

ELEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOSTON FEMALE

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ADOPTED OCTOBER 9, 1844.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

OFFICE OF THE AM. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
NO. 142 NASSAU STREET,
NEW-YORK.

W. S. Dorr, Printer.

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R E P O R T .

For the eleventh time, at this period of the year, does our little band meet together, to take a retrospective glance at difficulties encountered and duties performed ;—to draw for strength upon hope at once and memory, by the relation of past progress, and the anticipation of future success.

How much do we not owe each other for help and strength, and consolation ! Nor can there be a fitter moment for the expression of the grateful emotions the fact gives rise to, than this, in which we stand together to

—————“ Pour
A blessing on the parted year,”

and to brace our spirits for the toil and conflict of another. Few and feeble as we stand, our ranks thinned by desertion and broken by death, how strong in the heart of each, becomes the resolution which all see reflected in the faces of the rest, to live and to die in the service of the cause of Freedom ! How vigorous and full of cheer become the efforts in that cause, which we know command the sympathy of so many associates, the whole country over ! With how much confidence can we commence a series of operations for the promulgation of righteous princi-

ples, when we have the assurance of the past, that by this union of hearts, means, and energies, every spark of Anti-Slavery feeling that may be kindled shall be straightway

“Spread like a rapid flame among autumnal trees!”

Thus the deficiencies of each are supplied by the endowments of all. It is of little consequence that I am weak, if you, my right hand associate, are strong; for when we associated together, your strength became mine for the prosecution of this noble undertaking. It matters not that I have no fitting words by which to give my feelings utterance;—for you, my left hand neighbor, have the “fiery gift of tongues;” and my own thought seems fairer when it comes commended by your eloquence. We are not *fettered* by co-operation, for we only do together, what we wish to do, and what we cannot do singly. Our individuality is, therefore, strengthened by the same process that gives effect to our union. We are not the slaves of one idea, but the receivers of general principles. We are secured by the breadth of our platform of association, from ever narrowing down into a coterie. Certainly no society on earth affords so vast a variety of mind, manners, and character; so wide a diversity of gifts, graces, and modes of operation; so many styles and degrees of culture; so great disparities of rank and fortune. It is a melancholy reflection, when we consider how far short of positive perfection the Abolitionists are, that all sects, all parties, all races, all lands, all conditions, have yielded up the best that is in them, to form this body. It is thus defended forever by its

composition and constitution, from degenerating into a clique. And it is worthy of remark that only two classes of persons ever call it so;—the bigots who tried in vain to make it so, and the compromisers, to whom its line and plummet shows how much they swerve from uprightness.

There has been, from old time, a school of philosophy which ascribes to loneliness, and quiet, and individualism, not only their own great and characteristic powers, but which would also endow them with those of society, activity, and co-operation. The ideas of this school have been brought to bear upon our association by those who wished to disband it, from the commencement of our enterprise. It was then amusing to see the timid good, and the bold, truculent bad, creeping forth together as Platonists, and spiritualists, mystics, and quietists, urging upon Abolitionists the importance of disbanding their associations, and thus renouncing the advantages of mutual understanding, previous arrangement, and division of labor. It is with pleasure we observe that their advice, the fruit of enmity, inexperience, or spiritual pride, has been almost entirely disregarded by Abolitionists. The few who are staggered by it, seem to imagine themselves to have made a discovery in the conduct of life. While we joyfully recognize their moral right to say and do what they will that is not dishonest, (and their right of free agency, to do even this, under responsibility for the consequences,) we cannot give them the credit they claim for originality. Dr. Channing and the transcendental school borrowed the idea from old philoso-

phers, and applied it unsuccessfully to prevent men from associating as Abolitionists, while the friends of whom we now speak, were exhorting to organization with the pro-slavery churches of New England, as the only means of salvation.

Different instrumentalities are suited to different characters. We by no means think it necessary that each should use all. We do but register our testimony against the renunciation of any instrumentality not evil in itself, because it is capable of being misused; and especially do we deprecate such a mistake respecting that efficacious instrument—association. Yesterday, to-day, and forever, ten individual human beings may, by their union, multiply their usefulness in far more than arithmetical progression. Well has the German Novalis noticed this great fact, which Americans translate, “Union is Strength.” And shall we abjure it *per se*, because it *may* be strength for evil as well as for good? While we strengthen and cherish our individualism and independence, we know, by experience, that one means of doing so, is our generous and confiding association with others. We are not speaking now of the imperfections of human sympathy. None can be better aware of them: but it has its real and great advantages. We are a component part of the universe of being, and will not shrink, with sensitive soreness, from our relations and responsibilities as such. We have found society the mother of *division*; not the parent of spiritual tyranny. Is this *its* fault? No, it is man’s fault, and therefore may be amended. We have occasionally found our associates only such

in name;—wavering,—self-seeking,—untrustworthy:—are there, therefore, no heroic hearts that will remain unmoved? We have met with treachery, meanness, and hypocrisy:

“—————Was the nobleness
From thenceforth blotted from all human brows?”

The wonder would have been had we *not* been deceived and betrayed, under circumstances of so much trial and temptation to human nature.

Let us, then, “having done all,” stand, and close up the ranks that desertion leaves vacant, and go on with fresh cheerfulness and courage. Nay—are they not already filled? We now have with us those who were carried in their parents’ arms to the scenes of our past conflicts and labors, who have themselves become our most able and active associates. We have borne them into this cause. May they never behold in us, or make themselves, any effort to render that sort of antinomianism respectable, which pleads the goodness of its Anti-Slavery talk, or its Anti-Slavery creed, as an apology for practical disregard of the cause; or a justification for a life passed in getting a livelihood by betraying it. We hear men talking of the comparative excellency of Rationalism and Spiritualism; and whether is Platonism or Baconianism the better. It is enough for us never to attempt to divide Faith and Works.

STATE OF THE CAUSE.—THE CHURCH.

The present is the fitting hour to observe and note how far our efforts have told upon the world about us; and we will first give a retrospective glance to the Church.

It is remarkable in making this investigation how inconsistent and short-sighted we find men to be. When they began so far to comprehend us as to find that association with us as the representatives of principles so righteous and uncompromising, would involve self-denial, the reproaches of men, and the loss of all that worldly consideration which walks in an ecclestaical dress; though they had previously professed allegiance to those principles, yet now they began to seek pretences to explain them away and to abuse the Anti-Slavery Association. "It must be taken into consideration by Abolitionists," they said, before their selfishness took the alarm, "whether, the Church remaining impenitent for this great sin of Slavery, it be not the duty of Abolitionists to come out and be separate."* Agreeable as this suggestion was to the dictates of common feeling, common sense, and Christianity, the very men who offered it, made it their pretence for deserting and trying to destroy the Anti-Slavery Associations as soon as they began to recommend its application. The necessity of forming such societies, grew out of this fact, (imperfectly discerned by many, yet felt by all,) that the existing ones were in the service of Slavery, and therefore not available as soil for an Anti-Slavery growth. As this fact became more and more generally visible, we withdrew more and more entirely, as individual Abolitionists, from those pro-slavery connections and associations from which we had found

* Resolution drafted by Amos A. Phelps, at the N. E. Convention. Church st. Church, 1837.

it at the outset imperatively necessary to remove our Anti-Slavery Societies.

