. until spring. He informed me it would be of no use she was too far gone in the disease The only thing that could be done was to nurse her well, to recover. and keep her warm. I got a wet nurse to take care of her and the child. Sir James Simpson visited her regularly giving her such medicine as would alleviate pain. It was a great comfort to me to know that she was a decided Christian and had a saving interest in Christ. During her long 196 and painful illness she fully sustained the Christian character while a lingering consumption slowly wasted away her frame. Each succeeding day witnessed the gradual waning of life her mind continued calm and her faith firm in her Redeemer. The triumph of her faith was clear in the last dark hour enabling her in a peculiar manner to exemplify the Christian life by the Christian death on the 25th February 1846 she fell asleep in Jesus. I think her death was hastened by the sad news that she received in January of the sudden death of her Father in the 45th year of his age from a hemorage on the lungs, also at the same time she received an account of the death of an only brother to whom she was fondly attached; he fell 197 fighting in battle in the Mexican war under General Scott. The sad news of these two sudden and unexpected deaths, I think hastened her own death. She sank rapidly from the time she received the news. The death of my wife was a severe trial to me, as I was just finishing my theological studies in the College and preparing for my final examination but I was greatly comforted by the sympathy and Christian kindness of the Professors and students of the College who attended the funeral in a body and Dr Chalmers conducted the funeral Service. After the death of my wife my whole affection was placed on the Child now left the last of my family and the very image of her Mother her playful innocence had drawn my affection 198

strongly towards her, on coming from the Class she would stretch out her arms as soon as she saw me enter the door, to leave her nurse and come to me and quite contented when she got on my knee. But God who had given her to me as a pledge of our mutual love was soon to take her to Himself forever to be with her Mother in Heaven. My work was not done, I was to remain a while longer on Earth to finish the work he had given me to do. My family had all gone before me I will follow in the appointed time when we shall meet again in a land where death never comes, and where there is no sorrow and where there is no separation. My child who was growing well with her wet nurse was taken suddenly on the fifth of May with Hydrocephalus or water in the head and died on the ninth of May. All that the best Medical Skill could do for her was done, but it was of no avail, from the time the child was taken she had one convulsive fit after another until she expired. Dr Chalmers again performed the funeral service and went with me to Leist Cemetery where the child was laid in the same grave with its Mother to lie until the morning of the resurrection when they shall both rise together

alone Dr Chalmers kindly invited me to call upon him frequently without any ceremony and brekfast with him, especially on Wednesday morning when he gave his public breakfast, The Doctor was liberal in his hospitality, he filled the Apostles Command to the letter "Use hospitality without grudging". Mrs Chalmers was just as hospitable as the Dr himself and did the honours of the table well" It was a custom with the Doctor when a person called upon him with a letter of introduction and these letters he was receiving from all parts of the world especially in the summer when Ministers and Professors from America and the Continent were visiting Edinburgh, most of them would have letters of introduction to the Doctor and some who were distinguished and well known, such as Dr Beecher or Dr Ch.... when such persons visited Edinburgh in the summer they would call on the Doctor without an introduction and give him their card. When the Doctor would receive the letter or card of those visitors he would take

their name and address, and invite them to Breakfast on Wednesday morning

at nine oclock. He would hand in to Mrs Chalmers the number of persons

After the death of my child the last of my family and I was now left

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that he had invited to Breakfast on Wednesday, the dining room was large and could accommodate from fifty to sixty guests I have seen as many as sixty at a dinner party, which he gave on the 17th of March to the Irish Students on his Birthday (The Doctor was born on St Patricks day) often seen as many as twelve and sixteen there for Breakfast, and those breakfasts were equal to any that you would get at the best Hotels. When the guests were all assembled at nine oclock the Doctor would conduct family worship himself. The breakfast lasted from nine to eleven and the time was generally spent in eating drinking coffee and pleasant conversa-The Doctor would have something to say to every one of his guests; and in order that he might be able to name them when he wished to ask a question, he had a small card with the names of all the guests written on it he would hold it in his hand below the table where none would see it but himself. he would name the person he wished to speak with and then enter into conversation with him, in this way he would not mistake saying something to every one of his guests. A great deal of information was obtained at those breakfasts; as the guests were men of learning and from all parts of the world. It was at one of those breakfasts that I met Dr Daubigne, the author of the Reformation in Germany who was visiting Scotland for the first time 1846 He attended the General assembly that year of the Free Church, and Doctor Monad of Paris was with him and so great was the desire to hear Doctor Daubigne speak that half a Guinea was offered for tickets to hear him. The Doctor was apoor speaker of English and he apologised to his audience when he began, for the imperfect manner in which he spoke the English, but Doctor Monad of Paris, who could speak both the English and French well would prompt Doctor Daubigne when he would stop for an English word to express his meaning, The matter however was good and he was listened to with marked attention. In April 1846 I had finished my theological course and began to prepare for being Licensed by the Edinburgh Presbytery. there were five other students besides myself who had given in our names to the Free Church as Missionaries to the Foreign field and it was a remarkable coincident connected with the six

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students that had given in their names to go to the foreign field, they were the first sent out by the Free Church and they were all from different nations, one was from Ireland one from Scotland, one from England, one from Bombay, India one from Austria and one from the United States. Doctor G.... to remark in the Edinburgh Witness, that the Free Church was Licensing six young men from all nations and they were sending them to all nations. We were all Licensed the same day and preached on the following Sabbath in Edinburgh. I with Dr Gregg and Mr Hettis were sent to Canada one to Canada one to India one to Australia and one Austria as 206 a missionary to the Jews. I sailed from Liverpool in August for New York and went from New York to Louisiana before going to Canada. My Father in law had married a young wife since I had left the South his former wife having died some time before What changes had taken place in three years by the hand of death, I had lost my Wife and two children my Father in law had died and my Brother in law had fallen in battle, I had to introduce myself in the old homestead as a Stranger to my new Mother in law. I with Mrs Phares the new Wife had been left Executors of my Father in law's estate and I had to see before entering on my duties in Canada what condi-207 tion things were in, in the South both on my own and my Father in laws plantations. I could now see the dispensation which appeared so dark and mysterious to me at the time that I lost my whole family that it was preparing the way for me to manumit the slaves that were coming to me by inheritance. By my being appointed Executor of my Father in laws estate and the death of my own family I was left free to do what I pleased with all the slaves that belonged to me which I could not have done had my family been living By the Law of Louisiana my children had they lived would have inherited their Mothers property and I by their death I became 208 the legal heir and could do what I pleased with their property which I did in the following year, I manumitted their slaves with my own and brought them to Canada.

After making arrangements to settle up my Father in laws estates on the following year I returned to Canada and arrived in Toronto on the 16th of November a perfect stranger I went to the Wellington Hotel and sent a note to the College that I was ready to receive appointments. Knox

Church in Hamilton was vacant by the removal of Mr Gale, the former Pastor to Toronto. I was appointed to preach there on the next two I remained in the Toronto Presbytery preaching during the winter 209 in all the vacant Stations in one or two of the Stations the people intended to give me a call. But as soon as I understood that I told the people I could not accept a call none of the Presbytery knew that I was a slave owner, I had to mamumit them before I could receive a call. In May I received a letter from Mrs Phares requesting me to go to Louisiana and wind up the affairs of the [e] state. The secret that I had kept with regard to my position, had now to be made known. I would have to resign my commission, and tell the Presbytery that I was the owner of a plantation and slaves in Louisiana. When the Presbytery met I informed them of my 210 position The news fell like a bomb shell on the members of the Presbytery. I told the Presbytery that there had been legal difficulties in the way, that I could not manumit them but those difficulties were now resolved and I was going South to set them free and bring them into Canada. Some of the members were greatly excited Dr Burns and Mr Gale were quite calm and said I was taking the only right course and asked me how long I would be gone. I told them I would be gone about a year, and in the meantime I would hand in my commission to the Presbytery, and would write to convenor of the foreign mission in Edinburgh that I had resigned my commission with 211 the understanding that when I went South and manumitted my slaves and brought them to Canada that I would take my position again as their missionary. I had engaged for three years and I would fulfil my contract, but I was going south now and I did not know what might befall me and should anything happen to prevent me from carrying out my intention the free Church would suffer no reproach on my account for I was no longer a member of that Church. I left Canada in May 1847 to go South by the way of Ohio intending to call and see my Father and the family before going to Louisiana. At my Fathers I received a letter informing me that the yellow fever was raging in the South and that it would not be safe for me to go 212 down before frost, which generally came about October. I would now have

to remain where I was for three or four months, and the people in the settlement had no regular preaching since they settled there. They had been there twelve years and no Presbyterian minister had ever visited them during that time and as there were several Presbyterian families had settled there besides my Fathers family they invited me to preach for them while I remained so I began and preached for them during the summer using the barn on my Fathers farm for a Church The people began to see the 213 necessity of building a Church and getting a minister I advised them to get up a subscription list and see how much they could raise to build a Church and I would go to the Presbytery which I understood met in Fort Finlay in the month of September and present it, with a Petition, signed by Presbyterians and adherents requesting the Presbytery to send a missionary to Delta and the adjoining townships. The people got up a subscription list to build a Church and a petition to the Presbytery signed by Presbyterians and adherents. It was about 100 mides south of Delta where the Presbytery met. I rode on horse back to the Presbytery and laid the petition before them and described to them the spiritual destitution of that part of the State There was not a single Presbyterian missionary then North of the Maumu river in the State of Ohio The ten mile strip south of Michigan was then in dispute between Ohio and Michigan The country was quite new and few settlers in it; The strip of ten miles was claimed by Ohio and finally Ohio got it. After that the land came into her possession the country soon filled up with settlers As the land was in dispute none of the Churches had given themselves trouble in sending missionaries into it. The Presbytery after hearing my Statement agreed to send a missionary to Delta and the adjoining Counties and open mission Stations wherever he could find Presbyterians for that purpose Mr Crab was sent by the Presbytery and through his labours the Church was erected and the congregation was formed in Delta As I was the only permanent preacher in the settlement, all the people would turn out in fine weather to hear me and by the time I was ready to leave I had a fair congregation in the barn. I left Ohio in the latter part of October and arrived in Louisiana in the first week in November I spent the winter in

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The young Widow who was executrix with me expected that I would settle down in the south become a Planter put an overseer on the Plantation, take a Church and preach to the Planters. I often preached during the winter, I spent several weeks in New Orleans, Attended the Louisiana Presbytery and preached for Dr Scott who was the popular minister in New Orleans. the Presby tery gave me to understand that I could easily get one of the City Churches Dr Scott was about to leave for San Francisco, he had visited me in Edinburgh while studying there under Dr Chalmers, and he gave me a higher recommendation than I deserved, the congregation however had heard me and were pleased with my preachings I told Mr Scot that I was not open to a Call, that I had engaged with the Free Church of Scotland to serve in Canada as their missionary for three years, and that I was now in Louisiana on private business and when that was settled I would return to Canada and fulfil my engagement

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217 I found my own plantation in rather a bad state. The cotton crop had been destroyed during two years by the Army worm that great pest of the cotton plant they are so numerous when they come that a large field of cotton will be eaten bare with them in a few days. The expenses were going on and nothing raised. My Merchant in New Orleans had advanced \$1000 Dollars which I had to pay. I sold the plantation stock and farming implements and paid the debt, and I placed the Negroes on Dr Phares plantation until I would be able to take them with me to Canada in Spring. My Father in laws Estate consisted of two plantations, one in East near 218 Jackson and the other on the banks of the Miss on the west side near the mouth of Red River. I had often to drive between those two Plantations during the winter and Mrs Phares generally went with me. The family carriage with the driver was given to me for my use, until the home stead would be disposed of. We had an adventure, that nearly cost both of us our lives. One day we left in the carriage from the plantation near Jackson to go to the other on the west side of the Miss River expecting to reach there before dark but the road was heavy, and night came on when we reached a swamp on the East side of the river several miles in extent 219 with no houses in it and a very imperfect road leading through the swamp

to the river. The night was dark, the driver missed the road and took a blind cow path that led to a creek with a steep bank, and four or five feet of water in the bottom The horses soon reached the bank and stopped suddenly with their head looking into the creek had the horses taken another step or had the crumbling soil given way beneath their feet we would all have been precipated headlong into the creek, where we would unless by a miracle have met with certain death. The driver at once pulled the horses back from their dangerous position, and went, while I held them, to look for the right road, which in the dark was hard to find, and the mosquitoes were thick and filled the carriage and rendered our situation very unpleasant and what rendered our situation still more unpleasant was the thought, that we might have to spend the night in the swamp in the midst of the mosquitoes, if the road could not be found. We might have made out to have staid in the carriage which was covered and close with two seats inside and lined with Morocco with the driver's seat outside. Mrs Phares had her child with her about a year old, and for us to have spent the night in the swamp with the mosquitoes would almost have been death although the night was warm enough. The driver who had gone in search of the road, returned in about half an hour with the glad news that he had found the right road and he thought that we were not far from the river. We got the horses turned into what proved to be the right road and about one mile from the river which we soon reached. But here our trouble was not at an end. We had to cross the river in a scow, the Plantation was on the west side of the river opposite the Ferry but it was now late, and nothing would induce the ferry man to take us across with the carriage and horses, the danger was that we might be run down with a steamboat in the dark. There was no accommodation for us to stay all night at the Ferry house and to have staid there all night in the carriage would have been almost as bad as to stay in the swamp. After some coaxing and paying a good price I gotthe Ferry man to take Mrs Phares and myself across in a skiff. I could see from the Ferry the lights on the Plantation on the West side. The river was falling and on the west side there was a sand bank between the river and the shore.

was covered with a deposit of soft mud four inches deep, left by the river

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the ferry man left us on the sand bank to make the best of our way to the shore and turned hastily away with his skiff before we could remonstrate with him for leaving us in such a situation. I took the child in my arms and we started across the sand bank, we had not gone many yards until Mrs Phares lost both her shoes in the mud, she had come away with kid slippers and silk stockings not expecting to have any walking to do. She pushed on bravely without the slippers. I had a pair of prunella boots on they did not come off but they were covered outside and filled inside with the soft mud We arrived at the plantation at 11 oclock where my sister in law was staying at that time, nothing the worse after the nights adventure in the Mississippi swamp.

