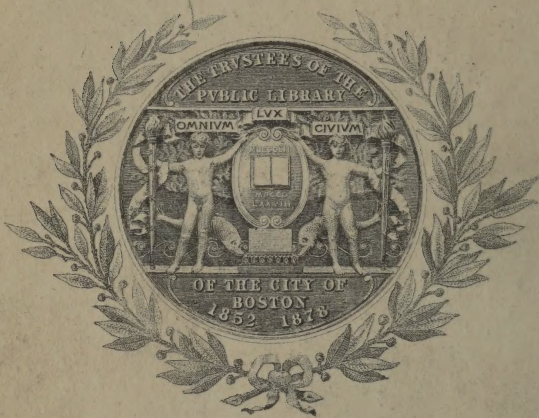




No. 4265.561



1927



# ADDRESS

TO THE

## GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

BY THE REV. O. SCOTT, A MEMBER OF THAT BODY;

\* 4265.561

PRESENTED

DURING ITS SESSION IN CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 19, 1836.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

### THE SPEECH OF THE REV. MR. SCOTT,

DELIVERED ON THE FLOOR OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE,

MAY 27th, 1836.

NEW-YORK:  
H. R. PIERCY, PRINTER, 7 THEATRE ALLEY.

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Apr. 19, 1862.

## ADDRESS.

### Fathers and Brethren:

I have listened with deep attention to the discussion of the subjects of slavery and abolition which occupied nearly two days of your time last week. I had expected these subjects would come up for investigation at the present session of our General Conference. It is fit and right that these great matters should be examined—and that we should express a sentiment both on slavery and abolition, at the present time. These subjects are now fairly before the American people—and in them we are deeply involved, both as a church and as a nation.

The great question now pending—is the *justice* or *injustice* of the claims of more than two millions of our American citizens to the *inalienable rights of freemen!* A matter of such vast moment should not be looked upon with indifference. It is no time to make a compromise between *truth* and *error!* The sentiment which our General Conference expresses, and sends out to the world at its present session, will either *retard* or *hasten* the deliverance of the slaves. Great, therefore, is our responsibility! Any interference of this General Conference, or any of its members, with the political relations of master and slave, would be, both inexpedient and improper. But the subject of slavery involves GREAT MORAL PRINCIPLES, and with these, as christian ministers, we have something to do.

Slavery takes away the key of knowledge—withholds the Holy Scriptures—crushes the intellect of God's intelligent creatures—exposes to insult without protection, a million of the females of this land—separates husbands and wives, parents and children—places all the religious privileges and domestic enjoyments of millions of our fellow citizens beyond their control, or at the disposal of their masters—and often compels to labors and hardships which are inhumanly wasting to health and life.—And is this *WHOLLY a political subject?* Are there no *great moral principles* involved in this system? Is there nothing that ought to excite the sympathy, prayers and exertions of Christians and Christian ministers? Ought we not to “remember those in bonds as bound with them?” Is it nothing to christian ministers that the Bible is withheld from one sixth part of our entire population in this country? And that there are hundreds of thousands of pagans in the midst

of us? And must we connive at this bloody and cruel system because forsooth it is a very delicate subject! Will it ever be less delicate?

We censure, and very justly, the papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and yet we withhold not only the Bible, but the knowledge of letters from the slave population of this country! The laws of the slave-holding states, in general, prohibit the teaching a slave to read or write under heavy penalties. A second offence of teaching a slave in some of the slave states, is punishable with death. We admit, that in despite of all law, in some few instances slaves are taught to read, but these spots are so few in number, and so distant from each other, as only to make the mental darkness the more visible. The great mass, I may say the *great whole* of the slave population, are entirely destitute of all means of instruction. The tree of knowledge to them is guarded by a flaming sword pointing every way. The master's *interest* and *security* are both intimately connected with the ignorance of his slave!

However great the insult offered to the slave—however cruel the treatment he receives, he has no redress—he may not be a witness against a white man in *any case!* There is no eye to see his sufferings, but that eye which penetrates all hearts. The slave has no adequate protection for his person or friends. Every hour the parent is liable to be separated from the child, and the husband from the wife, to meet no more on this side the grave! We admit that in buying and selling slaves, there is, in some instances, a disposition manifested, to avoid separating families, and yet the most heart rending separations often take place! But this is a *political* thing; ministers of the gospel have nothing to do with it. Indeed Tell it not in heathen countries!

Permit me, dear brethren, to call your attention to some of the principal arguments, on both sides which were brought forward in the late discussion of slavery and abolition. This appears to me the more necessary, inasmuch as the arguments of brother Scott were scarcely noticed by the speakers on the other side—and inasmuch also as he was not permitted to speak but once on the question, and of course could not reply to their arguments. And as the arguments of the speaker

who followed brother Scott were not replied to by any one, it may be profitable to us to make a short reply; and to take a summary view of the whole discussion. About *eleven hours* were consumed in the discussion—two of which were occupied by brother Scott, and about one by other brethren on the same side; leaving *eight* to our slave-holding and anti-abolitionist brethren!

When brother S. commenced his speech, he stated, that he felt it his duty to let the conference know what *modern* abolitionism was, before it should be condemned by the passage of a resolution which was then pending. He then assumed the position, that the principles of slavery,—the principle which justifies holding and treating the human species as property, is morally wrong,—or in other words, that it is *sin*. The principle, he contended, aside from all circumstances, is *evil, ONLY EVIL*, and that *CONTINUALLY!* He said no hands could sanctify it—no circumstances could change it from bad to good. It was a reprobate—too bad to be converted—not subject to the law of God, neither indeed, could be. He admitted that circumstances might palliate, and circumstances might aggravate, but no circumstances could justify the *principle*. If any circumstances could justify the right of property in human beings—then we had only to change some of the circumstances with which slavery is connected, and it becomes universally right—so that in this case, the sin would be in the circumstances. The abstract question was argued at considerable length. It was insisted that slavery was morally right, or morally wrong, or that it had no moral character. The first and last of these suppositions, he considered absurd; and contended, that “He who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth,” must look with *disapprobation* upon such a system of complicated wrongs as American slavery.

The speaker then attempted to show, that such views of slavery among Methodists, and Methodist Ministers, are not “modern,” by extracts from Wesley, Clarke, our fathers in this country—and our brethren on the other side the Atlantic. And these quotations show, that clear, plain, pointed denunciations of slavery, are not peculiar to “modern abolitionism.” Read the following, and then judge whether our fathers believed slavery to be a sin against God and the rights of humanity.

“And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slaveholders, of whatever rank and degree; *seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers*. Indeed you say, ‘I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.’ Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by.—Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honest than he. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house breaking, or robbery on the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villainy, (of fraud, robbery, and murder,) than was ever practised either by Mohammedans or Pagans; in

the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the Captain and African butchers. You therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion: they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. ‘The blood of thy brother,’ (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) crieth against thee from the earth,’ from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it is too late; instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man!—Be not more savage than a lion or a bear!

Perhaps you will say, ‘I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father.’ So far it is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience! *Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside.* It cannot be, that either war or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature; as soon as he breathes the vital air; and *no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.*

If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy or the revealed law of God,) render unto a their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men: and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you.”

J. WESLEY.

“In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; but among Christians it is an *enormity* and a *CRIME* for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment.”

DR. A. CLARKE.

In extending the evil of slavery in this nation, the Methodist E. Church has, it is feared, for thirty-five or forty years past, exerted an unhappy influence. Four years before our church was organized in this country, that is, in 1780, the Conference bore the following testimony against it:—

“The Conference acknowledges, that slavery is *CONTRARY TO THE LAWS OF GOD, MAN, AND NATURE, and hurtful to society; CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE, and PURE RELIGION; and doing what we would, not that others should do unto us; and they pass their DISAPPROBATION upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.*”

And from Lee's Hist. of the Methodists, page 101, we learn that the M. E. Church was organized, with a number of express rules upon this subject, which



stipulated that slavery *should not be continued* in the Church. One of them was as follows:

"Every member of our society shall legally execute and record an instrument [for the purpose of setting every slave in his possession free,] within the space of two years."

And another was as follows:

"Every person concerned who will not comply with these rules, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within the twelve months following, the notice being given him as aforesaid; otherwise, *the assistant shall exclude him from the society.*"

And again, another rule declared that,

"Those who *bought or sold slaves, or gave them away, unless on purpose to free them, should be expelled immediately.*"

In the edition of our Discipline also, printed in 1801, we find a number of rules upon the same subject, but which, as you are aware, together with the above, have long since been left out of the Disciplinary regulations of our church, and consequently many of our ministers and members are the owners of slaves; and for a number of years past, the number has been increasing in the christian church, and in the nation: nor do we expect that this "great evil," will ever be effectually checked in its progress, till christians and christian ministers cease to countenance it by their example.

The present form of Discipline does not contain one fourth part of the article headed "Slavery," which we find in the Discipline of 1801. We suppose the greatest part of that article was left out of the Discipline at the General Conference of 1804 or 1808, as it is not in the copy which we have seen published sometime in the year 1808.

#### OF SLAVERY.

"QUEST. What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of this crying evil of African slavery?"

ANS. 1. We declare that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of African slavery, which still exists in these United States, and do most earnestly recommend to the Yearly Conferences, Quarterly Meetings, and to those who have the oversight of Districts and Circuits, to be exceedingly cautious what persons they admit to official stations in our church; and in the case of future admission to official stations, to require such security of those who hold slaves, for the emancipation of them, immediately, or gradually, as the laws of the States respectively, and the circumstances of the case will admit; and we do fully authorize all the Yearly Conferences to make whatever regulations they judge proper, in the present case, respecting the admission of persons to official stations in our church.

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, *by any means*, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

3. No slave-holder shall be received into society till the preacher who has the oversight of the Circuit, has spoken to him freely and faithfully upon the subject of slavery.

4. Every member of the society, who sells a slave, shall immediately, after full proof be excluded from the society; and if any member of our society purchase a slave, the ensuing Quarterly Meeting shall determine on the number of years in which the slave

so purchased would work out the price of his purchase. And the person so purchasing, shall immediately after such determination, execute a legal instrument for the manumission of such slave at the expiration of the term determined by the Quarterly Meeting. And in default of his executing such instrument of manumission, or on his refusal to submit his case to the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting, such member shall be excluded the society. Provided also, that in the case of a female slave, it shall be inserted in the aforesaid instrument of manumission, that all her children who shall be born during the years of her servitude, shall be free at the following times, namely—every female child at the age of *twenty-one*, and every male child at the age of *twenty-five*. Nevertheless, if the member of our society, executing the said instrument of manumission, judge it proper, he may fix the times of manumission of the female slaves before-mentioned, at an earlier age than that which is prescribed above.

5. The preachers and other members of our Society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with *deep attention*; and that they impart to the General Conference, through the medium of the yearly conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have full light in order to take further steps toward the eradicating this ENORMOUS EVIL from that part of the Church of God, to which they are connected.

6. The Annual Conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to the legislatures of those states, in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall urge, in the most respectful, but pointed manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; proper committees shall be appointed by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business: and the presiding elders, elders, deacons, and travelling preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses, and give all the assistance in their power, in every respect, to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. LET THIS BE CONTINUED FROM YEAR TO YEAR TILL THE DESIRED END BE ACCOMPLISHED."

"If it was wrong to steal men from Africa to reduce them to a state of bondage; it is, for the same reason, to retain them in slavery. If you condemn the first thief, and the first receiver of the stolen goods, how will you justify those who, knowing them to be stolen, continue to retain them? I confess that I cannot see how the perpetuation of an injury can cause it to cease to be an injury, or by what process an acknowledged wrong can be transmuted into a right by continuing in it. My argument then is, if it was wrong to enslave the negroes, it is wrong to keep them in hopeless bondage; and it follows, that, after this country had renounced the African slave trade, it was bound by the very principles on which that wretched traffic was repudiated, to have taken measures for the liberation of all who had thus been wickedly reduced to a state of captivity, at the earliest period at which their liberation could have been made consistent with their own interests, and long before this time to have converted them into a free, industrious, and happy peasantry."

R. WATSON.

The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1830, Resolved, "That as a body of Christian ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery, is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural rights and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ."

"That the Conference fully concur in those strong moral views of the evil of slavery, which are taken by their fellow Christians of different denominations:—and that they express their sympathy with an injured portion of their race, and their abhorrence of all those principles on which it is attempted to defend the subjection of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery."

To the above, many similar quotations might be added. But enough have been adduced to show, that our fathers, as well as ourselves, believed slavery to be something beside a mere political thing;—and enough also to show, that we have strangely and widely departed from the ancient landmarks of our church regulations upon this subject.