To what purpose indeed, build up with our left hand, the power that was prostrating the labors of our right? Could we have remained deaf to the cry of conscience and consistency, from the depths of our own bosoms, it would have been difficult to shut out the cool, contemptuous voice of common sense, which, rising from the world around, never fails, when unsuffocated by personal interest, to call such self-defeating labor idiocy.

The effect which followed, in the general contempt which fell upon Slavery, gave us a perfect conviction that, in thus definitely marking our detestation of it, we had seized the real handle of our enterprise. As our numbers seemed fewer, our influence became greater; and while reproaching us as bigots and fanatics, the whole community are insensibly coming up to the ground we prepare for them.

Even those whom temptation had caused to pour contempt on their own suggestion, and to give it, in derision, the name of "come-out-ism," might now be seen crowded up by their pro-slavery churches to the same issue, though with the loss of their vantage-ground as assailants. Pro-slavery, like the fabled basilisk, must be discerned and marked for destruction by all who would battle it successfully, *before* it can fix its evil eye on them. With the loss of the *first sight*, men well nigh lose this battle. It was now pro-slavery threatening *them* with excommunication;—it was the Church depriving *them* of their good standing: and they afforded a proof of

the truth of the sentiment which has been responded to by the experience of age after age, since Livy put it into the mouth of Hannibal:—"The hope, the courage of *assailants* is always greater than that of those who act upon the defensive."

Embarrassed by their sense of the truth and importance of the principle for which they had condemned the Anti-Slavery Society,—mortified by the conviction that they had made the sacrifice of the Abolitionists to the Church in vain, the Wesleyan Methodists again changed their course, and followed at a distance, as sectaries, the example they had denounced as Abolitionists. The very men who could sit in General Conference at Baltimore with slaveholders, and who to obtain that privilege, were of course obliged formally to abjure the American Anti-Slavery Society, holding its session at the same time in New-York, began not long after, to call upon their Methodist brethren to "come out and be separate," if they would reform the Methodist Church. Strange as it may seem, the very same men who had denounced the American Society for refusing to excommunicate women and Non-Resistants from its membership, as burdening the Anti-Slavery question with extraneous matters, now actually linked the cause with the question of Episcopacy. Faint as the effect of their course has been, compared with the effect which it might have produced unaccompanied with the hostility to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and unconnected with the question of Church government, its consequences have still been obvious to every eye. The Methodist body, strong for inl-

quity in the strength of its Anti-Slavery members, while they let the sanction of that strength remain in its hand, has trembled to its centre since they withdrew it. It has, by the boldness of a fear almost unparalleled in modern Church history, been driven even a step in advance of the State; and the testimony of the colored man, inadmissible before a slaveholding judiciary, is now *received* in a slaveholding Church-Court.

Though we had thus far walked by feeling and by faith;—by the revelations of sacred, and the teachings of profane history, in the course we took in “coming out” from pro-slavery iniquity, and planting ourselves on an independent Anti-Slavery basis, we now find ourselves walking in the added light of our own experience. What once was faith, now is sight:—what once was belief, now is certainty. We see how it is that he who “is lifted up, draws all men unto” him—how he who advances leaves the world no choice but to follow him;—how he who utters the feeblest word of uncompromising truth, shall hear its reverberations through the hearts of men, as when seven thunders go forth and multiply their voices in the undulations of even the unwilling and unconscious air.

The “coming out” from the Baptist church having been less general, of course the working of the Anti-Slavery feeling within, has been feebler and less perceptible. That class of men who call themselves *Baptist Abolitionists*, (thus unconsciously marking how much dearer to them is sect than humanity,) have borne partial, unwilling, and inconsistent wit-

ness to the principle of immediate cessation from the partaking of other men's sins. They have perceived the absurdity of spreading a slaveholding gospel in connection with their professions of abolitionism; and though they still "fellowship" pro-slavery churches at home, they have refused to unite with them to build up such churches abroad; and the Union Anti-Slavery Baptist Missionary Society has been formed.

This movement might be expected to give their denomination some uneasiness. That salutary pain, is, however, almost assuaged by the fact that those who give it are using their strongest efforts to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society,—from which, humanly speaking, they received the noble idea of the immediate abolition of slavery,—*too* noble, it appears, for them to retain in its great integrity. Their aim has, consequently, been to heap calumny upon the heads of those who are primarily Abolitionists,—sustaining the cause for *itself*, and not for something else. The Baptist church counts all the efforts of its members in this kind, for righteousness; and finds their particular abolition efforts so nearly nullified by their general pro-slavery conduct, as to leave but little cause of complaint.

The Presbyterians, with the aid of professing Abolitionists, have, as some of the latter have occasionally boasted, "capped this Anti-Slavery Vesuvius" in the general assemblies, and put a stop to the agitation of the subject in the more influential synods and Presbyteries. The principle of withdrawal from ecclesiastical participation in Slavery has been sanc-

tioned by the formers of a union church in New-York State,—once fellow-laborers with us, but now laboring to disperse and destroy our association.

But as we find it since laid down, by these very men, in convention assembled, that it is unjustifiable presumption to recommend withdrawal from the church on account of *specific sin*, of course their testimony has but a trifling Anti-Slavery value. Such of us as do not believe in denominational divisions in the Christian Church, may hope they will effect good as anti-sectarians. We cannot but see and feel that they have nullified their Anti-Slavery influence.

The Orthodox Congregationalists of New England, continue, as at the beginning, the most deadly foes to the Anti-Slavery movement. Their name should be legion for the number, and Proteus for the variety of their Anti-Slavery pretences and disguises. But they are ever, under all, the same “evil soul producing holy witness,” as when they declared with Gurley, as colonizationists, that Slavery and prejudice were the ordination of Providence. Whether they strive to absorb sympathy, as philanthropists, by plans for the relief and improvement of the colored race, which shall not touch the *cause* of the black man’s suffering and deterioration, or mentally defer its removal as politicians, till the repetition of the oath to sustain it shall have abolished it, these are still the hardest hearts with which Freedom has to struggle. Whether they deny, with Blagden, Woods and Stuart, that Slavery is neither *malum in se*, nor inconsistent with the faith of the gospel, or the or-

der of the church:—or whether they affirm with Gerrit Smith, and John G. Whittier, that it has no existence in the great organic law of the State, they are evermore its main bulwark and defence.

We speak not now of the noble examples from among the Congregationalists, on whom we call to witness the truth of our testimony against that body. We speak of the body itself. Some advances it has seemed to make, in the shape of resolutions of churches and associations. While we allow to *resolve*, unsupported by *fulfilment*, whatever credit it deserves, we are but too well aware of the way in which much, if not most of this action was obtained, to pass it to the credit of the churches and associations. In some cases it was occasioned by Anti-Slavery secessions, and therefore should be credited to Abolitionists. In still more, it was procured by agents hostile to the Anti-Slavery movement, who traverse the parishes, urging upon clergymen, deacons, and wealthy pillars of churches, the necessity of “taking their most dangerous weapon from the hands of the Abolitionists,” by the manufacture of proof that they were Anti-Slavery. Abolitionists earnestly urge upon all such churches to be, and not to seem, to do, as well as talk. But alas! to be and to do, are also to suffer: and only an intense and primary devotion to the cause, will strengthen for this.

