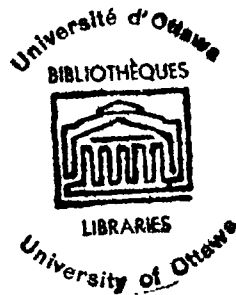


THE TORONTO GLOBE AND THE SLAVERY ISSUES 1850-1860

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INTRODUCTION

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Research has been defined as an investigation made at the confines of knowledge. It presupposes that someone has explored a field and in doing so has awakened in another person an interest, has aroused a curiosity to push back the veil behind which still more valuable facts must lie hidden. The present study is the result of the writer's interest in reading the work done by the Underground Railroad in the days preceding the American Civil War and the thrilling events which that story embraces. Naturally an assimilation of its history led to an interest in the American slavery issues and a keener appreciation of Canada's sympathy for the slaves. A number of references to the Toronto Globe as the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada made the writer welcome the statement made by no less an authority than Dr. Fred Landon that the topic The Toronto Globe and the Slavery Issues 1850-60, "needs to be done."

Dr. Landon is himself the greatest living Canadian scholar on the fugitive slave, the Underground and Canada's part in "letting the slave go free." His thorough knowledge of American History and its characters, and his intensive study of all aspects of the Canadian scene have made his writings upon the slavery question

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invaluable. Some of these are "The Fugitive Slave in Canada," "Canada's Part in Freeing the Slaves," "Canada and the Underground," "The Negroes in Canada before 1865," "The Anthony Burns Case," "Negro Migration to Canada after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850" and "From Chatham to Harper's Ferry." Most of these are contained in the Canadian Historical Review and the Journal of Negro History.

A Canadian who did the earliest work in this same field is the Hon. Justice W. R. Riddell. His book The Slave in Upper Canada gives an authoritative treatment of the settlement of slaves in Canada during the period 1830-60. Written by an expert on the subject, it is a valuable background for the present study.

Benjamin Drew's Refugee contains narratives of fugitive slaves in Canada related by themselves, Howe's Refugees from Slavery in Canada West, traces the settlements made in Upper Canada by negroes fleeing from American slavery. Josiah Henson, the Uncle Tom of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in his book, Father Henson's Story of His Own Life, tells of his escape from slavery and arrival in Canada where he settled near Chatham.

Dr. Alexander Milton Ross is the author of Recollections and Experiences of an Abolitionist.

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In his book he gives a graphic account of the plight of the southern slaves whom he risked his life to help escape to the freedom of Canadian soil.

There are numerous works treating of the operation of the Underground Railroad in the border states particularly in New York, Michigan and Illinois. These are concerned almost entirely with the American contribution in this regard. The Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Underground Railroad of William Siebert and the volume of the same name by Col. Wm. M. Cockrum are all excellent, but mention Canada only as the goal for which fugitives were striving, aided by the scheming of border state abolitionists. Outstanding among the refugee slaves who by their writings helped to promote the cause of abolition in a literary way was Henry Bibb. This negro published at Sandwich, Ontario his newspaper, The Voice of the Fugitive the first edition of which appeared June 4, 1851. It is evident, therefore, that there is no dearth of material on the fugitive slave and his coming to Canada.

Perusal of the Globe files naturally brought out the question, what kind of man was he who for nearly forty years was the director of its editorial policy?

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George Brown, Editor of the Globe, has been the subject of several biographical works, the earliest of which is The Life and Speeches of Honorable George Brown written by his contemporary Alexander Mackenzie. The Makers of Canada series and The Chronicles both have very good volumes devoted to his life. More recently Mr. J. M. Careless has made some interesting data available by his study of this great Canadian statesman. His paper "Who was George Brown?" shows an intimate acquaintance with the Scotsman who was at once so sympathetic and so forthright. Mr. Careless, of course, is more concerned with shedding light on George Brown the man, than on any particular phase of his career. In this way his work is of help chiefly for background and for an understanding of the fiery abolitionist who dedicated himself so conscientiously to the cause which he believed with all his heart was a just one--the cause of anti-slavery.

The present study makes no attempt to evaluate the merits of George Brown the statesman, or to pronounce upon his monumental contribution to confederation. They are both beside the point. We have confined ourselves to a much more limited, though no less important sphere. We will place under the microscope the Globe and the slavery issues 1850-60. In as much as George Brown was Editor,

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and hence responsible for the editorial policy of this newspaper all during that period, we may be said to be studying the activity, the journalistic effort and influence of the Editor in one particular field, that of anti-slavery.

CHAPTER 1

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A PICTURE OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1850

No discussion of the slavery issues in the era 1850-60 is intelligible until we have examined briefly the status of slavery in the United States during the preceding years. The system was a gradual growth from the first importation of blacks in 1619. In that year a Dutch vessel sold twenty negroes to the planters of the English colony and from that time on, each year saw the addition of further black labourers. Consequently, slavery in the colonies evolved and legal recognition of the "peculiar institution" was eventually accorded. Virginia in 1661 legally approved the system. It was in the South, that climatic conditions and large-scale production of tobacco, sugar and later cotton, made slavery a welcome institution. Some called it a necessary one.

It is worthy of note that during the Colonial period there was opposition expressed in the colony to the further importation of slaves. The Quakers voiced their objections and were supported in a number of colonies by a group who felt that white security would suffer if a preponderance of blacks were admitted. None of the colonial legislatures which passed measures

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restricting further importation of blacks were able to enforce them as all were disallowed by King or Governors.

When the colonies obtained their independence they faced a critical period in their history. One of the problems to be decided concerned western lands and the government of that north-western territory lying between the Ohio River and the Mississippi on the west, the Ohio on the south and the Canadian border on the north. The pronouncement regarding this western land was contained in the Ordinance of 1787 and forbade slavery or involuntary servitude in that area.

The Federal Convention of that same year faced the difficult task of framing a Constitution which would replace the Articles of Confederation and satisfy the sectional as well as the conflicting requests of the members who composed it. The legality of slavery was not questioned in the actual Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Mason and many of the founding fathers were slave-holders, but they must have seen in the perpetuation of slavery a stumbling block to unity at a time when they were trying to lay the foundation of a nation where all are born "free and equal." The fact that many of these statesmen, before their death, liberated their own slaves would seem to indicate that they saw the inhumanity

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and the evil of slavery.¹ Nevertheless, anxiety to appease conflicting interests of slave and free states was the underlying cause of two of the compromises of the Constitution. When discussion became heated over the position of slaves with regard to the question of representation, a satisfactory solution was reached only when the opposing groups yielded ground. The settlement incorporated in the Constitution stated that in apportioning representation and direct taxation, three-fifths of the slaves would be counted.

The same type of manipulation was needed in the determined stand that north and south took regarding the control of commerce. The Southerners threatened that they would not ratify the Constitution if commerce were under the jurisdiction of Congress rather than the individual States. Again the slave question and the

¹. The views of a number of these statesmen were quoted by the New York Tribune and copied by the Globe Nov. 3, 1859.
 George Washington wished "to see slavery abolished by law."
 Thomas Jefferson referring to negroes - "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."
 James Madison - "I think it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man."
 James Monroe - "We have found that this evil (slavery) has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."
 Patrick Henry - "I will not, I cannot justify it".
 George Mason held that the Federal Government should have power to prevent slavery's increase.

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problem of their own plantation economy brought the Southern delegates to compromise. The Constitution guaranteed the south non-interference with slave importation for twenty years in return for yielding the point of control of trade by congress.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

The aged Benjamin Franklin at the first session of Congress after Washington's inauguration inscribed his name first on a memorial presented by the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania asking that since "Equal liberty was originally the portion and is still the birthright of all men, Congress should "step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men."³. Although there was

2. Section IX, Constitution of the United States.

3. Hawthorne, Schouler & Andrews, United States from the Discovery of the North American Continent up to the Present Time, Vol. 2, P. 160.

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heated debate upon the subject, it was obvious that the deciding factor in all discussions was the preservation of equality of slave and free states. Vermont came in free, Kentucky slave, at the conclusion of that session in 1790. This led to the verse which appeared at that time.

Kentucky to the Union given,
Vermont will make the balance even.
Still Pennsylvania holds the scales,
And neither South nor North prevails.⁴

As the new republic launched upon its policy of expansion which gradually expressed itself in the doctrine of "manifest destiny," the status of slavery was called into question at every step of the way. The vast lands of the Louisiana Purchase acquired from France in 1803 meant potential states and whether they would be slave or free was a matter of great concern to north and south alike. Upon that hinged the ability of either north or south to prevail. The status of new members of the union was of more vital concern to the South, however, as equality in the Senate could only be maintained as long as the number of free and slave states remained the same.

Hence, the most important question that had to be dealt with by the American Government in the early part of

4. Hawthorne, Schouler & Andrews, op. cit., P. 164.

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her national history was the status of Missouri the first state to be carved out of the Louisiana Purchase. A bill providing for the admission of this state was introduced into the House of Representatives and the request was made for slave status. Congress was thrown into a heated debate when James Tallmadge of New York introduced an amendment providing that the further introduction of slavery should be prohibited and that all children of slaves born within the state after its admission into the union should be free on attaining the age of twenty-five. This precipitated the most serious dispute over slavery that had taken place up to this time and in the twelve months of argument that arose from it all the leading members of Congress took part. The whole country was stirred and took sides. Those anti-slavery advocates who favoured restriction of slavery contended that though the Constitution did not specifically give power to Congress to legislate regarding the status of slavery in a state, it had that power by implication. Since Congress could admit or refuse a state, it must be allowed to prescribe terms of admission. They also protested that the small farmer of north and east was being excluded from Missouri since he could not compete with slave labour and that unfair representation was being accorded the south since the three-fifths clause accorded them an advantage.

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The Southern argument which asked for no restriction was based on the constitutionality of imposing restrictions. They maintained that although Congress could admit or refuse, it had no power to impose conditions of entry. They held that since the land had been bought with public funds it belonged to South as well as to the North and that Southern planters should be permitted to bring their negro labourers into it. Moreover, they affirmed that wider diffusion of slaves would increase their value and ameliorate their conditions.

The House and Senate were dead-locked over the issue when Maine applied for admission as a state. The solution seemed at hand and was adopted. Congress admitted Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The final settlement known as the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had the further clause that henceforth slavery was to be excluded north of the parallel of 36° and 30. The status of slavery for the future was theoretically determined, and a decision had been reached. The principle of compromise had triumphed but it was not to be a permanent triumph.

Thomas Jefferson envisioning the future said of the Missouri struggle,

This momentous question like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.

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It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.⁵

The annexation of Texas had a slavery background also, as those who opposed it did so not only because they believed it would mean war with Mexico, but also because they did not wish to add more slave territory to the Union. In spite of this, after a delay of more than nine years and after the 1844 election which was fought over the issue, Texas was at length annexed. James G. Birney of Michigan, a staunch Abolitionist, stood as the Liberal Party's candidate for president, violently opposed to annexation. The Democratic choice was James K. Polk and before he was inaugurated his predecessor, President Tyler, had concluded successfully the Texan question.

The entrance of Texas caused the anticipated hostility of Mexico and eventually the Mexican War. Texas had never been acknowledged as independent by Mexico and, therefore, in her eyes the United States was acting illegally in accepting as a state what was lawfully Mexican

5. Ford, P.L., The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 12, P. 157-58, quoted by Owsley and Chetwood, History of the United States, P. 400.

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territory. The boundary between Texas and Mexico was an additional point of dispute upon which the Mexican government refused to negotiate. The American president, anxious to secure New Mexico and California before British influence should play too heavily with Mexico, determined on war. General Zachary Taylor was sent to Texas with troops. His refusal to obey the Mexican ultimatum to withdraw had the desired effect. In attacking American troops on "American ground," Mexico had taken the role of the aggressor and war was inevitable. The outcome was just as inevitable and by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed February 2, 1848, a defeated Mexican government agreed to accept the Rio Grande as the Mexico-Texas boundary and to cede New Mexico and California to the United States. The American government promised to assume all claims held by its citizens against Mexico as well as to pay the further sum of fifteen million dollars.

The American Republic was advancing along the road of nationalistic expansion with the determination to accomplish her imperialistic policy but thinly veiled. Manifest destiny was being fulfilled geographically, but keeping pace with it was the perennial problem - the status of slavery. Even before the Mexican cession was a reality, while it was still in the negotiation stage Northerners

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and Southerners were thinking of the states to be formed from those lands in the future. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania added a rider to the bill calling for a two million dollar appropriation enabling the president to proceed with Mexican negotiations. His measure known as the Wilmot Proviso, stipulated that the appropriation should be forthcoming only if slavery were excluded from all territory acquired by the United States in the transaction. Following upon this, there was another great demonstration of sentiment by North and South. The Wilmot proviso was rejected by the Senate but the anti-slavery element clung to the principle of it and fought against the further extension of slavery. The South just as tenaciously fought against the exclusion of slavery and upheld their favourite theory the necessity of balance between slave and free states. So successful were they in maintaining this balance, that in 1848 there was still an equality of numbers, eleven slave and eleven free states.

To this cause of friction and sectionalism was added the further dispute regarding the boundary of Texas. The North was unwilling to admit the Rio Grande to its source as the line, because that would give much of New Mexico to Texas and thus increase the slave-holding area.

As Anti-slavery feeling grew, it demanded the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District

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of Columbia, but pro-slavery sentiment refused to accord to Congress the right to do this. It claimed that such an action would be disloyal to Maryland and her interests. With a view to concentrating their forces, the anti-slavery elements held a convention in August, 1848, out of which came the National Free-Soil Party with its slogan "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men". Their candidate, Martin Van Buren, though supported fairly solidly by the anti-slavery vote was defeated by the Whig, General Zachary Taylor.

The gold rush of 1849 brought such a rapid influx of settlers to California that Congress was asked to admit it as a new state and the Constitution desired was to be that of a free state. This was unacceptable to the Southerners, and to appease them, moderates suggested a possible solution in extending 36° 30' to the coast. This would mean the division of the future state into two parts of which the Northern section would be free and the south slave.

At the same time the south was realizing the utter inefficiency of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. An increasing number of slaves disappeared into free territory and the owners in vain sought the return of their "property". Although the law called for run-away slaves to be sent back to their proper owners the legislation had no teeth in it. Abolitionists who made a business of helping negroes to

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safety could do so with a certain amount of personal risk, but there was no severe legal punishment inflicted if they were caught. The South demanded a Fugitive Slave Law that would be sufficiently stringent to stop the daring robberies successfully accomplished by the increasing number of Northern abolitionists.

Small wonder then that as Congress met for a momentous session in December 1849, the slavery issues were paramount. The barriers between North and South were either raised by, or complicated by the slavery problem. Henry Clay speaking of the tension of the times said:

At this moment we have in the legislative bodies of this Capitol and in the States twenty-odd furnaces in full blast, emitting heat and passion and intemperance, and diffusing them throughout the whole extent of this broad land.⁶

It was he, who anxious to pacify Northern and Southern clamorings, framed a series of eight resolutions each of which was directed at solving one of the points at issue. His resolutions formed in reality a carefully worked out set of compromises in which each section was to yield something of its cherished designs while receiving concessions on other points. Henry Clay proposed that

6. James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States, Volume I, P. 124.

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California be admitted as a free state; that territorial governments be established in New Mexico, Utah, and other Mexican territories at the same time stating that their slave or free status could only be determined later; another resolution stated that the western boundary of Texas should be fixed and the Texan debt was to be taken over by the Federal Government. Slavery was not to be abolished in the District of Columbia, but the slave-trade was to be restricted. The legislation denied the right of Congress to interfere with the slave-trade between states. To the satisfaction of the South it incorporated a more stringent Fugitive Slave Law. By this act not only must fugitives be returned to their masters, but any citizen who did not assist in the return or who impeded it was to be prosecuted. No trial was permitted the negro, the sworn evidence of two or three witnesses being sufficient to secure the handing over of a slave. The North violently opposed this phase of the Bill which made all of its citizens virtual slave-catchers and provided a fee of twenty-five dollars to the marshall for a decision in favour of the Master, only five dollars for the freeing of the slave.

After eight months of bitter struggle and the most dramatic debate in American History, the Great Compromise passed through Congress. Daniel Webster, in the last years

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of his life, earned the undying hatred of the north for his support of the bill. Past seventy years of age, a parliamentary giant of some twenty years, (the Edmund Burke of America),⁷ he cast his weight with the moderates, supported Clay and delivered an impressive and effective oration on behalf of compromise. He claimed that he spoke "not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American." His great seventh of March speech pleaded for the Union. He saw compromise as the means of preserving it during the crisis. He was accused of sacrificing principle and those who read the signs aright said that he had merely "raised an umbrella against the storm." The Compromise was halfway between the Wilmot Proviso introduced and supported by the North, and the secession threat issued by the South and to be carried out if California were admitted free.

Among the veterans of the Senate in 1850 were such brilliant men as John C. Calhoun of the South, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Jefferson Davis of South Carolina, William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase. Calhoun and Davis

⁷. At his death the Nation, Sept. 11, 1852, paid this tribute to him. "Long shall orators and historians tell of the full clear and majestic eloquence that flowed like the Mississippi; of the upright and indomitable courage that lowered like an Alleghany Peak amid the storms of state; and the direct and manly energy that fashioned its own channel like Niagara."

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fought hard against the measure. The former's written argument affirmed that the South had grievances which must be remedied or a great tragedy would result. He saw the bonds holding north and south together gradually being burst asunder and he maintained; "If the agitation goes on, the same force acting with increased intensity, will finally snap every cord, when nothing will be left to hold the states together except force." 8.

Calhoun, in failing health, was unable to deliver this speech but he tottered into the Senate and heard it read by a Virginian colleague, James M. Mason. His was the most eloquent of Southern opposition. Northern objection was stubbornly voiced by William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase, the most influential of Whig members. It was with a grim foreboding of the future that the former spoke with disconcerting certainty of the "irrepressible conflict" which must soon ensue. Thirty years had elapsed since John Quincy Adams with prophetic insight had sounded the same note and had written in his diary November 29, 1820 his views opposing the return of fugitives and his opposition to the Missouri Compromise.

If slavery be the destined sword in the hand of the destroying angel which is to sever the ties of this union, the same cords will cut in sunder

8. Nevins, Allan and Henry Steele Commager, History of the United States, P. 220.

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the bonds of slavery itself. A dissolution of the Union for the cause of slavery would be followed by a servile war in the slave-holding States combined with a war between the two severed portions of the Union. It seems to me that its result must be the extermination of slavery from this whole continent; and calamitous and desolating as the course of events in its progress must be so glorious would be its final issue..... I dare not say that it is not to be desired. ^{9.}

9. Nevins, Allan - The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845, p 246-47.

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Canada presents an interesting picture throughout the period 1820-50. These were important years and although there were internal problems and difficulties to be solved and a rebellion to be fought before unity could be complete, we had not the disintegrating influence of a slavery issue dividing us. What had been Canada's legislation regarding slaves? The Legislature of Upper Canada during John Graves Simcoe's term as Governor had in 1793 enacted a law whereby no more slaves were to be brought to Canada. Those now possessed might be granted their freedom and the law also freed children of slaves when they reached maturity. This is the first record of a British possession to provide for abolition. It should be remembered that the number of slaves thus affected was very small. The few negroes here were domestic servants who had accompanied their Loyalist masters into Canada after the outbreak of the American Revolution.

That there was some sale of these domestic slaves in Upper Canada after the legislature pronounced upon slavery, we may gather from an advertisement in the Niagara Herald of January, 1802.

For Sale--a negro man slave 18 years of age,
stout and healthy, has had the smallpox, and

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is capable of work either in the house or outdoors. The terms will be made easy to the purchaser and cash or new lands received in payment. Enquire of the printer. ¹.

We are reminded of a remnant of those days in the story related of a Canadian Bishop of Scottish descent as he accepted the services of a coloured porter in a New York station recently. The Bishop was surprised to hear the coloured man address him in Gaelic. When His Excellency enquired how he learned it, the negro explained that he was the descendant of a slave brought by a Loyalist to Nova Scotia. His ancestors had lived in a Scottish settlement and had learned Gaelic which they taught to their children.

British abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 and slavery in 1833 simply re-inforced what the British colonies in North America had pronounced upon in their own legislature. Since no slave could be owned in British territory, it was recognized that once a slave reached free territory, he was by that very fact freed. This interpretation caused Canada to be considered by runaway slaves as the goal that must be reached at any cost. Many of them on arriving in this haven of protection and safety fell upon their knees and kissed the earth which made them freemen. Negroes of the South spoke of Canada as a Heaven for which they yearned.

1. Canadian Press Association Committee, A History of Canadian Journalism, p. 163.

As early as 1800 some of these coloured slaves made their way to Canada. Hatcher in his *Lake Erie* says Chief Brant's Indians were among the first to receive them. Joseph Pickering saw some in his travels along the North shore of Lake Erie in 1825-26.²

Pickering gives an interesting bit of information when he says,

Black slaves who have run away from their masters in Kentucky, arrive in Canada almost weekly (where they are free) and work at raising tobacco; I believe they introduced the practice. One person will attend and manage the whole process of four acres, planting, hoeing, budding, etc. during the summer.³

He refers to them later when he affirms, "There are some hundreds of these people settled at Sandwich and Amherstburgh who are formed into a volunteer militia corps and trained to arms."⁴

The Canadian attitude towards the coloured was expressed in the actions of Canadian citizens in accepting the coloured, but was shown officially also in the statement made by Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. An effort was being made in Cincinnati to drive out the free coloured and to provide

2. Harlan Hatcher, *Lake Erie*, p. 233.

3. Joseph Pickering, *Emigrants' Guide to Canada*, quoted by Hatcher, *Op. cit.* p.234.

4. *Ibid*

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means of their transportation to Africa. In this dilemma, the coloured despatched a committee to Canada to see if they could arrange for residence there. The Governor sent them back with the message.

Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we do not know men by their colour. If you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of His Majesty's subjects. ⁵.

We might be amazed to learn that the number of negroes in Canada at the outbreak of the Civil War was between 60,000 and 75,000.

One naturally asks how was such an exodus from the South possible when Southern slave-holders were so zealous in guarding their precious "property"? Behind that evacuation lies a series of the most thrilling adventures that men and women have ever experienced. In the accomplishment of that great transfer of southern negroes to Canada, individuals fired with the desire to free their fellow humans from the degrading bonds of slavery risked life and fortune to guide them over the long tortuous route from slavery to freedom. It must not be thought that this was a hit-and-miss individual effort, for the most thoroughly organized system of aid to slaves was in operation in that

5. Harriet Martineau, The Martyr Age in the United States.

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marvelous network of stations and routes known as the Underground Railroad. This mysterious Railroad is said to have received its name from a disgruntled slaveholder who chased his "property" to the Ohio River only to find that the negro had suddenly disappeared. Indignantly he exclaimed that his slave "must have gone off on an underground road". Mr. Levi Coffin of Cincinnati was the "president" of the Underground Railroad and along with Reverent John Rankin of Ripley operated two very famous terminals on the Ohio. These and other stations led to points on Lake Erie between Buffalo and Detroit.

From here friendly boat captains could be relied on to take the fugitives across the lakes to Canadian ports. These were chiefly Kingsville, Point Pelee, Port Stanley and Long Point. Many of the refugees came up the Thames River into Western Ontario. The network of "railway stations" stretched from Kentucky to Canada. Most of the "traffic" on the road was handled at night for under cover of darkness, conductors guided passengers to designated houses where they could be safely lodged during the daytime. Notification was sometimes sent in advance that a shipment of freight was on its way. If the "station agent" were told that the cargo was a case of "hardware" he would know that a male slave was being guided in that direction. If the message advised that a case of "dry-goods" was on

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its way the agent could look forward to seeing a female slave arrive by nightfall. Many of these stations to which the fugitives came, though quite ordinary-looking to the unpractised eye, possessed cleverly concealed hideouts and attics with a labyrinth of passages where fugitives could be hastily hidden. All of these were necessary when pro-slavery men or slave-catchers came upon the scene demanding to know if slaves were being harbored in these homes. Many anxious moments were spent by ardent abolitionists as they staved off pursuers and diverted their attention to non-essential points. When all these efforts proved useless and the slave was caught, abolitionists still did not give up hope. A group of them would then demand from the would-be-owner his identification papers. They would require him to go to the Courthouse to prove his ownership. Here he was asked to post a bond and provide witnesses to prove his claim. While the claimant used up his time and money in these legal attentions, another group of abolitionists exerted themselves in helping the slave escape from jail where he had been lodged during the controversy.

The people of Upper Canada were on the whole mildly interested in the status of slavery in the United States from the earliest days. That they never approved of it is evidenced by the Act of the legislature in 1793. A still greater interest was exhibited towards the refugees who

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came to our country in their flight from slavery. We said that the majority of Canadians were mildly interested from the beginning but a zealous minority were so concerned about the slavery issues in the American Republic that they considered it a duty to work for its abolition. From that group of anti-slavery advocates one was delegated to attend the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society Convention held in England in June, 1840. On the official programme which listed the delegates and the place from which they were delegated, we find the name of "Dr. Thomas Rolphe - Upper Canada". The same document carries the name of all the famous early anti-slavery workers, four hundred and ninety-three in all.

Three years after that convention a Scottish youth was to emigrate to Canada with his father and one brother. Strangely enough, in the years ahead the young man was to become closely associated with quite a number of the representatives who were present at that convention. George Brown, for this was the young Scotsman, threw himself wholeheartedly into the life of his adopted country and he was to play a prominent part in its political history. ^{6.}

6. George Brown was elected to Parliament for Kent in 1851. As leader of the Liberal Party in 1864 he formed the Great Coalition with John A. Macdonald for the purpose of bringing about Confederation. In 1873 he was named to the Senate. His death occurred in May, 1880, the result of injuries received the previous March at the hands of a would-be-assassin.

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However he was more than a statesman. As a journalist he directed the policy of his newspaper the Globe which was published for the first time in Toronto on the fifth day of March, 1844. It was Peter Brown, George's father, who founded the paper and Gordon, a brother, was also associated with them. The first issues of the Globe were turned out by a hand press and they were single sheet copies. The next year the owners installed the first cylinder press in Upper Canada and the year following the paper became a semi-weekly and in 1853 a daily. The Editor voiced his opinion on all current topics of his day among which were such big issues as Responsible Government, Clergy Reserves and Confederation. However, all of these are beyond the scope of the present study. It is his opinion on the slavery issues and the Globe's part during the period 1850-60 in helping to mold contemporary thought to an anti-slavery view-point that we are concerned with in this thesis.

Yet it is well to know that in the course of his political career, in the days when campaigns were not aided by radio and television, George Brown travelled Upper Canada from end to end. His speeches lasted far into the night. But even then he was not finished for his editorial work had to be done after that. "Living before the advent of typewriters and the fashion of dictating, he laboriously wrote his editorials by hand using a pencil never more than

two inches long." 7. The prestige of the Globe and its wide circulation were the result of his immense zeal and indefatigable effort.

The historian might at this point interpose a question which seems worthy of some brief consideration. Of what influence could a newspaper be in molding the thought of hard-headed readers of that day? We of the twentieth century are inclined to be a little skeptical of the possibility of a newspaper wielding very much influence upon the public. In our day, we label so much of the printed word as "propaganda," and we see political candidates backed so ardently by great press campaigns go down to defeat, that we are ready to judge the power of the newspaper as negligible. This is a twentieth century judgment upon our contemporary secular press and we may be quite justified in arriving at it. Those who have studied modern newspaper developments say that the press at present has no influence. It is great only from the point of view of circulation and earning power, but can be frequently the slave of the necessity of keeping up its popularity. Reporters are more often colourful than truthful. The fear of opposing the tide of opinion and the policies of employers plays heavily in the world of

7. M. O. Hammond, *Confederation and Its Leaders*, p. 49.

journalism. Syndicated writers or columnists have in many cases taken over the functions once performed by the editor. ⁸.

This may be too severe a censure of the present-day newspaper. Certain it is that there are conscientious editors still daring to uphold opinions that will not be popular with many readers and who think it worthwhile to speak the truth though it may mean a considerable decrease in circulation. Not all editors are taking second place to a columnist.

Whatever the influence of present day editors and their newspapers, we can have no doubt of the importance of them one hundred years ago. Those were days when movies, radio and television were unknown. Communication was difficult. The weekly or perhaps more frequent arrival of the newspaper was an important event. There were, no doubt, many very attentive listeners around the little stove at the village store as the Globe was read to the neighbourhood "politicians." Likely some very weighty arguments and debates took place after the Globe Editor had pronounced on public questions.

That George Brown took his editorial position seriously is evidenced frequently through his writings.

8. Alfred McClung Lee, "The Daily Newspaper in America", in Morris L. Ernst and David Loth, The People Know Best.

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He remarked on September 9, 1852, that the Globe's circulation had now reached the six thousand mark which was believed to be twice the output of any other Canadian newspaper. He acknowledged the reasons for this were the development of the postal system, the increase of the number of post-offices, the lowering of mail rates, and the speed of the mails. Even remote townships were now being brought closer by the building of good roads and railways. Soon he felt the newspapers could take their places, not as the organs of parties and cliques, but as the "untrammelled interpreters and guides of public opinion."

The same feeling of responsibility was expressed by him a little later when he wrote:-

An individual talks to his neighbour - gives his opinion on a public question. The neighbour believes him sincere. If he is deceived, only one person has been deceived. But an editor addresses ten or fifty thousand readers, and if he does not inculcate his genuine sentiments, the minds of thousands are misled. The Press discusses every subject.....and whatever is taken up, the writer is bound to give his honest and unbiased opinion upon it. Will public Journalists be contented with

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adopting a lower standard of morality than others? Will they indorse the sneer that is often heard 'it is only a newspaper article;' as if less sincerity was expected in that quarter than in any other.

He told journalists that they might change their opinions but not hastily. "The honest journalist who manfully publishes his news to the world is like the soldier who wields his sword in defence of what he believes to be a righteous cause".⁹.....

A "righteous cause" he believed he had in the defence of the slave and in his attack on American slavery, and he made war to the death upon it. The cause of Emancipation he declared on February 3, 1863 had been dear to him for the past twenty-five years. After examining minutely the Globe files of 1850-60 we can say how truly he described the struggle when he said ..."long, long years we laboured almost without hope to arouse our neighbours to the frightful position they occupied in the eyes of the Christian world, and to goad them on, if possible to some vigorous efforts towards the suppression of the inhuman traffic that disgraced their land."¹⁰.

9. The Globe, Nov. 12, 1857.

10. Alexander Mackenzie, The Life and Speeches of Honorable George Brown, p. 286.

We have his own words to corroborate the judgment that we made regarding the intensity of his interest in American affairs. "How earnestly did we watch every passing event in the republic that promised some little amelioration to the condition of the slave, or some additional influence to the friends of emancipation." 11.

His speech delivered during the Civil War when the Southern Confederacy was holding firm, and when Lincoln's northern armies had not yet turned the tide of early defeats into final victory, shows great conviction. "For myself whatever may be the result of the present strife, I shall always feel the highest satisfaction in recollecting that with the sin of sympathizing with slavery or secession my hands are not defiled; but that from the commencement of the struggle my earnest aspirations have gone with the friends of freedom." 12.

The official "commencement of the struggle" could be placed at 1850, the year of the Great Compromise, whereby the United States became, in the words of an American historian, a sort of "crazy-quilt fabric pieced together by Clay and Douglas." 13. When Henry Clay introduced his resolutions on the slavery question into Congress there was no one more interested in what their passage would

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid, p. 298.

13. Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion.

mean to America than was the Editor of the Globe. On February 7, 1850, he devoted two columns to an exposition of the Resolutions and an analysis of their meaning.

With typical Brown style he mercilessly attacked the proposals point by point. He declared that "there is an appearance of simplicity and fairness on the face of these resolutions which disappears when examined." Clay would have Congress receive California "without imposing any restrictions in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery". This was a violation of the wish of California which had already drawn up its own constitution (without authority said Mr. Clay) excluding slavery.

"California with her gold mines is a welcome visitor at the vestibule of that charmed circle; while she presents her treasures on one hand, she holds up in the other the lamp of liberty, which in the eyes of too many of her new allies, turns all these treasures to lead." 14. Consequently Mr. Brown saw no compromise regarding this clause. By it California was to be the victim of a heavy penalty.

His interpretation of the second resolution calling for "squatter sovereignty" to determine the future status of slavery in lands acquired from Mexico "would seem a gain to freedom" in that it admitted that slavery did not now exist there. He felt it would not be

14. The Globe, Feb. 7, 1850

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acceptable to south who wished these lands slave, nor to north who would be satisfied with nothing short of the Wilmot Proviso.

Brown predicted strong opposition for Clay's recommendation that the Texan debt be shouldered by the union. In his most ironical tones he ridiculed the sixth resolution which suggested that slave-trade case in Washington and the seventh that an effective Fugitive Slave Law be incorporated to make return of slaves a certainty. Thus he wrote;

The sixth (resolution) says 'Do not shock my eyes and disturb my nerves while I am at Washington, with the clanking of chains and slave fetters - carry them to Annapolis or Richmond--anywhere.' A burst of humanity breaks from the overflowing breast of Mr. Clay; but follow him to his seventh resolution, and 'Richard is himself again'. The lovers of freedom in Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts throw their obstacle of giving up the men who have stolen their own bodies, and Henry Clay is resolved to break them down. The sensitive mind of Mr. Clay must no longer be disturbed, but the men of the North must have no feelings, no sympathies. When the hired kidnappers, infinitely worse than the slave dealers, appear

in the streets of Boston or New York, they must be welcomed and their spies guided to the hiding places of the worn and emaciated fugitives.

Showing great indignation against the proposed law he warned its advocate. "It is too late, Mr. Clay; no such law will be passed." 15.

He pitied the Americans and the fact that they could not escape from their sad plight in comparison with which, he wrote, all the colonial hardships of their fathers were but "dust in the balance". They were to be pitied, he said, since their country was covered with the leprosy of slavery or the slave hunter.

The stormy session that George Brown predicted for the Clay Resolutions came to pass in the American Congress. All during this period the Globe warned of the danger to the union that the slavery question was making more imminent. The editor deplored the plea for extension of slavery made by Senators Calhoun and Webster who supported the Compromise. He said that Canada could draw two lessons from the events that were taking place to the south. It would be a great evil to think of annexation to a power that was bent on the extension of slavery and secondly, the south would never admit free Canadian provinces into a union. Although a number of New York

15. Ibid.

Journals were accused by the Globe of openly hoisting the slave standard, the New York Tribune was commended for its firm and upright stand. Honorable Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania was lauded by the Globe for his statement that the American government was a despotism for allowing slavery and that anyone who permitted its spread was "a traitor to liberty and a recreant to his God." 16. That language and that sentiment fitted perfectly into the crusade that the Globe was carrying on with such vigour. Brown wrote at a period when "unquestionably newspapers had greater influence than in an ordinary time, because the question was a moral one and could be concretely put, 'Was slavery right or wrong? If wrong, should not its extension be stopped?'" 17. For Brown there was only one answer. Slavery was wrong and must not be extended and Canada must do its part in helping to blot out the horrible evil that afflicted America. He called the proposed Fugitive Slave Law a "wall of protection for the sacred institution". 18.

16. The Globe, May 28, 1850.

17. James Ford Rhodes, "Newspapers as Historical Sources," Historical Essays, p 90.

18. The Globe, March 19, 1850

Daniel Webster was attacked in the Globe of March 19, 1850 because "he has ranged himself with the friends of slavery." Webster declared that it is needless to affirm by statute the freedom of California since slavery has been shut out of it by the ordinance of God. His argument that it could no more be extended there than to "the perpetual snows of Canada" was branded as feeble. The Globe agreed with the New York Tribune that the Founding Fathers were right in reaffirming the principle of freedom although it too is a law of God. The passing of a law would not make slave-catchers any more than the passing of a law to hang a sheep-stealer would turn judge or jury into hangmen.

Brown analysed the situation correctly but bitterly in saying that the lovers of freedom for its own sake were few. Fear of imperiling the union or the party led many to support the Resolutions of Henry Clay which as separate measures were passed by Congress and are known as the Compromise of 1850. Although Clay spoke seventy times in support of his proposals it was not so much his eloquence as the political strategy of Douglas which secured the passage of the Bill. Brown lamented ten months of Congress spent in extending slavery and although the Globe had been criticized for saying that the United States lacked enlightened freedom, the editor defended his point of view.

"This seems to prove it is right," he wrote since a majority of both houses of Congress are opposed to freedom - having passed a bill "converting the Free States into slave-catchers of the runaway chattels of the south." 19. What would be thought if an Imperial and Local act made every Canadian a slave-hunter? In Brown's mind, Canada's good fortune in her own freedom was continually linked with her necessity of understanding the situation as it existed in America. He feared too great a complacency among his fellow countrymen and so he felt obliged to remind them often that people very close to them were not so privileged as they.

A ray of hope for the future was seen when after the Compromise the Whig Party in New York split. William Seward declared himself against further extension and Brown rejoiced that "party ties begin to yield to the force of justice." 20. It would seem that the editor of the Globe was trying to strengthen that group who placed justice before all by the moral support of Canadian public opinion. For the remainder of the year 1850 his columns carried accounts of attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, of successful evasions of it, together with comments from the American and British press with which he was in the

19. The Globe, September 19, 1850

20. Ibid, October 5, 1850 .

closest contact. In October, 1850 he commented on the imprisonment of a northern man, the first to be punished for aiding runaway slaves. The Globe carried a poem by Reverend J. Pierpont in honour of the hero. The Globe ridiculed the New York Journal of Commerce, supporter of the Fugitive Slave Law's enforcement, for its boast that in seizing a slave and returning him south "we no longer stand in the attitude of covenant breakers." 21. The editor said that it was not much of a boast as the black was a criminal only in the fact that "he was stealing his own body." As a Journalist standing for right he regretted the corruption of even the Christian press.

However, if the press had slipped in certain areas it had aided the cause elsewhere. Meetings were held in Boston, Buffalo, and Auburn at which resolutions were passed to aid the fugitive slaves. At Detroit, the citizens contributed a sum of \$500 to ransom a slave held by a marshall. At Faneuil Hall on Boston Fred Douglass and Wendell Phillips spoke at a popular demonstration and received a good hearing. George Thompson, an English abolitionist speaking in the cause of abolition, was accorded a rough reception in New York at the same time. Toronto, too, held its popular demonstration and the Globe of August 10, 1850 recorded the meeting held at the Mechanics Institute "on behalf of slaves

21. Ibid.

no flying from bondage to Canada." The meeting was unanimous in its decision to aid the cause. That there was need for this assistance is evidenced by news items from American papers which tell of the rescue of slaves, one of whom is "likely now at an underground depot ready for transportation to Canada." 22.

In spite of the organization of Vigilance Committees and sub-committees in Boston and other northern cities the Fugitive Slave Law was evaded on every side by its opponents and "sympathizers were ready to do anything to hold up procedure."

The New York Herald frequently struck a blow at the abolitionists for not upholding the law. It lauded President Fillmore's proclamation to the people to carry out the law. In calling attention to these facts and in reporting such American press notices Brown was showing how widespread was popular opposition to the Federal Law. He quoted the Herald - "The treasonable practices attempted in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and elsewhere must either be put down, or this Republic is a cypher, a humbug--our constitutions a piece of blank parchment, and our laws ropes of sand." 23.

22. The New York Herald, quoted by the Globe, Oct. 24, 1850.

23. Correspondence of the Tribune, quoted by the Globe, Nov. 9, 1850.

The same article gave Canadian friends of the negro the information that about 1500 fugitives had gathered at Cazenovia in New York. These and others rescued in the most exciting of circumstances were bound for "her Majesty's Dominion in Canada." 24.

The Globe was in no way endorsing the Herald's stand and what it called "treasonable practices" were commendable deeds in George Brown's opinion. These "treasonable practices" had freed fifteen hundred negroes and these latter would soon be the care of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society.

The Globe's policy closely resembled during these days the anti-slavery policy of the New York Tribune. The Canadian paper was critical of the American President for his First Annual Message to Congress which contained in it a statement regarding the greater liberties which the United States possessed over any other nation. Brown said - "Such liberty as the states possess has certainly been maintained--among which is the liberty to retain the coloured man in bondage, and to hunt him in every corner of the country. We are satisfied that if this be a source of happiness, no country is so happy on the face of the earth." 25.

These pronouncements upon American happenings must not be looked upon as mere rhetorical statements. The

24. New York Herald, quoted by the Globe, Nov. 9, 1850

25. The Globe, Dec. 7, 1850.

practical result of George Brown's crusade against the Fugitive Slave Law was the formation in Toronto in February, 1851 of an Anti-Slavery Society. This was followed later by similar organizations in other towns of Upper Canada. The record of its foundation must be reserved for another chapter. As a Journalist dedicated to the cause of anti-slavery from the "commencement of the struggle" George Brown gave direction to the whole movement in Canada. He must have been encouraged to see that Canadian public opinion had been sufficiently formed to urge citizens to organize a society in opposition to the hated institution. This indicated that a certain measure of success had been achieved. Continued progress was guaranteed in the fact that the Globe was to be the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society.

CHAPTER III

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THE STRUGGLE FROM 1851 TO 1856

Toronto's sympathy for the fugitive and that city's formation of an Anti-Slavery Society was a major victory for the cause which the Globe so ardently supported. In those first days of its activity there was not unanimity of feeling on the question among the leaders of the Press. Hailed by the Globe editor as a step in the right direction, the mayor's action in presiding over a municipal meeting to protest American slavery was passed over in silence by both the Toronto Colonist and Patriot editors.

There was no silence in the Globe's direction and its Editor wrote: "It is right that the Canadian people should gather testimony on this question and tell their neighbours that they feel ashamed and indignant that their common civilization, common country and (alas!) common Christianity should be outraged by the foulest system of iniquity to be found in the world.... Let us by all means protest against our country being outraged by the inhuman traffic." 1.