Mr. S. then alluded to the Scripture view of slavery, and expressed his sentiments upon that point in the language of the Synod of Kentucky, which is as follows:

It is often pleaded that in the Old Testament, God himself expressly permitted his people to enslave the Canaanites. True; for God may punish any of the children of sin as he sees fit—He has a right to do so, and *He alone has a right*. He may commission either the winds, or the waves, or the pestilence, or their fellow men, to work his purpose of vengeance upon any people. But man has no right to arrogate the prerogatives of the Almighty—he has no right, uncommissioned by his Maker, either to *enslave* or *destroy* his fellow.—God commissioned Saul to exterminate the Amalekites—could we plead this as an excuse for the massacre of an Indian tribe? God expressly directed his prophet Samuel to hew Agag in pieces—could any of us allege this as a ground for cutting down every man whom he considered as an enemy of Zion's King? How, then, can any man assert, that because God determined to punish the Canaanites, and used the Israelites as the executioners of his decree, we are at liberty to obey the dictates of our own avarice, and hold our fellow men in bondage? Is not such a perversion of God's Holy Word more shocking than Belshazzar's desecration of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary, when he and his concubines drank wine out of them amid the drunken revelry of his impious feast.

We are told, again, that the apostles gave to Christian masters and Christian servants directions for the regulation of their mutual conduct. True; and these directions will be valuable while the world lasts—for so long, we doubt not, will the relation of *master and servant* exist. But how do such directions license holding of slaves? *The terms which the apostles use in giving these precepts, are the same terms which they would have used, had there been no slaves upon the earth.*—Many of the masters of that day were indeed slave-holders, and many of the servants were slaves—but should that circumstance have prevented the inspired ambassadors from teaching the duties which devolve on masters and servants, in every age, and under every form of service? If so, then the fact that slaves at that time were generally

tyrants, and the people vassals, should have prevented them from laying down the duties of rulers and people. In the precepts of holy writ, neither *political tyranny* nor *domestic slavery* is countenanced. Nay, if masters complied with the apostolic injunction to them, and gave their servants as they were directed to do, "that which is just and equal," there would be at once an end of all that is properly called slavery.

The divine right of Kings to tyrannize over their subjects, and the unlawfulness of resistance to their authority on the part of the people, were formerly maintained by the very same kind of scriptural arguments, which are now advanced in support of slavery. The arguments drawn from the Bible in favor of despotism, are, indeed, much more plausible than those in favor of slavery. We despise the former—how then should we regard the latter?

It has been sometimes said, that the 'New Testament does not condemn slaveholding in express terms.' And the practice has been advocated, because it has not been thus denounced. If this assertion were true, and if the Bible only *virtually* denounced it, it would be a sin. No man can righteously continue a practice which God disapproves of, no matter in what form the disapproval is expressed. But the assertion is not true. THE NEW TESTAMENT DOES CONDEMN SLAVEHOLDING, AS PRACTISED AMONG US, IN THE MOST EXPLICIT TERMS FURNISHED BY THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE INSPIRED PENMAN WROTE. If a physician, after a minute examination, should tell a patient, that his every limb and organ was diseased, if he should enumerate the various parts of his bodily system, the arms, the legs, the head, the stomach, the bowels, &c., and should say of each one of these parts distinctly that it was unsound; could the man depart and say, 'after all I am not diseased, for the physician has not said in 'express terms' that my *body* is unsound?' Has he not received a more clear and express declaration of his entirely diseased condition, than if he had been told in merely general terms, that his body was unsound? Thus has God condemned slavery. He has specified the parts which compose it, and denounced them, one by one, in the most ample and unequivocal form. In the English language we have the term 'servant,' which we apply indiscriminately both to those held in voluntary subjection to another, and to those whose subjection is involuntary. We have also the term *slave*, which is applicable exclusively to those held in involuntary subjection. The Greek language had a word corresponding exactly, in signification, with our word servant; but it had none that answered, precisely, to our term slave. How, then, was an apostle, writing in Greek, to condemn *our* slavery? Could it be done in the way which some seem to think it must be done, before they could be convinced of its sinfulness? How can we expect to find in scripture the words 'slavery is sinful,' when the language in which it is written contained no term which expressed the meaning of our word slavery? Would the advocates of slavery wish us to show that the apostles declare it to be unchristian to hold servants (*douloi*)? This would have been denouncing, as criminal, practices far different from slaveholding. But inspiration taught the holy penmen the only correct and efficacious method of conveying their condemnation of this unchristian system.—They pronounce of each one of those several things, which constitute slavery, that is sinful—thus clearly and forever denouncing the system, wherever it might appear, and whatever

name it might assume. If a writer should take up each part of our federal constitution separately, and condemn it article by article, who would have the folly to assert, that after all he had *not expressly condemned the constitution?* Who would say that this thorough and entire disapproval of every part of the instrument of confederation must pass for nothing, and is no proof of the writer's hostility to it, because he has never said in exactly so many words, 'I disapprove of the constitution of the United States?' We see that he could condemn it most explicitly and thoroughly, without ever mentioning it by name.

The above is an extract from a very able address of the Presbyterian Synod of a slave holding State. The whole address is well worth a careful perusal—and it should put the ministers and Christians of the free states to the *blush of shame!*

The speaker next proceeded to show, that if slavery be a *sin*, as he contended it was, it ought of course to be immediately abandoned. The abolitionists meant by immediate emancipation, the *immediate cessation of the right assumed of property in man.* Not turning the slaves loose upon community, to roam at large without law—but the placing them under good and wholesome laws—they are not known in law except as goods and chattels—let them be emancipated *into law.*

Immediate emancipation is not as some have supposed—an amalgamation of the whites and blacks—there is too much of this already—we would prevent it—but should we cease to lift up our voice against the most cruel oppression through a fear, that should slavery be abolished, some white woman might at some distant period happen to marry a black man? *no! no!! NO!!!*

Immediate emancipation does not necessarily imply the investment of the slaves with equal political privileges with the whites—though it is believed, that it would be difficult to show why the color of a man's skin, should deprive him of his civil or political rights—yet this is another question.

The slaves may be free in a good sense, though not admitted immediately to equal political rights. In the State of Rhode Island, though a man be worth a hundred thousand dollars, yet if he does not possess real estate to the amount of one hundred and fifty dollars, he is not admitted to the polls—and yet we never supposed this a *state of slavery.*

The abolitionists, said Mr. S., in common with most of their fellow citizens believe, that our general government has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories—and that if slavery be *sin* it is a sin for which every citizen of the United States is responsible! But Congress will not abolish slavery till the people call for it—and the people will not call for it, till they feel it to be wrong, and they will not feel it to be wrong, till they investigate and examine it.

*Hence the propriety and necessity of discussion.*

All right to legislate upon the subject of slave-

legislators of those states. The general government has no authority to interfere with the political relations of master and slave in the slave states.

The abolitionists would not countenance any resort, by the slaves, to physical force to obtain their freedom on any account. They have been accused of trying to get up insurrections among the slaves, but it is **FALSE!** We do indeed believe, that any citizen of the world has a right to oppose *any sin—wherever it may exist—even* though it be legalized by human laws. If therefore slavery be *sin*, it is not only our privilege, but our solemn duty to oppose it.

We find it very convenient to apologize for the present race of slave-holders by saying slavery was imposed upon us when we were British colonies; but we are unwilling to receive any aid from England in getting rid of it. "O yes! It is a very delicate subject—and one with which foreigners must not intermeddle!"

Brother S. proceeded:

Slavery will never be abolished by peaceful measures till the subject shall have been freely and fully discussed—and that discussion as a matter of course, must commence in the north. It cannot be discussed in the south; we must therefore discuss it in the north, or not at all. But there are no slaves in the north! True; but there are 26,000 in the District of Columbia and in the territories.

Mr. President, we think we can judge as correctly respecting the character of slavery in the *abstract* as slave-holders can. Nay; it is reasonable to suppose we should be less likely to err than they—for we have no interest at stake. It is more difficult to judge correctly where interest is involved. It is not a very easy matter to see through a silver dollar!

Neither the rum seller, or the drunkard is the best qualified to judge of the sin of intemperance—nor are these the persons to commence a temperance reformation.

As ministers and christians we ought to oppose this "crying evil". In it, our church and our ministers are deeply involved. The groanings of the prisoner call loudly for our prayers and our exertions. It is a happy circumstance that the leaders in this discussion are generally ministers of the gospel—who in point of politics have nothing to hope or fear. And while we disclaim all intention to interfere with the political relation of master and slave in the slave States, we will not cease to preach against this great evil because the laws of the slave-holding states sanction it,—nor because the power of moral suasion may become so strong as to lead the people of the north to elect such representatives to Congress as will vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories. We mean to lift up our voice like a trumpet—and show the inhabitants of this land their sins!

We know it is an "exciting subject"—but we have yet to learn, that a good cause should be abandoned because it produces excitement.

Moses and Aaron produced excitement in the

court of Pharaoh when they contended for the rights and liberties of the Israelites—when our fathers asserted their liberties, and threw off the British yoke, it produced great excitement.

The reformation under Luther, was a very exciting subject. When the seeds of Methodism were first sown, both in Europe and America, the whole community were excited. The temperance discussion has produced great excitement in various parts of our country—and every revival of religion excites and irritates the community, more or less. We have never dreamed that so great a change could take place in our country as the abolition of slavery without great excitement. When the “craft” of men is in danger, they will be excited.

“But if the north do not give up this discussion, the Union will be divided.” Who will divide it? The north will not do this—and what have the South to gain by it? If the South divide the Union, they lose at that moment all northern support in case of an insurrection—their safety now consists in their union with the North. Let the south divide the Union and make a war upon the north—they must support it either with white or colored soldiers. If they march their white men against the north, who will take care of their women and children left in the hands of the slaves at home? If they arm their slaves and march them out to fight the abolitionists, who will guarantee their masters’ cause? If the Union is divided will the line of division be impassable? Will not the servant be free from his master the moment he steps across the line? Is it not the union of the states and of the church which keeps up a spirit of slavery in the north—and will the south sever that cord which binds to them their northern apologists? No, sir, never! unless they wish to hasten emancipation. They may threaten, as they have ever been in the habit of doing, but that will be all. They never can be so blind to their own interests as to divide the Union for the sake of destroying abolitionists?—This word only adds new fury to the “unhallowed flame,” as the brother from Baltimore calls it. But, Mr. President, if abolitionism is constitutional, what pretext is there to be for a division of the Union? I take the ground, sir, that we are protected by the Constitution of the United States. Let us look at this subject for a moment. And, 1. The Constitution recognises the existence of slavery. 2. It permits its continuance. 3. It secures servants to their masters wherever they are found, if demanded. But, 4. It does not enjoin slavery as a duty. 5. It does not prohibit emancipation. And, lastly, It guarantees the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition. Will the South divide the Union because we at the North are pursuing a constitutional course?

But it is said that this abolition discussion is not conducive to the peace of the church. Suppose this were admitted; are there no interests to be consulted besides the peace of the church? It may not, perhaps, be always best, that the church be at peace. There may be “ease in Zion” connected with a moderate and

Babylonish garment.” The Methodist Episcopal Church has an unholy alliance with slavery—she ought not therefore, to give herself any peace till she cleanses the skirts of her garment from “blood guiltiness!” Shall the dearest interests of undying millions be sacrificed upon the altar of the peace of the church! But the church will be divided. And what will divide it! The church is built upon a rock—and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. If therefore, abolition is from beneath, the church is safe—for the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And if abolition is from above, (of which I have no more doubt than of the truths of Christianity,) it will never harm the church. All future consequences to the Union and the Church, are, at best, imaginary.—They may be realized, and they may not. Shall we then suffer imaginary consequences to determine our duty, when we have a more unerring rule? Had we always acted on this principle where would the temperance reformation and many other important enterprises always have been? Imaginary consequences are a new standard of duty for a body of Christian ministers in, and very unbecoming the nineteenth century.