It was friday night that I arrived at the plantation, and I was to remain there over the Sabbath I was asked to preach in a School house that stood on the bank of the river about two miles from the plantation, there was no village nor Church in the neighbourhood. I agreed to preach on Sabbath at 11 eleven oclock; word was sent to the plantations for three miles round and on Sabbath morning a good congregation had gathered from all parts some in Canoes but most of them on horseback. You would generally find at a country congregation as many horses hitched outside as there were humans inside It was customary when the service was over for the young men of the congregation to see the young Ladies mounted first and often times the young men would escort the young ladies home. I was taken to the place in a skiff the day was fine and the woods were vocal with the feathered songsters especially the Mocking bird The house was well filled with a very respectable and intelligent congregation After the Sermon I stopped and conversed with the people who had assembled to hear me, I found many of them young men from the North who had received a liberal education and came South to better their wor I dly circumstances many of them would marry rich wives and settle down as Planters. and whatever their views may have been before they came there they soon became when they married and settled there, the strong supporters of Slavery. Such was the corrupting influence the System had on the minds of young men. I made arrangements to sell the plantation on the river to a planter in the neighbourhood. and

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had the slaves removed to the homestead near Jackson and I returned there with Mrs Phares a few days afterward. I now hastened to wind up the affairs of both Plantations Spring was now advanced and I wished to get back to Canada by the latter part of May and attend the Synod which would meet in Toronto in the first week in June. By the middle of April the business was so far settled that the Widow and each of the heirs sould get the property coming to them which consisted mostly in Slaves I received the number coming to me by my Wife, and put them along with my own on Dr Phares plantation. Up to this time, I had said nothing to any of the family what I intended to do with mine I had not hired them out. I had sold my plantation and I was not purchasing another. It was generally believed that I would marry the young Widow and settle down on a plantation. However I was soon forced to divulge the secret. I was offered \$9000 Dollars for my Negroes I said they were not for sale Dr Phares on whose plantation they then were wished to hire them and offered me \$900 Dollars a year as wages for them. The Dr was a Brother of my Father in law. I told him frankly I was going to take them with me to Canada. The Doctor knew that meant freedom, and he replied that he thought that was my intention, as he saw I was making no preparation for planting. I then revealed to him my plans and gave my Negroes in charge to him until I was prepared to remove them. I had confidence in him that he would act honourably with me. I said the first thing I wanted him to do was to give me a bill of sale for these that were coming to me by inheritance which he did at once I then called all my slaves up to Dr Phares and told them that in two weeks I was going to leave, for Canada and would take them with me the journey was long and I wished them to be ready by that time. They seemed not to understand what was meant by going to Canada most of them thought it was some new plantation that I had purchased and I was going to take them to it; I then explained to them that Canada was a free country that there were no slaves there and that when we reached that Country I would give them their freedom, and place them on farms where they would have to support themselves by their own industry. Until I was ready to start they would have a holiday to visit their friends and to prepare for the journey. The good news seemed to have

little effect upon them. They had come to consider that slavery was their normal condition. They did not know what freedom meant they thought that to be free was to be like their master, to go idle, and have a good time Dr Phares who was present at the Interview, and to whom I had committed the care of my slaves until I could take them away, said that he would see that 230 they were ready on the day appointed to leave, I told him that I was going to New Orleans, to engage their passage on one of the Steam boats running between New Orleans and Cincinnatti and that the boat would call at Bayou Sara on the 5th of May and take them on board. He promised to me that he would see that the negroes and their Baggage were at Bayou Sara on the day the boat called there. I intended starting the next day for New Orleans but was detained by the following incident. One of my slaves had married a woman in my absence in Edinburgh the woman belonged to the Estate of my Father in law and had a child two years old in the division of the slaves, the woman fell to me but the child fell to another of the heirs, not supposing that I was going to remove my slaves from the South the division 231 would have made no inconvenience had I remained, but now when it was understood that I was going to Canada with them and that the mother must leave her child never to see it again. She came to me with tears and asked if I would not buy her child that she might take it with her, the heir had agreed to sell it for \$150. I told her that I did not see it my duty to buy children and set them free. However the woman was so distracted about leaving her child that I bought it. Here is the bill of sale. a curious document in its way. He is warranted to me to be a slave for life although I was going to set him free in a few weeks - (Solomon)

I went to New Orleans and engaged with one of the Steam Boats going to Cincinnatti to call at Bayou Sara and take fifteen slaves that belonged to me, to Cincinnatti on my way to Canada. On the 5th of May 1845 I arrived at Bayou Sara and found all the negroes at the Randing waiting for the Boat. Dr Phares had sent them down in two wagons with his overseer and the Doctor rode with them to see them safely put on board, when the boat landed the negroes went on Board with their children and baggage amid a crowd of spec tal tors who had gathered to see me start with my

negroes to Canada. Some of the planters present had slaves there who had gone without their knowledge or consent. When they were all on 233 board the Captain rang the bell and the steamer started, on the upward We had now a journey of 1500 miles through a slave country 1000 miles on the Mississippi river with slavery on both sides of the river and 500 miles on the Ohio with slavery on the south side of the river. current is between three and four miles an hour and it took us five days to reach Cincinnatti. Among the passengers there was a number of Planters, who seeing the Negroes running about without any restraint, and when the Boat would stop to take in wood the men would come and ask me if they 234 might go ashore I told them to go only to come on board before the boat would start, and they were always sure to do so one of the planters observing, the freedom that I gave them said to me that I was careless about my slaves was I not afraid they would run away. I said they were too much attached to me to leave me. There was a minister on board from New Orleans who was going North to spend the summer, he was a jolly good natured fellow who took the world easy, said to me when he knew that I was going to set my negroes free said that I was foolish. I should place them on a plantation and preach to them, they would minister to you in carnal things and you would sanctify the institution of slavery by administering to them in 235 Spiritual things. When I arrived at Cincinnatti I had to wait several days before I could get a boat to take me to Toledo by the canal, the Packet boat refused to take me with the other passengers, and I had to wait to get freight boat, While waiting for the boat some abolitionists, called on them and asked where they were going. Stephen one of my old faithful slaves said he did not know he was going with his Master wherever he was going, He told Stephen I was going to take them to a slave state and sell them. Stephen replied my Master has brought us 1500 miles from

(240) 239 and if he had been going. to sell us he would have sold us there.

New Orleans (see page 240, 237, 8 & 9

I received a passage for them in a freight boat that carried merchandise on the Warbash and Erie Canal, intending to go myself to Toledo by the Packet boat that carried passengers only. My slaves came and begged me not to leave them they were afraid to go alone, I consented to go with them although the Captain of the boat said the accommodation was poor but he would do the best he could with me There was only one small cabin and all hands with the Captain slept there. The negroes had plenty of bed clothes of their own and they made themselves comfortable in the hold of the boat. The hands on those canal boats as well as those on the Steamers

see page 237

(237) 236

236 on the Western waters are a rough set of men their besetting sins are
Profamity and drinking they can scarcely speak a sentence without an oath.

I found the hands on the boat very civil to me. They refrained from using
profame language in my presence and on the first night before retiring I
asked the Captain if he had any objections to my having prayers before
going to bed he at once said that he had no objection and that he and his
hands would attend The freight boats on the canal go slowly from two to
three miles an hour. A person could walk faster than the boat and as the
Weather was fine I spent most of the day walking on the two path The
237 negroes would also go out and walk, in passing the villages on the canal

(238) 23

megroes would also go out and walk, in passing the villages on the canal the people would come out and gaze on the negroes supposing them to be runaways from the south making their way to Canada. The State of Ohio borders on the slave states. The Ohio river separating it from Kentucky and Virginia In the days of slavery there were several lines of the underground railway ran through the State of Ohio. The Southern terminus was on the Ohio river and the Northern terminus was at Amhirstburgh and Windsor

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When a negro crossed the Ohio river making his escape from Slavery he was placed on that rail road and the conductors ran him safely through to Canada - 238 many of the passengers by the underground rail way found their way to Buxton as one of the cities of refuge, where the slave could stand and say I am free from my master which he could not say in any part of the United States or territory. The fugitive slave law pursued him with its remorseless grasp until he got beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. On the third day after leaving Cincinnatti we arrived at Toledo, from that I proceeded to my Brothers in Delta where I left my slaves with him until I could make arrangements to take them to Canada see Page 241

(241) 240

I left Ohio and proceeded to Canada where Imet with a warm reception from the members of the Toronto Presbytery, I had left them twelve months

before under a cloud. I was then a slave owner; but I had now freed them and brought them to Canada. This fact had been made known long before I arrived in Canada. The Southern papers had published what I had done. The Boston and New York papers had republished it with very favourable comments. The Canada papers had published the facts, in my case with leading articles, on the evils of slavery and the degraded condition of 241 those fugitives who had escaped from slavery, and found an Asylum in Canada and that something should be done to improve their social and moral condition The wide spread notice of what I had done published in the Canadian papers, awakened public attention, to the condition of those fugitives now living in Canada I believed that those persons who had escaped from Slavery, when placed in favourable circumstances, were able and willing to support themselves and to become respectable members of society and to accomplish that I believed it was necessary to provide them with homes 242 where the parents could support themselves by their own industry and their children with the blessings of a Christian education. Three things were necessary for that end, land, to place the families upon. A Church where they could assemble on Sabbath and hear the Gospel and a day school where the children could receive a good Christian education. The land would be required to be secured in a large block. by a company and kept for coloured settlers the Church and school provided and supported in the first place by 243 the Church The land not to be given to them but sold to them at a nominal price to be paid for in ten annual instalments with interest, and when paid for they were to receive a title to it in fee simple when they would have a home of their own and paid for by themselves This is a brief outline of that plan which I proposed for the social and moral improvement of the coloured people in Canada The synod of the Presbyterian Church met in Toronto in June. I was a member of the Synod. at one of the meetings I brought the moral state of the fugitives in Canada before the Synod, how 244 they were living in that low state of moral degradation in which slavery had left them and that something should be done to improve their social and moral condition. The memorial was favourably received by the Synod and the following Committee was appointed to consider the memorial and to

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report at future Session, namely the Rev Mr McMillan Convenor Dr Burns Mr Sutherland, Mr Cheyne Mr Peden and Mr Linsey Ministers, and Mr Fisher and Mr Burns Elder On the following day the Committees Report was received and sustained and after deliberation the Synod adopted the following deli-"That the Synod as a spiritual body cannot originate or conduct any Scheme of settlement for the coloured population, but that the y think favourably of Mr Kings proposal, and are ready to appoint a committee to cooperate with him in bringing the object before the public, with the view of an Association being formed for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions to the object and they recommend that Mr King and the Committee shall communicate with Hon James H. Price, the Commissioner of Crown lands on the subject of a settlement on one of the Crown locations in the West, they 246 also resolve to bring the matter before the Colonial Committee of the free Church of Scotland with the view of Mr Kings appointment by them as a missionary to the coloured people in the Province. The following committee with power to add to their number, were charged with these measures, and the members at or near London were constituted an advisory, such committee for Mr King namely The Moderator Dr Burns Mr Essex Mr Gale Mr Robb Mr Cheyne Mr King ministers. Mr Davidson Mr Fisher, Mr Kennedy Mr Redpath Mr Mathison Elders and with the following Gentlemen not members of Synod as associated Members. Mr Fraser Mr Michis Mr Clark London Mr J S How and Mr Laidlaw and John Shaw Toronto. Having obtained the sanction of the Synod to my scheme for the social and moral improvement of the coloured refugees in Canada, the next step was to get the approval of the Government. Should they offer any opposition the scheme could not be carried out. I was appointed with the Rev William Rinstead and John Redpath of Montreal to wait on Lord Elgin then Governor General of Canada and obtain his approval of the The Committee waited on his Lordship at the Government house and were graciously received by him. I briefly outlined the object of our visit and the scheme which we proposed to establish for the social and moral improvement of the coloured fugitives in Canada. He heard the statement of the committee and entered into conversation on the subject, and was interested in the scheme and promised the aid of Government in obtaining the lands for the settlement The Committee waited at the same time on Mr Price the

Commissioner of Crown Land who informed us that large quantities of crown lands could be obtained in the west of Ontario. Maps were furnished me by the Crown Land department containing lands in Essex Kent and Lambton well adapted for (agricultural) purposes and heavily covered with valuable timber. I was appointed by the Synod to look for a suitable locality to form the Settlement and with the above named committee to form a company to purchase the lands selected. Having visited several tracts of Crown and Clergy reserve lands in the western part of Ontario In company with the Commissioner of Crown lands who at that time was visiting the different Agencies in the West, I selected a block of Clergy Reserve lands in the township of Raleigh County of Kent containing 9,000 acres, heavily covered with valuable timber. On receiving my report the Committee opened the following prospectus, Prospectus of a Scheme for the Social and moral improvement of the coloured people of Canada

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The committee having taken into consideration, the peculiar circumstances in which the coloured people came into the Province and the debasing influence exerted by slavery on their character, and having held extensive correspondence with gentlemen in various parts of the Province and of different religious denominations who are known to have an interest in this matter, have come to the conclusion, that it is highly important to the successful operation of a Christian mission among this class of people, that a tract of land be purchased and a settlement formed in a suitable locality consisting entirely of coloured persons, placed under a careful and judicious supervision, they are also of opinion that a tract of unoccupied land containing about 9,000 acres lying in the Township of Raleigh in the Western District presents greater advantages as regards, soil, climate, and nearness to market, and adaptation to the physical constitution and habits of the coloured race, than any other that has come within our view.

The committee after a careful examination of the whole subject, have resolved to submit to the Christian public, a proposal to form an Association, under such a name as may be afterwards agreed upon, for purchasing the tract of land above referred to in order that it may be opened for settlement by people of color and to solicit for this purpose the aid of all who are

desirous to promote the improvement of this long neglected and deeply injured race. The sum necessary to effect this purchase is about £4,000 it is proposed to raise this sum in shares of ten pounds each, one tenth of the subscription to be paid in hand and the remainder in nine equal annual instalments with interest so far as it may be necessary that the stock may be paid but it is probable that not more than four instalments will be required, as soon as the stock is subscribed it is proposed to call the stock holders together in order to appoint officers for the Association and to make arrangements for the immediate settlement of the lands.

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The entire management as to the terms of settlement, and the financial concerns of the Association will continue in the hands of the stock holders, and he administered by those whom they may appoint. The only conditions which the committee propose are that the lands shall be exclusively reserved for colour ed settlers and sold to them on the lowest terms which will remunerate the stock holders for their expenditure.

As the object of this effort is one of pure benevolence undertaken solely with the view of improving the social and religious condition of the coloured people in Canada we confidently expect and earnestly solicit, the sympathy and aid of the Christian community in behalf of it.

Michel Willis P D Chairman of the Committee (Presd) Alexander Gale Secretary of the Committee

We whose names are subscribed having carefully considered the above scheme, proposed by the Presbyterian Church for the religious improvement of the coloured people of Canada fully approve of its object and earnestly recommend it to the countenance and support of the Christian public.

John Raaf Minister
R B Sullivan Judge
E W Thompson
James Piper Minister
Enoch Wood Minister
J S Howard Treasurer
James Dougall Windsor
John Redpath Montreal

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The above Prospectus was widely circulated and the stock was soon all subscribed, and the stock holders were called together and an Association was formed under the name and title of the Elgin Association, in honour of Lord Elgin then Governor of Canada and who was a warm friend of the Association. A constitution was also adopted. A President two vice Presidents and a treasurer secretary and twenty four directors were appointed.

Judge Connor of Toronto was appointed the first President and Dr Willis and Dr Burns the two vice Presidents J S Howard, Treasurer and Nathan Gaschell secretary. I was appointed managing Director with, a committee at Chatham of which the Hon Archibald McKellar was Chairman.

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When the Association was formed the report was spread that I intended to purchase a block of land in Raleigh township for the purpose of settling it with fugitives from the United States, the wildest rumours were circula-It was reported that I had chartered a vessel and intended to bring ted. in a shipload of coloured persons from the United States and settle them in Canada in the Township of Raleigh I had visited the Township of Raleigh before purchasing the land, and preached two Sabbaths in Chatham, I was very popular but when it was known that I intended to settle a colony of coloured persons in the Township my popularity fell rapidly the next time I visited the Town I got the cold shoulder* scarcely any one would speak to me one man came to me when I was riding down King Street on horseback and told me as a friend that my life was in danger, and that I should not expose myself after dark in the town. I told him that I was not afraid, and that I intended to speak in the Presbyterian Church on Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock and if any one had anything to say against me I would meet them on the platform. On the night of the meeting the Church was filled half an hour before eight o'clock. Mr McKellar acted as Chairman about three quarters of an hour, and got an attentive hearing after I had finished speaking I gave an opportunity to any one in the audience who wished to speak, to come on the platform, but none came up. those who attended the meeting were coloured, twelve of them who had heard

^{* &}quot;I got the cold shoulder" is an insertion, and is placed in the M.S. between "the" and "Town".

of the threats made against my life, had come to the meeting armed as I understood afterwards, and when Mr McKellar and I left they followed us in the dark until they saw us both safe at Mr McKellars house with whom Although no one opposed me at the public meeting, after I had left the town, a requisition was got up and signed by influential citizens and handed to the Sherriff requesting him to call a public meeting, with the view of preventing a coloured man from purchasing a home in the Township of Raleigh. A meeting was called for the 18th of August, and in the mean time a memorial was got up written in not very respectful language to the Coloured people, and signed by 400 citizens. A copy was sent to the Covernor General and one to the Commissioner of Crown lands, and one to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church with a letter threatening my life if I should settle the coloured people in Raleigh. On my way to Toronto I met with the Sheriff in the stage who handed me the requisition calling the meeting, who also informed me of what the enemies of the coloured persons were doing. I told the sherrif that I would be at the meeting and meet my accusers face to face I was doing nothing contrary to law and only claimed for the coloured people what they had a right to by the constitution.