The Unitarians are entitled to mention in this examination, from various circumstances of position and pretension, rather than their numbers: which are to those of the great sects, but as a gay binding up-

on a sober garment,—a brilliant streak along the Atlantic border.

As respects our cause, they are a mingled and confused throng—no two of them at the same stage of advance,—some, it is to be feared, on the retreat, as they begin to experience, in their turn, the disappointment felt by their orthodox brethren in 1837, in not being able to appropriate for a sect “what was meant for mankind.” Their clergymen, generally, exhibit the pitiable spectacle of men trying to be well with the slaveholder and the slave, the pro-slavery merchant and politician, and the Abolitionist. Liberty Party allows their claim in the hope of their votes; and measuring them by itself ought, perhaps, to give them precedence. Disinterested Anti-Slavery, notes them as condemned, not only by universal moral rules, but by all that has hitherto been set forth as Unitarianism. We watch with earnest wishes for their conversion to Anti-Slavery principles, the conflict now going on in their minds; “thanking our God upon every remembrance” of the beloved few of their number, who have neither hesitated to withstand them in their pro-slavery course, nor rightly to characterize their pro-slavery leaders; and who have rejoiced with us over every instance of individual resistance to the wrong course of the body. Of the friends and the Free-will Baptists, the above remarks are equally true. These denominations claim, in addition, to be, of themselves, Anti-Slavery bodies. Their members claim for them that they are true Anti-Slavery Societies. We have learned to judge

respects ; not by the body to which they belong,—the professions they make,—the creed they adopt,—the country they dwell in,—the party badge, or the skin they wear. We take men as we find them, judging the tree by its fruit. The pro-slavery Quaker cannot be justified in our eyes by the imputed righteousness of George Fox ; nor may the Free-will Baptist, who strives to breathe the breath of malignant life into the dead nostrils of new organization, have credit with us as a friend of the cause, though he were the only instance of pro-slavery to be found in the sect.

We judge all men, in this regard, as we do the associates here to-day, who sit in Anti-Slavery council, on our right hand, and on our left ; by their honesty, zeal, devotedness, benevolence, good sense, fidelity, diligence, courage. As it matters nothing in our judgment at this late day, that a man calls himself an Abolitionist, and joins an Anti-Slavery Society, unless he brings forth those fruits meet for repentance, so it is of quite as little significance that a man pleads any other membership or pretence. It is now almost a matter of course, that the Northern man shall *call* himself the foe of Slavery ; and we, therefore, give no heed to the professions of the men whose opposition we feel.

PRESENT STATE OF THE CAUSE.—THE STATE.

Political institutions, being less deeply founded, in our country, than religious ones, exhibit more strongly the symptoms of coming change.

As we look downwards upon the political strifes and combinations of the past year,

“Beneath us like a changing cloud,
The wide field changes as we gaze.”

The same careless, selfish, ambitious hearts are seen in each political division by turns. Now shrilling, with small and evil excitement, comes the cry of POLK, DALLAS, AND TEXAS, from one grand division:—anon rises the equally insignificant, equally selfish, though less *openly* vicious one of “Clay and Frelinghuysen.” What the cause might lose by the open opposition of the first named division, it will gain by reaction in the event of their success. What it might gain by the temporary coincidence between Whig policy and Anti-Slavery principle, it will lose by political compromise, as soon as the lines now converging, shall intersect. The Abolitionists, therefore, have no real grounds of preference between the two parties. They will not suffer themselves to be involved in the maelstrom which would bear them circling onward, still more and more swiftly, to destruction. The Third Party, as now organized, is still more decidedly objectionable to the Abolitionist; for it is not merely *incidentally*, but *necessarily* more hostile to our movement. For proof of this we have only to refer to their hostility, shown at the outset, by an attempt at union with the foes of the cause, to destroy the Anti-Slavery Society; to the constant calumnies of its official organ; (of right, our own property, embezzled from us in the hope of destroying our associations,) the efforts of which prostituted press, were wickedness crowned with suc-

cess proportionate to its deadly purpose, would have destroyed our association as it appropriated our property ; and would have entirely closed up the way to any further exertion on our part, in behalf of our undertaking ; and did, in fact, for a short time, leave us alone, forsaken and betrayed.

Now that truth and constancy have, as those qualities always will, defeated the machinations of falsehood,—our duty having been in part performed by the preservation of our associate existence, and the refutation of individual slander, the question remains, what confidence is due to the flaming professions of those whom we have seen in the perpetration of the very basest actions of which men allowed to remain even in partisan and ecclesiastical society can be guilty, and which at once forfeit the entrée to the society of men of goodness, sense, and honor ? Our duty is to prevent the cause, and its advocates from suffering further by these assaults from which they have already received so much injury : to prevent, by occasional exposition of facts, the absorption and misuse of the sympathies of an awakening public, and to expose the refuge of lies into which the opposers of the cause seek safety from its requisitions. We know that this party is but the pretence of defeated sectarianism ; the livelihood of deserters from the Anti-Slavery cause ; alike a field for the low ambition of Whigs and Democrats who place a higher estimate on their capacities for office than their respective parties have done ; and the desperate need of electioneering clergymen, drunk with the unaccustomed cup of political excitement. Too truly has the

prophesy respecting that party, made at its outset, been fulfilled. "Men, disappointed of nominations by the great parties, and too bad, or too stupid, even for them, will flock to this, and dishonor by their baseness, the sacred name of Abolition."

That there are good men, who are our dear friends and beloved associates in the cause, who are deceived, or in danger of being so, by this party, as well as by the two great ones, is only a stronger reason for exposing its true character, as we have done theirs.

Its inconsistencies are more glaring than any observable in the others. It calls upon men to come out from the iniquity of the pro-slavery parties, while it justifies, in the strongest manner, that actual slaveholding, of which we are guilty, by participating in a slaveholding Government. It cannot abide Whig or Democratic participation in Slavery, though it defends American participation as a duty. It forbids voting for a slaveholding individual, but a slaveholding Government, a slaveholding compromise—a slaveholding Union, it is necessary to the existence of the party, not only practically to sustain, but formally to swear allegiance. It was in the first instance, formed to divert Anti-Slavery indignation from the Church. It exists to perform the same kind office for the State. Its leading members say they see the folly of hoping to reform pro-slavery parties by remaining in unity and alliance with them: but we see that their motive is not an Anti-Slavery one, for, with the same breath they call it sacrilege to abandon the support of a pro-slavery Church and Government. Sustain these, though nobody has

the face to deny that both support Slavery. Destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society, for it considers their pro-slavery character as an all-sufficient reason for refusing to support them. The American Society, it seems, is *too* Anti-Slavery. That is its fault. Destroy it, and the credit of its members from the face of the earth ; for then, and not till then, can hypocrisy go unrebuked by reality.