I come now, Mr. President, to notice a few things which were stated on the floor of this conference yesterday, and I have done. An aged and venerable brother from Baltimore, called the abolition excitement an “unhallowed flame”—and this expression he has several times repeated on this floor. Now, sir, this same unhallowed flame has burnt off the chains from 600,000 goods and chattels in the West India islands, and elevated them to the rank of human beings! Abolitionism is one in all parts of the world. We are not trying an experiment—we are walking in a beaten tract. Our principles have been fully tested and we have no fears as to the final results. The day of our national jubilee may linger, but it will come at last—and it cannot tarry long! Had it not been for the abolitionists, the 600,000 colored freemen in the West India islands, had still been goods and chattels! And do you ask what the abolitionists have done? Let the 600,000 goods and chattels, metamorphosed into peaceable, industrious and happy freemen, answer the question! Let a ship load of fifty-nine tons of Bibles testify to the good effects of emancipation! Through the influence of this “unhallowed flame” some score of slaves have been set at liberty in this country. A gentleman in this city has emancipated his slaves, through the influence of abolition doctrines. The fires of abolition are now burning deep and wide—the leaven of liberty is now working through the whole lump—and the axe is laid at the root of the tree—the whole country is awake, and the day of our redemption is at hand!

The impropriety of attempting to brave public opinion has been suggested on this floor. But, sir, if public opinion is wrong it ought to be braved! Shall truth and righteousness succumb to public opinion without stopping to inquire whether that public opinion is right or wrong? If public

to this let it braved by a firm adherence to right principles! However few in number the advocates of truth may be, let them not swerve the breadth of a hair from right principles! Let there be no compromise between truth and error.

Public opinion was against Daniel, when he was commanded not to pray for thirty days, but he braved it—and in defiance of the king's decree continued to pray with his windows toward Jerusalem. Public opinion was against the three Hebrews, when they refused to worship the "golden image," and to obey laws which infringed upon the rights of conscience. They braved public opinion, and stood it out against the stern decree of the king! Did they do right? The apostles braved public opinion in every place where they planted their standard of the cross. Martin Luther and his followers did the same at the risk of their lives! John Wesley and his coadjutors in England, braved public opinion.—When Mr. Wesley was expelled from the churches, he preached in grave yards, public markets, and open fields! And though public opinion commanded Mr. Wesley to desist through the medium of mobs—still he stood it out! Shame on his compromising sons! The Methodists in all parts of the United States have braved, and finally, to considerable extent, changed public opinion.—Every man's hand has been against us and yet we have stood firm. But now comes up the new doctrine of compromise!! Let it be banished from the breast of every patriot, philanthropist and christian. The advocates of temperance, have braved and changed public opinion. The same may be said of Wilberforce, and the English Abolitionists.—And with all these examples before us, shall we succumb to an unholy public opinion, founded in the love of gain? Shall we turn our backs upon the cause of suffering humanity because public opinion frowns upon us? No! NEVER.

Mr. President, Rev. J. A. Collins has told us that he came up here flush with the expectation, "that the brethren from the North would put their foot on abolitionism and crush it." And have we yet to learn, sir, that free discussion is not to be put down in this way? When you can put your foot on one of the burning mountains and smother its fires—when you can roll back the current of the thundering falls of Niagara—or stop the sun in his course, you may then begin to think about "crushing abolitionism!" Sir, the die is cast—the days of the captivity of our country are numbered! THEIR REDEMPTION IS WRITTEN IN HEAVEN!!

Any action which this conference may take on this subject—will give to abolitionism both strength and stability. It cannot be voted down,—it cannot be persecuted down—it has braved public opinion and mob-law too long to think of yielding now to votes of censure. Any resolutions you may pass, for or against abolitionism, will bring it into notice, and set it on a higher and firmer foundation. The resolutions of this conference may retard the emancipation of the slaves, but they cannot check abolition. If you would not contri-

bute to the permanency and spread of abolitionism, you had better practice on the suggestion of the brother from Ohio, (Rev. D. Young,) and "not touch it with your tongues." This, he tells us, has been his course. But let it be remembered, that these are the men who are to sit as our judges—men who, in point of examination, and a knowledge of what they condemn, have not so much as touched it with their tongues—and yet they are prepared to express their "unqualified" disapprobation of that of which they acknowledge their entire ignorance! O, how strangely have we departed from the footsteps of our fathers!

Several of the speakers yesterday alluded to mobs—and expressed their fears for the personal safety of the two brethren who attended the abolition meeting last Tuesday—but not a word fell from their lips in condemnation of mobs! No! Not a syllable!! Sir, we are assured by the citizens of this place, that there will be no mob, unless the General Conference get it up! I hope for the honor of the Conference, that we shall hear no more suggestions of this kind. Such suggestions, through the press and otherwise, have been the means of getting up the mobs which have so recently disgraced various parts of our country.

You have also been told, that one of our bishops was, last year, almost driven from the chair, that the conference might be turned into an abolition meeting. This, sir, is a very great mistake. The facts in the case are these. The N. H. Conference at its last session appointed a committee on slavery—that committee reported—a motion was made to adopt the report—and the Bishop refused to put the motion, stating as his reasons, that he did not think the adoption of the report would tend to the peace of the church. A motion was then made to go into a committee of the whole—the Bishop after a moment's reflection said, that it would be in order for the conference to do so. The conference then went into a committee of the whole, and adopted the report 59 to 8—the Bishop leaving the chair, and calling another brother to take it. So much for driving the Bishop from the chair, and turning the Conference into an abolition meeting!

Brother Scott made a few additional remarks and took his seat, having occupied about two hours in his speech. The moment he finished, as you well know, some half a dozen rose to reply—the floor was, however, obtained first by Rev. T. Crowder of Virginia. And now, dear brethren, I wish to call your attention to an examination of some of the principal arguments which were adduced by brother Crowder, and other speakers on the same side. These arguments you will recollect were not replied to on the floor of the General Conference. The abolitionists occupied less than one-third of the time which was consumed in the discussion—and the small portion of time they did occupy seemed to give pain to a majority of the Conference. They did not therefore, think it best to insist on replying to the speaker who followed brother Scott. I am, however, unwilling that their arguments, (if arguments they may be

called) should pass unnoticed, and therefore embrace this method of addressing you.

Brother Crowder commenced his speech with an attempt to defend slavery from the Bible.—When will christian ministers cease to press into the service of slavery and sin, the Holy Scriptures! Before slave-holders and their apologists were so hard pressed by the abolitionists, it was generally admitted in all parts of the country, that slavery was wrong—but then it was thought there was no remedy. But since the great act of justice of the memorable first of August, 1834, was consummated—and it has been fully demonstrated, that it is safe to do right—slavery has at last taken refuge in the Bible! Yes, in the nineteenth century, Christian ministers in the midst of a Christian land, gravely attempt to make it appear that there is no moral wrong in holding and treating the human species as property—in exchanging them for sheep and cattle—in withholding from them the Bible, and the knowledge of letters—in breaking up and separating families—and in all the other evils which the right of property implies.—But from this retreat slavery will soon be cut off—its bible advocates cannot long maintain their ground. There is too much light and religious feeling in the community to admit the possibility that the contest between slavery and the inspired writers can long remain undecided. The triumph of truth is certain—and it is near.

Brother Crowder is a stranger to me, and there is in his appearance something so meek and Christian-like, that I could scarcely believe my own eyes when I saw him stand up and attempt to justify slavery from the Bible! But when I reflect, that ministers of the gospel used to drink rum, and think it right to do so, I cannot consent to unchristianize all slave-holders, though I firmly believe their conduct irreconcilable with the principles of the gospel. Christian ministers once justified the foreign slave-trade, and the constitution of the United States directly licensed that traffic in human flesh for the space of twenty years! All civilized nations now pronounce that trade no better than piracy. And the time is not far distant, when the *internal* slave-trade will be viewed in the same light—and when slavery will not find an apologist professing the christian name. To brother Crowder, I am willing to award a spirit of candor and fairness. I wish I could say as much of all the speakers on the same side.

For an answer to brother C's Bible arguments I would refer you to brother Scott's extract from the Synod of Kentucky, which I consider a full answer to him on that point. As, however, this view of the subject is at the present time of great importance, I will add a few other considerations. We admit that

"The Hebrews held some in servitude for a limited period, by the special permission and direction of God; and this permission was given on the very same ground, that a Hebrew was permitted to kill a man who had murdered his friend. (Num. xxxv. 19;) and he might do this without the process of a trial. And upon the same ground, the Jews were permitted to commence and carry on exterminating wars against the idolatrous nations around them.—

Hence, we suppose, that it is as really wrong for any man in this age of the world, to take away the liberty of his innocent neighbor, or to withhold it from him in any way, without an express permission from God, as it would be for one to kill the murderer of his friend now, without the forms of law.

Two-thirds of all the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years: and the fiftieth year all were set free. There was no such thing as hereditary servitude among the Jews.

But American slavery is perpetual, to the very last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and by law it is entailed upon all his descendants to the latest posterity.

Jewish servitude was voluntary, except in those cases where it was the penalty annexed to crime.

But American slavery is involuntary. No one who is now a slave in this land, was ever consulted, before his liberty was taken away, whether he would be a slave or not; and if he had been, he could not have given his master a just and proper title to his body as his property.

Under the Mosaic economy, servants might contend with their masters about their rights; and to despise the cause of such was considered a heinous crime. (See Job. xxxi. 13.)

But here, in this land of Christians, slaves can make no contracts of any kind, and can have no legal right to any property; and all they have and are belongs to their masters.

The laws of Moses granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly treated. (See Exodus xxii. 26, 28.)

But our Christian laws allow the master to punish his slave, as much as he desires, and afford the slave no redress; nay, if the slave makes any resistance the laws expressly justify the master in *putting him to death*. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free," who "shall at any time even "lift his hand in opposition to any white person, shall receive THIRTY LASHES on his or her bare back, WELL LAID ON, by order of the Justice.

Servants were carefully protected among the Jews in their domestic relations; so that husbands and wives, parents and their children, must not be separated. And in case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as her husband, the children remained with her; and the master was bound to receive him to service again, in case he chose to live with his wife and children.

But here, slaves are entirely unprotected in their social and domestic relations; husbands and wives, parents and their children, may be, and they are separated and parted forever, at the irresponsible will of the master.

The laws of Moses secured to servants the necessary means of instruction and consolation.

But no such laws exist in this land; here the operation of the laws, tends directly to deprive the slave of all "mental" and religious "instruction," for the whole power is exerted to keep their slaves in the lowest kind of ignorance.

The laws of Moses required every one to pity and love the stranger who might chance to come among the Jews, and under severe penalties they were forbidden to vex or oppress them in any way.

Here the laws view every colored stranger as an enemy, and they consider him a slave until he prove his freedom.

If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel, the law of Moses commanded

every one to protect him ; and forbade any one to deliver up such to his master again.

But here, if a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him, and commands that he be delivered up to his master.

The Mosaic law forbade man-stealing as the highest kind of theft, and condemned the perpetrator to suffer death as the penalty.

But here, thousands of legally free people of color have been stolen, and sold into hopeless and involuntary servitude, as many are now every year, in this nation ; and there is no law by which they can redress their wrongs."

Before American slavery can be justified from the fact that the Jews held servants, it must be proved, 1. That we have the same divine authority that they had—the same express permission. And 2. It must be shown that our slavery is like their servitude—neither of which can be done. There have been slaves in this country for about two centuries—and when have they ever had a year of jubilee or general release ?—Four times fifty years have rolled away and found them still in bonds !

We have heard it argued from high authority since we have been in this city, not indeed on the floor of the General Conference, but elsewhere, that though slavery is contrary to the original right of man, yet is not forbidden in the moral law. It was admitted to be contrary to the principles of the gospel—and it was asserted that when those principles should be fully carried out, slavery would be done away. It was said that the moral law was designed not to restore the fallen, but to govern the innocent. Let this be admitted. Does it hence follow that innocent and holy beings are at liberty to enslave each other, that there is nothing in the moral principles by which they are governed to prohibit them from robbing each other of their original rights ? Let us try to ascertain, in the first place, what is expressly forbidden in the moral law. Secondly, is there nothing contrary to the principles of the moral law which nevertheless is not expressly forbidden ? Thirdly, if slavery be contrary to the principles of the Gospel, wherein do those principles differ from the principles of the moral law ? But, fourthly, the principles of the moral law are not only still binding upon us, but we are emphatically under the Gospel. If, therefore, slavery be contrary either to the principles of the law or the Gospel, *it is SIN !* And if it be not contrary to the principles of either, how is the dissemination of the Gospel, and the carrying out of its principles to do it away ? Suppose it should be said, that drunkenness is not expressly forbidden in the moral law—and yet that it is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and fully carried out, drunkenness will be done away—go on preaching the Gospel, and let drunkenness alone. By preaching against intemperance *particularly*, you interfere with the rights of property. Many of our citizens have invested large amounts in manufacturing and vending distilled liquors. And besides, it is a very "delicate and exciting" subject. Lecturing upon the subject will only have a tendency to irritate

feeling, and make the matter worse. The principles of the Gospel when fully carried out, will gradually undermine and destroy the evil. We ought not to have any temperance or peace societies, or any lectures on those subjects, because drunkenness and war are not expressly forbidden in the moral law, and the principles of the gospel, when fully carried out, will do them away.—The same kind of reasoning may be applied to many other evils, but this a mere play upon words—it is making nice distinctions where none exists.

