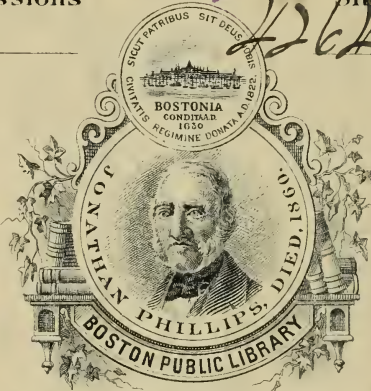


Accessions

Shelf No.

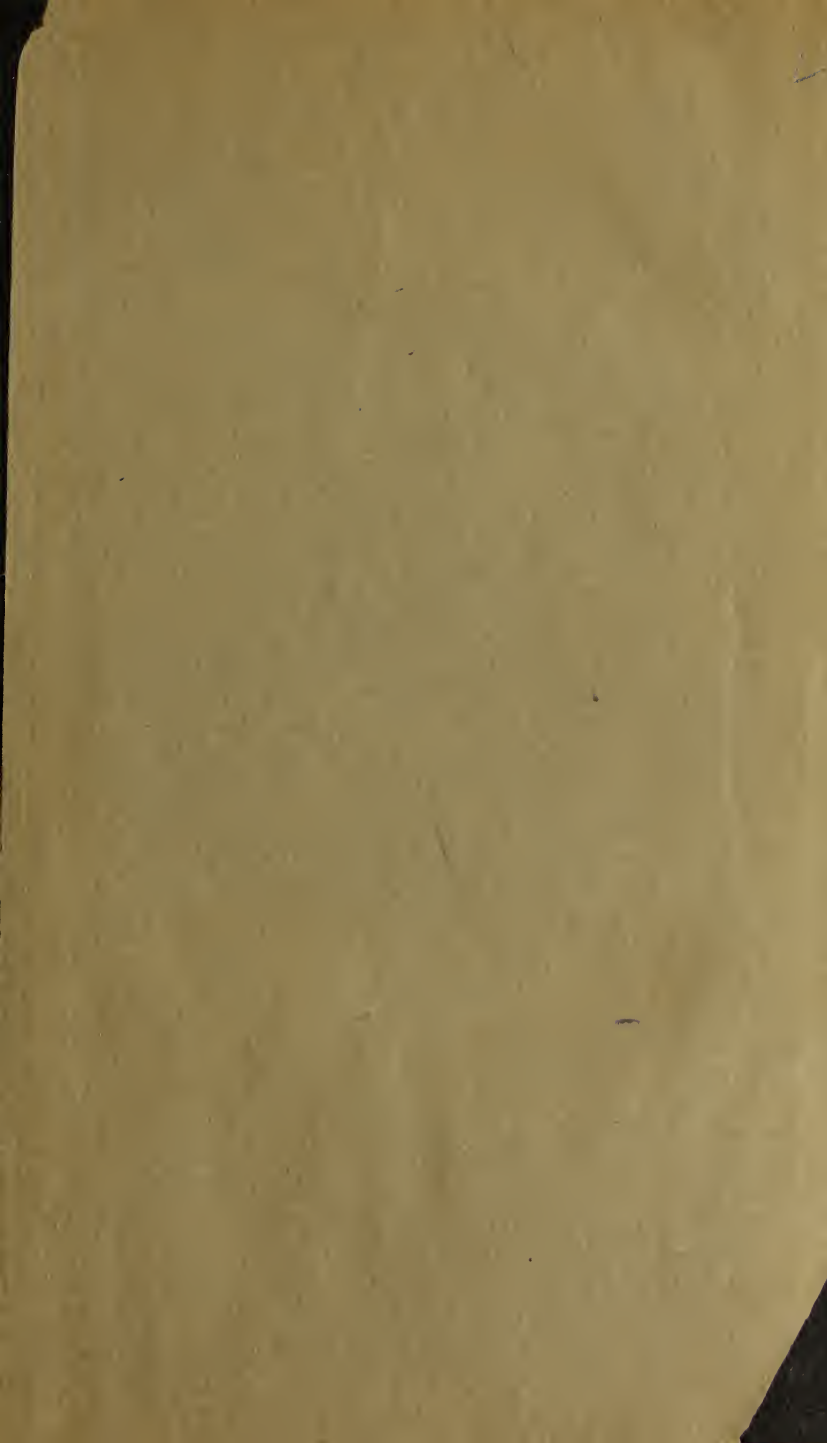
W.C. 60



FROM THE

Phillips Fund.

Added _____



26
BRITAIN AND AMERICA UNITED

IN THE CAUSE OF

UNIVERSAL FREEDOM:

BEING THE

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

CONTAINING IMPORTANT INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE WORKING OF THE
APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES;
PROGRESS OF THE EMANCIPATION CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES;
HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN TEXAS;
INTERESTING MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES IN GREAT BRITAIN, DURING THE
PAST YEAR;
THE SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, &c. &c. &c.

1837.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;
AND SOLD BY G. GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

BRITAIN AMERICA UNO GLAS 00



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 13th March, 1837.

ACCORDING to previous Advertisement, the Third Annual Meeting of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, was held this evening, at 7 o'clock, in the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON'S Chapel, John Street.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill, the President of the Society, being absent from indisposition,* on the motion of WALTER BUCHANAN, Esq., the Rev. Dr. HEUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the Chair.

The Chairman, after introducing the business, called upon Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read an Abstract of the Annual Report. Mr Beith, the Treasurer, having also read a statement of the pecuniary affairs of the Society; the following RESOLUTIONS were then *unanimously* adopted, viz. :—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, of the Relief Chapel, Calton, and seconded by *Wm. P. Paton, Esq.*,

“That the Report now read be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee.”

* The following letter from Mr Grahame, addressed to one of the Secretaries, was received next morning :—

“WHITEHILL, 14th March, 1837.

“MY DEAR SIR,—On going home yesterday afternoon, I became so unwell that I was unable to attend the meeting, and am now obliged to confine myself to the house. I received, yesterday, a London newspaper, giving an account of the death, by the upsetting of a chaise, of the only son, indeed the only child, of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, the prime mover and chief instrument of providence, in the Abolition of the Slave-trade.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours truly,

ROBERT GRAHAME.”

“MR SMEAL.

Every Abolitionist throughout the United Kingdom, indeed we might say throughout the world, will deeply sympathise with the venerable apostle of African Freedom, in the sudden bereavement he has been called to sustain, in the removal by an unexpected and violent death, of his only son. It should be the prayer of every Christian, that divine consolation and aid may be communicated to the aged mourner; and that, if it be the will of God, he may survive to behold the final and entire overthrow of that atrocious system, which, with unequalled ability, patience, and fortitude, he has for so many years laboured to abolish.

II. Moved by the *Rev. William Anderson*, of John Street Relief Chapel, and seconded by *Donald Macintyre, Esq.*,

“*Resolved*,—That according to the natural rights of the species, the revealed will of God, and the common law of this country, our fellow-subjects in all the British dependencies are entitled to Immediate, Unconditional, and Entire Freedom :

“That this Society has ever regarded the system of Apprenticeship, imposed by the Imperial Abolition Act, upon the Negroes of the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Mauritius, as most unjust in principle—an unnecessary and cruel restriction upon their liberties—contrary to the repeated assurances of Lord Althorp, that the Government measure should be ‘safe and satisfactory,’—and as setting at naught the determination officially and solemnly recorded by the Anti-Slavery Associations of the United Kingdom, through their *three hundred and thirty-nine Delegates* assembled in London in 1833—to oppose by every constitutional means, any measure which, professing to meet the claims of justice, ‘would leave the Negro half a Slave and half a Freeman:’

“That the experience of the working of the Apprenticeship System in the Colonies, since the 1st of August, 1834, has more than justified the strong disapprobation and fears previously expressed by the Friends of the Slave, while the results of *Immediate* and Unconditional Emancipation in Antigua and the Bermudas, have afforded additional proof of the fitness of the Negro for *unbridged* personal freedom :

“That evidence the most ample and incontrovertible has shown the Apprenticeship scheme to be vexatious and oppressive in its operation; favourable to the continued exercise of a cruel and arbitrary power on the part of the Manager, and other interested persons; and that instead of fulfilling the promise of Mr Stanley, and being a condition in which the Negro ‘would enjoy every right and every privilege of a freeman,’ it is one of degrading *bondage*, coerced and uncompensated *labour*, of brutalizing *subjection* to Plantation despotism, and of almost friendless exposure to the worst incidents by which the hateful system of Colonial Slavery has ever been distinguished :

“That this Society, firmly believing ‘Apprenticeship’ to be but another name for *Slavery*, would express its deep abhorrence and utter condemnation of the system, and its conviction, that it is the duty of Abolitionists throughout the kingdom to demand, in the name of humanity and religion, that it be immediately abolished, and that the Negro be forthwith raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow-subjects are amenable.”

This Resolution was supported by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and also by *Dr. Prince* from Jamaica.

III. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *Walter Buchanan, Esq.* :—

“*Resolved*,—That, as the object which this Society, in conjunction with kindred Institutions, aims to accomplish, is nothing less than the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, it is essentially requisite, that its vast extent and importance should be steadily kept in view; and that deep consideration should be given, by the Christian world, to the great interests, immediate and collateral, connected with it :

“That, as nearly *Six Millions* of our fellow-*Immortals* (exclusive of a very large number held to various kinds of involuntary servitude in British India), are the victims of a system of Slavery, at once unjust, cruel, and debasing, administered by States nominally Christian; and as this system is the parent of the atrocious Slave-trade, by which 80,000 human beings are annually torn from Africa, and at least double that number murdered in the wars necessary to obtain them—it is a duty incumbent on the friends of humanity to seek the removal of these malignant evils, by proclaiming everywhere the doctrine of Immediate, Entire, and Universal Emancipation :

“That, while we contemplate the magnitude of the work yet to be performed, we are called upon to record our deep and unfeigned gratitude to God, for the animating and amply compensating success with which, during the past year, He has been pleased to crown the exertions of the friends of Emancipation, on both sides of the Atlantic.”

Thanks having been moved by the *Rev. James M'Tear*, to the *REV. WILLIAM ANDERSON*, and the Managers, for granting the use of their Chapel, the Meeting, at 11 o'clock, adjourned to Wednesday evening, in *DR. WARDLAW'S* Chapel.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, *March 15th.*

WM. P. PATON, ESQ., in the absence of the *REV. DR. HEUGH*, was called to the Chair.

The Resolutions passed at the meeting on Monday evening, having been read by *Mr William Smeal*, one of the Secretaries, it was—

IV. Moved by the *Rev. John Boyd*, Secession Minister, one

of the Secretaries of the Paisley Emancipation Society, and seconded by the *Rev. Alex. Frazer*, Independent Minister, Alloa:—

“*Resolved*,—That we cordially congratulate our Abolition brethren in the United States of America, upon the mighty progress and auspicious aspect of the Cause of Freedom in their land; and our hearts being warmed, and our zeal stimulated by their noble and praiseworthy exertions, we cheerfully respond to their call for continued co-operation, and would assure them of our entire confidence, our fervent sympathy, and unceasing prayers.”

V. Moved by the *Rev. Patrick Brewster*, one of the Ministers of the Abbey Parish, Paisley, and seconded by *James M'Cune Smith, Esq., M.D.*:—

“*Resolved*,—That the labours of Mr George Thompson, our devoted, and faithful, and indefatigable Agent, during the past year, are entitled to, and do now receive, our unqualified approbation:—That, believing it of the highest importance that he should continue his services in the Cause of Emancipation, we earnestly request him to renew his engagement to the Committee; pledging ourselves, in the event of his compliance, to sustain him in the prosecution of his arduous and philanthropic career:—it being our determination never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference, on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and Slavery ceases from the face of the earth.”

Mr Thompson, at this stage of the business, addressed the Meeting, and on his part, also pledged himself in reference to the foregoing Resolution.

VI. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Kidston*, and seconded by the *Rev. Andrew Somerville*, of Dumbarton,—both of the United Secession Church:—

“*Resolved*,—That, in conformity with the Resolutions of last Public Meeting of this Society, the Remonstrance with the people of the United States of America, especially with Christian professors there, now read, be adopted, and signed by the President and other Office-Bearers of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.”

[The *Remonstrance* will be found after the Speeches.]

VII. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by the *Rev. Thomas Pullar*,* of the Independent Chapel, Albion Street:—

Resolved,—“That it appears fully evident to this Society, that the struggle to achieve the Independence of Texas, is not a struggle for the acquirement or maintenance of Civil and Religious Liberty, but

* The Rev. Dr Wardlaw had engaged to second the motion of Mr Thompson, but the delicate state of his health prevented him from being present.

for the privilege of *holding Slaves*, and carrying on the *Slave-trade*; and that the triumph of the Texian arms would, therefore, be calamitous to the Cause of Universal Freedom :

“That the 9th Section of the Constitution adopted by the revolted Texians, demonstrates the inconsistency and falsehood of their profession of attachment to the principles of righteous liberty,—is an infamous and wicked document, reflecting the deepest disgrace upon its framers, and deserving the unmitigated execration of mankind :

“That the offer made by the Texians to the United States, of an exclusive monopoly of the TRADE IN SLAVES, should have been resented as a gross insult to the moral sense of the nation ; and that its acceptance is a melancholy proof of the deadening and demoralizing influence of the Slave system :

“That we regard with the highest admiration and respect, the exalted and independent conduct of the Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in the United States’ Congress, in pleading for the Emancipation of the Slave, and in exposing the very suspicious conduct of the United States’ Government, in regard to Mexico and Texas.”

VIII. Moved by *Bailie William Craig*, and seconded by *Mr David Smith*, one of the Pastors of the Baptist Church, George Street :—

“*Resolved*,—That we present our warmest acknowledgments to the ‘Ladies’ Auxiliary’ of this City, for their exertions in aid of our Funds, and earnestly request them to continue their valuable co-operation: and that we also tender our cordial thanks to those friends of Universal Freedom, who, as Societies or otherwise, have, during the past year, remitted contributions to this Society.”

IX. Moved by *J. S. Blyth, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation :—

“That the following be the Office-Bearers and Committee of this Society, for the ensuing year :—(See *List*, page 8.)

X. Moved by *Jas. Beith, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation :—

“That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the REV. DR. WARDLAW and the Trustees, for their kindness in granting the use of their Chapel.”

XI. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation :—

“That the cordial thanks of this Meeting are due, and are hereby given, to the REV. DR. HEUGH, and WILLIAM P. PATON, ESQ., for their conduct in the Chair.”

H. HEUGH, D.D.,
WILLIAM P. PATON, } *Chairmen.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President,

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., OF WHITEHILL.

Vice-Presidents,

REV. DR WARDLAW, REV. DR HEUGH, REV. DR KIDSTON,
ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq., Aberdeen.

Treasurer,

JAMES BEITH, Esq.,

Secretaries,

MESSRS. JOHN MURRAY AND WILLIAM SMEAL.

Committee,

Rev. William Anderson,	Messrs. George Gallie,
William Auld,	Thomas Grahame,
William Brash,	Robert Kettle,
John Duncan,	Henry Langlands,
John Eadie,	Patrick Lethem,
John Edwards,	Donald Macintyre,
Greville Ewing,	John Maxwell, M.D.,
Alexander Harvey,	Colin M'Dougal,
John Johnstone,	Ninian M'Gilp,
David King,	Anthony M'Keand,
William Lindsay,	David M'Laren,
James M'Tear,	John M'Leod,
James Paterson,	John M'Leod, Argyll Street,
Thomas Pullar,	William P. Paton,
Michael Willis,	John Reid,
Messrs. David Anderson,	David Smith,
J. S. Blyth,	James M'Cune Smith, M.D.,
Hugh Brown, Jun.,	Robert Sanderson,
William Brown,	James Stewart,
Walter Buchanan,	George Thorburn,
Robert Connel,	Archibald Watson,
William Craig,	George Watson,
G. C. Dick,	James Watson,
William Ferguson,	William White,
John Fleming,	Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members,

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston, New England.
ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., New York.
JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.
M. GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE, } Paris.
M. VICTOR DE TRACEY, }
JAMES JOHNSTON, Esq., Upper Canada.
REV. THOMAS ROBERTS, Bristol.
DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.
JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., Birmingham.
REV. NATHANIEL PAUL, of Wilberforce Settlement, Upper Canada.
REV. PATRICK BREWSTER, Paisley.