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After transacting some business in Toronto connected with the Elgin Association I returned to Windsor by the lakes and arrived there by boat on the evening of the 17th August intending to go to Chatham next morning by the boat that plied between Windsor and Chatham But to my dismay I found the boat was disabled in her machinery and would not run for a couple of days The meeting was to take place the next day at two oclock, and I was 50 miles from the place of meeting I went to the Livery Stable and 260 hired a horse and buggy and travelled all night and arrived at Chatham in the morning of the 18th I found Mr George Young the Magistrate of Harwich at Mr McKellars swearing in twelve special constables, to keep the peace as trouble was expected at the meeting; This was the first time that I met with Mr Young who was strongly opposed to me on that occasion on the ground that he thought coloured settlers would retard the growth of the Township as they wanted both capital and enterprise to develope the natural resources of the township. He was no enemy to the coloured people only he

But when I had purchased the land and begun the settlement he became a warm friend of mine and continued so until his death. others also who had signed the memorial to the Government, requesting the commission of Grown lands not to sell any lands to me for a coloured settlement repented afterwards when they saw that the settlers were sober and industrious, making to themselves comfortable homes in the forest came unto me and requested me to take their names off the memorial, which I had. I told them I would give them the same chance as a sinner if they repented of what they had done I would forgive them and a black stroke was drawn across their signature in the memorial.

Both Lord Elgin after whom the Society was called and myself were at that time very unpopular. His Lordship had the Parliament House burned over his head and he was driven from Montreal and his carriage rotten egged by a howling mob. My life was threatened if I attempted to settle a colony of coloured people in Raleigh; The town of Chatham began to be filled at twelve oclock with a crowd from different parts of the Western District. They met at two oclock in a large barn in the rear of the Royal Exchange there was no town hall in those days. The meeting was organised by calling George Young to the chair and appointing Walter McRae Secretary. The resolution calling the meeting was read but the object for which the meeting was called was omitted, I asked the chairman the object for which the meeting was called after some hesitation he said it was called to prevent coloured men from purchasing land in the Township of Raleigh, I asked him if the coloured man had a right to purchase a home in Raleigh, he said he had a right, I then asked him if they had any power to prevent him, he said they had none, then said I this meeting is called to do an illegal act and I protest against the whole proceedings of this meeting as illegal, and if any disturbance should arise, as it is feared there would from the excited state of the public mind you will be held responsible for it. I began to speak, but the crowd was so great that the barn could not contain them, and a cry was raised to adjourn the meeting to the front of the Exchange and for the chairman and speakers to go up into the balcony. The meeting

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adjourned and the Chairman and speakers went up to the Balcony in front 264 of the Exchange, and I went up with them. Mr McKellar was the only man in Chatham, then who had the moral courage to stand beside me while I was advocating the right of a coloured man to purchase a home in the township of Raleigh. The crowd became noisy, and would not let me speak. Mr Larwell said I was a Yankee, and had no right to speak, I said I was a British subject, owned property in the Township, paid taxes and had a right to speak I had come 200 miles to attend this meeting and they could not 265 put me down Besides I am from London Derry and London Derry never did surrender, several influential persons at the meeting insisted that I should be heard. Dr Robison insisted that I should be allowed to speak and that he would answer me. I was then allowed ten minutes. in which I briefly explained the object of the Elgin Association and the effect a colony of sober industrious coloured men would have on developing the natural resources of the Township. by improving the wild lands and, making them valuable, increase the taxes and add to the wealth of the Township. and would also benefit the farmers in the neighbourhood. which was actually the case, when 266 the coloured people began to settle and clear up the wild land all the farms in the neighbourhood began to rise in value. The meeting after I had spoken passed several resolutions, among these was the following which speaks for itself -

That a committee of Vigilance be appointed to note the proceedings of the Elgin Association and from time to time to give publicity to such matters as they may deem useful in carrying out the object of this meeting and also to prepare Petitions for presentation to Parliament and that the following gentlemen compose such committee John Crow Edwin Larwell, Walter McRae, John G. Weir and William D. Eberts; and that the counsellors of Raleigh, Harwich, Chatham and Dover be requested to advance an equal sum out of their respective township funds. to said Committee for defraying the expenses of stationary printing postage and for the use of the same. The above committee was to watch my movements, get up petitions, and send them down to Parliament at its first meeting. Before the Parliament met however I in company with Judge Connor and Charles Berry Post master Toronto,

purchased the lands paid the first instalment on them and held the lands 268 as Trustees, until an act of Parliament could be obtained which was got on the 10 August 1850. By thus securing the lands the enemy was defeated, and the Committee appointed at the public meeting were unable to prevent me from forming the settlement. Still their opposition did not cease. When they heard that I had secured the land they were determined to prevent me from settling coloured persons on it, and what they could not do legally they determined to do by mob violence. The Government Agent Dr McMullin lived in Sandwich. and he had agreed to come to Raleigh and show me the lands, and I had appointed a surveyor from Chatham Mr Parr to meet me and the Agent on a certain day on the lands Mr Parr was to come 269 from Chatham the Agent and I would go from Sandwich by the middle road and meet at the same place. Mr Parr who was unfriendly both to me and the coloured people informed, the Committee, that I would be at the lands with the Agent on a certain day to have the boundary of the block of land laid off. The committee with a number of Roughs came out to drive us off the land, But Dr McMullin took ill the day before we were to go out and could not go, and would not be able the Doctor said to go before eight days. sent word that I could not go in consequence of the Agents illness. Mr Larwell, with the Roughs and the surveyor went there and spent the day 270 in drinking and threatening what they would do to me should I appear on the A few coloured men in Chatham who had heard of the threats, made against me by Larwell and others went out armed to the land under the pretext of hunting as it was the full season but really to protect me from violence should any be offered, they continued all day on the land hunting Had I come out that day there probably would have been bloodshed. But I was providently saved from it by the sickness of the Agent The coloured people were determined to fight should I be attacked, A collision with the people at that time would in all probability have proved fatal to our cause I had to counsel them to be patient and suffer rather than fight; 271 I remained at Sandwich until the Agent got able to go with me to Raleigh. I sent the surveyor word to meet me He informed the Committee again of the day that I would be at the lands. But the Committee did not believe

him and did not come. So I was permitted to run the boundary of the land in peace. When informed of the treachery of the surveyor I paid him off and employed another who remained with me until I divided the block into lots of 50 acres each and prepared it for settlement. I purchased 100 acres in the middle road and moved unto with my coloured servants. was owned by Mr William White and was one of the oldest cleared farms on 272 the middle road. about 25 acres were cleared and seven were in Wheat, farm was situated about the middle of the block of land that I had purchased The middle road ran through the block from East to West and was settled with white persons, by Col. Talbot, who had settled, the whole middle road from Alhora to Sandwich with British subjects. The road was laid off as a Military road Col Talbot had received the land on each side of the road for settlement with British subjects, The settlers had to take the oath of Allegiance to Britain when the Colonel gave them a certificate to settle on 100 acres situated on the side of the road; on which the settler was to put up a log cabin 18 x 24 and clear ten acres, when a title would be given him to the land in fee simple. The road was cleared gravelled and made by the Government as a military road and settled on each side with British subjects, so that in the event of war the Government would have a good road through the Forest, with friendly people on each side of it. With the exception of the 100 acres on each side of the road settled with white persons, all the rest of the Block of land that I had purchased was one unbroken forest covered with oak, ash, Hickory, Elm, and some Walnut. of the oak trees were of large growth 80 and 90 feet high and four feet in Diameter. The block of land was six miles long and three miles wide, extending from lot six to lot twelve and from concession 7 in the North to the rear of the lake lots South containing eighteen square miles, In laying off the land for settlement, a road was run from the North to the South and of the block sixty feet wide and running between lots nine and ten cutting the concession lines at right angles, this was called the centre road. The concession lines were then marked out and the 200 acres lying between the concession lines were then divided into four lots of 50 acres each, one end of each lot resting on a concession line on that end resting on the concession

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line, the settler was to put up a log house 18 x 24 feet and 12 feet high with four rooms two below and two above, and set back from the concession 50 feet, with a small garden and picket fence in front, to give a neat 275 appearance to the lot: four of those that I set free stayed with me as servants, and the rest I placed on farms to support themselves, these formed the Neuclis of the settlement other fugitives soon began to flock into the settlement from the U States by the operation of the Fugitive Slave law, which was passed in 1850 The most iniquitous law passed by Congress in favour of slavery The concessions formerly made to the slave power by the North only increased their demand for greater privileges. The Missouri compromise, which had been made to confine slavery on the North was broken and cast to the winds. and the slave holders demanded the power to carry their slaves every where The Fugitive slave law was enacted to enable them to hunt for their slaves in free States and compel the North to assist them in catching them and sending them back into slavery and should any person in the free States lodge, or feed, or clothe, a slave making his escape to Canada or aid him in any way knowing him to be a slave such person was liable to be fined 1,000 Dollars, The enforcement of this law was galling to the North and rendered it very unsafe for any slave who had escaped many years before the passing of this law, and was living in the free States in safety. They could no longer do so after the passing of the law the slave owner had power to go into the free States and take them away with all the children that were born to them and all the property that they had acquired in the free State. It was only necessary for the Master to prove that the person claimed by him was formerly his slave, The person claimed had no power to defend himself: the trial of jury was denyed him he was carried before a commissioner, who got ten dollars if he delivered him to the person claiming him, but if the commissioner declared the evidence not sufficient and gave him his liberty he only got five Dollars. There were some heart rending cases. occurred in enforcing the act, that in many places aroused the feelings of the Antislavery spirit in the North to resist the surrender of the fugitives At Christiana Lancaster Co Pa, where a number of negroes were comfortably

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situated Edward Garsuch a Maryland slave holder who attempted with two or three accomplishes to seize his alleged slaves four in number was resisted by the alarmed and indignant blacks and received a ball from a musket fired by one of them which proved fatal and his son who accompanied him was wounded. The slaves made their escape and one of them who fired the fatal shot made his way to me in Canada, with his family entered one of the lots and became a peaceful sober and industrious settler. Slave hunting became a profitable business along the boarder States and Canada 279 any person who would give such evidence concerning a slave who was living in the free states as would [lead] to his surrender would get from two to three hundreds* from the master who claimed him. Those slave hunters made it their business wherever a coloured person was living to know if he had ever been a slave, and who was his master. On discovering these facts. the master was soon found and the slave was sent back. Daniel Ducket a slave who had escaped from Kentucky many years before the passage of the fugitive slave law and settled in Michigan and by his industry had purchased a farm and had it well stocked it was well known in the neighbourhood that he had been a slave and who his master was A slave hunter who had ascer-280 tained the facts wrote to his master to come and claim him. master arrived the slave got wind of what was going on, took two of his horses and fled to Canada bringing with him 200 Dollars The person who betrayed Ducket (but he did not know that he was his betrayer) volunteered to come to Canada with him and rode one of his Horses They both came to me one afternoon and Ducket stated his case I told him to remain with me and he was safe he agreed to do so and to settle with me on one of the lots, he handed me also the 200 Dollars that he had to keep for him. The betrayer who evidently wanted to get his money and if possible to take him back to Michigan and deliver him to his master, who not only claimed Ducket, but 281 also the farm and the stock on it; The following night when he saw he could neither get Ducket nor his money for he had agreed to stay with me he took one of his horses the second night after he came to me and fled to the other side knowing that poor Ducket could not follow him without losing

^{*} In the M.S. this word looks like hunders'

law became so profitable that those persons who were engaged in this nefarious work along the lines, were anxious to get parties in Canada to join
with them in kidnapping those who had made their escape and were living in
Canada, but no one could be found to join such diabolical work and when
one or two attempts were made to claim fugitives under the pretence that
they had committed murder the claim was resisted and the right of Asylum
protected by Canada. The names of a large number of slaves who had escaped
to Canada, with the names of their masters were in possession of those
slave hunters and they only wanted an accomplice to decoy them to the other
side, and they would deliver them to their master.

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The Sheriff of Montreal received in January 1855 a letter from a police officer and constable in Fredrick Md. making him this tempting proposition, "Vast numbers of slaves escaping from their masters or owners succeed in reaching your Provinces, and are therefore without the pale of the fugitive slave laws and can only be restored by cunning together with skill. Large rewards are offered and would be paid for their return; and could I find an efficient person to act with me, a great deal of money could be made and I would equally divide The only apprehension we have, of approaching too far into Canada, is the fear of being arrested, and had I a good assistant in your city who would induce the negroes to the frontier, I would be there to pay the cash, on your answer I can furnish names and descriptions of negroes" Sometimes the Planters would come into the settlement and converse with slaves that had escaped from them and try to persuade them to go back with them promising to be kind to them in future and to forgive the past, but they were never able to persuade any of them to return South The Masters themselves many of them during the war came to Canada to escape the draft and many of their sons also came and remained in Canada until the war was over.