Soon through the columns of the Colonist and Patriot correspondents expressed opposition to the new

1. The Globe, Feb. 25, 1851.

society in favour of the oppressed "sons of Africa" and the Globe, anxious for controversy to further expand the movement, criticized the attitude of the press. Since the editors had not uttered a word of editorial statement they must either approve the remarks of correspondents or be indifferent to "this great question which calls forth the warmest aspirations of the human heart."² George Brown thought that it was too bad that a contemporary should be in either of these undesirable positions, in approval of statements of the self-styled "Common Sense" correspondent of the Colonist, or indifferent to them. One of the accusations made against the Toronto Anti-Slavery group was that it consisted of "a knot of injudicious and comparatively uninfluential persons." The Globe in no uncertain terms declared that the meeting which was called by public advertisement was "a most respectable one and contained a large proportion of the intelligence and philanthropy of Toronto." The Editor was quite sure that whereas this meeting expressed the feeling of Toronto's citizens, a meeting to quell abolition sentiment would have difficulty securing a chairman and would be frowned on by the citizens as "an attempt to degrade their city."

He grasped the opportunity to restate the purpose of the meeting. It was a question of the right to cry

2. The Globe, March 6, 1851

out for fugitives. There was nothing said at the meeting to incite the slaves to resistance although that calumny had again been hurled at the abolitionists. The fact is that the Editor while not advocating resistance, believed in it, for he says: "The right, absolute and unchallengable to take their freedom by force of arms we hold in the most unqualified manner, - for if resistance be lawful at all, it must be to throw off the shackles of personal slavery, on the part of men who were stolen from Africa, or their fathers before them. But the time to move is their own matter and sorry would we be to see them rise without strong hopes of success which present times do not warrant. If the time for action should arrive, most fervently would we cry out - God speed the right." 3.

Charges of hostility on the part of Canada had been heard from the American press. That too was denied; Canada was interested in perpetuating the union, not breaking it. In defence of the Canadian position the Globe compared our peaceful intentions to the disrupting statements of the New York Herald which coolly talked of adding Cuba and Canada to the American union. Canadians were not agitators, he said. It was slavery which was the agitator. Consequently the Globe took issue with a Patriot

3. The Globe, March 6, 1851

correspondent who in evaluating slavery was satisfied that it was not so bad as it was represented to be. "A Lover of Freedom," a Globe correspondent, could see only one explanation of this reasoning. It was the same that underlay the joy of Africans who are said to have been exultant in learning that their fate was to be bondage when they expected that they were to be eaten. The correspondent could only hope that the day would be hastened when

"Black, white and bond are free -

Castes and proscriptions cease;

The Negro wakes to liberty -

The Negro sleeps in peace.

Read the great charter on his brow

I am a man a brother now." 4.

The correspondent cheered the Abolitionists and opposed the attitude of non-interference adopted by Colonist and Patriot.

These newspapers became more vocal in the struggle as the activities of the Anti-Slavery Society enlarged. Membership in the organization was solicited with the fee set at two shillings and six pence annually at designated centres, one of which was the Globe office.

4. The Globe, March 8, 1851

Frequent meetings were held at which local speakers, and later internationally renowned abolitionists were heard. At at least one of these early meetings Peter Brown, George's father, addressed the group. The editor's brother, Gordon, was also very active in the anti-slavery movement. His abolitionist feelings so closely paralleled those of his brother George, that the remark has been made that it would be difficult to tell which one was the author of a number of the articles written during the period 1850-60.⁵ Certain it is that if they shared the burden of writing, it was George alone who claimed the responsibility incurred by his paper's editorial policy.

In April of 1851 the Globe took up the cudgels in defence of George Thompson, the prominent English abolitionist. He had come to Toronto to speak at an Anti-slavery meeting and had as usual become the centre of controversy. According to the Globe, the Toronto Patriot "slandered" the distinguished speaker by accusing him of being in the pay of

5. A contemporary and friend of the Browns says that the articles written by George "can always be picked out by their big type and prodigality of italic, exclamation points and capitals. R. Sellar, "Reminiscences of 1856", in A History of Canadian Journalism, p. 177.

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the English Anti-slavery Society. The Editor of the Globe declared that Thompson ranked with Wilberforce, Howard and Clarkson, that he received not one cent and that if he were a hireling, "then every doctor, lawyer, teacher is also." 6. That the interest in this incident and the anti-slavery activities have extended over a wider area is evidenced by the correspondence. The Dumfries Reformer sided with the Globe, but on the opposite side were ranged the Patriot, the Colonist, the Church and the Hamilton Spectator, all of whom believed it was enough to stand silently by in the slavery question and wait for the chattel to be free on entering Canada.

Some months later Dr. Lucius O'Brien, Editor of the Patriot was granted space in the Globe to defend his stand on the Thompson charges. He declared that the articles were not written by him but by men who knew Thompson and the circumstances surrounding him in India and in England. The Globe Editor with typical Brown fire found that the explanation "makes him blacker" than he had been previously.⁷

The Anti-slavery Society at Toronto was like a stone dropped into water which creates movement passed on from particle to particle and eventually stirs distant waters.

6. The Globe, April 18, 1851.

7. The Globe, May 10, 1851.

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In March the American Anti-slavery Society communicated to the Toronto organization its resolution expressing pleasure at the formation of a Canadian society. The American body said that it would be glad to maintain correspondence with the Canadian society and that its members wished to unite their efforts with the "common cause of human freedom on this continent and throughout the world." 8.

Following this, the Globe spoke of the great need of branch societies to carry on the work at various points. A further advance was made in the work when Toronto formed a Ladies' Auxiliary to aid the coloured Refugees and the work of the General Society. The ladies' organization in the first year of its activity raised over nine hundred dollars for relief of the miseries of the fugitives. They appointed weekly visitors to keep in touch with them and ascertain their needs. Besides this they were instrumental in having a night school opened in Toronto to educate the coloured.

Brown expressed himself editorially after Thompson had held spell-bound over 1200 people for two and one half hours and moved the indifferent to tears. "The 'ball rolls' now in Toronto and the day is not far distant when few will be found to express a doubt on the propriety of joining the universal cry to the neighbouring republic, "Let the oppressed go free!" The Globe editor accused the Tory Press

8. Ibid, March 27, 1851

of not being in accord. He declared that Toronto needed such a "master-mind as Thompson's to direct its public attention to enlightening and elevating topics." 9. Meanwhile Thompson continued to hammer away at George Brown's favourite theme and the Globe pronounced his address, "What have we in Toronto to do with slavery?" his best lecture. The mayor continued to lend his patronage. He presided at one meeting and on another occasion rose to thank the speaker, George Thompson. Reverend Mr. May, an American, speaking at one of the meetings at this time, warned Canadians of political and economic pressure that might be placed on them to try to make them less determined in their anti-slavery position. He begged his hearers to let go abroad the warning that free trade, or no trade with America, "the foot of the man hunter will never track your soil." He believed moral exertions for abolition were necessary or civil war would end slavery. Not so fanatical as Fred Douglass, a former slave, who also spoke to the Toronto citizens, Mr. May echoed the sentiments of Mr. Thompson that in helping the abolitionists and the refugees, the moral influence exerted by Canadians would be an encouragement to the Americans who were fighting slavery.

9. Ibid, April 3, 1851.

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The abolitionists in America, because of the Fugitive Slave Law, were in a dangerous position. They had a good start, however, and from humble beginnings great results could be expected. Mr. Thompson recalled early meetings in London, England when the back-parlour of an anti-slavery book seller could contain all the abolitionists in London. Among them were such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce who were not daunted by lack of numbers or lowly beginnings.

The Globe continued to draw upon itself charges of meddling in American affairs of having "some deep design" in its capacity as Government organ. Brown flashed back immediately with the assurance that this was "no government question". The opinion of not one provincial minister was known, nor did it matter,..."for it could not weigh to the slightest extent in guiding our cause on a question which stands on an infinitely higher and more ennobling elevation than the question of Provincial politics." 10.

How similar are these words to those uttered by Thompson in referring to the same cause! "This is no question of latitude and longitude. It is a human question tied up with the single consideration - Is my brother enslaved?"¹¹.

10. The Globe, April 12, 1851.

11. Ibid, April 3, 1851.

Every notable exhibition of aid to abolition was published in the Globe. The case of the fugitive Simms who was claimed as property by a slave owner, although the negro maintained that he was free, was given wide publicity. The New York Tribune looked for Massachusetts, where Simms was detained for trial, to adhere to the doctrine of "the higher law" as proclaimed by William H. Seward. Abolitionists staged an up-rising and although the "Satanic press", the term applied by the Tribune to the New York Herald, presumed that the negro would be returned south there was great hope among the anti-slavery element. The hope was cruelly dashed when the decision went for return and a letter from Savannah declared later that Simms was in a slave pen where he was being treated cruelly. He was thought to be too big a risk to buy since he had been so long free and it was likely that he would be sent into the interior.^{12.}

The work of educating the public went on through the period and at intervals appeals were made to that public for help for the fugitives. It would seem that the Editor of the Globe felt that repetition of the basic facts regarding the evils of the Fugitive Slave Law was the surest way of winning abolitionists. In terse fashion, an article of May 1, 1851 summarized the provisions of the law

12. Ibid, June 20, 1851.

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which violated the principles of Civil Liberty. All must be man catchers. There was a fine for harboring fugitives. Persons, not fugitives might be carried off, apprentices and minors could be taken. The points were clear-cut; the deductions were obvious.

The progress of aiding fugitives in reaching Canada was followed by an appeal in the Globe for employment suitable for them. This was a bold request viewed in the light of American public sentiment. It was an open indication of the fact that Canadian feeling was aroused and was ready to help run-a-way slaves get a start on Canadian soil. As in the case of application for Anti-slavery membership, one of the persons who could be approached by anyone who had work for the refugees was Mr. Brown of the Globe office.^{13.} It is interesting to note that this idea preceded by about a month Horace Greeley's appeal before the British Abolitionists for exertion to provide labour for freed slaves. It is another evidence of the similarity in thought of the Editor of the New York Tribune and the Toronto Globe.

Although much was said during this period about emigration and colonization of the negroes, the Toronto Society preferred to respect the wishes of its coloured population. An official inquiry made of the coloured to discover if there was a general desire among the negroes

13. The Globe, May 13, 1851

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to go to the West Indies and particularly to Trinidad where the need for labourers was great, was answered by the Anti-slavery Society. In their letter which the Globe published, the committee stated what was their unanimous decision: "We are not aware of any desire of the coloured population to emigrate. Intercourse with them before and since the Fugitive Slave Bill has proved this." 14. An investigation of labour conditions has been "no inducement to encourage them to go." Nevertheless, although the official reply showed no sympathy with the suggestion, the Globe declared that the appeals made by the two delegates who addressed the society had been masterly ones.

It was a struggle to defend the Anti-Slavery Society as there were frequent attacks made upon it. Nearly always the underlying charge was that of "embroiling our friendly relations". The Hamilton Journal and Express regretted that Toronto should have such a society scheming such a thing "under the guise of protection to the fugitive." The Globe replied that it believed that British protection was no 'guise' and the society was simply putting British protection into effect. It declared: "Toronto has put her hand to this good work and we expect Hamilton will do the same, the Journal and Express notwithstanding." 15.

14. The Globe, September 18, 1851.

15. Ibid, September 25, 1851.

Everything that could be seized upon as a means of showing the justice of the anti-slavery cause was used by the Globe. Sarcastic accounts were written of the contradiction between American theory of freedom and its practice of it. The irony of the demonstration in honour of Louis Kossuth and "The lauding of freedom in the face of slavery", was driven home repeatedly. The illogical attitude of the American government legally was also demonstrated when occasions offered. Two slaves charged with murder were denied the right to have their evidence received because they were not citizens. The Globe questioned the ability to convict or punish anyone who was not a citizen. The eloquent American abolitionists spoke in Toronto urging the fugitives to live as good citizens because in this way they would be cheering and encouraging all the friends of freedom in Great Britain, the United States and Canada. Dr. Henry Ward Beecher, who addressed the coloured on several occasions, declared that it would be the work of his life to inspire all those throughout the province so to live and act.

The Globe flayed an American paper ¹⁶. which referred to the Constitution as a law which "over rides all other laws both of God and man." The Toronto Editor prophesied that, "they will bring down the wrath of God if they set up idols to themselves even though the idol may be

16. Buffalo Advertiser

the parchment of their constitution." 17.

In his speech at the demonstration commemorating the First Anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society in Toronto, March 24, 1852, George Brown continued his tirade against the "peculiar institution." against the north for not being firm enough, and against the abolitionists for not being sufficiently strong-hearted in their efforts. He wrote: "There never was a cause in which the position; 'He that is not for us is against us' was so imperative as in that of abolition." He had a four point programme for action....

It was:

- (1) Speak emphatically against slavery
- (2) Write convincingly against it
- (3) Be active in agitation against it
- (4) In personal contact with individual Americans, appeal to their patriotic pride in their country and its freedom.

Boldly he insisted, "and it is our duty to raise our voices as free men against a system which brings so foul a blot on the cause of popular liberty.....But how shall we proceed - what shall we do? Speak against it; write against it, agitate against it; when you get hold of a Yankee drive it home to him; tell him his country is disgraced; wound his pride; tell him his pure institutions are a grand sham; send

17. The Globe, December 18, 1851.

him home thoroughly ashamed of the black blot on his country's escutcheon. In steamboat or railroad or wherever you are, hunt up a Yankee and speak to him faithfully; there is no other man so sensitive as to what others think of him. You will find strange arguments to meet, but every man of them will be as much opposed to slavery in the abstract as you." 18.

He declared that Canadians must tell Americans slavery is not an evil but a sin, that just as they did not hesitate "to throw the tea tax" into Boston harbor so now this other hated thing must go after it. For proof against the allegation that the emancipated creatures will not know what to do when free, say "We have 30,000 in Canada and they are getting along." Don't accept argument that the violence of abolitionists is to blame for the trouble over slavery for that is "the argument of despots not free Americans." 19. For this forthright pronouncement George Brown received grateful acknowledgment and a testimonial of esteem from the coloured people.

A kind of prophetic note was sounded by the Canadian Editor when General Winfield Scott became the Whig nominee for President in the election of 1852. He was selected in an effort to secure a candidate acceptable to the Free-

18. The Globe, March 27, 1852

19. Ibid.

Soilers. The Globe envisaged the disintegration of the Whig party and the rise of a new party "which will control the whole North, West and East having for its main object and intention the total abolition of slavery within the territory of the United States. It is impossible to doubt that this will be the ultimate result." The Globe traced the advance that had been made in fighting slavery in the last ten years. Now, "it is in every newspaper, in every speech; either for or against - every man who addresses the public finds it necessary to introduce it.....People talk and think about it; the only other fate which can await it is its total abolition; the more enquiry, the more quickly will the end be brought about." 20.

In reporting the abolition convention held at Pittsburgh in August, 1852, the Globe declared that abolition had made strides and although much remained to be done, "still we rejoice that a party has arrived at the point of saying that they hold slavery to be the greatest evil of the Union and that they will regard no other political subject in their effort to remove it and instead of being condemned and despised for so doing, hunted and persecuted, their power is felt and acknowledged." 21.

20. The Globe, June 26, 1852

21. Ibid, August 17, 1852.

Further cheering evidence of the press campaign affecting the South was found in recommendations made by the Southern press that more humanity be exercised in negro sales, suggesting that husband and wife be not separated and that minors should be kept with parents.

The Globe had predicted the spread of anti-slavery feeling in Canada and again the prophecy was justified. One of the meetings of the Toronto Society towards the close of 1852 summarized the work accomplished during the year. Reverend S. R. Ward, agent for the society, told of the establishment of branch societies in Kingston, London and Windsor. The latter city, because of its position, received a great many refugees directly from the American side. There are records of great charity bestowed upon the negroes who arrived frequently starving and without any earthly possessions. Older residents of the city recall the stories told them by their grandparents of soup kitchens and food depots where the fugitive was the recipient not only of sympathy but also of bodily sustenance. Mr. Ward reported to the Toronto organization that although there were still difficulties, he had received assistance from clergy of all denominations and that the tone of the press in regard to the Society's work was better. 22.

22. The Globe, December 18, 1852

Early in 1853 attention was being drawn toward the correspondence between influential women of England addressed to the women of America regarding slavery. The English ladies addressed an appeal^{to} the women of America regarding slavery. The English ladies addressed an appeal to the American ladies to help ameliorate slave conditions. The Globe editor, considering the smart from which the South was suffering from Mrs. Stowe's masterly Uncle Tom's Cabin, thought the time inopportune for such an appeal. He further commented that some of the statements were "not wisely chosen" and the one imputing to the mother country the guilt for having compelled the American colonies to import African slaves was not true. He believed that the requests of the English women were very moderate, however, and added "in our judgment did not go far enough." They simply asked American women to use their influence to abolish some of the abominations of the system, asked Virginia and Georgia to allow the education of slaves and prayed the sacredness of marriage to be preserved and families to be kept together. The request raised a storm of protest and the answer signed by Mrs. Taylor, widow of the former president, caused a surprise in anti-slavery circles. The Globe said it was no surprise "to those who know the indomitable pride of America and the judicial blindness about slavery of the Southern planters and their families." 23.

23. The Globe, February 12, 1853

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Mrs. Taylor had obscured the real issue by a discussion of British guilt in introducing slave trade in the Colony. If, as she declared, this was the cause of the American Revolution, the Globe wondered why it didn't end in 1776. Her reasoning was not logical and the Editor did not fail to point it out.

In January of 1853, the Canadian women appealed to the women of America to abolish slavery. They begged them to use their influence as sisters, mothers and daughters. The Canadians spoke from the experience of having witnessed the blot that lies upon the southern Republic and the fruit of it in the fugitives arriving on Canadian shores. Their recommendations were simple - "soften the harsh and cruel, remonstrate with the unfeeling and unjust, confirm the wavering and encourage the timid. Teach children "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." The Globe gave prominence to this appeal as it meant further support of the Anti-Slavery movement and showed an increase of anti-slavery sentiment.

Another discussion that the wide publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin and the travels of its author ²⁴.

24. In the autumn of 1852, Mrs. Stowe visited England and Ireland and Scotland. She was well received by the people and the press. In England the Earl of Shaftesbury read a testimonial address and she was greeted by such distinguished persons as Gladstone, Russell and Palmerston.

In Ireland the Nation of September 11, 1852 predicted "From end to end of Ireland our people will respond to Mrs. Stowe's appeal to the heart of America."

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provoked was one that centered around the question, "Is Uncle Tom's Cabin true?" From time to time accounts of auction sales which brought out the inhumanity of the "peculiar institution" were given a place in the Globe. One sale in Washington advertised a "piano-forte, kitchen furniture and a negro boy as if all belonged to the category of furnishings. A newspaper account said: "This all took place in a Christian community within one half mile of the Capitol of this free and enlightened nation" where representatives were sitting at that very time, representatives of the people who have declared "that all men are created free and equal." 25.

Another advertisement from a southern newspaper emphasized the same point - that Uncle Tom's Cabin was true. A Great Raffle was announced of a Trotting horse and a negro servant. The value of the prizes totaled fifteen hundred dollars and both were on display at a store. The tickets were one dollar each and the servant was said to be a "stout mulatto girl, Sarah" whose value was \$900. 26.

Sometimes letters from correspondents roused public sympathy and opinion by giving graphic descriptions of slave

25. National Era, quoted by the Globe, Feb. 8, 1853.

26. New Orleans 'True Delta', Feb. 11, quoted by the Globe, Feb. 17, 1853.

markets at which slaves were exhibited so scarred that there was not a sound spot on them. Often the narrator said that he wished he had money to buy them in order to deliver them from their misery.

Occasionally a correspondent told of a plantation on which a humane owner suffered great loss because the negroes cleaned the cotton poorly. As they were not hired labourers they could not be threatened with discharge for poor work. They understood the lash only and the master was too gentle to use it. Even from an economic point of view the writer would strive to show that slavery was not profitable.

The Globe in speaking of the authenticity of material in Uncle Tom's Cabin took Mrs. Stowe's point of view. When Georgia was reported to have introduced a bill to prevent separation of children under five from their mother in case of sale the Editor commented, "Mrs. Stowe was accused of misrepresentation. If a law is now trying to stop it, that fact proves that practice has existed." These are small concessions to right, but "we hail them as omens of still greater improvement in the sentiment of Southern slave-holders." 27.

The Globe at this time had reached a circulation of 10,512. It boasted that it had 1500 more subscribers

27. The Globe, January 9, 1854

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than the Colonist and Patriot combined. From this we see the wide field of readers to which the anti-slavery policy of the paper was becoming familiar. Its influence was very definitely being exerted in neighbouring communities.

There is no greater proof of this than in the steady growth of the Anti-slavery organization. The formation of the Hamilton Society in March, 1853 was a further triumph. The Spectator opposed the move and voiced its objection in two main arguments--the futility of a society in Hamilton to aid anti-slavery in the South and the uselessness of the organization since there was no need to guard against slavery in Canada. The Globe disagreed with the Spectator and declared the Americans were influenced by opinion of other nations. "Every address, every document in fact which makes one man, woman or child think for five minutes on the evils of slavery helps its abolition. The first five minutes of thought will not make them abolitionists, nor perhaps the twentieth; but let the subject be brought up often enough, and those who do not become advocates of freedom must be so bad that their services in the cause would not be worth having. The Canadas are closely connected with the United States and we can exercise a very considerable influence there." He claimed that many Americans came to Canada and many Canadians went to America each year. "In order that those men should go and come well-informed on the slavery question, it is necessary that the whole

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Canadian public mind should be made perfectly familiar with its facts and principles and it is to that end that the Anti-slavery Societies have addressed themselves in one branch of their labour. They desire to see every man going from Canada to the United States, whether American or British born, an instrument for affecting the abolition of slavery." 28.

