though the exhibition was not formally opened to the public until May 1862, a limited number of preview passes were available to inspect the facilities, which were already in place before they were ready for public viewing. TL, 9 March, 12 June, 19 November 1861, 6 February, 18 May 1862.

6. Martin and Thompson both spoke at the 1 October meeting of the London Emancipation Committee; on 10 October 1861, the date on which Martin’s letter was written, Martin and Thompson addressed an evening meeting at the town hall in High Wycombe, England. It is likely that Martin refers to those gatherings. Lib, 29 November 1861; Frederick William Chesson Diary, 1 October 1861, UKMj.

7. Martin refers to the London Emancipation Committee.

8. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin (1842–1924) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, to freeborn parents of mixed black, white, and American Indian ancestry. She married George L. Ruffin in 1858 and together they had five children—Hubert St. Pierre, Florida Yates, Stanley George, Lewis, and Robert who died in infancy. It seems only Hubert and Florida had been born by 1861. Immediately after their marriage, they lived for three years in Liverpool, England, but returned to Boston following the outbreak of the Civil War. During the war, Josephine Ruffin recruited soldiers and aided the Sanitary Commission. Throughout the remainder of her life, she worked tirelessly for civil rights, charitable organizations, and women’s suffrage causes; she organized the Boston Kansas Relief Association in 1879 to provide assistance to the “exodusters” and helped to found the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Ruffin was especially active in the black women’s-club movement. She started the Woman’s Era Club (1894), edited the Woman’s Era, and organized the Boston conference that created the National Federation of Afro-American Women (1895). NAW, 3: 206–8.

9. This may refer to a daughter of Henry Hatton of Suffolk, Massachusetts, who was active in state black organizational efforts, including the 1854 convention of the State Council of Colored People of Massachusetts. FDP, 31 March 1854.

91.

Speech by Henry Highland Garnet
Delivered at the Music Hall, Birmingham, England
15 October 1861

During his second trip to Britain, Henry Highland Garnet sought British support for his African Civilization Society. In gathering that support, he was adept at linking black American emigrationist hopes with British commercial cotton interests. On the evening of 15 October 1861, Garnet attended a meeting in Birmingham’s Music Hall, which was sponsored by the British African Aid Society. The convocation was called to consider the effects of a reduced cotton supply on Manchester and Birmingham industry, to examine the best way to avoid the reduction, and to discuss how the American Civil War afforded an opportunity to end the slave trade by establishing a cotton industry in Africa. A series of five resolutions was debated. Garnet offered an impromptu fourth resolution, which stated “that the introduction of Christian coloured families from Canada into Africa is imminently calculated to advance the influence of Christianity and civilization in that country.” His remarks were supported by black abolitionist-emigrationist Robert Campbell, who had stopped in England on his way to settle his family in Lagos. ASRL, 1 November 1861; WAA, 16 November 1861.

The Rev. H. H. Garnet, who was received with protracted applause, moved the fourth resolution. He said he was somewhat embarrassed in raising to address this large and intelligent audience; and, in addition, he was more than ordinarily impressed with a sense of the responsibility that was resting upon him; for he had not only to speak his own sentiments, but also those of thousands of his brethren in America, whose representative he was. (Applause.) But there was one consideration which afforded him some relief. He had learned that it was the pleasure of Englishmen of noble birth and distinguished position to bestow great kindness and condescension upon even the humble of other nations, when they appeared before them with a worthy and important object. (Hear, hear.) He hailed this new movement as most hopeful and encouraging for the future of his fatherland. If it had originated in merely selfish considerations (he meant those suggested alone by trade or commerce), he should have reason to doubt the good that would be finally done to Africa. But this was not the case. It was true there was some self-interest in this movement, as there was, more or less, in everything with which man had to do; but he believed that, in this stupendous work, it was modified and controlled by the spirit of Christianity and universal freedom. (Applause.) With such principles and purposes, the most glorious
results might be looked for. As for himself, he had not the least doubt as to the character of those results; for he was satisfied that God's set time had come, in which he intended to favor Africa, and when the cheering prophecy was to be fulfilled, "Ethiopia shall quickly stretch forth her hands unto God." He knew he would be pardoned in saying that England owes a great debt to Africa. (Hear, hear.)

