

**A Scholarly Edition Of Mary A. Shadd's
*A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes Of Canada West***

Richard Almonte

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

English

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

July 1996

copyright Richard Almonte, 1996



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-18371-8

Canada

ABSTRACT

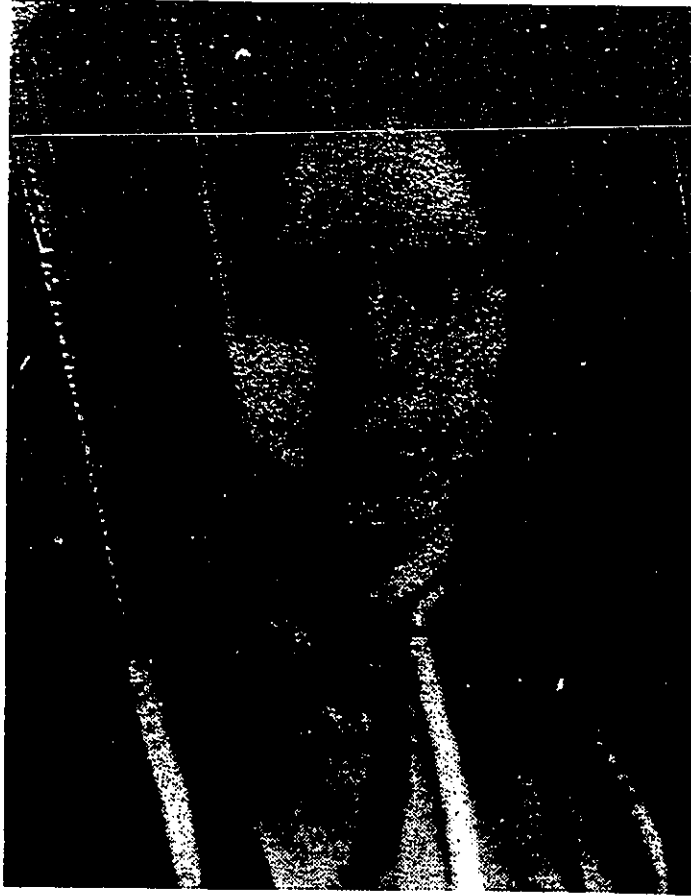
A Scholarly Edition of Mary A. Shadd's
A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes Of Canada West

Richard Almonte

The goal of this thesis has been to provide a reliable edition of Mary A. Shadd's long-forgotten 1852 book *A Plea for Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*. Shadd was an abolitionist, teacher, editor, army recruitment officer, lawyer, advocate for women's rights as well as an immigrant to Canada from the United States who lived here between 1851 and 1864. This thesis follows conventions of editing embodied in editions published by the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts based at Carleton University. These conventions include an Editor's Introduction which provides biographical and literary context, as well as a complete editorial apparatus including explanatory notes, bibliographical description of copy-text and emendations. The editing of Shadd's book, it is hoped, will allow scholars and teachers to reassess the scope of writing by Blacks in the Canadian tradition, as well as establish Shadd as more than just a figure in history, but also as a writer whose works deserve to be read today.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Chris and Peter Jackson of Prince George whose friendship and suggestion of a day-trip to Buxton, Dresden, and Chatham inspired me to work harder; and also to Kegan Kawano of Toronto, whose computer expertise and willingness to give of his time made this thesis reach completion faster than I had hoped.



Contents

Frontispiece:	
Picture of Mary Shadd, courtesy of National Archives of Canada	v
Editor's Introduction	1
Illustration:	
Title-page of 1852 Detroit-Pattison edition	51
<i>A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West</i>	52
Explanatory Notes	118
Bibliographical Description of 1852 Detroit-Pattison edition	150
Emendations in Copy-text	153
Line-end Hyphenated Compounds in Copy-text	164
Line-end Hyphenated Compounds in This Edition	165
Appendix A:	
Title-pages of two reference works used by Shadd	166
Appendix B:	
Text of lecture by Shadd: <i>Obstacles to the Progress of Colored Canadians</i>	167
Bibliography	170

Editor's Introduction

In 1926 Hallie Q. Brown published a book entitled *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, an early attempt at recognizing and celebrating the achievements of Black women in the history of the United States of America. Among the essays in Brown's collection is one with the eye-catching subtitle, "The Foremost Colored Canadian Pioneer in 1850." This short essay, whose subject is Mary Shadd Cary, notes in passing that upon emigrating to Canada, Shadd (who didn't add Cary to her name until 1856 when she married Thomas Cary) "at once began a vigorous and active campaign by publishing a pamphlet which was widely circulated in the United States, setting forth in plain language the opportunities for emigrants in Canada."¹ The pamphlet of which the essay speaks is *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, published by Shadd in 1852.

It might be tempting, and even logical, to assume that an emigrant's guide, published with the express purpose of attracting Black American immigrants to

Canada in the years leading up to the American Civil War, would have become better known than Shadd's guide has. This assumption is especially valid when we consider that emigrant guides have been accorded classic status in the realm of early Canadian literature, with books like Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush, Or Life in the Canadas* (1852) being thought of as paradigmatically Canadian.² The truth, however, is that Shadd's *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* has been virtually ignored by Canadian and American critics alike. This situation has been exacerbated by the fact of the book's rarity. In his exhaustively researched study *The Blacks in Canada* (1971), Robin Winks discusses Shadd but admits to having been unable to find a copy of her book.³

The acquisition by the Metropolitan Toronto Public Library of a copy of Shadd's *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* in 1977, along with the appearance, in the same year, of Jim and Linda Bearden's biography *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary*, have made further neglect of Shadd and her work both unnecessary and inconceivable. The edition presented here of Shadd's book is the first to appear since the original Detroit edition of 1852. Besides editing the *Provincial Freeman* from 1853 to 1857, and writing the book edited here, Shadd also published two other works. These are *Hints to the Colored*

People of the North (1849), a twelve-page pamphlet published in Wilmington, Delaware; and *A Voice From Harper's Ferry* (1861), a book Shadd edited based on events related to her by Osborne P. Anderson, a friend of her brother Isaac's who had participated in the ill-fated attack on Harper's Ferry, Virginia - a direct cause of the American Civil War.

The introduction which follows is divided into two main sections. The first is a biographical essay on Mary Shadd which pays particular attention to the thirteen years she lived and worked in Canada. This first section will clarify the specific conditions under which *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* was written. Following this, an attempt will be made at situating Shadd's book in the context of Canadian literature. Such an attempt necessitates a reevaluation of accepted boundaries of early Canadian literature on several accounts. First, because Shadd's book is not fiction, and second, because as a Black woman writing positive things about Canada, Shadd's message contradicts fundamental assumptions about the content and meaning of early Canadian literature, as well contradicting late twentieth-century cultural criticism by Black Canadian writers.

Mary Ann Shadd was born in Wilmington, Delaware on October 9, 1823.⁴ Her mother Harriet Parnell Shadd was seventeen at the time, while her father Abraham Doras Shadd was twenty-two. Harriet and Abraham would go on to have twelve more children, although it appears that only five of them lived to reach adulthood. Three facts survive to describe Harriet Shadd: she was from North Carolina, she was not a slave, and she was mulatto. Significantly more information exists about Abraham Shadd, an important abolitionist in his time, and therefore alive to posterity through the public record. Like his wife, Abraham was a free Black, the grandchild of a mixed marriage. His grandfather Hans Schad was a Hessian soldier who had fought on the American side in the War for Independence. Before the war he had married Elizabeth Jackson, a Black woman from Pennsylvania.

From his father Jeremiah, Abraham Shadd inherited the family shoemaking business. This happened in 1819, with the estate valued at \$1300, and it made Abraham a comfortably well-off man. Abraham acquired his own property in Wilmington around this time, and married Harriet Parnell some time within the next four years. By the time Mary Ann was born in 1823, the Shadds' home was

a stop on the fledgling Underground Railroad. Abraham and Harriet were in a perilous position: they were free blacks in a slave state. By sheltering fugitive slaves they took their lives in their hands every day.

When Mary Ann was a young girl, her father became active in abolitionist circles. In 1830, 1831 and 1832, Abraham Shadd represented Delaware at the National Convention for the Improvement of Free People of Color in Philadelphia. He became the Convention's president in 1833, and using the authority of that position, denounced the expatriation movement supported by the American Colonization Society, which advocated emigration of American Blacks to Liberia. What Abraham Shadd advocated instead of emigration to Africa was self-reliance at home. He argued that education was the key factor which would deliver Blacks from their current deplorable situation.

It may not be a coincidence, then, that it was at this time that Mary Ann became a student at Price's Boarding School in West Chester, Pennsylvania. The whole Shadd family had in fact moved from Delaware to Pennsylvania because of education: as a slave state, Delaware "provided no educational opportunities" to Blacks.⁵ Price's boarding School was a private Quaker school, and Mary Ann was a student there for six years under a teacher named Phoebe Darlington. West

Chester had a large Quaker population, and the Darlingtones were just one of many families working alongside the Shadd family for the abolition of slavery. In West Chester Abraham worked as a shoemaker, and his account books identify Phoebe Darlington as a "regular customer."⁶

Mary Ann graduated from Price's Boarding School in 1839 at the age of sixteen. Her father's conviction that education was vital to the improvement of Black people's situations had obviously rubbed off on Mary Ann because soon after leaving school, she made a seemingly audacious move back to Wilmington where she proceeded to open a school for Black children. There was still no public education available to Blacks in Delaware. It was at least partially through Mary Ann's hard work that by 1844 "Wilmington took steps to insure an education for the free black children of that city."⁷ For the next seven years, Mary Ann lived and taught in a number of cities, including West Chester and Norristown, Pennsylvania; Trenton, New Jersey and New York City. Her experiences in these various locations were not always positive. She wrote to her family on one occasion, for instance, implying that the Black people of Trenton were less than grateful for her efforts.

But there were triumphant experiences as well. One of these experiences takes on almost mythic proportions in its retelling by Shadd's biographers, Jim and Linda Bearden. Apparently one day Mary Ann needed to catch a trolley on

'Broadway at a time when colored women [hardly] dared to think of riding in the cars... M.A. Shadd threw up her head, gave one look and a wave of the hand. There was such an air of imperative command in it that the large, coarse, ruffianly driver, who had been known to refuse colored ladies,' capitulated. As though 'suddenly seized with paralysis,' he brought his team to a halt. Mary entered the car and rode to her destination 'without hindrance.'

The section of the anecdote quoted above is prefaced by a few sentences where the reader is assured that Shadd was "wholly feminine to appearance and demeanor."⁹ The reader is supposed to be amazed, it is implied, not so much by the fact of a Black woman riding a trolley, but of a beautiful Black woman charming a "ruffianly" white man into submission. This focus, by her contemporaries, on her femininity (or lack thereof) instead of on social, literary and political achievements, plagued Shadd throughout her career, as we shall see later.

A significant achievement of Shadd's occurred in 1849. In that year she published a twelve-page pamphlet entitled *Hints to the Colored People of the North*. This pamphlet elaborated on letters to newspapers like Frederick Douglass' *North Star* where Shadd had argued that amelioration of the situation of Blacks necessitated independent action. Independent in the way Shadd used the word had a double meaning: to do things by one's self, but more importantly, independently of white people. *Hints to the Colored People of the North* took this formula one step further, and "pointed to the folly of black imitation of white conspicuous materialism."¹⁰ Furthermore, according to Jonathan Silverman, Shadd's pamphlet "asserted that blacks would not profit or improve their condition by such a display of themselves."¹¹ Shadd had, by the age of 26, a ten-year teaching career, as well as a published pamphlet and a rising public profile to her credit. *Hints to the Colored People of the North* was reviewed and discussed in Frederick Douglass' influential *North Star* of June 8, 1849. The relationship between Shadd and Douglass would have its ups and downs, as we will see.

An event of enormous importance to Shadd's life as well as to the lives of all Black Americans was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850. This legislation, according to Jim and Linda Bearden, "sought to expedite the process

whereby slaveowners could hunt down and legally reclaim fugitives" from service.¹² A terrifying aspect of the Fugitive Slave Act was that it did not formally discriminate between slave and free Blacks. Thus, free Blacks in the northern states feared they would be mistaken for fugitive slaves and arrested. Widespread miscarriage of justice ensued as free Blacks were arrested, returned to their 'owners,' and separated from their families. Canada became an increasingly attractive alternative, especially since Canadian law did not discriminate between Blacks and whites, and did not allow for extradition to the United States. As a result, people working for abolition of slavery and 'racial elevation' began to advocate emigration instead of ignoring it altogether. Shadd went one step further.

Arriving in Toronto, Canada West (see explanatory note 50.3), in early September, Shadd was just in time (in fact, she probably planned this) to attend the North American Convention of eminent emigrationist Black leaders who had gathered at St. Lawrence Hall to discuss emigration, the Fugitive Slave Act and other important issues. At this convention, Shadd met abolitionists like Martin Delany, John Scoble and Henry Bibb. Shadd was appointed secretary of the convention and it was her duty to take notes when people spoke and then to transcribe these notes into narrative for publication in newspapers. According to

Silverman, Shadd's "perceptive account" of the convention's proceedings "soon appeared in both American and Canadian newspapers, earning her the reputation of a knowledgeable black leader."¹³ After the convention Shadd wrote to her brother Isaac: "I have been here more than a week, and like Canada. Do not feel prejudice..."¹⁴

Shadd chose to settle in Windsor, a small town at that time numbering about two hundred people. Along with the Niagara region, Windsor was the main point of entry for American Blacks to Canada. The Black population of Windsor grew every day, and naturally Shadd saw there was an educational need to be filled. In fact, as she wrote in a letter to George Whipple (secretary of the American Missionary Association, of whom more later), it was because of Henry and Mary Bibb that she chose to live in Windsor. "I had the prospect," she wrote Whipple, "of a good private school in Toronto and came to this part of the Province from their account of the destitution of the people."¹⁵ The fact that the Bibbs advised Shadd to come to Windsor is ironic since they would become bitter enemies over the next six years. In an earlier letter to Whipple, Shadd had spelled out precisely the kind of destitution she came across: "This is by universal consent, the most

destitute community of colored people, known in this province... I never saw as much wet & filth in any place in my life before."¹⁶

To combat this kind of destitution, Shadd promptly converted an un-used military barracks into a school. She made it clear at a meeting of parents that "if they wanted an exclusive school I *would not* teach for them."¹⁷ By exclusive, Shadd meant a segregated school. In other words, in principle, Shadd's new school welcomed both Black and white students. In practice, white children already had public schools to attend, and the chance of their switching to an integrated private school was remote. Shadd's principled stand soon became a widespread controversy in Windsor. Henry and Mary Bibb argued that instead of a private school, Shadd and the Black community should petition the government for a public Black school (which it was their right to do under the recent Separate School Act). Shadd opened her school nevertheless and managed to run night school classes for two months and day school a little while longer. The parents of her students, were, for the most part, too poor to pay the school fees (which Shadd had set at an incredibly low level to begin with). Eventually, Shadd was able to secure funds from George Whipple of the American Missionary Association. That

organization agreed to pay Shadd \$125 per year beginning November 1, 1851. Her school had been saved.

Shadd's deeply-held opinion that segregation (whether in school, church, or community) was a retrograde step for Black emigrants, saw its culmination with the publication of her short book, *A Plea for Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*. Jim and Linda Bearden speculate that she entered the country with the book already planned. "It is probable" they write, "that the need for such a tract was a major inspiration for her emigration." The Beardens go on to make a convincing case for the importance of Shadd's book:

In this age of mass communication... it is difficult to conceive of the problem that lack of information posed during the last century. Blacks living in America and desiring to leave often had no idea of any suitable alternatives. One place they needed to know about was Canada West¹⁸.

As usual with Shadd's actions, controversy surrounded the publication of her book. Henry Bibb, editor of the *Voice of the Fugitive* (the leading Black Canadian newspaper), took the opportunity of the book's publication to point out to his

readers that Shadd had published her book not in Canada, but across the river in Detroit. Sarcastically, Bibb wrote:

we think that there can be but little doubt of the mechanical part of the work being well done, as it is executed by a white gentleman in Detroit, who is able to do a good job¹⁹.

As it turned out, the white gentleman in Detroit, George W. Pattison, did a miserable job in getting Shadd's book published.

The first and only edition of *A Plea for Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* is riddled with typographical errors. Why this is so is a difficult question to answer, since no correspondence between Shadd and Pattison exists, and neither does a manuscript of the book. The Beardens make the leap in thought to claim the errors were due to a "presumably racist printer," but there is no evidence to prove such an assertion. In fact, the little information that does exist about Shadd's printer, George W. Pattison, and which the Beardens appear not to have looked into, tells us that he was a Quaker. Quakers were known more for their solidarity with Blacks than their racism.²⁰ The only comment from Shadd herself comes in a June 21, 1852 letter to George Whipple where she writes: "I send by this mail... a copy of a tract I have had the presumption to get out, and beg you

to overlook the innumerable errors with which it abounds. I could *not* get out a faultless thing, but really I am not responsible."²¹ The book, such as it was, cost 12½ cents per copy. Shadd hoped to recoup the printing costs at the very least.

Precise information on how many copies of the book were published does not exist. Sales figures are also non-existent, although Silverman feels justified in discussing the "widespread circulation" of the book.²² We do know that Shadd herself, during her many lecture tours of the United States and Canada West in the 1850's, sold the book to help pay her way. The great success of her lectures, as we will see later, might be an indirect measure of the success of her book. *A Plea for Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* got a largely positive review in the June 3, 1852 issue of the *Voice of the Fugitive*. Bibb described Shadd as an "accomplished and talented authoress" who had, considering the "paucity of documents of reliable information... accomplished wonders."²³ Bibb's praise was double-edged, however. In the following weeks and months it was followed by a series of veiled and not-so veiled attacks on Shadd. Bibb's anger stemmed from Shadd's ruthless attack, in her book, on the Refugee Home Society (see explanatory note 86.4), of which Bibb was a founding member and defender.

Bibb exacted his revenge in a series of personal attacks on Shadd in his newspaper, the *Voice of the Fugitive*. On July 15 1852, Bibb wrote that "Miss Shadd has said and written many things we think will add nothing to her credit as a lady." This kind of denigration did not deter Shadd from her campaign against the Refugee Home Society. She wrote a series of articles for the *Western Evangelist* criticizing the RHS, but did not sign her name to them, presumably to avoid making her criticism look personal. Bibb found out who the author of the articles was and Shadd was paid back with an article in the August 12, 1852 *Voice* where she was described as "an insignificant anonymous scribbler in this village" and a "vile creature." The attacks on Shadd escalated when she began to make plans for starting up her own newspaper. On December 16 1852, a day after Shadd held a meeting to gather support for her new venture, Bibb (after casting aspersions on any gentlemen who might join Shadd) called her "this masculine individual."²⁴ Bibb's animosity hurt Shadd, but soon she would have the upper hand.

Within eighteen months of the last insult being printed, Bibb was dead and his newspaper disbanded. Shadd's newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*, was first issued in March of 1853 from Windsor. Although Shadd herself published the

paper, wrote the editorials and gathered articles from other papers for reprinting, it was felt that a female editor's name on the masthead would hurt the new paper's chances. Samuel Ringgold Ward, a prominent abolitionist who had moved to Canada West two years before, and who shared Shadd's anti-segregationist views, was appointed editor instead. A day before the first issue of the *Freeman* came off the press, Shadd decided reluctantly to give up school teaching. She had been dealt a serious blow two months earlier when the American Missionary Association fired her because of accusations that she had slandered Bibb and other supporters of the Refugee Home Society. The *Provincial Freeman*, besides being a labour of love for Shadd, now became her chief means of financial support.

Achieving the financial support to keep the newspaper viable meant attracting subscribers. To this end, Shadd took a year off from actually publishing the paper so that she could travel Canada West and the northern states lecturing and advertising the *Freeman*. Her first documented stop was in late May 1853 in Philadelphia, where she gave lectures encouraging emigration to Canada West, armed, as the *Pennsylvania Freeman* reported, "with a map of N.America before her."²⁵ It is probably safe to assume that the substance of Shadd's lectures was taken largely from *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, which she

was selling (along with *Provincial Freeman* subscriptions) to help defray her travel costs. As Jim and Linda Bearden suggest, it is important to appreciate the importance of Shadd's lectures not only for their content, but also because they were trailblazing. The first woman to lecture publicly in the United States was a Black woman, Maria Stewart, in Boston in 1832. Shadd and the Black poet Frances Harper (they appeared together in Philadelphia) followed Stewart in this field. Records do not exist of Shadd's lectures in Canadian cities, but it is likely that she was one of few, if not *the* only, female lecturers in Canada at the time.