In december 1849 I entered on the land myself in the homestead that
I had bought Boarding with Mr William White whose farm I had bought
Some of the coloured people who had heard that I had received the land and
that it was open for settlement had gone in and entered on lots before I had

gone in myself, one of them, Isaac Riley had entered on a lot adjoining 285 mine as he told me afterwards, that he might be near the School and Church; to give his children a good education He had just come from Missouri with his wife and four children, His Master was about to sell him to the South, He got word of it crossed the Mississippi River into Illinois made his way to Chicago got on a boat that took him to St Catherines, where he heard of the Elgin Settlement he returned back with his family to Detroit and from there made his way to Buxton, entered 100 acres of land, became one of the best settlers His two oldest sons received a classical education one is 286 now a preacher in the Presbyterian Church, and the other is a Doctor practising in Washington City. As yet we had neither school nor Church in the settlement and I announced the first Sabbath that I was there that I would preach in a log school house on the middle road near the settlement. report that I was to preach had been widely circulated and on Sabbath morning when I went to the School house with Mr White I found a very respectable congregation, Assembled outside but the trustees had locked the door and we could not get in. Some proposed to break open the door, but 287 I advised them not to do that, the Trustees had the power to shut us out if they pleased, and rather than have any disturbance, I would return home, But Mrs White said that I should preach and she stepped forward to the door took a key out of her pocket opened the door and we went in. after sermon I announced to the congregation that, I would preach next Sabbath at Mr Whites and invited them all to come and hear me there; and that I would continue the services at my own house every Sabbath until I could get a Church built. The following Sabbath I held preaching at my own house and 288 quite a number gathered from the country around some coming from the lake shore and East Tilbury. We had no minister then placed between Buxton and Amhirstburgh. There was neither Protestant Churches, nor post offices at that time between Chatham and Sandwich and only a few log School houses of the poorest kind The Schoolmaster was not abroad, a number of the Counsellors who met at Sandwich to make laws for the Western District signed their names with a cross. There were but few settlers came in during the winter months and I was kept busy with a surveyor laying off roads through

the settlement, marking the lots, and erecting a building of hewn logs adjoining my own house which I intended to use in Spring for a School room 289 I placed the building near my own residence that when I and Church. opened the School I might be near to have a constant oversight and care of the School as threats had been made, that when a School should be opened to teach the negroes the mob would break it up, and with the breaking up of the School, so anoy the settlers, as to cause them to leave with their families and thus break up the work that had been begun. Wherever a good work is going on Satan will be sure to use his Agents to mar and if possible destroy it. But I believed that God, who had been 290 with me, and saved me from the danger that threatened me in times past would save me from the threatened violence in time to come. I endeavoured to give no offence, kept a strict watch over the affairs of the settlement, and councilled the settlers to bear with patience their trials and to give no offence to their White neigh bours; and when any difficulty should arise, to refer the matter to me at once and I would see that justice was done them, some of the lots on the edge of the settlement, joined their White neighbours, this was the case with the White settlers on the middle 291 road When they first received the land from Col Talbot they only entered 100 acres, and as the lot on which they had entered contained two hundred acres, the back hundred was unsettled and was sold to me by the Government as part of the block that I had purchased. When some of the fugitives that came in during the first winter began to take up those back hundreds, the whites thought they had no right to them and threatened violence to any one who would settle on them In my absence in Toronto on business, a coloured man had settled on one of the rear lots and began to chop on it 292 and put up a log cabin he had several of his coloured neighbours helping him; the owner of the front lot John Rowe came upon him and ordered him off the lot, the coloured man Mr Harris showed him the location ticket which my Agent had given him, as his authority for entering on the lot; Mr Rowe told him that he had bought the lot, and if Harris would not go off, the lot he would drive him off by force. Harris replied that Mr King had

given him permission to go on the lot and he was sure, he would not have

293 done so if he had no right to the land But as Mr King was absent he would go off the lot and wait until he would come home. In a few days I returned from Toronto and when informed by my agent what had happened I called Mr Harris and Mr Rowe before me and heard their story. Mr Rowe said that he was informed by a certain person in Chatham that I had not bought the land, and that any one of the White settlers on the middle road who owned the front hundred, might send down to the land office and purchase the back hundred, and that he would get the land for him if he would give him the money.

He gave the man the money. I asked Rowe if he had got the deed, he replied he had not got it, I then showed him my title to the land and to all the back hundreds on the middle road. I have been informed I said that you have been cutting some valuable timber on the back hundred, and that some of it was still lying on the lot cut, Now I do not wish to put you to any trouble for what you have done by driving a man off a lot that was his own and not yours, I will give you permission to take the timber off the lot that you have cut there, but I warn you to cut no more not to give any trouble to Mr Harris who has settled on the lot; and to Harris I said go and settle on the lot and if any one gives you annoyance let me know it and I will see that you get justice

The first case of dispute between the Whites and blacks was settled amicably I had to act as Judge when cases of dispute arose in the settlement between the blacks themselves, and I generally settled these amicably without going to law, and stirring up hard feeling. The building that I intended for the School was put up during the winter and was ready by the lst of April to receive pupils. I got a student from Knox College Toronto to take charge of it during the summer John Rainey the young man appointed teacher was well qualified for the situation, he was a good teacher, his heart was in missionary work, he had a good voice and was a good judge of music. The coloured people as a race are fond of music and some of them became celebrated as musicians.

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During the winter I continued to preach in my own house to the few settlers who came in and to the whites, who formed the larger part of the 297

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congregations, and who seemed to have no antipathy against the blacks, but sat beside them in public worship and thus they were gradually becoming acquainted with each other and they were beginning to think, the blacks in the settlement were not the vicious and indolent persons they had been represented in the petitions sent to Lord Elgin and to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church. An incident occured during the winter that tended to raise the moral character of the settlers in the estimation of the Whites It was the custom with some rough characters among the Whites mostly young men to go through the settlement on Sabbath when the settlers were supposed to be at Church and go to their log cabins and look in at the window and sometimes if the door was not fastened they would go inside and examine the contents of the cabin One Sabbath three or four of those intruders were making a tour of the log cabins, and when they came to Isaac Rileys they found the door closed and barred, looking in at the window they saw Mrs Riley sitting reading her Bible and the two youngest children sitting beside her, the Husband and the two oldest were at Church After reading the chapter she knelt down with her children and offered up a fervent prayer thanking God for the deliverance of herself and family from bondage and asking Gods blessing on the settlement and on the people in the neighbourhood The young men who had been looking in at the window left the log cabin with their views concerning the moral character of the Elgin Settlement in Raleigh changed and reported to their neighbours what they had seen. and they all came to the conclusion that a people who attended Church read their bible and held family worship could not be a very bad Both Riley and his wife through the indulgence of their Master people. had been taught to read by one of his own Daughters, Many of the fugitives who came into the settlement had acquired a knowledge of reading in the same It was that knowledge that made them desire to have their freedom. and they generally availed themselves of the first opportunity to escape to Canada. When April arrived the time I had appointed for opening the School, the hard feeling against myself and the coloured people had considerably abated, on the Sabbath before the opening of the School I had announced that the School would open on Monday and I expected that all the

coloured children in the Settlement who were able to attend would be present, and if any white children choose to come they were welcome. none would be excluded. The Teacher Mr John Rainey who was present I introduced to the congregation, he was tall fair and good looking and had led the singing in the congregation on that day and had made a favourable impression on the people. On Monday morning ten coloured children appeared and two white children, belonging to Joshua Shipley, appeared among them.

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I opened the School myself with reading the Scriptures and prayer and then explained to School, the principle on which it would be conducted; The Bible would be read every day as a text book, the new testament we would take up first, and I gave each of the Scholars a testament and wrote their name in it, told the scholars to take it home and prepare the lesson which the teacher would give them for the next day. I told them the School would be conducted on religious principles, the Sabbath School would be opened next Sabbath, the teacher would take charge of it, and I would open a bible class for grown persons and although many of them could not read yet I wanted them to attend all were invited to attend both the Sabbath School and bible class. There would be also a prayer meeting on Thursday evenings at 8 oclock and all were invited to attend. I also opened a nightschool for adults and took charge of it myself. It was interesting to see men and women from 25 to 30 years of age and some even older who had never tryed to learn before, begin with their A B, C, and try to learn the names of the letters, and put them together in sylables, all who could not read seemed anxious to learn, and applied themselves with diligence although they found it a hard task to master the elements of the English tongue, but by diligence and perseverance, they soon began to make progress and by the end of six months quite a number of them could read a little and by the end of the first year many who did not know their letters, when they came to me were able to read slowly large print in the testaments, They were quite delighted when they came to the bible class to bring their bible with them and read their verse with the rest in the class. and what was more pleasing still, many of them when they learned to read learned the way of salvation and became humble followers of Christ, The School was

not interrupted, by mob violence as had been threatened The whites became more reconciled to the blacks and began to send their children to the school. every month one or two white scholars would come in, attracted by the superior teaching the school was opened every morning by reading the Scriptures and prayer and in the evening was closed with singing and prayer, by the end of the first year both the day and night School had grown in popularity with the people, and both were attended by a number of White children There was no High School in those days in the County of Kent where young men or women who wished to qualify themselves for teaching could attend to get the necessary qualifications Joshua Shipley with two of his daughters wished to qualify themselves for teaching and came to the night school to me, and I taught them English Grammar, Geography and arithmetic, those with reading and writing were the only branches that were necessary to be able to teach; in order to take charge of a common district School. Many were then teaching who had an imperfect knowledge even of those branches The examinations were not very strict, they were not written A few oral questions were asked on the different branches required and if the candidate could give anything like a fair answer to the questions asked, he was passed and got a certificate to teach. I found a great draw back to the intellectual improvement of the whole county west of Chatham There was no post office between Chatham and Windsor, although the mail was carried every day through that part of the Country by stage running between Chatham and Sandwich down the Thames and along St Clair I lived twelve miles from Chatham, and had to go there to post and receive my letters and when the roads were bad as they often were in the spring and fall it became a difficult task, I generally went once a week to Chatham to get my mail and to post my letters, and if I got any letters that required an immediate answer I had to sit down in the post office and answer them Mrs B.... was then deputy post mistress and the post office contained twenty six pigeon holes marked with the letters of the Alphabet, it held all the mail that was coming to Chatham in those days. people living on the middle road west of me had to go 25 and 30 miles to the post office. The people living along the middle road could take no newspaper nor could they take or write many

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John Gracy who lived in West Tilbury 25 miles from Chatham letters. post office heard that there was a letter there for him from the old country. He sent for it by a neighbour who was going into Chatham, but the neighbour found employment in Chatham and did not return to West Tilbury for three months, in the mean time Gracys letter was sent to the dead letter office and returned to Chatham, when the neighbour by whom he sent for the letter was returning home he took it to Mr Gracy. I determined if possible to remedy this state of things, and to get a line of Post offices established along the middle road and get the stage then carrying the mail along St Clair to run along the middle road. To carry out this project, I got the Townships of Raleigh East Tilbury, West Tilbury and Maidstone to sign petitions which I sent to them praying the Government to establish a post office in each of those Townships, and to have the stage run along the middle road instead of along the lake shore. When the petitions were numerously signed and sent to the Government I followed them down and laid the case before the Post master General Mr Merns, who at once saw the disadvantage under which the inhabitants on the middle road laboured with regard to their mails, and agreed as soon as the arrangement could be made to have the new mail route established and the offices appointed. the offices and Postmasters, namely one at Buxton called Buxton, in honour of Sir Frances Howel Buxton the great Philanthropist, and had myself appointed Postmaster; one in East Tilbury, James Smith Postmaster, one in West Tilbury, called Camber John Gracy Postmaster one in Maidstone John Murray I thus got four post offices established with a daily mail Post Master. which continued until the Great Western Railway was made, when the Stages stopped running and the middle road was supplied on horse back getting a mail every day. As soon as the new offices were established the people began to write letters and to get newspapers, to read and know something of what was going on in the world around them. The few settlers that had come into the settlement began to clear a place on their lot for the house and garden, and to make preparations for a spring crop, this kept them very busy during the winter, there were so many log cabins to put up and the work required the assistance of their neighbours it could not be done alone.

It required from twelve to fourteen men to put up a log cabin the size wanted, and it required a yoke of oxen to haul the logs into the place. The land was so well timbered, that all the logs necessary to build the cabin with clap boards to roof it and rails to fence it could be obtained on the lot where the house was to be placed. so they had not far to go for the timber to build the house. but it required a little skill and management to plan the work in order to do it quickly. A log cabin such as was required I said the body of it could be put up in one day with 12 hands and one yoke of oxen None of those who had lately escaped from bondage had not been accustomed to put up log houses the negro cabins on the plantations were made of sawn lumber, and they appeared slow and awkward in putting the logs 312 up in the house. They could cut them but they found a difficulty in placing During the year that I had remained with the family when they settled them. in the woods in Ohio, I had learned to handle the ax. to chop and hew and build log houses, two choppers that my Brother had hired to chop and clear the land, I wrought in the woods with them and became to be a good chopper. I found the knowledge I had then acquired of using the ax of great use to I took twelve men and a yoke of oxen and went into the woods one day at seven oclock in the morning and told the men I intended to put up the body of a log cabin before seven oclock in the evening. The wood was 313 all standing I divided the party into four divisions 2 to cut down the logs the proper length, 1 to haul them in 4 to take the corners to saddle the logs down and 5 to remain on the ground to assist in rolling the logs up on the building. I ordered all hands to clear/the foundations, and lay down four oak logs for the foundation 18 x 24, I took my ax and showed how the saddle was to be cut at the corners. In two hours the foundation was laid and steps hewed on one side and laid on it and by seven in the evening the whole body of the log cabin was up 18 x 24 - 12 feet high and ready for the roof I assisted in putting up several and showed them how it could be 314 done in one day and as it was always the same hands that were employed they soon became acquainted with the work and could themselves put up a log cabin in a day As the settlers came in and their numbers increased, they mutually assisted each other in clearing and improving the roads, these at

first were only marked out by the surveyor who laid off the lots and the centre road and the concession lines; each settler cleared out the road opposite his own farm, the concession lines near the School and Church were, first settled but after the settlers increased in numbers they made a chopping bee, and cleared out the centre road the whole length, and as all the concessions crossed the centre road at right angles, settlers coming in could 315 go to any of the lots on the concession from the centre road. year some friends of the coloured race from Boston who had heard of the settlement, sent me several boxes of clothing, to be distributed among the settlers, but as I was determined, that they should support themselves, and to cultivate a spirit of self respect and independance, I called a meeting of the settlers, and explained to them the principle on which the settlement was formed. to show that coloured men when placed in favourable circumstances could support themselves and their families as well as the white settlers, and not to depend on others for part of their support. to do so would destroy 316 their self respect and independance, I said I would distribute the clothes that were sent, and if it was their wish, I would allow no more to come into the settlement, The settlers agreed unanimously that they would support themselves, and that they were determined to show to the world that they only wanted a fair field and no favour. This resolution was carried out, in future no more clothing was received in the settlement they bought, their own clothing, and when they got land cleared to keep sheep many of them made their own winter clothes from the wool of their own flock.

An attempt was made at the end of the first year to introduce liquor into the settlement an Englishman named Woods opened a store on the middle road, and with the groceries he got a Store Licence to sell whisky. He had purchased one of the farms on the middle road, owned by a White settlers, and on this he opened the Store and the sale of whisky: If this traffic was to continue in the settlement, I knew it would do more to demoralise the settlers, than I could do by the Gospel and education to elevate them, so I determined if possible to get rid of this nuisance I had no legal power to stop it and the only means I could use was moral suasion. I called a public meeting and pointed out to the settlers the

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danger that threatened the settlement from the sale of intoxicating liquors in their midst and their only safety was not to go where it was sold not even to buy their groceries there according to the rules of the settlement no tavern could be opened on the lands of the Elgin Association for the purpose of selling whisky forty five years ago temperance had made but little progress, there was no D..... Act nor Scott act, there was no Local option almost every one who applied for a Licence to sell Liquor got one, there was thirteen taverns in Raleigh. The settlers were temperate drunkenness was not their besetting sin Woods when he sold out the first cargo of whisky which he brought in, bought no more, the coloured people did not patronise his store, but when he quit selling, spirits he got their custom. The coloured people had their chopping bees; and their logging and raising bees all without liquor, and there was none ever used in these in the settlement, drunkenness was unknown there. With the increase of settlers with families the number of scholars increased both in the day School and Sabbath School The day School was also increased from a number of White scholars, who began to come in attracted by my superior teaching I had taken a deep interest in the cause of education from the time I went into the Township. I was elected one of the Trustees for the School district in which I lived; I endeavoured to raise the Standard of Education, by getting good teachers and as my School was free parents in the neithbourhood could send their children without paying anything extra for their education. The Trustees of the Common School asked me if they might not send all the children to my School, I told them they were all welcome to go there, so the common school was closed, mine became the School of that section and the whites and the blacks mingled freely in the playground and sat together in the school room, and stood up in the same class and they found that the young coloured children were equal to the whites in learning and some of the coloured children often stood at the head of the class, and came in for a full share of the prizes on the day of examinations. The prejudice which had existed at first against both me and the coloured people was now dying away and the last vestige of it disappeared in the third year after I settled in Raleigh. When I came

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into the Township very few of the coloured people had votes the greater part of them were without the property necessary to qualify them for votings, 322 and some who had property were not naturalise, so their voice was not heard in the politicks of the country. Three years residence in the township was necessary, to qualify them for naturalization, in the third year of the settlement I collected all the settlers of 21 years of age who had been three years in the Province and had them naturalized I found in our own settlement three hundred over 21 who had the property qualification to vote when naturalized. At the next election, for Parliament Mr McKellar who 323 had proved himself a warm friend of the Elgin settlement and of the coloured people opposed Mr Larwell who had been the bitter enemy of the Elgin settlement and of the coloured people, The settlement gave 300 solid votes for Mr McKellar and he went into Parliament by a majority of 800; from that time forward all opposition both to me and the Coloured people ceased, they were now clothed with political power, and rising fast both in a social and moral point of view

A few days after the election I met my old enemy. Mr Larwell the defeated candidate, Well said he you have fought, a hard battle, for the coloured people and you have won it, and McKellar who stood by you has come off victorious; The School had now increased in numbers and in popunot only the common branches of an English education were taught larity. but the highter branches of a classical and Mathematical Education were taught; some came from a distance both White and black, to get the benefit of a liberal education, all the branches taught in the High School were taught in the mission School at Buxton The building I at first erected was too small to hold the numbers that now attended I erected three new buildings of hewn logs, a Church a School house and a post office, and placed them on the middle road opposite the avenue leading to my own house. I also got a second teacher, a female to attend to the girls that attended the School who were instructed not only in the common branches taught but in plain sewing and Domestic duties, I also at this time contemplated starting a High School at Buxton as there was none in the County but while I was preparing to apply to the Government for a charter, I learned that Dr Cross

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and some other persons in Chatham intended to apply to have a High School placed in Chatham as the County town of Kent County I considered that one High School was enough for the county then. I assisted them in getting it established and I was appointed by Lord Elgin as one of the Trustees The School was first opened in one of the rooms in the Baracks then standing in the Park. with a class of 12 pupils and one Teacher, Mr Jamison formerly a teacher in the Toronto Academy; During the 28 years that I was connected with the Chatham High School I saw it rise from a class of 12 pupils to be the first Collegate Institute in the Dominion with a full staff of teachers, and with 300 pupils on the roll sending out annually a number of well qualified School teachers, and others who enter the University to qualify for the different learned professions.