Brother Crowder told us, that there was a difference between this country and England. True ; but what of that ? Slavery is slavery wherever it exists. Human rights are the same every where. Emancipation means the same thing in all parts of the world. The means through which slavery was abolished there, are the very same we are now pursuing here. The British Parliament had the power to abolish slavery in the West India Islands—and our government has the power to abolish it in the District of Columbia and the territories. The British Parliament did not abolish slavery till the people pretty generally through the kingdom called for it—and the people did not call for it till the subject had been thoroughly discussed, and anti-slavery societies had been formed in all parts of the empire. And had it not been for incendiaries and fanatics, the English people had still been asleep. Slavery will be abolished in all those parts of our country where the general government has jurisdiction, as soon as public sentiment becomes sufficiently *enlightened and united*. And when the example is set by the nation, the states will not long hold out. But be this as it may, slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories is of sufficient importance to justify all the exertions which the abolitionists have made, and much more—and we should all be of the same opinion, if our wives and our children were among the slaves. I observed that brother Crowder and the other speakers on that side, found it very easy and convenient to pass over the question of slavery so far as it exists under the jurisdiction of the *general government*.

Another objection which brother C. made against abolitionism was, that it was opposed to colonization. Abolitionists have no objections to any colored persons going to Africa who choose to go—and they should be glad to have the colony at Liberia prosper. And yet they are opposed to colonizationism, for the following reasons among others. 1. Colonization goes on the supposition that the colored man has *no right* to this country. 2. It asserts that *they cannot be elevated here*. 3. It *slanders* the free people of color, and fosters an unholy prejudice against them. 4. It *opposes emancipation*, unless it be connected with *expatriation*. 5. In the south it commends itself to the *interest of the slaveholder*, and in the north it professes to be a *gradual* remedy for slavery—and yet it disclaims all connection with slavery. 6. It is an anti-abolition institution—it persecutes and condemns the abolitionists. 7. *It does expressly justify slavery*. 8. Though it professes to colonize the free people of color *with their own consent*, yet

it opens a wide door for coercion—and many who have been transported, have been *actually coerced away*. All these, and many other points, equally objectionable, *shall be proved* on the General Conference floor, if desired, by extracts from the African Repository, and from the public addresses of the agents and officers of the society. Is it strange, then, that abolitionists should have their objections to this society?

The speaker then stated, that the New England states were once engaged in the slave-trade, and that many in the New England states made themselves rich by this traffic. Suppose we admit all this, yet what does that prove about the right or wrong of slavery—or the justice or injustice of immediate emancipation? Can the south be justified in continuing to do wrong, because the north were once wicked?

Brother Crowder next affirmed that abolitionism was a violation of the compact. Here we are at issue. The same statement has been often made but never proved. The terms of the compact contained no provision that the subject of slavery should not be discussed in any part of the Union, or that Congress should never abolish slavery where the general government has jurisdiction.—Suppose the laws of Massachusetts sanctioned gambling in all its forms, and suppose also that the laws of the District of Columbia sanctioned it; we never could have dreamed that South Carolina had violated the terms of the compact by lecturing against gambling, forming anti-gambling societies and petitioning Congress to abolish gambling in the District of Columbia! And yet according to the southern doctrine, this would be an interference with our civil institutions.

Brother C. reminded us, that according to the apostle's doctrine, we ought to be subject to "the powers that be"—but he forgot to mention the example of the apostles when "the powers that be," contravened the powers that were from above. In such a case they did not hesitate. "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."

Brother C. said that he had two slaves—was not cruel to them—"they were well fed and clothed, they love us, and they wept when I left home to come to this conference." I believe this is all true. I do not think brother C. would hurt any body.—There are undoubtedly many others who treat their slaves with considerable kindness. We have never pretended that all the slaves were cruelly treated, though there is not probably one such case as brother C.'s in a thousand. With a few exceptions, the slaves are cruelly treated. Brother C. admitted that there were some instances of cruel treatment. He was too honest to cover up the fact. But slavery in its mildest form is *slavery*.—And what an incalculable amount of injury does the example of such a good man as brother C. do to the cause of *human rights*. "If such a good man as brother Crowder holds slaves it cannot be wrong"—and thus his example will be imitated as a *slave holder*, but not as a benevolent man. It is of little consequence to us whether the man who robs us of our money be polite and complacent or oth-

erwise. Robbery is robbery, and slavery is slavery.

Rev. W. Wynans stated that slavery was a divine institution—and must of course, be right. God, said he, has instituted perpetual, hereditary slavery—and therefore it is right under all circumstances. If circumstances ever did exist sufficient to justify slavery aside from revelation, then American slavery might be justified. But, 1. I deny that God ever did institute perpetual, hereditary slavery. 2. I deny that there is *any* Scripture authority for American slavery; or, indeed, for any other slavery at the present time. 3. I deny that there are *any circumstances* in our country which can justify slavery.

And if Mr. Wesley is right, then every slaveholder is a *man stealer*. He says it is "impossible that any child of man should ever be *born a slave*." Now there are 60,000 children born of female slaves yearly—and if they are in the sight of God, as Mr. Wesley has said, *born free*—then there are so many children stolen yearly in our country, and reduced to slavery.

Brother Wynans next stated, that the abolitionists were shutting the door of the Gospel against the slaves—that their movements made the planters very jealous, that in one or two instances missionaries had been turned away—and finally he thought the movements of the abolitionists were injuring the slave. Now if it were true, that the discussion of this great doctrine of human rights stirs up in some few instances the bad passions of men to increase oppressions, yet this fact alone is not sufficient proof that the cause should be abandoned. This reasoning would have defeated the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage—and our fathers from the British yoke. The present generation of slaves are not alone concerned, and especially the few who may be more severely treated in consequence of the movements of the present day. It is a question connected with the dearest interest of millions now on the stage, and of generations to come. I am fully of the opinion, that there are more instances where the slaves are treated better in consequence of the abolition movements, than there are where they are treated worse. A slaveholder was asked not long since in the city of New York, whether the abolition movements were operating unfavorably upon the treatment of the slaves?—He said "no! We are obliged to treat them better; for now every eye and ear is open—we are now more narrowly watched than we used to be." But I will not insist that they are better treated, neither do I believe, that in general, they are worse treated. But admitting that all the objections which have been urged to abolition are true, still the great question to be decided, is, whether slavery be sin or not. If it be sin, the path of duty before every Christian is plain. The promulgation of the doctrines of the reformation were connected with the shedding of blood; but had Luther been influenced by the modern doctrine of expediency, where should we have been? Had the *signers* and *defenders* of the declaration of independence been under the influence of this prin-



principle of expediency, where would our liberties have now been?

I fear we have nearly lost sight of slavery, except as it exists in the Methodist Episcopal Church. And it appears to me that we are almost ready to sacrifice the rights and liberties of millions of human beings to a few local circumstances connected with some of our own missions to the slaves! Do we not limit our views of this great evil to our own church? Let us lift up our eyes and look on the fields which were once dyed with the blood of liberty, but now covered with tyranny and oppression!

Brother Wynan proceeded:—

Abolitionism is an incendiary flame. It is insurrectionary—and in the carrying out of these measures, we in the south can see through murdered wives and children, and burning houses, &c. If this were not a serious matter, it would be not a little amusing to reflect, that at this late period, ministers of the gospel will indulge in such flights of imagination, on such subjects!

If there never had been any slaves emancipated, or if such effects had ever followed emancipation, these representations would not appear so utterly groundless. But slaves have been emancipated by hundreds of thousands, at different times, and in different places. And where have murdered wives and children, and burning houses ever followed? It is now too late in the day to produce much effect by such representations. There are too many facts in existence upon this subject. The experiment has been too often tried—and it has never failed—no, not in a single instance. Reason and philosophy agree with facts. Oppression, not emancipation, will produce insurrections. The slave longs for freedom—and will he kill his master for bestowing upon him that which he ardently desires? *Never!* I know some have supposed that the emancipation in St. Domingo was followed by murdered families and burning houses, but this is a very great mistake. There were in the French part of the island of St. Domingo 600,000 slaves suddenly emancipated in the year 1793. It was a time of civil war—the arrival of a British armament was daily expected. The emancipation of the slaves was the only alternative—the only possible way of saving the island—and this a doubtful experiment at best. But it worked well. The slaves joined with the whites, in opposing the common enemy. No white inhabitant of the island was injured, unless he had first put himself in the attitude of a political enemy, by siding with the British. Not a wife, nor a child was murdered, nor a building burned. The emancipated slaves remained quiet and were industrious till Bonaparte in 1802, through one of his generals, attempted to re-establish slavery in the island. It was then, that those who had been free and happy for nine years, resisted unto blood. Thus it will be seen that it was *slavery*, and not emancipation which gave rise to the bloody scenes of St. Domingo.

But let it be remembered, 1. That there were about 42,000 whites—44,000 free colored people—and 600,000 slaves in the island.—2. Slavery was abolished under the most unfavorable outward

circumstances; a time of civil war. What an excellent opportunity this, for the slaves to have butchered their masters—especially as they were so much more numerous than whites.—3. Those slaves were emancipated suddenly, without a moment's warning, or *any kind of preparation*. And yet the experiment was *perfectly safe*.

Br. Wynan's cry of murdered wives and children, and burning houses, is *not new*. The West India planters, and their apologists, throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, when the subject of abolition was first agitated in the British Parliament, raised this same bloody cry, long and loud; and they continued it from year to year. "Our throats will be cut, and our buildings will be burned." So they said, and so many believed. But what has been the result? Let the Antigua newspaper, together with an eye and ear witness answer the question. The above named paper of the 7th of Aug. 1834, speaks thus:—

"The great doubt is solved—the alarming prognostications of the advocates of slavery falsified—the highest hopes of the negroes friends fulfilled, and their pledge honorably redeemed. A whole people, comprising thirty thousand souls, have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of the Sabbath. A week has nearly elapsed, and although all eyes and ears are open, and reports spread rapidly, we have not heard of a single act of insolence, insubordination or violence, committed by any one of them, under false and licentious notions of freedom."

From the same paper, of the 15th August—"It is with the highest satisfaction we announce, that we know of, and believe there is no gang of laborers in the island, which has not returned to its accustomed employment."

So that two weeks after the slaves were "let loose," instead of begging and stealing, they were all quietly at work.

We quote from the same paper of the 21st of August:—

"The third week of freedom will close with this day, and again we are bound to express our gratitude and praise to the Divine goodness, for the perfect peace and tranquillity which the island enjoys. Not the least symptom of insubordination has manifested itself any where; and the daily accounts from all quarters testify to the excellent disposition and conduct of the new freemen."

In a letter from Antigua, dated 30th August, and published in a Norfolk paper, we find the following:—

"The operations of commerce have experienced no interruption; public confidence remains unshaken. Two sugar plantations have recently leased for as much as they were worth, with the negroes included, prior to emancipation."

From the New York Evangelist.

**FACTS! FACTS!! FACTS!!!**

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

Authentic and recent news from Barbadoes.

A few days since we had the pleasure of a call from an old and respected acquaintance, formerly a respectable attorney in Vermont, now a merchant in the island of Barbadoes, where he has resided most of the time since September, 1834. His character as a Christian and a man of observation renders his re-

marks and statements worthy of entire confidence. We took some notes of his conversation, during the tour he had to spare to us, between the time of his arrival here and his departure to visit his family, after so long a separation; and from these notes we have prepared the following sketch, every particular of which corresponds, we believe, with the statements he made.

The island of Barbadoes is one of the most populous portions of the earth. The inhabitants are reckoned to be at least 120,000, on an island not more than twenty-one miles long, and twelve broad at the extremity. Of these, it is estimated that 80,000 were slaves, before the abolition act took effect, August 1, 1834, and 20,000 free people of color. The colonial legislature of Barbadoes did not fully emancipate their slaves, as was done in Bermuda and Antigua, but adopted the apprenticeship system with all its absurdities and injustice to the emancipated slaves. This system of apprenticeship had been in operation nearly a year and a half, when our informant left the island. Many of the masters are now voluntarily emancipating their apprentices, and such is the progress of this, that it is probable nearly all will be made wholly free before the expiration of the legal apprenticeship. Intelligent men now generally admit that it would have been better for the island if the emancipation had been immediate and unconditional at first.