Shadd returned to Canada West and moved the headquarters of the *Provincial Freeman* to Toronto. The second issue appeared in March of 1854. The paper was published regularly throughout the spring and early summer, and when Shadd travelled around Canada West, her younger sister Amelia and younger brother Isaac edited the newspaper. After numerous letters to the editor beginning 'Dear Sir' or 'brother Shadd' (she had been using the initials M.A.), Shadd decided in August of 1854 to let her sex be known. The reaction was steady and negative. In October of 1854, Shadd took Samuel Ward's name off the masthead: he had only ever been a figurehead. The pressure to resign became insurmountable, and Shadd wrote her last article as sole editor and publisher in August 1855. She did

not go out whimpering, however, but with a full recognition of her achievements: "To colored women, we have a word - we have 'broken the Editorial ice,' whether willing or not, for your class in America; so go to Editing, as many of you as are willing."²⁶ The *Provincial Freeman* was published in Chatham for the next two years, and Shadd moved to that area also. No longer publisher and editor, Shadd became a travelling agent for the paper, basing herself in Buxton, where her parents had moved recently to a farm in the Elgin Settlement (see explanatory note 97.2).

Shadd attended the National Negro Convention in Philadelphia in 1855 and was the first Black woman admitted as a corresponding member. By many accounts she held her audience spellbound during her speech; her time allotment was increased so that she could finish. Frederick Douglass - whom Shadd had disparaged a year earlier in Toronto, when a bazaar was held in honour of his anti-emigrationist newspaper the *North Star*, upstaging Shadd's own previously planned fête in support of the *Freeman* - was so impressed with Shadd that he appeared to change his mind about one of his deeply-held beliefs: that Blacks should not emigrate, but change the system which oppressed them at home. Shadd made such a mark at the Convention that it caused the people gathered there to reassess her

career. A special benefit was organized in her honour. After returning to Canada, Shadd married Thomas Cary in St.Catharines in January of 1856. Cary was a Toronto barber and early supporter of the *Freeman*. It was an unconventional marriage, with Shadd off to Chicago in aid of the *Freeman* five days after her wedding. The Carys spent a significant portion of their marriage apart, although Shadd did raise Cary's children from his previous marriage, as well as their own. Cary sold lamps to help the *Freeman* and its sagging subscription base.

In the midst of an economic depression, the *Freeman* was published sporadically for another year until September of 1857. Shadd returned to teaching at this time, ironically at an AMA-supported school. This was a period of frustration for Shadd since she could not influence public opinion through the paper. An anecdote exists from this period about how Shadd saved a fugitive slave from being captured by ringing the Chatham Town Hall bell, alerting the town's citizens to the emergency. Shadd's father Abraham became the first Black person elected to public office in Canada in 1858, as a councillor on the Raleigh Township Council. In the spring of that year a famous event -the Chatham Convention - took place. Shadd, her husband, her brother Isaac and another Canadian Black, Osborne Anderson, were involved. John Brown, the militant American abolitionist,

came to Chatham and held a series of meetings, ostensibly about founding a free Black settlement in Kansas, but more secretly, about making preparations to invade an armoury in a southern state in the hopes of precipitating a war to end slavery. The eventual raid on Harper's Ferry, as it came to be known, was successful only in that it brought civil war closer to reality. Brown was executed and Anderson was one of the few to escape. He made his way back to Chatham where Shadd edited his recollections into the book *A Voice From Harper's Ferry*, published in Boston in 1861.

Thomas Cary died in late November, 1860. Shadd continued to teach, but events in the United States were beginning to divert her attention. Details of her life in the years 1860-1863 are sketchy. Shadd supported her family partially by writing articles for a New York newspaper, the *Weekly Anglo-African*. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863. By then, the Civil War was raging and the government decided that Black men could fight too. By 1864, United States Colored Troops were on their way to the South. In December of 1863, Shadd's friend and former Chatham neighbour, the abolitionist Martin Delany (see explanatory note 109.1), wrote to her in Chatham offering the job of recruiting officer: "I will pay you \$15, cash for all slave men... on delivery

and examination by me here in Chicago, I bearing the expense of transportation."²⁷ Shadd received her commission as a recruitment officer from the governor of Indiana, the only woman to serve in this capacity during the Civil War. At the end of the war, Shadd, like almost two-thirds of all Blacks who had settled in Canada, decided to return to the United States. She had lived in Canada almost fifteen years.

Shadd received her teaching certificate in Detroit in 1868 and moved on to Washington within a year. After trying unsuccessfully to find a job with the civil service, she enrolled in the evening courses of Howard University's law school, the first woman to do so. She graduated almost 14 years later (enrolling was fine, but graduating required a fight) and in the meantime wrote articles for numerous newspapers, toured the country as a subscription agent for Frederick Douglass' newspaper, the *New National Era*, as well as working as principal of a school for Black children. Women's rights and suffrage had been covered by both the *Freeman* and the *Voice*, but in the last twenty years of her life, Shadd devoted increased energy to the women's movement. She testified before the House Judiciary Committee examining the issue of women's suffrage. She joined sixty women in 1875 in a protest by attempting to register to vote in an election. She

addressed the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878 and her work was praised in Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *History of Woman Suffrage*. In the final years of her life, Shadd returned to journalism and lecturing (often in the South) to support herself. She died on June 5, 1893 in Washington. The Washington house in which Shadd lived was declared a National Landmark in 1976. More recently, plaques describing her life and work have been unveiled in Toronto and Chatham, and a school in Scarborough bears her name.

*

The process of editing Mary Shadd's *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* contains an implicit argument which needs to be brought into the open at this point. The argument begins like this: Shadd's book is an important addition to the body of works known as Canadian literature. This statement raises a series of more or less vexing questions, such as how and where is it an important addition, and also, why must it be added? There are many ways of answering these questions, and I choose to begin with the analogy of a puzzle. Working on Shadd's book for a year has led me to see it as a puzzle piece which does not appear to fit, yet which I know must, if only I rearrange some of the other pieces

into a new configuration. These other pieces have names, like literary theory, and cultural politics, and editorial intention, each of which is just as important as the piece which doesn't seem to fit: that is, *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*. Slowly I scatter the pieces and start at the beginning.

In answer to the first question - how and where is it an important addition - we can answer that Shadd's book belongs to and enriches an existing tradition, an existing genre. *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* belongs to a significant body of early Canadian literature known as the settlement journal. In the same year that Shadd published her book in Detroit, another immigrant to Canada, Susanna Moodie, published her settlement journal, *Roughing It In The Bush* (1852), in London. Moodie's sister Catherine Parr Traill continued this trend two years later with *The Female Emigrant's Guide* (1854), which in later editions was re-named *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. The importance of the settlement journal or emigrant's guide depends on the audience intended. Contemporary readers were attracted to books like Shadd's and Traill's by their relative inexpensiveness, and more importantly by the wealth of information they provided. It is easy to forget that people put their trust in writers like Shadd and Traill to actually tell it like it was. Moving a family across an ocean or overland hundreds

of miles to a foreign country was a much more daunting task in the 1850's than it is today, especially when we factor in escapes from slavery. Shadd and Traill provided reassurance that the journey was worth it.

As W.H. New and Clara Thomas have pointed out, the settlement journal is attractive to modern readers for slightly different reasons. According to New, we read Traill and Moodie today to give us an understanding of the "attitudes of mind" these people brought to immigration and settlement.²⁸ Thomas stakes a more aesthetic claim when she writes that "a large bonus of enjoyment resides in Catharine Traill's writing... in her suiting of words to subject she achieved an elegant precision."²⁹ Already then we have two reasons why Shadd's book can be read and enjoyed today: a historical-sociological criterion and a literary-aesthetic one. Besides the fact that it joins an already-existing tradition, how does Shadd's book enrich that tradition? The most important way it does so is through tone. While Moodie, and to a lesser extent Traill, have been popularized as women who made do in Canada, who really didn't want to be here but decided for various reasons to stick it out, Shadd provides a startling counterpoint. Her book is written with a strict urgency: Black Americans should, must, move to Canada West. Canada for Shadd is literally the best place in the world.

Such exceptionality has been noted by Mary Lu MacDonald and her point deserves to be quoted in full:

Although Canadians have catalogued their pre-Confederation literary history, few have made an effort to understand it. Instead, we have projected our twentieth century sensibilities backward and sought out in early literature the ideas and attitudes which make sense to us in terms of modern Canada. Those writers whose works do not reflect our contemporary vision of what our ancestors and their lives were like have been ignored. Thus Susanna Moodie's epic personal struggle to come to terms with a new life in a new country is required reading for most students, yet the contrary view, that life in the backwoods and small towns was pleasant and rewarding, which was the prevalent one in early nineteenth century Canada, remains unknown to them.³⁰

MacDonald makes a lot of claims which we should not necessarily assume are applicable to Shadd or her book. For instance, the assertion that Canadians have catalogued their pre-Confederation literary history may be true for white Canadian works, but not for most Black or Native works.³¹ It is only in the last fifteen years that *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* has been recognized

as existing, and while it is discussed by some, there is still no evidence to show it has been read or critiqued. Furthermore, the phrases "our... vision" and "our ancestors" are totalizing in a way which might be unfair for the present editor to employ. For how many people in Canada today is Mary Shadd an ancestor? Is my vision of Shadd's book different from a Black person reading the same book? The details of these questions will be dealt with later when we come to cultural politics. For now, MacDonald's main point, that we should not blindly accept theories of early Canadian literature, is vital.

If we can agree that while not unassailable, Northrop Frye's "garrison mentality" is still the most influential telescope through which early Canadian literature is viewed, we may want to turn that telescope around and see who's doing the looking.³² Frye, a white Canadian with roots in Lower Canada and the Atlantic provinces, reasons that what his white ancestors were embodying in their writings was the conservative wish to re-create their past, in miniature, over here, in the wilds of Canada. Two things are important here: early Canadian literature is a recreation, and what it recreates is an inherited tradition. This equation works well when you're inside the garrison, like the characters in *Wacousta*, or Isabella Crawford's narrators, but what if you're not a transplanted European? What do

the Natives and the Black American immigrants have to say about the garrison mentality? Their case is perhaps more complex.

A careful distinction must be made here, because upon first reading *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, it appears paradigmatically Canadian. Shadd stresses conservative values throughout the book. She makes nasty comments about Americans and Natives. She valorizes the British Empire over everything else. But then, we must remember her motives. When compared to a country where Blacks have no rights, where many live as slaves without freedom, Canada appears a haven. The fact that Shadd stresses conservative assimilationist values needs to be read with the volatile background of American slavery in mind. Whereas for white Canadian writers the garrison mentality (re-creation of the past for fear of the present) holds, in the case of Shadd, there is a distinction: Shadd hopes Blacks will assimilate so that they can *benefit* from Canadian-British institutions. This is about repudiating a troubling past to make a better present. In other words, a strictly utilitarian decision. Unfortunately for Shadd, by placing herself in a position of arguing for Black assimilation into Canadian-British institutions and ways of life, she may lose some credit with modern readers,

especially some modern Canadian Black readers and writers who have tended in the last few years (in ways explained below) to advocate a separatist position.

Before we deal with the issue of modern reaction to Shadd's book, I would like to suggest another answer to the question of how and where *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* fits into Canadian literature. A number of critics have recently begun to put forward the notion of a category called ethnic literature. Central to this movement are Joseph Pivato and Francesco Loriggio whose essays are found in *Literatures of Lesser Diffusion* (1990) and *Echo: Essays on Other Literatures* (1994). Loriggio and Pivato would start by taking exception to the phrase "fit into" which has been a constant of this essay. They tend not to focus on how ethnic literature might "fit into" the majority literature, but rather - as the titles of the books in which their essays appear suggest - set up a separate category called ethnic literature which is to be studied separately because it is, simply, different. This kind of separation obviously has its positive and negative aspects. On the one hand it can give prominence to otherwise neglected writers, while on the other hand marking these writers as something other than Canadian.

Loriggio makes some fundamental claims for ethnic literature which bear repeating. He sees the critic of ethnic literature as having a number of obligations, among them to name, disseminate and define the texts to be dealt with, all the while balancing the contradiction between establishing a new corpus as well as the criteria which define that corpus. The critic of ethnic literature has the advantage of not having to deal with too many antecedent theorists but at the same time the disadvantage of having to invent a new critical vocabulary. By far the most important of Loriggio's observations is that "To be a critic of ethnic literature is... first and foremost, to learn about position, to be aware that one speaks from some point or some status, hence to become more careful about and with theory."³³ I have summarized Loriggio because consciously or not, I have become, by undertaking to edit Shadd, a critic of ethnic literature (and by the same token, have slotted Shadd into the category of 'ethnic writer'). This realization has some ramifications which will be dealt with at the end of this introduction. First, however, opposition to the notion of ethnic literature needs to be registered.

Arun Mukherjee, whose collection of essays *Oppositional Aesthetics: Readings From A Hyphenated Space* has been truly inspirational, disagrees fundamentally with the idea of an ethnic literature (although the title of her book

implicitly recognizes the reality). She writes: "Far too often, works dealing with minority racial and ethnic groups have been described as 'immigrant,' 'ethnic,' or 'new,' all labels that stigmatize those of us identified as 'un-Canadian.'"³⁴ Part of the ongoing debate in this area must include a future agreement on terminology: why do Loriggio and Mukherjee not hear the same thing when someone says 'ethnic literature?' The reason I cast Mukherjee and Loriggio in an oppositional framework is because I agree with both of them, and while trying to make up my mind as to where I belong, and where Shadd belongs, a bigger threat lurks on the horizon oblivious to the nuances in the debate over minority writing.

There are critics who have already begun to promote a backlash against the new prominence of minority writing or ethnic literature. Ironically, 'prominent' is an adjective bestowed upon minority writing only by its detractors. The most formidable proponent of this backlash is W.J. Keith, whose essay "Shooting Niagra? Some Pessimistic Thoughts About The Future Of English-Canadian Literary Studies" would have us believe that the "best contemporary Canadian writing" is informed by a "cultural memory" based on English classics.³⁵ The word "best" signals to the reader what Keith is only too happy to acknowledge, that he is "an unrepentant evaluator" whose job it is, via his position of professor of English, to

make value judgments about English-Canadian literature. He criticizes the contributors to Robert Lecker's collection *Canadian Canons* because of their "reluctance to consider the possibility that the fluid Canadian canon may exist by virtue of stylistic quality rather than the socio-political support of powerful interest groups."³⁶ I would counter that there are at least a couple of things Keith himself is reluctant to consider.

First, the value judgments he so cherishes and wields are a by-product of power. This power has been accorded to white critics like Keith for the last hundred and fifty years in a racist and sexist academic system which accepted no women for a long time, and visible minorities even longer. Second, the assumption that value is a fixed quantity rankles. According to Keith, Canadian women writers joined the canon in the late 1960's because male critics suddenly saw the value in their work. Keith steadfastly refuses to acknowledge the gigantic societal changes occurring at that time which made ignoring women writers impossible. Similar changes are happening today with respect to visible minorities in Canada, and Keith is not pleased. He warns that "new works must gain entry to the canon because they are qualitatively worthy, not because it seems politically expedient that they should be represented."³⁷ How to accept this from a man who has already discounted Jane Rule, Tomson Highway and Sky Lee (all popular and

socially engaged writers) because of their sexuality, their lack of "verbal distinction" and their "slack and even slipshod" writing? Has it occurred to Keith that his antagonism towards these works and writers may stem from the fact that he is no longer the person best qualified to make judgments about them?

Fortunately for us, the voices in the community eager to read books by minority writers are at times stronger than those of critics like Keith. In the case of Mary Shadd, the voices in the community have been eager a very long time. Since the publication of Robin Winks' *The Blacks in Canada* (1971), the career of Mary Shadd has been hard to ignore. This became even more obvious after the publication of Jim and Linda Bearden's biography *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary* (1977). Winks could not find Shadd's book, but the Beardens did and quoted from it substantially. Prominent Black Canadian writers Marlene Nourbese Philip and Dionne Brand have both mentioned Mary Shadd in their work.³⁸ Most explicit of all has been the call issued in Peggy Bristow et al, *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (1994): "A Black feminist historiography would begin with the writings of newspaper editor and publisher Mary Ann Shadd".³⁹ This quotation suits my purposes well because of its stress on writing. For the first time, the present

edition of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, asks us to focus on Shadd's writing first, and only then on her groundbreaking career.

It is a too easily accepted notion that important writing by Blacks in Canada did not begin until the late twentieth century. Lorris Elliott's *Literary Writings By Blacks in Canada: A Preliminary Survey* concludes that "there is no real evidence of extensive literary writing by Blacks in Canada before the 1970's".⁴⁰ On a similar note, Marlene Nourbese Philip confesses that "Working as an 'Afrosporic' writer, I am very aware of the absence of a tradition of Black writing as it exists in England and the U.S. The great Canadian void either swallows you whole, or you come out the other side the stronger for it."⁴¹ It is now apparent that Elliott and Nourbese Philip have been looking in the wrong places, for far too long. This edition of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* along with the work of George Elliott Clarke stand as proof that Black people were writing in Canada, a century and a half ago, and being read and discussed as a result. Shadd's book will not fall under everyone's definition of literature, since it is not fiction, but I hope this introduction has at least planted the seed of the idea that we can no longer circumscribe literature into such a small slot. Furthermore, Shadd's book is not the only one out there. Fugitive slaves as well as other Blacks wrote in and

about Canada at the same time as Shadd. These works taken together offer an exciting new field of study.⁴²

Finally I would like to return to a point made earlier about ethnic literature. The question of whether or not Black Canadian literature is an ethnic literature leads to a controversy which has been brewing for some time now. A basic division exists in the community of Black Canadian writers between those who feel themselves part of a larger Black tradition, and those who would speak from a Canadian context. Dionne Brand is a good example of the former side. In a *Books in Canada* interview, Brand has stated that

What some white reviewers lack is a sense of what literature that is made by Black people... is about. If you read my work, you have to read Toni Morrison, you have to read Derek Walcott... I don't consider myself on... the margin of Canadian literature. I'm sitting right in the middle of Black literature, because that's who I read, that's who I respond to.⁴³

Speaking for the other side is Andre Alexis, who in a recent essay in *This Magazine* entitled "Borrowed Blackness" has made the opposite observation:

there's an absence at the heart of much black Canadian art. I miss hearing black Canadians speak *from* Canada. I miss black Canadian writing that is conscious of Canada, writing that speaks not just about situation, or about the earth, but rather *from* the earth.⁴⁴

Brand and Alexis are grappling with an old issue: nationalism. Their respective opinions are informed by many factors, including the length of their careers as well as the length of time they've lived in Canada. I must admit I side with Alexis. I would like to see a tradition of Black *Canadian* writing recovered. After having spent a year researching Shadd, and noticing that almost all historical work on Black Canadian settlers and settlements is undertaken, and just as important, published, by Americans, I have become defensive.⁴⁵ It is my firm belief that Shadd's book and others like it are part of Canadian literature and history, and only peripherally of American literature and history. There is a responsibility *here* waiting to be undertaken.

The Text

Shadd's *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* is a straightforward text. In her Introductory Remarks Shadd explains her reasons for writing the book: the Fugitive Slave Law has made life dangerous for American Blacks, and Canada West is the ideal place to start a new life. While the argument of the book is simple, the rhetorical strategy employed shows great skill. A clue to this strategy comes at the end of the Introductory Remarks when Shadd states that her book is based on fact. She writes: "believing that more reliance would be placed upon a statement of facts... than upon a repetition of current statements made elsewhere, I determined to visit Canada"(53). Thus begins a book which is overtly concerned with authentication. Nothing of importance is said by Shadd without it being cross-referenced or attributed (by direct quotation) to experts. Nothing uncontroversial, that is. Thus Shadd's Introductory Remarks begin with the obligatory nineteenth-century "excuse for offering this tract to the notice of the public"(52) and end with the reassurance that "these pages contain the result of much inquiry... from documents and papers of unquestionable character in the Province"(53).