Is it any failure of right, good feeling, or just intellectual perception, to brand such a party as pro-slavery ? We do it unhesitatingly, though with pain, as we do it to the great parties, as an indispensable duty to the slave, whose servants we are. Otherwise, we are not faithful to the principles and the measures we have deliberately chosen, from the beginning, to which our souls accept as the only righteous ones. "They shall be such," we said, before our strife for freedom begun, "as the opposition of moral purity, to moral corruption: the destruction of error by the potency of truth ; the overthrow of prejudice, by the power of love."

It is not to pain any, but for the benefit of all, that we characterize men as their merits or demerits deserve. To do the latter, is ever a duty so disagreeable, that nothing but the power of disinterested good-will, can ensure its performance in a moral cause. It is the rarest evidence of right-mindedness and good feeling towards men,

"So well to love them as *to read them true.*"

Persons generally, are too apt to shrink from *any* duty that calls down the sectarian's calumnies, or the paid partisan's abuse ; and to turn, with disgust

from even the most sacred obligation, when they foresee that its fulfilment must be followed by a torrent of guilty twaddle from the sort of men who plead good motives for infamous acts, and who, had they lived in Scripture times, would have termed the general principles of Christianity, "sweeping denunciations," and the merited rebukes of its founder, "bitter personal controversy." We should never forget that fidelity in the administration of truth and facts, affords the only human means of converting these bad men into good men.

We greatly rejoice in the high position at present, occupied by the American Anti-Slavery Society. It has entrenched on the hill-top nearest heaven, and consequently commands the whole country. It has, heretofore, been falsely urged against us, that we counsel the neglect of political duty. Those very accusers, on coming to a fuller understanding of our principles and measures, now taunt the Abolitionists with being politicians. We would be blind to no aspect of duty, but would effectually perform her every mandate. While we see no utility in dabbling in the dirty tide of partisanship; or wisdom in unnecessarily adding the rage of electioneering antagonism to the unavoidable oppugnancy of a slaveholding people to Anti-Slavery; or economy in spending that time and means which might convert the people, in nominating candidates who can do nothing till the people *are* converted: or rectitude in offering premiums upon hypocrisy; or hope of success in counting over and over, annually, the ballots of an unprincipled party;—we ever acknowledge, and mean

faithfully to fulfil the great political obligation of strengthening every righteous tie that binds man to man, and sundering every wrongful one. Whilst we affirm our brotherhood to every man that breathes, and have stood pledged for years by our virtual affiliation with the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as by our individual feelings, to include the master as truly as the slave, in the circle of our sympathies, our moral sense cries out against a union with slaveholders in the perpetration of their iniquity, even for the professed purpose of converting them.

HARSH LANGUAGE.

This leads us, naturally, to the consideration of the most powerful, and the most generally condemned of all our measures—the truth spoken in love.

We would not injure a hair of the slaveholder's head. It is to do him good, and not to harm him, that we give to his system and his conduct their true character. It is to save him, and not to punish him, that we declare that the latter is sinful, and must be immediately repented of, and that the former is criminal, and must be immediately abolished. When we find men who hear us speaking the truth with this intent, becoming exceedingly denunciatory against what they term our denunciation, we know by that token that they are either the advocates of Slavery, or without any sufficient sense of its nature and tendencies. Under institutions like those of this country, where rotation in office is so nearly annual, and suffrage nominally universal, it has required the deepest sensibility to human suffering, the truest conviction of human rights, and the highest amount

of that rare sense, diviner than indignation, which flames upward in the soul at the spectacle of human wrongs, to throw off the weight of public inertia which selfishness induces. He mistakes who thinks the Abolitionists have not been tempted as other men are, to "take care of number one:" "not to make themselves marked men, and so ruin their prospects in life:" "to keep out of hot water:" "to fulfil the mission of stillness:" "to keep in the quiet:" "to judge not, that they be not judged:" "not to brave public opinion:" "not to stir till well backed up by other folks:" "not to disturb the peace of the Church:" "not to interfere with the ordinations of Providence:" "not to have hard thoughts of their neighbors." This selfish preference of one's own low, personal interests, to the noblest interests of the whole race, under whatever variation of phrase, or perversion of scripture, various sects and classes of men may veil it, is the thing that checks the expression of truth as it rushes to the lips;—makes men "brow-beat their manhood," and women ready to deny that they have souls; and both to overflow with charity for the rich strong oppressor, and to cherish forgetfulness of the poor, and weak oppressed. Such "charity" is the height of diabolical malevolence. It is the very opposite of kindness, long suffering, and all those attributes which have distinguished Abolitionists. We say it, not in eulogy, but in record, that they have been no respecters of persons: speaking the truth for the good alike of those whom none else dared to rebuke, and whom none else ventured to defend.

WHO IS AN ABOLITIONIST?

The term is so commonly in use in our lives and in our pages, that its answer merits a little consideration. It has been well remarked by another, that "Success may be safely predicted of a cause which the selfish and the timid have joined." But success may be delayed, if such are by general consent allowed to be Abolitionists.

"Who is an Abolitionist?" Not necessarily he who has freed his own slaves. Many a man has done it to swell the triumphs of the Colonization Society; which makes slaveholding in general safe. Many another, because Abolitionists have created a public opinion which he dares not disobey; and still a stronger motive does there now exist for the act, in the political and sectarian "capital" to be made of it in this fourteenth year since the inception of the enterprise. It is a just deed, but it does not entitle a man to the character of an Abolitionist. It may be performed by one as hostile as a slaveholder to our enterprise, and who is busily engaged in endeavors to subvert it. He is not necessarily an Abolitionist, though he is necessarily degrading the man of color, who is busy in keeping up exclusive schools and churches for him.

Nor is he necessarily an Abolitionist who gives his time to the aid of single fugitives, or his substance to the purchase of their children. The former of these acts is a humane and benevolent one, though in its nature, owing to the necessary secrecy of its performance, and its tendency to relieve the

glutted market, not often beneficial even indirectly, to the cause. The latter, however benevolent the will of the purchaser, is certainly not a beneficent act. Nothing positive has been effected, even for one individual. The burden of Slavery has been simply shifted from one shoulder to another. The price of one slave has been put into the hand of the slaveholder to purchase another with, and a sanction given to the guilty notion of property in man. Whether the general rule may admit of exceptions, by reason of peculiar relations or circumstances, as, for example, in the case of a child buying his father, or the father his child, it is not necessary to our present purpose to decide. But it is certainly the very last way in which it is possible to abolish Slavery, to open a new channel for the trade which shall be esteemed a holy one;—to make it better worth a man's while to breed children for sale;—to ensure a rise in the Southern market, by the tempting offers of Northern philanthropy.

The true Abolitionist who saves a single victim in an unexceptionable manner, is ever aware that he has done nothing thereby to weaken the system. He does it with those painful tears that spring from the same source whence we may suppose flowed those of Jesus at the grave of Lazarus:—

“O'erwhelming thoughts of pain and grief
 Over his sinking spirit sweep;—
 What boots it gathering *one* lost leaf,
 Out of yon sere and withered heap,
 Where souls and bodies, hopes and joys,
 All that earth owns or sin destroys,
 Under the spurning hoof are cast?”