As to the effects of emancipation upon the public safety, they now laugh at the idea of fear. They are talking of reducing their military force. Ask them if they are not afraid the blacks will rise and cut their master's throats, they reply, "What should they do that for, when they have got all they wanted!" The free blacks are organized into militia.

Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step to the last, are now in favor of it. They say it has been a good thing for the island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences have been disappointed.

The capitol, Bridgetown, is very populous, the inhabitants from 10 to 12,000, but our informant had never known sufficient disturbance to occasion a person to walk forty rods to see it. There is vice enough, to be sure, but no combination of the vicious to disturb the public peace. He could lie down to sleep there, out of doors, as quietly as in any place in New England.

There is no general complaint of the want of labor. The crops are got in as usual. The blacks will work for pay on their own day, and extra hours, as readily and as much as ignorant and depraved white people would do when paid for it. They act just as other people would do in similar circumstances. It is a common remark, that a negro goes on an errand quicker and loiters less, now he is paid than when he was a slave.

As to the fear that abolishing slavery will lead to amalgamation, our friend avers that it operates precisely the other way, to separate the two races. Amalgamation has had its full run there, under the reign of slavery. You may go into a church now, and see 250 persons at a time, of whom you cannot determine confidently whether they are white or colored. It has been a common thing there for white men to keep colored women. Even married men did it. Every body says this is becoming now far less common, and the colored women who used to be kept as concubines of white men, are now getting colored husbands. It takes the minister in the cathedral at Bridgetown a quarter of an hour to publish the bans of marriage.

The effect of abolition on the financial condition of the country is quite remarkable. Our informant says that real estate is rising, for the last six months has risen rapidly, in many instances has risen one third in a year. If persons had bought real estate two years ago, great fortunes might have been made. The consumption of dry goods has also wonderfully increased, and dealers in dry goods are making fortunes. The negroes now dress like other people. Some years ago, if a colored woman had been seen in the street wearing a straw bonnet, it would have been almost a signal for a mob, now they dress as well as any people of their standing. The imports generally are doubled. A very great increase has taken place in the importation of American productions. The blacks begin to live like human beings. The importations were never so great as the last year.

The change of feeling on the subject of abolition is entire. Our friend was surprised on his first arrival to hear the subject so freely spoken of immediately after the act took effect. He supposed he should have to talk carefully and in whispers, as at the south. The papers are beginning to publish in favor of the act. While it was talked of, the people and the papers were violent and furious against it. After the 1st of August, seeing no disturbance, they began to congratulate each other. Now they are coming round entirely, and already begin to reproach America for continuing the system of slavery. This change does not seem to have arisen from any new views of slavery as a sin; but from what they see of the effects of abolition, they are satisfied it is a great benefit. And they say it will come to the same result in America, whenever abolition takes place. Said our friend, "I felt ashamed of my country, to hear it reproached for the absurdity, and inconsistency, and sin of slavery, and I could make no reply. Here among our own people, one does not feel it so much; but when we get abroad, we feel it keenly."

It is not the case that the negroes become impudent toward the whites, in consequence of emancipation. On the contrary, it is universally said that they are more civil than they used to be.

In short, one only needs to see the West Indies to be convinced of the safety and utility of abolishing slavery. The experiment of emancipation has already gone on long enough to prove that negroes are like other people; if you give them their rights they are grateful, and have sense enough to see that it is now for their interest to support the laws, and that if they make disturbance they punish only themselves.

Many other instances of emancipation might be brought forward—and much might be said of the good effects in those cases which are here adduced. But it is unnecessary. The arguments in favor of immediate emancipation are as bright as noon day. To take the opposite side of this important question at this time, shows either a lack of knowledge, or a fixed love of slavery! The perfect safety of immediate emancipation under almost any circumstances, is now placed beyond all reasonable doubt. There is nothing wanting but a disposition.

Br. Wynans told us that "no abolitionist in the land would be more glad to see the slaves free than himself—and yet he tells us slavery is a Divine institution—that it is right under all circumstances. And he furthermore tells us, that Christians, Ministers, and even Bishops ought to be slave-holders

—and slave-holders ought to labor under no disadvantages—they ought to be eligible to all the offices within the gift of the church.”

Now, how brother Wynans can believe that slavery is of Divine origin—that it is right—that Bishops ought to be slave-holders—and yet be as glad to have slavery done away as any abolitionist in the land, I cannot conceive! It appears to me to imply an inconsistency, to say the least. I perceived that brother Wynans had his difficulties in defending slavery—and in reconciling it with moral principles. I am not surprised that his speech makes rather *bad joints*! There are few who could have done better, from the same premises. In this *good brother*, the cause of slavery has both *ingenuity and zeal*. I admired the bold and uncompromising attitude which the brother assumed, but was sorry he had not had a better cause.

If brother Wynans would be as glad to have his slaves free as any abolitionist, he will set them at liberty immediately after reaching home. “O! but the laws forbid it.” Well, suppose the laws should forbid his praying?

“Ministers, Christians and Bishops, should be slaveholders!” Why? Because they will be kind to the slaves, they will set a good example. So then we ought, according to this doctrine, to have Christian rumsellers to keep the traffic from being *abused*—and to set a *good example* to other rumsellers. And we ought also to have Christian robbers and thieves, that they may set a good example to the *craft*—and so produce a *good influence* on those who are immoral! I beg to take different ground. Neither bishops, ministers, or christians, should be slave holders. Let all these good men come out from these abominations. It is the example of good men more than anything else which keeps the system alive. While such good men (I must believe them to be such) as Dr. Capers, W. Wynans, T. Crowder and others, hold slaves and treat them well, bad men will hold them and treat them cruelly. These good slaveholders are the shield and covering of the bad ones. They meet you at every turn and corner. You cannot speak of slavery, or the evils of slavery, but these *good men* stand right up before you. I will not wish them in heaven, as brother Smith did brother Scott the other day—but I believe it would be better for the cause of bleeding humanity if this wretched system could not plead the *example* of any *Christian* or *Christian Minister*!—A Christian rumseller does more harm to the cause of temperance than a dozen infidels! You have all heard of deacon Giles of Salem, Mass., the *rum maker*. Every unprincipled rum seller and manufacturer in the land, will plead in justification of his conduct the example of deacon Giles. And the influence of Christians and Christian ministers, on the subject of slavery is in my humble opinion equally pernicious.

The speaker told us, that he was formerly from a free state—that he had become a slave holder, and felt justified in so doing—that bishop Asbury was a warm abolitionist when he first came to this country, but that he cooled off, and changed his views somewhat before he died. All this only

strengthens my conviction, that slavery is “*deceitful above all things, and desparately wicked*”—“that if it were possible it would deceive even the very elect.” But this no more proves that slavery is right, than the fact that a great many men who were *once temperate*, but have become drunkards, proves that *drunkenness is right*!

Brother W. affirmed, that the south would not receive any help either from England or the northern states, in getting rid of slavery, i. e. in plain English, they love slavery so well, that they are determined to hold on upon it in spite of all opposition—and yet they would rejoice if the negroes were free! Put *this and that* together!

Dr. Capers of South Carolina, next addressed the conference, in a very mild, winning manner. This brother, whether right or wrong, carries with him a conviction of sincerity and purity of motive which it is very difficult to resist. One can hardly help loving him, *though he is a slave holder*. He stated some facts respecting the introduction of the Gospel into different neighborhoods in the vicinity of Charleston, and also the opposition which some of our first ministers met with from some slave holders in trying to preach the Gospel to the slaves which only increased my convictions of the evils of slavery, and the importance of continuing the anti-slavery discussion. The remarks of Dr. Capers very clearly proved that Methodist preachers in the south as well as in the north, have been ready and willing to labor and suffer for Christ's sake. But they had no more connection with the right or wrong of slavery, or abolitionism, than they had with the inhabitants of the moon—and yet the time and manner in which these remarks were made, had a tendency to prejudice the conference against abolitionism. The inference which many drew from what the Doctor said, was, that if abolitionism continued to spread, these spiritual gardens must be laid waste—whereas nothing is more *false*! The triumph of abolitionism will multiply these openings to the missionary a *thousand fold*!

And now dear brethren, I come to the amendment which brother Scott proposed to the resolution disapproving of Abolitionism. The amendment was in the very language of our discipline. The resolution is in substance, as follows: “That we disapprove in the most unqualified terms of modern abolitionism.” The amendment was this: “Although we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery,” we disapprove, &c.—As soon as the amendment was proposed, Rev. D. Ostrander rose up and said, that he presumed every brother on the floor was ready to vote for it. So we thought, and so any one would naturally have supposed. But the sequel told a very different story. Dr. Bangs, P. P. Sandford, N. Levings and others from the north, opposed the amendment. The south opposed it of course. Just before the question on the amendment was taken, brother Scott rose and remarked as follows:—Mr. President, I have listened to what has been said upon this amendment with surprise and astonishment. I can hardly believe my own eyes and ears. I am alarmed for our church! Yes, sir, more so at this

moment than at any former period of my life.—Can it be possible (!) that we dare not speak out our former sentiments on the subject of slavery? Shall we now take in our colors after having exposed them to the gaze of the world for 50 years? When before did we ever hesitate to publish to the world in *any* and *every* form, that we were “convinced of the great evil of slavery?” We are told that if this amendment prevail the south will be alarmed—but, sir, if it does not prevail the north will be alarmed! We have always supposed that we belonged to a church that was opposed to slavery—have we been deceived? Does the south suppose us friendly to slavery? If not, what harm can arise from speaking out in the language of our discipline—especially as in the same sentence, and with the same breath, we condemn abolitionism? There is no danger that the south will suppose we are abolitionists, if the amendment prevails, because a condemnation of abolitionism will be connected with the amendment. But if we leave out this amendment, both the north and the south may reasonably conclude, that we have gone over to the cause of slavery. I know we shall have the expression in our discipline, but it might as well be in an old almanac. Our church rules on slavery are *nullified*, completely so. They might as well be out of the discipline as in it. And if we cannot speak out in its language *here*, how can we expect that it will be enforced in the south?

We have descended from the high and holy ground where our fathers used to stand. We have accommodated and compromised away the greatest part of our former church regulations on slavery—and if we cannot say we are as much as ever opposed to the great evil of slavery *now*, where shall we be by the next General Conference?—*Where?*

The amendment failed by a vote of 120 to 15! Tell it not in the *North!* Tell it not in *England!* Our southern brethren told us it would not do to let the south know that we were as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery—and we have believed them, and have acted accordingly, to the *no small disgrace of our church!* This is a memorable day in our Israel—a day never to be forgotten—and such another our church never before saw—and I hope never may again! We expected you would condemn abolitionism, but we did not suppose you would succumb to slavery. When our brethren in the south state *facts*, we cannot but believe them, but when they state what they think will be the results of certain measures in *future*, we have a right to consult our own judgments, and receive their predictions with *caution*. But I have discovered in the General Conference a disposition to put implicit confidence in all the predictions of our southern brethren. This I think is wrong—and what I fear we shall have cause deeply to regret. I suppose the West India planter could have made out as strong a case, three or four years ago against the British abolitionists, as our brethren have against us. But their predictions have all proved groundless; and so it will be here—we fear, my dear brethren, where no fear is. Interest is the great lever which moves the whole south against the abolitionists.

It is almost impossible for good men to divest themselves of its influence. But we ought to take into consideration *great principles*, and the interests of a *great people*, rather than a few local circumstances connected with slavery in our church. Let us contrast for a moment the doings of this General Conference on the subject of slavery, with the doings of the synod of Kentucky. That synod belonging to a slave state has spoken out against slavery in *tones of thunder*,—but here a Methodist General Conference, composed of members mostly from free states, dare not so much as say, *we are still convinced of the great evil!* That Synod described slavery in all its horrors—and then advanced the most overwhelming arguments against it both from reason and scripture—and that too in the midst of slavery, but we dare not so much as whisper the *fact*, that slavery is an “evil.” Why did not this Synod fear that their course would produce excitement in the south, and indeed in their own state? Because their high and noble minds could not be confined to a few local circumstances, while millions were groaning under oppression in all its horrid forms. While that Synod stands erect in the midst of slavery and refuses to worship the golden image which slavery has set up—here a Methodist General Conference is seen bowing and crouching to the claims of tyranny and oppression!! O it is a delicate and exciting subject—our southern brethren tell us we must not touch it, it will not do, and we believe them and submit! They have always told us the same story, and we have always yielded to them—and what do you think the end will be? Are we always to be turned off in this way? Look, my brethren, at the blooming and flourishing West India Islands! How many thousand times over did the planters there say, “you must not touch it—it will not do!” But look at the good effects of obeying God! Shall we shut our eyes and refuse to behold the light because our deeds are evil? God forbid! You may refuse to hear my voice, but still *I will speak!* I fear that the curse of God is already upon our church. Is there not iniquity among us?