The Editor of the Globe answered other objections to the activities of the society with great clarity. Coloured people were said to be an expense because they lacked training in moral and social obligations. The Globe defended them as being more ignorant than whites through no fault of their own but not worse and not unwilling to work. Brown declared that Anti-slavery Societies in Canada had not taken part in the activities of the Underground Railroad although they would be justified in doing so. This showed his personal attitude to the activities of the Underground Railroad.

The Toronto newspaper kept alive the feeling that the movement was wider than a country, that it was international. Success would be achieved if the hydra-headed monster of slavery were met by a united phalanx. Consequently, the Globe brought together anti-slavery information in a harmonious whole. In one issue a Toronto soirée might be described telling of ballads and entertainment

28. The Globe, March 22, 1853.

from Uncle Tom's Cabin. The same paper would carry a brief account of a donation by Glasgow women to aid coloured refugees in Canada through the Ladies' Association. The report of President Garrison's Chairmanship of an American Anti-slavery Society Meeting added to these forged bonds of unity of thought and purpose that the reader could not help sensing. The links invisible, yet real, joining all anti-slavery peoples of all countries were in the process of formation.

Meanwhile fugitives and their stories continued to be of great interest. Brown told on one occasion of his search for a refugee known to be in Toronto. A boat captain on Lake Ontario had picked the coloured man up after he had sighted him clinging to a fragment of a wooden gate. The fugitive had fled from his master and in the closeness of the pursuit had taken to the Niagara River only to be washed out into the lake.

The crooked machinations of five Southerners who attempted to force a negro waiter at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania to return south on the charge of being a fugitive, drew sympathy for the victim. The frightened man evaded their clutches and reached Canada safely. This incident was widely publicized and the Globe of the period carried numerous items from other papers referring to it. The Montreal Herald spoke of the attempted capture as tyranny which is tolerated

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on this side of the Atlantic "for the sake of supporting the Union." 29.

Toward the end of 1853 the Anti-slavery Society could pause to look back over three years of real accomplishment and could look forward with hope. Mr. Watkins addressing the Toronto Society in the fall of that year summed up the gains already made and the reasons why there was promise of further victories. He told his audience that since Truth must triumph they were sure of victory. It was a good sign that the masses were now willing to read, hear and digest the truths brought to them by anti-slavery workers. Even the efforts of the enemies of the movement had hastened the success of anti-slavery. Many friends had been won to the cause by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, so indirectly it was a good thing. It was a great stimulus to the work also, to find an increased eagerness on the part of the coloured to help themselves. The most notable public example of it was the National Convention of Coloured citizens which had met in Rochester in that same year. One hundred and forty delegates from eight states had attended.

Only momentarily could the abolitionists pause to consider their position and consolidate their forces, for a fierce struggle lay ahead. The Globe saw the introduction

29. Montreal Herald, quoted by the Globe, Sept. 20, 1853.

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of the Nebraska Bill which later became the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as a continuation of the South's aggressive policy. Since the Douglas resolution was virtually a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and of a clause of the Compromise of 1850 George Brown could see it only as the "most nefarious" bit of legislation yet to be introduced. He declared it "an outrage upon humanity, an insult to a growing public sentiment and a burlesque upon republicanism, - beyond all that it is a palpable violation of constitutional stipulations not called for by any exigency, and intended only to secure Southern favour."³⁰ The writer predicted that it would only increase the vigor of the opponents of slavery and in this he was correct. His anger against the South did not dim his judgment which foresaw dire results. That is why he wrote so emphatically, "If the union was shaken to its centre by the Compromise of 1850...who can calculate the consequences which are contingent upon this Nebraska agitation? Who can say that the intemperate insolence of the slave power - its greed for aggrandisement - its ambition to gain complete control - are not means appointed to hasten and to consummate its downfall?"³¹

The Globe rejoiced at each milestone that abolition passed. It was no longer a weak thing but could be depended

30. The Globe, January 30, 1854.

31. Ibid.

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upon to react in every new crisis. When John Mitchell, a young Irish patriot, lately come from Ireland, an enemy of British tyranny, declared that he was not an abolitionist and that slavery was good, a storm of opposition indicated that abolition sentiment was on the increase. G. C. S., a Globe correspondent, voiced words that resemble Brown's when he wrote - "The abolitionist motto must be for the future 'no union with slavery' - 'no compromise with those who trample upon treaties, and violate their plighted faith'." 32.

The Globe gave all credit to the Abolitionists for making so many Northerners and so many Southerners conscious enough of slavery to be a voting power. "Their press power is of itself sufficient to create an agitation on any question." The writer acknowledged that Uncle Tom's Cabin was the greatest single agent in the literary crusade. There is no need to add that in that Crusade the power of his own press was helping influence those outside the pale of the Anti-slavery society. The Globe editor realized that it was an unattainable goal to aim at the conversion of all the North and certain sections of the South to the ranks of abolition, but he felt they could be made anti-slavery. He previsioned success in March, 1854 when he said: "It seems that the time approaches when the slavery question will be the one barrier of division between the political parties." 33.

32. The Globe, February 23, 1854.

33. Ibid, March 23, 1854.

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The Canadian Anti-slavery Society kept close contact with the American organization all through the period and at a meeting of the latter body, following the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, a Canadian representative, Dr. Willis, was present and spoke to the Assembly. The American Society in a Resolution extended sincere thanks to Canadians for their friendly treatment of the coloured who had sought among them refuge from oppression.

Although progress was being achieved, the Anti-slavery cause received a number of set-backs and there was at times a note of discouragement sounded in the pages of the official Canadian organ. The return of Anthony Burns was another victory for the South and the *Globe* mourned the degradation of the Northern States. In a note of warning the Editor felt that, "Canada should look ahead. The Northern States may again be covered with slavery." His remedy was ever the same, "Should we not lend a helping hand to prevent if possible such a heavy judgment?" 34.

Incidents such as the Burns case were not calculated to aid the Annexationist sentiment which some Americans believed to be latent in Canada. The Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska Act had dealt severe blows to this movement. A Canadian correspondent of the New York Daily Times put the reason well when he wrote that Canadians valued liberty, they would not be slave catchers. Speaking for his countrymen he

34. The Globe, June 8, 1854.

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said: "We have too many specimens of whipped and scarred fugitives from Southern bondage arriving daily on our shores, helpless, thriftless, uneducated mentally or morally" 35.

Mr. Brown used very strong terms to condemn the "Nebraska Infamy" when it was "consummated". He considered it a lamentable outrage to make that vast area the hunting ground of slaves. That such a spectacle should take place in the nineteenth century was appalling. He answered his own question, "What next?" by saying that the South would likely expect that the right to catch slaves in the Northern free states should include the right to hold them there.

Even the Nebraska Bill, called by the Globe an act "more nefarious than any of its predecessors" proved to be a not unmixed evil. It crystalized anti-slavery sentiment and at an Anti-Nebraska Act Convention held at Saratoga, New York, the members adopted the policy of taking full advantage of the balance of power which they now held to put pressure on the two major political parties.

Publicity for the Canadian Anti-slavery Society was always welcomed and considerable attention was attracted to it during the reciprocity negotiations of 1854. Mr. Larwill, a member of Parliament from Kent, suggested that in return for reciprocity with the United States, the Provincial Legislature should exact a poll tax from negroes and thus

35. The New York Daily Times, quoted by the Globe, March 30, 1854.

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discourage the work of any Canadian institution which might be in association with the abolitionists of the Northern States to bring about a severance of the American Union. In commenting upon it the Globe remarked that there was no cause for concern. "Whatever difference of opinion there is regarding a negro population in the midst of us, there is perfect unanimity in hailing every fugitive from bondage and bidding him God-speed." 36. The Larwill Resolutions drew into the argument both the Montreal Commercial Advertiser and the Hamilton Gazette. The former supported Larwill and declared that the resolutions must have been the result of experience with 11,000 negroes whom Upper Canada had received in the last few years. The writer contended that nine out of ten do not make good citizens. The Gazette took up the cause of the coloured and denied the charge maintaining that the negroes were intelligent and law-abiding citizens. Their initiative in taking the opportunity of winning freedom and in overcoming obstacles to reach Canada spoke for itself he claimed. Many of them did accomplish unbelievable feats which merited further public support. On occasion the Globe highlighted these examples that came to its attention. Levi Coffin, president of the Underground Railroad held a reunion for a coloured family that had had the tragedy of seeing two of its members taken South and sold into slavery. One of the boys died. The other married a slave and they

36. The Globe, September 27, 1854

had three children. With the memory of his free days continually haunting him, the slave bought his own freedom, located his relatives in the North, appealed to charity and was able to purchase the freedom of his wife and children for \$5000.

Looking at this and similar examples the editor of the Globe lost patience with the long-suffering attitude of the North. He could not agree with the Buffalo Express that the South alone was guilty of the crime of slavery's continuance. By way of proof he asked a series of questions. "Who introduced the Nebraska Bill? Who passed it? Who concocted the Compromise of 1850? Who defended it? Who ratified it? Who carried it into operation?" To all of these questions the answer was either "the North or a Northerner." He complained that "Abolitionist" seemed to be a term of reproach in the North and decided, "There must be many more negro hunts, many more Nebraska Bills, before the latent justice of the North can be roused, and their territory said to be purified from the leaven of man-stealing." 37. He thought a "universal shout of indignation" should go up from every throat at the accounts of events that were taking place in bleeding Kansas" accounts which he said were not exaggerated. He predicted that the Kansas struggle would shake the Union to its foundation.

37. The Globe, January 30, 1855.

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The Toronto Anti-slavery Society raised its voice in indignation at the extension of slavery and reaffirmed its desire to aid fugitives. The President of the organization advocated ransoming slaves and indemnifying owners. If this could not be worked out he favoured violence provided no greater evil would result.

The Globe praised Boston for its work in securing the freedom of Anthony Burns whose return South had been previously such a cause for lamentation. That was cheering news to the friends of the negro and so too were reports of the "extensive business" being done by the Underground Railroad which continued to bring parties of fugitives safely into "Queen Victoria's dominions".

The Globe Editor was keen to grasp the meaning of every movement on the political horizon in the United States. When the Know Nothing Convention in Philadelphia, June, 1855, split on the slavery issue, he declared it was an important event. The decisive stand of the North in asking for the return of the Missouri Compromise and for the free and unhampered vote for residents of territories showed that the North was in earnest. The Toronto paper believed that this decision gave weight to the Northern Republican Party and was hopeful that it "may yet give peace to the nation"... 38.

38. The Globe, June 19, 1855

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The Presidential message of 1856 delivered by Franklin Pierce attempted to defend the Government's slavery policy and struck a blow at the abolitionists and Republican Free Soilers who could be the cause of war by their intermeddling in Southern social institutions. The Globe condemned him for his "contemptible abaisance" to the slaveocracy and said "even the South knows that it may not choose a candidate who so openly and basely bows the knee to them and their principles; he must retain some measure of Northern feelings, Northern independence, Northern self-respect." The Editor's final conclusion was, "Mr. Pierce has overshoot the mark." 39.

As the Kansas disorders progressed, the Democratic administration was attacked still further, accused of linking itself with slavery extension and neglecting its sacred duty of defending the rights of the settlers of Kansas. The source of the Globe's information on the minutest detail of the Kansas problem was through the medium of a daily dispatch from a correspondent of the New York Tribune covering the "Kansas Blaze" from Leavenworth, Kansas Territory.

Mr. Brown was merciless in his criticism of the American president's Kansas policy. The Canadian editor

39. Ibid, January 3, 1856.

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thought that Mr. Pierce had shirked his duty to such a degree that he had defiled the office of President which was once looked upon as an "Olympus where only Gods may dwell." A succession of such paltry presidents would necessitate a change in the American Constitution to give more power to Congress. In quoting the Buffalo Express the editor no doubt meant to side with the judgment expressed by the American writer who said it was hard to respect the office when it was held by one so unworthy as its present occupant. The prediction upon him and upon his fate was, "If he can be kept from doing harm till his term ends, the people will dispose of him." 40.

Lawlessness and violence were rampant in Kansas but when they entered into the halls of Congress the Globe Editor could not contain himself. The Sumner assault after the senator's "crime against Kansas" speech called forth bitter words from Mr. Brown. He thought it was an indication that open war between North and South was all but inevitable. He insisted that the North "must either rise against its oppressor or craven-like part with its birth-right forever." That he wished to see vigorous action is evident in the words, "Perhaps Mr. Sumner's blood will rouse it. Let us hope so." 41.

40. Buffalo Express, quoted by the Globe, Feb. 7, 1856.

41. The Globe, May 28, 1856.

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Later he showed how much he wanted to identify himself with the Northern Cause when he said: "We with the American press hope all things, but fear all things also." The United States dragoons and the Missourians were strong.

When George Brown said "we" at this point in the struggle, he could include in that word practically all Canadian Journalists. That is why American Journalists, supporters of Buchanan, the Democratic presidential candidate, told Canadian writers to stay out of an affair which did not concern them. The Globe answered for them calling the matter of slavery one of "world concernment". It concerns us deeply, whether the principles which of late months have had a practical embodiment in the Border Ruffianism of Kansas shall be proclaimed the principles that shall henceforth be in the ascendant from one extremity to the other of the neighbouring Union." He lamented that "foul gangrene of Slavery" which was present in the Republic at its foundation and which in the intervening years had become more rampant and more terrifying. There is no mistaking the author of the climaxing invective. "It is not now against human slavery alone that the friends of freedom have to contend. It is against the ferocity, brutality, irregularity, contempt of law, fierce intolerance and mobocracy which have thriven into frightful proportions under the

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shadow of slavery." 42.

The Globe did not want to see the Democrat Buchanan elected for it felt it would mean the hoisting^{of} the flag of slavery. On the other hand if the Republicans under Frémont triumphed Canadians would rejoice. George Brown was looking ahead to a day when slavery extension would not be the issue as it was in 1856 but to that day when the Republicans would be committed "sooner or later to Abolitionism". He went on to encourage them, "We would be glad to see them occupy this more advanced platform." After summing up the reasons for approving the Republican principles he declared; "Canada, although without a vote, and not desiring to have one, lifts her voice on behalf of Frémont and Freedom." 43.

We have seen that within the six years since Canada organized the Anti-slavery Society in opposition to the Great Compromise of 1850 and its most detested feature the Fugitive Slave Law, great advances have been made. At that moment, George Brown seems to have dedicated himself to the cause of freedom and once launched upon a project, he rarely turned aside. His championing of the negro cause led him to attack the South regularly for its aggressiveness, to praise the North when it stood firm for abolition but to scold it unmercifully when it wavered in its decision.

42. The Globe, October 30, 1856.

43. The Globe, October 30, 1856.

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The man whom the coloured citizens of Toronto termed the "Sumner of Canada" was discouraged sometimes at the seeming futility of the task, but never did he relax his efforts or step down from his post as instructor of the public and molders of the opinion of his readers. Let us not look lightly upon the scope of his influence. At the conclusion of 1855, with the amalgamation of the Globe and the North American, the subscription list was over 14,000 and the reading public which the paper reached was about 125,000 persons four years later. By 1859 it had agents in Hamilton, London, Brantford, Port Hope, Cobourg, Newmarket, Barrie, Markam, Guelph and Dundas. There is only one judgment upon an editor who reached so wide a circle of serious readers in the 50's. His writings were influential, his pronouncements significant.

CHAPTER IV

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THE COURSE OF EVENTS FROM 1856 TO 1859

The Kansas-Nebraska Act had important repercussions. As we have already seen, the "Crime against Kansas" speech of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had led to an attack upon him by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives and a nephew of Senator Butler, the butt of some of Sumner's abuse. The younger man was carried away by his desire to avenge the insult directed at his relative in the oratorical language of Senator Sumner. The physical beating that Preston Brooks inflicted on the defenceless victim seated behind his desk in the Senate Chamber shows the pitch to which men's feelings had been raised and the tenseness with which they listened to each discussion on slavery in Congress.

The unfortunate incident had disastrous results. There was no hope whatever of healing the breach or reconciling the offended and the offender. The affair was kept alive. The effort to expel Brooks from the House of representatives was unsuccessful as his Southern colleagues prevented the two-third vote required for this action. When a majority declared itself in favour of his expulsion, he resigned only to be returned by an overwhelming vote of his South Carolina supporters. He was further backed by

Southern sentiment, which in a frenzied effort to show approval of his action, presented him with numerous gifts of canes. The Northerners, naturally looked upon the attack as a cowardly and brutal one and the hated institution which could goad public men on to such a deed became anathema to them. In the discussion which went on among journalists regarding the affair, the Globe Editor expressed his point of view very forcefully. To him there was no way in which the South could condone the dastardly deed. The crippling of Sumner and his inability to take his place in the Senate because of his injuries, was a blot upon the name of the American Congress. The Canadian Journalist could not, it seems, soften his invective even with the news in February, 1857, that Preston Brooks was dead.

From the editorial page of his newspaper, Brown thundered a condemnation of the honour that had been accorded a scoundrel. He objected strenuously to the remains of the deceased congressman being taken to the House of Representatives. He termed the act the "Canonization of a Ruffian" and violently criticized the eulogies pronounced upon Brooks as "heaping distinction on the carcass of a desperado." 1.

This was strong language even from the Editor of the Globe and gives us further insight into the increasing

1. The Globe, February 13, 1857.

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seriousness with which every incident connected with slavery was fraught.

It could be truly said that Charles Sumner had focused attention on "Bleeding Kansas" and that the Kansas question was responsible for the recasting of parties on the basis of their attitude to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Consequently the old parties were re-shuffled and a new party was born. Protests against the Act cut a wide line of cleavage between two groups within the Democratic Party - the pro-Nebraska and Anti-Nebraska factions. The rent caused in the Whig Party meant its dissolution as the gulf between Northern opponents of the measure and Southern supporters of it could not be closed. There was a solidarity of feeling caused by discontent with the slavery views of the existing parties and in March, 1854 at Ripon, Wisconsin, at a meeting held in protest to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Republican Party came into being. Its chief principle was opposition to any further extension of slavery. The growth of the party was phenomenal and February, 1856 saw it organized on a national scale while the very same year their candidate for the Presidency was put forward. As we have seen John C. Frémont was the man on whom the Republicans staked their hopes as the more prominent William H. Seward had to be passed over because of enemies that he had made in various quarters. The new party's twin slogans "Bleeding

Kansas" and "Bleeding Sumner" appealed to popular sympathy.

We have mentioned the Globe's prediction of a party that would pronounce against slavery extension, and the joy with which it hailed the entrance of the new party into the presidential campaign. The Democrats who had chosen James C. Buchanan as their candidate, contended that the only thing that could prevent the much-mooted break-up of the union was their continuance in power. It was hardly to be expected that a two-year old party would sweep the country on its first attempt, but the Republicans gave evidence of strength that would likely increase with the advance of time. Frémont carried eleven states and received one hundred and fourteen electoral votes.

The Globe, beginning in 1857, had its own correspondent in New York and a section of each paper is devoted to American affairs as seen through the eyes of 'Britannicus'. This would appear to be a method adopted by the Globe Editor to keep in even closer touch than previously with American affairs. It seems, too, that it is an indication that each event was of such significance in the all-important slavery question that a Canadian Journalist must have knowledge of each detail when it happened and as it happened. It is quite clear, however, that the Correspondent is not intent on merely narrating events. His role is not so mechanical as that, and he gives frequently, a depth of interpretation, a

breadth of view of American affairs and concern for them that reminds one of Brown's own incisive judgment. The opinions, however, are always couched in language that is much milder than that of the Editor of the Globe. The editorial material so methodically and so authoritatively backed by an associate close to the scene carried added weight.

When the Dred Scott decision threw the United States into another spasm of conflict, the Correspondent made no effort to repeat all the details of the case. What the decision meant and how it was to be interpreted was the major concern of the student of affairs and so that was what he gave. Writing of the Dred Scott pronouncement he said:

"The decision sweeps away much vapor. It disposes of the much-lauded 'ordinance of 1787', Mr. Jefferson's chef d'oeuvre. That ordinance is declared to have been null and void from the beginning. No coloured man, free or slave, can become a citizen of the United States even though a particular state like that of Massachusetts may acknowledge and proclaim him to be a fellow-citizen. Slavery can go into all the territories of the United States, all prohibitions, all territorial legislation to the contrary, notwithstanding. This will do for the year 1857! Such is the progress of the Model Republic

in liberal ideas." 2.

His disagreement with the Dred Scott Decision is obvious and the Globe Editor fully approved his point of view.

In following up the same incident the Correspondent endeavoured to show how much the coloured people had lost since the days when the thirteen colonies were British. Before the Declaration of Independence the negro was not denied the status of a British subject in five of the thirteen colonies and this right was guaranteed by Royal Charter. After the Revolution three of these five, New York, New Jersey and North Carolina withdrew the privilege from the coloured. Truly with Judge Curtis' Dred Scott decision that no free coloured man may become a citizen of the United States, the Globe correspondent, echoing a sentiment that was similar to that of the Editor, declared; "It is clear that the coloured population have lost much by the Declaration of Independence. They have little cause to jubilate on the fourth of July." 3.