REPORT, &c.

IN presenting to their constituents and the public, their Third Annual Report, the Committee of THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY have great pleasure in recording the successful progress which, through the blessing of God, has been made during the past year, in the great cause in which they have been engaged.

It will be remembered, that two important documents were passed at last Annual Meeting—a Petition to Parliament for the Entire Abolition of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies, and the Complete Emancipation of the Slaves, as in Antigua and the Bermudas;—and a Memorial to the Government, requesting them to examine into the alleged illegal importation of Slaves into the Mauritius,—to take measures to Emancipate those illegally imported,—and to deduct a proportionate amount from the Compensation allotted to that Colony, so that the people of this country might not thus be taxed to reward felony.

The Memorial, signed by the Chairman, on behalf of the Meeting, was sent to Lord Melbourne, who replied, “That it should have that attention which the importance of the subject, and the respectability of the Memorialists, entitled it to.” The Petition to the Lords was also entrusted to Lord Melbourne; and was, by his Lordship, presented to the House.

The Petition to the Commons, signed by 29,830 of the inhabitants of this city and suburbs, was sent to Thomas F. Buxton, Esq., M. P.; but from some unforeseen detention after its arrival in London, was not put into his hands until he had submitted his Motion respecting the Colonies to the House. In his letter, acknowledging its receipt, Mr Buxton said, “He would take another opportunity of bringing the Petition under the notice of the House, as he considered it an im-

portant one." Letters were also received from James Oswald, Daniel O'Connell, and Joseph Pease, Esqs., Members of Parliament, promising to support our Petition.

Agreeably to the direction of last Annual Meeting, your Committee prepared an "Address to the Ministers of Religion, in particular; and the friends of Negro Emancipation in general,"—on the importance and duty of remonstrating with their Christian brethren in America, on the sin and guilt, in the sight of God, and scandal to their Christian profession, of keeping their black and coloured fellow-men in bondage. Upwards of 1300 copies of the Address were printed and circulated; and, strenuously supported as this appeal has been, in many places, by our excellent friend, and unceasing advocate of the cause, George Thompson, Esq.,—a continuance of whose invaluable services the Society had agreed to request—it has, we trust, been productive, in a good degree, of its intended effect.

Convinced of the advantage to the cause of the Negro Apprentices, of their case before the Parliamentary Committee being under the superintendence of that well-known, and tried friend of the Slave, George Stephen, Esq.,—the Chairman of the London Universal Abolition Society—your Committee (as did also those of London, Birmingham, and Edinburgh) earnestly solicited that gentleman to undertake the task of conducting, on behalf of the Colonial Apprentices, the evidence to be taken before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Apprenticeship, and on the Mauritius, with which entreaties Mr Stephen frankly complied.

Being informed, in April last, that the Rev. David King and Mr David Anderson, both members of Committee, intended shortly to visit Paris, your Committee appointed these gentlemen a Deputation from this Society to the Society in Paris, for the Universal Abolition of Slavery. The Rev. Dr Heugh was appointed to prepare a letter to the Duc de Broglie, the President of the Paris Society, to be delivered by the deputation; and they were also instructed to call upon Messrs George Washington Lafayette, and Victor de Tracy, both Honorary Members of our Society.

The following is a translation of the Duc de Broglie's reply to Dr. Heugh's letter:—

"MR VICE-PRESIDENT.

"SIR,—I very much regret losing the opportunity of conversing with the Rev. Mr King and Mr D. Anderson. The letter which you were so kind as to send me by them, unfortunately did not reach me till after my return from the country. I would have attached great importance to an interview with these members of the Society of Glasgow, which you would desire to place in direct relation with the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in Paris, in which I have

the honour to take a part. The instructions that I might have received from them, would no doubt have been very precious to me; and on the other hand, we shall joyfully avail ourselves of the means you suggest, of placing at your disposal all the details with which we are acquainted, that may assist you in attaining the exalted end you have in view. Persevering efforts shall not be wanting on our part, for regulating and carrying the important questions relating to the definite Emancipation of the Slaves. We also consider as one of the purest glories in the history of the world, that of those men who, in your country, have so powerfully contributed by their unceasing activity as well as by the energy of their talents, to cause the disappearance of Slavery from the territories of England. I pray you accept my expression of highest regard, &c., &c.,

BROGLIE."

Next in the order of events, occurred the Discussion on American Slavery, in the Rev. Dr Wardlaw's Chapel, between Mr George Thompson and the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, U. S., which took place on the evenings of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June. This Discussion having soon after been extensively published, your Committee for the present postpone any remarks they may feel called to make upon it, in connection with the general subject. But we think this the proper place to introduce the following Resolution, passed at a Meeting of the Committee, held 21st June, 1836:—

"The Meeting having been summoned to consider what steps should be taken by the Society, to apprise the public of the views we entertain with respect to the Discussion just terminated, betwixt Mr Thompson and the Rev. Mr Breckinridge, it was unanimously resolved, after full consideration and conversation on the subject, that the following be adopted as the judgment of this Committee:—

Resolved,—"That although, in consequence of its having been previously fixed as one of the conditions of said Discussion, that no judgment of the audience should be called for at the close of it, this Committee feel themselves, on obvious grounds of propriety, precluded from publishing at present, in their official capacity, any opinion or decision of their own, which might expose them to the charge of seeking to prepossess unduly the minds of the community;—they cannot but regard it, at the same time, as a sacred duty—and it is a duty they have the liveliest satisfaction in fulfilling—to assure Mr Thompson himself, that the anxious desire expressed by him to meet any antagonist, was considered by them as dictated by the consciousness of integrity, and the confidence of truth; that in their opinion, the result of the Discussion has been to prove these feelings on his part fully warranted;—that he has vindicated his former representations, and subjected them to the scrutiny of a shrewd and able opponent, with credit to himself, and benefit to his cause; his statements having been left, in every material point, unaffected, and the evidence augmented rather than diminished, of the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, and the open honesty, as well as steadfast intrepidity of his zeal; so that he never held a higher place in their estimation, than at the present moment."

On the evening of the 1st of August, the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies—a Public Meeting of the Members and friends of the Society, was held in the Rev. Dr. Heugh's Chapel. In the previous advertisement convening this Meeting, it was announced that "Resolutions would be proposed, expressive of the sentiments of the Society in reference to the recent Discussion on American Slavery, so

far as Mr Thompson was concerned ; their approbation of his conduct in the United States ; their unabated confidence in him as their Agent ; and their unalterable attachment to the great principle of Immediate, Unconditional, and Universal Emancipation."

To the published account of the proceedings, your Committee prefixed the following as an introduction :—

"The Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society did not feel themselves at liberty to give, at an earlier period after the late Discussion between Mr Thompson and Mr Breckinridge, any public declaration of their judgment relative to the merits and results of that Discussion, in as far as the character and conduct of the former of these two gentlemen were implicated. In the spirit of one of the conditions of the Discussion, namely, that no vote should be taken at the close expressive of the mind of the audience, they delayed convening a Public Meeting for the purpose of expressing their own judgment, and calling for the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, till some time had been allowed for the circulation and perusal of the controversy, as issued from the Press. They now, however, consider it incumbent upon them,—a duty which they owe to Mr Thompson as their known and accredited Agent, and a duty which they owe to themselves and others by whom he was engaged and commissioned, to give publicity to their sentiments—and it is to their minds a source of no small satisfaction, that, judging coolly and deliberately, they can pronounce a verdict favourable, in all respects, to their esteemed Agent and friend, without hesitation and without reserve. For the terms of that verdict, they refer to the first of the Resolutions passed at the Meeting of which an account follows. That Resolution was moved and seconded by the two Ministers of the Gospel, Vice-Presidents of the Society, by whom the chair was filled during the Discussion ; by one of them at four, and by the other at one of the meetings. While these gentlemen felt it their duty to maintain the strictest impartiality in presiding on such an occasion, by withholding every indication of their own opinions, and showing equal favour to each of the combatants, they are now exonerated from official restrictions, and entitled, in common with others, to avow their judgment."

The chapel was filled with a large and respectable audience. That veteran in the Anti-Slavery cause, ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill, the President of the Society, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had been present during the Discussion, was called to the chair ; and Resolutions, expressive of the object of the Meeting, were passed unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, in a luminous speech,—in which he took a review of some of the principal topics involved in the Discussion, and the relative aspect in which, regarding it as a medium, the characters of the two opponents were placed ; especially how Mr Thompson was affected by it,—moved the First Resolution, similar in purport to that previously passed by the Committee, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Kidston ;—the Meeting unanimously signifying their assent, by holding up their hands. The Resolution was as follows :—

"That, in the deliberate judgment of this Meeting, the wish announced by Mr George Thompson to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any Minister of the Gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts ; and that the recent Discussion in this city, between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed

and augmented, their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straight-forward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal."

The Second Resolution was ably moved and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Heugh, and the Rev. John Eadie, viz. :—

"That the Glasgow Emancipation Society considers itself called upon to repeat its unmitigated reprobation of Slavery, as existing in the United States of America, and of that prejudice against Colour, which is at once a result and support of the Slave-system; a system which glaringly violates a great principle in the American constitution, declaring liberty to be the inalienable right of all men; which opposes the spirit and letter of the religion of holy benevolence so extensively professed by the American people; which is productive of an incalculable amount of crime and misery, both among the Two Millions of Slaves and those by whom they are held in bondage; and which must constantly offend Almighty God, and expose that land to the visitations of his displeasure:—that it also repeats the expression of its cordial joy in the rapidity with which the cause of *Immediate Abolition* has spread, and is now spreading in America; in the peaceful, intrepid, and religious spirit, which, amidst good and bad report, the American Abolitionists have been enabled to display; and in the near prospect of bloodless triumph with which Divine Providence already animates their efforts:—and, finally, that it resolves anew, along with its many British allies, to remonstrate with the American people in the spirit of fidelity and love, on the claims of the Negro population; to cheer the Abolitionists of America onward in their path of benevolence, until Slavery shall disappear from the American continent, and America and Britain, already united by many powerful ties, shall consistently and indissolubly unite for the Abolition of Slavery from the face of the earth, and the promotion of the happiness of the whole human family."

The Third Resolution was moved by the Rev. David King, and seconded by David M'Laren, Esq., viz. :—

"That it is of great importance for the friends of freedom in different countries, to co-operate in hastening the extinction of Slavery throughout the world, and that in this conviction the meeting feel much satisfaction in the interchange of friendly acknowledgments that has just passed between the Emancipationists of this city and of Paris."

Your Committee gave an extended publicity to the important proceedings of this Meeting; and they have the satisfaction to state, that both in this country, and in the United States, they have been highly approved.

Having been informed, that John Scoble, Esq., the Secretary of the British and Foreign Abolition Society of London, and Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, one of the Committee of that Society, intended to make a tour of inspection through the West India Islands, with the view of acquiring accurate information of the working of the Apprenticeship, and of the comparative effects of complete Emancipation in Antigua and the Bermudas;—having the utmost confidence in the integrity and fidelity of these gentlemen, and being desirous to testify their approval of the object they had in view, your Committee passed, and transmitted to them, the following Resolution, viz. :—

Resolved,—"That, considering the difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining accurate information of the working of the Apprenticeship system in the West

India Colonies, and of the comparative effects of the *complete* Emancipation conferred on the Negroes in Antigua and the Bermudas, the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society highly approve of the tour of inspection proposed by Joseph Sturge, and John Scoble, Esqrs.,—they have the utmost confidence in the integrity and fidelity of these gentlemen, and believe that the evidence they may obtain may have a powerful effect in exposing the true character and real evils of the Apprenticeship system, and may be instrumental in shortening its duration—as well as in warning other Powers, who have yet to Emancipate their Slaves, to avoid that circuitous scheme, which is equally harassing to the Negroes, unprofitable to the Masters, and unprincipled in its character.”

It having been thought that Mr Thompson’s indefatigable labours would be somewhat aided, and the people to whom he might occasionally lecture, be instigated to form Abolition Societies, by an Address from a kindred Institution; such an “Address, to the Friends of the Enslaved throughout the Kingdom,” was prepared and published in the newspapers, and widely circulated. It was also printed in a separate form, and a quantity given to Mr Thompson for distribution, where he might think proper; and your Committee are inclined to believe, that this measure has tended to increase the number of our fellow-labourers, and aid the funds of the Society.

Such is an outline of the principal matters of business which have come before your Committee since last Annual Meeting. These, however, are transacted at our doors, and give no idea of the progress of the cause—the great work which they are intended to aid in promoting—the *Abolition of Slavery, and the Slave-trade throughout the world*. Our position is at a remote part of the machinery—but although remote, and our weight on the lever small, its influence may be felt; and we know that the remote end of the lever must move, and also move much, before we can produce the desired effect.

But there is an Agent in this holy enterprise, whom we are proud to denominate *our* Agent,—George Thompson, Esq., whose interesting and very efficient labours we must next review. His movements have been somewhat erratic; yet infusing fresh vigour, and imparting additional impetus to the machinery in various departments, and at various stations.

Since our last Annual Meeting, Mr Thompson has visited London, Brighton, Leeds, Manchester, Leicester, York, Bradford, Newcastle, North and South Shields, Sunderland, Durham, Darlington, Hexham, Gateshead, Paisley, Dalkeith, Greenock, Dumbarton, Bonhill, Stirling, &c., in addition to labouring very extensively in Edinburgh, and in this City. Many of the towns we have enumerated, Mr Thompson has visited more than once, delivering Lectures to large audiences, or holding public meetings, at which new societies were formed, or old

societies revived; and resolutions, or remonstrances, or both, passed against Slavery, especially against Slavery in America.

By these resolutions and remonstrances, some of which are appended to this Report, it will be seen, that the people of this country require only to be informed of the state of society in America, to have their sympathies enlisted on the right side—the side of the oppressed and degraded Slaves and *free* Coloured people, crushed by these professedly religious and freedom-boasting republicans.

From most of the above-named towns, Mr Thompson had received pressing invitations—everywhere he was most heartily welcomed—and enthusiastically received by all classes—Chief Magistrates in many cases presiding, and the Ministers of religion, of all denominations, cordially co-operating for the benefit of the outcast Negro.

The effect of these meetings and lectures is, that a great amount of information has been communicated on the subject of Slavery; to which,—notwithstanding the important bearing on the progress of general Liberty, of converting six millions of Slaves into freemen; and the nations holding them in Slavery into liberal Governments, we lament that but a very small portion of the public periodical Press of this country is devoted; and even of that portion, the circulation is very limited.

The correspondence and co-operation of all the existing Anti-Slavery Societies, and the formation of new ones for the Universal Extinction of Slavery, is of the utmost importance; for wherever Societies are formed; a more permanent interest is likely to be maintained; a desire to obtain and extend further information regarding the progress of the cause will be promoted; the religious portion of the community, especially the Ministers connected with these societies, will frequently make its object the subject of their prayers, and the number of the friends of Universal Emancipation will be increased.

The resolutions and remonstrances, expressing the sentiments of so many large and influential public meetings, against American Slavery, will arouse many in this country, into whose hands they may fall, to think seriously on the subject, and to consider what is *their* duty in regard to it;—when sent across the Atlantic, they will strike conviction into the hearts of many, who may see themselves seriously and solemnly reprov'd, either for the sin of cruelly oppressing and degrading *their*, and *our* fellow-men, or for being so far participators in other men's sins, in not reprov'ing those who do so, or in not using every means in their power

to remove from themselves and their country, their reproach among the nations, and their guilt in the sight of God, of holding in Slavery more than *Two and-a-half Millions* of their people; and treating with an unjust and iniquitous prejudice, a large portion of their fellow-subjects, whom God has made to differ *only in complexion*.

The remonstrances of religious bodies—of Congregations, Presbyteries, and Synods, addressed, as several have been in the course of the year, to similar bodies in America, and by them gratefully received, may be expected to have a very beneficial effect on those to whom they were addressed, in awakening them from that lethargy in which they have been so long lying, in regard to this iniquitous system, and in rescuing them from the impending danger of continuing in such a sinful course, or in countenancing those who do.