The first fourteen pages of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* are concerned with facts. Shadd begins with a short geography lesson describing the position of Canada West and furnishes the reader with statistics about winter and summer climate. Facts are necessary, Shadd reminds us, because "friends, ignorant on this point" often appeal to "fears having no foundation whatever, when the facts are fairly set forth"(56). Shadd is so single-minded in her assertion of Canada West's desirability that she gets ahead of herself. She concludes that climate is responsible for Canada West's superior agricultural productivity, but must restrain herself, stating: "I say superiority, because, in its place, I hope to give such evidence as will substantiate the assertion."(57) After climate Shadd proceeds to soil types, forest coverage and pasture lands. In the meantime she has introduced another method of authentication: the footnote. Having relied heavily on two reference works, Shadd footnotes them to show her debt.

Shadd's technique is an effort to gain her readers' trust. I believe she employs the methods of authentication coupled with strict honesty - as in the footnotes, and in her comment about Lord Selkirk's settlement: "for the country beyond the present limits of civilization, I do not feel warranted in speaking"(61) -

for one major reason. That is, once Shadd is finished with matters like farms and weather and sawmills, she is going to be entering more contentious territory (schools, religion, segregation). She needs to be sure of her readers' trust in the straightforward matters, so that when her somewhat radical opinions are expressed, she can continue to be seen as the authority. An early test of this trust in her readers occurs when instead of referring to an outside authority, Shadd cites herself: "From the many instances of success under my observation... I firmly believe that with an axe and a little energy, an independent position will result in a short period."(62-63) Who wouldn't believe such sincerity?

Of course, skilled writer that she is, Shadd does not let on when she has broached a controversial topic. The section entitled Prices Of Land In The Country And City Property can be read as an indictment of the Refugee Home Society (see explanatory note 86.4) and its land-selling policies. On the other hand, it can look like a simple few paragraphs of advice: "In every respect the preference should be for purchases of Government"(70). It is only when we ask 'Why?' that controversy is stirred up. From the issue of land, Shadd goes on to deal with employment opportunities, segregated churches (Shadd hated the idea), the hardship of the missionary and teacher's life (where she describes her own

hardships in a disguised third person), and finally her biggest bone of contention, the segregated settlements. After arguing at length against the idea of separate settlements for Blacks, Shadd turns the tone of the book around by quoting at length from laws which she believes empower Blacks in Canada West: their electoral privileges, their right to stand for public office, and their right to have their estates settled fairly at death, among others.

The spell of authority Shadd casts begins to evaporate near the end of the book when she tries to explain prejudice against Blacks in Canada. Shadd attempts to put some of the blame on her own people. "Every casual remark by whites" she writes "is tortured into a decided and effective negro hate"(99); and later, "It is an easy matter to make out a case of prejudice... We naturally look for it, and the conduct of many is calculated to cause unpleasant treatment."(102) On top of this, Shadd betrays some prejudices of her own when dealing with Mexico and South America. These places are cast as beneath contempt, not through fact, but through a series of stereotypical statements (for example, that religious intolerance is the primary characteristic of Latin American society). Shadd also participates in the white North American habit of prejudice against Natives (see explanatory note 113.19 for more details on this topic). As with many writers and people in general,

then, Shadd, when dealing with people and places of which she had no practical experience, resorted to the easiest way out. Fortunately, the end of her book has an exhortative power, similar to a sermon, which dispels temporarily the faults numbered above. Shadd reminds her readers of the evils of slavery and, having given us the information required, leaves the decision in our lap.

*

The aim of this edition is to provide a reliable text of Mary Shadd's *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*. In the absence of a manuscript or second corrected edition, the first edition has been utilized as the copy-text. The first edition was published by George W. Pattison of Detroit in 1852. As mentioned in the introduction, the Pattison edition is rife with errors. Luckily, these are not errors of syntax or meaning, but more often than not errors of punctuation. While it is the habit of many editors to make silent emendations on minor matters, I have decided to make no silent emendations, but to show each one in the editorial apparatus. The reason for this decision (which results in a lengthy list of emendations) is because I would like readers of the book to know exactly what changes have been made. For instance, many paragraph breaks are

made where none exist in the copy-text. Readers should be aware of this when reading and quoting from this edition. Following the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, I have not added explanatory note numbers to the text, but have left the few original footnotes included by Shadd. In preparation of this edition, the only extant copy of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, in the Baldwin Room of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, was photocopied and then entered on a computer.

Endnotes to Introduction

1.S.C. Evans, "Mrs Mary Ann Shadd Cary 1823-1893: The Foremost Colored Canadian Pioneer in 1850" in Hallie Q. Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 [1926], p.93.

2.Lorraine McMullen, ed., *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990, p.3.

3.Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. New Haven/Montreal: Yale University Press/McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971, p.395 n12.

4.For the following biographical information I am indebted to *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary* by Jim and Linda Bearden. Specific citations to follow.

5. Jason H. Silverman, "Mary Ann Shadd and the Search for Equality" in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History, Volume Four*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1990, p.1262.

6. Jim Bearden and Linda Bearden, *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary*, Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1977, p.16.

7. Bearden and Bearden, p.19.

8. *ibid*, p.20.

9. *ibid*.

10. Silverman, p.1262.

11. *ibid*.

12. Bearden and Bearden, p.22.

13. Silverman, p.1263. For the convention minutes see C. Peter Ripley et al, eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II Canada, 1830-1865*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986, pp.145-157.

14. Bearden and Bearden, p.26.

15. *ibid*, p.34.

16. *ibid*, p.32.

17. *ibid*, p.35.

18. *ibid*, pp.50, 53.

19. *ibid*, p.50.

20. *ibid*, p.49. For information on George Whipple, see *Detroit Illustrated*, Detroit: H.H.

Hook, 1891, p.135 as well as Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County and Early Michigan*, Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1969 [1890], pp.203, 676, 677, 683, 696, 705.

21.quoted in Bearden and Bearden, p.49.

22.Silverman, p.1266. This remark may have been written after reading S.C. Evans' essay (endnote 1) where Shadd's book is said to have reached a wide audience. S.C. Evans was Shadd's daughter.

23.Bearden and Bearden, p.51.

24.*Voice of the Fugitive* for dates mentioned, and Bearden and Bearden, pp.75,86,97,114.

25.quoted in Bearden and Bearden, p.132. For an example of a lecture by Shadd which is less flattering of the realities of life for Blacks in Canada West, see Appendix B.

26. *Provincial Freeman*, August 25, 1855 and quoted in Bearden and Bearden, p.163.

27. Bearden and Bearden, p.206.

28. W.H. New, *A History of Canadian Literature*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1989, p.55.

29. Clara Thomas, introduction to Catherine Parr Traill, *The Canadian Settler's Guide*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969 [1855], p.xiii.

30. Mary Lu MacDonald, *Literature and Society in the Canadas 1817-1850*, Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992, p.1.

31. Examples of settlement journals published around the same time as Shadd's by white British men, and which have all been reprinted in the last quarter century, include:

D'Arcy Boulton's *Sketch of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada* (1805), John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada... To Which Are Added, Practical Details for the Information of Emigrants of Every Class* (1821), William Cattermole's *Emigration: The Advantages of Emigration to Canada* (1831), William 'Tiger' Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the Use of Emigrants* (1832), and Samuel Strickland's *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, or the Experience of an Early Settler* (1853). Shadd's book stands out, then, as escaping reprinting and thus the possibility of consideration by critics and modern readers. Some Black Canadian literary history has indeed been catalogued. George Elliott Clarke's Introduction to *Fire on Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing* (1991) is the groundbreaking study in this area.

32. Northrop Frye, "Conclusion" in *Literary History of Canada*, Carl F. Klinck et al, eds., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp.830-831.

33. Francesco Loriggio, "History, Literary History, and Ethnic Literature" in Joseph Pivato, ed., *Literatures of Lesser Diffusion*, Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, 1990, p.22.

34. Arun Mukherjee, *Oppositional Aesthetics: Readings From a Hyphenated Space*, Toronto: TSAR, 1994, p.xiv.

35. W.J. Keith, "Shooting Niagra? Some Pessimistic Thoughts About the Future of English-Canadian Literary Studies" in *Essays on Canadian Writing*, 51-52 (1993-1994), p.386.

36. *ibid*, pp.387, 388.

37. *ibid*, p.397.

38. M. Nourbese Philip, *Frontiers: Essays and Writings on Racism and Culture*, Stratford, Ontario: The Mercury Press, 1992, p.55; Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario 1920s to 1950s*, Toronto: Women's Press, 1991, p.280.

39. Peggy Bristow et al, *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, p.4.

40. Lorris Elliott, *Literary Writing by Blacks in Canada: A Preliminary Survey*, Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1988, p.4.

41. Philip, p.45.

42. See works in bibliography by Drew, Henson, Smallwood, Steward and Ward.

43. quoted in Carol Morrell, ed., *Grammar of Dissent: Poetry and Prose by Claire Harris, M. Nourbese Philip, Dionne Brand*, Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1994, p.14.

44. Andre Alexis, "Borrowed Blackness" in *This Magazine*, 28 (8) 1995, p.20.

45. See works in bibliography by Burke, Ripley, Silverman, Stouffer and Winks.

A PLEA FOR EMIGRATION.

OR,

NOTES OF CANADA WEST,

IN ITS

MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ASPECT.

WITH

SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING MEXICO, WEST INDIES,
AND VANCOUVER'S ISLAND,

FOR THE

INFORMATION OF COLORED EMIGRANTS.

BY MARY A. SHADD.



DETROIT:
PRINTED BY GEORGE W. PATTISON.
1852.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The increasing desire on the part of the colored people, to become thoroughly informed respecting the Canadas, and particularly that part of the province called Canada West - to learn of the climate, soil and productions, and of the inducements offered generally to emigrants, and to them particularly, since that the passage of the odious Fugitive Slave Law has made a residence in the United States to many of them dangerous in the extreme - this consideration, and the absence of condensed information accessible to all, is my excuse for offering this tract to the notice of the public.

The people are in a strait. On the one hand, a pro-slavery administration, with its entire controllable force, is bearing upon them with fatal effect. On the other, the Colonization Society, in the garb of *Christianity* and *Philanthropy*, is seconding the efforts of the first named power, by bringing into the lists a vast social and immoral influence, thus making more effective the agencies employed. Information is needed. Tropical Africa, the land of promise of the

colonizationists, teeming as she is with the breath of pestilence, a burning sun and fearful maladies, bids them welcome; she feelingly invites to moral and physical death, under a voluntary escort of their most bitter enemies at home. Again, many look with dreadful forebodings to the probability of worse than inquisitorial inhumanity in the Southern States, from the operation of the Fugitive Law. Certain that neither a home in Africa, nor in the Southern States, is desirable under present circumstances, inquiry is made respecting Canada.

I have endeavored to furnish information to a certain extent, to that end, and believing that more reliance would be placed upon a statement of facts obtained in the country, from reliable sources and from observation, than upon a repetition of current statements made elsewhere, however honestly made, I determined to visit Canada, and to there collect such information as most persons desire. These pages contain the result of much inquiry: matter obtained both from individuals and from documents and papers of unquestionable character in the Province.

M. A. S.

A PLEA FOR EMIGRATION

BRITISH AMERICA

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

THE CANADAS AND THEIR CLIMATE

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

In Canada West, the variation from a salubrious and eminently healthy climate is nowhere sufficient to cause the least solicitude; on the contrary, exempt from the steady and enfeebling warmth of southern latitudes, and the equally injurious characteristics of polar countries, it is highly conducive to mental and physical energy. Persons living in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and the neighboring districts, say that their winters are much less severe than when, in past years, vast forests covered that region - that very deep snows are less frequent than they were, and that owing to the great body of ice that accumulates in the Lakes, the people living in the States bordering, suffer more severely from the cold than

Canadians - the ice making more intense the north winds sweeping over it. If these statements admit of a doubt, we well know that many flourishing towns in Canada are farther south than a large portion of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Michigan and Oregon, and should, in considering this fact, have the full benefit of geographical position.

I have thought proper to allude to the cold, at first, for the reason that it is the feature in the climate most dwelt upon: the solicitude of friends, ignorant on this point, and of persons less disinterested, often appealing to fears having no foundation whatever, when the facts are fairly set forth.

The products of a country make an important item, in all cases in which this question is being considered; so in the present instance. In Canada we find the vegetation of as rank growth as in the middle and northern United States. In order to promote a luxuriance in the products of a country equally with another, the conditions necessary to that end must be equal. If by reference to facts, an approach to similarity can be made, that part of the subject will be settled for the present.

As early as March there are indications of permanent spring weather, and in June and July, the summer will compare with the same season south of the line. In January and February there are always cold spells and warm alternating, as in

our experience; but when the warm season commences, the heat is intense, and the growth of vegetation is rapid, so that whatever deficiency may be attributed to a brief period, may be fully compensated for in the steady and equal temperature after the warm season has fairly set in. Though summer is late in beginning, it is prolonged into what is the autumn with us, and farmers harvest their crops of wheat and hay at a later period than in the Middle States, generally, August and September being the months in which hay, wheat, and some other crops are gathered in.

Taking this circumstance in connection with the regularity of the seasons, and uniform heat or cold when they have such weather, the superiority of many products, as wheat and fruit, may be accounted for. I say superiority, because, in its place, I hope to give such evidence as will substantiate the assertion. Annexed is a table setting forth the greatest degree of cold and heat, in the years mentioned, as indicated by Fahrenheit's Thermometer, together with the highest and lowest range indicated in the months of September and December of 1851, which last has been said to be unusual (the lowest in twenty years) by the 'oldest inhabitant.'

GREATEST DEG. OF HEAT LOWEST DEG. OF COLD

1840	82.4°	18.6°
1841	93.1°	6.7°
1842	91°	1.9°
1843	89°	9.4°

1844	96.8°	7.2°
1845	95°	4.2°
1846	94.6°	16.7°
1847	87°	2.9°

"These are the extreme ranges of cold and heat indicated at the Observatory, on one day during the seasons, but which do not last beyond a few hours; the mean temperature of the four months of summer and four of winter for the last eight years have been respectively: Summer 75.6°, Winter 26.7°, Fahrenheit."¹ In addition to the usual state of the weather of the last year, as contrasted with former periods, the last summer and first autumn months were very warm, and in the month of September indicated 95° Fahrenheit, in the shade, without eliciting remarks other than a similar state of weather, at that season, would have in the United States. In short, from much conversation with persons of many years residence, I believe that climate poses no obstacle to emigration, but that it is the most desirable known in so high a latitude, for emigrants generally, and colored people particularly.

In other parts of British America, as, for instance, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Britain, the cold is more intense; but when we think of the extent of Upper Canada, there would be no more reason for ascribing severe cold to the whole, than there would be to class the climate of the United States with that of

¹ *Catechism of Information for Intended Emigrants of all Classes to Upper Canada.*

the torrid zone, because of the great heat of the lower latitudes. In this province the regularity of the seasons promotes health in a greater degree than in those countries subject to frequent changes, as in many of the United States, where cold and warm weather alternate in quick succession; and in the upper province especially, universal testimony to the healthiness of the climate obtains.

SOIL, TIMBER AND CLEARING LANDS

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

The question, does the soil of Canada offer inducements sufficient to determine prospective emigrants in its favor? may be answered by every one for himself, after having properly weighed the following facts. Persons who have been engaged in agriculture the greater part of their lives, practical and competent farmers, and judges of the capacity of different soils, say, that the soil is unsurpassed by that of Kentucky and states farther south, and naturally superior to the adjoining northern States. It is not only indicated by the rich, dark and heavy appearance, and the depth of the soil, which is seldom reached by plows of the greatest capacity, but by the character of the products, and the unequalled growth and size of timber on uncleared lands.

Wheat, the staple product of the country, averages sixty pounds to the bushel, often actually exceeding that; fifty-six is the standard weight in the United States, and leaving out Delaware, that is seldom reached. The forest consists of walnut, hickory, white and burr oak, basswood, ash, pine, poplar, all of the largest size, and other inferior kinds of wood with which we are not familiar in our northern woods. There is a greater variety in them, and larger size, and knowing that the size of vegetables depends mainly upon the quantity of nutriment afforded by the soil, we are led in this instance to infer its superiority. Besides the well known wheat, oats, buckwheat, Indian corn, and other grains are raised of good

quality, and with profit, and more to the acre than is usually obtained in the States, except on the application of fertilizing materials, a mode not much practised in Canada hitherto, the land not having been exhausted sufficiently to require such appliances to further its productiveness.

The varieties of soil are a black loam, sandy loam, clay, and sand, but a black loam is the predominating kind. I speak now of the cultivated districts, and those in process of clearing, as far north as Lord Selkirk's settlement, for the country beyond the present limits of civilization, I do not feel warranted in speaking, nor to give in other than general terms the testimony of those acquainted with that region. It is said to be equally fertile, but the products not so varied, because of its more northern situation.

The general appearance of the province is undulating, though there is much level country. Numerous and beautiful rivers, and smaller streams, run through the country, in all directions, so that there is no lack of water power. "The plains," a term applied to level country, "are generally sandy, and yield regular average and certain crops, without reference to the seasons."² They are similar to the western prairies, but more capital is necessary to cultivate them than for timber lands. The

² *Catechism.*

advantage of timbered land, to purchasers of small capital, over plains, is considerable.

On cultivated, or plain lands, on which timber is thinly scattered, the earliest return for labor spent is deferred to the growth of a crop; besides the mode of tillage is different. Not so on the timbered lands. Wood ever meets a ready and cash sale, and more may be realized from firewood than to three times pay the cost of a farm. Wood land will average seventy cords to the acre, every cord of which can be readily disposed of at two and two and a half dollars, cash, in the towns. The regularity of the seasons tends, also, to increase the farmer's security, so that of all other men, he is least apprehensive of want. "If the fall wheat fails," says the little book referred to, "he replaces it with spring wheat; and our seasons are so peculiar that some crops are always certain to be productive... Those whose capital invested in it is their own, are sure to increase their means and wealth.. If a farmer determines to keep out of debt, and be satisfied with what his farm yields, independence in a few years will be the result."

The above extracts are intended for the benefit of the emigrants in general - men of small means, or with no capital - and show what may be expected by generally the least wealthy who settle in a country. From the many instances of success under my observation (particularly of formerly totally destitute colored

persons) I firmly believe that with an axe and a little energy, an independent position would result in a short period. The cost of clearing wild lands is also an important item; by that is meant putting land in a state to receive a crop. It includes clearing of trees and fencing. This can be done at less cost near the settled districts. In modestly timbered lands, ten dollars the acre is the least for which it can be done - more remote, the price varies from that to twenty dollars.

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

GRAINS, POTATOES AND TURNIPS

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

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

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

GARDEN VEGETABLES

The most abundant are tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, beets, cabbage and cauliflower, eggplants, beans, peas, leeks, celery, lettuce, asparagus, melons (watermelons and musk melons), cantelopes and spinach. There are other

vegetables, but they have been mentioned elsewhere. These articles, excepting watermelons and cantelopes, are cultivated with as great success, at least, as in the United States, and the specimens generally seen in the gardens and marketplaces are decidedly superior.

FRUITS, VINES AND BERRIES

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

DOMESTIC ANIMALS, FOWLS AND GAME

In the general, the horses are not of that large size found in the Middle and Western States, but are of medium size, particularly those used by the French; yet, occasionally, one may see large horses among them, and cattle and sheep also. The size of cattle seems not to affect their market value as beef and mutton, it being thought by epicures to be of the best quality. I speak of the French in this connection, because it is well known they form no inconsiderable part of the population. Among English, and other farmers, more attention is paid to improving stock: competition is as spiritedly carried on as in the States, consequently cattle and horses of the finest kinds, as to size and repute, are owned by them. The Canadian pony, with them, gives place to the fine English draft and carriage horse, and Durham and other kind of celebrity are justly appreciated. The pride of Canadian farmers, as shown in a fine selection of such animals, is not at all less than that of their "American neighbors": as before said, the highest premiums given for superior cattle and sheep at Rochester and Detroit, in 1851, were received by Canadian farmers.