The Settlement and the schools were now going on prosperous by increasing daily in numbers and as an Asylum for the fugitive its fame had spread through the border States, and a request was sent from Pitsburgh Pa, requesting me to go there and tell the people what we were doing in Canada for the fugitives who had fled there from slavery in the U.S. There were a large number of well to do coloured people living in Pitsburgh who wished to come to Canada and buy themselves a home in what was really a free country Pitsburgh was also the strong hold of Presbyterianism in the U States, three Theological Colleges were placed there - one belonging to the old School Presbyterians, one to associate Reform and one to the Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterians, the two last were strongly Antislavery. they would allow none of their members to hold slaves even those who were living in the slave states were not permitted to hold them Dr Barns and I were appointed to visit the people in Pitsburgh, we got a warm reception both from the white and coloured people all the pulpits were thrown open for us to speak and to preach in We spent a week there held several meetings and preached occasionally. our meetings were well attended a number of the well to do coloured people came into Canada afterwards and bought improved farms near our settlement. The Presbyterians gave us books and proper maps for our Schools and the coloured people had a beautiful bell 500 pounds weight cast in Pitsburgh, Paid for by themselves, and presented

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to the Church in Buxton, with the request that it should be rung night and morning proclaiming liberty to the Captive. that request was carefully obeyed the bell was erected at my own house and one of the servants rang it every morning at 6 oclock and in the evening at nine, while the mission 330 lasted and when it was closed the bell was transferred to the Church where it now calls the people to worship on Sabbath, This was theonly bell at that time west of London. fugitives were now coming into the settlement from the free states, where they had been living in comfort and doing well until the fugitive slave law was passed. Slave hunters would find out their names and their Masters, from whom they would get the proper papers have them arrested, brought before the Commissioner who got ten dollars if he sent the slave to his master but he only got five dollars if he set him Some of them had very narrow escapes in making their way to Canada. 331 There was one Tom Gordon a blacksmith formerly owned by the Governor of Kentucky, but who had escaped some time before the passing of the fugitive slave law, and was living in Ripley Ohio working at his trade. His Master found out where Tom was and sent the deputy sherriff with a posse to bring Tom back. They came to the village where Tom was working and put up at the Hotel One of the party to make sure where Tom was went with his horse to the shop where he was working and found Tom alone working in the Shop He told him there was something wrong with his horses foot and he wanted 332 him to examine it. Tom looked at the foot and looked at the man, and saw at once there was something wrong he knew the man to be one of his old neighbours, he said to the stranger, he would go and get an instrument to scrape and examine the foot, and went out into an adjoining part of the shop out of the mans sight to get it; there was a horse standing outside, saddled, which belonged to an Abolitionist, and one of the Directors of the Underground rail road, whom Tom informedof his danger that this man was one of a gang come to kid nap him and take him back to slavery. The Director told him to take his horse and fly to the next station of the underground 333 rail way which was only a few miles off and conceal himself there until his pursuers had returned home. Tom put on his coat put a loaded pistol in his pocket mounted the horse and made off toward Canada leaving the

Kentuckian with his horse in the shop. In a few minutes after Tom was gone the man went out to see what was keeping him, he learned that Tom had mounted a fleet horse and was gone. The Kentuckian mounted his horse and gave chase and in a short time came up with Tom, when within pistol shot he called for Tom to halt. Tom paid no attention, the Kentucky fired, and grazed his coat, Tom reigned up his horse and returned the shot and shattered the thumb on the right hand of his pursuer in which he held 334 the pistol, Tom hastened on and soon reached the station of the underground railway where he was concealed, the Kentuckian returned to the village to get his thumb dressed. The rest of his party pursued after Tom and searched all the country round, But after several days search they could find no trace of Tom, who was well concealed. and they returned home disappointed Tom took his passage on the underground railway for Canada in a few days he arrived with me in Buxton and gave me an account of his adventure and of 335 his narrow escape, I told him he was safe with me and all the power of the United States could not take him back, to slavery. Tom went to school and began to learn fast. About six weeks after Tom came to me I received a letter from Kentucky enquiring if Tom was in the Elgin Settlement. answered the letter and said he was in the settlement and going to School. About three months after I received the Kentucky letter I received one from Ripley Ohio informing me that the man who had furnished the horse was 336 fined in one thousand Dollars for aiding Tom to escape into Canada and he had to pay the fine according to the Fugitive slave law, which said that any person giving a slave making his escape, food or clothing or lodging or aiding him in any way to escape knowing him to be a slave was liable to a fine of \$1,000. The man who paid the fine got Toms free papers. that he was now at liberty to go back where he was. Tom said he would go back and work to pay the fine. Which he hoped to do in a few years now that he was free. Two years after visiting in that part of Chio I met with Tom and he informed me that he was making his trade and going to school at [?Ripley] and he hoped to have the whole fine paid in another 337 year. Some Abolition friends were assisting him. The enforcement of the fugitive slave law was galling to the Northern free states, and was resisted

in every possible way hastening them in their flight to Canada, without asking who they were, or where they were going. A case of this kind came under my observation in Ohio. In the fall of 1852 just two years after the fugitive slave law was past I was in the southern part of the State not far from Ripley I had been lecturing on slavery and was the guest of Dr Stewart one of the Directors of the underground Rail Road 338 large audience at the Lecture and I was informed by the Doctor that several slave owners were present who had been searching the county around for a slave woman who had escaped from Kentucky the day before and was supposed to be lurking some where in the neighbourhood of Ripley. The tone of that meeting was strongly Antislavery and would let the planters know the state of public feeling with regard to slavery and the fugitive slave law in particular, the meeting expressed forcibly* their hatred of the law and their determination to resist its enforcement in every possible way After 339 the lecture a gentleman came up to me, whom I afterwards learned was a Planter from Kentucky and asked me several questions about the fugitives in Canada I told him they were doing well and coming in fast by the operation of the fugitive slave law.

The Doctor and I were late in getting home from the meeting, next morning when I came down to breakfast, Mrs Stewart remarked to me that a stranger had come to the door during the night and knocked, when she opened the door she found a woman and a little girl standing at the door thinly clad and trembling with cold The woman asked me if I could keep her all night, she was a stranger to me and in, distress so I took her in. I asked her who she was and where she was going. My Landlady replied that she neither asked her name nor where she came from nor where she was going I found her at my door with her little daughter cold and hungry so I took her in and fed and logged her I asked Mrs Stewart to show me where the woman was and I would learn from her; who she was and where she was going at that time of night. She took me to a closet off the kitchen and showed me the woman and her daughter Leaving me with her, remarking, that she

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^{*} This word actually looks like 'forcilesly'.

did not wish to hear the conversation. I found the woman to be a light Mulatto, with a daughter 5 years old a shade whiter than herself they were both good looking and would no dought have brought a good price in a southern slave mart, for house servants, She told me her name was Eliza, and belonged to a Planter in Kentucky named Edward Thompson who lived not far from the Ohio river. She had learned that her Master was going to sell her, to Negro traders who were then at her Masters, buying slaves and Mules intending to carry them to New Orleans and sell them there. She left the day before, having permission from her Master to go and see her Brother on an adjoining plantation. She made for the Ohio River, arrived there at noon, found a skiff and rowed herself across, called at a house on the opposite (side) who was an Abolitionist and a friend of the slave. He told her there were Slave Hunters in the neighbourhood, and that it would be dangerous for her to travel in the daytime, but that he would conceal her until night and take her to Dr Stewart who would send her on the, underground Railway to Canada At night he took her to the Doctors and left her at the door as Mrs Stewart found her. I told her that I belonged to Canada and would take her with me when I was going and that she would be safe there. But she not returning home on the night of that day on which she left, the Master suspected that she had started for Canada, and with a few accomplishes, crossed the Ohio River in pursuit But finding no trace of her in a few days returned But the Doctor considered it would not be safe to send her with me, and so he took her to [a] Station farther on where she was concealed for eight days, until I had gone, as my movements were closely watched, and when I came to Sandwich to take the steam er] that went to Detroit calling at Amhirstburgh two slave hunters came on board to see if I had any coloured person with me but when they found I had none they walked away.

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Although a few persons were base enough to assist the planters in the slave hunt, yet a large majority of the people refused the bribe and aided the fugitives to escape at the risk of paying a heavy fine. Three weeks after my return to Canada Eliza found her way safely there, with her girl dressed in boys clothes and herself well dressed and concealed with a thick weil so that she could not be distinguished from a white woman.

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The worst case of treachery connected with slave hunting happened in Boston in 1853. A vessel from Boston was in Savanah in the fall of that year taking in a cargo of Pine Lumber, one of the hands of the saw mill where the ship was taking in the cargo, a smart active fellow, wished to go to Boston and from that to make his way to Canada. Dick Sims, the name of the saw mill hand, offered the Mate of the vessel \$60 Dollars if he would stow him away in the vessel and take him to Boston. The Mate accepted the offer took the money and when the vessel was ready to said concealed Dick in the hold. When the vessel arrived in Boston I was in the city having been out at Andover paying a visit to Mrs Stowe, and had come into Boston to spend a few days

The Mate refused to let Dick go ashore at Boston but kept him a prisoner on board, and in the meantime telegraphed to his Master that Dick had concealed himself on board the vessel when leaving Savanah, but that he had kept him on board at Boston and would send him back as soon as he would receive the extradition papers from his Master The Mate expected to cover his treachery by sending Dick back to his Master and expected a reward from his Master for doing so before the extradition papers arrived 347 the news was spread in the city that a slave from Savanah was unjustly detained as a Prisoner on a Ship in the Harbour Wendell Philips and William Loyd Garrison those two life-long advocates of freedom went to the Ship and with a Writ of Habeas Corpus took Dick from the Ship and brought him before a Magistrate for trial, and was set free. The Abolitionists sent Dick out of the City about ten miles and concealed him there. I was in the Court and heard the trial. When Dick was set free Wendell Philips who acted as his Lawyer came to me and asked when I was going to Canada, 348 I told him in two days, He said he intended to send Dick with me as he expected the extradition papers every day and he would have to defend the Case in Court, but he wished Dick to be in a place of safety before the trial began. The papers arrived the next day and were given to the Sheriff to execute, But Dick could no where be found. the morning on which I left Boston, at the first station on my way to Albany a stranger came on board with Dick, he had seen me at the trial and knew me by sight, and put

him in my possession handing me at the same time a ticket with his passage paid to Canada. I told Dick that I would hire him, and should any one ask him who he was to tell the person that he was my servant and travelling with me and that he was to take charge of my Portmanteau, which I handed to him.

When Dick could not be found in Boston, the Sheriff concluded that he had gone West on some train that had left Boston that morning I left, and a telegram was sent to the suspension bridge that when the Boston train arrived, to search them before crossing the bridge, and if any negro was found on board answering to the description, to have [him] arrested and held until the papers arrived. On receiving the telegram Detectives were placed at the bridge The train that I was on stopped at a station before coming to the bridge to cool a journal that had heated, while standing there a train came up from Bataville going to Buffalo, I changed my mind and concluded to go to Buffalo, I boarded the car and took Dick with me as my servant and when I arrived at Buffalo went to the Hotel with him,

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After tea I understood there was a train going down to the falls

at 9 oclock So I took the train with Dick and on arriving at the falls,
Dick took my Portmanteau and we both walked over the suspension Bridge.

When half way across I showed Dick the line that divided the United States
from Canada and when we crossed that line to the Canada side I told him he
was now free and all the power in the United States could not take him
back, over that line which separated between freedom and slavery The
poor fellow was frantic with joy to think that he was now free from his
Master.

Those cases of fugitives escaping to Canada and the free states through which they passed aiding them on their way to Canada and in every possible way opposing the enforcement of the fugitive Slave law, was creating a very bitter feeling between the North and South which led in a few years afterward to rebellion on the part of the South. The South claimed the right to carry their slaves every where in the free States the North denyed this right. The constitution of the free States did not admit slavery, and the North held that if a Planter brought any of his slaves of his own

accord into a free State that they were free. A planter named Lemon from 353 Virginia was going to Texas with some of his slaves and came to New York with them for the purpose of getting a boat to go by water to Texas. During the few days that Lemon was waiting for the boat, the slaves were spirited away by the Abolitionists of New York and sent to me in Canada. As the slaves were now beyond the hope of recovery there was no law by which they could be brought back from Canada. Lemon held the City of New York responsible for the loss of his slaves and brought an action against the City to recover their value. But the case went against him 354 in the courts and the principle was laid down, that the constitution of the free States did not admit of holding slaves, and that when brought in by the will of their masters they could not be held in bondage they were free. This decision was galling to the South, the Planters and their families who were in the habit of spending their summers in the North and bringing their own servants with them, could now do so no longer; as they would be sure to loose their servants. The Planters still held however that they could carry their slaves into the Territories and hold them there, the North 355 denyed the right and thus the irrepressible conflict in Kansas which ended in the rebellion of the South,

One of the fugitives of the settlement named Milton Ragland obtained both his freedom and a fortune through the ignorance of his Master who thought that he could bring his slave into Canada and hold him The case is a remarkable one and showed a considerable shrewdness on the part of the Slave. A Planter wholived in Alabama named Ragland had a slave named Sam that escaped to Canada and settled near the village there called little 356 York, with a population of three or four thousand, It has now become the City of Toronto with a population of 160000, The Negro Sam was steady and industrious and in a few years he purchased himself a home of four acres near the village and put up a small house on it; He lived there for some time. and as Little York increased in population Sams plot became more valuable. He was a batchelor and had no relations in Canada. ill and died suddenly without a will. The Government took hold of the property and advertised for heirs. A coloured man named Rapier who lived 257

in Alabama was in the habit of coming to Toronto to look after some property that he owned there, Rapier saw the advertisement for an heir to Sams property valued about 5,000 Dollars. He was acquainted with Sam's Master in Alabama and knew that Sam had a brother called Milton, but he was a slave. Rapier went to the Lawyer who had the charge of the property and told him that if he would bring Milton with the proof that he was a Brother of Sams, that he would get the property. Rapier on his return to Alabama reported to Ragland Sams Master that Milton Sams Brother could get the property if he would go to Canada with the proper papers to prove that he was Sams Brother The Master agreed to send Milton with Rapier to Canada with the proper papers, to show that he was the Legal heir. The Master with Rapier and the Slave Milton came together to Buffalo, the Master remained there until Milton and Rapier would go to Toronto get the property and return to Buffalo, expecting that his Slave would hand the property over to him. Rapier proved that Milton was the legal heir got the property transferred to Milton and returned with him to his Master in Buffalo. Rapier left the parties there, The Master returned with Milton to Toronto to get the property transferred to himself. When they arrived in Toronto, Milton refused to sign the transfer which the Master had made, and told him. that he would sign no paper, nor would he go back with him that he was now on British Soil, and was free, and that he would remain there, and keep both the property and his own liberty. The Master now saw the trap into which he had fallen, He returned to Alabama a wiser man and Milton came to Buxton and purchased 100 acres married and lived comfortably on it until he died.