The past year has been to us, as a people, one of unparalleled affliction and loss. There has been, it appears, a decrease of some two thousand members in our church communion. This is a very serious matter—and we ought, as far as possible, carefully to seek out the cause. We have, for several years preceding the last, had large additions, yearly, to our societies. And it is worthy of remark, that while the church, in her collective capacity, has sustained a loss, yet in some sections of the work there have been large additions—and among these sections, the N. E. and N. H. Conferences, where the “unhallowed flame” of abolitionism has raged the most, are by no means the least. Both these conferences, during the last year, were favored with blessed revivals of religion, and in some of those places where the ‘unhallowed flame’ was the hottest, there have been some of the most refreshing and extensive revivals. The nett gain in the N. E. conference, was, I think, last year, about 1300—and several hundreds were added in the N. H. confer-

ence. And when we take into the account the increase in these conferences, it makes the decrease in other parts of the country still more alarming. I do not say that God has blessed us because we have espoused the cause of the slave, or that slaveholders and apologists for slavery are under the frowns of God on that account. I state facts without drawing any inferences.

I am willing, however, to give it as my opinion, that the Christian Advocate and Journal has exerted a most unhappy influence on the cause of human rights and universal emancipation during the past year. It has refused to publish for annual Conferences, and for Methodist preachers, when communications have been signed by some forty of our brethren, requesting the privilege of explaining and defending themselves, when they have been misrepresented and abused. I solemnly believe that this paper has strengthened the oppressor, and grievously afflicted the oppressed, in the course it has taken against the anti-slavery movements in the north. Had the paper been entirely neutral, we would have been satisfied, but we feel that we have ourselves suffered a sort of oppression, not to say slavery, during the last year.

The sudden death of our beloved Bishop Emory—and the dreadful conflagration which entirely destroyed our large Book Establishment, are among the solemn events of the past year! And

it does appear to me, that it becomes us to pause and consider! I do not say that these awful providences are designed to call our attention to the horrid oppressions with which, as a church, we are connected; but this I will say, there is a cause somewhere, for this heavy chastisement from the hand of God! And I do most sincerely pray, that with respect to the great question now pending, we may not be "found to fight against God." Can we not say or do something before we leave this place, that will show to the world that we are still opposed to slavery? I believe we can.

The view which brother Scott has given the conference of abolitionism, the substance of which is contained in the preceding pages, is correct.—It may not agree in every respect with the description which you have had of abolitionism heretofore, but it is as strong and incendiary as can be found in the Garrisonian school, because it is the very same. I have read all the principal abolition authors—and therefore know what abolitionism is. I make these remarks, because it has been said that br. Scott gave to the conference what he considered abolitionism, but that it is not in all respects true modern abolitionism.

And now, my dear brethren, I have done. May the great head of the Church lead us all into truth, and save us in his everlasting kingdom at last.—Amen.

Cincinnati, O., May 19th, 1836.

### THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, VS. O. SCOTT.

The preceding ADDRESS having been distributed among the members of the General Conference, soon after the debate in that body on the 12th and 13th of May, 1836, on the subject of Slavery; on the afternoon of May 24, the Rev. WILLIAM WINANS, of the Mississippi Conference, brought forward the following resolution:

"Resolved, &c. That a pamphlet, circulated among the members of this Conference, purporting to be, "An Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; By a Member of that body," containing reports of the discussion on modern abolitionism, palpably false, and calculated to make an impression, to the injury of the characters of some of the members engaged in the aforesaid discussion, is an outrage on the dignity of this body, and meriting unqualified reprehension."

This resolution was signed by Mr. Winans, and the Rev. JONATHAN STAMPER, of the Kentucky Conference. The following debate, which followed upon the above resolution, is taken from the Philanthropist, of June 3d, 1836.

After reading the resolution, Mr. Winans proceeded to specify instances to support the allegations embraced in it, and attempted to show the propriety of such a resolution in a series of writ-

ten remarks. He contended that there were in the Address no less than THREE direct, flagrant falsehoods, besides many others indirect or inferential. He read from the manuscript with great calmness of manner—but his remarks, in manner and in style, were in a high degree violent and inflammatory. He left no room for the possibility of unintentional error;—whatever in the pamphlet he deemed a departure from strictly accurate statement, was stigmatized as falsehood. Although the author of the Address professed to be "a member of the conference," and Mr. W. believed him to be so, and as such, a brother, he seemed resolved to put on it the most rigorous construction for his condemnation. He appeared to exclude from the account altogether, how liable any person would be, in the exciting circumstances of the previous debate, to misunderstand the speaker, and how easy it was for error to insinuate itself into the subsequent report of a vehement, turbulent and unargumentative speech, made out from hasty notes, taken at the moment of its delivery. Nor did he, for a moment, advert to what was certainly a strong circumstance, to prove that any error into which the author might have fallen, was unintentional, the signal infamy which would overwhelm any man—and, most of all, a member of the Conference—who should prepare and openly circulate palpable falsehoods, con-

cerning the discussion of a great question, in which the Conference itself, and the whole community were interested, and to which they had been ear and eye witnesses but a few days before.

Having no notes of the speech of Mr. Winans, we give the above as our recollection of the general character of most of his remarks. The want of notes is the less to be regretted here, as in the speech of Mr. Scott, which will follow, their tenor and bearings will be clearly enough apprehended.

When Mr. W. had concluded his remarks, Mr. Scott rose and stated calmly, and with full exemption from the tone of defiance, that he was the author of the pamphlet in question—that he was the member, against whom the charges of multiplied falsehood had been so gravely preferred. In view of the seriousness of the allegations made against him—and that he might have sufficient time to prepare for his defence against them, he moved that the resolution be laid on the table, till the next morning. He also asked, to be furnished with a copy of the resolution—as also of the remarks read by Mr. Winans. By a vote of the Conference the former was granted to him. The latter he could not obtain, inasmuch as that body had no control over it—and Mr. W. refused the request—alleging, as we are informed, that he could not trust Mr. Scott with it.

It was at this stage of the proceedings that Dr. Bangs of New York, took the floor, and remarked, that the proceedings of the Conference had been made public through other channels, than those of the church. He then referred to a paper in this city, [the Philanthropist,] in which were reported the speeches of the members, on the abolition question. The General Conference, he alleged, had an unquestionable right, if they chose, to shut their doors entirely, and to exclude all spectators. *Throwing open the doors was a mere favor.* He could not conceive, then, how any gentleman could intrude himself within their walls, and set himself to taking notes of what they said. He thought it a breach of courtesy—of confidence—as much so, as if a man after being admitted into the parlor of a gentleman, should go away and retail the conversation he had heard there. Individuals had no right to behave in that manner. He considered it **THEFT**—literary theft—to report speeches made on that floor, without the consent of the Conference. Reports of speeches in Congress were not published without first submitting them to the speakers—members might by such reports be placed in a very ridiculous, attitude. Things might be said too occasionally, on the spur of the moment, which it would be inexpedient to publish.

[A word or two concerning the Dr.'s rather raw notions of propriety. If a gentleman in Cincinnati were to throw open his parlor, and advertise the whole city, either by publication in the newspapers, or through his particular friends, that he intended to feast, for a week, all who

would come and partake of his good things; the *freedom* of his fare would not exempt it from general criticism, nor himself from public disgrace, should he attempt to purchase the reputation of lordly hospitality with rancid butter, or spoiled beef, or meagerly sweetened pies. If men will make themselves public men, and like Dr. Bangs, make themselves ridiculous from want of tact and temper, they must blame themselves, not those who speak of their conduct as it is. The Dr. and the other members of the Conference are *public men*. They meet as a *public body*, in a *public manner*. They discuss *publicly* a subject of *public interest*. In so doing they cannot escape responsibility to the *public* for what they do and say. It is right, too, that they be held to this responsibility. In few assemblies have there been more frequent references to the state of public sentiment, as furnishing a reason for pursuing a particular course of conduct. To what were the pro-slavery resolutions of the General Conference to be attributed? To the influence of *rectitude*? No: but to the supposed state of *public opinion*. To what was the persecution—the furious—the deadly persecution of Scott, and Storrs, and Norris, and others, who, with them, were striving to pluck up the drowning honor of their church—to what was this owing? To the supposed state of *public opinion*. Verily, when an ecclesiastical assembly reject the reign of **RIGHT** to come under that of *public opinion*—**PUBLIC OPINION**, as an acknowledged sovereign, has a **RIGHT** to know what its willing subjects are doing.

The Doctor's knowledge of Congressional proceedings, seems rather unripe. Congress have no *reporters*! Each house admits within its bar, men who report the proceedings for their own benefit. This does not prevent any one out of the bar from reporting the whole of their proceedings—and this too, without submitting a single line to a speaker or an officer. The best advice we can give the Doctor—and indeed all public men, be they ecclesiastical or political, but especially the former, is never hereafter to *speak* what they would be ashamed to see *printed*. This will be sufficient punishment for every literary thief, who may in all time to come, attempt to filch them of their sermons and their speeches.]

The motion of Mr. Scott prevailed, and the Conference adjourned to their usual hour tomorrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING—May 25.

The resolution of the last evening against Mr. Scott excited considerable interest. At the usual hour for the opening of the Conference, many of the citizens had assembled, and the galleries were well filled, expecting that the resolution against Mr. Scott would, of course, be the first business attended to, after the ceremony of opening the meeting had been performed. However, this did not turn out to be the case. Some other matter, relating, perhaps, to the mode of payment, or to the measure of the compensation of

the ministers, was taken up. After this had been discussed some time, and to all appearance, was about to occupy the whole forenoon, Mr. Scott moved that the business, then before the House, be postponed, in order to take up the resolution against himself. The motion failed. A short time afterward Mr. Early renewed the motion made by Mr. Scott. Mr. Scott earnestly appealed to his brethren to sustain the motion, remarking that, although Mr. Ostrander (a gentleman who had manifested a disposition to exclude all further consideration of the resolution) seemed determined, that the resolution should not again be taken up at all, yet, he (Mr. S.) thought it due to his character, that it should be called up immediately. He felt that it had already been postponed too long. He was keenly sensible of the injury under which he was suffering, and every moment of unnecessary delay, only added to its aggravation. Mr. Early's motion was lost. It was now about 11 o'clock in the morning—the regular time for adjournment being half past 12. A motion was then made by a member, and carried—that, when the conference adjourn, it adjourn to meet again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. A large majority of the spectators, supposing from the course things had taken, that the *resolution* would not be taken up till the afternoon, retired from the House. However, not long after the galleries were thinned and before the business under consideration was entirely disposed of, Mr. Early having renewed his motion, the resolution was called up. This was one hour as stated by Mr. Early before the usual period for adjournment. The resolution being read, Mr. Scott commenced by saying, that this day one of the strangest spectacles was presented, which had ever been witnessed in the history of the church. A member of the highest assembly, recognised in the church, was now arraigned before it, charged with **GLARING, PALPABLE FALSEHOOD**, and this, not once, but many times over. Under such circumstances, it could not be expected that he should appear without emotion: yet he trusted he experienced a good degree of calmness. It was the first time in his life he had been charged with falsehood. Those who knew him best, had always been willing to accord to him purity of motive. In the resolution, he was accused of uttering a deliberate falsehood, of stating as true, what he knew to be false. This was a serious, a grave charge, and enough if sustained, to disfranchise him of both his ministerial character and membership. He had not only been accused of "barefaced, glaring and palpable falsehood"—Bro. Winans had also declared, that the author of that pamphlet must either be a "reckless incendiary or a non compos mentis." If he (Mr. Scott) had set fire to the city of Cincinnati, he could hardly have been treated with more severity. What is the usual course, in cases of misrepresentation? Suppose in replying to any member, he should misstate any of his arguments—would it be right—would it be in order, for that brother to rise in his place and charge him with falsehood? Was

there then so much difference between a speech written and a speech delivered, as in the one case, where there is misrepresentation, to warrant the charge of "barefaced, glaring and palpable falsehood," and in the other, to call only for *correction*?