To understand fully the resources of the Canadas in this particular, both as to quantity and quality, for labor or other purposes, a view of the well stocked farms, with their swarms of horses, oxen, cows, sheep and hogs, would well repay

a visit to the country, to those skeptical on these points, or to see the excellent beef, mutton, veal and pork exposed for sale - unsurpassed anywhere for quality and abundance. Prices vary as elsewhere, according to demand, but ordinarily they are:

Beef	4 and 5 cts. per pound
Mutton	5 and 5 cts. per pound
Veal	4 and 5 cts. per pound
Pork	5 and 6 cts. per pound ³

Again, the butter and cheese derived directly from these animals must be, and are, superior, from the nature of the pasture and other food eaten. However, from the circumstance of recent settlement, means of disposal, and abundance, matters in the housewife's department are not generally so thoroughly conducted as in more populous and older settled countries, where a competition of tastes and judgment, in managing these articles and arranging for the market, is freely indulged. The comparative cost of keeping stock is little, the summer pastures affording ample for that season; in winter, many mark their horses and turn them out in the woodlands and open country, where they never fail of a supply of roots and grasses. Numbers are seen in mid-winter, looking as well as those housed and

³ Prices of meat are not uniform, as before said, and owing to the increased demand, prices have risen very recently to the ordinary price in the States. That, of course, will not be the rate henceforth, but will be determined by the supply.

fed. The snows protect the grasses, and from their peculiar length and frequency, animals subsist well on the matter they are thus enabled to get by removing them, and from the early growth of shrubs in the woods.

The farms generally have chickens, turkeys, geese, and other fowls, in great numbers; and they meet with a ready sale. Prices are generally for poultry two shillings and two and six-pence the pair, when in great plenty; eggs 10 cents and 12 ½ cents the dozen, and may be disposed of in any quantity to the traders without leaving the farm. Numerous hucksters go in all directions through the country to purchase, to sell again in the large cities. In the winter these articles, in common with vegetables and other commodities, are often sold at a rate that in the United States would be called high, the rapidly increasing population making the ordinary supply insufficient. Geese uniformly command two shillings; turkeys one dollar, domesticated or wild. There is an abundance of game, and turkeys meet with ready sale. Hunting is much the custom of all classes, and ducks, squirrels (black), pigeons, deer, hares, quails, pheasants, and other game are brought down in great numbers. Wild animals are not troublesome, though in remote districts, an occasional bear or wolf is seen; foxes also make depredations at times, but not frequently.

PRICES OF LAND IN THE COUNTRY AND CITY PROPERTY

The country in the vicinity of Toronto and to the eastward, being thickly settled (farms being advertised 'thirty miles on Yonge street'), the price of property is, of course, very much higher than in the western districts. City property varies according to location. Two hundred dollars the foot is the value of lots in good position in Toronto: in the suburbs very fine lots may be had at reasonable rates. Farms, at a few miles distant, range from thirty to fifty dollars the acre, fifty dollars being thought a fair price for the best quality of land with improvements; but in the western district, farms may be bought for one thousand dollars, superior in every way to farms near the city of Toronto, that are held at five thousand. Improved lands near Chatham, London, Hamilton, and other towns west, may be bought at prices varying from ten up to one hundred. At a few miles distant, uncleared lands belonging to Government, may be had by paying one dollar sixty-two cents, two, and fifty, according to locality - well timbered and watered, near cultivated farms on the river and lake shore.

Thousands of acres of the very best land in the Province are now in the market at the above prices, and either in the interior, or well situated as to prospect from the lakes, and near excellent markets. The land is laid out in what are called concessions, these concessions, or blocks, being subdivided into lots.

There is, therefore, a uniformity of appearance throughout in the farms, and no contest about roads on individual property can result, the roads being designed to benefit equally contiguous property, and under jurisdiction of Government. One hundred acres is the smallest quantity to be had of Government, but individual holders sell in quantities to suit purchasers. Large quantities of land are held by individuals, though at a higher rate generally than that held by Government; and their titles are said to be often defective.

In every respect the preference should be for purchases of Government. Land is cheaper, as well situated, and below a specified number of acres, may not be bought; a prohibition of advantage to many who would buy, as there is induced a spirit of enterprise and competition, and a sense of responsibility. Too many are now *independently* dragging along miserably, on the few acres (ten, twenty, or such a matter), bought at the high rates of individual holders, in a country in which the prices must, for a long time, require more land in process of culture, to afford a comfortable support. There is every inducement to buy, near or in towns, as well as in the country, as land is cheap, business increasing, with the steady increase of population, no lack of employment at fair prices, and no complexional or other qualification in existence.

LABOR AND TRADES

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

The mineral resources of the Canadas have not been developed to any extent, for fuel wood is generally used, and a profitable trade in that commodity is carried on. Besides lumber for buildings, the getting out of materials for staves, coopers' stuff, and various purposes, affords steady employment and at fair prices,

for cash. This state of things must increase, and assume more importance in Canadian markets, as the increasing population of the western United States burn and otherwise appropriate their timber. Railroads are in process of construction - steamboats now ply between Toronto and the several towns on the lakes; and in process of time, iron and other works will be in operation, it is said, all requiring their quota, and of course keeping up the demand. Boards for home and foreign markets are successfully manufactured, and numerous mill-sites are fast being appropriated to saw and grist mills.

In some sections, colored men are engaged in saw mills on their own account. At Dawn, a settlement on the Sydenham (of which hereafter), and at other points, this trade is prosecuted with profit to them. To enumerate the different occupations in which colored persons are engaged, even in detail, would but fatigue, and would not further the end in view, namely: to set forth the advantage of a residence in a country in which chattel slavery is not tolerated, and prejudice of *color* has no existence whatever - the adaptation of that country, by climate, soil, and political character, to their physical and political necessities; and the superiority of a residence there over their present position at *home*. It will suffice, that colored men prosecute all the different trades; are store keepers, farmers, clerks, and laborers; and are not only unmolested, but sustained and encouraged in any

business for which their qualifications and means fit them; and as the resources of the country develop, new fields of enterprise will be opened to them, and consequently new motives to honorable effort.

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

In the large towns and cities, as in similar communities in other Christian countries, the means for religious instruction are ample. There are costly churches in which all classes and complexions worship, and no 'negro pew,' or other seat for colored persons, especially. I was forcibly struck, when at Toronto, with the contrast the religious community there presented, to our own large body of American Christians. In the churches, originally built by the white Canadians, the presence of colored persons, promiscuously seated, elicited no comment whatever. They are members, and visitors, and as such have their pews according to their inclination, near the door, or remote, or central, as best suits them. The number of colored persons attending the churches with whites constitutes a minority, I think. They have their 'own churches.'

That that is the feature in their policy, which is productive of mischief to the entire body, is evident enough; and the opinion of the best informed and most influential among them, in Toronto and the large towns, is decided and universal. I have heard men of many years residence, and who have, in a measure, been

moulded by the better sentiment of society, express deep sorrow at the course of colored persons, in pertinaciously refusing overtures of religious fellowship from the whites; and in the face of all experience to the contrary, erecting Colored Methodist, and Baptist, and other Churches. This opinion obtains amongst many who, when in the United States, were connected with colored churches. Aside from their caste character, their influence on the colored people is fatal.

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

A goodly portion of the people in the western part of the Province (for there are but few in the eastern), are enjoying superior religious opportunities, but the majority greatly need active missionary effort: first, to teach them love to their

neighbor; and again, to give them an intelligent and correct understanding of the Sacred Scriptures. The missionary strength, at present, consists of but six preachers - active and efficient gentlemen, all of them, and self-sacrificing in the last degree; and several women engaged in teaching, under the same auspices. Much privation, suffering, opposition, and sorrow await the missionary in that field. If it were possible for him to foresee what is in store for him there, a mission to India, or the South Sea Islands, would be preferable; for, in that case, the sympathy of the entire community is enlisted, and his sojourn is made as pleasant as possible. The people to whom he is sent are either as little children, simple and confiding, or out-right savages; and in that case, deadly enemies.

In this less remote field (almost in speaking distance) neglect from friends, suspicion, abuse, misrepresentation, and a degrading surveillance, often of serious and abiding consequences, await him. Not directly from the fugitives - those designed primarily to be benefitted - may assaults be looked for, at first. They possess a desire for the light, and incline to cluster around the missionary invariably. There are those who pretend to have been enlightened, and to have at heart the common good, whose influence and operations he will find designedly counteracting his conscientious efforts, the more effectively appealing to a common origin and kindred sufferings, secretly striking behind, and bringing his character

as a missionary, and his operations, into discredit in the eyes of a sympathizing Christian community. This, and more, awaits those who may be called to the field. But the case is not a hopeless one. The native good sense of the fugitives, backed by proper schools, will eventually develop the real character of their operations and sacrifices. They and their families, of all others, should have the support of Christians.

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

"And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Municipal Council of any township, and of the Board of School Trustees of any city, town or incorporated village, on the application in writing of twelve or more resident heads of families, to authorize the establishment of one or more separate schools for Protestants, Roman Catholics or colored people, and, in such case, it shall prescribe the limits of the divisions or sections for such school, and shall make the same provisions for the holding of the first meeting for the election of Trustees of each such separate school or schools, as is provided in the fourth section of this Act for holding the first school meeting in a new school section: Provided always, that each separate school shall go into operation at the same time with alterations in school sections, and shall be under the same regulations in respect to the persons for whom such school is permitted to be established, as are common schools generally: Provided, secondly, that none but colored people shall be allowed to vote for the election of Trustees of the separate school for their children, and none but the parties petitioning for the establishment of, or sending children to a separate Protestant or Roman Catholic school, shall vote at the election of Trustees of such schools: Provided, thirdly, that each separate Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or colored school, shall be entitled to share in the school fund according to the average attendance of pupils attending each such separate school (the mean

attendance of pupils for both summer and winter being taken), as compared with the average attendance of pupils attending the common schools in such city, town, village or township: Provided, fourthly, that no Protestant separate school shall be allowed in any school division, except when the teacher of the common school is a Roman Catholic, nor shall any Roman Catholic separate school be allowed except when the teacher of the common school is a Protestant."

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

The fugitives, in some instances, settled on Government land before it came into market, cleared away and improved it. Their friends established schools which

were flourishing, when they were obliged to break up, and the people to disperse, because of inability to purchase and other persons buying. This cause has, in a measure, retarded the spread of general information amongst them.

Again, ten, twenty or more families are often settled near one another, or interspersed among the French, Dutch, Scotch, Irish and Indians, in the woodland districts: often, English is not spoken. There may not be an English school, and all revel together in happy ignorance. Nothing but the sound of the axe, and their own crude ideas of independence, to inspire them, unless it be an Indian camp fire occasionally. This may be rather an uninviting state of affairs to those living in crowded cities, but it is true there are numerous grown-up families, of white and colored, who do not know better.

But as uninteresting as is the detail, in this particular aspect of these affairs, the signs are encouraging. If they went to labor honestly, in a region semi-barbarous, they have cut their way out, and are now able to make themselves heard in a demand for religious instructors of the right kind, and schools. Many efficient persons have devoted their time and talents to their instruction, but there has not been anything like an equal number to the work: neither are they often found to have materials to work with.

Individuals in the United States often send books to those most needy, yet they are usually of such a character as to be utterly useless. I have often thought if it is really a benevolent act to send old almanacs, old novels, and all manner of obsolete books to them, what good purpose was accomplished, or even what sort of vanity was gratified, by emptying the useless contents of old libraries on destitute fugitives?

It would be infinitely better not to give, it seems, though probably persons sending them think differently. The case is aggravated from the fact of a real desire, on the part of the recipients, to learn, and their former want of opportunity. Probably the propensity to give is gratified; but why not give, when gifts are *needed*, of that which is useful? But the question, if it is answering any good purpose to give such things as books even, has not been satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, to persons who have seen the fugitives in their Canadian homes.

SETTLEMENTS: DAWN, ELGIN, THE INSTITUTION, THE FUGITIVE HOME

Much has been said of the Canadian colored settlements, and fears have been expressed by many that by encouraging exclusive settlements, the attempt to identify colored men with degraded men of like color in the States would result, and as a consequence, estrangement, suspicion, and distrust would be induced. Such would inevitably be the result, and will be, shall they determine to have

entirely proscriptive settlements. Those in existence, so far as I have been able to get at facts, do not exclude whites from their vicinity; but that settlements may not be established of that character, is not so certain.

Dawn, on the Sydenham river, Elgin, or King's Settlement, as it is called, situated about ten miles from Chatham, are settlements in which there are regulations in regard to morals and the purchase of lands bearing only on the colored people; but whites are not excluded because of dislike. When purchase was made of the lands, many white families were residents, at least, locations were not selected in which none resided. At first, a few sold out, fearing that such neighbors might not be agreeable; others, and they the majority, concluded to remain, and the result attests their superior judgment. Instead of an increase of vice, prejudice, improvidence, laziness, or a lack of energy, that many feared would characterize them, the infrequency of violations of law among so many, is unprecedented. Due attention to moral and intellectual culture has been given; the former prejudices on the part of the whites have given place to a perfect reciprocity of religious and social intercommunication. Schools are patronized equally; the gospel is common, and hospitality is shared alike by all.

The school for the settlers at Elgin is so far superior to the one established for white children, that the latter was discontinued, and, as before said, all send

together, and visit in common the Presbyterian church there established. So of Dawn. That settlement is exceedingly flourishing, and the moral influence it exerts is good, though, owing to some recent arrangements, regulations designed to further promote its importance are being made. Land has increased in value in those settlements. Property that was worth but little, from the superior culture given by colored persons over the method before practiced, and the increasing desires for country homes, is held much higher. Another fact that is worth a passing notice is that a spirit of competition is active in their vicinity. Efforts are now put forth to produce more to the acre, and to have the land and tenements present a tidy appearance.

That others than those designed to be benefitted by the organization, should be, is not reasonable, else might persons, not members of a society justly claim equal benefits with members. If Irishmen should subscribe to certain regulations on purchasing land, no neighboring landholders could rightfully share with them in the result of that organization. But prejudice would not be the cause of exclusion. So it is of those two settlements; it cannot be said of them, that they are caste institutions, so long as they do not express hostility to the whites; but the question of their necessity in the premises may be raised, and often is, by the settlers in Canada as well as in the States.

The 'Institution' is a settlement under the direction of the A.M.E. Church; it contains, at present, two hundred acres, and is sold out in ten acre farms, at one dollar and fifty cents per acre, or one shilling less than cost. They have recently opened a school, in an unfinished state, also a burying ground. There are about fifteen families settled on the land, most of whom have cleared away a few trees, but it is not in a very prosperous condition, owing, it is said, to bad management of agents - a result to be looked for when a want of knowledge characterise them. This 'Institution' bids fair to be one nucleus around which caste settlements will cluster in Canada.

The Refugees' Home is the last of the settlements of which I may speak in this place. How many others are in contemplation I do not know, though I heard of at least two others. This Society is designed to appropriate fifty thousand acres of land for fugitives from slavery *only*, but at present the agents have in possession two hundred acres, situated about eight miles from Windsor, in the western district. The plan is to sell farms of twenty-five acres. That is, to give five acres to actual settlers, with the privilege of buying the adjoining twenty acres, at the market value. One-third of the purchase money constitutes a fund for school and other purposes; and ten years are given to pay for the twenty acres, but no interest may accumulate. This society may now be considered in operation, as they have made

a purchase, though, as yet, no one has settled thereon, and the results to be looked for from it, from the extent of the field of operation, will have an important bearing on the colored people who are now settled in Canada, or who may emigrate thither.

The friends of the society, actuated by benevolent feelings towards victims of American oppression and the odious Fugitive Law, are sanguine as to the success of the measure, but not so universal is the opinion in its favor, even among those designed to be benefitted. In fact, all the objections raised against previously existing settlements hold good against this one, with the additional ones of greater magnitude. It is well known that the Fugitive Bill makes insecure every northern colored man. Those *free* are alike at risk of being sent south. Consequently, many persons, always free, will leave the United States, and settle in Canada, and other countries, who would have remained had not that law been enacted.

In pro-slavery communities, or where colonization influence prevails, they would leave at a sacrifice; they arrive in Canada destitute, in consequence, but may not settle on the land of the Refugees' Home, from the accident of nominal freedom, when it is well known that even slaves south, from the disgrace attending manual labor when performed by whites, have opportunities, in a pecuniary way, that colored men have not in some sections north. Again, the policy of

slaveholders has been to create a contempt for *free* people in the bosom of their slaves, and pretty effectually have they succeeded. Their journey to Canada for liberty has not rooted out that prejudice, quite, and reference to a man's birth, as free or slave, is generally made by colored persons, should he not be as prosperous as his better-helped fugitive brethren.

Thus, discord among members of the same family is engendered; a breach made that the exclusive use by fugitives of the society lands is not likely to mend. Again, the society with its funds, is looked upon in the light of a powerful rival, standing in the way of poor *free* men, with its ready cash, for its lands will not all be government purchases; neither does it contemplate large blocks exclusively, but, as in the first purchase, land, wherever found, and in small parcels also. From the exclusive nature of the many settlements (as fugitive homes), when it shall be known for what use it is wanted, individual holders will not sell but for more than the real value, thus embarrassing poor men who would have bought on time, and as an able purchaser from government, the society must have a first choice.

The objections in common with other settlements, are: the individual supervision of resident agents, and the premium indirectly offered for good behavior. 'We are free men,' say they who advocate independent effort, 'we, as other subjects, are amenable to British laws; we wish to observe and appropriate

to ourselves, *ourselves*, whatever of good there is in the society around us, and by our individual efforts, to attain to a respectable position, as do the many foreigners who land on the Canadian shores, as poor in purse as we were; and we do not want agents to beg for us.' The accompanying are articles in the Constitution:

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

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

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

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

By-Laws

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

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

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

POLITICAL RIGHTS, ELECTION LAW, THE OATH AND CURRENCY

There is no legal discrimination whatever affecting colored emigrants in Canada, nor from any cause whatever are their privileges sought to be abridged. On taking proper measures, the most ample redress can be obtained. The following abstracts of acts, bearing equally on all, and observed fully by colored men qualified, will give an idea of the measures given them:⁴

⁴'Scobies' Canadian Almanac for 1852.

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

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

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

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

"No person shall be entitled to vote at county elections, who has not vested in him, by legal title, real property in said county of the clear yearly value of forty-four shillings and five pence and one farthing, currency. Title to be in fee simple or freehold under tenure of free and common soccage, or in *fief* in *roture*, or in *franc allen*, or derived from the Governor and Council of the late Province of Quebec, or Act of Parliament. Qualificatori, to be effective, requires actual and uninterrupted possession on the part of the elector, or that he should have been in receipt of the rents and profits of said property for his own use and benefit at

least six months before the date of the writ of election. But the title will be good without such anterior possession, if the property shall have come by inheritance, devise, marriage or contract of marriage, and also if the deed or patent from the Crown on which he holds to claim such estate in Upper Canada, have been registered three calendar months before the date of the writ of election. In Lower Canada, possession of the property under a written promise of sale registered, if not a notarial deed, for twelve months before the election, to be sufficient title to vote. In Upper Canada, a conveyance to wife after marriage must have been registered three calendar months, or husband have been in possession of property six months before election."

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

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

characterise proceedings at law, and the bearing of the laws. The oath, as prescribed by law, is as follows:

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

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

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

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

A tenant voter in town or city must have occupied by actual residence, as a separate tenant, a dwelling house or houses for twelve months, of the yearly value of £ 11 2s. 1 ½d. currency, and have paid a year's rent, or that amount of money for the twelve months immediately preceding the date of election writ. A person holding only a shop or place of business, but not actually residing therein, is not entitled to vote. And a voter having changed his residence within the town during the year, does not affect his right to vote, but must vote in the ward in which he resides on the day.

ARTICLES EXEMPT FROM DUTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Currency of Canada

Gold	Currency
The British Sovereign when of full weight	£ 1 4s 4d
U.S. Eagle, coined before 1st July 1834	£ 1 13s 4d
U.S. Eagle, between 1st of July, 1834, and 1st of July 1851	£ 2 10s 0d

Silver			Silver		
British Crown	6s	1d	Other eighth silver dollar	0s	6d
Half crown	3	0	U.S. sixteenth dollar	0	3½
Shilling	1	2	Other "	0	3
Sixpence	0	7¼	Five franc piece	4	8
The dollar	5	1			
Half "	2	6½			
			Copper		
U.S. quarter dollar	1	3	British penny	0	1
Other quar. dollar	1	0	British half penny	0	0½
U.S. eighth dollar	0	7½	British farthing	0	0¼

ABSTRACT OF LAW OF SUCCESSION IN UPPER CANADA ⁵

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

⁵14 and 15 Vic. Capt. 6-1851. Scobie.