The same Correspondent declared that the Supreme Court was as guilty of a coup d'etat as malicious and devastating as any that Louis Napoleon of France or Frederick William of Prussia had ever perpetrated. He remarked sarcastically the difference between the European and the American situation was

2. The Globe, March 16, 1857

3. The Globe, March 23, 1857

that in Europe soldiers were needed to keep the people down, while in America the people forged their own chains and "hurrah over their own degradation."

The fearlessness of contemporary Journalist who espoused the cause of freedom and suffered for it and the cowardice of those who neglected to uphold it were carefully watched by the Globe. Occasionally the references were a commentary on Journalists of a certain area, but frequently they were specific and referred to definite newspapers and well-known writers. The plight of the Editor of the Milwaukee Democrat, S. M. Booth, was cited to show the injustice of the law. That gentleman had helped rescue a slave from his pursuers and was approached by the Marshal to indemnify the slave-holder for his loss. Although the editor claimed exemption for his property and time to seek counsel, the Marshall broke into the printing office and took over paper, types, and all available supplies.

That writer who suffered for the cause of justice was worthy of praise, but there were others who were not so brave, thought the Globe and its New York correspondent, Britannicus. In fact he compared them to serfs in Russia who after a beating by their masters were obliged to say, "Minkrewitschko Patron"--"I thank you Milord." The denunciation was somewhat veiled. "Certain newspaper writers

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in the United States are made to perform a similar ceremony. Whenever the freedom of the country, or the interests of the free white people to whom they belong, are kicked and outraged by the aristocracy of the South, they exhibit signs of pleasure and express enthusiastic gratitude for the infliction." 4.

We have made reference to the close similarity in thought between the editorials of the Globe and the New York Tribune. On numerous occasions the activity of Mr. Horace Greeley in opposing slavery was commended by the Globe. Nevertheless, it is evident that friends and colleagues, even those closely related by a bond of common thought were not exempt from the most severe censure if they exhibited any weakness. Hence the words of rebuke pronounced against Greeley on one occasion are particularly noteworthy: "It is lamentable that even the manly Journalist of the Tribune has fallen a prey to the demoralization of the American mind in 1857. He twists about and equivocates in summing up the infamous facts." 5. The "manly editor" had been unusually mild and indecisive in commenting on a tragedy caused by what the Globe considered grave injustice to a New England boatman, Captain Drayton. He had taken

4. The Globe, April 11, 1857.

5. The Globe, July 6, 1857.

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on board his boat a number of slaves who were seeking their freedom. Sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for the "crime", his term had by dint of great effort been shortened. However, on being set at liberty, broken physically and mentally the unfortunate man took his own life. Brown thought the American press should "ring out" for this man whose only crime was "that he believed in the Declaration of Independence--equality of all the sons of Adam."

Instead of ringing out in clear and unmistakable terms the declaration that this man had committed no crime and that the work he was doing was praiseworthy, the Tribune was timid. The Globe Editor thought that his contemporary had lost a golden opportunity of answering his own question, "It may be asked if we approve the work which poor Drayton felt it to be his to undertake?" with a resounding message in defence of freedom. The reply to the query was disappointing and weak. "...while we do not approve, we cannot find it in our hearts to condemn." 6.

The Tribune continued, "The unhappy man....is now before a Tribunal which will not judge harshly even his errors." The Globe seized upon the truth to drive home a lesson. "Yes, he is before a Tribunal, where it will not be asked what colour was the skin of the oppressed beings he sought to aid. He is before that Tribunal...where the blood

6. Ibid.

of the martyrs will be required at the hands of their oppressors. There will be no refuge then in the 'difficulties of the American Constitution' - no doubt then as to whether a man owned his own body - no sophistry will then avail to cover the deep crime of the American people, sinning against light - striving to believe a lie." 7.

To Greeley's Canadian contemporary that weakness in a Northerner was all the more regrettable because it contrasted so unfavourably with the strength and unanimity of the South. Another evidence of this strength was to be observed in the Convention held by the slave states at Knoxville, Tennessee in August, 1857. The parley did not include Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri and Texas, but the group was unanimous in laying down principles which were the basis of their slavery stand. They denounced the English action of Emancipation, declared that slavery was neither a political nor a moral evil and asserted that society had vindicated the great truth that inequality was necessary to man's progress. In moving for the annulment of the eighth article of the Treaty of Washington, ratified November 10, 1842, they were, said the Globe, really asking the return of the Slave Trade. The Editor's contention was that if Washington heeded this resolution she would simply be consistent with her policy of following the wishes of the South. Everything demanded so far had been granted and President Buchanan

7. The Globe, July 6, 1857

could hardly change the pattern of appeasement followed to date.

Turning again to the Kansas issue, the Globe was of the opinion that Buchanan had no intention of relieving the situation of whites in Kansas who were forced to obey the laws made by pro-slavery voters. The President attempted to justify his action in sending troops to enforce the laws enacted by fraud and violence, by saying this pro-slavery settlement took place before his election and so he must uphold it. The Globe was not satisfied with his interpretation of the Constitution, and quoted the Tribune to describe the illegality of the system of drawing up the census lists. According to the Tribune, the Voters' Registry was composed of friends of Buchanan and in commenting on this situation, the Globe lamented: "This is a dark picture of justice and freedom under the American Constitution as explained and administered by President Buchanan." 8.

Meanwhile the Anti-Slavery Society of Toronto continued to instruct its members and those whom it could reach by the spoken word. The Globe, reinforced the message by faithfully conveying the instructions and the report to the reading public. The yearly anniversary meeting was a more than ordinary occasion and the sixth annual proclaimed again the necessity of aiding individuals coming from the scene of

8. Ibid, September 8, 1857.

slavery and of asserting the principles of freedom. The Chairman, Reverend Dr. Willis, appealed to churches to protest against slavery as it was not a mere political matter. He said slaves were forebidden the teachings of the Bible. It was nothing to the purpose that the victims were under a different government because, we must concern ourselves with "evils that grossly outrage the laws of nature and of God." 9. He could not understand apathy in the matter, since "within a journey of four days from where we meet three million humans are in bondage." He believed that it was senseless to let events take their course for he argued: "Is it not by agitation that reform of every other abuse is stimulated?" The speaker thought those who found fault with abolitionists should find another way of solving the problem of emancipation if they didn't like the present agitation. He was cheered loudly when he said amelioration of slave conditions seemed to be as distasteful to the slave-holding interests as immediate emancipation would be. The slave power was "not only unrelenting but insatiable." The last manifestation of that fact was the Dred Scott case, he said. That incident in which "freedom shrieked", had made it clear that the "only solution is the annihilation of slavery." Dr. Willis was delighted that the Empire State and others had been well roused at "such a perversion of the American Constitution."

9. The Globe, May 2, 1857.

The duty of the Canadians was to give sympathy and to cooperate by moral means only.

At this same meeting the Committee's Report of past activities was given by the Secretary and the Globe reproduced what it called simply "a meagre abstract". Individual members had handled special cases but the Society had officially spent over the last two years £444 - 7s, 7d in aiding between four and five hundred fugitives.

The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society brought forward an important consideration regarding the American situation. He was of the opinion that it was not hopeless and that abolitionists should rejoice that there had not been a halt put to their movement. They still had power which they might have lost had there been a cessation of further extension on condition that abolition agitation cease. As it was there were three schemes for abolition which were still waiting to have added to them one initiated by slave-holders. These latter had more cause to tremble in holding their power than in abandoning it, he said.

The schemes reviewed were, the bringing of suitable tracts of African and Asiatic soil under cotton cultivation, the redeeming of slaves by money payments, and the fearful alternative of physical force. There was sounded a note of confidence that the work done by the Anti-Slavery Society though in some ways intangible was nevertheless real. The

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meetings were a way of strengthening the bonds of the friends of freedom by renewing assurances of interest and of expectation of what could come from "exertion, perseverance, and determination." These gatherings should be continued "were it but to pray the Almighty for success" said the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. James Lesslie spoke in the same strain and expressed the belief that as the "continued dropping of water may wear away a stone" so the continued expression of anti-slavery opinion would break the stoutest hearts among the vindicators of slavery. He thought it was a good sign that the slave power was so anxious for extension. Their very violence indicated their apprehension. Work for extension was hastening abolition and he would like to see it come by purchase of slaves by means of the proceeds from future sales of public lands.

The Hon. Adam Ferguson introduced a Resolution which summed up the thought of the meeting - "That while recent events have proved in some measure discouraging to our hopes of speedy abolition of slavery on this continent, this society feels that the call is as imperative as ever on the friends of our common humanity in all countries, to interest themselves in the conditions of millions of mortals, subjected to the cruel degradation which slavery involves; and resolve to continue, by the exertion of moral influence to seek the

universal emancipation of their fellowmen and especially to strengthen, by their sympathy the hands of those in the neighbouring Republic who are seeking the redress of the existing wrongs of the slave and the protection of free coloured persons from the imposition of a grievous yoke." 10.

It is interesting to observe that on the Committee charged with continuing the Society's work for the next term, the names of both "Peter Brown, Esq.", and "George Brown, M. P. P." are listed. This would emphasize still further the fact that the Globe was to be at the service of the Anti-Slavery Society. It would continue its work as official organ of the movement.

The friends of freedom in Canada were having an influence upon the United States - an influence that was evidenced in several ways. 'Britannicus' wrote from Washington a significant article, not too long after the Anti-Slavery meeting at which Canadians had so strongly expressed themselves as wanting not only to aid the freed slaves, but also to assist emancipation. He said Canada was "becoming important in the continental balance." United States was remarking on Canada's moral state. He predicted that Canadian history will record this fact: "In 1857 the American Journals began to be lacrimose over Canada's virtue and to

10. The Globe, May 2, 1857

abate their lamentations over England's moral rottenness."¹¹

A further evidence of American interest in Canada's attitude toward the negroes may be observed in the special Commission from the New York Tribune which came to Canada to make the rounds of the coloured settlements in this country. The New York paper carried accounts of the observations that the Committee made. The Globe, also reported in detail the account of the Commission describing the progress of the settlement at Buxton. We believe it was largely the Globe which had attracted the interested and curious attention of Americans to examination of what was being done for those negroes who had fled from the United States. We can almost sense the pride in Canadian accomplishment that lies behind the Globe Editor's words when he wrote, "Instead of copying the report the Association," (Elgin Association had just completed its yearly report) "we will give the Commission's account of the Buxton visit. It will be found exceedingly interesting."¹²

It is not to our purpose to discuss the account interesting as that may be. However, the status of these negroes must have been sharply contrasted with the fate of some who in America at that very time were not being accorded by law, the freedom their master had granted them by his will. The Globe of this period carried several discussions

11. The Globe, October 7, 1857.

12. The Globe, November 18, 1858.

of the case. A slave-owner Mr. Custin of Arlington told his slaves before his death that he would free them. His statement was made with no whites present and the testimony of negroes would not be taken in court. The owner had about 250 negroes on two plantations and southern reasoning thought the wish to liberate them was the act of a man who had lost his reason. The Charleston Courier ^{13.} thought Virginia should have by this time taken away the power from people in second childhood to remove so much labour from the industry of the state.

George Brown was deeply conscious of the devastating effect of humour and satire when cleverly used and so we know why he often included striking articles of that type. A classic example of wit and irony showing the illogicality of southern reasoning is to be found in a news article from the New York Times. It told of a 17 year old slave-boy who unknown to his master bought arsenic, consumed it, and was on the point of death when his master sent for a doctor who "set to work with a will to save \$1,000 for the unfortunate owner", but in spite of him the boy "is not at this moment worth two cents to anybody." ^{14.} The writer wondered if,

13. Cited by Streetsville Review, quoted by the Globe, January 18, 1858.

14. New York Times, quoted by the Globe, January 2,

"Perhaps he trembled at the prospect of the severe retribution which would fall upon him for the liberty which he had taken with a stomach which although for good and sufficient reasons intrusted to his custody was the private property of another." The reaction to the tragedy was a complaint that laws should be so lax as to allow a black to buy arsenic and an appeal that Congress should condemn the practice. The reason alleged for the slave's desire to take his life was that he had been 'scolded' and the writer commented, "If that is so, what may we not expect of the flogged boys?" At any rate he too would favour the condemnation of drug sale to negroes for "absent-minded boys might pop it into the master's pot."

The Globe editor needed no master to teach him the lesson of injecting barbed comments into his writing to show his great scorn for the upholders of slavery. His brief allusion to the James Buchanan, a slave schooner, that had just landed a cargo of slaves on the Coast of Cuba is an example of this fact. He noted that the name was a "delicate compliment and that "the slaves should be sent to Kansas." 15. Upon that controversial Kansas the Globe's attention was riveted and it affirmed that, "In its bearing upon the cause of human freedom, upon the future of America as a united,

15. The Globe, January 16, 1858.

prosperous and powerful nation, upon its character in the eyes of Christian states and peoples, this Kansas question is not surpassed by any other." Brown declared that the question is not surpassed by any other and the question now was whether the Institution of slavery "shall, by the Congressional and Executive authority of the nation be forced upon the people of one of the territories, not merely without solicitation on their part, but contrary to their known desire as expressed on several occasions by an immense majority of votes." 16.

George Brown believed the whole slavery question as embodied in the Kansas issue had moved into another phase. He said: "Southern audacity and Northern subserviency have spent their strength." He marvelled at the action of Governor Walker, "able man and partizan of the South", of Senator Douglas "author of the nefarious Kansas-Nebraska Bill," 17. and of Governor Wise of Virginia, "one of the boldest champions of the South and its peculiar institution" in refusing to agree with President Buchanan that the Lecompton (pro-slavery) Constitution be forced upon the people of Kansas. To the Editor of the Globe the stand of these prominent pro-slavery politicians--Walker, Douglas, Wise-- was significant of "the change in the Democratic

16. Ibid.

17. The Globe, January 16, 1858.

Party towards the question of slavery." 18. We must remind ourselves that although it is easy for us to judge and evaluate political events with the advantage of one hundred years on our side, the Globe was weighing contemporary events. The Editor's judgment was that the democratic shift in position had come not so much from "conviction on their party of the injustice or the moral wrong of the conspiracy to force slavery upon Kansas, as of its impolicy, of its danger in a party sense." Two of these men were aspirants for the Presidency and Brown judged that "it may be fairly inferred that they have not abandoned the slave-drivers... without being assured that the cause of the latter (anti-slavery) was the cause that would win." 19. The Globe estimated that great thanks were owed to the Republican party, as it was the large vote rolled up for Frémont in 1856 that reversed the previous course of the Democrats. No greater tribute could be given a group than to be able to say that even its enemies do its work and this seemed to be what the Democrats were doing for anti-slavery.

The Globe was quick to discover what the South was thinking of the Democratic shift and relayed it to the public. The Richmond Virginia, Whig, an organ of the South, expressed the belief that Governor Wise, by disapproving the

18. Ibid.

19. The Globe, January 16, 1858.

forced adoption of the Lecompton Constitution, had done more harm to the South at the North than anything that had previously happened regarding Kansas. Supporters of the Lecompton Constitution had been completely unhorsed and would most assuredly be termed more Southern than the South.

A new proposition offered Kansas on the motion of Mr. English was declared by the Globe to be an instance of flagrant bribery. The acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution would be accompanied by five million acres of land for a railway. The rejection of the Constitution would mean a delay in entering the Union until census figures verified the population required for statehood. The Globe saw the plan in the same light as the New York Tribune, "If it is wrong to offer a poor man five dollars for his vote, is it any better to offer twenty thousand men a still larger bribe to induce a majority of them to vote as they notoriously loathe to do?"²⁰. The Canadian Editor in speaking of this offer of land valued at about \$6,250,000. commented on the grave injustice that would result from delayed admission of Kansas to the Union. He commended the advocates of freedom for "so fair a portion of success" as they had achieved to date. He said that the struggle had been of interest the world over. Philanthropists had studied it, animated by the hope that it might ultimately free the enslaved and philosophers had looked upon it as a test of the

20. New York Tribune, quoted by the Globe, April 27, 1858.

capability of American institutions to survive unharmed the conflict of opposing factions. Unfortunately, lamented Brown, those factions unable to control themselves, had led to a sad lack of Congressional decorum on occasion and slavery had made members abandon verbal support of their side for fisticuffs.

The very seriousness of the situation created humorous angles as well. The Democratic Party was known to be badly divided and so the political situation presented a grave picture. Economic conditions were at a low ebb at the close of 1857 and prices of slaves were said to have experienced a "fearful decline". The Globe carried a kind of negro stock quotation from a southern paper which was meant to bring out this point humorously.

"No. 1	a field hand, black, twenty-two years old	\$620
No. 2	a woman, stout and healthy, a good cook	\$475
No. 3	A No. 1 brown fancy woman, twenty-six years, a good seamstress	\$530
No. 4	a man and wife, 40 and 30, man slightly un- sound, taken in for the pair at	\$670
No. 5	a man about twenty-seven	\$416
No. 6	Little niggers from 5 to 7, so low that they are generally sold in lots by the dozen."	

The writer remarked that it was a sad state of affairs for the Democrats. They set a value in the last election on the negro property of two thousand millions of dollars. He

feared that all was lost if there was such a drop as was here indicated and "if little niggers are subjected to the indignity of being bought and sold by the dozen." ²¹ Thus was the ridiculous side of the slave-holding economy put before the reader.

One feels how deeply interested the Globe editor was in the major incidents that indicated whether anti-slavery had won or lost ground, but the amazing thing is that through it all he never looked at slaves en masse. Each one was an individual; each one had his own needs and rights. When a case came to the attention of Mr. Brown, he did not hesitate to use his journal to bring the desired help at the risk of criticism. In March, 1859, his newspaper made an editorial appeal for help for a woman, a former St. Louis, Missouri slave. The Editor said..."we know from well authenticated documents that she has bought and paid \$1600 for her own freedom; \$500 for that of her mother; and \$1000 for freedom of one of her sisters." She needed \$500 more to complete the purchase money for another sister. The Globe, having examined her credentials, commended "her mission to benevolent citizens" and wished her "God speed in her Christian enterprise". ²².

21. Richmond South, December 14, 1857, quoted by the Globe, January 18, 1858.

22. The Globe, March 3, 1859.

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Many incidents showing this human side of the fiery journalist might be cited. When the announcement came that Dred Scott had passed into eternity, the Globe Editor spoke of him as one who, though having no status before the Supreme Court, would in spite of his colour not be excluded "from the presence of the Great Judge of the universe". He was prophetic in his prediction: "In ages yet to come, when the name of minor actors in the politics of the day have been forgotten, Dred Scott and the decision which bears his name will be familiar words in the mouth of the students of history." 23.

To Brown that was important to realize and time has proved that he was right, but the humane heart of the slave's friend found utterance in the next part of his message. In it he told that Dred Scott died a free man and with the knowledge that his wife and two young daughters were also free from their bonds.

The Globe Editor found a certain joy in recording each time that slavery had been cheated of a prospective victim. The more daring the circumstances and the greater the risk to those who effected the cheat, the better The Globe liked it. The Merwin case was an exciting one and to it American papers turned their attention. A St. Louis gentleman by the name of Merwin was travelling through Canada on the Great Western Railway with a negro boy. At London, a coloured man learned that the lad was a slave and telegraphed Chatham.

23. The Globe, October 2, 1858.

At that stop a group of coloured men entered the train and "summarily emancipated the boy." 24. Some American papers got the story that an armed mob had perpetrated the act and the New York Herald remarked that Canada was lucky that there was a cordon of free states between herself and the south. In no way perturbed the Globe replied: "Let either the Southerners or the Northerners, or both combined, come to Canada with hostile designs and they will find us quite prepared." 25.

Another admonition directed at Canadian newspapers during the same period by the American Albion was that they should indulge less in personalities. The Globe answered for the Canadian papers expressing thanks for "the well-meant but unprofitable sermon, preached by an apostle of the dreamy, dull, please-everybody style of newspaper morality." 26.

The Globe Editor had no intention of slipping into that school of thought. He knew that if a Journalist was upholding right he would be bound to meet opposition. If statesmen were deserving of censure, the press had a duty to public opinion to speak out. It was a source of satisfaction to Mr. Brown to know that American papers were considering

24. Ibid, October 6, 1858.

25. The Globe, October 6, 1858.

26. Ibid, September 9, 1858.

Canadian ideas and writings sufficiently to protest against them.

He watched closely the Republican party's rise to prominence. The close struggle between Stephen A. Douglas in the Illinois Senatorial election of 1858 ended in disappointment to him but he recognized that the "little giant" had won support of Northern Democrats by opposing Mr. Buchanan's extreme southern policy. There was ~~a~~measure of regret registered in the remark "that the people of the greatest State of the West have at this election given their imprimatur to a man so closely identified as Douglas with the slave-holding interests." 27.

Illinois, however, was the only state of the North that the Republicans did not carry and their prestige was definitely established. To the Globe Editor the wisest and the most logical thing for the "fire-eaters of the South" to do was to back down in the face of the great Republican sweep. He said that the Southern policy of talking loudly to frighten the North had met its match; the threat of disunion was not going to be strong enough to make the North waver. Anti-slavery men have laid the ground-work of the Republican Party and they were prepared to press the slavery issues still further. If the Republicans were to falter in their course, the abolitionists would be multiplied four or

27. The Globe, November 5, 1858.

five times over and would hold a powerful balance between the Republicans and Democrats. The Globe Editor did not consider parties as organizations with static platforms and a kind of objective character. His judgment was that men whose ideas progress and are adapted, direct parties in a purposeful and enlightened way. His way of expressing this idea was: "Thus men of strong convictions leaven the whole lump of political society and infuse into the dry-bones of party the life of great principles." 28.