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The fame of the Elgin Settlement, had in a few years spread over the United States and Canada as an Asylum where coloured men could provide themselves by their own industry with a good home and their children with a religious education. The advantages thus offered brought not only fugitives but some coloured men who had been living in comfortable circumstances in Buffalo in St Catherine, Niagara and Toronto those settlers brought some means with them, and began to make large clearings. But I saw that there was great waste in the burning of valuable timber that could be made a source of profit to the settlers if they could only get a saw mill to cut

it up into lumber, which would obtain a ready sale as there was no saw mill nearer than Chatham of which the settlers could not avail themselves, as they had yet no team to haul the logs into Chatham which was 12 miles distant, The ashes also from the wood burnt in clearing was allowed to go to waste that if manufactured into Pot and Pearl ash would be a source of profit to the settlers. To utilize the valuable timber and ashes now wasted by the clearing it was necessary to get a saw mill and a pearl ash factory established where the fine saw logs could be manufactured into 362 lumber and the ashes into Pot and Pearl ash, but for this enterprise we had neither capital nor skill in the settlement. I saw that it was an absolute necessity to the prosperity of the settlement. We could make no permanent improvements without lumber and without Brick. I was determined to have a saw mill, a Pearl ash factory and a Brick Yard established for the benefit of the Settlement. I called a public meeting and explained the necessity of having those branches of industry established for the benefit 363 of the settlement I found at the meeting two coloured men who had wrought at Brick making in the U States, and who were well acquainted with the making and burning of brick, and as that branch of industry required but little capital, clay and wood could be had in abundance* in the Settlement and it only required skill and labour to prepare it, that, they could furnish themselves, and they agreed to open a brick yard on their own account, and during the first year they made 300000, which found a ready sale as there was no brick yard nearer than Chatham. William R Abbott, a wealthy coloured man from Toronto who had come to the settlement with his family for the sake of getting his children educated and Henry K Thomas who had come into the settlement for the same reason, Those two wealthy coloured settlers agreed to get some of their coloured friends living in Toronto and Buffalo to unite with them, and form a mill company, which they did under the name of the Buxton mill Company. They raised one thousand dollars by shares of 50 Dollars each. The settlers at once set about getting out timber for the frame carpenters were found among themselves who could put up the frame, and prepare the building for the Machinery I went to Detroit and engaged the Machinery from Degraff

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^{* &#}x27;abance' in M.S.

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and Kendrick as my share to the Mill I also went to Delta Ohio and engaged F. Gates, a Pearl ash Manufacturist, and brought him into the settlement with his family to give instruction to the settlers how to convert the ash into black salts, Mr Gates bought the salts from them and hand ed them the cash on delivery. This gave quite an impulse to clearing, as a settler could now stay at home and work for himself instead of having to go out and work among the farmers to get cash for groceries and clothing he could now stay at home clear a piece of his own land, Log and burn the timber, convert the ashes into black salts, and sell them at home for cash When the frame of the mill was put up, the brick was ready to build the smoke stack and a brick Engine room as soon as these were finished, the Machinery was ready to put in and the mill was soon in running order, There was now a boom in the settlement Getting logs cut for the saw mill clearing land logging and burning the wood to get ashes to make black salts for the Pearl ash factory The salts made from the ashes obtained in clearing Elm land, when properly taken care of and converted into Black salts was found sufficient to pay for the clearing of the land. The brick yard was also carried on Lumber and brick could now be obtained in the settlement for building purposes, and improvement now began to appear of a more permanent character the floors, of the early settlers now gave place to fine planed oak floors, and the primitive mud chimneys of the log cabin was replaced with brick and some of the Log Cabins themselves gave place to frame buildings, and one settler named West erected a fine two story Brick temperance Hotel the first Brick building erected in the settlement. The settlers were now enabled to remain at home clearing and improving their lands. Timber fit for saw logs, was cut up and sent to the mill, and the ashes were carefully gathered and converted into black salts, and both the saw logs and salts got a ready market at home, and the money received from them enabled the settlers to pay for their land and get, such necessaries as the family required, There was however one other piece of machinery wanted and that was a grist mill to grind the corn which they were now raising, but they had to carry it to Chatham to get it ground, I learned that a portable corn mill could be obtained in Cincinnatti, on reasonable terms that would answer our purpose,

It could be set up in the Saw mill and attached to the machinery by a belt, and be run at the same time that the saw mill was running. I sent to Cincinnatti, and got of Noyes a Portable Corn mills and set it up and I found it answered our purpose well, It ground all the corn for the settlement and for many of the neighbours around, The settlement was now growing in numbers and in respectability, Philanthropists and those who felt an interest in the 370 social and moral improvement of the coloured race began to come in and visit the settlement and see what the coloured people could do when free, and placed in favourable circumstances. In 1856 one of the Editors of the New York Tribune visited the settlement and the following is an extract of his letter to that paper describing what he saw, "One of the most interesting places visited in the course of our visit to Canada was the Colony at Buxton founded by the Rev Wm King some five years ago. We found Mr King at home and disengaged from him we learned that there were now in the Settlement 200 families each occupying his own house and numbering in all about 800 Souls. 371 of the land 1025 were cleared and under fence besides 200 acres on which the trees were felled and ready for burning, and which would be under cultivation the ensuing Spring of the land already fenced 315 were planted in corn, which already at the time of my visit was safe from the frost and promised more than an average crop 260 acres had been planted with wheat 70 with oats and 80 with potatoes and 120 with other crops such as beans peas turnips and grass. There are owned by the settlers 200 cows 80 oxen and 300 hogs and There are now two Schools at Buxton a male and female the latter established within the past year for the purpose of teaching the girls plain sewing, as well as those that might wish it, the higher branches of female 372 education the number enrolled in both schools during the past year was 180 and the average attendance was 58, hitherto those Schools have been free, but in conformity with the original idea of making the whole establishment self supporting a small payment will henceforth be required. kept open every Sabbath during the whole year, is attended by 122 pupils and the average attendance is 58. The general moral standing of the community is high and the social improvement is marked and manifest. The settlers are

^{* &#}x27;a' looks as though it has been inserted and crossed out.

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for the most part fugitive slaves and of the whole number one third are of pure African descent. those of them who have been accustomed to farming and have had some capital to commence with, have done remarkable well, having cleared more land, and made greater improvements; than the greater majority of the white settlers in the same time and under similar circumstances. Those who have brought neither skill nor capital have had a much harder time. But even those have even so far paid up their instalments regularly or where they have missed them it has been by permission, the money being laid out on the land so as to make other payments easier. Many have already paid for their farms infull and received their deeds others are preparing to do so in the ensuing year and Mr King is confident that by the end of ten years all will have come in possession of their land Two settlements of Europeans have been formed in Canada under Government direction one of Highlanders at Natawasaga, North of Toronto and the other of mixed English Irish and Scotch Emigrants at Ramsey near Brockville The settlers in both places for some time received aid in provisions, farming implements etc but both have failed at the Highland Settlement some twenty or thirty of the original settlers remain but the rest have dispersed They began to do better the moment the Government aid was withdrawn Mr King attributes the greater success at Buxton partly to the fact that in the first place, that negroes are better axe men than European Emigrants and so are better able to contend with the difficulties of clearing a heavy timbered country but mainly to the circumstance that the Colony at Buxton was from the beginning self supporting the negroes perfectly understood that they were to depend upon themselves alone that they were to receive no supplies in money in food or in clothing and their pride and self reliance being exerted they worked with a will not otherwise to be looked for. if on the whole this has been wise and worked well in one respect, it may have retarded the progress of the settlement, since many of the negroes have found [it] more profitable to employ part of their time and labour at a distance from Buxton now however the completion of the Mill the Brick Yard and the Pearl ash factory, affords a field of labour in the place itself. In company with Mr King we walked over a part of the settlement everything was new rude and rough to a city bred man the

timber was terrible I saw one tree left standing by the road side there at 376 least 5 feet through at the base, and rising straight as an arrow, and scarcely diminished in circumference to an immense hight before it gave off a branch. Most of them were from two to three feet in diameter. The road was merely a wide lane cut through the forest with the roots of the trees every where traversing the deep friable soil. On either side scattered here and there were the cabins and clearings of the settlers, the former all built of unhewn logs set back the prescribed number of feet from the road and each one surrounded by its kitchen garden, they were not destitute of all traces of ornament, over the wide porch in front of the cabin creepers were frequently trained and one covered with a trap vine in full bearing looked exceedingly pretty. Some of the gardens boasted flower beds 377 and bright coloured phloxes, and poppies and corn flowers, were in contrast with the dark forest which hemmed us in.

We entered the cabin of a fugitive but two years from Kentucky, and who had married some time after he had reached the settlement. The cabin was smaller than the model, but the owner with an eye at some future time of adding to it had built the chimney double and a large brick fire place stared us from the outside within was the wife with a couple of small children there were chairs a table a large chest a cooking stove with its utensils, the family dinner was still on the fire Pork and potatoes, while into another vessel a quantity of hot bubling fat had been thrown some green corn in the ear the man was absent at work in the brick yard

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Another cabin we entered belonged to a man a full black who fourteen years before had escaped from Missouri. He had been six years in the settlement and had 25 acres cleared and under fence and six more chopped and ready for burning; he had paid up four of his instalments, he owned a waggon a yoke of oxen a mare and two colts. He had four children, his oldest boy fifteen years of age was reading virgil (with the view of studying for the ministry which he afterwards accomplished and is now preaching in Philadelphia) In the house besides the ordinary bed and bedding chairs tables etc We found a rocking chair and a large new safe a recent importation from Yankee land On asking for a glass of water it was brought in a glass tumbler and upon a

Another cabin belonging to an old settler was more ambitious, it was larger with a vine covered porch had a hall in the centre and a room on either side around the walls were hung sundry slaving prints and a carpet cooking stove and sofa were added to the usual articles of furniture feature of all the cabins we visited must not be forgot. the huge brick fire place occupying the best part of one side of the room and which with its chimney bore tokens of the roaring fires which blazed in it during the winter. We saw only a small and as we were informed the newest and least advanced part, of the settlement but our stay in Canada was limited and despite, the hospitable invitation of Mr King to remain a few days with him. We left Buxton with the belief that we had seen one of those rare men who by a single minded devotion to one worthy object not only accomplished great ends but enoble our common humanity."

Persons, coming from the old country to Canada as delegates from benevolent or religious Societies many of them paid a visit to Buxton to see how men who had been formerly slaves could support themselves and their families without any assistance, or aid from government or others,

Henry Christy a Gentleman from London England and well known as the head of the Hat Company "Christy and Co", and who was a member of the Society called the Aboriginate Society of North America The Society was 381 formed in the reign of Charles II for the protection and religious improvement of the Indians of North America. at first the attention of the Society was extended to the Indians of the six nations but was afterwards extended to other tribes. The transactions of the society are included in 5 volumes. Mr Christy was out on a visit to some of the tribes of Indians in the North West, and called on me at Buxton to see how the fugitives were getting along in the Elgin Settlement. He examined the Schools and the improvements made on the farms he was surprised to see so much done in such a short time without 382 assistance, Some of the Indians who had been assisted he said had made but little progress when compared with what the coloured people had done

He said the Indians when placed on farms could not get along without aid they were still minus and had not yet got the length of self support, About the same time a celebrated Divine from Paris Fredrick Monod with his

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son Theodore Monod visited the settlement Dr Fredrick Monod was well known as the head of the evangelical movement in France and he visited this country to raise money to build for himself a Church in Paris. He had visited the United States and had come to Canada with his son I met them in Toronto and in conversation with him, he expressed a desire to see Buxton before he returned to France, I invited him to come to Buxton after he fulfilled his appointments in Toronto and other cities East, and I would meet him at Chatham and drove him out to Buxton. In ten days he came to Chatham and gave an address in the Presbyterian Church on the subject of his own mission to this country I drove him out to Buxton with his son, on the way out he mentioned to me that he understood that the Indians were often in this part of the Country hunting in the Fall. I told him that part of the tribe of 384 Hurons was encamped in the woods on our way out to buxton. they were not far from the road and I would call with him at their camp There were about thirty in camp with their squaws I took the Doctor to the camp it was of the usual Indian fashion a few Poles set up in a circle united at the top; and covered outside with Bark, It was the evening and the men had returned from hunting Deer Turkey and Pheasants, were hanging about in the camp. Doctor and I entered one of the Wigwams and found in it, a sick squaw rolled up in a blanket lying in one corner on the ground and a fire in the centre as the evening was a little chilly. The Doctor had often heard of these Children of the Forest, the original proprietors of the country, But the Romance attached to them had disappeared when he now saw them in their native forest. We reached the settlement in the evening. next day the Doctor with his son visited the Schools and the settlement. and in the evening a public meeting was called in the Church and the Doctor addressed them from the words "If the Son therefore shall make you free you shall be free indeed, (John VIII 36) The Doctor showed them in very plain language that the bondage of Satan was worse than the bondage from which they had been delivered, by coming to But they were still under the Bondage of Satan until the y came to Christ by believing in him as their Savior. Then when "the Son made them free they would be free indeed". This was the freedom which the Doctor urged upon them to aim at and not to rest satisfied until Christ

had made them His freedmen by believing in Him The plainness with which the Doctor stated the truth, was long remembered by the settlers who heard him, and was I believe the means in the hand of God of turning some who had been living careless to think of another and a better world.

Professor Gibson of Belfast College and the Rev William McLure of London Derry were sent out by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. as a deputation to visit the church in Canada. After meeting with the General Assembly in Toronto, they came to Buxton to see the progress the coloured people had made socially and morally who had been formerly Slaves. deputation visited the Schools and examined the Scholars, I then spent a whole day with them in visiting the settlement and looking at the improvements that had been made, One of the first settlers Mr Joseph Laison who had made good progress in clearing and had the comforts and necessaries of life around him, invited us to dine with him. We accepted the invitation and at one oclock we sat down to an excellent dinner of Ham Eggs, Chicken Potatoes and vegetables, with a desert The whole equal to what we would get at a first class Hotel. Mr Laison with whom we had dined, had rather a singular History. He had been born a slave in Kentucky where he married and had one daughter, when the Daughter was four years old he escaped with his wife and Daughter to Indiana where he lived for many years and accumulated considerable property but when the fugitive slave law was passed, he saw there was no safety in a free state. He at once sold out all his property converted it into money and with a covered waggon and a span of good horses, he took his Wife and daughter, and made at once for the Elgin Settlement where he had heard negroes were free. He came to me purchased a farm of 50 acres paid for it, and in a few years he had made a good clearing and had everything comfortable around him. The Delegation left well pleased with what they had seen and gave me a pressing invitation to visit Ireland and lay the wants of the settlement before the assembly, and I would be sure to get enough, to build a new Church and School house as the ones we now occupied were only of Log. Two years after in 1859 I went to the General Assembly as a delegate from Canada and raised the money necessary to build the Church and School house.