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

"Secondly - To his father.

"Thirdly - To his mother: and

"Fourthly--To his collateral relatives.

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

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

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

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

THE THIRTY THOUSAND COLORED FREEMEN OF CANADA

The colored subjects of Her Majesty in the Canadas are, in the general, in good circumstances, that is, there are few cases of positive destitution to be found among those permanently settled. They are settled promiscuously in cities, towns, villages, and the farming districts; and no equal number of colored men in the States, north or south, can produce more freeholders. They are settled on, and own portions of the best farming lands in the province, and own much valuable property in the several cities. There is, of course, a difference in the relative prosperity and deportment in different sections, but a respect for, and observance of the laws, is conceded to them by all. Indeed, much indifference on the part of whites has given place to genuine sympathy, and the active abolitionists and liberal men of the country look upon that element in their character as affording ground for hope of a bright future for them, and as evidence that their sympathy for the *free* man is not misplaced, as more than compensation for their own exertions for those yet in bonds.

I have said there is but little actual poverty among them. They are engaged in the different trades and other manual occupations. They have a paper conducted by the Rev. Henry Bibb, and other able men, white and colored, are laboring among them, and in view of the protection afforded, there is no good

reason why they should not prosper. After the passage of the fugitive law, the sudden emigration of several thousand in a few months, destitute as they necessarily were, from having, in many instances, to leave behind them all they possessed, made not a little suffering for a brief period (only among them), and the report of *their* condition had an injurious bearing upon all the colored settlers. Clothing, provisions, and other articles were sent them, but often so disposed of, or appropriated, as not to benefit those for whom intended. Distrust of agents, indiscriminately, and altogether but little real good has followed from the charity. The sensible men among them, seeing the bad results from a general character for poverty and degradation, have not been slow to express their disapprobation in the social circle, in meetings, and through the public papers.

The following extracts express fully the sentiments of nine-tenths of the colored men of Canada; they think they are fully able to live without begging. There are others (very ignorant people), who think differently, as there will be in all communities, though they are in the minority. There are those, also, and they are a respectable minority (in point of numbers), who are in favor of distinctive churches and schools, and of being entirely to themselves; they will come in for especial notice, but first, let us hear the people of Buxton and other places:

"If facts would bear out the statements made, the fugitives would have little to choose between slavery on one side of the line, and starvation on the other; but we rejoice that he is not reduced to the alternative. The man who is willing to work need not suffer, and unless a man supports himself he will neither be independent nor respectable in any country... The cry that has been often raised, that we could not support ourselves, is a foul slander, got up by our enemies, and circulated both on this and the other side of the line, to our prejudice. Having lived many years in Canada, we hesitate not to say that all who are able and willing to work, can make a good living..

"It is time the truth should be known concerning the relief that has been sent to the 'suffering fugitives in Canada,' and to what extent it has been applied. The boxes of clothing and barrels of provisions which have been sent in from time to time, by the praiseworthy, but misguided zeal of friends in the United States, have been employed to support the idle, who are too lazy to work, and who form but a small portion of the colored population in Canada. There are upwards of thirty thousand colored persons in Canada West, and not more than three thousand of them have ever received aid, and not more than half of them required it had they been willing to work.

"We do not think it right that twenty-seven thousand colored persons, who are supporting themselves by their own industry, should lie under the disgrace of being called public beggars, when they receive nothing, and don't want anything... We wish the people of the United States to know that there is one portion of Canada West where the colored people are self-supporting, and they wish them to send neither petticoat nor pantaloons to the county of Kent... The few cases of real want which arise from sickness or old age, can, with a trifling effort, be relieved here, without making it a pretext for a system of wholesale begging in the United States."

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

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

Notwithstanding the prosperity and liberal sentiment of the majority, there is yet a great deal of ignorance, bigotry, prejudice, and idleness. There are those who are only interested in education so far as the establishment of separate schools

and churches tends to make broad the line of separation they wish to make between them and the whites. They are active to increase their numbers, and to perpetuate, in the minds of the newly arrived emigrant or refugee, prejudices, originating in slavery, and as strong and objectionable in their manifestations as those entertained by whites toward them.

Every casual remark by whites is tortured into a decided and effective negro hate. The expressions of an individual are made to infer the existence of prejudice on the part of the whites, and partiality by the administrators of public affairs. The recently arrived fugitives, unacquainted with the true state of things, are *completely convinced* by the noisy philippic against all the white folks, and all colored ones who think differently from them, and are thus prepared to aid demagogues in preventing the adoption of proper measures for the spread of education and general intelligence, to maintain an ascendancy over the inferior minds around them, and to make the way of the missionary a path of thorns. Among that portion, generally, may those be found who by their indolent habits, tend to give point to what of prejudice is lingering in the minds of the whites; and it is to be feared that they may take some misguided step now, the consequences of which will entail evil on the many who will hereafter settle in Canada. The

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

THE FRENCH AND FOREIGN POPULATION

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

The disposition of the people generally towards colored emigrants, that is, so far as the opinions of the old settlers may be taken, and my own observation may be allowed, is as friendly as could be looked for under the circumstances. The Yankees, in the country and in the States adjoining, leave no opportunity unimproved to embitter their minds against them. The result is, in some sections, a contemptible sort of prejudice, which, among English, is powerless beyond the individual entertaining it - not even affecting *his circle*. This grows out of the constitution of English society, in which people are not obliged to think as others do. There is more independent thought and free expression than among Americans. The affinity between the Yankees and French is strong; said to grow

out of similar intentions with respect to political affairs: and they express most hostility, but it is not of a complexional character only, as that serves as a mark to identify men of a different policy.

Leaving out Yankees - having but little practical experience of colored people - they (the French) are pre-disposed, from the influence alluded to, to deal roughly with them; but in the main benevolence and a sense of justice are elements in their character. They are not averse to truth. There is a prevailing hostility to chattel slavery, and an honest representation of the colored people: their aims and progressive character, backed by uniform good conduct on their part, would in a very short time destroy every vestige of prejudice in the Province.

"The public mind literally thirsts for the truth, and honest listeners, and anxious inquirers will travel many miles, crowd our country chapels, and remain for hours eagerly and patiently seeking the light... Let the ignorance now prevalent on the subject of slavery be met by fair and full discussion, and open and thorough investigation, and the apathy and prejudice now existing will soon disappear." - *S.R.*

Ward

Colored persons have been refused entertainment in taverns (invariably of an inferior class), and on some boats distinction is made; but in all cases, it is that kind of distinction that is made between poor foreigners and other passengers, on

the cars and steamboats of the Northern States. There are the emigrant train and the forward deck in the United States. In Canada, colored persons, holding the same relation to the Canadians, are in some cases treated similarly.

It is an easy matter to make out a case of prejudice in any country. We naturally look for it, and the conduct of many is calculated to cause unpleasant treatment, and to make it difficult for well-mannered persons to get comfortable accommodations. There is a medium between servility and presumption that recommends itself to all persons of common sense, of whatever rank or complexion; and if colored people would avoid the two extremes, there would be but few cases of prejudices to complain of in Canada. In cases in which tavern keepers and other public characters persist in refusing to entertain them, they can, in common with the travelling public generally, get redress at law.

Persons emigrating to Canada need not hope to find the general state of society as it is in the States. There is as in the old country, a strong class feeling - lines are as completely drawn between the different classes, and aristocracy in the Canadas is the same in its manifestations as aristocracy in England, Scotland and elsewhere. There is no approach to Southern chivalry, nor the sensitive democracy prevalent at the North; but there is an aristocracy of birth, not of skin, as with Americans. In the ordinary arrangements of society, from wealthy and titled

immigrants and visitors from the mother country, down through the intermediate circles to Yankees and Indians, it appears to have been settled by common consent, that one class should not 'see any trouble over another;' but the common ground on which all honest and respectable men meet is that of innate hatred of American Slavery.

RECAPITULATION

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

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, MEXICO, SOUTH AMERICA AND AFRICA

Inducements have been held out by planters to colored men, to settle in the British West Indies, and agents have been sent particularly from Jamaica and

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

The policy of the dominant party in the United States is to drive *free* colored people out of the country, and to send them to Africa; and at the same time, to give the fullest guaranty to slaveholders, for the continuance of their system. To fulfil, to the letter, this latter, they make large calculations of a future interest in the West Indies, Honduras, and ultimately South America. They wish to consecrate to slavery and the slave power that portion of this continent; at the same time they deprecate the vicinity of freemen. To preserve those countries

from the ravages of slavery should be the motive of their settlement by colored men.

Jamaica, with its fine climate and rich soil, is the key to the gulf of Mexico. It is not distant from the United States, Cuba, nor Hayti; but, as if providentially, is just so positioned that if properly garrisoned by colored free men, may, under Britain, promptly and effectually check foreign interference in its own policy, and any mischievous designs now in contemplation toward Cuba and Hayti. So of that portion of the Isthmus now under the protection of Great Britain. In view of the ultimate destiny of the southern portion of North America, it is of the first importance that colored men strengthen that and similar positions in that region. They are the natural protectors of the Isthmus and the contiguous country. It is said by medical men, that those of the human family physically capable of resisting the influence of great heat, are also capable of enduring severe cold; and the varied experience of colored persons in America proves that they live to as great age as whites, whether as whalemens in the northern seas, as settlers in the British provinces (far north of the United States), or in the West Indies.

The question of availability can never be raised, for at this time there are those who conduct with great ability the business of the Islands. Colored men are greatly in the majority, not more than one-sixth are whites. They are legislators,

lawyers, physicians, ministers, planters, editors, merchants, and laborers; and they demonstrate clearly their capacity for self-government and the various departments of civil life, by the great change in their condition since emancipation. The story of loss from the emancipation act is a gross misrepresentation, gotten up by interested parties for the benefit of slavery. True there may not be so much exported as formerly, for the very good reason that there are more purchasers at home. The miserably fed slave of former days is now the independent *free* man, with the ability to buy whatever his judgment prompts him to. Neither is the demand for laborers for large estates evidence that the peasantry are idle. There are more small farmers and cultivators on their own account, more store-keepers and traders, and they of the emancipated class.

More attention is, of course, paid to education, and the children are thus relieved, in a measure, from outdoor activities. Much has been done by the colored people of those islands to improve their condition, and much more may be done conjointly with emigrants from the States, to perfect society, strengthen the British in that quarter, and thus keep up 'the balance of power.' It needs no prophet to foretell the establishment of an empire formed out of the southern United States and Mexico. The settlement by colored people of those countries, with their many sympathizers, is but a preparatory step: that step has been taken,

slavery and republican rapacity will do the rest. Under what more favorable auspices could emigration to the West Indies be made than the present, now that a general welcome would be extended by the people to those who would like a milder climate than the States? What government so powerful and so thoroughly impartial as Her Majesty's; so practically anti-slavery, and so protective? None. The objection that 'we wish our own government, to demonstrate our capacity for self-government,' is done away with at once, for there are colonies controlled, so far as their immediate affairs extend, by colored men.

The assertion that white men universally degrade colored is disproved by the facts. There is no aristocracy of skin; every incentive to honorable effort is kept before them. It is of the first importance, then, that the government of those islands should be anti-slavery, and that only governments anti-slavery in spirit and tendency, and having a liberal religious policy, should be sought out by colored people from the United States. They, of all others on this continent, have drunk plentifully of the cup of degradation, made more bitter from the never ending parade about freedom. They would be powerful auxiliaries of the present inhabitants in forming a wall of defense, or available for offensive operations, as a *decided protest*, for instance, as the best interests and policy of the British government might demand.

Those who oppose emigration from the United States say, 'you (colored people) will not desire to be the laborers in other countries; to dig the canals, work on rail roads, ditch, and the like, but you will prefer to engage in trade, and that others will forestall you.' Men who are honest in their desire for a change, who love liberty better than slavery, or who are unwilling to await the tedious process by which, in the United States, their rights will be given, if ever, will not be fastidious on emigrating to a country. Emigrants to any country who should aim at a monopoly of the so-called respectable occupations, exclusively, would be looked upon with distrust, as well as contempt, and the result to the emigrant would not be far different from a monopoly of menial employments. There will be no scarcity of land, and a medium, between the extensive operations of capitalists, and the degrading occupations of colored people, generally, in the crowded cities of the United States, thus opens to them a certain road to future eminence, in every way preferable to the sudden changes and chances of trade, exclusively.

Allusion is at times made to South America, and plans for a grant of territory from governments in that country, in which to form an 'independent government,' have been proposed. Others say, 'unite with existing governments.' Neither plan can recommend itself to prospective emigrants generally. In the first

place, there is no precedent on record of a grant, similar to the one sought, and the policy of independent governments, with respect to each other, would always be opposed to unqualified grants. The great objection to uniting with those governments at present would be their want of toleration in matters of religion; so long as the intimate connexion of the State with the Romish Church exists, those countries must be but a poor asylum for the oppressed. The liberals, with them, form a minority, struggling for life against the exactions of popery, and the ambition of military chiefs. Would colored men be prepared to adopt the religion of the country? That with them would be the only guaranty of protection, such "protection as vultures give to lambs."

'Let us seize upon Africa, or some other, unappropriated territory while we may,' say others, 'and establish our own governments.' But Africa has already been seized upon; the English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Turks, have long since shared her out among themselves, and little Liberia may yet revert to some heir-at-law who has purposely been unmindful of her. There is yet Mexico, to be spoken of hereafter, and a southern continent, but that belongs to the United States, it may be by right of discovery; so there seems to be no safe alternative left but to be satisfied with that government now existing that is most reliable and most powerful. That government is Great Britain; her dependencies form a *secure* home

for the American slave, and the disgraced *free* man. The last of her possessions to which I shall call attention in this place, is Vancouver's Island.

MEXICO

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

In the states of South America, a change of policy was a necessity growing out of the relations of the Church of Rome to society generally. In Mexico, it was an earnest demand of the majority to throw off the Spanish yoke. This is shown in the relative position of the Church in those countries. In Mexico the Roman Catholic church is in undisputed supremacy, and the Pope is to them the

ultimatum. In the states of South America, though that religion prevails, yet concession has been made, by Rome, in the person of a dignitary of equal powers there with the Pope elsewhere. With them the Pope is but little more respected than the Greek Patriarch. In those states, except Peru (in which there is but one idea generally among Natives and Spanish), there was no previously civilized class, continually brooding over Spanish wrongs: the natives came to terms, and they and Creoles combined to destroy Spanish tyranny backed by Rome. Consequently, after victory over Spain was achieved by them, their remaining enemy was and is the Church in its modified form. It yet has, as before said, sufficient influence to make those countries undesirable for colored people from the United States in the present phase of things.

We want a strong position; Mexico does not offer that, even though the majority are anti-slavery. The Southern United States have 'marked her for their prey,' which she will be for a time; and combining with the minority, the probability is a contest for the supremacy of slavery for a long time. If it were certain that slavery would not be tolerated but for a short period, still the move would be inexpedient, as direct contact with revolutionary movements, or other plans of progress, in her present state affecting it, would be inevitable. The position of colored Americans must be a conservative one, for a time, in any

foreign country (from the very nature of their relations to foreign nations), as well as for themselves in the United States; and it were folly in them to voluntarily enter the breach between any two hostile nations until stronger in position; their efforts, to be rational, should be to gain strength.

People who love liberty do not emigrate to weak governments to embroil themselves in their quarrels with stronger ones, but to strong ones, to add to their strength and better their own condition. Foreigners fighting for others, are, generally, either hirelings, or isolated adventurers striving after fame. Whatever people go to Mexico and adopt her institutions must calculate beforehand, to set aside the habits of independent civil life - must for a long time repudiate the plough, the arts, and trade, with their concomitants, in a great country, or make them but secondary in importance to the, there, paramount idea of military life, and the certainty of frequent attacks from abroad and at home. The weakness, or rather the internal feuds of Mexico, invite attack from unscrupulous parties. Is it meet then that emigrants of any nation should make haste to settle there?

We look in vain for the precedent of emigration to a country distracted even to bloodshed with internal feuds, by any people; and we may look in vain for prosperity. In advocating this, we would leave out of sight the check that a fortifying of the West Indies with our emigrants would give to depredations on the

contiguous countries, and only gratify the love to fight, without immediate advantage.

Let Mexico, at present, take care of herself, by the efforts of her own mixed population rightly directed, and let our emigrants so *abolitionize* and strengthen neighboring positions as to promote the prosperity and harmony of the whole. This can be done without compromising away honor; in fact, the sentiment 'liberty or death,' is never realized but by so proceeding as to secure the first permanently, and only courting the latter when life is no longer of utility.

I know that the recollection of innumerable wrongs makes the desire for payment in like coin the necessity of some men's natures, but no real end is attained after all. The Indians have learned sense from frequent defeat, the consequence of going to war before they were prepared, and whole tribes now cultivate the arts of peace and progress. Let us learn even of savages! We can get up a fight at any time, but who is the wiser for the sight? No one. Honest men would but try to suppress it; so would a coalition with any nation, and especially a weak one, to carry out retaliatory measures, result.

The pro-slavery party of the United States is the aggressive party on this continent. It is the serpent that aims to swallow all others. It is meet then to

make strongholds, and, if need be, defend them; that will be the most effective check to greediness of land and negroes.

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This island is situated between 49° and 51° north latitude, or on the southern boundary of British America; and between 122° and 127° west longitude. It is about three hundred miles long and between ninety and one hundred miles broad, and contains about twenty-eight thousand square miles. Though remotely situated, and comparatively uninhabited (there being not more than twenty thousand persons on it), it will, it is said, be the first island in importance on the globe. It has a fine climate, being in the same latitude as the south of England, Germany, and the north of France. The soil is also of the best description.

But it is not as an agricultural island that it will surpass all others. The western continent, and particularly the northern part, say 'wise men of the east,' must eventually leave the eastern far in the distance (a fact that should not be lost sight of by colored men), and that over the Pacific will the trade with eastern nations be prosecuted. It is important now as a stopping place for whale ships visiting the Northern Seas, and is directly in the route to the East Indies, Japan Isles, and China, from Oregon and British America. The overland route to the Pacific terminating near that point, the great Atlantic trade of Western Europe and

America will find there the most practicable outlet and the shortest distance to Eastern Asia; consequently the people there settled, of whatever complexion, will be the 'merchant princes of the world,' and under the protection of Great Britain.

Now, there are two weighty reasons why the people settled there should be colored principally. The first, because by that means they would become more fully involved in the destiny of this continent: any eastern move of magnitude, as for instance to Africa, if *possible*, would appear a retrograde step, now that the current of affairs is so clearly setting west. And secondly, in no more effectual way could a check be given to the encroachments of slavery on free soil. The purely American sympathy for kith and kin only, would experience unmistakable obstacles to its free exercise, in the event of a contemplated annexation of that delightful Western country.

It will be seen that the possibility of a pretty extensive emigration to those countries has been the prominent feature throughout this tract, and for that reason direct reference has been made to other points under British jurisdiction, than Canada. The preference given to these (Canada, West Indies, and Vancouver's Island), over British Colonies elsewhere, has been because of their strong position and availability in every way. There would not be as in Africa, Mexico, or South

America, hostile tribes to annoy the settler, or destroy at will towns and villages with their inhabitants: the strong arm of British power would summarily punish depredations made, of whatever character, and the emigrants would naturally assume the responsibility of British freemen.

The question of whether or not an extensive emigration by the free colored people of the United States would affect the institution of slavery would then be answered. I have here taken the affirmative of that question, because that view of the case seems to me most clear. The free colored people have steadily discountenanced any rational scheme of emigration in the hope that by remaining in the States, a powerful miracle for the overthrow of slavery would be wrought. What are the facts?

More territory has been given up to slavery, the Fugitive Law has passed, and a concert of measures, seriously affecting their personal liberty, have been entered into by several of the Free states. So subtle, unseen and effective have been their movements, that, were it not that we remember there is a Great Britain, we would be overwhelmed, powerless, from the force of such successive shocks. And the end may not be yet, if we persist in remaining for targets while they are strengthening themselves in the Northwest and in the Gulf. There would be more of the right spirit, and infinitely more of real manliness, in a peaceful but decided

demand for freedom to the slave from the Gulf of Mexico, than in a miserable scampering from state to state, in a vain endeavor to gather the crumbs of freedom that a pro-slavery besom may sweep away at any moment.