In looking over "the men of strong convictions" with potentialities for the presidency two years in advance of the election, he named William H. Seward as the ablest for the Republican nomination but declared there would be many objections to his selection. Brown was a keen enough judge to suspect that Lincoln's mastery of Douglas in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates had probably put the "little giant" of Illinois out of the running as a Democratic nominee.

Before this issue would be faced, however, there were other affairs to settle. President Buchanan spoke of establishing a protectorate over Cuba. The reason that he gave was his desire to stop the slave-trade which was dependent on the Cuban market. Mr. Brown, ever on the alert for inconsistency in policy queried concerning it, "a droll reason is it not to emanate from one whose main object is to extend the area of slave labour?" 29.

28. The Globe, November 16, 1858.

29. Ibid., December 9, 1858.

He believed that there was good reason to fear that the protectorate was "a plan for gradually annexing slice after slice of Mexican territory and converting it into slave states of the great Confederacy." The Globe Editor was convinced that this piece-meal method of advance must be no longer tolerated and every scheme of adding potential states to the American union must be scrutinized carefully.

What then have been the main trends in the events from the election of President Buchanan in 1856 to the close of 1858? Dominating all circumstances and colouring all thought of that short period of time was the Kansas question which was truly termed "a crisis". As one writer has put it so correctly, "In the charged atmosphere thus created the lightest act could be fateful" ³⁰. Its effects were so far-reaching that having dissolved the Whigs and created the Republicans, it went on to divide the Democrats so hopelessly that the newly formed anti-slavery extension party was confident of a presidential victory when another election would come around. The Editor of the Globe, through American press reports and through a newly established American correspondent, was able to record the events weigh them and make judgments that history has corroborated.

Though deeply interested in incidents of major importance and in complete abolition of the hated institution,

30. Bruce Cotton, This Hallowed Ground, p. 2.

he hailed every minor success as worth-while. Every undertaking of the Canadian Anti-slavery Society was wholeheartedly supported. The work it did by way of educating the Canadian people, was published through the medium of the Globe. Every penny that was given for fugitive aid, the Editor thought was well spent. Every slave who was freed broke another link in the frightful chains that held so many human beings fettered. There was a successful Underground Railroad, it is true, but those engaged in the work must have been greatly encouraged and the Anti-slavery movement often urged to new efforts by the unflagging zeal of the Globe Editor. They must have felt with every new gain, be it ever so small, that it would eventually reach its culmination in the complete triumph of the cause for which they worked. Emancipation was not too far distant.

CHAPTER V

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THE CRUCIAL YEARS

1859 TO THE OPENING OF CIVIL WAR

The years 1859, 1860 and 1861 were crucial ones in the slavery story. The Kansas question reached its climax in John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, and around that controversial figure a great storm centered. The North looked upon him as a hero whose courage was of the type which could put an end to the hated institution. Abolitionists lauded his bold action and considered him the exemplar whom they might profitably study. Since the scene of Brown's plotting was Chatham, Ontario, it was natural that Canada should be very interested. Dr. Landon's study, "From Chatham to Harper's Ferry," gives pertinent details of the event and some of its repercussions.

The press of the day was immediately alert to the significance of the raid on Harper's Ferry and many papers took sides according to the anti-slavery or pro-slavery leanings of the editors. The representatives of the former made him a hero deserving a crown; the representatives of the latter made him a villain deserving death. A few papers unwilling to take sides, yet deplored the state of the country which would lead men to such lengths. One of these, a Cleveland newspaper, said: "While there is

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sufficient apology for the insurrectionary course of Captain Brown in Virginia, something must still be pardoned to the spirit of freedom which in his case has been baptized in blood and fed as by fire in the Kansas struggles until reason and judgment have been dethroned and a consuming hatred of oppression of man by man has hurried an old, brave but misguided citizen into acts the whole country will deplore." 1.

There was no doubt upon which side the Globe would range itself in this discussion. Its declaration was no half-way measure, but a pronouncement of vigour and assurance. Knowing that the conviction of Brown was a foregone conclusion, the Editor made an analysis of the situation shortly after the announcement that the execution was to be delayed. He noted the recommendation made by certain Northern Democratic newspapers that the sentence be commuted to life imprisonment. Their purpose in advocating death in a felon's cell for John Brown, would be served, said the Globe Editor since he would thus be reduced to the level of an ordinary criminal, while execution might raise him in the popular mind to the rank of a hero and a martyr. George Brown tells the Democrats that no good will come to the party by this stand. The Globe found advocacy of leniency a point in favour of Brown's act. "If Brown had been guilty

1. Cleveland Leader, quoted by the Globe, Oct. 21, 1859.

of murder or other disgraceful crime, would there have been any sympathy for him?...^{2a}. He moved on from the accused to the hated institution. "Must there not be something wrong in the system which Brown opposed? Must there not be something in his condemnation which touched the popular heart, when he will be held to have died a martyr's death should he be executed?" ^{2b}. The Editor was convinced that the appeal for mercy was an "acknowledgement that John Brown laboured in a righteous cause, however wrong his means." He would go so far as to say that "the cause must be sacred indeed which causes such means to be forgotten or to pass unheeded." ^{2c}.

There seemed to be no hope that the appeal for clemency would be met with favour from the courts of Justice but in the eyes of the Canadian journalist something had been gained. That is why the Globe said, "His death will make many abolitionists because it will give a fresh impetus to the consideration of all the questions connected with human slavery." ³. That statement is an enlightening one as it is the key to all the writing of the Globe Editor in the interest of abolition. During the period we are studying he seized every opportunity to give new life to the movement and to present arguments against slavery when

2 a,b,c, The Globe, November 3, 1859.

3 Ibid.

the occasion offered. We do not mean that he wrote only when readers were aroused by some issue for George Brown wrote on his favourite theme in season and out of season. Nevertheless, alert to the varying degrees of receptivity on the part of his readers his writings were in accord. If the people were aroused he presented his arguments for abolition, if they were passive, he sought to arouse them.

In the autumn of 1859, the Toronto newspaper devoted space to the connection of Frederick Douglass with the Harper's Ferry incident. The negro, former fugitive and orator in an open letter defended himself against a charge of cowardliness in promising to join John Brown and not keeping his word. Douglass declared that his field of labour "has not extended to an attack upon the United States arsenal." ^{4a}. He denied having promised to go although he said: "I am ready to write, speak, publish, organize, combine and even to conspire against slavery when there is reasonable hope for success." ^{4b}. He spoke of John Brown as "the noble hero whose one right hand has shaken the foundation of the American Union and whose ghost will haunt the bed-chamber of all the born and unborn slaveholders of Virginia through all the generations, filling them with alarm and consternation!" ^{4c}. He condemned even as did the Globe, President Buchanan and Governor Wise of

4 a,b,c, The Globe, November 3, 1859

Virginia. He considered them a pair which he, a former slave, must avoid, for he disliked their arrangement. It was his opinion that: "Buchanan does the fighting and hunting and Wise 'bags' the game."

At the time a Northerner, Samuel G. Howe's name was mentioned in the Brown affair and he was accused of complicity in the plot. In a public letter which the Globe carried, he pleaded not guilty. His letter, disowning any part in Harper's Ferry, nevertheless lauded "the heroic man who planned and led that forlorn hope." Howe stated that his purpose in disclaiming connection with the affair was that he wanted no "undeserved honours". He lamented that, "There are among the statutes of our Union certain weapons, concealed as are the claws of a cat, in a velvet paw, which are seemingly harmless but are really deadly instruments, by which we of the North may be faced to uphold and defend the barbarous system of Human Slavery." 5.

The celebrated Boston philanthropist was here referring to the law which would compel him to go to Virginia if summoned, to give testimony regarding his part in the plot. Once in the hands of the slave power he feared for the justice that would be meted out to him a confessed abolitionist. For that reason he took up residence in Canada where his arrival was noted by the Globe and his difficult

5. The Globe, November 18, 1859.

position explained. The Editor wrote: "A Southern jury would not be very particular, if they had the prominent abolitionist, as to the exact measure of his guilt." 6. The Toronto Journalist said that Howe's crime was likely that of giving material aid, and in that he was one of those "thousands of persons quite willing to assist in the escape of slaves, who would hesitate about raising the standard of rebellion even in opposition to the slave power." In spite of this, the author of the article declared that it was a sad state of affairs when, "A gentleman who has done nothing except what is praiseworthy has to escape."

All these incidents served to emphasize the growing ferment within the Union and the tragedy that could result. In the Editor's words; "If this continues there will soon be open war between North and South." The latter, he felt had "raised the North to a deeper and more active sympathy with the slaves than was ever felt before...The South have not shown wisdom or statesmanship in arousing the spirit of the North, by their frantic attempts to extend the peculiar institution." 7.

The whole South after the Harper's Ferry incident experienced what resembled a 'Reign of Terror'. Masters fled to safety at night and negroes unable to read, listened

6. The Globe, November 22, 1859.

7. The Globe, November 22, 1859.

for chance information regarding the progress of the slavery movement. Meanwhile affairs in Virginia were in a very insecure state. There was suspicion and intrigue as the time approached for the execution of John Brown. State Governor Wise was the object of repeated verbal and written attacks. He was accused of having weakened Northern attachment to the Union and of making the North despair of showing the world a united Republic. He was told by one who ridiculed his stand that he was responsible for a group increasing in the North whose attitude to the South was -

"Go gentlemen, and
Stand not upon the order of your going,
But go at once." 8.

On the day set for the execution of Brown, a fresh surge of feeling swept across the North. Military precautions were taken lest there be an attempt at rescue, and starting at 12:30 noon, minute guns sounded in salute at Boston, Baltimore, Albany and Washington. Toronto had its part too, in the proceedings and in Lawrence Hall, ten days after the execution a large crowd of Torontonians participated in a memorial service for the dead man. 9. In a crepe-draped room, they yeard John Brown praised for what he had done. The speaker, Rev. Mr. Kinnaird proclaimed

8. The Globe, Nov. 23, 1859

9. The Globe, December 12, 1859

him a martyr. The Brown sympathizers showed their support in a tangible manner by their generous response to a collection which was to be presented to the widow of the deceased "hero".

The Globe saw in such wide-spread support of John Brown a sure indication that the cause of slavery had lost more ground. Calling attention to the military preparations deemed necessary by Governor Wise, he commented that, "The existence of such hostility in the North ought to make slaveholders pause in their career." George Brown had seen in the history of anti-slavery numerous great and good men who had worked hard to develop the sentiment of the North. Truly remarkable signs of progress had appeared along the way but he now jubilantly remarked: "The manifestations of the last few weeks, however, have exceeded everything that went before." The gain, as the Editor saw it, was that it was no longer a few outstanding men who believed in abolition, but in his own words "the whole people appear impregnated with an anti-slavery spirit. Clergymen preach from their pulpits and politicians proclaim from platforms sentiments for which they would have been mobbed twenty years ago." 10.

George Brown did not attempt to evaluate all the various causes of the Northern change of policy. He considered that the encroachment of the slave power on Northern

10. The Globe, December 2, 1859.

soil, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas struggle had all awakened public sentiment, but he trusted that motives of humanity and sympathy for the slave had taken their place along with realization of northern dignity and interests. In all of this, journalists had played, and had still to play, an important role.

The Globe had no sympathy with those journals which advocated letting the South secede if it wished. It thought that there was no better way to meet the fireaters of the South than to compel their submission to the Federal authority. A northern president, if elected, could handle the South effectively by taking a firm stand. "The slaveholders sleep upon a volcano," Brown declared, and "that is why they do not dare to bite although they are brave in gnashing their teeth." The Globe hoped that war might be averted and that emancipation would be brought about by a gradual process. He credited the victim of Harper's Ferry with a large part in the new feeling of both the South and North. He wrote, "The little touch of John Brown will prove an effectual quickener to the intellects of the South however, and his death will aid in awakening the North to that earnest spirit which can alone bring the South to understand its true position. 11.

11. The Globe, December 2, 1859.

Wendell Phillips was even more emphatic in his judgment of the part played by John Brown. In his words "John Brown has loosened the roots of slavery; it may gasp but it is dead." 12.

It is interesting to compare his statement with that of Frederick Douglass fugitive and well-known negro orator writing from England after Brown's execution. "He (that is Brown) has dropped an IDEA equal to a thousand bombshells into the very Bastille of slavery. That idea will live and grow and one day will, unless slavery is otherwise abolished, cover Virginia with sorrow and blood." 13.

Somewhat similar is the judgment of Victor Hugo just before Brown's death. "It (the execution) would penetrate the Union with a secret fissure which would in the end tear it assunder". 14.

In spite of his optimism regarding the avoidance of war between North and South the Globe Editor continued to record the friction which was evident on every side and showed itself in such incidents as the long delay in the election of a Speaker for the Thirty-sixth Congress of the United States. The Globe reported that on that occasion

12. The Globe, December 14, 1859

13. The Globe, December 21, 1859.

14. The London News, December 10, 1859, quoted by the Globe, December 27, 1859.

"the everlasting slavery issue had forced itself forward first and foremost," and the pro-slavery eloquence lashes itself with fury at the coolness of the opposition." 15.

The Globe called attention at this point to an incident which it believed indicated how far feeling had run in parts of the South. A Virginia newspaper 16. was said to have advocated the formation of a Southern Republic and a foreign alliance to help maintain it. The Canadian paper carried an article declaring that it was an extraordinary proposal from an influential newspaper and predicted that the South would regret "the sorry figure they 'cut' before the world." 17.

All these events gave warning that the federal bond was being strained but the Globe Editor was unwilling to believe that it would be broken.

Canadian activities in aid of fugitive slaves continued. A delegation from Canada went to Great Britain and was favourably received. At public meetings the visiting members explained the work and the need of assistance in settling these slaves in Canada. While generous support was being given from the old world, for the work, fresh criticism was directed at Canadian fugitive endeavours.

15. The Globe, December 8, 1859.

16. The Richmond Enquirer.

17. The Globe, December 12, 1859.

The American press launched several attacks with considerable bitterness. Governor Wise at Richmond received tremendous applause in a public address when he suggested carrying the war into Canada. He declared the haven offered to fugitives was a cause of disunion and that Congress ought to have an understanding with Britain to prevent Canadian asylum being given to refugees. A further charge against Canada was that she had harboured John Brown while he plotted his Virginia plan.

The Globe answered for Canada. It failed to see that demanding "fugitives from labour" of Canada was a good cause for war. "When all the powers of the United States Government have only succeeded in restoring from the free states half a dozen fugitives to their masters and that at an enormous expense, when the underground railroad is kept regularly running, it can hardly be expected that a foreign government will undertake the man-hunting job. We shall not say a word about British soil being the refuge of the oppressed over all the earth; we shall only say that the new Wise agitation won't pay." 18. Thus did the Globe fearlessly answer the criticism directed against Canadian Anti-Slavery efforts.

In summing up the reason for this fresh outburst against Canada, the Globe Editor said it was an election

18. The Globe, December 28, 1859.

move by the Democrats and the Editor was sure in his prediction that Republicanism would triumph. Until now he believed that the candidate would be William H. Seward. The Canadian writer looking over the American Republic at the close of 1859 saw nothing but threats of disunion disturbing the peace.

These threats became more ominous in the months which followed so that they reached their climax in deeds, the secession of the South and Civil War. From our place in history, one hundred years removed, we may say the story is a perfectly logical and easily traced movement of events, the threat of secession on the part of the South and the fulfillment of it. But to the contemporary, the exciting and fascinating picture of day to day happenings was not always easy to interpret. To the Journalist Brown, student of history and a man pledged to a cause which was sacred, the seemingly trivial daily events were examined and re-examined to discover their importance. When we realize this, we cannot skim swiftly over the frequently minute incidents in American social and political life as recorded in the Globe. We pause with the Editor to scrutinize them and to see which ones may lead to a major trend in the advancement of freedom. We appreciate his sincerity as face to face with some of these incidents he mused: "It is almost impossible to take up a correct interpretation

of American facts. Data is to be found on which to base totally opposite theories and contrary conclusions". 19.

So let us see the almost lightning-like change that took place in his opinion as to whom the Republicans would choose for their candidate for President in 1860. As late as May 4, 1860 the Globe editorial called Seward the likely choice, but five days later it announced that support was moving away from Seward and by May 19, the report of Lincoln's nomination was made. The Globe called Seward "the chief exponent of Republican principles" and referred to "honest Abe" as "an inferior and less known man". Nevertheless the Editor acknowledged the Westerner's claim to fame in having worsted Senator Douglas in the celebrated Lincoln-Douglas Debates. Although Lincoln was born in a slave state, "he had been a consistent opponent of the slave power," and as a western pioneer he would have an appeal. The Editor said that Lincoln had not "Chesterfieldian graces," nor was he a man of much culture, but "in ability..principles and character he is a fit representative of the Republicans." 20. The Globe did not think the existing crisis allowed any appropriate place for a third party. It advised, "Let the Slavery interest in like manner select a thorough-going representative of their views and the contest will then be brought to a fair issue."

19. The Globe, January 25, 1861.

20. The Globe, May 12, 1860.

The Globe was happy in the support that William H. Seward gave to Lincoln in the presidential campaign. It showed a united front among the Republicans and that unity was sadly lacking in the Democratic opposition. Mr. Seward declared that Lincoln was worthy of the office as "he avows himself for weal or woe, for life or death, a soldier on the side of freedom in the irrepressible conflict between Freedom and slavery." 21. That is why the Canadian Editor felt so certain that with Lincoln's election, Seward's words would be fulfilled, that there would be "the end of the power of slavery in the United States." 22.

George Brown asked Canadians to be conversant with American affairs as "it is country which presents to us a problem of interest, more stimulating examples, more lessons of instruction and of warning than any other country in the world.".. 23. He thought the people of Canada would see in the restless turbulent swell of American politics "a drama being played out, of which we cannot be uninterested spectators." He remarked that in watching the American ship of state weathering the storms, "we may learn how to steer our own." Of course, the big question at issue was at its base a moral and a social one, "whether this huge

21. The Globe, August 18, 1860.

22. Ibid.

23. The Globe, May 28, 1860.

sore (slavery) shall cover the whole body politic, or be confined to its present limits and by force of circumstances be extirpated. 24.

About this time the cause of Anti-slavery was bolstered in Congress by the return of Senator Sumner. The Globe Editor was happy to tell Canadian readers that the champion of freedom had taken up the struggle where he had left off four years before. Mr. Brown compliments the Senator on his masterly oration of four or five hours in length on "The Barbarism of Slavery" when the Kansas Bill was under discussion in the Senate. The Globe columns carried a good part of the speech and the editor's comments upon each phase of it showed how completely in accord he was with the no-compromise sentiments voiced by the Senator from Massachusetts. The latter's pronouncement regarding the nature of the struggle was in the true Brown spirit.

"Ours is no holiday contest - it is a solemn battle between right and wrong, between good and evil. Such a battle cannot be fought with excuses or with rosewater. There is austere work to be done and freedom cannot consent to fling away any of her weapons." 25.

The Globe Editor liked Senator Sumner's phrase, "a sacred animosity" which he said existed between freedom and

24. The Globe, May 28, 1860.

25. The Globe, June 8, 1860.

slavery and with him, he believed that the final result would be the triumph of freedom.

That triumph would come about only with the aid of unity of thought. This unity of thought the Republican Party now possessed. Whereas the Republican strength lay in its firm belief in no further extension of slavery, Democratic weakness had its roots in a diversity of opinion among its members. Northern partisans stood behind Douglas, while Southerners put forward Breckenridge in opposition and thus split the party. It was a significant rift and the Globe noted it. "Never before have the slaveholders, when the peculiar institution was involved, followed divided counsels." 26. Perhaps more important from the stand-point of freedom was the corollary. Never before had the North presented such a solidly united front. Weighing the gravity of the breach in the Democratic ranks the Globe Editor was ready to assert, "We therefore anticipate Lincoln's election as a moral certainty." 27. How welcome that would be to him he had announced some months earlier when he said he rejoiced with the Republicans and "in the great struggle of November next wish them success." 28.

26. Ibid.

27. The Globe, July, 12, 1860.

28. The Globe, October 23, 1860.

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The Globe in hoping for a Republican victory, envisioned a turning point in American political history and with the victory in 1860 came that change.

Meanwhile threats of what sad fate would befall the Union if the Republican Lincoln were returned were issuing from the Southern slave states. Hearing the repeated warnings of secession emanating from South Carolina, the Globe analysed the situation for its readers. The Editor's view was that the existing confusion indicated exaggerated fear in some parts of the Union. He realized that the present crisis was one of the gravest and probably one of the most trying to test the endurance of the Federal System. In spite of the seriousness of the threat, he had confidence that the Union could endure the shock. The strength of the anti-slavery power had gradually waxed stronger and it had frightened Southern slave interests. These latter were, therefore, fearing a Free South that would be "free to speak and free to vote against the peculiar institution." 29.