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In the month of September a delegation was appointed by the Directors of the Elgin Association to visit the settlement, and report to the Association at its next meeting. The settlers who came in the first and second years had made considerable clearings and had the comforts of life around them, wished to give a public dinner to the Delegation and their friends. The whole Settlement joined in making the preparations They got Lumber at the mill and made an Arbor in a grove on Mr Kings farm, 120 feet long 14 feet wide and 12 feet high latticed on the sides and roofed with boards it was capable to seat 800 persons at one end of the Arbor they put up a temporary kitchen and store room with a cooking stove A platform was also erected at the other end of the Arbor, for a coloured brass band which they brought from Chatham All the settlement turned out and wrought with a will and they were determined to let the friends see what they could do in getting up a dinner as well as clearing land.

The Delegation consisted of Dr Reed and Dr Willis from Toronto. Dr

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Irvine from Hamilton, Mr McKellar from Chatham, they were to meet on the 14th at Buxton on the 13th September the day before the meeting I was driving into Chatham alone in my carriage On the way I met Lord Althorp Eldest son of Farl Spencer driving out to see me and the settlement. The driver told me to stop, and said that he was driving out a gentleman to see me. His Lordship came to me and informed me that he had heard of the Elgin Settle-393 ment and was going out to see it. I told him there would be a public meeting next day, and to come out then and he would see the people, He said he would do so and rode in with me to Chatham, went to Detroit and came to Buxton next morning with a travelling companion Mr Probyn, a member of Parliament. The day was fine and a large number came out from Chatham to attend the meeting they had hired nearly all the best carriages and when his Lordship came to Chatham with his friend from Detroit they could only get a very sorry hack to go out to Buxton, and when Mr McKellar saw him arrive with such a conveyance he went to his Lordship and explained why he could 394 get no better conveyance and gave him the one, (a pair of Spanking bays) that he had drove out to his Lordship to return to Chatham with.

The day was all that could be desired, the air was soft and balmy the sun shone brigh t ly all day, and by ten oclock the people began to come

from Chatham and the surrounding country and by 12 oclock there might be about 1000 persons in the grounds The Arbor was decorated with mottoes and flags At the entrance was the Matt welcome to Buxton, and the Union Jack floated over the platform

The dinner was got up by the settlers themselves and did great credit to their skill, the meat, the cooking, and the serving of the dinner, could not be surpassed at the best Hotel and when Lord Althorp and his friend were praising the dinner, he was informed that it was all produced from their own farms, it gave him a very high opinion of what the farms in Buxton could produce The dinner was laid out for 800, and was served up at 2 oclock. Mr King at the Head of the table Lord Althorp and his friend on his right hand and the delegation on his left the Brass band on the platform behind, that discoursed excellent music during the dinner There was venison and Wild Turkey from the woods, Beef lamb and chickens from the farm with vegetables of every description, also coffee, ice water, and Lemonade was a head cook and one for Pies and pastry with a number of waiters, appointed from among the settlers, After dinner we had several speeches from the Delegation and from Lord Althorp and his friend, The band at intervals discoursing music, at 5 oclock the National Anthem was played and the whole party broke up well pleased with the days entertainment. See the 8th annual report of the Elgin Association for further information.

The Elgin Settlement had now been in existence for eight years; the lands were nearly all taken up by coloured settlers and considerable clearing had been done roads were opened up on the concessions the centre road had been cut out from the 7th concession to the 16 on the rear of the lake lots, The early settlers were in comfortable circumstances The settlers were all temperate The settlement was healthy there was no crime, we had neither a Doctor nor a Lawyer among us and there was no litigation, We were on good terms with our white neighbours, and the ill feelings raised against the settlement at first, had gone the Schools were well attended by white and coloured pupils, some of them had made good progress; The time had now come when the church and school should have more respectable buildings the

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[&]quot;'Althrop' in the M.S.

ones now occupied were only of Logs, and of a temporary nature, the settlers 398 were not in that state in which they could put up such permanent buildings, and as I had several invitations from friends on the other side of the Atlantic who had visited the settlement, to visit them and deliver a few Lectures and I could raise the sum I wanted I concluded to go over th Great Britain and Ireland to raise the funds; to erect permanent buildings June 1859 I was appointed a delegate to the Irish General Assembly which met in Dublin on the first week in July, I sailed from New York in June taking with me William H Day one of the coloured Elders of my Church. We arrived in Dublin on the 3rd of July, and found the Assembly in Session. The 399 Moderator of the Assembly was the Revd Professor Gibson one of the delegates who had visited the Buxton settlement two years before At that time there was a great religious revival in Ireland it had begun in the North in the beginning of the year 1859 and had spread all over the Province of Ulster, and had reached Dublin, where the Assembly was sitting. But the call for preaching the Gospel in the congregation in the North was so urgent that the Assembly had to adjourn before finishing their business, and return to their congregations.

Before the Assembly adjourned an afternoon was given to me and my
Elder to address the Assembly, We were introduced by the Moderator Prof
Gibson, and got twohours to speak. See the Banner of Ulster July 14 1859
for our Speeches in the Assembly. As a delegate from the Canadian Church
to the Brethren of the Irish Church I confined myself to matters connected
with the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada conveying
to the Brethren of Ireland the congratulations of the Church in Canada
thanking them for the interest they had felt in our prosperity I merely
touched on the Buxton Mission and left it to my Elder to tell the Assembly
what we were doing for the social and moral improvement of the coloured people
in Canada.

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It had been arranged by my friends that I and my Elder should address a public meeting in one of the largest halls of Dublin and tell the people of the evils of slavery and what we were doing for the moral improvement of those coloured fugitives who had found an Asylum in Canada. A public

meeting was called for the 12th of July to meet in the Metropolitan Hall Dublin, the Lord Mayor to Preside The meeting was large and influential The Hall was capable of containing 5000 person and it was filled from floor . 402 to ceiling there were two galeries in it and they were both full Among those present were a number of the members of the General Assembly who remained after the rest were gone to present an address to Lord Morpeth who was then Viceroy of Ireland. Our speeches were reported by the Press of Dublin, and noticed by nearly all the Provincial papers, So that our mission was pretty well known and when we went to other cities, we got a good audience, The next day after the public meeting I went with the Deputation 403 of the Assembly to the Vice Regal loddge who presented the address to Lord Morpeth, After reading the address to his Lordship and receiving his reply, I was introduced to him by the Moderator of the Assembly Prof Gibson, and had a private audience with his Lordship after the deputation had gone He conversed with me freely about Canada and about the fugitives in the settlement, His Lordship had been in Canada and Morpeth a village in Kent was called after him. On parting with him he handed me a check for 50 dollars enclosed in a complementary note, I remained two or three weeks 404 in Dublin and then proceeded to visit other cities in Ireland where I remained until November and then went to Scotland and held a public meeting in the Music Hall, Edinburgh the Lord Provost acted as Chairman. Nearly all the Ministers of Edinburgh with a number of the Professors of the College attended that meeting. In 1846 when studying in the Free College Edinburgh, I was charged by a delegation sent from the United States with being a Slave owner, and I was not in a position then to vindicate my character and I had just to bear the foul slanders that were heaped upon me by that deputation. The deputation consisted of George Thompson; 405 E B..... and Fred Douglas. The deputation had been sent to Scotland by the Antislavery Sockety of the United States to stir up a feeling against the Free Church because, they had sent a delegation to the United States the year before to collect money to assist in building churches that were required in Scotland after the Disruption. The Delegation in their visit to the United States had gone into the Slave states and collected some

£4,000 there, and this was considered a crime by the Abolitionists of the United States, and sent the delegation to tell the free Church to "send back the money". The cry "send back the money" was written in large letters and posted every where in the City of Edinburgh. I was now able for the first time before an Edinburgh audience to vindicate myself from the fould slander that had been made by the deputation against me. For an account of the public meeting see Edinburgh News Nov 16th 1859. I remained four weeks in Edinburgh and visited the principal Cities in Scotland lecturing on slavery and collecting for the Buxton Mission

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In December I proceeded to London to mature a plan which I with some of my Antislavery friends in London had in view, namely to plant Christian colonies on the west coast of Africa as a barier against the slave trade, which* was still carried on on the West Coast of Africa Notwithstanding the vigilance of the British Cruisers, that were kept there at expense of half a million of pounds sterling for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade Yet according to the last Antislavery report 40000 slaves were taken from the West Coast of Africa and sold in Havana and Brazil The proposed was to plant Christian colonies on the Western Coast of Africa under British protection These colonies would teach the Chiefs that it was more profitable for them to raise cotton and sugar than to sell their slaves. In 1858 Dr Delany was sent out from Canada, to the West Coast of Africa to negotiate there with the Chiefs for land to plant the Colonies on. He had visited 300 miles of the coast of A..... and negotiated with the chiefs for land, and had obtained the right from them to settle on it. The Doctor had returned from his visit to Africa in 1859, and prepared a report which he read at a meeting of the Social Science of which the Prince Consort was Chairman, Lord Brougham and Sir Thomas Howel Buxton, the Minister of the U States were present, When Lord Brougham announced that a report on the West Coast of Africa would be read by a coloured Gentleman, who had just returned from the Coast, the Minister of the United States rose and left the meeting He considered it an insult to him to listen to a Negro read a paper before the Social Science. When a few years before the Supreme Court had decided

^{* &#}x27;whis' in M.S.

that a Negro was a Chattel, and had no rights which they were bound to

410 respect. On the Ministers leaving the meeting Doctor Delaney before reading
his report gave a skathing speech denouncing the United States, for their
Hypocracy. Stating that England was the only country where true freedom
was enjoyed The Report was read and adopted by the Society. An Association was formed called the African Aid Society; Lord Alfred Churchhill was
President, see Prospectus of African Aid Society

I was to furnish the men from the Elgin Settlement who were to act as the pioneers of the Christian colonies to be formed, and the London Society was to furnish the means and Protection to the colonists,

411 I returned home from England in March 1860 and found that great changes were taking place in the United States, Public opinion in the North was strong against the extension of Slavery, The irrepressible conflict had begun in Kansas, which was ultimately admitted as a free State. This was a victory for the North John Brown had fought in Kansas with his three sons for liberty and he gave great anoyance to the planters in Missouri by going in there running off their Negroes to Canada, with a small band he Raided Harpers ferry a strong Arsenal of the United States and took it there Both him and his followers lost their lives Six only escaped and found 412 their way into Canada The debates at this time in Congress were fiery violent and bitter; the Revolutionary stories of the Charlestown Convention had agitated the whole country the Republican Convention which met in Chicago in May and nominated Abraham Lincon for President, known to be an Antislavery This deepened the feeling of the South against the North and threats were made, should Lincoln be elected, the South would secede from the Union and form a Confederacy of their own

All these events bore the Mark of an impending crisis and no one could

tell what the future would be Mr Lincoln was elected President in Nov 1860.

In the spring of 1861 I had several young men Prepared to go out as pioneers

of the Colonies While I was corresponding with the Society in London about

sending the young men out, the Southern States seceded and war was declared,

I then wrote to the Society in London that the sword had been drawn from the

scabbard and would not be returned, until liberty was proclaimed to the

Captives, The market for slaves as far as the U.S. was concerned would

come to an end with the war, The young men who intended to go out to Africa to Colonize the west coast were prepared to go South to fight for 414 liberty as soon as the opportunity would be given them to enter the Northern Army, that opportunity was not given them at first. Neither parties were at first fighting for liberty. The North was fighting for the union and the South was fighting to carry their slaves every where considered it was his duty to put down the rebellion and preserve slavery but after two years experience of war he found that was impossible, the North got the worst of it during the first two years of the war, and it was not until Mr Lincoln issued his proclamation in the beginning of the third year, declaring all the Negroes, in the Slave States then in rebellion 415 to be free, from that time forward victory followed the standards of the Northern Army Kentucky and Missouri, did not secede with the others, but remained in the Union, But they were only a source of weakness for all their sympathies were with the South. Lincoln when he issued his proclamation of freedom to the Negroes of Slave States in rebellion offered to remunerate the owners of Slaves in those two states that remained in the Union if they would give their slaves freedom but they refused the offer, expecting that the South would come out victorious in the end and they 416 would then join the Confederacy.

The latter part of 1862 and the spring of 1863 was the darkest period in the Civil war things looked gloomy for the North, but according to the Proverb when the night is at the darkest it is then nearer dawn, A brighter day was about to dawn for the North Liberty had been proclaimed to the captive the opressed had been set free, wherever the Northern army went freedom followed. Negroes were set free and enrolled in the Northern army. The Elgin settlement was prepared to send some of her finest young men into the Army of the North to fight for freedom I called a public meeting and explained the position of things in the Army Freedom had been proclaimed by the President of the U States to the slaves in the South they could now be enrolled in the army of the North One of the first coloured Regiments was now being formed in Detroit by Captain Ward and others; An opportunity was now given to them to enter the army and assist the North in freeing their brothers in the south. Many of them had Brothers and sisters and

418 Parents there in bondage, The time had now come for action "Those who would be free must strike the blow" Some 40 volunteers at once offered. Two of my own slaves that I had manumitted Solomon and Cornelius were among Solomon became a recruiting Sergeant in the coloured regiment then forming in Detroit and was one of the most active officers in the Regiment in getting recruits. Solomon was the one that I paid \$150 for when I left the South to keep him from being separated from his Mother. He was now in his twentieth year, tall squarely built, light quadroon and quite Military in his bearing when dressed in his regimentals. He would 419 come into Canada and take out with him a number of recruits and he would sometimes go down to Kentucky and bring recruits from that State. The coloured people throughout the Province gave a large number of soldiers to the Northern Army, the Elgin Settlement at different times sent seventy into it, some of them from the time the y entered fought through the whole war A number of them are still living and the U States have not forgotten their bravery but has given to each of the survivors a pention to cheer them in 420 their old age Cornelius died of yellow fever in the Hospital in Louisiana and Solomon fought through the war and when peace was restored he settled on a plantation in South Carolina married and died there a few years ago During the war few fugitives came into the settlement, the first gun fired at Fort Sumpter put an end to the fugitive slave law, the proclamation of liberty gave the coloured man everywhere the liberty to arm and fight for his own freedom But although there were few fugitives came into the 421 Settlement there were quite a number of their Masters came to escape the draft for the southern army, they did not like to fight and they hastened

Although the Settlement had few accessions during the war All the land had been entered, and those living on it went on with their improvements, the schools were well attended and doing good work; many of the young men and women, were so far advanced, that when the opportunity was given they could act as teachers, some of the young men had acquired a considerable knowledge of Classics. they could read Virgil and the Greek testament, one had entered the literary department of Knox College with the view of studying for the ministry.

to Canada and some of them found an Asylum in the Elgin Settlement.