May a selection for the best be made, now that there are countries between which and the United States a comparison may be instituted. A little folding of the hands, and there may be no retreat from the clutches of the slave power.

Explanatory Notes

The notes which follow are keyed to the text of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* by page and line number. These notes fall into two categories: those concerned with people, places and things; and those which touch on ideas or opinions. An example of the first type of note would be 'Buxton,' a town in southwestern Ontario. The second type of note is exemplified by 'Let us learn even of savages!', a statement with both ideological implications as well as rhetorical power and strategy. In each note, I have attempted to provide one or more sources for further reading.

50.4 *the province called Canada West*

Previous to 1840, the provinces known today as Quebec and Ontario had been known as Lower Canada and Upper Canada. The British parliament voted an Act of Union in 1840 which took effect in February, 1841. Thereafter, Lower and Upper Canada vanished as political entities and one

province, called Canada, took their place. Canada was divided into two administrative divisions: Canada East (or Lower Canada/Quebec) and Canada West (or Upper Canada/Ontario). In 1867, Canada West became the province of Ontario when the British North America Act united the province of Canada with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to form the Dominion of Canada. See Robert Bothwell, *A Short History of Ontario*, Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986, p.46.

50.6 *the odious Fugitive Slave Law*

Enacted by the United States Congress as part of the Compromise of 1850. The Compromise was a series of measures designed to settle the question of slavery in territories not yet granted statehood. Before 1850, northern states denied southern law officers aid in apprehending fugitive slaves. The Fugitive Slave Law mandated the hiring of officials to issue warrants for the arrest of fugitive slaves as well as certificates permitting slave catchers to return fugitive slaves to their owners. The Fugitive Slave Law made hindering this process a criminal offense. The Law also provided rewards: \$10 for each return of a slave, and \$5 if the person turned out to be a freed Black. Captured Blacks did not have the right to a trial by jury under the Law, nor could they testify in their own defense. The Fugitive Slave Law

was incredibly unpopular in the northern states. See Robert L. Gale, *A Cultural Encyclopaedia of the 1850's in America*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993, pp.74-76, 144-145.

50.10 *a pro-slavery administration*

Here Shadd is referring to Millard Fillmore, thirteenth president of the United States. Fillmore, along with his secretary of state Daniel Webster, believed they had a mandate to resolve the issue of slavery through compromise. Fillmore supported the Compromise of 1850 (see note above) even though he was well aware of the repercussions, both for Black Americans and on his own political fortunes. Growing abolitionist activism in the northern states, and a backlash against the Fugitive Slave Law, led to Fillmore's defeat by antislavery candidate Winfield Scott in the Whig Party's presidential nomination of 1852. See Paula McGuire, ed., *American Political Leaders from Colonial Times to the Present*, Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 1991, pp.133-135.

50.12 *the Colonization Society*

When formed in 1816, known as the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of the United States. An organization whose main assumption, that Blacks would never achieve equality with white Americans, led it to

encourage large-scale emigration of Blacks to Africa. The organization had members in the North and South, merchants and evangelists, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, making for strange bedfellows. Motives for these peoples' membership in the Colonization Society varied. Some saw it as an easy way to free slaves. Others saw it as a means to remove free Blacks, who acted as a source of inspiration to enslaved Blacks. Others yet saw American Blacks as a potential civilizing force, bringing Christianity to the pagans of Africa. The Colonization Society was vilified by abolitionists as a continuation of slavery. Although it was unpopular after the 1830's, the Colonization Society did manage to establish Liberia as a settlement on the West Coast of Africa. By the end of the nineteenth century, at least 20 000 Blacks left the United States for Liberia, which attained independence in 1847. See Randall M. Miller and John David Smith, eds., *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp.44-45.

58.18 *New Britain*

The use by Shadd of the name New Britain is somewhat of a mystery. I have been able to find no record of any part of Canada ever having been called by this name. My conclusion is that Shadd mistakenly calls New

Brunswick New Britain. Or else, she may have been referring to the only actual New Britain: an island off the coast of Papua New Guinea, settled by the British in the mid-nineteenth century. The chance of this is unlikely however, since Shadd prefaces 'New Britain' with the phrase 'In other parts of British America, as, for instance...'

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

An eight-page pamphlet written by Frederick Widder and published in Toronto by Scobie & Balfour in 1848. Shadd uses this pamphlet as a basic reference document. The *Catechism* was actually an advertising tool, published for The Canada Company (which sold land to immigrants) stressing the positive aspects of life in Canada over the hardships. The only extant copy is in the Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. For a reproduction of this pamphlet's title page, see Appendix A.

61.7 *Lord Selkirk's settlement*

Thomas Douglas (1771-1820) was the fifth Earl of Selkirk. In 1802 he decided to found a colony of distressed Scottish Highlanders and Irishmen on the Red River in present-day Manitoba. The colonial department in London would not cooperate, since the Hudson's Bay Company had

authority over that area. Selkirk obtained land grants in Upper Canada instead and established the Baldoon settlement on the shores of Lake St. Clair by 1804. The Hudson's Bay Company granted Selkirk 116 000 acres of land in the Winnipeg Basin in 1811 (Selkirk and his wife had by that time acquired a huge interest in the Company). The Selkirk settlers left the British Isles in 1811 and founded the Red River Settlement a year later. The settlement was anchored by Fort Douglas, built at the forks of the Assiniboine and Red rivers, the site of Winnipeg. The North West Company, a group of Montreal fur barons, saw Selkirk's settlement as an infringement on their territory and tried repeatedly to destroy the settlement. The ensuing legal battle ruined Selkirk's health and sped up the merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies. By the time of Shadd's writing, the settlement would have been known as the Red River Settlement. See Norah Story, *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp.754-755.

72.10 *Dawn, a settlement on the Sydenham*

Dawn, or the British-American Institute as it was formally known, was one of the Black communal experiments in North America of the early nineteenth-century. Founded by Hiram Wilson, a missionary, Josiah Henson,

an escaped slave, and James Cannings Fuller, a Quaker philanthropist, Dawn began as a manual labour school on December 12, 1842. The Indenture of Sale for the first 200 acres of land purchased at Dawn said it was "for the alone purpose... of Education Menal Moral and physical of the Coloured inhabitants of Canada not excluding white persons and Indians." Dawn was located near the village of Dresden, north of Chatham, on the Sydenham river. Gradually the Dawn community grew around the school, which acted as a magnet for settlers. The Dawn community comprised almost 2000 acres of farm land but there was also industry. There was a saw mill, a grist mill, a rope factory and a brick yard. By the mid 1850's there were four elementary schools at Dawn, besides the Institute. By the late 1850's however, financial incompetence and mismanagement on the part of Henson and John Scoble (a British abolitionist who had been given the task of reforming Dawn) led to the community's slow decline. By 1866, many Blacks had moved away. See William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America*, Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963, pp.63-83.

73.15 *They have their 'own churches'*

What Shadd refers to here has been best encapsulated by historian Roger Riendeau: "When Blacks first arrived in Upper Canada, they were not numerous or prosperous enough to organize and support their own churches, so they attended the existing white churches. But as distinctive Black communities emerged from the 1820's onward, so did distinctive Black churches." Shadd would not dispute this analysis, but would argue that religion should not be used as a pretext to form segregated institutions in the first place. See Roger Riendeau, *An Enduring Heritage: Black Contributions to Early Ontario*, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984, p.17.

75.2 *The missionary strength, at present, consists of*

Here Shadd is describing the work of the American Missionary Association, established as a non-sectarian organization in 1846. Although Shadd says there were six preachers in 1852, Robin Winks claims that after 1848 there were between nine and ten. Of all the missionaries, only two were Black - Shadd the teacher, and a Rev. L.C. Chambers who worked in Chatham and Ingersoll. The other missionaries included Rev. John S. Brooks, Mary Teall, David Hotchkiss, Hiram Wilson, and Elias Kirkland. The men's wives almost invariably worked alongside their husbands as teachers. Shadd's opinion of the bleakness of the missionary life (punctuated as it was by

open hostility between Black settlers and white missionaries) is examined in further detail by Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971, pp.224-226. Letters written by these missionaries (including Shadd) to officials of the AMA in New York City describing life in Canada West are available on microfilm at the Archives of Ontario.

75.16 *There are those who pretend to have been enlightened*

A thinly-veiled attack on Henry and Mary Bibb. Shadd was much more pointed and personal in her private letters, as when she accused the Bibbs of hiding bibles and clothes which had been donated for fugitive slaves in their cellar, or else, accused Mary Bibb of being a "profane swearer and drug taking woman." See Jim and Linda Bearden, *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary*, Toronto: NC Press, 1977, pp.65-67. For a more balanced view of Mary Bibb, see Afua Cooper, "Black Women and Work in Nineteenth-Century Canada: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb" in Bristow et al, *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 143-170.

76.12 *when the School Law was under revision*

Before 1850, common (or public) schools in Upper Canada and then Canada West were theoretically open to everyone, regardless of race. In practice, however, widespread prejudice against Blacks occurred. Robin Winks quotes the school trustees of Amherstburg (near Windsor) who declared in 1846 that "rather than send their offspring 'to School with niggers they will cut their children's heads off and throw them into the road side ditch." The situation was a little better in cities like Toronto and Hamilton, where Black and white children attended the same schools. The government attempted to remedy the situation with its revised Seperate School Act of 1850 (Shadd calls it the School Law.) This Act allowed five Black families to petition local public school trustees to form a school for their children. As Winks makes clear, while the Act was meant to bring more equality to the system, its actual effect "was to give whites a weapon by which they forced" Blacks to apply for seperate schools. See Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp.365-369. Shadd quotes the Act from *Scobie's Municipal Manual*, p.189f, described in note 88.19 below.

80.15 *Much has been said of the Canadian colored settlements*

Shadd's comment that the Canadian Black settlements had attracted a lot of attention is ironic. In their own time, roughly from 1830 to 1860, these "communal experiments" did indeed attract attention, especially in the Black press. Since then, however, little has been written. William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease produced the classic (and only) study of the Canadian Black settlements in 1963. Their *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* discusses the four important settlements: Wilberforce, Dawn, Elgin and the Refugee Home Society. Robin Winks also goes into great detail about the four settlements in his *The Blacks in Canada*. All four settlements were located in southwestern Ontario. Shadd mentions a fifth settlement, which she calls the "Institution". This is not to be confused with the British-American Institute at Dawn. At the same time, I have been unable to figure out exactly where the "Institution" might have been located. It does not occur in either Pease and Pease or in Winks.

83.1 *the A.M.E. Church*

Shadd had been raised a Roman Catholic, but converted to the African Methodist Episcopal church sometime in her youth. After moving to Canada, Shadd decided to break with the Canadian A.M.E. Church because of its exclusiveness. According to Winks, the "African Methodist Episcopal

Church was founded in 1816 in Philadelphia by Richard Allen and fifteen other Negroes, largely in response to the growing racial exclusiveness of the parent church in the United States and also from a desire to create bishoprics which Negroes might fill." There were A.M.E. churches in Upper Canada by 1839. In the 1850's, the A.M.E. Church in Canada split into two factions, one which became the B.M.E. Church (British Methodist Episcopal) and one which stayed A.M.E. The splinter group formed because it was thought the word 'British' would afford better protection against the Fugitive Slave Law. See Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp.355-360.

85.17 *supervision of resident agents*

Resident agents were men like Josian Henson of Dawn who both lived at a Black settlement and at the same time were official agents of that settlement (which meant they went on fund-collecting tours of the United States and Britain). Shadd is objecting here to the way in which some of the Black settlements were organized, like at Dawn where Henson was seen as a patriarch whose authority was unchallenged, even as he helped cause the eventual ruin of the settlement.

86.4 *the Constitution*

The Constitution of the Refugee Home Society was published in Bibb's *Voice of the Fugitive* on February 12, 1852. It contained the following preamble: "The friends of humanity in Michigan, in May 1851, organized a society which has undertaken the purchase of 50 000 acres of farming land, in Canada, on which to settle refugees from slavery. This society would therefore represent to the refugees from Southern slavery, who are now in Canada destitute of homes, or who may hereafter come, being desirous of building themselves up in Canada, on an agricultural basis, and who do not buy, sell or use intoxicating drinks as a beverage, shall, by making proper application to this society, and complying with its constitution and by laws, be put into possession of 25 acres of farming land, and their children shall enjoy the blessings of education perpetually." Shadd sees two problems with the Refugee Home Society. First, that it sells land at prices higher than the government, and by implication, that it makes Bibb and the RHS rich. Second, Shadd disagrees fundamentally with Bibb on the issue of free American Blacks. Bibb thinks little of them and this has practical effects since the RHS (of which Bibb is a founder) will not sell them land. Shadd is constantly at pains to point out that free Blacks are also being persecuted under the Fugitive Slave Law and should therefore be regarded

in need of just as much help as fugitive slaves. The fact that she gave so much space in her short book for a lengthy quotation from the RHS Constitution is indicative of the degree to which she disagreed with the principles inherent in it. See Pease and Pease, *Black Utopia*, pp.112-113.

88.19 *Scobie's Canadian Almanac for 1852*

Shadd found this reference book very useful, as is evidenced by her generous direct quotations in the area of schools and voter and councillor qualifications. The full title of the book is *Scobie's Municipal Manual for Upper Canada, Third Edition, Containing, Besides the contents of the two previous editions, The Acts that have since been passed by the Legislature of the Province, In reference to, Municipalities and the Municipal system established in Upper Canada*. Scobie published this book in Toronto in 1852, and it is available today on CIHM microfiche (34135) at most university libraries as well as in hard copy at the Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto. For a reproduction of the title page, see Appendix A.

88.16 *fee simple...freehold...soccage...fief...roture...franc allen*

These legal terms which go back to medieval times designate ways in which title to land may be held. Fee simple is an estate or inheritance in land which may last forever and may be inherited by a lineal or collateral heir. Freehold is a woolly concept which means being in the state of holding land in fee simple, or put another way, holding an inherited piece of land. Soccage, on the other hand, is more like the modern concept of rent. Land held in soccage means either doing agricultural work for a lord, or paying a money equivalent, but it excludes mandatory military service. Fief and roture are interrelated concepts. Fief refers to any feudal estate, while roture is a small piece of land on a fief for which a farmer pays a rent, or cens. I have not been able to locate a definition of franc allen. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, Chicago: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1981 is helpful in defining these terms, while Richard Colebrook Harris' *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada*, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1968, explains some of the terms in greater depth.

89.18 *the census*

Shadd is not quite correct in maintaining that no designation was made in the census between Black and white. In fact, people were asked in the 1851 census (as well as in earlier and later censuses) to choose a "national origin."

One of the twenty-eight choices was "Negro." Shadd is probably referring to the fact that most Blacks chose to identify themselves as "American" instead of as Black. See the Appendix, "How Many Negroes in Canada?" in Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp.484-496.

92.6 *bona fide*

A phrase in Latin meaning 'with good faith'. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, volume II, J.A. Simpson & E.S.C. Weiner, eds., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p.379.

93.19 *Abstract of Law of Succession in Upper Canada*

Once again Shadd quotes directly from Scobie's 1852 almanac. In such a short book, why did Shadd devote so much space to a quotation about the dynamics of who gets what when someone dies? The answer is that Shadd is striving, throughout the text, but especially in this section, to convey a sense of reassurance. Shadd quotes at length to show that in Canada, freedom for Blacks reaches beyond the grave. Their land and property will not be taken from them, but will legally pass on to their next of kin. The designation 14 and 15 Vic refers to the 14 and 15th years of Queen Victoria's reign (1851 and 1852), the legislative year in which this law was passed.

94.4 *per stirpes*

In Latin 'per' is a preposition which designates a reason or cause for something, and may be translated as 'for the sake of.' 'Stirpes' is a noun which literally means stem or stalk but which is figuratively used in this phrase to denote a person, and may be translated more specifically as 'direct offspring' or 'progeny.' Thus the effect of 'per stirpes' is to reinforce the benefits which accrue to being a direct lineal descendant. Definitions taken from *A Latin Dictionary*, Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962, pp.1332, 1761.

95.19 *They have a paper conducted by the Rev. Henry Bibb*

Shadd's antagonism toward Bibb is alluded to above in note 75.16. Bibb's *Voice of the Fugitive* (1851-3), published in Sandwich near Windsor, predates Shadd's newspaper, *The Provincial Freeman*, by two years. Mary Bibb, Henry's wife and a teacher like Shadd, often edited the *Voice of the Fugitive* when Bibb travelled on lecture tours and to conferences. Although Shadd's biographers Jim and Linda Bearden would have us believe that Bibb's and Shadd's papers held diametrically opposed viewpoints (Bibb for and Shadd against segregated schools and settlements, for instance), the truth is that they were quite often similar in tone. The *Voice of the*

Fugitive is available on microfilm at the Robarts Library at the University of Toronto as is the *Provincial Freeman*. For more information on Bibb, see his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb* (1849) in Gilbert Osofsky, ed., *Puttin' on Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown and Solomon Northup*, New York: Harper, 1969; as well as Fred Landon's "Henry Bibb, A Colonizer" in *Journal of Negro History*, 5 (1920), pp.437-447; and Afua Cooper's essay cited in note 75.16.

97.2 *Buxton*

Known today as North Buxton. Named after the early nineteenth-century English abolitionist, Thomas Fowell Buxton, a small town about 10 kilometres southwest of Chatham, Ontario. In the 1850's, Buxton was the centre of Rev. William King's Elgin settlement, mentioned above in note 80.15 and in more detail in Pease and Pease, *Black Utopia*. The Shadd family records are located in the Raleigh Township Centennial Museum in North Buxton. These records include subscription receipts for Shadd's *Provincial Freeman*, as well as Shadd's father Abraham's ledger detailing all the shoes sold by him from the early days in Wilmington to his time in Canada West. Along with Dresden, Buxton is probably the only place left

in Canada outside of Nova Scotia with a native Black population. See the excellent documentary film *Home to Buxton* (1987), directed by Claire Prieto, available from McNabb & Connolly distributors as well as Arlie Robbins' self-published *Legacy to Buxton*.

98.13 *Committee*

The three men listed as members of this committee had a letter published in the *Voice of the Fugitive* on April 8, 1852. Since no other information exists about this committee or its activities, I have assumed the committee was expressly formed to draft a letter to the *Voice of the Fugitive*. Shadd quotes almost the entire letter in her book. Of the three committee members, I have been able to find biographical information only about Robert Harris. Volume II of *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Canada 1830-1865*, C. Peter Ripley et al, eds., Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, describes Harris briefly as "a longtime Buxton resident.. active in Elgin settlement affairs" (357n).

98.18 *S.R. Ward's Letter to the Voice of the Fugitive*

Samuel Ringgold Ward (1817-1866?) was born a slave in Maryland. The Ward family escaped to New Jersey and then to New York when Ward was

a child. Ward was educated in New York and became a minister of the Congregational church. He lived with his family in upstate New York towns, working as an abolitionist speaker and preacher. In Syracuse in 1851, he attempted to set up his own newspaper, the *Impartial Citizen*, but this enterprise ended in acrimony (money collected, but no newspapers delivered) after a few issues (Bearden and Bearden, 95). Ward fled to Montreal in 1851 after having involved himself in the rescue of a slave named Jerry from a Syracuse courtroom. From Montreal, Ward and his family moved to Canada West and settled in Toronto. He worked as a speaker for the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, travelling to various towns around modern southern Ontario, spreading the abolitionist message. Ward and Shadd were of the same mind when it came to segregation of Blacks in any way. Ward elaborated his views in a series of letters to Bibb's *Voice of the Fugitive* beginning in late 1851 and lasting through 1852. The letters quoted by Shadd (98, 101) appeared in the February 12 and February 26, 1852 editions of the *Voice of the Fugitive*. Ward became titular editor of Shadd's *Provincial Freeman*, although in reality, he was on a lecture tour of England, and contributed little to the enterprise except his name. His name was dropped from the masthead by October of 1854. Ward's great

reputation was ruined after he was charged "with swindling a London tradesman" (Winks, 227). The man who some had called the rival or better of Frederick Douglass, retired in shame to an estate in Jamaica where he lived out the last ten years of his life. Just before the scandal occurred, Ward published in London his *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro* (1855). For more information on Ward, see his *Autobiography* (especially the section on Canada), as well as Ronald K. Burke's *Samuel Ringgold Ward: Christian Abolitionist*, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.