A few words, we trust, are not misplaced on these points. Because a man is not a demon, it does not follow that he is an Abolitionist. Let all who are so, be faithful to their principles, and constant in their promulgation, and they may depend upon the very slaveholder, with all his tyrannical feelings on his heart, to emancipate his slaves; and upon the very pro-slavery community to help off the fugitives, and buy their children for them. There are various other descriptions of men who rise to mind upon the consideration of this question. There is he who is anxious to prove that the Abolitionists are the calumniators of the Church, by procuring the passage of infructuous resolutions. There is he who walks to and fro in the earth, brushing the Anti-Slavery garments of the ministry, while he hardens their pro-slavery hearts. There is he, heretofore well known to all his neighbors as hostile to the cause, whose obscurity is flattered by the chance of a year's immortality in the embalming leaves of a newspaper, as the candidate of the third party. There is he who looks upon the cause as on a level with the other benevolent societies in its capacity of paying salaries;—a carcass for hungry crows to fatten upon; he, whom even a slaveholder may despise—

“A prim pert prater of the northern race,
Guilt in his heart, and famine in his face.”

One who in his disappointment, that the cause has no reward in stores for its advocates, but demands on the contrary, every effort and sacrifice, considers himself a wronged individual, and becomes, in the guise of friendship, its deadliest ene-

my. There is the quack of the body politic, who thinks it enough to keep the influence of Slavery south of Mason and Dixon's line. There is the manufacturer of political notoriety for unknown candidates: the builder of churches and religious societies in the name of Anti-Slavery, the object of which is not to strengthen it, but to draw strength from it; not to serve but to use it. To all these, however fair their disguises, or however specious their claims, we deny the name of Abolitionists; for there is no tendency in their proceedings, and for the most part no wish in their hearts, to abolish Slavery. But there are others still, who claim with these the name. There are the men whose religion has eaten up their humanity; with whom forms overlay facts; whose Sunday, like a great cancer, is killing the whole week. With them pro-slavery is piety, and Anti-Slavery infidelity. The notions of these men are so narrow as to prevent progress: but as a counterbalance in the opposition, there are on the contrary, those who, like the drunken man, find the road *too wide* to go forward upon. It is the malady alike of students and of unlearned men to labor to show their wisdom and their independence, by refusing to mix with other men on a footing of equality. Men so disposed can pick pride alike out of learning or the lack of it; and such, liberal even to bigotry, sometimes come among us, claiming to be Abolitionists. We cannot, if we would, help entertaining a different opinion of them. In common with the good old Spectator, we "never think it clever to call physic a mean study, or law a dry one." Nor by parity of

reasoning do we conceive a minister to be, *ex-officio*, a hypocrite, or a Calvinist a bigot. Infidelity, we perceive, is not necessarily Anti-Slavery, any more than orthodoxy ; (though the pertinacity with which proslavery orthodoxy declares them to be identical, might deceive the careless ;) and we are constrained to disbelieve in that type of soi-disant abolitionism which argues a man's character from his creed, or his want of one. Many persons of some good qualities we not unfrequently come in contact with, who, in virtue of spasms of ill-directed sympathy, without much pretence to principle, would fain be thought Abolitionists. "When the sun comes up with a fervent heat, they wither away, because there is no depth of earth in them." Then there are the artists; who look upon the vigil and the battle of this cause, simply as a good subject for pen or pencil: and the quietists, who are continually talking of being "led into green pastures, and by still waters"—who dwell much, and with terror, on "the divisions among Abolitionists:" as if those who understand each other thoroughly, and yet disagree, can possibly both be seeking the same thing. They deprecate struggle and strife: as if this life were, or ought to be, anything but a scene of strenuous endeavor; or the Christian cause itself, other than a battle; or the Gospel of Christ, aught in its effects, but a sword. None of these are Abolitionists, though, if those who are such, are careful to take warning by their deficiencies, they will be used instrumentally in the provisions of Divine Providence, for the accomplishment of its purposes of Freedom.

“Who, then, are the Abolitionists?” replies the listener: “Is there indeed *one*, by such rigid definitions? “What matters it? Do our definitions alter the nature of things? Can this work be wrought out *but* by the rigor of abolitionism, such as our negatives have described it, shaping and regulating the chaotic elements, which, because they have seen it and been with it, assume its name? Who that has a sparkle of right feeling would wish to bend the rectitude of truth and righteousness, to save from condemnation his own weakness? What matters it how few this estimate makes the real Abolitionists? “Let God be true, though every man a liar;” let the standard still be just, though few exemplify it. Narrow, still let the way be, though few there are that find it. Still let him only be accounted an Abolitionist who possesses,

“A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried—
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride;
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,—
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.”

Still, though he be alone, call only him an Abolitionist who never shrinks from charging with the forlorn hope: who, having done scrupulously right, at all risks, heeds not what men shall say of him; asking no privilege but to be

“The first in shame and agony;—
The meanest in the lowest task,”

that Freedom and humanity demand: who would blush to be less disinterested than the movers of bloody revolution, in that revolution of moral sentiment to which he gives his life. “Que mon nom

soit fletri!" he exclaims. "Let my name perish, so this cause of God and the people ride gloriously over it!"

And when from the sharp-witted merchant on 'change, and the needy politician, and the good-enough-sort-of-man in his pleasant home, and the *littérateur* in his library, and the clergyman in suit of unimpeachable black, and the beauty in her boudoir, rises the uncomprehending cry,—“Fanaticism!”—feels in that very voice, the assurance that what *such* call fanaticism, must be the sacred duty of a true brother of mankind.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Anti-Slavery cause is like a refiner's fire to the churches of other lands than America. It is with joy that we note the progress of art and science through the earth, doing their part to join the hands of distant nations as they go, and “casting up a highway” for Philanthropy and Freedom to travel upon. Through the medium of the new and rapid steam communication, America has been pouring into England and Scotland those principles of Liberty and Equality which have been blessed on this continent in exact proportion to the fidelity with which they have been practised; and the Abolitionists of America hoped for the aid of the free churches, and of all the churches of Scotland, in teaching this country to consider those principles as of universal application, and to include the man of color in their pale. Especially did those hopes rise high on hearing the names of the deputation of the Free

Church—for we had heard of them before, as British Abolitionists. In view of the many and mighty temptations which we saw ready to beset them, involving no less than the whole present and temporal success of the mission; in view also of the numbers of British church-members and officers whom we had seen tried and found wanting, we did not dare to say with the meeting in Glasgow, where the question came up, that these would surely be found faithful.