Those religious societies in this country, who, by an annual exchange of deputations with bodies of the same denomination in America, keep up a friendly intercourse with each other, are not likely hereafter, to send as delegates, Ministers who will compromise their own or the Anti-Slavery principles of those they represent, by a deficiency of moral courage in advocating the Abolition cause on the other side of the Atlantic; nor are the Christian Societies there, likely to send Ministers here, who are either Slave-holders, or not Abolitionists—knowing if they do, they will not be admitted into British pulpits. This position has arisen out of the investigation into the conduct of the REV. DRs. COX and HOBY—first publicly alluded to in last year's Report, and now pretty well sifted in London, Birmingham, and elsewhere; and we trust that they and their friends will now join in the "*regret*," expressed by the Committee of the Baptist Union, "that Drs. Cox and Hoby should have deemed it prudent to keep public silence on this crying abomination, during their visit to America." We trust also, that none will now *regret* that the subject was started, since its examination has led to the salutary results we have mentioned.

The progress, then, which has been made in this country during the past year, in arousing the public mind, and especially the religious portion of the community, to a consideration of this important subject, and to the discharge of their *duty* in regard to it, may be estimated by reference to the resolutions and remonstrances in the Appendix, which are far too numerous to include in our Report. From these, the Anti-Abolitionists, who by their violence drove our indefatigable Agent from their shores, will find that they have not silenced him; but only,

as happened to the Missionaries when driven from Jamaica, forced him to occupy a station, whence he will, ere long, bring the whole moral force of the British people to bear down upon the accursed system which Americans would palliate or defend; and, united with the good and the great of their own land, will soon succeed in rescuing the oppressor and the oppressed, from that which is a source of national weakness, disgrace, and crime.

There are yet many cities and towns unvisited by Mr Thompson; while those that have invited him are so numerous, that months must elapse ere he can possibly overtake the labour. And from letters lately received from persons in America, whose opinion and judgment deserve credit, the time seems not far distant, when, in the Northern States, Abolition principles shall have become so prevalent, that they will be ripe to receive, and ready to welcome him again to their aid.

The Discussion with Mr Breckinridge, which arose also from Mr Thompson's agency, had a powerful effect in drawing the minds of many of the reading and thinking portion of the community to the consideration of the subject of American Slavery. This was mainly effected by the publication and extensive circulation of the Discussion, in a cheap form—which Mr B. carefully provided for, by previous arrangement with your Committee—an arrangement in which they most readily concurred. Those who cordially detest the principles which Mr B. advocated, and the feelings which he exhibited, will freely admit that he possesses a respectable share of forensic talent, and an acute judgment; but he most woefully miscalculated either his own abilities, or the discernment of a Glasgow audience, on the subject he brought before them. "His whole object," he said, "was to get before the British churches, certain views and suggestions on this subject, which he firmly believed were indispensable to prevent the total alienation of British and American Christians from each other." But if this was really "his whole object," he surely might have devised some method equally efficient to have "got his *certain views and suggestions* before the British churches," as by a Discussion with George Thompson. If, however, we may judge from the zest with which he seemed to vent his spleen against Mr Thompson and the Abolitionists, and the perseverance with which, although repeatedly foiled, he followed out his accusations, and renewed his unfounded charges against them, resting them solely upon his own authority, we would be inclined to suspect that he had some other than his avowed "whole ob-

ject." And if, as there is some reason to believe, he had another object—the depreciation of Mr Thompson's character, and the proceedings of the Abolitionists, which were too radical for him—he most miserably failed in impeaching the former, or in substituting his own quack imposture, for the sovereign remedy proposed by Abolitionists. What his "*views and suggestions*" were, "which would prevent the alienation of British and American Christians," we believe the Christians of both countries have yet to learn; unless it were to unite in letting Slavery *alone*, or in expatriating from the soil of the United States, as many of the *Free* blacks as they can. We trust, however, that Mr Breckinridge will live to be convinced, with many eminent men here and in America, that the Colonization theory is as impracticable as it is iniquitous, and that he will unite his talents with Birney, Thome, Jay, and Smith; and, like another Paul, be as zealous for the truth—for Abolition—as he has been against it. From the American papers it appears, that even his own friends regard the results of the Discussion as unfortunate to their views—he seems to have "rolled back" the cause of Colonization, if it still exists, and to have rolled forward the cause of Abolition.

The result of Mr Buxton's motion relative to the Apprenticeship System, and as an answer to the Petition from this city, and other places, for its abolition, was the appointment of a Select Committee, to inquire into what were matters of notoriety to every one who took any interest in the Colonial question, except, perhaps, to Members of Parliament. This is a plausible way of decently giving the go-by to a difficult or disagreeable question. We know how often it was resorted to during the Abolition contest, to gain time; and we fear will be resorted to in this case, from time to time, until the period of the Apprenticeship expires.

This Committee have only embraced Jamaica in their inquiry, and thus the Colonies may be divided, so as to spread over all the remaining time. The Report they have produced must be very unsatisfactory to the friends of the Negroes.

The subjects examined into by the Committee were seven:—

1. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by authority of the Special Magistrates on Managers and Apprentices.
2. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of Apprentices applying to purchase their freedom.
3. The want of adequate protection to the Special Magistrates, against vexatious prosecutions.
4. The objection against the Jamaica law, that it contains no enactment to regulate the distribution of the time which the Apprentice is bound to give weekly to his employer.
5. Alleged cases of corporal punishment inflicted on female Apprentices.
6. Objection against the present state of the law with regard to marriages, which only the Clergy of the Church of England can solemnize.

7. Present condition of children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834.

The Report is dated the 13th August, 1836, two years after the commencement of this patent Stanleyian system; and these matters are only then inquired into, and probably would not even then, had not the sympathy of the British people for the Negroes, for whose freedom they had paid Twenty Millions, urged it on. And what is the result? Why, a "trust," a "confidence," or a "hope," variously expressed under each of these particulars, that the Jamaica Legislature will take measures to remedy these evils. Alas! we know by sad experience, what it is to trust to a West India Legislature to remedy evils, of which, not themselves, but the Negroes are the sufferers—it is to trust to a broken reed. They took measures very speedily to get hold of the *Compensation*.

There is, in some persons, a propensity—whether a good or bad principle, we will not at present examine—sacredly to respect, and rigidly to adhere to what is law, seemingly without inquiring whether the law be in itself good or bad,—founded upon principles of justice or the reverse. Such persons are more disposed to botch, or "tinker up" the more objectionable details of an unsound enactment, framed to serve a party and a purpose, rather than to investigate the principles upon which it is based; lest finding them to be unsound, they should be compelled to condemn the foundation and the fabric, and to originate another upon the sound and permanent principles of justice and impartiality. Such seems to have been the character of the majority of the select Committee, appointed to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship system in the Colonies—or peradventure, they discovered that the condemnation of this absurd piece of legislation, would involve the condemnation of themselves, as having so lately acquiesced in its construction. Be this as it may, it is obvious, on their own admission, and the evidence laid before them, that the Negroes are in the meantime the sufferers.

Many of the evils resulting from this confessedly defective and anomalous state of Society, may be traced to the complicated system of legislation arising out of such an unnatural condition, and the partial execution of the laws. It is vastly different in its consequent effects to all classes, from the simple, straightforward, equitable principle adopted by Antigua and the Bermudas.

The Colonial laws passed to give effect to the Abolition Act, are so vague and unsatisfactory, that in their practical effects on

the Apprentices, very much depends upon the character or partialities of the Special Magistrates. The latitude of construction which may be given to the law is such, that it may be made to sanction much oppression; and when the Special Magistrate is inclined to favour the Master, it is made to do so. This ambiguity, indeed, to some extent, belongs to the Imperial Act itself. The *Glasgow Chronicle*, of 18th October, 1833,—remarking on the clause to promote order and discipline, and for the punishment of indolence, insolence, &c., observes:—“That a benevolent British Parliament might not be a single whit behind the Trans-Atlantic Slave Legislatures, in this new attempt at Slave Legislation, we find it provided, that ‘proper regulations should be framed and established for the prevention and punishment of insolence and insubordination on the part of such apprenticed labourers towards their employers.’ But we do not anywhere find it defined, what constitutes this crime of insolence—doubtless, a look, a word, a gesture, haughty carriage or demeanour. Verily, if this is not *Slavery*, we know not what is! The British first *Reformed* Parliament legislating against insolence!!”

Ist. It appears from the Report, that Lord Stanley, in a despatch on the 20th February, 1834, noticed the want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties incurred by Managers and Apprentices, and seeing that by the law the fines which might be imposed on the Master for injury done to the labourer, were to be applied to the use of the public of the Island, while the Apprentice was required to compensate the Master by labour for any loss he might sustain from indolence, neglect, or absence, he proposed that the Apprentice should be compensated out of the fines imposed on the Master, for any injury he might sustain from his employer. But it seems no such clause was introduced into the subsequent act, and Lord Sligo appears to have concurred with the Assembly in rejecting such an equitable proposal.

“The Committee had, however, no evidence submitted to them of practical evil having arisen from this defect, to warrant any further recommendation on this point.” And how could they expect to have any? Would *Mr Burge* give any such evidence? How many Negroes,—Apprentices, did they examine as to this or any of the evils arising from any of the seven points inquired into? But if Quashie were called before the honourable Committee, and told, “when you idle your time, or are absent when you should be at work, then you are punished by making you work to your Master double the time you

are absent or idle ; but when your Master keeps some of your allowance from you, or punishes you contrary to law, he is fined, and the fine paid into the public treasury. Now, Quashie, wouldn't you think it better that these fines should be laid out to provide education for the Apprentices' children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834?" Quashie would very speedily reply, " Yes, Massa, me tink so for true—dat be good, Massa, for awee pickaninny."

2d. It was clearly the intention of the British Parliament, that the Apprentice should have his services appraised at a fair valuation, at which he should be enabled to purchase his freedom ; but undue and excessive valuations have, in many instances occurred, from the preponderance given to the opinion and influence of the Colonial Magistrates over the Specials. This, too, has formed a topic of correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Governor ; and the Committee " confidently hope," that the Jamaica Legislature will, as bound in " good faith and justice," carry this recommendation into full effect. But have not this Committee yet discovered, that when good faith and justice pull a West India Legislator one way, and his interests another, he is most likely to yield to the latter? And is not this a monstrous state of things, that after Great Britain has paid Twenty Millions for their Emancipation, the poor Negroes should still have " to purchase their freedom ;" and, " in many instances, at undue and excessive valuations?" But the Committee " confidently hope," that in " good faith and justice," the Slave-holder will not exact such an exorbitant price. We fear their confidence is misplaced.

3d. The beneficial working of the system, and the protection of the rights of the Apprentices, depend much upon the independence of the Special Magistrates in the discharge of their duty, and their protection from vexatious prosecutions. The Governor being directed to bring this matter before the Legislature, the Committee " hope" that the measures taken may check this evil.

4th. There are two systems prevalent in Jamaica, to regulate the distribution of the time, viz. $40\frac{1}{2}$ hours, which the Apprentice is bound to give to his employer. The one is termed the nine hours' system, by which the Apprentice works nine hours a-day for four days in the week, and four and a half on the fifth day ; thus having the half of Friday, and the whole of Saturday, at his own disposal. The other is termed the eight hours' system, by which he works eight hours a-day, for four days in the week, and eight and a half on the fifth ; thus having the Satur-

day only, left entirely at his own disposal. The Committee have evidence that the Apprentices decidedly prefer the former system, as it leaves them a larger portion of time free from interruption; and "they hope" that this example, set by many of the larger properties, will be generally followed.

5th. The Committee instituted a strict inquiry into the alleged corporal punishment of females. They found that the Government at home and in Jamaica had been engaged on the subject, and that Lord Sligo had discovered—wonderful discovery of what every body knew!—many instances of this nature, subject to local regulations; but the legality of this punishment has in no instance been assailed. The law, however, seemed to be ambiguous, but the Assembly having had their attention directed to the subject, distinctly recorded their opinion of the illegality of such punishment; and the "Committee entertain the fullest confidence," that they will not fail to take measures to prevent a practice contrary to law, and abhorrent to the best feelings of our nature. But this Committee should remember, that the West Indians are as yet but *Apprentices* to these feelings.

In connection with this subject, the Committee consider the working of females in chains, open to serious objection. Every thing should be avoided which tends to lessen self-respect, especially in females.

6th. The Committee "concur in the trust" expressed by Lord Glenelg, in his Circular of the 5th March, 1836, to the Colonial Governors, that the Legislatures will promptly legalize all marriages already solemnized by the Missionaries, and authorize them by law to solemnize such contracts in future.

7th. An important feature in the character of the vilified Negroes, brought out by this Select Committee, is, that there exists a general disinclination on the part of the parents of those children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, and *then* became free, to suffer them to become Apprentices, by the parents neglecting to provide for them;—"a circumstance which the Committee consider indicative of the just value which the Negroes attach to freedom." Who ever thought, and who but their interested calumniators ever said, that they did *not highly* appreciate and desire freedom to themselves and their children? Many noble instances might be adduced of their self-denial of many of the comforts of life, and even of liberty, that they might confer that highly esteemed blessing on their children—instances which might grace a Grecian or Roman story, or do honour even to an American white-skinned Republican.

This Committee, who seem to possess, in an eminent degree, that charity which "hopeth all things," hope that the Jamaica Legislature will speedily remedy all the evils arising from the present state of things; and amongst the rest, that they will take measures, as they have stated their willingness to do, for the better encouragement of schools. But if we understand aright their language on that subject, in their address to the Governor at the opening of the Session,—where they express their "regret and disappointment, that the British Parliament has done so little to redeem its pledge of affording efficient means of moral and religious instruction" to the Negroes, they seem inclined to shift this burden, if they can, from their own shoulders, and lay it upon those of the people of this country—a piece of prudent policy they are very prone to adopt, on all occasions when expense is to be incurred.

It may be deemed presumption in us not to acquiesce in the opinions of such sages in legislation, as this Select Committee; but, however desirous for the results which they anticipate with so much confidence, we cannot so easily banish from our minds our experience of Jamaica legislation; and, up to the present date, we are obliged to say, that whatever may be the language and disposition of individuals to their labourers, we observe in the legislative proceedings, a dogged and obstinate reluctance to adopt mild and equitable principles, unless when compelled to do so by the home Government. They are foolishly planting in the Negro bosom those seeds, which, if they spring not up in enmity and revenge at no very distant day, when they will be all free, will be restrained by better principles, implanted by their religious instructors, whom these legislators seem yet disposed to vilify, and to persecute if they dared.

It is gratifying to the friends of the Negro, to find their anticipations regarding their character confirmed by the evidence given to this Committee. "From a general review of the evidence," they say, "they are warranted in expressing a belief, that the system of Apprenticeship in Jamaica is working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from Slavery to freedom, now going on there. They find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the Apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages, wherever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is indeed fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the Negro, is more effectual than that which was performed by him while in a state of Slavery, or which is now given to his

employer during the period for which he is compelled to work as an Apprentice."

This is important testimony, on a no less important subject; as it proves, beyond question, the habitually industrious disposition already acquired by the Negro (and no wonder, under the training of Slavery) from which he is unwilling to be driven by this absurd, oppressive, and irritating system, misnamed Apprenticeship; and it equally proves, that however much such a system may contribute, or may have been intended to contribute, to give cheap labour to the master, under the pretence of training men of 30, 40, or 60 years of age, inured to labour from their infancy, to industrious habits; they at least need no such Apprenticeship for such a purpose. It proves, moreover, as we all along believed, that the whole scheme is a hoax upon the people of this country, and a grievous oppression upon the Negroes; is, in fact, a needless prolongation of Slavery, to please *some* of the Slave-holders—for we believe the more respectable portion of them would readily abandon it.

After the complete refutation afforded by the relation of such favourable circumstances, of the pretence set up for the Apprenticeship, as a necessary training of the Negroes in their passage from Slavery to Freedom, we are surprised and grieved to find the Committee winding up their Report, by saying that, "under these circumstances, they feel bound to express their conviction, that nothing could be more unfavourable than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class, with regard to the fixed determination of the Imperial Parliament, to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement, by which the services of the Apprenticed labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period, and under specified restrictions."