105.9 *that portion of the Isthmus now under the protection of Great Britain*

Here Shadd refers to the modern country of Belize. Formally organized as a British colony in 1862, Belize (then British Honduras) was one of many British colonies, like New Brunswick for instance, which existed initially almost exclusively to provide timber for the ever-expanding British navy's ships. British Honduras attained independence from Britain in 1981, although Britain still maintains troops in Belize as well as spending over 30 million pounds per year on its defence. See Bonham C. Richardson, *The Caribbean in the Wider World 1492-1992*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp.6, 17, 57, 201-202.

106.6 *The story of loss from the emancipation act is a gross misrepresentation*

The Abolition of Slavery Act received royal assent on August 29, 1833. Slavery was officially over in Britain's colonies, although in practice, the Act allowed for an adjustment period known as apprenticeship, which could last up to four more years. The apprenticeship system was outlawed in 1838. The story of loss Shadd refers to has been a controversial historical question for over a century and a half. Historians and social scientists have argued both ways: emancipation benefitted ex-slaves, or else, emancipation made things worse. A concise summary of such views, and one which attempts to be un-biased is geographer Bonham C. Richardson's take on the effects of emancipation: "...planters attempted to control members of the newly freed working classes by restricting their access to local lands, enacting immobilizing vagrancy laws, and importing thousands of laborers into the region in order to drive wages down. The ex-slaves pushed just as hard in the other direction to consolidate their new independence by establishing their own village settlements, emigrating for higher wages, and forming their own informal social networks." (70) A more positive view of emancipation's effects is found in Eric Williams' Marxist classic *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969*, London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1970, pp.328-346. The important thing to note is that Shadd had to put a

positive spin on the emancipation act because Canada West, the place she was advocating as a refuge and home for American Blacks, was one of the British colonies affected by that act.

106.19 *It needs no prophet... slavery and republican rapacity will do the rest*

This confusing section of Shadd's text needs to be explained. Shadd forecasts an eventual union of the southern United States and Mexico. This forecast is based on two premises. First, that people in the southern states and Mexico have something in common; and second, that the southern states would separate from the northern states. The first premise is contradictory since in the section on Mexico which follows, Shadd speaks of the "known hostility of Mexicans to slavery"(110). This contradiction is solved if we assume that in the first instance, Shadd is referring to the Mexican slave-owning classes, while in the second she refers to the Mexican peasant and slave classes. Shadd's second premise/prediction almost came true during the American Civil War which occurred thirteen years after the publication of her book. The main point Shadd is trying to make is that Black emigration to the Caribbean is a good thing as it will check the power of a future slave-owning empire based in the southern States. The fact that Shadd became a recruiting officer in the Civil War (for the northern side)

is consistent with her opinions as expressed thirteen years earlier in this book.

109.1 *plans for a grant of territory*

This allusion to supposed grants of land to American Blacks by South American governments has been hard to corroborate. The closest I have come is a passage in John V. Lombardi's *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela 1820-1854*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971. Lombardi writes that in the 1840's Venezuela's "Congress and the Department of the Interior became more and more interested in the possibilities of immigration... Unfortunately, Venezuela had little to offer prospective citizens, and government support of immigration remained limited." This passage is accompanied by a note instructing the reader that specific examples of Venezuelan efforts at encouraging immigration can be found in Francisco Gonzales Guinan's *Historia contemporanea de Venezuela*, Caracas, 1954. Unfortunately, this book has not been readily available. See Lombardi, pp.104, 117-118 n35, 37. Shadd did not invent the notion of Black emigration to South America. She had most probably read Martin Delany's *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*, which was published in

April of 1852 (a few months before she published her own book). Delany, a famous doctor, scientist, editor, exponent of emigrationism and black pride and nationalism, supported emigration of Blacks to South and Central America. In his book, Delany also favourably reviewed Shadd's 1849 pamphlet, *Hints to the Colored People of the North*. Despite his praise of her as a "very intelligent young lady" (Bearden and Bearden, 21), Shadd went on to vehemently disagree with Delany over South and Central America when she published her own book later that year. For the interesting relationship between Shadd and Delany (they both lived in Chatham, Canada West in the late 1850's) see Floyd J. Miller, *The Search For a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization 1787-1863*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975, esp. pp.93-134, 157-160.

109.14 *"protection as vultures give to lambs"*

Quotation from Richard Brinsley Sheridan's 1799 play, *Pizarro* (II,2,19-23). Rolla, commander of King Ataliba's army, warns the king of the true motives of the Spanish invaders: "They boast, they come but to improve our state, enlarge our thoughts, and free us from the yoke of error! - Yes - THEY will give enlightened freedom to our minds, who are themselves the slaves of passion, avarice, and pride. - They offer us their protection - Yes,

such protection as vultures give to lambs - covering and devouring them!"

The irony here is self-evident. Shadd argues that religion, and specifically the adoption of Roman Catholicism, will not protect Blacks intending to emigrate to South America. Shadd herself was raised a Roman Catholic. The fact that Shadd, by using this quotation, metaphorically likens the condition of Blacks to the condition of Native South Americans, is ironic, since in two places in her book, she makes racist comments about Natives (see note 113.19 below). For the quotation, see *The Home Book of Quotations: Classical and Modern*, Burton Stevenson, ed., New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1967, p.2033:12 and *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, vol. II, Cecil Price, ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.623-704

110.12 *old Castillians*

This phrase is used by Shadd to designate those people living in Mexico who were Spanish-born (Castillians from Castille, the ancient Iberian kingdom located in modern central Spain). By 1852, when Shadd was writing, there were actually not many Spanish-born people left in Mexico. The constitution of the Mexican Republic, adopted in 1824, guaranteed that power would rest in the hands of a Creole and Mestizo elite. Creoles and

Mestizos were people who had been born in Mexico: in the first case, of Spanish ancestry, and in the second, of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. The 1824 constitution embodied and caused anti-Spanish feeling to spread through the country; many Spanish-born people left Mexico. Shadd's warning, that Spanish-born Mexicans might someday align themselves with southern slaveholders, is an exaggeration. In fact, the Mexican-American War had just ended (1848) a few years before Shadd wrote her book. The chances that Spanish-born Mexicans were thinking of an alliance with the southern states are slim at best. For a basic introduction to these issues see Peter McGregor Eadie's *Mexico: A Traveller's Cultural History*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1991, pp.117, 125-138.

110.15 *Simon Bolivar*

Politician and military hero, Bolivar (1783-1830) was internationally famous in his time as the liberator of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Born into the Venezuelan aristocracy, both of Bolivar's parents died when he was a young child. He was raised by an uncle who provided Bolivar with outstanding opportunities, such as being tutored by Simon Rodriguez, a student of Rousseau, and travelling in Europe. Legend has it that after the death of his wife, Bolivar made a vow to liberate his country

while on a trip to Rome. In 1810, when a military junta took control of Venezuela from the Spanish governor, Bolivar was sent to London to seek support from the British government. When Venezuelan independence was declared in 1811, Bolivar joined the new army. After a period of exile in Jamaica (he had been beaten by Spanish forces), Bolivar launched a campaign which led to the liberation of New Granada (Colombia and Ecuador). By 1825 Peru and Bolivia had been liberated, and Bolivar entered a phase of statesmanship, in which he tried to unite the new South American republics into a league for mutual protection and trade. The final years of Bolivar's life were sad ones, as he watched civil war burgeon around him. Bolivar died in 1830 of tuberculosis. Although Shadd sees in Bolivar a symbol of democracy superior to what she perceives in Mexico, in fact, Bolivar was by many accounts an autocrat, who longed for American-style democracy in his homeland, but didn't have the actual courage or power to bring it to fruition. See Jerome R. Adams, *Latin American Heroes: Liberators and Patriots From 1500 to the Present*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1991, pp.28-39.

113.19 *Let us learn even of savages!*

This is the most glaring of Shadd's five comments concerning natives peoples. On page 75, missionaries are in danger of being sent to "out-right savages... deadly enemies"; while on page 79, settlers are described as revelling "in happy ignorance" save for an "Indian camp fire occasionally."

The Canadian class system is described on page 103 in this way: "wealthy and titled immigrants and visitors from the mother country, down through the intermediate circles to Yankees and Indians." Finally, on page 116, Shadd begins her summary of Canada West's preferability over other destinations by stating that there are no "hostile tribes to annoy the settler." Shadd is participating, by writing the above statements, in literary racism which goes back to the very beginning of both Canadian and American literature by whites. Shadd uses the image of the native as a method of 'othering,' to demonstrate to her audience that there is something in Canada over which Blacks can have power. This tactic of 'othering' neatly evades the fact that Blacks and natives have much more in common in North America than what separates them. As Dana D.Nelson has pointed out, quoting Frank Lentricchia, "to write is to know is to dominate." Shadd undermines her own anti-racist thesis by her constant deployment of racist stereotypes of natives. The literature on this issue is growing rapidly. See

especially Maria Diedrich, "The Characterization of Native Americans in the Antebellum Slave Narrative," *CLA Journal*, 31 (4) June 1988, pp.412-435; Dana D. Nelson, *The Word in Black and White: Reading 'Race' in American Literature, 1638-1867*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; Thomas King et al, eds., *The Native in Literature*, Toronto: ECW Press, 1987; W.H. New, ed., *Native Writers and Canadian Writing (Canadian Literature Special Issue)*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990; Leslie Monkman, *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981; and Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene In Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature*, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

115.9 *there are two weighty reasons why the people settled there should be colored principally*

In fact the two weighty reasons given by Shadd appear to have had no influence whatsoever on the eventual large-scale movement of American Blacks to the British colony of Vancouver's Island. Indeed it is doubtful whether Shadd's book ever made it as far as San Francisco, the city from which a large group of Blacks emigrated to Vancouver's Island beginning in 1858. The reason why Blacks from California began to move to Victoria is

racism. Despite California's 1849 constitution which prohibited slavery, politicians began to consider and pass measures which curtailed the freedom of Blacks. The Black community of San Francisco decided in April of 1858 to try emigration to Vancouver's Island as a solution. By the end of 1858, as many as 400 families may have made the journey by steamer to Victoria. Unlike the fugitive slaves and free Blacks who moved to Canada West, who were most often farmers or labourers, the San Francisco Blacks were middle class property owners and remained so in Victoria. For the interesting and little-known history of this emigration see Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp.272-287 and Leo W. Bertley, *Canada and Its People of African Descent*, Pierrefonds, Quebec: Bilongo Publishers, 1977, pp.95-110.

115.13 *in no more effectual way could a check be given... in the event of a contemplated annexation of that delightful Western country*

Similarly to note 106.19, Shadd is here forecasting an eventual interest by the United States in annexing Vancouver's Island. In fact, in the two decades before the book's publication, problems existed in the northwest between American settlers moving into areas known today as Washington and Oregon, but then controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. These settlers refused to recognize the authority of the HBC. The Oregon Treaty

of 1846 solved the problem by proclaiming the 49th parallel (except in the case of Vancouver's Island) the southern boundary of Britain's possessions. What Shadd could not have known was that in 1857 gold would be discovered in the lower Fraser River. This caused the Fraser River Gold Rush and for a while it looked as if British possessions would be overrun by American prospectors. In response to the influx, Britain created British Columbia in 1858, hoping to consolidate its power over the territory. Once again, Shadd argues that settlement by Blacks on free British soil will forestall American territorial ambitions. It is hard to know whether Shadd's comment about Americans liking "kith and kin"(107) only (and hence not willing to annex a territory full of free Blacks) is tongue in cheek or seriously meant. The message is the same, regardless.

117.9 *besom*

A broom made of twigs. For definition see *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, vol. I, p.207.

*Bibliographical Description of the 1852**Detroit-Pattison Edition*

A bibliographical description follows of the first edition of *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*, which serves as the copy-text of the present edition.

First Edition

Title-page: A PLEA FOR EMIGRATION;|OR,|NOTES OF CANADA WEST,|IN ITS|MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ASPECT:|WITH SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING MEXICO, WEST INDIES,|AND VANCOUVER'S ISLAND,|FOR THE|INFORMATION OF COLORED EMIGRANTS.|BY MARY A. SHADD.|[double pineapple design as rule]|DETROIT:|PRINTED BY GEORGE W. PATTISON.|1852.

The title-page of the first edition is reproduced as an illustration in the present edition.

- Size of page:** 115mm x 180mm.
- Collation:** 1°, A-E²F¹, 11 leaves, pp.i-44
- Contents:** p.[i] title-page, p.[ii] blank page, p.[iii]-iv "Introductory Remarks.", p.[5]-44 text.
- Running-titles:** "PREFATORY REMARKS." appears on p.iv. From pp.6-44, "NOTES OF CANADA WEST." appears on each page.
- Casing:** The casing of the copy examined is of olive green paper. Front cover has printed ornamental borders (interlocking hooks) and contains same information as title-page with the addition of the following lines between the author's name and the place of publication: "Entered according to act of Congress, in the office of the clerk of the District Court|of

the United States for the District of Michigan, by MARY A.
SHADD, in the year|one thousand eight hundred and fifty-
two."

Emendations in Copy-Text

The following list includes all emendations made in this edition of *A Plea for Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West* to its 1852 copy-text. Since the Detroit-Pattison edition of 1852 is the only version of the text that carries authority, the editor of the present edition is the final source of these emendations. The entries in this list are keyed by page and line number to the present edition. Each entry is divided by a square bracket (]). That which comes before the bracket is the reading of the present edition and that which comes after is the reading of the copy-text. A bullet (•) indicates where a paragraph break has been made in the present edition.

52.7	extreme -]extreme,-
52.9-10	public. •The]public. The
52.10	strait. On]strait, - on
52.11	effect. On]effect: on
52.15	needed.]needed. -
53.2	welcome;]welcome; -
53.7-8	Canada. •I]Canada. I
53.13	inquiry:]inquiry -

54.8	limits]limits,
55.10-11	contiguous. • In]contiguous. In
55.12	climate]climate,
56.1	Canadians -]Canadians, -
56.5-6	position. • I]position. I
56.7	upon:]upon -
56.14	equal. If]equal, - if
56.16-17	present. • As]present. As
56.17	spring]Spring
57.4	in. Though summer]in; though it
57.6	wheat and hay]wheat, hay, &c.,
57.6	generally, August]generally, - August
57.8-9	in. • Taking]in. Taking
57.11	wheat and fruit]wheat, fruit, &c.,
57.13	heat, in]heat, - in
57.16	unusual]unusual,
57.16	'oldest inhabitant']"oldest inhabitant"
58.16-17	particularly. • In]particularly. In
58.18	intense;]intense,
59.2	promotes]promote
60.3	facts.]facts:
60.4	lives,]lives, -
60.5	soils,]soils, -
60.10-11	lands. • Wheat]lands. Wheat
60.12	bushel,]bushel -
60.13	States,]States;
60.14	poplar,]poplar -
60.19	grains]grains,
61.2	materials,]materials -
61.4-5	productiveness. • The]productiveness. The
61.5	soil are]soil, are
61.9	terms the]terms, the
61.11-12	situation. • The]situation. The
61.17	prairies]praries
62.2-3	considerable. • On]considerable. On
62.5	lands. Wood]lands; wood
62.12	productive... Those]productive"***Those
62.13	wealth... If]wealth***If

62.15-16	result " •The]result." The
62.16	general -]general, -
62.17	capital -]capital, -
62.19	observation]observation,
63.1	persons)]persons,)
63.2	lands is]lands, is
63.3	crop. It]crop, - it
63.4	trees and fencing]trees, fencing, &c.
63.5	In modestly timbered]"In modestly timbered"
63.6	done - more]done, - more
63.6-7	dollars. •Though]dollars. Though
63.7	province is]province, is,
63.8	agricultural]agricultural,
63.12	crop.]crop;
63.12	The conviction, though, is]though the conviction is
63.13	day give]day, give
63.16	acre]acre,
64.7	sweet -]sweet, -
64.7	pumpkins]pumpkins,
64.7	saw),]saw,)
64.10	cities vegetables]cities, vegetables
64.20	eggplants]egg plants
64.20	melons]melons,
64.21	watermelons]water-melons
64.21	musk melons)]musk-melons,)
64.21	spinach]spinage
65.2	watermelons]water-melons
65.3	marketplaces]market-places
65.8	preeminence]pre-eminence
65.14	marketplaces]market-places
65.15	Toronto may]Toronto, may
65.18	Canadian]Canada
66.4	cattle and sheep]cattle, sheep, etc.,
66.7	known they]known, they
66.9	stock:]stock -
66.14	American]"American"
66.16	Canadian]Canada
66.16-17	farmers. •To]farmers. To

67.2	pork]pork,
67.2	anywhere]any where
67.9	• Again]Again
67.9	cheese]cheese,
67.9	animals]animals,
67.10	eaten.]eaten,
67.10	However,]though,
67.11	disposal,]disposal
67.16	horses]horses,
68.3-4	woods. • The]woods. The
68.4	generally]generally,
68.5	sale. Prices]sale - prices
68.8	farm. Numerous]farm: numerous
68.9	winter]winter,
68.15	squirrels (black),]squirrels, (black,)
68.15	game]game,
69.3	settled]settled,
69.3	'thirty miles... street'),]"thirty miles... street,"
69.5	location. Two]location - two
69.5	foot]foot,
69.7	acre,]acre -
69.10	way]way,
69.11	lands]lands,
69.12	hundred. At]hundred: at
69.13	lands]lands,
69.15-16	shore. • Thousands]shore. Thousands
69.16	acres]acres,
69.16	Province]Province,
70.2	result,]result -
70.7-8	defective. • In]defective. In
70.8	respect]respect,
70.8-9	Government. Land]Government - land
70.12-13	acres (ten...matter),]acres, ten...matter,
71.5	plentiful. All]plenty: all
71.5	States]States,
71.6	on:]on -
71.9	rate. There]rate - there
71.10	Builders]Builders,

71.10	tradesmen]tradesmen,
71.14	percentage]per centage
71.16	have not been developed]not being developed,
71.18	on. Besides]on: and besides
72.2	Canadian]Canada
72.7	markets]markets,
72.8-9	mills. • In]mills. In
72.10	Sydenham]Suydenham
72.10	hereafter),]hereafter,)
72.13	namely: to]namely: To
72.14	country]country,
73.7	'negro pew,']"negro pew,"
73.14	persons]persons,
73.15	'own churches.']"own churches."
73.15-16	churches.' • That]churches." That
74.6-7	fatal. • The]fatal. The
74.10	Zion]Zion,
74.10	denomination),]denomination,)
74.12	are]is
74.15	originated. 'Tis]originated - 'tis
74.17	Province]Province,
74.18	eastern),]eastern,)
75.8	possible. The]possible - the
75.9	sent]sent,
75.10-11	enemies. • In]enemies. In
75.11	field (almost... distance)]field - almost... distance
75.17	good,]good
75.17	operations]operations,
75.19	sufferings,]sufferings -
76.2-3	field. But]field, but
76.9	schools. At]schools: at
76.11	'exclusiveness.']"exclusiveness."
76.13	schools. There]schools: there
76.16	Protestant),]Protestant,)
78.1	taken),]taken,)
78.7	education]education,
78.14	to was]to, was
79.10	grown-up]grown up

79.11	better.]B.
79.11-12	better. •But]B. But
79.18-80.1	with •Individuals]with. Individuals
80.2	thought]thought,
80.6-7	fugitives? •It]fugitives? It
80.15	Canadian]Canada
80.16	many]many,
81.3-4	certain. •Dawn]certain. Dawn
81.4	Sydenham]Suydenham
81.6	morals and the]morals, the
81.6	lands bearing]lands, etc., bearing
81.8	residents, at]residents, - at
81.14	unprecedented.]unprecedented;
81.14	Due]due
81.15	whites have]whites, has
81.17-18	all. •The]all. the
81.18	Elgin]Elgin,
82.1	church]church,
82.2	Dawn. That]Dawn: that
82.7-8	notice is]notice, is,
82.10-11	appearance. •That]appearance. That
82.19-83.1	States. •The 'Institution']States. The "Institution"
83.1	'Institution']"Institution"
83.8	'Institution']"Institution"
83.13	slavery]slavery,
83.15	acres.]acres
83.15	That]that
83.17	value. One-third]value - one-third
84.4-5	thither. •The]thither. The
84.8	benefitted. In]benefitted; in
84.9	settlements]settlements,
84.9	this one]these
84.11	man.]man, -
84.11	Those]those
84.11	south. Consequently]south; - consequently
84.13-14	enacted. •In]enacted. In
85.5	better-helped]better helped
85.5-6	brethren. •Thus]brethren. Thus