But, with pain we are obliged to bear our testimony against such treason to the Anti-Slavery cause, as the Scottish Commissioners have been guilty of. They have taken the money of the slaveholder to build the Church withal. This is not what we blame them for. They say truly, when they declare that between Northern and Southern money, between the donations of the slaveholder in Carolina, and the more efficient slaveholder who stands behind him in Massachusetts, with a bayonet upon his shoulder, a mortgage of the slaves in his pocket, and an oath to support the system on his lips, it is impossible to draw the line of moral discrimination. There is many a man *called* a non-slaveholder—nay, many a man there may be, who, beneath the pressure of a growing public opinion, or in the hope of making political gain of the name of Abolition, has freed his own slaves, the reception of whose funds would be more injurious to the cause, than the reception of the gifts of the slaveholder, were the rejection of the sinner's help for holy purposes, a true general principle. We do not blame the Scottish Commission-

ers for asking, or for receiving the contributions of the South to build a Free Church with; but heavy blame does rest upon them for avoiding the Abolitionists, and associating exclusively with the pro-slavery church and clergy, whose arms were open for the very purpose of beguiling them of their Anti-Slavery integrity. "Into whatsoever city ye enter, inquire who is *worthy*," said the Saviour; "and *there* abide." The Scottish Deputies, on the contrary, have given to the pro-slavery world their moral sanction, and to the Anti-Slavery association the measure of their moral deficiency, by seeking the society of those only, whom Freedom condemns as unworthy. Again, the Scotch Deputies are verily guilty of the blood of their enslaved brethren, inasmuch as they uttered no testimony against Slavery while in this country. Why did they not proclaim their purposes in the *Liberator*, or in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organs of the Abolitionists, the latter officially so: having no connection with any exclusively American politics, but holding the same relation to Government that Christianity did in the earlier and brighter day? Why did they not go to the religious public, as GEORGE THOMPSON did, clothed in an identification with the Abolitionists? Why did they not, in reverential imitation of Jesus Christ, follow in the footsteps of their forerunners?—"For this," saith He, "it *becometh* us to fulfil all righteousness." Why did they not say to the blood-guilty American Church,—“Give us your pecuniary aid to preach as our Master was anointed to do, deliverance to the captive, and the

opening of the prison-doors to the bound." Every church that your aid enables us to build, shall be a stronghold of Anti-Slavery. We include the abolition of Slavery in our plan of a *Free Church*, and in our idea of Christianity. Had they acted thus, they would have been as little troubled with the funds of slaveholders, and their abettors, as is the American Anti-Slavery Society. Not having acted thus, they have betrayed, not only the Anti-Slavery cause alone, but the all-comprehending cause of Christianity. They have dwelt on the wickedness of the supporters of the Kirk of Scotland, and the Church of England, who have refused to sell them sites for churches from which to denounce establishments, and, that they might meanwhile draw money from pro-slavery purses, have left unrebuked the guilt of the bearers, in refusing to the Abolitionists, even the temporary use of a church to preach repentance of the sin of Slavery. From these actions, (not from their professions,) it appears, and the world cannot but see it, that their voyage to America has done nothing to prove the "Free Church of Scotland" a *truly* Free or Christian one. They appeared here, not as the apostles of a nobler approximation to the Christian standard, but merely as the advocate of what New England calls the Congregational platform. Seeing everything from a low point of view, they saw nothing rightly; and reported, on their return, that the Anti-Slavery cause was not advancing. One thing, however, they rightly apprehend—a thing so plain that he who runs may read it, and which is visible to the traveller, from

even the lowest point of view—that the whole American Church is implicated in Slavery, that the system is entrenched in the American republic, and that it would be their duty to take higher ground, should they revisit the country.

Though the feeling of the Commissioners, in view of their American tour, seems hardly to amount to what Theologians call *attrition*,—the lowest form of repentance, we yet hope to hear from the Free Church of Scotland itself, a remonstrance so strong and feeling, with the slaveholding church of America, as shall prove its title to the name it has assumed;—its right to be considered “free indeed.” If it deny the sanctions of its communion to the thief, the debauchee, and the murderer, let it not fail to deny them also, to the deeper and more comprehensive guilt of the slaveholder. If it refuse the donations of other sinners to its treasury, let it, as a matter of necessity, return the donations of slaveholders. While we urge this fidelity to men’s own convictions, as the surest means of changing them, should they be erroneous, the true mode of procedure is, in our apprehension, the one we have before indicated, and which precludes that necessity:—unless, indeed, the Free Church feels that these American funds have been obtained on the false pretence, that she would tolerate slaveholding, and ought, on *that* ground, to be returned.

What we say to the Free Church of Scotland, we say to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: It is not your money, but you, that we find fault with. You could never have been

tempted by these funds, which some casuists decide to be unfit to promulgate the gospel with, had you, in the first place, obeyed its requisitions. The proffer of them is, under the circumstances, the proof of your want of Anti-Slavery principle. Had you been Abolitionists, as you ought to have been, instead of opposers of Abolitionists, you never would have had the chance to receive them. Be faithful, even now, and all that a shadow of doubt can rest upon, will be reclaimed, and thus the practical difficulty of returning them, obviated.

With such as find a principle, where we are unable to discern one, and who are conscientiously led, by thought on this subject, to relinquish all the business concerns of the world, as tainted with injustice, we have no quarrel, though we differ in judgment. On the contrary, we highly honor a stringent, even when mistaken fidelity to one's idea of right. In such a case the error of the head is lost in the excellency of the heart, and in no way prevents us from bestowing love and honor on the conscientiousness that condemns us. May we never shrink from patient thought, but still be ready, as heretofore, immediately to relinquish whatever investigation may show us to be wrong.

As the lines of perspective run beyond the limits of the picture, so a report does not afford space for following out the long processes of thought by which conclusions are attained. We can here only sum up in a single word, the principle to which a rigid philosophical, ethical, and Christian examination of the subject brings us. *It is not wrong to receive help in*

doing good, from all men, even wicked men. It is wrong to promote one good principle at the sacrifice of another ;—to get help for good by giving it for evil.

OUR PROSPECTS.

Never were they so encouraging as now. Even those who hate the cause are made its servants. How could we, few in numbers, and feeble in resources, make ourselves heard through the land, in vindication of our principles? Providence has provided for this contingency, in supplying us with opposers, to whom right seems so great an absurdity, and truth so really ridiculous, that they assume the trouble and expense of this promulgation, under the idea that principle can be overwhelmed by odium. Happily, there is in every human heart, that which responds to right and truth; and what was relied on for our defeat, bids fair to secure our success. Undoubtedly the result of the issue the American Anti-Slavery Society presents to the nation, will be the abolition of Slavery, for the sake of preserving the Union, or the dissolution of the Union for the sake of abolishing Slavery.

Let whoever would preserve these States united, by the exorcism of Slavery, refuse to sustain the Union as it is. This is now the tendency of all minds. This is now the secret thought of all hearts. Soon, like the application of stronger magic, will this thought break the spell of party as it now exists. Out of the wreck of Whig, Democratic and soi-disant Liberty parties, will "come out and be separate," a body of such as will refuse to covenant with the

slaveholder, to put down insurrections, return fugitives, and allow him three votes for every five slaves, in support of his system: of such as shall REFUSE, when such oath is tendered them by the Speakers of Legislatures and Congresses, to desecrate their hearts and lips by saying, "So help me God, I will:" of such as shall refuse to do by representation, the guilty and debasing deed, the personal perpetration of which, the righteous man shrinks from. If we have come out from slaveholding parties, how much more should we abandon a slaveholding Government. If we have feared to sanction Slavery, by giving the highest office in the nation to a slaveholder, how much more should we shrink from being slaveholders politically, ourselves, in order to get into office. Deeper and stronger grows this conviction in the souls of men, and out of the tenderer and more sublime morality that we promulgate, shall spring a truer and closer public union.