What is meant here by both parts, is somewhat ambiguous. If it is meant that there are two parties to these Apprenticeships—the Negroes and their Masters—as we have two parties here to our Apprenticeships, nothing can be farther from the truth; for the Negroes were never consulted in the matter: but the Government, or Lord Stanley, or the West India party in Parliament, acting as parents or sponsors for them, persuaded themselves, or attempted to persuade the Negroes and the people of this country, that they were bestowing upon them a great boon, by conferring upon them only a part of what they were entitled to, by changing, not their condition, but the *name* of it, from Slaves to Apprentices. The Negroes know as well as any of these gentlemen, the differ-

ence between Slavery and Apprenticeship, and between that and Freedom—hence the large sums they pay to be freed from this *boon*, and to obtain their *right*.

This Committee may give themselves no uneasiness about the minds of the majority of the masters being unsettled regarding the duration of the Apprenticeship; for they are as determined as it is possible for the Imperial Parliament to be, to preserve it inviolate to the last day of the “definite period;” unless, indeed, it can be made appear to them, that it will be more for their interest to abandon it. In the meantime, we understand that the Committee is about to be renewed for the present Session; but, although their investigation may bring about some partial alleviation of the evils of the system, yet the irritating, vexatious, and oppressive character of the Apprenticeship is so deeply interwoven in its constitution, that nothing but its *total abolition* can impart to the Negroes, that comfort, peace, and happiness, to which they are justly entitled. This, we fear, the Committee have no intention to recommend; at any rate, having recorded the fixed determination of Parliament against it, it would appear that all we can hope from them, is merely alleviation, and an impartial administration of the laws. But should the people of this country give up their protegées, (*for whose Freedom they have paid Twenty Millions,*) to the tender mercies of the Planters, or their Specials? Or to a system from which, not even the omnipotence of the Imperial Parliament can separate cruelty and injustice? We think not—and that the people of this country are not only justified, but in duty bound, to *demand* the Instant and Entire Abolition of the Apprenticeship.

How this Select Committee could, with the noble and flourishing example of Antigua and the Bermudas before their eyes, declare that nothing could be more unfortunate than the abandonment of the Apprenticeship, we are at a lose to divine.

It is to be regretted, that Antigua suffers much by the noble example she set in entirely freeing her Slaves: while in the other Colonies, they remain Apprentices. This circumstance, by its effects on the price of labour, operates injuriously on both Planters and Negroes.

It appears, that the Planters in Antigua, with all their liberality in freeing their Negroes, have been giving them only sixpence sterling per day of wages, for agricultural labourers, and a trifle more for tradesmen; whereas, in British Guiana, their wages are stated “at 140 dollars per ann.”—about four times as much—“for a man,” “100 dollars for a woman,” and “tradesmen, a dollar or more per day.” This went on

quietly for a while, but lately, the Guiana Planters have been desirous to hire labourers from the other Colonies; and Antigua, where they are all free, offers the best and almost only source of supply. The Antigua Planters wish, of course, to keep their labourers; and the Guiana Planters say, that "they could employ 1000 emigrants per month, until 1840, when the demand would be increased to an indefinite extent." Thus they might, in a short time, drain Antigua of her 30,000 labourers; and the only legal means they have of averting this evil, is by raising their wages. But as their soil, like many of the old Colonies, is much worn out, they cannot singly compete with the rich soil of Guiana; and while the Apprentices are prevented from leaving the other Colonies, Antigua or the Bermudas is the only open market. Were the Apprenticeship, however, abolished, the other Colonies would supply a share, and the price of labour, as influenced by other contingent circumstances, would soon settle down to an equable value in all the Colonies. In the meantime, it operates very prejudicially on Antigua. The labourers are seduced away by the temptation of high wages, but they go to work among Apprentices; and, of course, by a very obvious policy, their condition cannot be allowed to appear better than that of the Apprentices, lest it cause dissatisfaction among the latter, who have already sufficient cause to be dissatisfied. They go where they have no claim on the protection of the Special Magistrates, indifferent as that may be; and in all their disputes with their employers or others, they have to depend only upon the tender mercies of the local Magistracy. Their employers have not even the short-lived interest in *their* lives that they have in those of their Apprentices, thus they find out to their cost, but too late—that they are subjected to much oppression, and very hard labour, by the contracts they have made, which may be often misconstrued to their disadvantage. And such is the reluctance to let them away from Antigua, that, a few months ago, a vessel with emigrants, on setting out, was fired at five times from the fort, although regularly cleared out from the Custom House. Thus this absurd system works evil, and only evil, on all sides.

Nor have your Committee any more agreeable report to give respecting the Mauritius affair. The compensation has been paid to those who had illegally and feloniously imported Slaves into this Colony; because, on a garbled and very partial statement of the facts, the Privy Council (all the Judges attending,) held that they had been duly registered; or, if otherwise, that

the fault lay not with the owners, but with the official functionaries. Hence, we have good reason to believe, that not less than 25,000 Negroes are illegally detained in bondage in that Island. Thus saving the trouble of thoroughly investigating the circumstances, and instead of giving the benefit of the doubt, if any, to the injured party, they, with seeming indifference, continue the 25,000 human beings in Slavery; and out of the pockets of the people of this country, reward with compensation at the rate of about £22 sterling a-head, those who feloniously imported them. And what makes this decision the more remarkable is, that about 1000 Slaves in the Grand Caymanas—a cluster of small islands, near and connected in the same government with Jamaica—have been entirely freed, although on the occasion of communicating their freedom to them, the Governor addressing their masters, said, “I admit that the non-registration of these Slaves was no culpable neglect of your own, as the law did not prescribe the necessity of your so doing.” The question of compensation to the Caymanians remains open; but if any deserve, or are entitled to it, *they* surely have a preferable claim to the Mauritians, since *they* were not required to register; yet so absurd is the judgment, that those to whom no fault is imputed, have their Slaves freed away from them, and very properly so, without any compensation; whereas the Mauritians, against whom felony and non-compliance with the law is charged, get the compensation to which they are not entitled, and their Slaves are not freed!!!

Well may the Mauritius Planters extol our Liberal Government—liberal out of the people’s pockets! Here is from £600,000 to probably near a million, given to reward felony!!

To detail the progress of the Emancipation cause in America during the past year, would fill a volume; and although there has been rather a deficient supply of information by the newspapers devoted to the cause, yet from the mass which has reached us, it is difficult to select and condense into a portion of our Report, a clear view of it; so rapid and extensive has that progress been,—not however without opposition by the General and State Legislatures, by Churches, by mobs, and by individuals. But opposition ever serves the cause—brings it into notice—promotes discussion; and generally ends in making some converts, who before were opposed or neutral.

To take up the subject then, where our last Report left it.—One of the most important occurrences, briefly noticed in that Report, was the violation of the United States’ Mail, on the 30th July, 1835, by a mob of Anti-Abolitionists, who forced open the

Post Office, took from thence a Mail package, and burnt it in the public square, before 3000 citizens of Charleston. The City Council, in calling a General Meeting of the Citizens, said, "Whereas a very proper excitement exists in this community, &c." A Committee of twenty-one was appointed to inspect in future, and separate the obnoxious documents; and the Post-master agreed to stop all such publications, as they pleased to call incendiary. At this meeting, his honour the Intendant presided, and *the Clergy of all denominations* attended in a body.—In the preamble to the Resolutions they state, that they "have purposely abstained from any laboured argument on the subject of Slavery, not from any inability to sustain, on *moral* and *scriptural grounds*, its existence and toleration as now established in South Carolina; but from a deep conviction of the fixed resolution of the people of this State, to permit no discussion within her limits, of RIGHTS which she deems inherent and inseparable from the very existence of the State."

The head of the Post Office department declared,—“The Post Office department was created to serve the people of each, and of all the United States, and not to be used as the instrument of their destruction. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them.” To the Post-master at Charleston, he said—“Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained, and the circumstances by which you are surrounded.” And, while acknowledging its illegality, he added, “As a measure of great public necessity, therefore, you and the other Postmasters who have assumed the responsibility of stopping those inflammatory papers will, I have no doubt, stand justified in that step before your country and all mankind.”

The President, in his Message to Congress observed, “I would therefore call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the Mail, of incendiary publications, intended to instigate the Slaves to insurrection.”

And what did a Grand Jury in Alabama, in an indictment against the Anti-Slavery Society’s Agent, find to be an insurrectionary paragraph? Why this—That “God commands, and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property! The system of making men property has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow-countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation; and they are every moment sinking deeper.”

An "Incendiary Publication Bill" was brought into Congress, but was rejected by the Senate.

It is the moral discussion of Slavery that Slave-holders fear, especially that going on in the Northern States. And the point to be remarked in the tyrannous resolutions passed in many places is, that the South denies to the North all right of morally discussing the subject of Slavery. "*She* may enjoy free intercourse with our cities," says the American Anti-Slavery Society, "free access to our literary institutions; free use of the Mail—thousands of her citizens may come among us to corrupt the minds of ours, in favour of Slavery; but we must not call in question the moral right of holding men as property. *She* may send among us the poisonous disquisitions of her reverend defenders of Slavery, Drs. Furman and Dalcho, or of Holland and Deubret; *we* may not send back the antidotes of Mrs Child, of Judge Jay, of Dr. Channing, nor of her Birney, nor yet of her own canonized sage, Jefferson!"

The tyrannical demands of the South, were "cringingly and hypocritically" responded to at the North, by meetings of "merchants, politicians, and aristocrats,"—for it seems there *are* "aristocrats" in this great Republic—corrupted by Southern trade and companionship, at Portland, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Albany.

Happily "there is yet a mass of uncorrupted yeomanry in the land, the bone and muscle of the nation, which sent back no such craven submission."

There was no faltering in the Abolition ranks, occasioned by such a formidable array of public sentiment—there was no waiting for the storm to pass over;—no—this outcry of the abettors of Slavery for silence, was the best possible reason for crying aloud and sparing not.

The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, both met on 21st October. The Ladies, as has been already published in this country, were mobbed by 5000 "gentlemen of property and standing." These 5000 respectable and accomplished Lynchers, by brute force compelled the Ladies—met under deep feelings of sympathy for their own sex, degraded and abused by Slavery, to promote measures for their relief—to adjourn to a private house for greater security. The *gentlemanly rabble* laid violent hands upon Mr Garrison, who was writing in an adjoining room, stripped him of part of his clothing, dragged him through the streets bound with a rope—and posterity will wonder to be told, that the protection of the Mayor consisted in committing

him to prison! Some account of the opposition given to the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, which met at Utica, on the same day, and of its proceedings, was given in our last Report.

Never did the Church give evidence of more fearful corruption, nor was religion ever more dangerously perverted, than when learned Divines attempt to prove, from holy writ, that "might makes right." The past year has been fruitful in sentiments which tend to eternize Slavery in all its horrors, and "the foulest and most malignant expressions in justification of Slavery, or hostility to Abolitionists, have proceeded from consecrated expounders of God's revelation and law."

In confirmation of the justice of these remarks, the following extracts from the proceedings of religious bodies in the United States, are presented.

The *Clergy* of Richmond, Virginia, on 29th August, "*Resolved* UNANIMOUSLY :"—

"That the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, in not interfering with the question of Slavery, but uniformly recognizing the relations of master and servant, and giving full and affectionate instruction to both, is worthy of the imitation of all ministers of the Gospel."

The *Synod* of Virginia, at a subsequent period, unanimously Resolved :—

"That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said Associations—that Slavery as it actually exists in our Slave-holding States, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished; and the conclusions which naturally flow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense, and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God."

The Edgefield (S. C.) Baptist Association, Resolved :—

"That the practical question of Slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the Scriptures by Jesus Christ and his Apostles."

The same Association appointed a day of fasting—not to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free; but to entreat God—

"To give their brethren at the North, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his Apostles, on the subject of Slavery, so that they may endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Surely, this is fasting, "to smite with the fist of wickedness!"

The Ministers and Messengers of the Golien Association, at Free Union, Louisa Co., Va., among other resolutions, passed the following :—

"That the Bible fully and clearly recognizes the relation of master and servant; that our Saviour and his Apostles taught servants their duties to their masters, and submission to the powers that be—the case of Onesimus, and the directions of the Apostles are in point."

The Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopted a "Report on Slavery," in which is the following:—

"Slavery is an evil which the civil authority alone can remedy. The Church can do nothing towards it, except to require kindness on the part of its white members toward their Slaves, and fidelity towards their masters on the part of the Slaves. The indiscriminate traffic in Slaves, and every cruelty towards them is criminal, and falls under the disciplinary interdiction of our Church. But this is all, as a body of Methodist Ministers, we can do. The laws of our country preclude the possibility of any thing like general Emancipation."

The Charleston Baptist Association, in a memorial to the Legislature of South Carolina, say,—

"The undersigned, would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of Slavery a question of morals at all.

"The right of masters to dispose of the time of their Slaves, has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things,"

The Charleston Union Presbytery, Resolved:—

"That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of Slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his holy word; and they who hold the principle, in morals and religion, that Slave-holding is wrong, proceed upon false principles."

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell and the Rev. Mr Carlisle, supported the following Resolutions, in Lancasterville, South Carolina:—

"That Slavery as it exists in the South is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist.

"That all interference with this subject by fanatics, is a violation of our civil and social rights—is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins."

The Rev. Rufus W. Bailey says,—

"I love to dwell on the religious privileges and prospects of our black population, in contrast with their brethren, who remain free in their native deserts," and he professes greatly to fear that Great Britain, "in a noble endeavour to act nobly, has precipitated her Colonial Slaves to a deeper ruin."

The Rev. W. M. Atkinson of Virginia, rejoices for the sake of the black man, as well as of the white, that the Legislators of that State judged rightly in not abolishing Slavery with the Slave-trade. This Rev. gentleman—the *general agent for the Virginia Bible Society*—in vindicating himself from the charge of being an Abolitionist, says,—

"My interests are identified with those of my native State. My all of property, which if it be but little is still my all, is vested in real estate and *Slaves*, in Virginia."

The Rev. William S. Plumer of Virginia, in a letter highly commended by the Editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, too long for us to quote, says,—“If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first

warming at the fire." And with the mild and Christian spirit of a Breckinridge, he says,—“ Let them understand that they will be caught if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of the way—none of them has any idea of shedding his blood in this cause; they stand off and bark at men and institutions, without daring to march into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fearlessness;” yet this reverend gentleman “is from religious principles opposed to war!” He is regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church; and, professing to labour for the conversion of the whole world, is resolved never to lay down the lash, which makes millions of heathen at home!!

The Rev. William J. Armstrong, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, glories in not being an Abolitionist, and pronounces the charge “false and calumnious.”

Similar sentiments have been promulgated by nearly every ecclesiastical body at the south, and not far behind them by a few such bodies at the north. Instead of standing aloof from Slavery, as they pretend Christ and his Apostles did, they are themselves shameless Slave-holders in heart; and often in practice they denounce reprovers of oppression as criminals of the worst stamp.

The *Charleston Courier*, countenanced by such a phalanx of reverends, says—“ We hold Slavery to be neither a sin nor a curse, but an ordinance of providence, and a practical blessing.”

The Hartwick Synod of the Lutheran Church, on the 24th Sept. last, “Resolved, that the subject of Abolition of Slavery be indefinitely postponed.” The President of the Lutheran Church, and the Editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, are Slave-holders.

The Synod of Virginia, on the 7th November, passed an “Act on the state of the Church,” in which they specify “the prominent causes” of the present “disturbance” in the Presbyterian Church. Among other things they refer, as has been done by some of the same stamp quoted above, to the word of God, the example of the Apostles, and the rules of the New Testament; and to show the criminality of Abolition doctrines and their own duty, quote 1st Tim. vi. 1—5. “Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and ex-

hort. "*If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words,*" &c., &c., quoting the rest.....; "*from such withdraw thyself.*" Here, say they, it is as plain as words can make any thing, that Abolition principles are wrong. Certainly Abolitionists teach otherwise than Paul taught, and the only scriptural remedy is, "from such withdraw." They add,—

"The attempt to make Slave-holding a bar to communion, or fair ministerial standing, is now changing the constitution of our church, and the original terms of communion. This we cannot permit." Therefore, the Synod solemnly affirm, "that the General Assembly have no right to declare that relation sinful, which Christ and his apostles teach to be consistent with the most unquestionable piety;—and that any act which would impeach the Christian character of any man, because he is a Slave-holder, would be a palpable violation of the just principles on which the union of our church was founded,—as well as a daring usurpation of the authority granted by the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Synod conclude, "in the foregoing sentiments we are unanimous."—Signed by William S. Plumer, scribe of Synod—the fiery, but not fighting gentleman, some of whose acts we noticed above.