While dissolution might not necessarily follow Lincoln's election, difficulties would follow inevitably, said Brown. The Republican candidate for president had made his policy so clear that the Globe declared he could not bow to the slave power as Buchanan had done. He must do all in his power to conciliate the South but he must be firm. One

29. The Globe, October 23, 1860

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of the points on which he would be expected to act would be in helping to clear the seas of the slave trade which still flourished illegally. The Globe judged: "This is one matter upon which he cannot avoid collision with the South, if that portion of the Union think fit to stand in the way."³⁰

The Canadian newspaper cautioned that events must be judged without haste. Although many were the indications of ultimate Southern secession when Lincoln would be elected, there was still hope that the South might repent of the thought and the crisis would pass. George Brown believed that Southern anger would soon be evaporated. He maintained that Southerners were not able to get the real opinions of Mr. Lincoln before the election, but once they were sure that their institution was perfectly safe where it was established, they would be satisfied. He was of the opinion that the South should be content in the realization that the President even if he were a "black Republican" was yet hedged in by Congress and that that body controlled the purse. He maintained that Lincoln was not responsible for the creation of the Underground Railroad or the emancipation of slaves who came north with owners. If the South persisted in its opposition to Lincoln even after he had been elected to the highest office in the state, the real reason was not being given. He thought the true reason must be "because the extension of slavery has been checked...."

³⁰. The Globe, November 2, 1860.

because the law of the union which makes slave-trade piracy will be carried out that they threaten rebellion." 31. So the Globe indicated that the South would extinguish the fire which had been kindled by boiling over. Americans were so proud of the Union that it was hard to believe that they were in earnest when they spoke of splitting it.

At the same time as Canadians were scanning the American situation and forming a judgment on its outcome, public opinion in both countries was considerably aroused by a fugitive slave incident. The Southern negro, Anderson, having escaped from his master, was pursued so successfully that his recapture would have been effected had the fleeing black not slain his owner. The negro continued his flight to Canada and immediately his unconditional surrender was asked for in virtue of the terms of the Ashburton Treaty. The extradition case received wide publicity and through it various angles of American slavery were brought to the public mind by press and speech. At Osgoode Hall in Toronto, a public debate was held to delineate the legal aspects of the case. A Globe correspondent pointed out that there was no parallel of guilt before an American and a Canadian Court. In the United States a slave had no legal rights and therefore his resistance was unlawful, while in Canada the negro being free could act in self-defence.

31. The Globe, November 15, 1860

The official opinion of the Globe as expressed in its editorial columns, was that the strict letter of the law should be observed. The Editor claimed that the Treaty placed the burden of the decision in such a case upon the highest functionaries of the State and not upon the ordinary courts. Therefore, the Governor and his Council were the sole judges of the necessity of returning Anderson at the American request. If they turned this duty over to the law courts, Brown thought they were abdicating their rights.

At any rate, the Globe felt that the negro must be dismissed as he was guilty of no crime in the country to which he had escaped. The Editor used the Supreme Court decision of 1839 in the State of Pennsylvania ³². to back up his argument. The universal opinion in Canada and Great Britain was, he said, that those who surrendered the fugitive would be guilty of murder. At this time the New York Tribune speaking of successful escapes said that nine-tenths of those who attempted to escape to Canada reached there. ³³. In the controversy which continued over a long period of time the Globe took to task Mr. Macdonald and the Toronto Leader which advocated the surrender of the fugitive. Mr. Brown looked upon the decision as a very important one as it would establish a precedent at a critical time. If this negro were

32. The Globe, November 28, 1860

33. New York Tribune, quoted by the Globe, November 30, 1860.

given up no negro would be safe and Canada would be a "slave-catching ground." He recalled the words of the English Judge, Mr. Justice Best, which seemed to apply here; "If any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit an offence against the Divine Law, we are bound to transgress that human law," 34. The Globe said that the slave code "is an anti-Christian law, and one which violates the rights of nature, and therefore ought not to be recognized here." 35.

One of the forces working against the extradition of Anderson was the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada. The organization wished nothing un-British to take place and appealed for a decision "in unison with the dictates of the higher law."

Besides public debates to keep the issue alive there were meetings at which the rights of the refugee slaves were discussed and the Anderson case became widely known and publicized. One of these enthusiastic meetings "reversed" the decision of the Queen's Bench which had pronounced in favour of the extradition of Anderson. Those present at the gathering hoped for the legal reversal of the decision by the Court of appeal to which the case was carried. One of the speakers encouraged their hopes by maintaining that public opinion is the highest tribunal to

34. The Globe, December 3, 1860.

35. The Globe, December 12, 1860.

which an appeal can be made. The Globe Editor was vitally interested in the fugitive and his fate. The assembly gave testimony to the writer's part in the defence of the fugitive negro Anderson when it gave three cheers for the Honorable George Brown.

In the columns of his paper he defended his position and declared that "as a journalist responsible in some degree for the policy of the country, we have not felt ourselves at liberty to promulgate revolutionery doctrines, to ignore the just requirements of law and order." 36.

The Globe carried dramatic speeches made by American abolitionists who visited Canada on behalf of Anderson and besought that country not to fail the cause. The Hon. Gerritt Smith begged: "Let the Courts and the people of Canada make Anderson's case an occasion for publication to the world that our Constitution is opposed to slavery, and they will confer such a blessing on my poor slave-ridden and well-nigh slave-ruined nation, as shall be requited with everlasting gratitude." 37. The speaker referred to the danger of the hour as "the struggle with the slave power." The crisis meant that in a few years more that power would either be expelled from every part of the nation or supreme over it. Every victory counted in these troublous days.

36. The Globe, December 20, 1860.

37. The Globe, January 19, 1861.

On February 18, 1861, The Globe announced the decision of the British Court to which the Anderson Case had been carried. The original judgment was reversed and the fugitive was freed. The Editor was happy that Canada was not disgraced forever in being forced to surrender the negro to the slave-holders. He recalled all the abuse that had been showered on him when he dared to object to the Canadian Chief Justice's decision and said it was well worth it. He declared that it was the firm and prompt intervention of the press and the continual discussion of the case that had secured the happy outcome. He took particular pride in the fact that the Besset Case, on which Judge Draper mainly rested his decision "was first brought into the discussion through the columns of the Globe". 38.

In these disturbed days fresh fury was vented upon the activities of the underground railway and sometimes unfavourable reports were circulated regarding the status of the negro in Canada. The Globe staunchly defended the newcomers. It said that they naturally suffered on arrival but all who possessed a desire and capacity for work were able to establish themselves in farming and trading. The Globe did not deny that the unfortunate victims of slavery brought with them frequently the vices of that system. The guilt might, therefore, be directed rather at those who were responsible for slavery than the poor victims of it.

38. The Globe, February 18, 1861.

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Mr. Brown was happy to say that the coloured man improved in Canada and in the vast majority of cases became an intelligent citizen. Canadians had suffered penalties and did so willingly in the work of succouring refugees but the day that abolition was accomplished would see their duties lightened. In that day it was likely most of the blacks would return to their native South as the climate of Canada was quite severe for them. Meanwhile they exercised their political rights in their adopted home. Besides, after one of these attacks upon the negro status in Canada, the coloured population of Toronto held a meeting in which they called upon the negroes of the province as a class to repel the base calumnies directed against them. An address urged the members to lay aside their passiveness and since the opposition had used the press to spread the lies, they should defend themselves by the same means. The continued to celebrate Emancipation Day and the twenty-fourth anniversary of it, that of 1860, was marked by special ceremonies. In reviewing the benefits of their own good fortune the coloured people of Toronto deplored the sad plight of their American brethern still in bondage. They never ceased to hope that the friends of freedom would work on until the Government of the United States would be forced to follow the example of Great Britain and remove the blot upon her escutcheon.

All through the period following Lincoln's election until the firing of shots at Fort Sumter marking the opening of hostilities, the Globe tried to interpret the statements of Southern leaders and the actions of Southern States. The Editor was loathe to make a hasty prediction that war must come. He was inclined to believe that it was not the majority of Southerners who were making the threats, but an influential minority. If this were so, there was hope of avoiding conflict. He would not favour another compromise similar to those that had tided over other war crises in the United States. As the year 1860 closed, the Editor, although still groping for positive assurances of peace, thought American lovers of Union should not be dismayed if South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas seceded. Principle must not be sacrificed and if those dissatisfied states wished to forego the privileges of Union, they should not be retained by force. When the Globe attempted to visualize the proposed pro-slavery Republic it saw serious disadvantages in the way of its survival. Brown calculated that if there were to be slavery, it must be within the Union. But if one pro-slavery Republic were to exist beside another anti-slavery one, "fugitives would never get back." 39. It would be absurd to say that if

39. The Globe, January 7, 1861

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the free state refused to return the blacks to the slave state there would be war because that would mean perpetual conflict. The Editor's thorough knowledge of American conditions was evident in the parallel he drew between the comparative strength and wealth of North and South. He found the North definitely in the superior position and thought that its victory might result in the subdued South crying for Union. However, the bitterness resulting from sectional and fratricidal war often meant complete separation and this he would deplore.

In another editorial, the Globe explained the unconstitutional basis of the stand taken by South Carolina in its secession move. No convention which ratified the Union had ever said a state could back out of the Union, and the right of secession would have to be looked upon as a revolutionary right. If armed collision resulted, the editor feared that reconciliation would be impossible without a complete change in the system of government. All friends of liberty were watching the events and Canadians were anxious for the happy outcome. War would bring commercial and trading difficulties for the Canadian Government, but conflict had a deeper significance for the Canadian people. "Our neighbour, our friends, our business acquaintances, in many cases our relatives, are

involved in it for weal or woe" ⁴⁰. said the Globe.

After the threat of secession had become a reality for six states, the Globe assessed the consequences of President Buchanan's policy to date. It stated that his attitude towards South Carolina and her accomplices was "exceedingly mild and conciliatory." It called the Government inaction "laissez-faire" and a "Fabian" policy. The Editor understood that the honour of the nation required that the daring act of treason be dealt with forcibly and he also understood that every possibility of averting war should be entertained. In spite of that he hoped that the President was not kept from a firm stand by any "want of nerve". The vacillation continued and Brown advanced further reasons why the South in the long run would be very sorry if she were to persevere in disunion. Not unless Southerners could "eat their own cotton" would a Southern Republic be "among the likelihoods of the world". ⁴¹.

Although the Globe Editor throughout the crisis found difficulty in interpreting the sincerity of the Southern stand regarding final secession, he showed wonderful clarity of insight into what permanent secession would mean to slavery. Not once did he intimate that slave-owners

40. The Globe, January 8, 1861

41. The Globe, January 19, 1861.

would fare better from the break and the more he studied the problem the more convinced he was of this. That is why he wrote editorially with such vigour. "To dispassionate outside observers it seems the extreme of madness for the South to dream that pro-slavery interests could be in any way benefitted by secession from the Union, or to shut its eyes to the certainty that the dissolution of the Union must be a precursor to the Amancipation at no remote period, of all the enslaved Africans on this continent." 42.

This belief had affected his interpretation of Southern action as he himself explained: "We have therefore been very slow to believe that any of the Southern States are actuated by a genuine determination to cut themselves adrift from the United States Confederacy, and the theory that holds that all their talk and bluster even to the extent of passing ordinances of secession is only intended to frighten the North into concession to the slave power, derives confirmation from most of the events which are transpiring even up to the present moment." 43.

George Brown was filled with a horror when he contemplated the terrible thought of civil war. He wrote in January, 1861: "It is bad enough to commence a war with a foreign nation but the horrors of such hostilities sink into insignificance when compared with those of civil strife." 44.

42. The Globe, January 23, 1861.

43. Ibid.

44. The Globe, January 25, 1861.

However, when the delegates of six seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama and formed the Confederate States of America, he realized that the dye was cast; if the South backed down now, it would be the laughing-stock of the world; if the North gave in, it would not be following Lincoln's policy. The new President's inaugural address coming less than a month after the formal secession and creation of the "new nation" was anxiously awaited by Canadians as well as Americans. The Globe declared that after four months of Buchanan's abetting of treason, the man of the people's choice was facing difficulties of tremendous magnitude. The Editor lauded Lincoln's manner of acting in the crisis. His statement that secession was not constitutional and that he was bound to preserve the Union was needed firmness. In short, the verdict on the new president's stand was given in distinct terms. "More could not be expected from him. Less would be treason to the Republic." 45. The Globe considered the Constitution drawn up by the Confederate States and passed judgment on it. It found that a professedly Christian Nation had been made a nation of men-stealers and it asserted that this was a disgrace not only to America, but to the entire world. Any action that Lincoln took would not be too strong and would be justified by all civilized communities. The Globe

45. The Globe, March 5, 1861.

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understood well Lincoln's determination to let the South be guilty of the first act of aggression and understood too the value of retaining the loyalty of the border states. Thus the Canadian paper followed the incidents surrounding the sending of supplies to Fort Sumter and the possibilities of Southern action to precipitate war. Occasionally the Editor, overcome by the prospects of a devastating civil conflict suggests that it might be better to let the Southern States go and trust to their return "when common sense has forced itself into the brains of their people." The suggestion had nothing to recommend it except that in the avoidance of war, lives would be saved.

Within a few weeks, however, the South had taken the initiative, had fired upon Fort Sumter and had become the aggressor in the struggle. The Globe realized that Lincoln had no alternative but must prosecute the war and that unconditional surrender of the South alone would do. The North possessed unanimity of purpose and devotion which must have an effect on the South. The latter could not hope to conquer the North even if it had not four million enemies within its borders. The Globe was too optimistic of the speed with which the war would be terminated. The Editor believed that within three months the Federal power would reduce the Confederates to submission. Brown advised implicit trust in Lincoln and he hoped that the President would moderate the tone of those

Northerners who seemed animated by a spirit of revenge.

To resume then, the highlights of the period beginning with the opening of 1859 and terminating with the first shots fired in the Civil War, we count it as an interval of extraordinary importance. It was the time within which all previous symptoms of progress in the anti-slavery movement reached their successful culmination. Outstanding in the events was Harper's Ferry which stirred so many people within the Union but also far beyond it to consider the fact of American slavery and to take sides. The Globe Editor was pleased with that result and he felt a significant new phase in anti-slavery had opened up when it was no longer the work of an occasional prominent man but of a wide range of common men.

He noted other very favourable signs and through his journal he pointed them out and encouraged those engaged in the work. Sometimes he made enemies as a result of the pronouncements that he made with so much vigour and satire. This was true in the Anderson Extradition Case for which he toiled and wrote so repeatedly and which he counted as a precedent well worth establishing. To have the eyes of Great Britain turned upon the refugee work being done in Canada, was of value and that Canadian delegates who went to England received sympathy was gratifying. The fact

that the Underground Railroad was flourishing more each day showed that abolitionists were increasing in number.

It is noteworthy that the Globe should have become so enthusiastic about the Republican Candidate Lincoln. George Brown had hailed the birth and growth of Republicanism and based high hopes upon its future destiny. So, even though its nominee in the presidential election of 1860 stood strictly by the republican platform of no further extension of slavery, he felt that that was the end of the slave power. He believed that emancipation would be a gradual process and so the Canadian Editor saw no need for the South to secede. He underestimated Southern determination in the matter of secession but he was very clear in his judgment of the fate of slavery if the South were to try to preserve it apart from Union. He hated civil war but he loved adherence to principle and so he applauded Lincoln's firmness in following his announced plan of preserving the Union at all costs.

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Our study of the Toronto Globe and the Slavery Issues has been confined to the brief period 1850 to 1860 and in the history of a nation the span of ten years is not a long one. We have stopped short at what might be considered by many a more interesting and exciting period, that of the Civil War. It is a matter of purely personal opinion whether it is more fascinating and profitable from the point of view of findings to examine events which served "to sow the wind" or those which served "to reap the whirlwind." It seems to the writer that there is no ten year period so significant in the history of the United States as this one immediately preceding the Civil War. It was the time when the former method of settling each new slavery issue by reason, debate and finally compromise was discarded. Weary of that way which could never be more than a temporary satisfaction and sensing that slavery was a deeper cause of disunity than they cared to admit, men seized upon excuses for their sectional animosity. The issues between North and South all had names. There was The Great Compromise for example and the Kansas question, but a contemporary American historian ^{1.} has stated a truth when he said that

1. Bruce Catton - this Hallowed Ground

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these issues were merely "symbols" dividing the nation even at a time when other forces prompted it to reach out to greater nationhood.

In this study the writer has examined American events as seen through the eyes of the Editor of the Toronto Globe. Through its columns a devoted Journalist was relaying to Canadian readers an account of American happenings. The Toronto editor was not a mere disinterested narrator of these dramatic events which were taking place in the United States. He was vitally concerned with the day to day incidents because they were closely bound up with the slavery question. He had early espoused the cause of anti-slavery and he put all the talent of an ardent and fearless journalist to the service of the cause which he believed just. One might be tempted to ask, What did he hope to accomplish? His paper was published in Toronto, in Canada West, and the Editor spent practically all of the period 1850-60 in the province where his political duties bound him. George Brown believed that all big movements are the result of small beginnings, that Emancipation of the negro was such a desirable good that it was worth working for over a long period of time. He thought that every new person who was made conscious of the evils of slavery would be an asset to the side of anti-slavery. He did not believe that Canadians were exonerated from participating in active

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thinking on the subject just because they were not citizens of the country where the hated evil existed. He charged them with the responsibility of knowing the true situation and of using their influence to win Americans to a more enlightened view on the ownership of their fellowmen. His appeal to Canadian readers has something of the philosophy,

"Our echoes roll from soul to soul
and grow forever and forever."

The Globe voiced an unchanging policy and was an unflinching guide to those who read it in the fifties. It was in 1851 that it became the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society and thus took upon itself the duty of presenting to the public the platform of that organization and the various activities which it sponsored. It was largely due to this systematic and careful presentation of the good works of the Toronto Society that the Anti-Slavery movement spread through Canada West. Kingston, London, Windsor and Hamilton followed the Toronto example and organized local units. In 1853 the Toronto Society added a Ladies' Auxiliary branch which gave additional strength to its work. There were numerous acknowledgments from the American Anti-Slavery Society testifying that the spread of the movement through the Canadian province was a source of satisfaction to the American Society. It gave them a sense of encouragement to feel that their cause was

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looked upon with sympathy by their Canadian friends.

In all the work which the Canadian organization did for anti-slavery it acted in a perfectly legal manner. Repeatedly the Globe expressed the object of the Society's activity. It wished to bring about Abolition of slavery solely by means of its moral influence. The aim was to educate the public. If the individual Canadian reader were educated to the evils of slavery, he could act as a leaven in the milieu in which he found himself. The more Canadians who understood the blot that slavery in any part of America placed upon the whole continent, the greater would be their collective influence. George Brown knew that Canadians visited the United States and that Americans were frequent visitors north of the border. He appealed to his fellow-countrymen to be ambassadors of freedom proclaiming their firm belief that slavery was wrong and must not be tolerated. He asked his readers to do four things as part of a positive programme to aid the anti-slavery work. They were to speak about it in their own circles, write about it when occasion offered, agitate to bring the desired end and impress upon American acquaintances the fact that a freedom-loving country should be ashamed to harbour such hateful things as the shackles of slavery.

In the work of educating the Canadian public, speakers from the United States were frequently instrumental.

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Abolitionist orators were heard regularly in Toronto and their addresses were carried to a large reading "audience" by means of the Globe. Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith and other prominent speakers accepted invitations to address meetings in Toronto.

The avowed purpose of the Canadian Anti-Slavery society was to use its weight to end slavery and education of the public was only one of several of its activities. In every phase of these the Globe was with it. All during the fifties negro slaves were escaping from their masters in the South and were making for the haven of safety, Canada. The cordial reception of these runaways and provision for their well-being was a very important part of the Anti-Slavery Society's programme. The Editor of the Globe made the plight of the refugee the subject of many an article in his paper. He appealed to the sympathy of his readers and solicited assistance for the unfortunate victims who were escaping to our country. He did not think it was sufficient for a free country to accord them a home and freedom within its borders. That indicated tolerance of the negro but it was not enough to be tolerant. The friend of the coloured thought that citizens should come forward and provide employment for them and that every help and kindness should be shown them as fellow citizens. An indication of how close the success of this appeal

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was to his heart is that he asked prospective employers to come to the Globe office to seek and give information.

The Globe Editor would not agree with those who charged that the negro was shiftless and did not make a desirable citizen. Time after time he devoted himself to their defense in his paper. His answer to the charge was ever the same. He maintained that the refugee negroes were better than one would expect them to be when one considered the dreadful surroundings of their enslavement. He defended them as the material from which good citizens would come if they were treated kindly. He earned the love of the coloured people and as they testified it was not an occasional assistance he gave but a constant one. The testimony of sympathy sent to the Brown family at the time of the Globe editor's death showed their appreciation of a real friend. The resolution from the coloured citizens of Toronto extended "deepest and most heartfelt feelings of sorrow and regret knowing that the Sumner of Canada had passed away, whose voice and pen was always ready, able and willing to do battle for the cause of the down-trodden and oppressed of all peoples." 2.

The pen that was ready to do battle for the coloured was that of no ordinary journalist. It was the President of the Canadian Press Association who declared of him,

2. Alexander Mackenzie, Life and Speeches of Hon. George Brown, p. 161.

"Mr. Brown was the leading journalist of the Dominion."

The same gentleman acknowledged that though he was not a member of the Canadian Association; "He loved his profession and he believed in the newspaper as a public educator and as a power to defend the rights and privileges of the people." 3.