Though it was prophesied by those whose "wish was father to the thought," that we should lose in pecuniary means, and in public confidence by this step, in which the Society has advanced to the position of its pioneers, the very opposite has proved the fact. We are saved by the position in which it places us from being swept away by the swellings of the little political Jordans of the times; our numbers are thus less fluctuating; our consistency thus secures confidence. None will, for some time to come, join us from interested motives. Those whose Abolition was of doubtful character, and whom momentary feeling only had flooded to our ranks, are

fast feeling their moral repulsion, and finding their true affinity. They first reject our association, and then complain that we exclude them. We only say, that the platform stands ever where it did, and we earnestly invite them to return to it. We did not give up our right to form, or to express our opinion of men's Anti-Slavery consistency, when we associated together with the understanding that no one was to renounce *any* opinions. On the platform of the American Society above all other places, do we find the fitting spot to speak of Anti-Slavery duty, and to declare that swearing to support a pro-slavery Constitution, for the sake of administering a pro-slavery Government, is in flagrant inconsistency with our Anti-Slavery principles, and with those laid down from the beginning, by the American Society. In the language of the Declaration of Sentiments, "Such a union is full of guilt and danger, and must be broken up." Do we in this exclude any? not at all. The Whig, the Democrat, the Liberty party man, has his own right to membership. Our right of remark and remonstrance is like his own, and does not grow out of our association, but is inherent in human nature, and one that society can neither give nor take away.

Our prospect of funds is at least as good as at any former period. Letters from Ireland assure us of the sympathy and continued aid of the friends in Dublin, Cork, and elsewhere.

From Scotland we learn by letter of their intention to aid us, while the Glasgow Female Society expresses the strongest sympathy. From Harriet Mar-

tineau and Elizabeth Pease—from Barnard Barton and Thomas Clarkson,—from Doctor Bowring, and Esther Sturge,—from Anne Cropper, and R. D. Webb, and R. Allen, we have received letters which I would time might permit me to read, so full are they of encouragement and aid. We need not fear that the efforts of Elizur Wright, and those who, like him, though personally almost unknown to us, hate because they have injured us, will avail to deprive us of the sympathy of these true friends. He has been faithfully rebuked for his calumny in a recent instance in which he sent out a circular to raise money, to bring him back to America, insinuating slander respecting the original faithful Abolitionists. This we learn from Elizabeth Pease, and R. D. Webb.

We can assure our friends in Europe that in helping American Abolitionists, they are not helping those whose indolence precludes self-help. In Worcester County alone, we hear of thirteen Anti-Slavery sewing circles in operation for the Fair; and though the amount of pecuniary help we can expect from each will not be at first great, we hail each as the little central flame of Liberty which is to warm and fertilize a whole region. We are not solicitous to form multitudes of Societies out of unseasoned materials, as we at first did in the days of our inexperience; we leave that to those who rely on numbers; for the fruit of it is only disappointment to an Abolitionist. But we are anxious that all true friends of the cause should enjoy the benefits of co-operation, and natural sympathy; the power of association, the facul-

ties of mutual understanding, and division of labor. I like associations," said Wilberforce. "They give us such *long arms*." They are indeed an immense practical advantage. While we have no quarrel with those who reject them for themselves; yet we have a very decided quarrel with those who make our use of them a pretence for attacking us. We protest against the tyranny which would make the idiosyncrasy of one, the iron rule for the many.

The Fair is to be held at the usual time, and for the usual purposes, in the name of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at whose disposal the funds will, as heretofore, be placed. We urge a zealous and indefatigable effort to make the occasion one of value and interest to the cause. Let us ask again for aid of all our pro-slavery friends. Surely it cannot be that an added year of our precept and example shall have fallen upon their hearts in vain. We may find help when we least expect it. Let us each in our respective circles of acquaintance, establish little Anti-Slavery Societies, till the time of the Fair, for the purpose of devising and executing plans for its benefit.

The Liberty Bell is to be published as usual. It is dependent on the contributions of the friends for its publication, and I will merely suggest that \$5 each, from the managers of the Fair, will fully meet the necessary expense. It is but a small instrumentality, yet far too useful a one to admit of our relinquishing it. It doubles the money invested in it, at the time of the Fair. It gives us all the pleasure of a little Anti-Slavery Souvenir, at a season when we

need it as a tasteful present, by means of which to excite a flow of good feeling to the cause, for our sakes. It is a bond of union among ourselves, as well as between the eastern and western sides of the Atlantic, and it enables us to acknowledge, in a suitable manner, the aid we receive from friends abroad, besides bearing a knowledge of our principles, where no other Anti-Slavery publication is tolerated.

FINANCES.—BEQUEST OF FRANCES CLAPP.

During the last year the will of our deceased friend and associate, Miss Frances Clapp, has been administered by her executor, N. Rogers, of the Marlborough Hotel, with whom she lodged at the time of her last illness, and death. We owe her much, as was stated in a previous report, for her fidelity to the cause. She was one of the original Abolitionists, who remained faithful to the cause when it was deserted and betrayed by foes in the guise of professions. A short time previous to her death, she made a will, by which she bequeathed to Mr. Rogers in trust, for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery cause, and with strict reference to her known opinions thereon, the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars. At the proper time after, we deemed it our duty to communicate to Mr. Rogers the views, wishes, and opinions of our deceased friend, with which, as her associate for many years, we were intimately acquainted. We informed him of her joining the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, in 1836—of her life-membership—of her annual subscriptions, and occasional donations to our treasury, of her regular attendance on our meetings, and those of the Ameri-

can and Massachusetts Societies,—of her unity in sentiment with us,—of her seeking our friendship and acquaintance as Abolitionists of the early and true stamp. We told him of her steadfastness when, in 1840, many of whom better things had been hoped, proved faithless—of her frequent defence of Mr. Garrison, whom she highly esteemed as a devoted laborer for Emancipation, from the slanders of his calumniators—of her subscriptions to the Liberator; of her having given the whole influence of her name and her pecuniary aid, to sustain the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, when sundry clergymen of Boston attempted to disband it, because of its fidelity to the cause; of her entire disapproval of the views, aims, and opinions of those who seceded from the American, Massachusetts, and Boston Female Anti-Slavery Societies, and her increased interests in those Societies, as proved and purified by those secessions. Of her condemnation of the “new organization” as an unjustifiable procedure, stimulated by pro-slavery.