The Harmony Presbytery, South Carolina, on the 26th September, unanimously adopted the following, it is part of a Report on the state of the Church:—

"Whereas, sundry persons in Scotland, England, and our country, have denounced Slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God; some have presented petitions to the General Assembly of our Church, and to Congress, whose object is to bring Slave-holders into disgrace, and to abolish Slavery; and whereas they know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm, and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity, while they indulge in the most reckless denunciations of their neighbours, as false in fact as they are opposed to the spirit of our holy religion."

Therefore they resolve—in short—that as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, his Church has no right to alter or abolish any civil or political institution of man; nor has the Church in our midst, any right to interfere with Slavery; much less has any other Church any right to interfere in the premises.

That Slavery existed from the days of those good old Slave-holders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (who are now in heaven,) to the time when the Apostle Paul sent a run-away Slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal letter to this Slave-holder, which still stands in the canon of scripture; and that Slavery has existed since the days of the Apostle, and now exists.

That as the relation of Master and Slave is taught in scripture, as those of parent and child, husband and wife, Slavery is not opposed to the will of God, and that he whose conscience is too tender to recognize this relation as lawful, is "righteous overmuch," is wise above what is written, and has submitted

his neck to the yoke of man, sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men.

Thus, after having declared that the relative duties of Master and Slave are taught in Scripture, they “ resolve that it is a purely civil relation, and, in this State, no person, or persons, can impair, abridge, or alter, that institution, save the legislature, or people of South Carolina only ! ! ”

Now what mighty cause set in motion this action and reaction between the South and the North, or rather, between the enemies and the slumbering friends of human nature, which has so far broken up the fatal delusion of American Slavery? The simple doctrine of the *sin of Slavery*, and the *duty of Immediate Emancipation*, proclaimed and reiterated by the affiliated Anti-Slavery Societies.

From these lamentable prostrations of principle, to the Dagon of Slavery, it is cheering to turn to the other side of the picture, and behold the host that have already mustered ; that are buckling on their armour, and preparing for the great moral struggle with these enemies of God and man.

The Methodist clergy of the central part of New England have come forward in a body, animated with the spirit of the venerable Wesley, and openly joined the Abolitionists.

The Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati has censured one of its Presbyteries for admitting a Slave-holder to the pulpit. A large number of Synods, Presbyteries, Associations, Conferences, &c., in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, have condemned Slavery as a sin against God, and have insisted on the duty of Immediate Emancipation. The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky has adopted and published a Report, which unfolds the wickedness of Slavery in that State, and recommends the *immediate* adoption of a plan for *ultimate* Emancipation—not a plan for *Immediate* Emancipation—but we trust they are, by this time, not far from this omnipotent principle.

Hancock Baptist Association, Maine, on 7th and 8th Sept., expressing themselves in concise terms, say—

“ That of all the systems of iniquity that ever cursed the world, the Slave system is the most abominable. It is the enslavement of the noblest workmanship of the Deity on earth—the debasement of the bodies, the imbrutement of the intellects, and the blotting out God’s image in the souls of those who are clothed with the deathless attributes of immortality. It is a daring infringement of human rights, an unblushing violation of all the precepts of the decalogue. It is, in a word, the masterpiece of Satan, involving all that is oppressive in tyranny, shocking in cruelty, base in robbery, degrading in ignorance, and loathsome in licentiousness. And this foul system, existing as it does, in all its

horrors, in this our Republic, is our nation's crying sin, and a massy bar to the universal spread of religion in our country. Therefore,

“Resolved,—That the only proper remedy for this appalling evil, is *Immediate Emancipation*.”

“That while we deprecate all *physical* interference in relation to this subject, it is our imperious duty, as patriots, philanthropists, and Christians, to exert a strong *moral* influence, in order to give a speedy practical development to the principle stated in the first Resolution.

“Resolved,—That so long as any of our fellow-creatures remain in bondage, we will not cease to pray for them, and sympathize with them, in their down-trodden and degraded condition.

“Resolved,—That we, as professed followers of Christ, have no fellowship or communion with those who, under the character of Christians, continue to hold their fellow-men in bondage.”

The Washington Baptist Association at Stuben, (Me.)—

“Resolved,—That Slavery, especially as it exists in this country, like all other sins, is an evil *not to be mitigated*, but *immediately abandoned*.”

“Resolved,—That while it exists, it is the imperious duty of all Christians most fervently and perseveringly to pray that God will sustain the oppressed, and speedily work out for them a peaceable and entire deliverance.

“Resolved,—That, as Christians, we can have no fellowship with those who, after being duly enlightened on this subject, still advocate and practise its abominations, and thus defile the church of God.”

The Baptist Church in South Reading, (M. S.) date Sept., 25th, send to W. L. Garrison, through their chairman, a Report of their Committee on Slavery, in which they say, that

“The spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in no sense inculcates or justifies the enslaving of our fellow-beings, but contrariwise marks it as a sin of the most flagrant enormity; classing Slave-holders in the catalogue of the vilest criminals, and denouncing them with the severest reprobation: and Resolve, that Slavery is an infraction of the natural, religious, and undeniable rights of man;—that the law of Christian kindness requires not to suffer sin on our brethren, but to rebuke and restore him in the spirit of meekness, and not to keep silence for fear of offending those on whom this crime is chargeable;—that all ministers and members who hold Slaves, are unworthy of a place in the Church of Christ, and we cannot extend to them the right hand of fellowship as good ministers, and worthy members; that while we would cherish for them the spirit of love and prayer, we cannot commune with them at the table of the Lord, who died to redeem souls out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; in whom the kindreds of the earth are blessed; and in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Sythian, bond nor free; that to exclude Coloured persons from an equal seat in the house of God, or at the communion table, on account of Colour, is sinful, and ought to be *immediately* repented of.”

The Primitive Methodists have also caught the flame. At a Missionary meeting of that body, the following was proposed:—

“Resolved,—That as a body of Primitive Methodists assembled for Missionary purposes, we wish solemnly to enter our protest against the identity of Methodism with the work of Slavery.”

This was seconded by the Rev. Mr Thompson, a deputy from a large body of Primitive Methodists in England, and carried unanimously.

In a letter of the Rev. William S. Plumer of Virginia, abridged and quoted above, he says he is honoured with the friendship of many of the Society of Friends there and in

Philadelphia, yet that he does not know one of them who approves the course of the Abolitionists.

This being the testimony of a *Slave-holder*, or an *apologist* for Slavery, is not entitled to much credit. As a counterpart to it, however, we have an "Address from Farmington, (New York,) Quarterly Meeting of orthodox Friends, to its members, on Slavery, dated 11 month, 9, 1836." It is too long to insert, or even to abridge. They declare the principle of its being sinful to claim property in man, to be that which has, from a very remote period, always stimulated their body to testify against Slavery. They rejoice at the success of the Abolition cause in the British Colonies, describe the miserable condition of the Slaves in America, and state that more than 100,000 are annually transported from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; where the rigours of Slavery are so cruel as greatly to abridge the period of human life. "If," they ask, "we are freely partaking of the unrequited labour of Slaves, are we actively complying with the following advice of our late yearly meeting?" viz. :—

"This meeting, while taking an enlarged view of this interesting subject, is sensible that many of its members feel religious scruples in relation to partaking of the produce of the unrequited labour of Slaves; and desires that all may be faithful to the requirements of duty, in their varied allotments, and means of usefulness."

In conclusion, they call upon their members, agreeably to the doctrines and the requirements of scripture, to act upon the principles they profess. We trust their admonitions may extend into the Southern States, and bring forth abundant fruit.

A correspondent from Harrisville, Ohio, date, January 3, 1837, says—

"The CHURCH is our hope in this State. The Seceders have come into the Anti-Slavery ranks almost *en masse*. The Methodists have taken a decided stand in this region. The majority of Baptists, I think, are with us. And while things are thus favourable, with truth and God on our side, how should we be defeated?"

As it has been affirmed by our friend George Thompson, and but too painfully confirmed from various sources; and still farther by the lamentable facts detailed above, that the Church *in the South* is the stronghold of Slavery—so these excellent proceedings in different churches are not only highly gratifying in themselves; but, when we see the artillery of truth and righteousness in one portion of the church, set against the inventions of wickedness and oppression in the other, we can have no doubt which side shall have the victory. The question of the Membership of Slave-holders has also been agitated,

and will, we trust, ultimately purge the Churches of the “unrighteous leaven.”

The Addison County Anti-Slavery Society, in Vermont, among other Resolutions, passed the following :—

“That the attitude assumed by the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in their attempts to suppress the truth, and to prevent discussion on the Slave question, instead of discouraging, ought to excite to greater and more determined exertions in this great cause of civil and religious liberty, since these events plainly show the danger and magnitude of the evil, and the importance of speedily bringing the requisite moral power into action to accomplish its destruction.”

They also condemned the violation of the Constitution, of the rights of the press, and the liberty of speech, by rejecting the petitions of the people, by the violence inflicted on Mr Birney and his press, and by the lawless mobs—and propose that a law should be passed in Ohio, making every town, borough, and city, liable for the property destroyed by the mobs.

The Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society have issued a similar appeal to the citizens of Cincinnati, occasioned by the outrages committed by the mob on 31st July last, when they broke every thing to pieces in Mr Birney’s printing premises, stove out the windows, scattered his papers and books in the street, and burned many of them. They next threw out his press, hauled it down to the river, broke it, and threw it to the bottom. They then proceeded to his house, breathing forth destruction ; but happily Mr Birney was not at home.

The printing-office of the *St. Louis Observer*, was also broken into by a night mob, the press upset, and the types cast into the street.

An Anti-Slavery Society in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been formed in Utica; where, a year before, the Anti-Slavery Convention had been broken up. The Preamble and Resolutions of this Society are :—

“Whereas, we believe, that the holding and treating the human species as property, is a sin against 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 to us :

“Whereas we know that millions of our species are held in this dreadful state by republicans and professed Christians, in this nation ; and whereas we have no expectation that this great evil will ever be done away, until the example and testimony of the Christian church are set against it :

“Whereas we desire to ‘register [our] testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, antichristian, and diabolical Slave-trade, with all its authors, abettors, and sacrilegious gains, as well as against the great devil, the father of it and them ;’ believing, as we do, that ‘this equally concerns all Slave-holders, of whatever rank or degree, seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers :’

“Whereas, to reiterate these sentiments in another form, we ‘feel [ourselves] called upon to record [our] 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:’

“And whereas we find these ancient landmarks of pure Christianity and Primitive Methodism, in danger of being swept away by the extraordinary proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati, including the sixth section of the Pastoral Address by the Bishops, in which they exhort the members and friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church not simply to stand aloof from ‘*modern Abolitionism*,’ but to abstain from all Abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications:

“And whereas we find these alarming innovations upon our principles and practices, as a body of Christians, and as Methodists, not only fully concurred in by the New York Annual Conference, but followed up by a Resolution, disapproving of the members of the Conference patronizing, or in any way giving countenance to, a paper called *Zion’s Watchman*,—a paper maintaining the principles here avowed; and also by another Resolution, declaring that ‘none ought to be elected to the office of deacon or elder in our church, unless he give a *pledge* to the Conference, that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on this subject:’—

“Therefore, determined not to ‘be weary in well-doing,’ but to go on, in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American Slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it.’”

They then formed an Anti-Slavery Society, and Resolved,

“That we view with alarm the recent Pastoral Address, and also the letter preceding it, under the signature of two of our Bishops, and also the proceedings of the late General and of the New York Annual Conference, as an infringement upon our rights of conscience, and our liberties as Americans, and endangering the peace of our church, and consider it as a loud call upon the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for *immediate* action.

“Therefore, we would recommend the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies in every station and circuit throughout the bounds of the Oneida Conference.

“Resolved, That *Zion’s Watchman* meets with our decided approval, and is entitled to, and shall receive, our countenance and support, so long as it continues to plead the cause of the oppressed in our land.”

Here is some wholesome doctrine for the Methodist Church. She is likely soon to get out of the trammels of Slave-holding Bishops. Much of the language used in the above is that of the venerated John Wesley, Dr. Adam Clarke, and Richard Watson.

A subject of no small importance, as connected with the cause of Emancipation, is the intercourse betwixt the Baptist, Methodist, and other churches, on both sides of the Atlantic. The correspondence of religious bodies so numerous and respectable, especially on this all-exciting question of Slavery, is likely to be regarded with intense interest; the more so, as those on this side are remonstrating with, and endeavouring to convince their Trans-Atlantic brethren, of the cruelty, injustice, and sinfulness of their connection with Slavery.

On the 31st December, 1833, the Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London, addressed an affectionate expostulation on the subject of Slavery, to their brethren of that denomination in the United States. This letter was for some time either neglected or suppressed. But in September, 1834, Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary of the American

Board, sent an evasive and apologetic reply, confessing that, in the Southern States, the Baptists are "*generally, both Ministers and People, SLAVE-HOLDERS.*" A reply to this expostulation, of a very different character, was also prepared and approved in a convention of more than fifty Baptist Ministers in Boston, in May, 1835, and signed by 185 Ministers of that body, was forwarded to England.

Before this time, however, viz., in October, 1834, the English Baptists had sent a deputation to their brethren in the United States; and in their circular of that date say,—

"We send our deputation, (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) to promote, most zealously, and to the utmost of their ability, in the spirit of love, of discretion, and of fidelity; but still most zealously, to promote the sacred cause of Negro Emancipation."

The English Baptist Union held its Annual Meeting in London, in June last. A considerable number of the Ministers and messengers urged an immediate termination of the correspondence with the American Baptists; others, equally abhorrent of Slavery, pleaded that faithful, earnest, solemn remonstrance should be tried; and upon the effect must depend the steps to be taken. The deputation said, that the American Baptists had not refused to receive communications from the Union on the subject of Slavery, but that they (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) on their own responsibility, had not introduced the subject at the American Baptist Meeting at Richmond, Virginia. It was ultimately agreed to try a firm and earnest appeal, and to suspend future proceedings on the result. All parties reprobated an intercourse which would compromise their character as Abolitionists. The Resolution was, in substance, that the connection of the Union with the Baptist Churches of the United States, consists in a correspondence to the advantage of both parties, by an unfettered expression of opinion on Christian consistency, the advancement of religion, and the glory of God.

Many regretted that the deputation had not, in America, *publicly advocated* the principles of Abolition; but it was believed that they had acted conscientiously in the silence they maintained. Even those who deemed their conduct injurious to the cause, gave them credit for honesty of intention; and the Resolution bore that,—

"Having sent our brethren (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) to promote, with other objects, the sacred cause of Negro Emancipation, we rejoice that they conveyed to Ministers and Churches our abhorrence of the system of Slavery; but, although assured of their integrity of purpose, we regret that to attain denominational objects, they deemed it advisable to refrain from introducing

it in public meetings, and to withhold from the Abolition Society their encouragement and support."

In the fourth Resolution, the Union freely express their condemnation of the Slave system, and its influence on the American Churches; and earnestly entreat the Baptist Church in America, which contains more than 600,000 members—"by their sense of equity, by their love of liberty, and by their hope of salvation, to rouse themselves to their duty, and withhold no effort from the general cause of humanity and freedom, until the jubilee of Universal Emancipation is proclaimed."

These Resolutions were accompanied by an affectionate and soul-stirring appeal; but our limits preclude us from doing justice to the former, by an attempt at abridgment; and for the latter, we must refer those who wish to enjoy the high gratification of its perusal, to the religious publications in which they have severally appeared.

The correspondence of the Wesleyan Churches on both sides the Atlantic, forms a no less interesting topic in the present agitated state of the Church on the question of Slavery. In the United States 600,000 members are numbered in connection with this Church, the largest branch of which is Episcopal in its government.

In August, 1835, the British Conference sent, by the Rev. William Lord, an address to the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, in which they very tenderly touched upon the subject of Slavery, merely as it were putting out their feelers. "Great scriptural principles," say the Conference—"are opposed to the continuance of Slavery in a Christian State—it is contrary to the precepts of Christianity"—and they trust "that they (their American brethren) have begun to resist and condemn this baneful system, and will be led to such practical steps as shall produce such a consentaneous opinion, feeling, and purpose among their people, as will result in a rejection of Slavery, on the ground of its repugnancy to the laws of Christ."