Step by step through the troubled years from 1850 to 1860 we have traced the unwavering path of the Globe in its Editor's determination to educate the Canadian public and to have the true meaning of freedom overflow upon the neighbouring American Republic. As we have pointed out, every possible journalistic device was used. The Editor was by turns stern, satirical, critical, sympathetic and humorous. He commended Northern journals that were outspoken in their abolition sentiments; he attacked those that were on the side of slavery. But even his friends were not spared if he judged that they had veered from the path of principle. He believed that it was a duty to take every opportunity to denounce slavery and as we have seen he took the New York Tribune's editor bitterly to task for failing to be sufficiently aggressive when an occasion presented itself to defend the anti-slavery side.

Statesmen and parties were weighed in the balance with one thing always as the measuring stick of their

3. A History of Canadian Journalism, p. 91.

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worth. What was their attitude toward slavery? George Brown did not approve of compromise where slavery was concerned. That is why he denounced the Great Compromise of 1850 and from that point dates the feverish activity of his already busy career in a crusade against the hated institution. The worst feature of the compromise as he saw it was that it made Northerners slave-catchers and this in his estimation belittled their dignity. Canada was a free country and the minute a slave crossed the border into Canadian territory he was free. The Globe rejoiced in this refuge that Canada could offer to the blacks and it publicized the heavy "traffic" that the Underground Railroad was handling successfully all through the period.

We would expect that this exodus from the South across the northern states into the freedom of Canada would have its repercussions. As we have seen angry feelings were aroused in individual slave owners who lost slaves, in sections which resented Canadian anti-slavery support and in officials, such as Governor Wise, who sought in vain to stop Canada from being the haven of the fugitives. This Southern Governor suggested that pressure be put upon Canada to prevent the assistance it was offering to escaped slaves. It was the Globe that replied to that suggestion. The Editor said it was useless to expect a foreign country to turn slave-catcher. The hunted negroes were fugitives from labour. They had fled to a free

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country and the very thought of carrying war into Canada to effect their return was illogical. Brown stated that of thousands of refugees who had escaped from the South only a half a dozen were restored successfully to their masters. He emphasized the fact that it was a losing battle and that the expense involved in the procedure was not worth the result. The Globe Editor said that even with all the powers of the American Government called into play the outcome had been a failure.

A failure, too, was the attempted extradition of the negro Anderson. The Globe Editor was active in bringing out the details of this case. He was genuinely interested in the freeing of the former slave and to this end he devoted himself writing numerous and influential articles. Beyond this, the Globe's master-mind was happy to be able to reveal to a reading public further aspects of the question of slavery. More and more people were readers of the Globe through the fifties and as its circulation figures increased more people were informed on slavery and more became anti-slavery minded. Public opinion was being formed.

Mid-way through the period which we are discussing the Canadian correspondent for the Globe at Washington was able to state what was now quite obvious - Canada was becoming important in the continental balance. That period

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saw an American Commission directed toward Canada to study the condition of negro settlements in the province. It was an evidence of interest in the way the Canadian negro work was actually succeeding.

In the year 1858 occurred the John Brown Case which shook the Union to its foundations. The principal in the Harper's Ferry incident had started on his fateful journey from Chatham, Ontario and the interest that centered around him was not American only. Toronto Anti-slavery circles were vocal in their support of the cause for which he worked although it did not recommend his methods. In those days of ferment S. G. Howe, a prominent abolitionist, charged with complicity in the Brown affair, sought asylum in Canada. Our country and the United States were aroused by the tragedy of the events and by the issues involved. The Globe Editor said with truth that never were so many people aware of the slavery question. Before, there had been a few prominent men active in abolition. Now it was a large number of common men, citizens who had learned of slavery's evils and abolition's hopes through the writings carried in season and out of season in the columns of the Globe.

If we peruse the Globe files of the fifties we are amazed at the number of editorials on "American Politics." We might ask how enlightened could a Canadian paper be in the analysis of American politics and what

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could that analysis hope to effect? George Brown the statesman, was examining daily happenings in the American Republic to give his readers the most accurate account possible of the political situation. He wanted Canadians to be informed politically upon American affairs but he was particularly anxious that every charge on the political horizon should be examined in the light of what it would mean to the slavery question. He commented on the break-up of the Whigs, the rise of the Republican Party and the division in the Democratic ranks which led to its downfall. The Globe hailed the advent of the Republican Party and from the first felt that its platform of "no further extension of slavery" was something on which to build hopes for the America of the future. That is why George Brown wrote in support of the first national Republican candidate in the presidential campaign of 1856. Canada, he declared, was "distinctly aloof" from the United States and desired no vote in American election. Nevertheless the Globe editor was happy to raise his voice for "Frémont and Freedom."

Frémont did not win the election and Freedom did not triumph so quickly but the Republican party gave evidence of a strength that showed popular support was with it. There was an increasing number of people who wished that slavery be extended no farther. The Kansas question had brought the new party into existence and it brought

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the "Crime against Kansas" speech which deepened the growing animosity between North and South. The Globe watched this increasing bitterness and tried to weigh the gravity of the situation. Sumner had said that the struggle over Kansas which had spread to the Senate Chamber would spread still farther to a nation-wide stage "where every citizen will be not only a spectator but an actor." 4.

The Globe Editor, too, saw all the signs that pointed to civil strife on a larger scale than Kansas. He knew the tenacity with which the South clung to the peculiar institution and he knew well the obstinacy of the North to giving ground on the slavery issue. Yet in spite of the ominous reports issuing from the South and the threats of secession that became more frequent in the months leading up to the presidential election of 1860, George Brown did not wholly credit them. His faith in the strength of the American federal union and American pride in it caused him to discount to some degree the idea that conflict was inevitable. His columns explained^{to} the Canadians that the federal bond was being badly strained but his personal opinion was that it would not break. One of his reasons for that conviction was given in his analysis of the situation in an editorial "The Drama of American Politics." He wrote this on the announcement of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican presidential candidate for the election

4. Bruce Catton, op. cit., p. 3.

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of 1860. George Brown declared that "Honest Abe" was a worthy candidate representing a North that was for the first time solidly united. His anti-slavery views which called for no further extension of the institution should be acceptable even to the South as his platform called for no interference with slavery where it already existed. This guaranteed the "property" of the South. The Canadian Editor thought that the South was too harsh in its judgment of Lincoln. After all, his name was not associated with the Underground Railroad or emancipation of slaves who came North with their owners. George Brown felt that if the South persisted in opposing Lincoln and if it really meant the threat of secession it must be that the real grievance was not being given. Since Lincoln's platform was safe for slavery now existing and since even a "black" Republican president would be so hedged in by Congress as to be no dictator, continued opposition to him must mean that the South wanted more than preservation of slavery. It must still be ambitious to extend slavery beyond its present confines and it was not going to relinquish that ambition without a struggle.

That struggle the Globe did not wish to see occur, as civil conflict in any country was to be abhorred but particularly to be detested was it from a Canadian standpoint in a country where those warring would be our own

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friends and relatives. The Editor was of high principle and he admired one who acted courageously in the execution of a difficult duty. That is why he commended Lincoln's firmness in declaring that South Carolina's action in seceding was unconstitutional and that it was his duty to preserve the Union incorrupt. To decide otherwise would be to act as a coward and the Globe knew that the recently elected Republican President was no weakling. The very sympathy that Brown had for the American cause may have influenced his optimism as to the possibility of avoiding armed conflict between North and South even after secession had become an accomplished fact. It did not, however, obscure his vision of what would happen to slavery under the new Confederacy. He said that the slave power would not benefit its cause by cutting itself adrift from the Union. It could not hope to preserve slavery side by side with a free Republic. Besides that, the economy of the South was not sufficiently well-balanced that it could exist without co-operation and support from the Northern States. Slavery was doomed to extermination in the artificial type of State that the Confederacy planned but it was doomed just as surely if the Civil War were fought out. The old Constitution allowing for slavery would be revised after a war that had been brought about because of the inherent germ of decay that had been harboured in the first American Constitution.

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A rebuilt Union would not tolerate slavery. George Brown thought that the North would speedily end the war with victory but although he was wrong in the judgment of that, he was sadly right in the warning that he voiced before the conflict. He feared a bitterness in the North which Lincoln would have to temper. For this reason he foresaw that revenge measure might be demanded by a victorious North. A few years were to show the correctness of his judgment in that regard and with the death of Lincoln, there crept into North-South relationships a rankle which the Republican President might have been able to forestall with his characteristic tact.

It is interesting to note that counsel to moderation directed from a Canadian journalist to an American President at a time of national crisis. Some will see in it the temerity of one who is meddling in another's affairs and who cannot expect to have any influence. But George Brown was a conscientious writer and his heart was in the Anti-Slavery Movement which was reaching a climax as all signs pointed to Civil War. He predicted that with its coming would come Emancipation and that was what he had been working for and hoping for since before 1850. Yet he hated war and through the years that he wrote for the cause of Anti-slavery he was not writing to arouse people to fight the issue through by physical force. His method was to educate,

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to teach the people what the evils of slavery were and to convince them intellectually of the right of every man to his own freedom. In the course of his career his writings must have convinced many readers of the truths that he was propounding. So many abolitionists were made by the reading of Uncle Tom's Cabin that Lincoln is said to have remarked on meeting the author; "So this is the little woman who caused the Civil War." If spreading information on slavery and winning readers to abolition caused the Civil War, then the framer of the Globe's policy during those critical years 1850-60 must share in the blame.

The aim of this study is not to analyse the causes of the American Civil War. It is not expected that as a result of it a further cause "the attitude of the Toronto Globe" will be added to the list. Its Editor would have recoiled from such a thought. Yet the thesis has shown that a consistent Anti-Slavery policy kept up over a ten year period profoundly affected the thought of the time. Our country on the very borders of the troubled American Republic had the spotlight of attention on it the greater part of the time. Into it were fleeing escaped slaves helped by Northern abolitionists. Toward Canada the angry slaveholder was looking and demanding the return of his lost "property." On occasion we received the added publicity of of an international case and that of the fugitive Anderson was the most outstanding. It was the American Federal

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Government that made the request for extradition on that occasion and the decision was against the fugitive's return. All this gave prominence to the part Canada was playing in the Anti-Slavery struggle in the pre-Civil War days.

Journalism was taking its part in publicizing these events and "the leading Canadian journalist" was using every opportunity to show the evil and the inconsistency of a Christian and free country supporting the hated slave system.

The Globe Editor contrasted the freedom of Canada where negroes became citizens and took their part in the life of the country of their adoption, with the auction blocks of the Southern States where scarred and branded negroes were sold to the highest bidder. The Anti-Slavery workers of the North found a ready welcome in Canada. Why would they have given their time to helping spread to Canadian listeners the evils of the slave system and their hopes for its abolition if they had not been aware of the support that Canadian opinion would give them? There was a genuine encouragement in the feeling that in the cause for which they worked they were not alone. Canadian public opinion formed by a sincerely Anti-slavery newspaper Editor was helping to sustain their morale. They needed that support badly, too, for in the early days and again later in the heat of the slavery discussion some abolitionist speakers had a rough time when they tried to address audiences in Boston and certain other Northern cities. The mutual co-operation needed

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to aid slaves to freedom and to care for them afterwards drew the anti-slavery workers together. The network of the Underground Railroad covered the whole of the Northern states and reached to the Canadian lake ports. "Cargoes" reaching safety were a cause of rejoicing on the part of American and Canadian sympathizers. The risks of the work which both sides shared in common served to bind the workers more closely. The man who cheered on the work by his writing and who counted each escape as a victory for Anti-slavery risked a great deal, too. Criticism was not wanting. In the beginning it was criticism from Canadian newspapers. This led to controversy and the Globe loved controversy as the publicity given to the discussion meant a chance to win more people to its side. Even contemporary editors looked more kindly on the Anti-slavery cause with the airing of all angles of the question. Another source of criticism of Canadian anti-slavery activity as was to be expected, was those representatives of the American press which were unfriendly to the abolitionists. This never bothered the Globe Editor who had to defend Canadian concern about American slavery. Repeatedly he explained his point of view; slavery was a moral evil. It existed in the United States and although Canada was a free country she resented the blot which slavery in America cast over the whole continent. It was the duty of Canadians to help remedy the evil. It was the duty above all of the journalists to shape public opinion.

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We believe that the Globe Editor did help to shape Canadian public opinion and that the impact of that opinion upon American thought was inevitable. Ideas because of their intangible nature are difficult to trace to their source. Yet after considering the great stream of animated discussion that came from the Globe on the slavery issues and after considering the progress that Anti-slavery made in the fifties we feel sure that the Editor in shaping Canadian thought was indirectly influencing American thinking. There were times when the American press due to pressure and opposition was somewhat hampered in its activity. This could not be said of the Canadian press for it operated free of American restrictions and interference, yet close enough to be a support and encouragement. Gratitude for this encouragement was recognized from time to time and a request expressed for further proofs of it. A prominent abolitionist speaking in Toronto just before the Anderson case was finally settled said of Canadian anti-slavery workers: "I speak your praises but remind you of your responsibilities." ⁵. He said that in the crisis confronting the United States the present was "their time of fear and hope." The next few years would see slavery supreme over the Union or expelled from it. Canada's moral support would mean that "all ages of our posterity will bless you."

5. The Globe, January 15, 1861

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George Brown spoke of the destiny of the United States which was so closely linked with that of Canada that every movement in either influenced the other. His keen interest in the events of each day, even he acknowledged of each hour claimed his best interpretation as a journalist. His newspaper was not a mere passive film recording every image inflicted upon it. His journal interpreted the picture and sought to direct an intelligent judgment upon the incidents. The final goal for which he consistently strove and for the attainment of which he must get a good measure of credit was the triumph of freedom.

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The matter of this thesis encompasses the Slavery issues of the period 1850-60 but it is not a complete study of them. It comprises an examination of the attitude of a Canadian paper, the Toronto Globe, to these issues and the effect that this newspaper's policy had upon Canadian thought and indirectly upon American thinking. Although there has been no attempt to discuss fully the issues involved, it has been necessary to give the framework of the historical events in order that the Globe's discussion of those issues might have a proper setting.

It is not a narrative of what the Globe said about slavery from the Great Compromise of 1850 until the opening of Civil War. Yet what the Globe said on slavery was important as it indicates what its Editor was thinking on that subject. Having studied the Globe files of the fifties the writer has tried to give a faithful interpretation of its Editor's devotion to what he considered a true journalist's duty. His desire was to convey to his readers a conviction as strong as his own that slavery was wrong and that Christian thinkers had an obligation to effect its downfall. His paper was the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada. Firmly convinced that the press was a powerful aid in forming public opinion, he pursued a steady policy of educating his readers. He expected them to be of assistance in passing the knowledge on to others. If enough

Canadians were conscious of the great evil of slavery they would inevitably have an influence on the American Republic.

The status of slavery in 1850 is best understood by a glance at its position previous to that date. At the time of the framing of the American Constitution, slavery was accepted as an existing institution and from there the trouble dates. With the addition of more territory to the original Thirteen Colonies the question was raised of the status of the potential states. The South claimed that slavery was necessary for its economy and both North and South were anxious to have the upper hand in Congress. As long as slave and free state numbers were the same, equality could be preserved in the Senate. An attempt to keep this balance led to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Great Compromise of 1850. With this latter went a Fugitive Slave Law which had been demanded by the South to help slave-owners recover their runaway slaves.

The Canadian attitude towards slavery was expressed officially by the Act of its Provincial Legislature in 1793 declaring against it. There was in Canada very early a sympathy for the refugee from the South and a satisfaction in the fact that a slave who arrived upon Canadian territory was free. After 1850 the harbouring of fugitive slaves became a source of friction between the United States and Canada. Disgust at the passing of the Great Compromise was

the reason for the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada and as the Toronto Globe was its official organ, the Society had the advantage of having the most influential Canadian newspaper convey its message to a wide reading public. When the Society was organized the Globe Editor explained its purpose. He declared that it was not to incite slaves to resistance but to protest against American slavery and to protect slaves fleeing to Canada. The work advanced even though there was some opposition to it evidenced sometimes in the silence of the contemporary press and at others by remarks of disapproval. The Globe spoke of the need for societies in centres other than Toronto and was soon able to record the formation of branches in London, Kingston, Windsor and Hamilton. Besides this, Toronto added a Ladies' Auxiliary to assist the work. The active part that they took is shown in the relief which they brought to refugees and also in the address which the women of Canada made to the American women to abolish slavery. The Globe in January 1853 carried the appeal that they were making to the women of the United States.

The Globe Editor conveyed to the public the message brought so frequently by American abolitionist speakers to audiences in Toronto. They believed as he did that exertions by Canadians who had the right view-point upon the morality of slavery would have its effect eventually. That

slavery did not exist in Canada was no cause for complacency on the part of its people. The blemish was on America and that concerned Canadians. It was not long either until the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada had drawn recognition from the American Society for the contribution it was making to their common cause.

The Globe explained the Society's attempt to provide work for refugees and commended the coloured for their ability to become thrifty citizens. It gave instructions as to how one could be an effective agent of anti-slavery. He could speak against it, write against it, agitate against it and convince Americans that as long as their country tolerated slavery they need not boast of being citizens of a free country. The Editor followed the growth of anti-slavery sentiment and rejoiced that it was making such strides that no public speaker could ignore it. He hailed the advent of Uncle Tom's Cabin and by description of slave auctions and of inhumanity to slaves he upheld the authenticity of its material.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was introduced, the Globe foresaw that it would increase the vigour of the opponents of slavery. The Editor was happy to see the Republicans come into existence as a protest against it. He told his readers that he would raise his voice for the Republican cause because it meant no further extension of slavery. This he hoped was but one step from abolition. Every fugitive sheltered in Canada was a blow at slavery and the Globe told

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of many such blows. It recorded also a few telling blows dealt by slavery upon freedom. Of these the Dred Scott case and the Anthony Burns case were the most outstanding. Nevertheless the Globe Editor used them to show how utterly ridiculous the law was that was so difficult to execute. Great was the rejoicing when the freed Burns came to Canada to live. Another internationally famous case was the Anderson one. The Globe played an important part in presenting the details to the reading public. The Editor was overjoyed when the Supreme Court ratified the personal judgment that he had expressed in his columns, by reversing the original decision and freeing the negro.

The Globe encouraged the North to remain firm as tension increased. When the Harper's Ferry incident occurred it eulogized John Brown as a hero who would inspire and awaken the spirit of the North. The sincerity of those who talked secession at that time was difficult to evaluate. The Globe Editor who believed profoundly in the strength of the Federal Union, hesitated to believe that the South was not just threatening in order to frighten the North. He said if the South objected to Lincoln and insisted on seceding it would appear that it was extension of slavery Southerners were seeking. In reply to charges that Canada was aiding disunion the Globe said that the charge was false but that the Underground Railroad would keep running and that no foreign government would help in the man-hunting.

When the Republicans chose Lincoln for their presidential candidate the Globe endorsed him and saw in the Democratic split a sure victory for Republicanism. With that victory its Editor foresaw a new phase in American political history. He predicted that if war came the North would quickly overwhelm the South and an end would be put to Slavery. At any rate

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a pro-slavery state could not exist beside a free one. The newly elected Lincoln was commended for his determination to face the fact of secession with firmness and the Globe urged trust in the man of the people's choice.

Thus did the Globe's Editor bring to his readers a true picture of the American slavery issues not as a narrator but as a Journalist dedicated to anti-slavery. If Canadians were responsible for knowing the situation, thinking about it and convincing others of the evils of slavery, then he must first instruct and convince them. The Editor never became fanatical in his views but gave an orderly presentation of his arguments with very frequent repetitions of the same points. The steady growth of the Anti-Slavery Society and its spread from Toronto in 1851 to London, Windsor, Kingston and Hamilton is proof of the effectiveness of the Globe's policy. It is a noteworthy fact that it added to its organization also a Ladies' Auxiliary. Further proof of its achievement is the acknowledgement made by the American Anti-Slavery Society of its support and assistance. Criticism levelled at it by a hostile American press and by the South is evidence that it was a force worth considering.

In carrying speeches of American abolitionists, the Globe brought to Canadians first hand information on American slavery. In appealing to the public for help for the negroes the Editor won the hearts of the latter and deserved the testimonial made to his memory. He was called by a contemporary "the leading journalist" of Canada and in following him through the fifties we see the variety of ways by which he drove home his lessons. He made use of sternness, humour, sarcasm, debate and every device that lent itself to his purpose.

The Globe columns made the work of the Underground Railroad well known. It was the Editor's way of proving his statement that his fellow countrymen would not man-hunt.

He hoped that it would help to show along with his many articles the futility of the Fugitive Slave Law. The same purpose was shown in his articles on the Anthony Burns Case, the Dred Scott Decision and the Anderson Case. He thought John Brown of Harper's Ferry would arouse the spirit of the North and counted him a hero. The Globe Editor saw the number of anti-slavery advocates grow to great proportions and rejoiced in it. In Republicanism he saw a way to gradual emancipation. He disliked the thought of Civil War but predicted if it came emancipation would not be gradual but immediate. If it did not come and a pro-slavery union tried to exist beside a free one, slavery would come to an end.

Anti-slavery sentiment could not have grown to such proportions without the aid of the press. That sentiment created a party whose election brought secession and emancipation. Proclaiming for the Anti-Slavery Cause and for the Republican party was effective. The Globe for its active part in the whole ten year period must be recognized as a force.