We deemed that duty to her memory, and faithfulness to the cause she loved and labored with us to promote, demanded of us to make this statement to Mr. Rogers, with the additional one, that her will, and the terms of her will, drawn up though it was by Mr. Rogers’s own new organized lawyer, would, in the view of all who knew her, be exactly executed, both in letter and in spirit, by the payment of her bequest to the treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery

Society ; while, to pay the bequest to the Financial Committee of the Liberator, the paper which Miss Clapp held in high esteem, would be so entirely in agreement with the spirit of her will, as to be liable to no objection.

We have not received the common courtesy of a reply from Mr. Rogers, to our courteous statement of the mind of our friend, our consequent expectations for the cause, and our reliance upon his sense of right in the premises. The latter reliance, we have been mistaken in: for while the Societies of which Miss Clapp was a member, received nothing from her bequest, we notice in the Emancipator, an acknowledgment of fifty dollars on the part of the Female Emancipation Society, one hostile to Miss Clapp's known views, with which she never was connected, and the designs of which she lent her energies to defeat, when those who formed it attempted to dissolve our Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society by the hand-vote of pro-slavery church-members brought in for the purpose, *who refused to give their names*. This is the Society which accepts the services of Elizur Wright to disseminate in England the false statement that the affiliated Anti-Slavery Association of America, of which our Boston Female Society is a part, is a non-resistance Society, and employed in breaking down the barriers to vice and immorality.

Further information respecting our deceased friend's bequest, we have not received, and consequently are unable to give.

THE DANGERS OF THE CAUSE.

The misfortune of the black man was in the guilt of the white man. When the latter, awakened in 1776 to personal wrongs, asserted the rights of man, personal and selfish considerations forbade him to include the black man in his application of principles. Ever since the formation of the Federal Union, therefore, has it been for the interest of the white man to keep the very existence of the black man unthought of. A generation has risen and died, and a second has succeeded it, without any realizing sense among the body of the people of the existence of slaves, till the moment that the practical knowledge of the fact come to each man, coupled with the temptation to unite in holding them in Slavery. The child poring over his American manufactured Geography,* saw so many slaves reckoned as a matter of science in the statistics of the population, and learned from the text as a matter of religion, that the relation of master and slave was a happy and an endearing one. At meeting and at church, he was brought up from youth to think Slavery not inconsistent with the requisitions of the Gospel. He was thus fitly trained for a merchant, a religionist, a man of business, or a politician, in a country where Slavery, in virtue of the Constitutional compromise, holds the key of admission to political preferment, and by the strength of its protection and guarantee, reigns paramount in all the money concerns of the country, thereby shaping the

* See Goodrich's Geography.

ecclesiastical ones at its will ; so that, whether at church or market, in the Legislature, or at the polls, the system reigned paramount. Not a breath ruffled this dead sea till the hour arrived since which Garrison, and those of whom he stands as the philosophical representative—the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have never ceased to agitate it. From such agitation grows information—conviction—repentance. The DANGER is, lest the cost of such agitation to those who occasion it, should tempt them to a return to the inaction from which they have aroused themselves. There was a time when there was no American Anti-Slavery Society, no agitation, no promulgation of Anti-Slavery principles : when all men's consciences were asleep. The danger is, lest that time should return. The public conscience has been partially informed and awakened by the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the importance of the question, and it was early seen to be one which, carefully managed, might yield living to the needy, place to the political aspirant, and gratification to denominational pride and sectarian ambition. By slightly paring down principle to suit public demand, and ever drawing a broad line of distinction between themselves and the original and uncompromising advocates of the cause, at the same time contending stoutly for the *name* of Abolitionists, thousands have hoped to make a property of the cause, and in too many instances have succeeded. So earnest have been their efforts, that the wonder is that the cause has not been submerged again, in the world of various party, sect, and business, from

which it has been drawn out and urged into a movement at so much cost, and which all are trying to get possession of, that they may regulate its march to suit their interests. This is the secret meaning of the Whig cry, "We are Abolitionists, but the American Society has not liberality enough for us." This is what the Liberty Party mean when they said to the dregs of Whiggism and Democracy, "give us your votes for a President and officers of our nomination, and we will break up the American Society, and cast Garrison and his fellow-laborers overboard." This is what the Democrats mean, when they talk of bringing in Texas to abolish Slavery. This, being interpreted, is the language of all the various church members claiming to be Abolitionists:—"Give us the use of the cause for the aggrandizement of our sect."

The words of our deceased friend and associate, Susan Paul, still as aptly describe the Anti-Slavery cause as when her disinterested devotion to it gave her the infallible means of distinguishing friends from foes through every disguise: "There are just two sorts of persons among those called Abolitionists; those who have everything to gain by the name, and those who have everything to lose by it." The danger, now and ever, is, lest the cause perish in the vampyre clutch of the first.

The imminent danger is lest Abolitionists, borne down by long conflict, or deceived by spurious promises, or taken in by the assumption of a good name, should give up to the unworthy the advocacy of the cause till it becomes involved inextricably with some

party or sect ; thus merging its distinctive principles and characteristics for the sake of an easier temporary progress. The Truth has never been left without a witness since its first promulgation : but we can point to thousands and thousands, once Abolitionists, now silent for shame, in the ranks of pro-slavery, to prove how detrimental—how ruinous to the cause is the lingering allegiance of its professed servants to the throne of its enemies. The last state of such men becomes worse than their first, and their endeavor is to sink the cause out of sight, or to load its advocates with calumny from the moment that its existence becomes a reproach to themselves.

CONCLUSION.

The experience of every returning year, does but confirm us in the conclusion to which we arrived by argument and inference eleven years ago, that the only way in which an American can wash the guilt of participation in Slavery from his soul, is to GIVE HIS LIFE TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. He cannot live a single hour without involuntarily profiting by the system. If he leave the country, it is but an exchange of evil, since this is a *world* lying in wickedness. We therefore call on all our compatriots in an earnest manner, to become devoted Abolitionists, as a moral obligation, from which they cannot escape. This they can do, and yet leave nothing else undone. This left undone by the American of the present generation, and his grand mission is unfulfilled, inasmuch as he does it not.

There surely needs no searching argument or eloquent appeal to commend the cause of freedom and

humanity to professed Republicans and Christians. All see and feel that it is a good and a noble thing to spring to the relief and rescue of one human being undergoing wrong, or peril, or suffering. But here are well-nigh THREE MILLIONS, undergoing all the suffering, wrong, and peril of SLAVERY, while all that universal man holds dear and holy is endangered by the existence of such a blighting institution. Righteous principle dies out—good feeling is extinguished—our country is endangered—our character as a people dishonored: and will not you, who admire a single act of devotedness, though done but for a single human being, be true to your own moral nature, and gladly give time, labor, money, prayer, sacrifice, that you may save a nation—redeem a race—ennoble an age.

For their own sakes too, we earnestly entreat all to share with us the satisfaction of

“ ————Those high feelings which inspire
The givers of the gift of Liberty.”

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

WITH THE
BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

| | |
|---|----------|
| The whole amount of money received during the past year was, | \$392 98 |
| The whole amount of money paid was, | \$420 21 |
| Which leaves the treasury in debt | \$27 23 |

HARRIETTE B. JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, October 9, 1844.

Examined and approved by the Society.