This is the substance, indeed almost all the Conference said on the subject; yet it was like a fire-brand cast into the American Methodist Church.

That church met in Conference at Cincinnati, in May 1836. The Rev. Mr Lord was introduced, and presented the address of the British Conference. On which, after its being read, and a motion to print it set aside, a Committee were appointed to report. Next day, Dr. Bangs, one of the Committee, presented a report. He spoke of the "trouble Abolitionism" had

made. Mr Spencer said, "the report speaks of the trouble Abolitionism has made us; I think Slavery should be inserted instead of Abolitionism." This report was recommitted, and next day another was produced, which was more generally agreeable.

The Rev. Mr Early of Virginia said,—

"Let the Methodist Members from Maine to Georgia come out and denounce Abolitionists. It was of little use for Southern Methodists to denounce them, for that is expected, and it is replied the South are Slave-holders; but let the Church altogether denounce them, and it will place the Methodist Church on an eminence it never had before, while other Churches are divided by this excitement."

The Rev. Mr Paine of Tennessee then moved to strike out all that part of the address which related to Slavery, which several supported.

Bishop Soule satisfied Mr Paine, that it would be best to retain that part. The report was then adopted.

A memorial, signed by 151 travelling, and 49 local preachers, (200 in all,) was presented, praying for the restoration to their discipline, of the original rules on Slavery. Dr. Bangs said, he hoped the question of Slavery would have been kept out of General Conference; but seeing it could not, he referred it to a Committee. Mr Winnans, from Mississippi, agreed on account of the respectability of the memorialists; but said he could get 500,000 names against its prayer. Thus the Abolitionists have fortified themselves with the rule of discipline of Wesley, Clarke, Coke, and the Conference. A similar memorial, signed by 2,204 members, was presented by the Rev. Orange Scott. S. G. Rozzell of Baltimore moved, that a paragraph on Abolition, in order to put it down, be inserted in an address to the people. O. Scott moved an amendment to add "Slavery." A resolution was next day proposed to condemn modern Abolitionism; and in reference to two brethren who had attended an Abolition meeting, it stated "their conduct was unjustifiable." O. Scott, who was one of those referred to, defended "modern Abolition," and identified it with the doctrines of Wesley, Clarke, Watson, the Wesleyan Conference, and those formerly held by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Soule thought the best service they could render the country, was to make no interference. Mr Scott closed, by assuring the Conference, *that they might as well think of putting their foot on the burning mountain to stop its rumbling,—turn back the waters of the Niagara,—or take up the waters of the Mississippi in the hollow of their hand, as to think of stopping the progress of Abolitionism.*

Mr Crouder of Virginia was in favour of that "noble, benevolent, and heaven-born institution, the Colonization Society." Mr Winnans said, Jehovah had permitted, had regulated Slavery. He believed there should be Christians and Christian ministers known to be Slave-holders extensively throughout the South, and Slave-holding Bishops too; for the same reason that you should exclude us from any office in the church, you should exclude us from membership in the church. Abolition movements are evil and only evil, always, and everywhere, and at all times. Wm. A. Smith said, Abolition was a political and moral heresy—alike against our discipline and the scriptures—it was carried into our class-meetings and quarterly Conferences. Speaking of Mr O. Scott, he said, "I would to God he were in heaven, where he is prepared to go." Mr J. F. Adams called to order, and inquired if it were admissible for one member to wish another member dead. No retraction was made, nor did the Conference require it. 120 voted to condemn Abolition, 14 would not bow to the image of Slavery in any shape.

The address which the Conference produced, is of a piece with the discussions which preceded it. They say,

That in common with sister-denominations, they have been more or less agitated on the *perplexing* question of Negro Slavery. They receive with respectful deference what their elder brethren have said on the question; but had they been as well acquainted with the subject as they, had they known the many difficulties arising from State Constitutions and civil compacts, and perceived its *delicate* relations to the Church, to the States, and to the General Government, (in short, the lions in the way,) while expressing their decided disapprobation of the system of Slavery itself, their tone of sympathy would have been deeper, more pathetic.

But they utter no condemnation of the system, nor even denigrate the decided disapprobation of their British brethren just. They state, that of the Coloured population in the Southern and South-western States, they have not less than 70,000 in church membership. This reply was signed by four bishops, (R. R. Roberts, Joshua Serle, Elijah Hedding, and James D. Andrew, and by Thomas L. Douglass, Secretary, from Cincinnati, Ohio)—and sent to England by the Rev. Dr. Fisk, a rank Colonizationist; who, when leaving America, earnestly implored his brethren, as perhaps the last favour he might have an opportunity to request of them, to *cease to agitate the church and the world on the subject*. And referring to a letter of "a clergyman of their church, of high standing," the Rev. Dr. Obin, president of a College in Virginia, who had stated that the agitation of the question would excite the masters to greater severity to their Slaves, Dr. F. said, that "he *hoped, prayed, and*

trusted, that the strength of public sentiment would put an end to this *most thrifless* and *ill-timed Northern agitation*, on the question of Southern Slavery."

Such was the delegate sent to the British Methodist Conference, in August, 1836. That body, in reply, take somewhat higher ground than in their former address; but, considering the evasive character of the communication received, and the nature and importance of the subject, they would have been justified in using stronger terms of remonstrance—"it would not break the heads of their American brethren."

"We regret," say the Conference, "that our former allusion to the subject should have occasioned you pain or embarrassment. We claimed no right or privilege but what we would freely yield to you:—

"We utterly disclaim all responsibility for any other kind of foreign interference with your views and feelings, which may have been exerted from any other quarter"—alluding probably to the interference of the Emancipation Societies of this country, through their *invited* 'foreign emissary' George Thompson. 'We considered it our duty to give our moral weight in support of those views which were held by our great Founder, repeatedly professed by the British Conference, and for many years avowed in your own Book of Discipline, and in accordance with our merciful and righteous Christianity.' 'Slavery,' they add, 'in itself is so obviously opposed to the immutable principles of justice, to the inalienable rights of man of whatever colour or condition, to the social and civil improvement and happiness of the human family, to the principles and precepts of Christianity, and to the full accomplishment of the merciful designs of the gospel, that we cannot but consider it the duty of the Christian church to bear an unequivocal testimony against a system which involves so much sin against God, and so much oppression and wrong inflicted on an unoffending race of our fellow-men.

"The British Conference expresses its anxious and earnest hope, that our American brethren will feel it their duty, in union with other Christians, to adopt such measures as may lead to the safe and speedy Emancipation of the whole Slave-population of their great and interesting country."

Thus the subject of Slavery and the question of its Abolition, is fully introduced to the consideration of the American Churches. There it will be subjected to the scrutiny of the Ministers of Christianity, and the votaries of Mammon, and we have no doubt, that Truth and Righteousness will prevail; and that the Churches will, ere long, be delivered from the destructive infection and ruinous consequences of this Beelzebub-Slavery; for the Spirit of Him, who is powerful to overcome the Prince of devils, will cast it out of His church.

The Abolition question has also got into some of the State Legislatures, and into Congress, where, to the shame of this professedly free Republican Legislature, the petitions of the people on this crying abomination are, to gratify the avarice of the Southern Slave-holders, totally disregarded. But here too, the spirit of liberty, personified in the honourable John Quincy Adams, and, we trust, in many more noble minds, stimulated by

his example, and too exalted to monopolize to themselves the inalienable rights of man, will wrestle with and overcome this giant evil, which threatens the ruin of the commonwealth.

“Abolition principles are becoming commendatory in candidates for the Representation. In several districts in Vermont, Abolitionists were lately elected over Anti-Abolitionists. The governor of Vermont is president of an Auxiliary Abolition Society. Large majorities in both Houses of Legislature of that State lately passed resolutions, strongly asserting the right of free discussion, and of Congress to abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia; and directed these resolutions to be sent to the legislatures of the Slave-holding States, in reply to their demand for the legislative suppression of Anti-Slavery Societies. Their Secretary of State, who is a thorough-going Abolitionist, in communicating these resolutions to me says:—‘The Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, ‘took occasion to say, that the people of Vermont are now ready to receive back our magnanimous and devoted friend George Thompson, and to stand by him!’”

“The governor of Pennsylvania, in his message to the Legislature in December last, openly denounced ‘the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery.’ The tone of the Southern Governors is this year much lower.”—*Letter to one of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

The *Glasgow Discussion* is printed at full length in the *Western Presbyterian*, Louisville, State of Kentucky. Thus Mr Thompson is in the *Slave States*!! Thanks to the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge. The Discussion has, besides, gone through several editions in America; and one of these, furnished with copious notes, by William Lloyd Garrison.

Misses Sarah and Angelina E. Grinké, from South Carolina, a Slave State, are *lecturing* to Female audiences, on the subject of Abolition!!!

Mr GARRISON writes to Mr Thompson, of date January 10th, 1837:—

“In this country the Anti-Slavery cause is marching onward with astonishing celerity; and it is now the all-pervading impression, both at the North and the South, that ere long it is to be completely victorious. Mobs are now quite rare—the brutal crisis seems to have passed away—and though we meet with sturdy opposition in various quarters, yet we always keep the mastery.

“The number of our Societies increases too fast for me to keep an accurate reckoning. It cannot be less than 800, and may amount to 1000—and still it continues to augment. But the strongest proof of our growth—the most sublime manifestation of our whole-hearted determination to conquer by one decisive effort, is seen in the fact, that we have commissioned no less than SEVENTY Agents, to go forth and give battle to a corrupt public sentiment—all good men, and true—all more or less able and successful lecturers—a large portion enlisted ‘to serve’ during the war, and others for a limited period. I believe the world has seen nothing like this, since the seventy disciples were sent forth by our Lord—and returned with joy, saying, ‘Even the devils are subject to us.’ Only think of it—seventy men, official Agents, pleading with the people, night and day! If in a cause like this, the promise is, that ‘one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,’ what under God may not this sacramental host achieve?”

Your Committee deem it right to notice the recent and still continued struggle in Mexico, between the Anglo-American Settlers of Texas, and the general government of that country. There is abundant evidence that the chief, if not ex-

clusive cause of the collision, is to be found in the introduction of Slaves into Texas, and the determination of the Slave-holding Colonists, to establish and perpetuate the system of Slavery, and the Slave-trade, in opposition to the Mexican Constitution of 1824, providing that thereafter no Slaves should be born or introduced into any portion of the Mexican States; and to the decree of the 15th of September, 1829, abolishing Slavery throughout the bounds of the Republic. In their revolt from the General Government, and their attempt to dismember the Mexican Republic, the Anglo-American Settlers have been sustained by the Land Speculators, Slave-holders, and scheming Politicians of the United States, who have succeeded in enlisting a large amount of effective sympathy in behalf of the Texians.

Volunteers in considerable numbers have been induced to join the rebel army, and supplies of money, arms, and ammunition, have been plentifully voted in various public meetings. The issue of the contest is still uncertain. The Abolitionists of the United States are decidedly opposed to the Texian war, and the annexation of the province of Texas to the United States, and have fully demonstrated that the triumph of the Texian arms, would lead to the re-establishment of Slavery, and the opening of a vast market for the surplus Slave population of the United States.

Alas! Republican America, with all her wealth—her coffers overflowing—exhibits among the nations a very unenviable character, in her conduct on this great moral and political question. She refuses to Abolish Slavery, and her internal Slave-trade, winks at the schemes of her citizens, for their extension—proscribes her Coloured population, and persecutes those who seek to rid her of these evils, and their consequent sinfulness. From false pride, she refuses what all other maritime nations have granted, a reciprocal right of search for Slaves, on board of vessels carrying her flag;—hence her star-spangled banner, so much her boast, affords a protection to inhuman Slave-traders—and yet she assumes to herself the title of the *Freest Nation on Earth!!!*

We are told from very high authority, that “Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.” And we much fear, that such will be the fate of America, if she repent not and forsake her wickedness. Our only hope is, that there are in her borders a precious few—the salt of the earth—who are striving to show her the enormity of her transgressions; and these, by the blessing of God, are rapidly increasing, and their efforts proving successful.

The importance of the Colonies of Great Britain, and the United States of America, and their influence upon other Powers in regard to the Abolition question, have induced us to devote a large portion of this Report to examine the effects of *complete* Emancipation, and of the Apprenticeship in the former; and to state the progress of Abolition principles in the latter. For, were Slavery entirely abolished by these two Powers, their example would, we doubt not, soon prevail with the other Governments who hold Slaves, to effect its Universal Extinction.

Your Committee would rejoice could they say that there is a near prospect of France joining her influence with Great Britain, as an example to America;—but although there are two Anti-Slavery Societies in Paris, it does not appear that the French people, to any extent in Paris, or at all in the provinces, take any such interest in the question as the British did. We would be glad to hear of the formation of other Abolition Societies in France; and the holding of Anti-Slavery meetings; and of the presentation of petitions to their Legislature from the different districts.

The question of maintaining or suppressing Colonial Slavery came on in the Chamber of Deputies, on a demand of the sum of £270,000 being made for the military expenses of the French West India Islands.

M. Lamartine delivered an eloquent speech against Negro Slavery, and was ably supported by M. de Tracy, *an Honorary Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society* :—

“‘ You may stigmatize my proposal as revolutionary, as tending to convulsion;’ exclaimed Lamartine, ‘but I insist that it is conservatism; for the most revolutionary of all things is an abuse left to subsist; and the strongest incentive to convulsion is an iniquity which might be amended, yet which is consecrated by law.’”

M. Lamartine proposed to indemnify the Slave proprietors gradually, by yearly payments.

M. de Tracy would allow *no price or compensation to be paid for property vested in man’s labour and flesh.*

M. Isambert confined himself to showing how the natural course of things led to Emancipation, and obviated any evil results.

But we fear matters are in too unsettled a state in the French Government for them to enter heartily into this business.

We have received a letter from one of the Secretaries of one of the Paris Abolition Societies, of which the following is a translation :—

“ FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

“ To Mr JOHN MURRAY, Secretary of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery,
Bowling Bay, Glasgow.

“ PARIS, 13th March, 1837.

“ SIR,—We have received the letter which you did us the honour of writing to us the 8th of the present month, to M. Le Comte de la Borde, and to myself, in your capacity of Secretary for the Emancipation Society of Glasgow, and by which you request some information upon the progress of the question of Abolition in the French Colonies.

“ The Society has charged me with the honour of replying to you, that it is about to renew its efforts during the present Session of the French Chambers, to obtain, either from the Chambers, or from the Ministers, a pledge to proceed with the Emancipation in our Colonies. But it cannot conceal from itself the difficulties which it has to encounter.

“ Although Slavery be repudiated by unanimous opinion, they differ upon the method of Abolition. Some would wish to proceed gradually, by the Emancipation of children, others by an Emancipation *en masse*. Others again wish to wait the result of the experiment which is proceeding in your Colonies.

“ We are continually meeting with the objection, that the cultivation of the Sugar Cane is rapidly diminishing, and that, with the Apprenticeship, police regulations will be necessary—equivalent to a kind of Slavery, and resembling those of the Haitian order, to enforce the habit of labour amongst the black population. To give much money to obtain this object, appears to be a bad speculation.

“ It will not have escaped your observation, that opinions in France are much divided upon the question of interior administration. The parliamentary struggles, and the different changes of Ministers, are proofs of it; circumstances are therefore not very favourable for taking into serious consideration the Emancipation of the Blacks.

“ We do not lose courage, we reckon in our ranks honourable men of all political opinions, and we still expect, that after the ministerial crisis, a favourable moment will occur, when the government will honour itself in the eyes of its contemporaries and of posterity, by the adoption of the great measure of Emancipation, which we are striving for.

“ We observe with pleasure that the citizens of Great Britain, after having voted and put into execution the bill of 1834, have not ceased to have a lively interest in the unfortunate population who still groan in the bonds of Slavery, under other governments.

“ We shall receive with pleasure all the communications which you may have the goodness to make to us, upon this important question; and we pray you will receive the expression of our high esteem.