At the close of the war when peace had been proclaimed and the South garrisoned by Northern troops, a Bureau was established called the Freedmans Bureau with General Howard at its head who had the charge of all the lands confiscated by the rebels; and he was selling them out to freedmen or any who might apply to buy them. A number of leading men in the settlement, with others in the Province came to me and said they would like to go south and purchase those lands, they were going very cheap and form a colony there, similar to the Elgin Settlement, employ free labour and raise cotton and sugar the former of these at that time was commonly a very high price. 423 They wished me to go with them, as the Elgin Settlement would no longer be required as an asylum for fugitives, coloured men were now free everywhere, and my work in the Elgin Settlement was now nearly done, After considering the matter, I told them that I would go, But I must first know before taking so important a step as that of forming a colony of freedmen on the abandoned lands of the South, I must first know what quantity of land we could get in one block and on what conditions it could be obtained and what protection we would get to settle there: as the country was still in a very unsettled state, Planters who had lost their land by rebellion were not willing that strangers should live on them. These facts I would like to know with several others before I would make a move of that kind. had got an experimental lesson in forming the Elgin Settlement; which I would not likely forget. We would require for a settlement of the kind contemplated at least 20000 acres of cotton and sugar lands in one block. To get the facts I wanted I would have to go to Washington, and treat with the Government, and to go there on business of that kind I would require to be accredited by our own Government. The parties in this movement, that intended to go, by selling their own property, could take with them each from ten to twelve hundred Dollars. With this they intended to buy plantations of four or five hundred acres pay for them by instalments, and employ free labour of which there was then plenty in the South, and cheap In September 1865 I received a letter from the Hon William McDougal then secretary of State to The Hon Mr Seward at Washington, I also received (a)

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letter of introduction from friends in Detroit to Major Howard, of the 426 Freedmens Bureau at Washington. On arriving at Washington, I presented my letter to Mr Seward, who received me courteously and after reading the letter, said you are a British Subject I replied that I was, then said he I cannot negotiate with you only through the British Ambassador here, remarking your business is diplomatic, and etiquette requires that it should be done through the British Minister here. The British Minister at that time was Lord Bruce, a Brother of Lord Elgins. I went to him and introduced myself He knew all about the Elgin Settlement, and conversed freely 427 with me for nearly an hour I explained to him the points I wanted information on from Mr Seward His Lordship told me that matters were still in a very unsettled state the abandoned lands were being restored to rebels who were pardoned by Johnston then President, giving to the Rebels both their land and freedom. I was informed when in Washington that there were nearly 500 planters then in the city suing for pardon. His Lordship gave me a letter to Mr Seward, stating that he was acquainted with the object of my visit to Washington and that I would explain it to Mr Seward myself I 428 explained to him Briefly the object of my visit, after hearing my statement, he gave me a letter to Major Howard who had the management of the abandoned lands, he informed me that the quantity of land wanted could not be obtained in one body, that the lands confiscated were scattered all over the State; and that the President was restoring the land with pardon to the former owners, after they took the oath of allegiance prescribed by the United States, and that Negroes would not be safe to settle on any of those lands 429 in the present state of public feeling. The feeling against them was bitter and against any one who would occupy, that would purchase, or occupy any of the abandoned lands. In short a state of lawlessness reigned through the slave states, that was only kept in check, by the strong military force kept in each state since the close of the war. The States in rebellion had to be reconstructed and a Civil Government appointed and a national policy adopted with regard to the coloured race that had been set free before there 430 could be any security for life and property in the southern States, I saw from the information received from both Mr Seward and Major Howard, that

the object of my mission could not be obtained, at that time so I prepared to leave for Canada by taking formal leave of Mr Seward and Major Howard,

When I called on Lord Bruce to take my formal leave of him he said The coloured people who were doing well in Canada he would advise them to stay where they were in the mean time On my return to Buxton I called a public meeting and told them that I had failed in my mission to Washington to obtain what we wanted, that the lands could not be obtained and in the 431 present unsettled state of society it would not be safe for coloured people to go there at present. The states in rebellion were under military government and had to be reconstructed The coloured people had no legal standing as citizens the laws enacted against them in the days of slavery had not been formerly repealed. and until they had their civil rights as citizens secured by law it would not be safe to live there, The government was friendly towards them and I was sure the disabilities under which 432 coloured men then laboured would soon be removed and when that time arrived a large field of usefulness would be opened up for those now educated in the settlement to go and give instruction to their brethren in ignorance If they could not go as a body to colonize waste lands they could go as individuals and make themselves useful, in the meantime they would have to wait, and in a short time a large field of usefulness would be opened up for their talents.

After the proclamation of freedom had been proclaimed by President
Lincoln, there was a desire on the part of the friends of the coloured
people in the North to have the rights of American citizens given to the
freedmen of the South A commission was appointed called the American
Freedmens Enquiry Commission The object of the Commission was to enquire
into the condition of those slaves who had found an asylum in Canada, who
had become British subjects and were enjoying all the rights and privileges
of British citizens, I received in August 1863 a circular from Samuel G
How Chairman of the Commission, dated July 28th 1863 requesting me to give
him information concerning the Elgin Settlement, where the fugitives had
been self supporting and during ten years had been exercising all the rights
of British Citizens. I requested the Commission to visit the settlement
and judge for themselves. (See Circular it speaks for itself)

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The Commission accepted my invitation and visited the settlement in September. The names of the Commission were Robert Dellowe James McKay and Samuel G. Howe, The Commission spent one day in going through the settlement examining the improvements, and asking questions at the settlers I informed the commission that I had no dout the freedmen in the south would exercise the elective Franchise as well as many of the Emigrants 435 that the U States were receiving daily from Europe and would, when an opportunity was given them be self supporting. Most of those in the settlement had come from the U States stripped of everything but life, they were placed on the land for which they were to pay by ten instalments, and without any aid they were to support themselves, by their own industry, they had done so, they were sober and industrious, most of them had paid for their land, two of them were elected to the Township Council and discharged the duties of their office with credit to themselves and honour to their race 436 All that coloured men wanted was a fair field and no favour. The experiment had been fairly made in the Elgin Settlement, what coloured men could do when placed in favourable circumstances, The Commission was so favourably impressed with what they saw, that they reported in favour of giving the freedmen of the south the Ballot and the fourteenth amendment was added to the constitution of the United States for that purpose. The reconstruction of the Southern States was now going on and the right of Sufferage having been given to the freedmen, some of those who had received a fair education at the mission School went South and received lucrative situations 437 as the following letter which I received from Mr Rapier one of the settlers who had gone to Alabama will show -

"United States Internal Residence Africans Office 2nd District Alabama",

Montgomery July 7th 1870

My Dear friend

After a long silence on my part without any good cause.

I take advantage of the present opportunity to address you this letter knowing full well, you have always taken a lively interest in me, and not only myself but all the boys, who attended the old Log school house and church. Whether I have profited by the education I received there or not,

438 is not for me to practise John Riley was preaching to a large congregation in Louisville Kentucky his Brother Jerome was practising medicine in the hospital in Washington

I hope to visit Canada this fall on private business when I hope to see you, Remember me to the friends in Buxton

I remain yours sincerely,

James Rapier

At the close of the war when fugitives ceased to come into the Settlement and many of the young people were going out, for a few years the Exodus was large, the School ceased to be free they were placed as Schools of the State and were supported by the settlers themselves, who 439 appointed their own Trustees and were taxed for their support during the time that I kept them as free Schools, seven hundred received a good English education, and some received the higher branches of a Classical and mathematical education most of those young men and women who were qualified to teach went south and got good situations as teachers in the Schools of the Freedmen where they are now doing good service, them who had received a Classical education at Buxton took advantage of the University established at Washington for freedmen to prepare themselves 440 for the practice of law and medicine, and a number of them became Doctors and Lawyers, and are now practising in the southern States

The Settlement was generally healthy we had no epidemics, we had only a few cases of fever and ague, which I attended myself as we had no Doctor within 12 miles of the Settlement I had when in Edinburgh paid some attention to medicine, and attended clinical lectures in the Royal Infirmary where I had seen a great deal of Typhus fever and Small pox,

441 One of the young men who had served as a Soldier in the war, came home and brought the contagion of small pox with him, in his clothes, a few days after he came home he fell sick of fever I was sent for by his Mother his Father was in the South, where he had gone during the War When I examined the young man I told his Mother that he had the small pox and that the family must keep the house, and I would attend to the case and get what

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they wanted, I went and got a woman who had had the small pox to nurse the young man, and warned the settlers not to go near the house lest the disease should spread. I was the only visitor to the house The Mother of the young man was very much afraid of the disease, she had a baby six months old, and she would not go upstairs where her son was lying sick, lest she or the child should take it; In a few days however two of her younger children took the disease, I had now three patients in the family. I attended them once every day and got them such nourishment as they could take. There were six children in the family five boys and a girl the oldest boy was twenty two and the babe six months, before the oldest boy got better, the rest of the younger part of the family with the babe took it, and what was marvelous the Mother never took it although she nursed the child until it got better, they all got along nicely only the third who took it a boy about fourteen who had a severe coat of small pocks every part of his body was covered with them, and when the pocks began to rise, instead of rising to a top filled with clear limped matter they took the confluent state ran together and became a running sore filled with yellow matter. He died the tenth day, all the rest recovered and got quite well, one was deeply pock marked; The house had been isolated none went to the house but myself On the tenth day when they were beginning to improve I was called to see a family named Simms who lived about 2 miles south west from the Thomas family who were sick, and I found Simms the Father and one of his children about ten had taken the disease. No one had been at the Thomas family to carry the disease out, but the wind had been blowing steady for several days from the North West and in a direct line to Sims and I supposed that had carried the disease What made this case bad, Sims wife was confined a few days after her husband was taken sick and No one could be found to attend her My Wife went and had a baby. attended her, for a few days until she got better; neither the mother 445 nor the child took the disease, four of the family had it but they all got well over it. Four or three other families living near Sims took, but they all recovered. There were 18 cases in all and I only lost one patient the boy of Mr Thomas. I was thankful that God in His providence

stopped the disease it spread no further and no white person had it, The homes were cleansed and fumigated, and all the settlement were vaccinated and the disease disappeared entirely.

This epidemic virtually closed the Schools, of the settlement and

446 when they opened again they were under Government control the people elected
their own Trustees, and paid their own Teachers.

The Elgin Settlement having now demonstrated by actual experiment, that the coloured men when placed in favourable circumstances were capable of supporting themselves and improving socially and morally the same as the white race. The lands had all been settled many years ago and nearly all paid for. The Elgin Association took the necessary steps to wind up the whole affair All the families who had entered on the lands were living comfortably, on their farms, having paid for them by their own industry and received deeds for the same They had opened out the roads cleared and drained them, The children who had grown up and been educated in the 447 Settlement, went all nearly South, where they obtained useful and profitable employment some as teachers, others as lawyers and Doctors and some as preachers; The affairs of the settlement were finally wound up in March 1873 by giving a final report to the Ontario Government I giving my services to the Settlement for 25 years without fee or reward and closed my connection with it in 1880.

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Copy taken from the "History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada"

By

Rev. William Gregg D.D.

Pages 136, 137 etc

"Besides ordinary home Mission work, the Synod of the Free Church of Canada undertook and carried on a special mission to the coloured people of the Province, a considerable number of whom had fled from slavery in the United States. The origin of this mission was mainly due to the Rev. William King, who in 1846, was sent as a missionary to Canada by the Free

Church of Scotland. Mr King was a native of the County of Londonderry,
Ireland; he studied literature and philosophy in Belfast Academy and
Glasgow College, then emigrated to the United States and became rector of
a college in Louisiana. He afterwards studied theology in the Free Church
College, Edinburgh. While in Louisiana he became possessed of fifteen
slaves to whom it was his desire to grant their freedom

of their own labors. He then (1848) brought them to Canada and then,
without accepting compensation, secured their freedom. He next set about
carrying out a plan, which he had previously devised, of forming a settlement in which land might be granted on easy terms to fugitive slaves and
other colored people. For this purpose he succeeded in organizing an
Association which purchased from the Government 9,000 acres of land in the
County of Kent, to be sold to settlers at the rate of \$2 to \$3 an acre.
The Association assumed the name of the "Elgin Association" in honour of
Lord Elgin, the Governor General of the Province, who favoured the enter-

prise ...

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Within fifteen years all the land purchased by the Elgin Association was allotted and peopled by about 1,000 coloured settlers. Farms were cleared, houses built after a prescribed model, roads opened up, and school-houses, a steam saw mill, a blacksmith's and carpenter's shop, a pearl-ash factory, and a brick hotel were erected. In the settlement the sale of intoxicating liquors was prohibited. The results of the experiment made by the Elgin Association proved satisfactory. They furnished a practical demonstration that the coloured man, when placed in favourable circumstances is able and willing to support himself, and that for thrift, sobriety, and the capacity of acquiring knowledge he is not behind the white population. But the spiritual interests of the coloured people were those which Mr. King had most at heart. He, therefore, brought their case before the Synod and proposed the establishment of a mission to the Buxton Settlement. proposal was favorably received, and Mr. King was himself appointed to labour as a missionary there. Teachers also were employed. A temporary church was erected and a congregation organized. The mission was placed

under the charge of the Synod's Home Mission Committee, on whom was de-453 volved the duty of providing and apportioning the funds necessary for its support. In the year 1861, the year of the Union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, it was reported that in the Buxton Mission Church there were three elders and three deacons, that there were sixtysix communicants on the roll, that the Sabbath attendance on public worship varied from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty, that the average number of children in the Sabbath schools was 118, and that in connection with the central Sabbath school there was a missionary society, the contri-454 butions of which were sent to the Calabar Mission on the Coast of Africa. Besides those connected with/Presbyterian Church there were a large number of coloured people in the Elgin Settlement who were Baptists and Methodists; for them religious ordinances were provided by the churches to which they belonged.

The ordinary annual expenditure for the support of the Presbyterian Mission in the Buxton Settlement was about \$1.000. Part of this amount was drawn from the Synod Fund, and part was generously contributed by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. For the erection of church buildings and other purposes there was collected a special fund amounting to upwards of \$5,000. The contributions to this fund were obtained for the most part in the British Isles and in the United States through the energetic efforts of Dr. Robert Burns, of Toronto, and Mr. King, the founder of the settlement."

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"The Buxton Mission, which had been commenced by the Free Church

456 Synod for the benefit of the coloured population - and especially for the
fugitive and emancipated slaves - was continued, after the Union of 1861,
by the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. So far as Slaves were
concerned, it was not specially needed after the famous proclamation of
President Lincoln, by which, towards the close of the great civil war
(1861-1865), slavery was abolished in the United States. The result of

the proclamation on the Elgin Settlement was that a large number of those who had been well educated there returned to the United States. as in Canada, many were usefully employed in various important positions. In the Home Mission Report, presented to the Synod in 1869, it is stated 457 that a full report of the Buxton Mission had been sent by the Rev. W. King, and it is added: "From this report it appears that many who had been instructed in the mission school are now usefully employed in Canada and the United States. One, who was educated in Knox College and licensed by the Presbytery of London is now preaching in Kansas and superintending a large Sabbath school of freedmen. Another writes from Missouri, and states that he is teaching a large school of freedmen and conducting a Sabbath school. Another, a female, is teaching in Louisville, Kentucky, and another 458 was lately conducting a large school for freed men in Washington City. A young man from Alabama found his way to Buxton, was educated there, and since the war is now in his native place working a plantation with freedmen; has a school for their benefit, and has been elected to the legislature. At the meeting of the General Assembly in 1870, the report of the Buxton Mission Committee was handed in by the Rev. John Scott, the Convener. The report set forth in substance that a new church had been completed and 459 opened for worship at a cost of \$2,571,50, and that there remained in the hands of the committee the sum of \$3,114.75. It was recommended in the

report that the money should be invested, and the interest of it used in aiding to support the mission; and that the mission itself should be placed on the list of aid-receiving congregations. The report was received and adopted by the Assembly, which also resolved to record their high appreciation of the devoted, self-denying and earnest labors of Mr. King in connection with the Buxton Mission, extending over a period of twenty years; their gratification with the result of his labors so far as now apparent, and their hope that still farther and more abundant fruit will appear in time to come; and their satisfaction with the present position of the mission and the discharge of all obligations, both on account of the property and the salary of Mr. King."



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