He wished to direct the attention of brethren to the design of the pamphlet. It would be recollected, that the arguments, adduced by him on the subject of abolitionism, had been replied to, only in part, and superficially. Bro's. Winans, Crowder and others in the opposition, moreover, had not been answered by brethren on his side of the question. This suggested to his mind the idea of writing a little address, in which he could present to the view of brethren, his argument entire, and the objections and arguments of opponents, together with replies to them, prepared subsequently by himself, but not delivered on the Conference floor, and present them all *in connexion*.

Bro. Winans had accused the author of the Address of falsehood, because of his statement on the first page, that O. Scot "was permitted to speak but once on the question." I meant by this, said Mr. Scott, what must be obvious to all, that according to one of the rules of order, adopted by this body, I was thus restricted. The rule is, that no member shall speak twice on the same question, until all others who may wish to speak have spoken. Now I need not tell this conference, that had the subject been debated ten days longer, I should by this rule, have been effectually prohibited from speaking a second time. For we all know, that speakers were abundant, and when the question was taken, all had not spoken who desired to be heard. It was in view of these facts, I stated, that I was permitted to speak but once; and not with any view to convey an impression, that I had been denied this privilege, by an unusual order of the conference. Brethren know there is such a rule, and they know too how unlikely it was, that it should be set aside in my behalf. They are all aware, that, on the last day of the discussion, I was called to order by a member for speaking twice, as he supposed, to the same question, when I only rose to speak to an amendment, and occupied but three minutes;—and I was then pronounced in order, on the ground that *before*, I had spoken to the main question; *now*, I was speaking to an amendment. I might, indeed, have made my meaning less liable to be mistaken, by stating "according to the rules of the house I had not such permission;" but as this was my sole meaning, so it never entered my mind for one moment, that I should be misunderstood. Ought this omission then to subject a brother to the high and heavy charge of falsehood? Never did such an idea enter my mind, as an intention to deceive by this omission.

Mr. Scott said that he had been charged with falsehood, in making such a statement of Brother

Winans' argument, as is found on p. 10 of the pamphlet.

This is the strongest, and indeed, the principal position which brother W. has taken against me. I will make a few statements, and then the conference will be able to judge whether I have indeed, in this instance, subjected myself to the charge of palpable, barefaced, glaring, wilful falsehood! I intended to state brother Winans' argument as briefly as possible, and yet not so briefly as to give either a partial or false view of the sentiment of the speaker. I thought the inference that "Slavery is right under all circumstances" a fair one from his premises—Nay more, I understood him to draw that inference in whole, or in part, from *my own premises*. His argument when stated a little more at length, was simply this:—I will attempt to show from the brother's (Mr. Scott) own premises, that slavery is right under all circumstances. He then stated, that slavery was a divine institution—God permitted the Hebrews to hold slaves, and made laws to regulate slavery. It must therefore be right under *some* circumstances—and the brother from New England has told us, that if slavery is right under *some* circumstances, it is right under *all* circumstances. I have proved that it is right under some circumstances, and therefore from the brother's own admission, it is right under all circumstances. But it may be observed in the *first* place, that I never admitted, that if slavery was right under *some* circumstances, it was right under all—I never made such a statement. In the second place, I never denied that the Scriptures allowed the Jews to hold servants. I am not such a *non compos mentis* as not to know this fact. It will be seen therefore that Bro. W. in making out his conclusion, that *slavery is right under all circumstances*, attributes to me, what I never said, and assumes what I never denied—so that my premises have no sort of connexion with his inference—and for it he alone is responsible. I did not suppose, I was doing him any injustice in stating his argument as I did—I certainly had no such *design*, and therefore will submit this explanation as an accompaniment to my original statement of his argument. And whether the inference, that Slavery is right under all circumstances, belongs more properly to him or to me, to his premises or to mine, I leave for the conference and the public to judge. Suppose I were to affirm that polygamy is right under *some* circumstances—[Here Mr. Winans interrupted the speaker, and remarked that he really believed him to be out of order. He demanded that he should be kept to the record—that he should speak directly to the charge made against him—and not be permitted to wander into irrelevant discussion. The bishop decided Mr. Scott was in order. Mr. Winans still persisted, and others of the South sided with him. The Bishop (Roberts) decided, that so long as Mr. Scott was respectful in his manner, he might take any course he thought proper to defend himself, but brethren might appeal. An appeal was called for, and

the motion being put, a majority moved to sustain the decision of the chair.] Mr. Scott said he did not intend to be disrespectful. He was endeavoring to explain to the conference, how he had been led to mistake the argument of Bro. Winans, if he indeed had mistaken it. He was proceeding to suppose a case. Suppose I were to affirm that polygamy is right under *some* circumstances, or *no* circumstances, or *all* circumstances—I soon come to the conclusion, that *it is wrong under all circumstances*. But no, says brother Winans, I can prove from your own premises that polygamy is right under all circumstances. It was allowed, it is recognised, and not condemned in Jewish scriptures among the Jews, and therefore it is right, according to your own premises under *all* circumstances! Who does not readily see the sophistry of such an argument!

Bro. Winans *did* state that slavery was a Divine Institution—perpetual, hereditary slavery; and yet he affirmed of the representation of his argument in which this statement is made, that "every word of it was false." If it be false, it is unintentionally so. I took down notes of his argument at the time, and the representation accords exactly with them. I never used the premises he represented as mine. I am not surprised, sir, that brethren should be much excited when they see their arguments in print, and think them misrepresented.

Bro. Winans stated that he declined the abstract question of slavery. Now his speech as reported in the Philanthropist, which he yesterday quoted, as confirmatory of the truth of his charge against me, makes him say, that he would meet me on the abstract question, on my own ground. I did not understand him as declining the abstract question.

I am accused of another falsehood, because on p. 13 of the pamphlet, I represent our southern brethren as saying, that "it would not do to let the South know that we were as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery." If brethren of the south did not say this—did not say that the proposed amendment, in the language of our discipline, would be believed a mere cloak for secret abolitionism—if they did not say it would not do *now*—then I did hear very erroneously. (Mr. Scott did not hear erroneously. It was repeatedly asserted on the floor of the conference, that it would not "do to speak out now"—that "there was a time for every thing, &c. &c." Hundreds of spectators must have heard the same things.—ED.)

Brother Winans stated, that he did not remember the remarks concerning the division of the Union, attributed to me on p. 6. of the pamphlet. I did allude to this objection to the doctrines of abolition, and made also some remarks upon it.—But they are carried out more fully in the pamphlet. It would have been better to have included the added remarks in brackets. But this was neglected, not, however, with the intention to de-



ceive. [It is easy, I think, to explain this omission. Mr. Scott wrote the pamphlet, superintended its printing, correcting proof, &c., under circumstances very unfavorable to entire exactness and perspicuity. The pamphlet was written and ready for circulation within one week, during all of which period he had numerous Conference engagements to attend to. Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful that in reporting his own speech, he should at times forget his character as a reporter, and carry out his thoughts as if they were constituent parts of the delivered speech. It is indeed a matter of surprise that many other such mistakes did not occur.—ED. PHIL.]

I am again accused of misrepresentation, in attributing to brother Winans the remarks made on p. 10, about "murdered wives and children" &c. My sole intention in these was to show, that the brother meant such would be the effect of abolitionism, if its measures were carried out. This I presume he will not deny *was* his meaning. [Mr. Winans did not deny it either then or subsequently.—ED.] Mr. Scott made some further remarks on this charge, of which our notes are insufficient to warrant any report. In our opinion he fully acquitted himself of the charge of falsehood or intentional misrepresentation.

Mr. Scott made a few remarks in reply to Dr. Bangs' observations on reporters of speeches, &c. He (Mr. Scott) considered a public address, public property, especially when delivered on a public subject. In regard to this, members of Conference should be governed by public usages, until a special order were taken. No requisition of silence or secrecy had been made on the members. All that could be done, where there was misrepresentation, was to disclaim it. This was a tax public speakers were compelled to submit to.

Mr. Scott occupied about an hour and a quarter in his remarks. He manifested the same calmness, self-possession and dignity—the same christian forbearance and meekness of temper—which had characterized all his previous exhibitions in the Conference. Nothing offensive in his manner, spirit or language, could at any time be detected. In not a single instance, was he called to order by the chair or any member of the Conference; except indeed, the instance already noticed. All this was wonderful—especially to a beholder—considering the greatness of his provocations, the scandalous nature of the charges preferred against him, and the unfaltering pertinacity, the unmitigated severity, which marked the language and measures of his opponents.

We may remark, that no speaker that followed him, chose to contest with him a single point he had assumed in his justification. Perhaps we should except Mr. Winans, who stated that the ground on which he charged Orange Scott with falsehood, in particular, was, not that he did not state his argument correctly, but that he *stated directly the opposite* to what it really was.

Mr. Winans then rose, not to make a speech, but to state a few things in explanation. He had

never charged O. Scott with falsehood, in the *first, second, or third* degree: he had thus charged the anonymous author of the Address. He could not have gone to O. Scott and asked an explanation; for he did not know he was the author. Here Mr. Scott interrupted him by saying he had not suggested this course, but that Mr. Winans ought to have demanded in open Conference, who was the author, and his name would have been forthcoming. Mr. Winans remarked, that he did not think it becoming to *hunt up every skulker* who might choose to derange his speeches. If he had known the author of the pamphlet was Orange Scott, he would have charged him as Orange Scott. He had hoped that no member could be guilty of such an outrage. O. Scott had been hinted at by some as the author of the address, but he had met all such suggestions with a prompt negative. He really had conceived an exalted opinion of that man's intelligence and integrity; but he was now obliged to surrender it.

He did not, he repeated, charge O. Scott with falsehood for not stating his argument correctly: but because he stated it directly opposite to what it was. One third of the members of the Conference had come to him and asked him, whether he would suffer such a misrepresentation to pass unnoticed?

An investigation of ten days, he thought, would bring them no nearer to a decision on this resolution. He professed to be opposed to any further procrastination. The Conference had heard both sides of the question. For his own part, he considered the misrepresentation contained in the pamphlet *deliberately false statements, and made with design*. He did not deem a response to what had been said, becoming the dignity of the Conference.

Mr. Early made a few remarks, which we could not exactly apprehend. It seemed to be the wish of the most prominent of the southern members, to urge the Conference to an immediate decision on the question. An adjournment was moved, for the regular period for recess had come and was past; a vote having been taken by which Mr. Scott was permitted to continue his remarks, fifteen minutes beyond that period. The motion to adjourn was carried—Messrs. Early, Winans, Smith, Payne, and most of the southern members voting against it.

#### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON—May 25.

After the clerk had read the resolution under consideration, Mr. Ostrander, of the New York Conference, after making a few remarks in a tone, too low to be distinctly audible, moved that the resolution be referred to a select committee. His reasons, as well as we could hear them, referred to the benefit of having it so altered as to secure more complete unanimity in passing it.

Mr. Sandford, of the same conference, spoke also in favor of the reference. He condemned the address, not for stating what was absolutely and *palpably* false, but for so mingling truth with what was false, as to present the matter in an uncandid

and dishonest light. Entertaining this view of the address, he could not support the resolution, because it charged on the members against whom it was directed, *palpable falsehood*.

Mr.—— (a gentleman whose name is unknown to us) was against the reference, as he believed the pamphlet to be just what the resolution described it to be.

Several short speeches, or rather, single remarks, were made at this stage of the proceedings by members—plainly indicating, that the reference was altogether unacceptable to the most violent and uncompromising portion of the Conference. So decided was the feeling manifested, that the mover of the reference was induced to withdraw his motion. The attempt was now made, not so much to secure the passage of the resolution,—for to any observer, this appeared fully certain—as to bring about great *unanimity* in voting for it. With this view, Mr. Crowder, of the Virginia Conference, made some remarks intended to show that there was in the resolution no impeachment of the *motives* of the author—that there was nothing levelled against him *personally*—that it was the pamphlet, and this alone, which was now under consideration, and which it was intended to condemn.

This view of the subject did not appear altogether to satisfy Dr. Rutter of the Pittsburg Conference. He would be pleased to see such a subject disposed of with an unanimity that all must feel was desirable. There were many who would be disposed to join in a vote of condemnation, who yet, though the resolution ought to undergo a modification; which, without undue harshness, would be sufficient to relieve those who were charged wrongfully by the author of the pamphlet from any odium it might attach to them, and furnish, at the same time, an indication sufficiently decisive, of the sentiment of the Conference in relation to the matter. Feeling thus, and thinking thus, he regretted that the motion for referring the resolution to a select committee had been withdrawn. He thought it his duty to renew it, which he now did.