“ ISAMBERT, *Sec.*”

Your Committee are sorry that they cannot report any progress made towards the Abolition of Slavery, by any of the other Powers who hold Slaves; but they are not without hope, that, to accommodate themselves to the wide-spread and daily-extending influence of public opinion in favour of Abolition, these Governments must all soon bestir themselves on this important question. Even in Rio de Janeiro, a place into which Slaves innumerable are constantly and openly imported—and where they are openly and by force carried off from the possession of the authorities who have legally seized them—even *there*, exists a Society under the title of Defenders of the National Liberty and Independence! So alive is this Society to the power of the *Press*, that it has already offered a premium of 400 milreis for the best treatise on the Slave-trade.

In Hayti also, an Abolition Society has lately been formed; and as a proof of the lively interest they take in the Emancipation of their fellow-men, they have sent to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, two barrels of Haytian Sugar, and a copy of the Constitution of their Society, the preamble of which deserves a place here, viz. :—

“The unspeakable indignation which the Slavery of a great number of our brethren, in America and elsewhere, has excited in us, the citizens of Hayti; the great pleasure we have felt in the view of the Anti-Slavery Societies formed in different parts of the world, to bring about the enfranchisement of the Slaves; the high and sacred principles by which these Societies are commended to us; the persevering efforts of their leaders and editors; their inexhaustible industry and ever unceasing zeal; all these considerations ought to make them the object of our eternal gratitude, and to us it specially belongs, as a free and independent people, courageously to embrace the cause of *justice* and *liberty*, and to second these liberal men, who have exposed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours, in generously pleading for their unfortunate brethren.

“And to justify the morality of our object, we desire to be understood, that we disapprove of all forcible and violent means in favour of the Abolition of Slavery, and that the success which can be obtained by moral and religious persuasion, is that which harmonizes with our principles.”

An Anti-Slavery Society has likewise recently been formed in Upper Canada, in the formation of which, if we mistake not, Mr James Johnston, our late esteemed Treasurer, took a part; and on which occasion some excellent resolutions were passed.

A great mass of information on the Foreign Slave-trade, has lately been laid before the public, in two pamphlets, one by the Rev. Thomas Roberts, Baptist Minister, Bristol; the other anonymous, but for which we are indebted to the pen of Robert Stokes, Esq., Secretary to the London Anti-Slavery Society.

It is really almost incredible, that *thirty years* after Great Britain and America have abolished the Slave-trade, after all the treaties made, and money expended for its Abolition, it should still be carried on to an undiminished extent, by, or under the protection of the flags of Powers calling themselves Christians; and especially that Republican America, after having formally abolished the traffic in human flesh, about the same time with Great Britain, should yet, notwithstanding her high profession of religion and liberty, stand most prominently disgraced by throwing around it the protection of her flag, and thus countenance and encourage her subjects in its prosecution. She has positively declared, that “under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make any combined efforts, of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of a traffic,” which she has denounced as piracy, and declared those engaged in it to be worthy of death.

The laws made by the several powers, ostensibly for the

suppression of this diabolical traffic, have only been productive of the invention of more hideous atrocity, to enable the savages carrying it on to avoid detection, and to pursue it with profit.

To detail the endless variety of cruelties thus inflicted upon innocent unoffending human beings, by their merciless tormentors, would be to detail every species of torture that it is possible for demons either to invent or to inflict.

The dealers in human flesh are far more indifferent to the agonies they inflict upon their victims, than are the dealers in pigs, cattle, or poultry, from our sister isle. These creatures are better accommodated in their transportation, than the poor unfortunate Africans.

For the information of those, and we fear they are not few, who are still ignorant of the sufferings of their fellow-men, from the prosecution of this abominable traffic, it may be necessary to add a few facts on the authority of the British Commissioners at the Havanna.

In *March*, 1835, the *Minerva*, Spanish Polacca barque, of 158 tons burden, with a crew of two officers, and 32 men, took 725 Slaves on board in the Calabar; making in all 759 souls, embarked in a vessel of 158 tons; being as many persons as would sufficiently crowd an English line of battle ship, of 2000 tons. In the British transport service, one ton and a-half is usually allowed for each man, and yet there are complaints of being crowded; but in this case of the *Minerva*, there is only a very small fraction more than one-fifth of a ton to each person. Of the 725 Slaves, 186 died on the passage from Calabar to Sierra Leone; two were in a dying state on her arrival, and 20 more died before adjudication.

February, 1835. The *Formidable*, Spanish brig, 200 tons, captured on 17th December previous, had 712 Slaves on board; subsequent to the seizure, 304 Slaves died; of these, six threw themselves overboard, and were drowned; 150, or thereabouts, died from the vessel having been struck by lightning; from the shock occasioned thereby, ten dying instantly; the remainder of the 304 Slaves died from bowel complaint.

November, 1835. The *Argos*, Spanish brig, 100 tons, 429 Slaves taken on board in the Bonny; 55 died in the passage up, and one was drowned; all in a bad state on arrival.

May, 1835. The *Marte*, Spanish brig, armed with eight guns, and a crew of 56 men, shipped upwards of 600 Slaves at Loango, on the 25th February, 1835, and was captured by the Skipjack on 8th April, with 442 Slaves on board. On the 19th April, 403—all that remained alive—were landed at the

Havanna; thus upwards of 200, one-third of their number, died in 47 days!!

December, 1835. The *Diligencia*, Spanish schooner, captured by his Majesty's ship, *Champion*, shipped 210 Slaves at Mayumba, 21st October, 1835; of these only 120 remained alive on 12th December, when she was brought into the Havanna, more than half the number shipped having died in 43 days!!!

Other cases are given by Naval officers.

The *Destimida*, under Portuguese colours, was detained by his Majesty's ship, *Druid*, in the first instance on suspicion only; and it was not until a Lieutenant and Carpenter were sent on board to search, that some time after, and with much difficulty, they discovered 50 male Negro Slaves concealed in the bottom of the vessel. Five young men were extricated from one water butt; but the greater part had been stowed or forced into the small or close spaces between the water-casks under the false decks.

In the *La Pantica*—and such cases are quite common—the height between the floor on which they sat, or lay in a crouching posture, and the ceiling above them, *was only 22 inches*—two feet between is very common. The agony of the position, especially of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them, may be imagined. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a permanent curve; and in the streets of Freetown, Sierra Leone, captured Slaves are to be seen in every conceivable state of distortion.

It may be expected that such horrible scenes of misery and cruelty would produce the most dreadful mortality. In 17 vessels it amounts to 38 per cent—the Slaves taken on board being 7,057—*died before landing, 2,683!*

The profits arising from this barbarous and inhuman traffic are such, that the trade seems on the increase.

Lord Howard de Walden, in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington, dated Lisbon, 26th February, 1835, mentions a vessel, the *Esperanca*, fitted out there at great expense, and the profits expected from her voyage, are stated at £40,000.

The number of Spanish Slavers condemned at the Havanna in the year 1835, was nine; of Slaves 2,363, nearly double the number of some years previous.

But out of a mass of similar information on this painful and disgraceful subject, taken from Parliamentary papers, the above must suffice to show, that it is still carried on with undiminished vigour and cruelty—notwithstanding Great Britain has

paid to Spain and Portugal nearly *one and a half Millions of Pounds sterling*, to induce them to abandon this traffic in human flesh. It is estimated that not less than 100,000 Negroes are annually stolen from Africa, and that of these, 10,000 are yearly sacrificed in the vessels employed in this murderous trade. What satisfaction, it may well be asked, have the people of this country got for this immense expenditure of money? Or what advantage has it, or the Treaties entered into, obtained for the poor Negroes? Unhesitatingly we answer, NONE. The money is lost or thrown away—the Treaties are as waste paper. Nor will this cruel, and sinful “merchandise in Slaves and souls of men” cease, until Slavery itself is *universally abolished*.

From the facts shortly detailed above, Abolitionists will perceive, that although Great Britain abolished the Slave-trade thirty years ago, not in word only, but in deed; and *her Colonies* are not more out of that market—now that she has also abolished Slavery—than they have been all that time, during which it has been vigorously carried on by the other principal European Powers, and by America; yet that *last year* it has not been diminished in extent, or in the horrible cruelties inflicted on its wretched victims, but rather increased,—we are, therefore, called upon to increased exertion, to the use of every possible means, in order to prevail upon those Powers who have Slaves, to abolish Slavery, as the only sure and effectual method of abolishing the Slave-trade.

One other topic your Committee must shortly refer to, ere they conclude—viz., Slavery in India. A Bill was brought into Parliament about the same time with the West India Slavery Abolition Bill, to abolish Slavery in the British possessions in India, on or before the 12th April, 1837; but, by a piece of jugglery, the House of Lords (as usual with every good measure) threw out the Bill; wisely judging, that the East India Nabobs must have Slaves to wait upon their High Mightinesses.

Slavery in British India assumes the appearance of various degrees of rigour; but although reported to be seldom or never met with so severe as it was in the West Indies, still it is doubtless “a bitter draught,” and equally demands that its unfortunate victims be released from their degrading servitude—degrading both to mind and body. The Slaves in India are not Africans, but in general natives; and it is computed that there are in the British territories in the East, nearly TEN MILLIONS of human beings, who are deprived of their natural right to dispose of their own labour. And there are, of

course, many in other parts of India, whose condition would be affected by the Emancipation of those in the British possessions.

Having now looked at the principal features of this subject, but not exhausted it; yet having, we presume, brought forward enough to show the progress which has been made in the great cause of Abolition, the present state of the question, and the immense work which yet lies before us; it will be seen, however strange it may appear, that comparatively little, in fact, has yet been done, as regards the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade. What *has* been accomplished, may be summed up in few words:—Great Britain, and she alone in reality, has, *bona fide*, abolished the Slave-trade. For, since America protects it by her flag, her Abolition must be regarded as merely nominal. Great Britain has also Emancipated her Slaves, 800,000 in number. But there are still Five Millions of Africans, or their descendants, held in Slavery by nations denominated Christian;—half of these by the United States of America; besides Half a Million there nominally free, but in political and social Slavery, because of a complexion proscribed by prejudice; while in India there are, as above stated, Ten Millions of Slaves in the British territories, and perhaps as many more throughout the other parts of that continent.

What a mass of human misery, wretchedness, and woe—what an amount of crime and wickedness—do we here contemplate! What griefs! what agonies! what heart-rendings!—what separations of the nearest and dearest ties of relationship and affection!—what stripes! what cruelties! what tortures! what murders!—What mind can contemplate the amount? And what Christian, contemplating such an immense accumulation of affliction and of sin, does not feel his sympathies enlisted on the side of suffering humanity, and his sense of duty urging him to exertion—to exertion at once for the elevation of his degraded and down-trodden brethren, and the rescue from an awful future retribution, of their inhuman and seemingly relentless oppressors?

On a review of the result of their past efforts, your Committee feel that they have abundant cause to “thank God and take courage.” In particular, they rejoice in the response so readily and so generally given by the friends of Emancipation, to the call made upon them last year, to remonstrate with the Christians of America upon the sin of Slave-holding. The amount of pecuniary support remitted them from various quarters, demands the grateful thanks of the Committee;—the li-

berality of the lovers of Universal freedom during the past year, having nearly doubled the Society's revenue. The Committee have in consequence, been enabled, widely to diffuse information regarding the object of the Society, and the progress of the Abolition cause. This has, in almost every instance, prepared the way for the cordial reception of our untiring Agent, Mr Thompson, in the different towns he has visited. Your Committee intend to request that Gentleman to renew his engagement with them; and they have sincere pleasure in introducing here, *to the special notice of the friends of Emancipation*, the following selection of testimonies from societies, as well as from distinguished individuals in America, to the value of Mr Thompson's exertions in furthering the Abolition cause in the United States. In the arrangement of these, regard has been had to the order of time;—the latest date being the 10th January last.

The FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, after noticing, in commendatory terms, the labours of various agents in the United States—in reference to Mr Thompson, says:—

“Though necessarily confined to the statistics of Massachusetts alone, we may not thus excuse ourselves from making special mention of the services of one, now we trust breathing again the air of his native land, whence he came to this country at the invitation of this Society, to raise his voice of strength, and exert his various and surpassing talents, for the relief of suffering men. Mr Thompson has been the chief speaker among many who have spoken well, and has laboured more abundantly than any of those, who have abounded most in this work of the Lord. He has laboured with us, and for us, in a manner and a measure that have given an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, which will be felt to the last. It flows and will keep flowing on. He poured himself out like water; and the wonder of all who heard him was, that his stream of facts and arguments, and illustrations, and appeals, seemed to be never diminished, but still gushed forth as from a fountain, ever full and overflowing. He performed, while here, an amount of service, as we have elsewhere said, the narrative of which would be regarded by many as an incredible tale. The remembrance of his energy, zeal, and alacrity, in the work he was sent to do, will never be effaced; and we hope it will incite us to constantly increasing diligence. He came to us as highly commended as he could be, by the Christian Philanthropists of England, and he returns to them with our united testimony, that he has amply redeemed the pledges they gave us. He has shown himself to be thoroughly furnished for his office. And he has *in no case compromised the Christian character of his mission*. We cannot find words to express our shame for the ineffable meanness of his opposers, who, unable to answer his arguments, or to withstand his appeals, were eager to drive the highly-gifted philanthropist from the country, by insult, calumny, and violent assaults upon his person. They have effected their purpose. But we weep rather for them than for him.”

We give another extract from the same Report, p. 61. “The Rev. Orange Scott introduced the following Resolution, which was adopted unanimously:—

“*Resolved*,—That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the Philanthropists of Britain, respecting the Abolition of Slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the noble spirits (George Thompson and Charles Stuart) they have sent to our aid;

and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to Emancipation, we owe to him, and those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life."

From the SECOND ANNUAL REPORT of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, page 37:—

"In this connection the Committee would not forget to mention the services of those noble-hearted and devoted men, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. The former has, during the year, given his time, and more than his time, gratuitously to this cause. The latter, while he remained with us, laboured most abundantly, and gained multitudes of converts. With the utmost fearlessness and good temper, he met a storm of mean and malignant opposition, such as few have encountered since the days of the Apostles, and such as nothing but the truth and faithfulness of an Apostle could have called forth. He counted not his life dear to him, in the cause of the oppressed, *nor would any peril have induced him to re-cross the Atlantic, but for the urgent advice of his friends*, who were unwilling that a martyr for American liberty, should be any other than an American citizen. They would fain spare their country the shame of staining her soil with the blood of the representative of her best friends in the old world—a man whom the noblest philanthropists of Europe delight to honour. If his traducers among us have any portion of self-respect remaining, they will be taught a lesson, by the enthusiasm with which George Thompson has been received by all whose favour is worth having, in his native land. They will have reason to repent the violence which interrupted Mr Thompson's labours here, *for his voice will be more terrible to oppressors than ever, when it comes across the Atlantic, backed by the loud acclaim of that noble army of philanthropists who knocked the fetters from eight hundred thousand British Slaves.*

"Our brothers, Stuart and Thompson, are accused of being foreigners, as if it was a crime for a foreigner, while submitting himself to our laws, openly to discuss with us, in our own halls and churches, the propriety of our institutions! Is our republicanism a thing that fears open discussion? Such, we at least, have never understood it to be—much less our sins against republicanism; and among the last rights we shall be disposed to yield to the spirit of Slavery, is the right to welcome and listen to such foreigners as George Thompson, *nor will we cease our efforts to overthrow the spirit that persecuted him, till he shall be welcomed back, to share with us the triumph of those principles which he nobly jeopardied life to promulgate.*"

From the Report of the *New York State Society*:—

"When George Thompson, the Lafayette of our bloodless and lawful revolution, was driven by persecution, about a year ago, from our shores, what Abolitionist was there who did not feel that providence a chastisement, and prostrate himself in the dust with the inquiry—'Lord! why is it thus with us?' The humiliation and the inquiry were appropriate and salutary. But who does not *now* see, that George Thompson has been doing more for us in Europe than he could have done for us in America? The Great Master Builder *knew in what part of his rising edifice his services were most needed.* False brethren were mining for our overthrow in the affections of our British fellow-labourers. False glosses upon American despotism and its apologists, were industriously exported by the interested traffickers in 'Slaves and souls of men.' George Thompson was needed in England: and yet what could he have done there, without a Breckinridge to accept his challenge, and to demonstrate by the gigantic but vain efforts of his splendid genius and talents, the righteousness of the cause that, in the eyes of all Europe, so signally *crushed him?*"

Extracts of Letters addressed to Mr Thompson:—

From the REV. H. WRIGHT.