He was glad that she had begun to think about paying it, and he was satisfied that if she went about the work as she usually did in such matters, she would very soon pay off the first installment at least. He would remind the audience that every pound of cotton that came from America, was fanned by the sighs, wet with the tears, and stained with the blood of slaves. This race for whom he spoke had enriched the commerce, enlivened the trade, contributed to the comforts, and administered to the luxury of England. Nor was this all. The soil of Africa in times past had been the theatre upon which many of Britain's sons had enacted the worst of crimes. Surely a great Christian people should hasten to make compensation. (Hear, hear.) In adverting to the plans of the African Aid Society, the reverend gentleman said that the requirements of the age demanded the adoption of some new and improved measures in the work of the civilization of Africa. The society proposed to assist at first a few industrious and Christian families from North America to settle in Abeokuta, Western Africa. It was desired that they should go in the spirit of Christian love, with the Word of God in their hands, and with the plough, and other agricultural implements, with their chests of mechanical tools, and with men that could use them all well. The effect would be amazing and powerful, if the natives could see among them civilized colored men, fully imbued with Christianity, who had come to live and die with them. They would be taught how to till their land, how to plant and crop, how to live and labor, how to worship the true God, how to hope, and how to die. (Loud applause.) He firmly believed that the society, having such objects and purposes, would surely win and conquer. Let the Africans feel that the new comers are friends and brothers, and as such they will be received. The Africans were quick to observe the differences between pure selfishness and common honesty. One had said, that "there were two classes of men that came to Africa; one loved Africa, the other loved the Africans. The first are welcome, but the second they cared not to see." After dwelling on the kindness of the Africans to strangers, and especially to the civilized of their own race, the reverend gentleman said he regarded the field of operation selected by the society as a wise and judicious selection. The people there were distinguished for their honesty. It was customary for persons who wished to sell chickens to tie them by the highway, and to intimate the price they wished for them in strings of cowries by a corresponding number of notches cut on a stick fastened by them; the owner would then go to his work, or on a journey, leaving his property entirely unprotected. A hundred might pass, and the property would not be meddled with, unless the full price was laid in their place. Then another hundred people might pass by the money, and it would not be removed, except by the lawful owner. (Laughter.) Although Birmingham had a great deal of moral light, yet he questioned whether chickens under similar circumstances, would fare any better in that city. (Renewed laughter and applause.) The people of Abeokuta were industrious. He was informed that in almost every house there were heard the hum of the rude spinning wheel, and the clatter of the weaver's shuttle. For all that Britain, or any other portion of the world might do for Africa, an ample reward was reserved. Give her your civilization and she will give you her commerce and wealth. Give her the religion of Christ, and she will give you her friendship. Scatter with liberal hands, and you shall reap a thousandfold of the increase. If any should say the work was too great and impracticable, he would answer, that Anglo-Saxon energy, and African industry and honesty could accomplish anything within the boundaries of reason. (Hear, hear.)

He wished to see the white hand of England and the black hand of Africa struck together as the sign of an unconquerable determination, under God, to develop the vast resources of that injured land, and to give her people the light of the Gospel. He rejoiced in particular at one sentence in the Article of Cession of Lagos to the British Crown. He referred to the article in which it is declared to be the purpose of the Government to "annihilate the slave trade." (Applause.) After alluding in glowing terms to the interest which was manifested by many distinguished Christian philanthropists in New York, and other parts of the United States, in favor of the development of the various resources of Africa, and the elevation and nationality of the African race throughout the world, the speaker said the negro race were not surpassed by any other in the power of endurance. In fact, the black man was universal, and everywhere he kept his head above water, notwithstanding the waves of hard trials were fearfully raving around him. (Hear, hear.) He flourished in every land—in the sunny south, the cold north of America, in Greenland, and in all the tropics. He was strong and athletic in every temperate climate, and even in England he had won and worn the champion's belt. (Loud laughter and applause.) Surely for such a people there was in reserve a glorious destiny, and a proud and powerful nationality. His native country, America—which he loved, with all her faults—was involved in a terrible war, which he believed would long continue; but America's extremity was England's opportunity to smite King Cotton between the joints of his harness. (Applause.) He would now read the resolution entrusted to
him: “That the introduction of Christian colored families from Canada into Africa is eminently calculated to advance the influence of Christianity and civilization in that country.” The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause.

_African Times_ (London), 23 October 1861.

92.

**Remarks by J. Sella Martin**

Delivered at the Residence of Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.
2 Pall Mall East, London, England
22 November 1861

Black antislavery lecturers cultivated a variety of British audiences. Although generally concerned with the clergy, skilled professionals, and mercantile middle class that dominated British abolitionism, blacks also tried to interest sympathetic aristocrats. J. Sella Martin spoke to the invited guests of Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., and his wife at their 2 Pall Mall East residence in London on the evening of 22 November 1861. The audience of sixty to seventy included members of the peerage, distinguished clergy, high-ranking military officers, and their families. Kinnaird introduced Martin by reading a letter of introduction from the Reverend Edward N. Kirk of Boston, then briefly outlined the reasons for the lack of British support for the Union cause in the American Civil War. Martin’s remarks on the same topic engendered a lively discussion. Dr. G. H. Davis, secretary of the Religious Tract Society, John Macgregor, Samuel Morley, R. N. Fowler, and several others participated. The Reverend Henry Allon dismissed the gathering with a prayer. _P.T.L.,_ 21 November 1862; _DM_, February 1862.

The Rev. J. Sella Martin then came forward and delivered a lengthened and able address, touching more or less on each of the above-named topics.¹ Having opened with a grateful acknowledgment of English sympathy for the negro race, he expressed his belief that the apparent indifference to the cause of the North in this country, and, on the other hand, the irritability awakened in the North by the harsh criticisms of the English press, were the fruit of mutual misunderstandings. This was especially the case in regard to the opinion entertained in England as to the extent of anti-slavery feeling in the North—a feeling much deeper, and more widely spread than we supposed. He illustrated at some length the proposition, that the origin of the war was the desire of the South to have slavery supreme; pointing out, in much detail how, for years past, the Slave States, notwithstanding their inferiority in population, extent, and wealth, had exercised predominant power in the Legislative, Administrative, and Executive departments of the country. Thus, out of eighteen Presidents, twelve had been from the South, and six only from the North.² At length the Northern people found that slavery was asking too much. The passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the slave-holding assault on the Hon. Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate Chamber, were among the things which roused the North to resistance.³