Mr. Rozzell rose, apparently a good deal chafed at the dilatory progress of the proceedings, now again attempted to be further delayed by a renewal of the motion to refer. He spoke with his wonted animation in opposition to the reference. He thought the publication of the pamphlet an offence of great enormity, an outrage of singular aggravation, and that it was properly met by the resolution, which went to condemn it in unequalled terms. And who among us, asked Mr. R. does not look upon the pamphlet in this light—who among us is not prepared to bestow on it unequalled condemnation—and who among us is not prepared to sustain a resolution which utters this condemnation in the most appropriate terms? But, continued Mr. R., some kind alleviation for the unworthy conduct of the author in the fact of his having unhesitatingly and openly avowed himself as such, before this Conference. Pretty alleviation—credible excuse! when this was done

not *before* but *after* an investigation of the matter was set on foot in this body! And will brethren urge this as a sufficient cause for sending the resolution to a committee—for consuming still more of the precious time of this Conference? Why, sir, shall we delay still longer for such a reason as this, to condemn, in terms becoming it, a gross misrepresentation, calculated to injure us? If this conduct of the author be mentioned, I would say sir, that he ought in addition to an avowal of his agency, in such a matter, to come forward and express his regret and his sorrow for the offence he has committed,

Do you suppose, continued Mr. R. that the reading of this pamphlet has been confined to the members of this Conference—that they are the only persons who have handled this inflammatory and odious document? Far from it—it has been despatched abroad in large quantities—and, with other incendiary materials, it has been sent off to the west to be scattered throughout the community. For such conduct as this, sir, no language is too strong. It is an insult to this Conference, and it is a duty we owe to ourselves to support our own character. He concluded by saying, he hoped to answer all the arguments that might be brought forward on the other side, when the subject was put into a position, to make discussion on the merits, *proper*; and in the meantime, that the resolution would not be referred.

Dr. Capers of South Carolina, made a few remarks in a spirited style, in opposition to the reference. What, said he, would be the effect of such a course? Would it not justly be that we lacked courage to meet the exigency? What other action could a committee recommend?—Have we not the *truth* now staring us in the face? If we act not, *at once* in conformity to its requirements, the impression must go abroad, that we are wanting in courage.

Mr. Bowen, of the Oneida Conference, objected to the resolution itself, and read a substitute for it, which he intended at a proper time to offer. He did not believe, that to pass the resolution as it was, before the Conference, would be beneficial. Some of the brethren, whilst they thought the brother had not given as full a view of the case as the circumstances called for, yet believed that he had acted honestly. In this view, the terms employed in the resolution were not acceptable to them, and they believed, others less exceptionable might be used which would enable the Conference to accomplish, that is *the warding off of injury from themselves by invalidating the pamphlet*.

Mr. Drake, of the Mississippi Conference, opposed the reference. He thought a committee could not act on the subject, nearly so advantageously as the Conference itself. In answer to the objections, taken by some to the resolutions, as impeaching the motives of Mr. Scott—he declared he did not so interpret them, nor did he suppose they would be so interpreted by others. He did not consider the resolutions as impeaching the *motives* of the writer—the object was, the *pam-*

phlet. It was this which was doing the mischief, and it was this which, at a distance, would be set down as true:—To prevent this, it is the duty of the Conference to say, *it is not true*. The pamphlet it was, that would serve to increase the number of abolitionists—it was the influence of it, and not the character of the author, that the mover of the resolution, doubtless had in view in introducing it in the Conference.

Mr. Early, of the Virginia Conference—commenced his remarks by expressing his sorrow, that a motion to refer had been made. He had often remarked it, that when a whole deliberative assembly was just ready for decided action, an officious proposition was offered, as in the present case, to divert it from its course. But if it be true, that brethren are not prepared for a frank and ready decision, let the resolution lie on the table. But has it come to this? That we have met here—some of us travelling a thousand miles and more—others suffering privation in leaving our homes and our families unprotected from danger, it may be, during our absence—and have no power even to protect our own members and this body from insult—from aggravated and false statements? Will any one say, that the guilty ought not to be censured even? Sir, we have no energy. But if the majority of this Conference have no energy—not enough of it, to protect their own honor from insult and degradation,—be it known, that there are in the Conference those who *have*—and *who ought to be by themselves*. You have refused once to refer—if you refuse it now, what will be the effect?

What, sir, you have but the other day, denounced abolitionism—and yet do you talk of referring such a writing as this pamphlet? To what does all this protracted debate amount? Is it not plain that it tends rather to increase sympathy for the author of the injury, than to do justice to ourselves? And shall we be accessory to such a result as this in the case of the author of the address—of one who is guilty of bringing into this body a pamphlet of an incendiary character—or him who is acting concurrently with the vilest miscreant here, the editor of an incendiary paper in this city, who, (violating the laws of the state where he lived, is compelled to seek a refuge out of its limits,) and who has been twice tried and sentenced to three months' hard labor in the house of correction by the laws of his own state? And shall it be said, under these circumstances, that this Conference has no power of correction—no power to pass censure? It is full time, for you, sir, to speak out—to testify that you have some respect for yourselves—to say, that you have some regard for your honor. Ask the oldest member of this body, if he ever witnessed the disturbance of a Conference, by a member after this manner; if ever such a case occurred before? Submit to this, sir! If we submit to this, we are prepared to submit to any thing.

Although a considerable number of spectators were, in some measure, prepared for such an exhibition as that of Mr. Early, by prelibations of his temper, in the former debates of the Conference on the subject of abolition—yet, the rudeness of

his language, and the ferocity of his manner, both in better harmony with the calling of his *overseer* than that of a minister of Jesus Christ, produced an evident shock on the majority of those present. It furnished ocular demonstration of the odious supremacy which the spirit of oppression acquires by long and uncontrolled domination, over the spirit of love; and gave, so far as one instance could, decisive evidence of the irreconcilableness of the religion of the gospel, with the slavery of the South.

The persons supposed to be alluded to, by Mr. E. toward the conclusion of his speech, were Mr. Scott and Mr. Storrs, both members of the Conference, and the editor of the Philanthropist, who was in the gallery as a spectator; and who, by the rules of the house, was not permitted to make any reply to this assault on his feelings and character—made in the presence of hundreds of spectators, and unprecedented, so far as is known, in any professedly religious assembly, that has ever been convened in this country.

When Mr. Early had ended his remarks a gentleman whose name we were not enabled to ascertain, moved to lay on the table the *motion to refer*, then under consideration. This was carried by a large majority.

The original resolution was again read:

Dr. Bangs, of New York, commenced his speech by saying, he would not detain the Conference, if he thought they were ready to vote—but, he was sure, they were not ready, he would make a few remarks. [The Doctor was—here stopped by a member of the Conference approaching, and speaking to him in a low and subdued tone. They whispered together a few seconds—when the Doctor resumed somewhat in the following strain] Things are in a strange posture. There is an incendiary paper printed in New York—whilst its editor is *here*, in the Conference, [Dr. B. was supposed to allude to Zion's Watchman, a Methodist newspaper in New York, edited by La Roy Sunderland, who is in favor of free discussion on all subjects, not even excepting *slavery*, the peculiar favorite of the American Church. The person alluded to as 'editor' we suppose was either Mr. Scott or Mr. Storrs—the last of whom furnished for that paper brief sketches of the proceedings of the Conference.] Nor is this all, sir—not only by this paper, are the courtesies of good breeding and gentlemanly conduct violated in the publication of the proceedings of the Conference—there is, too, an incendiary print *here—in this city*—pursuing the same unjustifiable and ungentlemanly course. There is a perfect harmony among them. And what is the object of the abolitionists? Has not this same subject been sufficiently discussed?—And has not the mind of this Conference been made up and settled? Is it not certain, there will be no change here? Sir, sir, I greatly deplore it—I greatly lament that these firebrands are yet thrown in upon the combustible matter wherever it is to be found. What, sir, let me again ask, can be their object? Is it to make converts? They can entertain no such hope. It is to bring the Conference to their views! This must be still more hopeless. No, sir, they are

doing evil that good may come. Is it not doing evil, to misrepresent—to garble—to publish our speeches without submitting them, before publication, to the speakers? Is not this doing evil that good may come?

They are under the necessity of holding out a good object to the world: But what do they, what can they expect? Do they really look forward to the emancipation of the Africans in the South? Do they really expect to convert the South to the doctrines of abolitionism? Do they really expect to convert this Conference to abolitionism, and that we will begin the work of slave emancipation? No, sir: as well might they lay their shoulders to the Alleghany mountains, expecting to move its huge mass, as to look forward to any such events as those just mentioned. No, sir, they don't expect any such thing, and I would vote for the resolution as it is, as quickly as if it were clothed in softer terms. Truly things, have arrived at a strange condition! That we are to be detained here on this "miserable and perplexing subject," to have thrown in upon us the most incendiary pamphlet, abounding in misrepresentations gross and palpable, and there is to be no note of disapprobation or of censure! An individual printer is to be here in our midst, inditing, for the purpose of propagating untruths—and yet we must be silent, we must not say they are wrong—they are falsehoods! Shall we be more tender, and affect to use gentler language than an apostle? What, sir, was the language of the mild John, with offenders! "He that saith I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a LIAR, and the truth is not in him." And shall we be more delicate and forbearing to any man, who, using the privileges granted to all of being present at our debates, shall turn himself into a reporter of our proceedings, and thus break in upon the courtesies of the place, and flagrantly violate the hospitalities conferred upon him? Has any deliberative body been thus abused, thus insulted? Does not Congress—do not all legislative assemblies reserve to themselves the selection of their own reporters, over whom they keep a strict supervision—who submit to the members their speeches for correction, before they dare publish them to the world? But here, it would seem to be otherwise. Sir, I do not believe in such doctrines. [It will be seen that, in this speech the Doctor repeated, what he had said the day before, in reference to the editor of the Philanthropist. He was probably informed that his first broadside had not taken full effect, in consequence of the object at which it was directed not being present. But that of to-day, was discharged point blank at Mr. Birney—who was sitting in the gallery opposite the Doctor, and who, in all likelihood, was pointed out to him by the gentleman who interrupted him, at the beginning of his speech. Two strange fantasies seemed, for the time being, to have taken possession of the Doctor's mind. The first was, that the General Conference ought to possess the same power over reporters of its proceedings, as that which, in the greenness of his notions, he had ascribed to the Congress of the United States. The second was—that the abolitionists were desirous of

committing "literary theft" on some one or more of the Doctor's speeches.

Before the Doctor had finished his slashing lampoon, his indignation rose to a fearful height. The spectators all looked on with amazement—some with pity.]

It now seemed that the Conference were ready to proceed to a final vote. Mr. Scott rose and moved that his name be inserted in the resolution instead of the word *member*—so that, *who* was intended might be fully known.

Dr. Bangs moved to lay this motion on the table. It was accordingly laid on the table.

Mr. Sorin, of the Philadelphia Conference, now rose, and after making some biting remarks on the subject under consideration,—the resolution itself,—proceeded to give his opinion, how indecorous it was in any one to take notes of the proceedings of the Conference, with a view of publishing them to the world. He moved a resolution that "such note taking was considered by the Conference as highly indecorous," &c. In order to give additional force to his remarks and to recommend his resolution, he said, the business of taking notes, had not only been pursued on former occasions during the session, but, *that it was now going on in this house*. The attention of the Conference was here directed to that part of the gallery where Mr. Birney was sitting, making memoranda of the several speeches. When the resolution of Mr. Sorin was offered, it was responded to, by two distinct, sympathetic *amens*. There was, about this time, some little confusion in the Conference, occasioned perhaps, by their near approach to the final vote. In the bustle and anxiety for this event, Mr. Sorin's motion received the go-by—the Bishop remarking "this was a separate matter."

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Ruter asked permission to be excused from voting on the resolution. According to our recollection he was excused. Some intimation was given, that others would desire the same favor. Mr. McFerrin, of the Tennessee Conference, remarked, with some degree of petulance, that it was not against the rule for members to *retire* from the room—that in this way they might avoid voting.

The vote was then taken on the original resolution, which was passed by NINETY-SEVEN in the affirmative, to NINETEEN in the negative. Many, it is supposed, did not vote, as the whole number in the Conference was more than one hundred and fifty, and but few had left for home.

Mr. Storrs now moved, that he and others who had voted in the negative, should be permitted to have their names entered on the Journal of the Conference, as voting against the resolution. The debate which was about rising on this motion, was soon quelled by another, to lay it on the table. This succeeded, by a large majority.

Mr. Roszel moved, that the proceedings be published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, of New York, and the Western Christian Advocate of this city.

The Conference then adjourned.