85.7	made]made,
85.8	society]society,
85.8	funds]funds,
85.10	blocks]blocks,
85.12	settlements]settlements,
85.12	homes),]homes,)
85.15-16	choice. • The]choice. The
85.18	'We are...men,]'We are...men,"
85.18	'we...]'we...
86.3	Canadian]Canada
86.4	us.}'us."
86.5	"Article 2]Article 2
87.1	By-Laws]BY-LAWS.
87.5	thereon.]"thereon.
87.6	importance. As]importance, and, as
87.8	Article 13]Art.13
87.8	Constitution,]Con.,
87.8-9	Article 4]Art. 4
87.9	with]with,
87.10	women),]women,)
88.1	abstracts of acts,]"abstracts of acts,"
88.17	<i>roture]rature</i>
90.4	follows:]follows: -
91.5	ward... as]ward,***as
92.18	"Trees]***"Trees
92.18	Indian]indian
93.1	books]books,
93.1	works),]works,)
93.3	Canada]Canada.
93.20	"Be]***"Be
93.20	enacted... That]enacted, &c., That
94.9	That]"That
94.13	That]"That
95.1	"18.]18.
95.10	cities.]cities, etc.
95.12	all. Indeed]all; indeed
95.14	country]country,
95.17-18	bonds. • I]bonds. I

95.18	said]said,
96.6	period]period,
96.6	them),]them,)
96.13-14	papers. • The]papers. The
96.16	people),]people,)
96.18	minority]minority,
96.18	numbers),]numbers,)
97.7	country... The]country. "****"The
97.11-12	living... • "It]living. "****"It
97.13	'suffering... Canada,]'suffering... Canada,"
97.14	have]has
98.2-3	work. • "We]work. We
98.5-6	anything... We]anything. ***We
98.8	Kent... The]Kent. ***The
99.3-4	schools and churches]schools, churches, &c.,
99.4	tends]tend
99.5	whites. They]whites; and they
99.8-9	them. • Every]them. Every
99.12	are]is
99.13	<i>completely]</i> " <i>completely</i>
99.13	white folks,]"white folks,"
99.14	are]he is
99.18	found]found,
100.9	Europeans]Europeans,
101.5-6	policy. • Leaving]policy. Leaving
101.7	they (the French)]they, (the French,)
101.15	light... Let]light. ***Let
101.18	<i>Ward]</i> <i>Ward.</i>
102.1	taverns]taverns,
102.2	class),]class,)
102.6-7	similarly. • It]similarly. It
102.10	presumption]presumption,
102.16	Canada]Canada,
103.6	'see]"see
103.6	another;]"another;"
103.7	meet]meet,
103.10	Canada]Canada,
103.10	person is]person, is,

103.15	oath, they]oath, &c., they
104.5	efforts]efforts,
104.14-15	subjects. • The]subjects. The
104.15	States]States,
104.16	same]some
105.3	slavery]slavery,
105.3	of]to
105.4-5	men. • Jamaica]men. Jamaica
105.7	that]that,
105.8	foreign]"foreign
105.13	country. It]country: it
105.14	family]family,
105.16	America]America,
105.17	whites]whiter
105.17	as settlers]and settlers
105.18	provinces]provinces,
105.18	States),]States,)
105.18-106.1	Indies. • The]Indies. The
106.1	availability]availability,
106.5	self-government]self-government,
106.6	story]st
106.7	act]act,
106.10	days]days,
106.14-15	class. • More]class. More
106.16	outdoor]out door
106.19	'the... power]"the... power"
107.8	impartial]impartial,
107.9	'we wish...];we wish...
107.10	self-government,]'self-government,"
107.11-12	men. • The]men. The
107.12	colored]colored,
107.15	governments]governments,
108.1	inhabitants]inhabitants,
108.3-4	demand. • Those]demand. Those
108.4	States]States,
108.4-5	'you (colored people)]"you (colored people,)
108.7	you.]"you."
108.10	country]country,

108.11	so-called]so called
108.12	distrust] <i>distrust</i>
109.2-3	'independent government,']"independent government,"
109.3	'unite... governments.']"unite... governments."
109.8	present]present,
109.14	"protection... lambs.]"protection... lambs.'
109.14-15	lambs." •Let]lambs.' Let
109.15	unappropriated]unapprepiated
109.15	territory]terri-
109.16	may,']may,"
109.16	'and]"and
109.16	governments.]"governments."
109.18-19	heir-at-law]heir-at-law,
110.12	power]power,
110.14	slaveholders]Slaveholders
110.16	were]was
110.18-111.1	World. •In]World. In
111.1	states]States
111.6	states]tates
111.9	states]States
111.10	Spanish),]Spanish,)
111.12	Rome. Consequently]Rome; consequently
111.16-17	things. •We]things. We
111.18-19	'marked...prey,']"marked...prey,"
112.6	country]country,
112.6	nations),]nations,)
112.9-10	strength. •People]strength. People
112.12	condition. Foreigners]condition; and oreigners
112.14	institutions]institutions,
112.14	beforehand]before hand
113.1	parties.]parties,
113.1	Is it]is it
113.2	settle there?]"settle there?"
113.2-3	there? •We]there? We
113.3	country]country,
113.4	bloodshed]bloodshed,
113.5	sight]sight,
113.8-9	advantage. •Let]advantage. Let

113.12	sentiment]sentiment,
113.12-13	'liberty or death,']"liberty or death,"
113.15	wrongs]wrongs,
113.17	all. The]all: the
114.1	No one. Honest]No one, honest
114.11	long]long,
114.13	uninhabited]uninhabited,
114.14	it),]it,)
114.16	France. The]France: the
114.16-17	description. •But]description. But
114.18	western continent]Western Continent
114.18	'wise... east,']"wise... east,"
114.19	distance]distance,
115.1	men),]men,)
115.8	'merchant... world,']"merchant... world,"
115.8-9	Britain. •Now]Britain. Now
115.10	principally.]principally,
115.10	The first]the first
115.11	continent:]Continent;
115.13	west. And]west: and,
115.15	kith and kin only]"kith and kin" only,
116.1	seen]seen,
116.3	points]points,
116.4	these]these,
116.5	Island),]Island,)
116.12	slavery]slavery,
116.17-18	facts? •More]facts. More
117.1	states. So]states: so
117.3-4	shocks. And]shocks: and
117.4	targets]targets,
117.5	Northwest]Northwest,
117.9-10	moment. •May]moment. May

Line-end Hyphenation in Copy-text

This list includes the two hyphenated compounds which occur at the end of a line in the copy-text. They have been resolved in the following manner in the present edition.

107.10 self-government

107.15 anti-slavery

Line-end Hyphenation in This Edition


This list includes compound words hyphenated at the end of a line in this edition which should be hyphenated when quoting from it.

69.13	sixty-two
79.13	semi-barbarous
86.10	twenty-five
88.15	forty-four
109.18	heir-at-law

Appendix A

Title-page illustrations of two reference works Shadd relied on when writing *A Plea For Emigration; Or, Notes of Canada West*. Both are in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto.

Canada West, 20th July, 1848.



GATE CHISM
INFORMATION FOR INTENDING EMIGRANTS
FOR ALL CLASSES TO UPPER CANADA

DESIGNED SPECIALLY FOR THE SMALL FARMER, AGRICULTURAL LABOURER, &c. BUT WHICH WILL BE FOUND INTERESTING TO OTHER CLASSES POSSESSED OF CAPITAL OR INDEPENDENT INCOMES WHO MAY CONTEMPLATE LEAVING THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH THEIR FAMILIES.

BY **FREDERICK WIDDER, ESQUIRE**
 COMMISSIONER OF THE CANADA COMPANY.

TORONTO: PUBLISHED BY HUGH SCOBIE, BALFOUR, ADELPHI BUILDINGS, KING STREET WEST, 1848.

Law Const S421m.2 Scobie, Hugh Can. O.

SCOBIE'S
MUNICIPAL MANUAL
 FOR
UPPER CANADA.
THIRD EDITION.

CONTAINING, BESIDES THE CONTENTS OF THE TWO PREVIOUS EDITIONS, THE ACTS THAT HAVE SINCE BEEN PASSED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE PROVINCE

IN REFERENCE TO
 MUNICIPALITIES AND THE MUNICIPAL SYSTEM ESTABLISHED IN UPPER CANADA.

TORONTO:
 HUGH SCOBIE, 16, KING STREET EAST,
 SOLD ALSO BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.
 1852.

Appendix B

The following is an extract from the text of a lecture written by Shadd in the 1850's. The lecture is part of the Shadd papers housed at the Raleigh Township Centennial Museum in North Buxton. The transcription was made from a microfilm of the papers held by the Archives of Ontario. It is not known when or where the lecture was given, but using the title as a guide, we can assume it was intended for a Canadian audience. Significant portions of the text after this extract are missing, either because the page has been damaged, or because the handwriting has been impossible to decipher.

Obstacles To The Progress of Colored Canadians

The colored people of these provinces live in a land of equal laws, equal rights, and yet, no people that we know of are given to complaint more than they.

In certain localities parties can be found who, taking advantage of the prevalent ignorance among the colored population, administer the law in a way clearly prejudicial to the interests of the latter. But, how far the former are censurable under the circumstances is with us a question viewed in the light of an

ordinary transaction, for the extent of the censure to be attached to the colored people themselves is not quite clear. We are convinced however, that the fault is not all on one side but that to them belongs a fair share of blame.

We make these remarks with no intention to shield white men from merited blame, at all; but that the colored people may not take to themselves complete exemption from rebuke for their great indifference to their interests.

Courts of justice, corrupt judges nor any other grievance of which they may complain can injure them a tithe, in comparison with the treachery, want of confidence and down right wickedness one towards the other.

In the United States, in slavery, the aim of their oppressors was to destroy confidence the one in the other - to undervalue one another in their person and pursuits; at the same time that they inculcate fear of the master, or the person of white complexion, to make him also the idol, the centre of homage, the one to be looked up to, to be clothed and fed by, although the very food to be furnished, whether moral or other, should poison in the taking.

Many, in coming to Canada, have but fled from the sting, the bitterness of the direct result of the relations of master and slave, but not at all from these other evils which are as clearly concomitants of the station.

A well organized insurrection for meting out to the master his just deserts might be nipped in the bud by the treachery of some 'negro' who more in comtempt of his own people than hatred to the actions of the man who trampled upon him must reveal the plot. He had no confidence in his fellows; there was no fellow feeling. He would save his oppressors at the expense of his suffering brethren.

The case of that slave, brutalized as he is, has many a counterpart in these Provinces among colored men. Try any community - our own to begin with, and seek out if you can in its teeming hundreds twenty men that see eye to eye upon the subject of their interests. They cannot be found!

Bibliography

Adams, Jerome R. *Latin American Heroes: Liberators and Patriots from 1500 to the Present*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1991.

Alexis, Andre. "Borrowed Blackness." *This Magazine*. 28 (8) 1995, pp.14-20.

American Missionary Association, Canadian Files 1846-1879. Archives of Ontario.

Barnett, Louise K. *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism, 1790-1890*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Bertley, Leo W. *Canada and Its People of African Descent*. Pierrefonds, Quebec: Bilongo Publishers, 1977.

Bearden, Jim and Bearden, Linda. *Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd*

Cary. Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1977.

Bothwell, Robert. *A Short History of Ontario*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986.

Boulton, D'Arcy. *Sketch of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada*. London:
1805.

Bowers, Fredson. "Some Principles for Scholarly Editions of Nineteenth-Century
American Authors" in Ronald Gottleman and Scott Bennett, eds., *Art and
Error: Modern Textual Editing*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970,
pp.54-61.

Boynton, Robert S. "The New Intellectuals." *The Atlantic Monthly*. 275 (3)
March 1995. pp.53-70.

Brand, Dionne. *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in
Ontario 1920s to 1950s*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991.

Brand, Dionne. "Whose Gaze and Who Speaks for Whom" in *Bread Out of Stone*.

Toronto: Coach House Press, 1994, pp.145-168.

Bristow, Peggy, ed. *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in*

African Canadian Women's History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

1994.

Brown, Hallie Q. *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*. Freeport,

New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 [1926].

Burke, Ronald K. *Samuel Ringgold Ward: Christian Abolitionist*. New York:

Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.

Cattermole, William. *Emigration: The Advantages of Emigration to Canada*.

London, 1831.

Clark Hine, Darlene, ed. *Black Women in United States History, Volume Four*.

Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1990.

Clarke, George Elliott, ed. *Fire on Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing. Volume One.* Lawrencetown Beach, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1991.

Cooper, Afua. "Black Women and Work in Nineteenth-Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb" in Bristow, ed., *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp.143-170.

Delany, Martin. *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered,* 1852.

Detroit Illustrated: The Commercial Metropolis of Michigan. Detroit: H.H. Hook, 1891.

Diedrich, Maria. "The Characterization of Native Americans in the Antebellum Slave Narrative." *CLA Journal.* 31 (1988), pp.412-435.

Drew, Benjamin. *The Refugee: Or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada.* Boston, 1856.

Dunlop, William 'Tiger'. *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, For the Use of Emigrants: By a Backwoodsman*. London: 1832.

Evans, S.C. "Mrs Mary Ann Shadd Cary 1823-1893: The Foremost Colored Canadian Pioneer in 1850" in Hallie Q. Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971 [1926].

Farmer, Silas. *History of Detroit and Wayne County and Early Michigan*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1969 [1890].

Gale, Robert L. *A Cultural Encyclopaedia of the 1850's in America*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Goldie, Terry. *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Gottleman, Ronald and Bennett, Scott, eds. *Art and Error: Modern Textual Editing*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970.

Greg, W.W. "The Rationale of Copy Text" in Ronald Gottleman and Scott Bennett, eds., *Art and Error: Modern Textual Editing*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970, pp.17-36.

Greetham, D.C. *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992.

Harris, Richard Colebrook. *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada*. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1968.

Henson, Josiah. *Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada*. Boston, 1849.

Howison, John. *Sketches of Upper Canda... To Which Are Added, Practical Details For the Information of Emigrants of Every Class*. Edinburgh: 1821.

Keith, W.J. "Shooting Niagra? Some Pessimistic Thoughts About the Future of English-Canadian Literary Studies." *Essays on Canadian Writing*. 51-52 (1993-1994), pp.382-397.

King, Thomas et al, eds. *The Native In Literature*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1987.

Landon, Fred. "Henry Bibb, A Colonizer." *Journal of Negro History*. 5 (1920), pp.437-447.

Lecker, Robert, ed. *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Lerner, Gerda, ed. *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

Lewis, Charlton T. and Short, Charles, eds. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Lombardi, John V. *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela 1820-1854*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971.

Loriggio, Francesco. "History, Literary History, and Ethnic Literature" in Joseph Pivato, ed., *Literatures of Lesser Diffusion*, Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, 1990, pp. 21-45.

MacDonald, Mary Lu. *Literature and Society in the Canadas 1817-1850*. Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.

Mary Shadd Cary Papers. Archives of Ontario.

McGann, Jerome. *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

McGregor Eadie, Peter. *Mexico: A Traveller's Cultural History*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1991.

- McGuire, Paula, ed. *American Political Leaders from Colonial Times to the Present*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 1991.
- McMullen, Lorraine, ed. *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990.
- Miller, Floyd J. *The Search for a Black Nationaliry: Black Emigration and Colonization 1787-1863*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975.
- Miller, Randall M. and Smith, John David, eds. *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Monkman, Leslie. *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Morrell, Carol, ed. *Grammar of Dissent: Poetry and Prose by Claire Harris, M. Nourbese Philip, Dionne Brand*. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1994.

Moss, John, ed. *Future Indicative: Literary Theory and Canadian Literature.*

Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1987.

Mukherjee, Arun. *Oppositional Aesthetics: Readings From a Hyphenated Space.*

Toronto: TSAR, 1994.

Nelson, Dana D. *The Word in Black and White: Reading "Race" in American*

Literature, 1638-1867. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Neuman, Shirley and Kambourelli, Smaro, eds. *Amazing Space: Writing Canadian*

Women Writing. Edmonton: Longspoon/NeWest, 1986.

New, W.H. *A History of Canadian Literature.* London: Macmillan Education

Ltd., 1989.

New, W.H.,ed. *Native Writers and Canadian Writing.* Canadian Literature Special

Issue. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990.

Osofsky, Gilbert, ed. *Puttin' On Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb.*

William Wells Brown and Solomon Northup. New York: Harper, 1969.

Pachai, Bridglal, ed. *Canadian Black Studies.* Halifax: International Education

Centre, Saint Mary's University, 1979.

Pease, William H. and Pease, Jane H. *Black Utopia: Negro Communal*

Experiments in America. Madison: The State Historical Society of

Wisconsin, 1963.

Philip, M. Nourbese. *Frontiers: Essays and Writings on Racism and Culture.*

Stratford, Ontario: The Mercury Press, 1992.

Pivato, Joseph. *Echo: Essays on Other Literatures.* Toronto: Guernica, 1994.

Potvin, C. and Williamson, J., eds. *Women's Writing and the Literary Institution.*

Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, 1992.

Power, Michael and Butler, Nancy. *Slavery and Freedom in Niagara*. Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario: The Niagara Historical Society, 1993.

Price, Cecil, ed. *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, Vol.II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 198?.

Prieto, Claire, dir. *Home to Buxton* (film), 1987.

Provincial Freeman. Windsor, Toronto and Chatham, 1853-1857.

Richardson, John. *Wacousta or, The Prophecy; A Tale of the Canadas*. Douglas Cronk, ed. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.

Riendeau, Roger. *An Enduring Heritage: Black Contributions to Early Ontario*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984.

Richardson, Bonham C. *The Caribbean in the Wider World 1492-1992*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ripley, C. Peter et al, eds. *The Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II Canada,*

1830-1865. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Robbins, Arlie. *Legacy to Buxton.* Self-published, nd.

Scheier, Libby et al, eds. *Language In Her Eye: Writing and Gender.* Toronto:

Coach House Press, 1990.

Schert, Kathleen. "The Centre For Editing Early Canadian Texts: Textual

Bibliography In Canada, Or, Roughing It In the Bush" in *American Review of Canadian Studies.* 23 (1993), pp.439-450.

Showalter, Elaine, ed. *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature*

and Theory. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Silvera, Makeda, ed. *The Other Woman: Women of Colour in Contemporary*

Canadian Literature. Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1995.

Silverman, Jason H. *Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800-1865*. New York: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1985.

Silverman, Jason H. "Mary Ann Shadd and the Search for Equality" in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History, Volume Four*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Inc., pp.1260-1274.

Simpson, J.A. and Weiner, E.S.C., eds. *Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Smallwood, Thomas. *Narrative of Thomas Smallwood, Written by Himself*. Toronto, 1851.

Smith, Barbara. "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism" in Elaine Showalter, ed., *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, pp. 168-185.

Statement of Editorial Principles and Procedures: A Working Manual for Editing Nineteenth-Century American Texts. Revised Edition. New York: Center

for Editions of American Authors/Modern Language Association of America, 1972.

Stevenson, Burton, ed. *The Home Book of Quotations: Classical and Modern*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1967.

Steward, Austin. *Twenty-Two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman*. Rochester, 1857.

Story, Norah. *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Stouffer, Allen B. *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario 1833-1877*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Strickland, Samuel. *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, Or the Experience Of An Early Settler*. London: 1853.

Tanselle, G. Thomas. *Textual Criticism Since Greg: A Chronicle 1950-1985*.

Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987.

Traill, Catherine Parr. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. Toronto: McClelland and

Stewart Limited, 1969 [1855]. Introduction by Clara Thomas.

Tulloch, Headley. *Black Canadians: A Long Line of Fighters*. Toronto: NC

Press, 1975.

Voice of the Fugitive. Sandwich and Windsor, 1851-1853.

Walker, James W. St.G. *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*.

Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985.

Ward, Samuel Ringgold. *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro*. London, 1855.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary. Chicago: Merriam-Webster, Inc.,

1981.

Williams, Eric. *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1970.

Williams, William Proctor and Abbott, Craig S. *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*. Second Edition. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1989.

Winks, Robin W. *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. New Haven/Montreal: Yale University Press/McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971.

Yee, Shirley J. *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.