"Your labours among us did much to bring these proud and most unjust and oppressive tyrannical republicans, to regard their coloured countryman as a man and a brother. * * * * Let the first question to a citizen of this free Republican nation of tyrants, as he lands on your shore, whether he be a minister of religion, or of State—whether merchant or yeoman.—be, are you an *Aboli-*

tionist? And if you find he is not, let every word you say to him, and every token of friendship or hospitality, be to him a reproof, and a call to repentance. We feel that you are aiding us in aiding by God's help to envelope your island in an atmosphere in which an American tyrant, and the abettors of tyrants, cannot breathe."

FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"Thanks, a thousand thanks, to the Christians of Great Britain for what they have done, are doing, and mean to do, respecting American Slavery. They are putting their lips to the trumpet of God, and pouring upon the free winds a thunder-tone of remonstrance, which the strong voice of the stormy Atlantic cannot drown. It is breaking upon the ear of the American Church, like the voice of the Almighty; and O! may it not be heard in vain. * * * * *We shall need the combined efforts of Christians of all denominations, among you,—let them all move onward together,* for Slavery is preying upon the vitals of our religion—filling our Churches with innocent blood, and vindicating its divine authority and benevolence from our pulpits. * * * * The Christians of Great Britain cannot send over their remonstrances and entreaties to us *without producing a salutary effect.* We may chafe, and vituperate, and roar, for a time, but our pride and our self-esteem, must finally succumb to the popular sentiment of Christendom. Bad as we are, we *cannot afford to lose our character*; and if it be made clearly manifest to us, that we must either give up our Slavery, or lose our character as Christians, we shall ultimately abandon Slavery. Therefore, let the Christians among you, of all denominations, renew their expostulations with us. Oh, *let them be faithful!* Softness of speech will not answer; we are dead in trespasses and sins, and to whisper in our ears, is to waste breath. To us must be addressed the language of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, for we are more hardened in our iniquity than were the stubborn Jews."

FROM LEWIS TAPPAN.

"The *ministers of the gospel* in Great Britain, of all denominations, must press the Anti-Slavery Cause on the consciences and hearts of Christians in this country, and continue to urge it until they feel that the religious community in Great Britain, consider Slave-holding an enormous wickedness, from which the Church of Jesus Christ must be purged. This great service the Christians in Great Britain *can under God perform*, on behalf of my guilty country. Let them do it *fearlessly, and boldly, and perseveringly.* Let them urge it upon Christians here, as our devoted Christians urge upon foreign heathen, the claims of the gospel. * * * * Let the ministers of Great Britain refuse distributing the sacred elements to ministers or laymen of the United States, who hold Slaves, let the boards of benevolent institutions refuse to invite Slave-holders to give addresses at anniversaries, and pour forth your remonstrances unsparingly to those who oppose Immediate Emancipation.

"Let your Poets, Reviewers, Sermonisers, Pamphleteers, Letter-writers, and Artists, one and all, pourtray the hideous vice of the sin of Slavery—of American Slavery; and tell the world their views of the system, until English literature is saturated with the principle of human rights.

"Great Britain has still a mighty work to perform in the moral regeneration of the world. Let your great nation be the moral Emancipator of the human race, soul, and body. I once hoped this great honour would, by the blessing of God, have devolved upon my own beloved land, but now past events admonish me that the hope of the Slave, and the friends of the Slave, is in Great Britain."

FROM DAVID LEE CHILD—the husband of the celebrated Mrs CHILD.

"Do not regret your coming. I believe I said when we received you, that your arrival was equal to ten years' progress of the Cause. I have not altered that opinion."

FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"O my beloved friend! my heart heaves like the ocean when I think of you and yours—of your labours here—of your timely and triumphant efforts in England and Scotland—of all that appertains to our glorious cause, in which you are so deeply interested.....All eyes here are watching your movements in your noble country, and a great multitude are daily giving thanks to God for your success."

FROM JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER—*the Quaker Poet.*

“Already we feel the strong tide of English sympathy bearing us onward. The enemies of Liberty feel and dread it. *Go on, and may God bless thee.*”

FROM DAVID LEE CHILD.

“Your labours at home are doing more good to America, and to man, than you could possibly do anywhere else. Our enemies did a good thing, and helped a good cause, in the only way in which bad men ever help such a cause, by using wicked and violent means to injure it. I thank them *for putting you into the position where your guns will bear upon them best.*”

We conclude these attestations to the efficiency of Mr Thompson's past and *present services* as our Agent, by the following brief quotation from the admirable and heart-stirring “*Appeal*”* of Miss Grimké:—

“I will now say a few words on George Thompson's mission to this country. This philanthropist was accused of being a foreign emissary. Were Lafayette, and Steuben, and De Kalb, foreign emissaries, when they came over to America to fight against the tories, who preferred submitting to what was termed ‘the yoke of servitude,’ rather than bursting the fetters which bound them to the mother country? *They came with carnal weapons, to engage in bloody conflict against American citizens, and yet, where do their names stand on the page of History. Among the honourable, or the low? Thompson came here to war against the giant sin of Slavery, not with the sword and the pistol, but with the smooth stones of oratory, taken from the pure waters of the river of Truth. His splendid talents and commanding eloquence rendered him a powerful coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and in order to neutralize the effects of these upon his auditors, and rob the poor Slave of the benefits of his labours, his character was defamed, his life was sought, and he at last driven from our Republic, as a fugitive. But was Thompson disgraced by all this mean and contemptible and wicked chicanery and malice? No more than was Paul, when in consequence of a vision he had seen at Troas, he went over to Macedonia to help the Christians there, and was beaten and imprisoned, because he cast out a spirit of divination from a young damsel, which had brought much gain to her masters. Paul was as much a foreign emissary in the Roman colony of Philippi, as George Thompson was in America, and it was because he was a Jew, and taught customs it was not lawful for them to receive or observe, being Romans, that the Apostle was thus treated.*

“What have the foes of freedom in this land gained by the expulsion of George Thompson from these shores? Look at him now pouring the thundering strains of his eloquence upon crowded audiences in Great Britain, and see in this a triumphant vindication of his character. The Slave-holder, and his obsequious apologist, have gained nothing by all their violence and falsehood. No! the stone which struck Goliath of Gath, had already been thrown from the sling. The giant of Slavery who had so proudly defied the armies of the living God, had received his death-blow before he left our shores. But what is George Thompson doing there? Is he not now labouring as effectually to abolish American Slavery as though he trod our own soil, and lectured to New York or Boston assemblies? What is he doing, but constructing a stupendous dam, which will turn the overwhelming tide of public opinion over the wheels of that machinery which Abolitionists are working here. He is now lecturing to *Britons on American Slavery, to the subjects of a King, on the abject condition of the Slaves of a Republic!* He is telling them of that mighty confederacy of petty tyrants, which extends over thirteen States of our Union. He is telling them of the munificent rewards offered by Slave-holders, for the heads of the most distinguished advocates for freedom in this country. He is moving the British Churches to send out to the Churches of America, the most solemn appeals, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting them, with all long-suffering and patience, to abandon the sin of Slavery immediately.”

* This work should be in the hands of every Abolitionist. The introduction from the pen of Mr Thompson, is worth all the price of the pamphlet. But the “*Appeal*” itself is invaluable. Miss G. completely overthrows the argument attempted to be drawn from Scripture in defence or palliation of the sin of Slave-holding. *Five Hundred* copies of the “*Appeal*,” have, we understand, been sold by the Ladies' Committee, within a few weeks.

Prompted, then, by the encouragement of success, stimulated by opposition, and impelled by an almost irresistible conviction of sacred duty—to obey which necessity is laid upon them; yea, woe is unto them if they obey it not—your Committee will, they *must* persevere, in the strength of God, in this cause of humanity and religion, until Slavery, the Slave-trade, and all their innumerable crimes and evils, and the sinful prejudice against men on account of the complexion God has given them, shall be swept from the face of the whole earth, as being opposed to the religion of Him who has said, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.”

In accomplishing this desirable end, we look for and invite the co-operation of Christians of every denomination, and of the lovers and admirers of liberty. We would regard it as superfluous to use any arguments with the followers of Christ—of Him who went about continually doing good to the bodies and souls of men—of Him, who, by the parable of the good Samaritan, and by many other excellent precepts, urged his disciples to acts of humanity and love—of Him who said, that even a cup of cold water given to one of these little ones, shall not lose its reward—to such who have imbibed His spirit, it is only necessary to point out the appropriate objects of sympathy, and their hearts will at once respond to the call of humanity and religion.

To men of the world we need not appeal; they are, in general, too much occupied with their own little world to care for Negro Slaves. But to Christians of every denomination, we do appeal, in behalf of the Slave, of whatsoever complexion, in the name of the God of the Slave, theirs and ours, and we do entreat them to co-operate with us in loosing the bands of the oppressed.

“All men are born by nature—free,
 All rightful heirs to liberty!
 Where'er his home, he is our brother,
 In spite of *language, caste, or colour*;
 And should enjoy, unshackled—free,
 The grateful sweets of Liberty!”

The work may appear to be immense—and doubtless it is—so is the conversion of the heathen—but what Christian would regard that otherwise than as an additional stimulus to more strenuous and ceaseless exertion?

If we expect and pray for the universal spread of the gospel, we should also expect and pray for the universal extinction of Slavery; for the gospel of Christ cannot have free

course, and be glorified, in the hearts of those who continue to keep their fellow-men—their fellow-Christians, it may be, and often is the case—in cruel and soul-debasing bondage. Were they heathen who held their fellow-men in Slavery, the case would be somewhat different. We would have first to endeavour to Christianize the oppressors, ere we could hope to prevail on them to liberate their captives. But the Governments with whom we have to do in this matter profess to be Christians; and our main hope lies in this, that America, as a nation, stands high in Christian profession, although she holds in Slavery more than all the other powers put together. There may, indeed, be much hypocrisy in her profession, and many may be grossly blinded by their interests, and prejudices, and habits; but, judging from the number of her Bible, Missionary, and other religious Societies, there must, in her Churches, be much real Christianity—very many excellent men, and women too—and of this we are assured by their self-denying devotedness to the cause of the oppressed, through good and through bad report, through persecution and every obloquy.

These are as the “little leaven,” which, by and by will, we trust, leaven the whole lump of American Society; and when the religious portion of the people of the United States combine to demand the Emancipation of the two and a half Millions of Slaves in their territories, not all the Jacksons and Van Burens among them, and all their adherents put together, will be able to stem the torrent of Abolition. Then will America be delivered from the danger which threatens her disunion and destruction—then will she rise to that high station of honour and power among the nations, to which, when purified from the foul stain of Slavery on her skirts, *but not until then*, she will be entitled,—and then will be fully realized, that glorious union anticipated in our title-page, “Britain and America United in the Cause of Universal Freedom.” This *Union* will triumph over every opposition, and Slavery and the Slave-trade will be banished from the earth, never more to pollute the habitation of man.

A P P E N D I X.

Proceedings at the Third Annual Meeting of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, held in the Rev. William Anderson's Chapel, John Street, on the evening of Monday, the 13th March, 1837; and on Wednesday evening, the 15th, by adjournment, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, West George Street.

THE Annual Meeting of this Society was held on Monday evening, in the Rev. William Anderson's Church, John Street.

A considerable number of clergymen, of various denominations, belonging to the City, and from Paisley, Greenock, Dumbarton, &c., were upon the platform with the Committee; and among the latter, was Mr George Thompson, whose entrance was loudly cheered.

MR WALTER BUCHANAN moved, that in the absence of the venerable President of the Society—Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill—the Rev. Dr. Heugh be called to the chair.—(Cheers.)

DR. HEUGH, on taking the chair, said the meeting was already aware of the object contemplated by the Society. It was, in one word, the Universal and perpetual Abolition of Slavery.—(Great cheering.) Who could estimate the evil, physical and moral, which Slavery produced? And might it not be supposed that every freeman, above all, every Christian, would unite his efforts to banish it from the face of the earth. Some, no doubt, pretended that Slavery could be justified from Scripture; but not a greater stigma than this could be thrown upon Christianity. Christ and Belial were not more directly opposed to each other, than were Christianity and Slavery.—(Cheers.) Where Slavery prevails, Christianity recedes; where Christianity prevails, Slavery dies. Others attempted to damp the ardour of the friends of Emancipation, by representing their object as Utopian. How, it had been asked, was Slavery to be put down, when so many and such powerful interests were involved in its support? It surely was not too much to ask them to do all they could, to accomplish so desirable an end. It was surely much better to make the attempt, even at the risk of being worsted, than to do nothing at all.—(Cheers.) They would hear from an Abstract of the Report, which the Secretary would now read, that a great deal more had been done in furthering the cause, than, at the commencement of the Society's efforts, could have been reasonably anticipated. There was on that platform, one whom they all delighted to honour (Loud cheers); one who, not only by his eloquence, but by his moral courage, and his noble unquenchable zeal, advocated, with an energy never surpassed, the cause of the oppressed—who would that night give them tidings from a far country, from that land which might be called the land of his trials, his struggles, and also of his triumphs—and would tell them of what had been done, and was about to be done there, for the peaceful and everlasting destruction of Slavery.—(Great applause.)

MR JOHN MURRAY, one of the Secretaries, then read an Abstract of the Third Annual Report. It congratulated the friends of Universal Emancipation on the success which had attended their efforts during the past year. Meetings had been held, and Societies formed, in many of the great towns of the Empire, through the indefatigable exertions of their agent, Mr Thompson.—(Applause.) Petitions, numerously signed, had been presented to Parliament, relative to the Apprenticeship system in the West Indies, and to the fraud practiced upon the people of Great Britain, by which the Planters of the Mauritius obtained a portion of the Compensation fund for unregistered Slaves; in other words, by which these parties were rewarded for the perpetration of Felony. The Report complained of the course pursued by the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the working of the Apprenticeship system. While the evils attending it were urgent, that Committee had adopted a line of investigation which, it was feared, could lead to no conclusion till the term of Apprenticeship shall have expired. The progress making by the Abolitionists of

America, was adverted to in terms of congratulation. The brutal crisis which had disgraced that country was now passed away; mobs were rare; and Abolition Societies increasing in every direction. Eight hundred or a thousand of these had sprung into existence, employing not fewer than seventy agents, some of whom were enlisted "during the war;" others only for a limited period. The intelligence contained in the Report, gave rise to a pleasing sensation throughout the meeting.

REV. ALEXANDER HARVEY, Calton, moved the adoption of the motion—that the Report, an abstract of which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. He spoke to the following effect:—

Mr Chairman,—I rise with much pleasure to propose the adoption of the motion which I have just read. The Report is clear, interesting, and contains a mass of important information. It consists chiefly of facts, which are the appropriate materials of such a document. Reasonings are here in a great measure out of place. It details not only the transactions of this Society, but of the great and glorious cause in which we have embarked—that of universal freedom. It is cheering to learn that this cause has advanced so rapidly during the past year, and is attracting so large a share of public attention. It is indeed melancholy to reflect on the extent to which Slavery and oppression still exist on the face of our globe; and that not only in Pagan and barbarous nations, but even among Christian communities. Having exerted ourselves with some success, though not to the extent we could have wished, to banish the demon of Slavery from the British dominions, we next turned our attention to the condition of the Slave in *Christian Republican* America. And why did we direct our efforts so early to that country, and use such means as a free and enlightened people may employ with another people equally free and enlightened, to wipe away the plague-spot which is sapping their strength, and staining their otherwise fair and honoured name? It is because we love America next to our native land; and wish to see her happy, glorious, and truly free. (Cheers.) We know there are thousands in that land of Bibles and Churches, who thank us most cordially for the interest we take in their welfare; and feel that we have only acted towards them a brotherly part, though there are, we regret to say, a still larger number who censure us for what they style our rash and insolent interference. We are conscious that our motives are pure, our intentions friendly, and our object philanthropic. And were the Americans generally aware that those who are exerting themselves in this country, to increase her fame and moral influence among the nations, and ameliorate the condition of millions of her degraded population, are those who hate tyranny in every form, who are struggling at home for equal religious and civil rights for all, and who would fondly point to America, as a glorious example of what universal and unrestricted freedom can achieve for a people, we are certain they would take our remonstrances in good part, and not spurn away our proffered aid. But in whatever light our efforts in the cause of humanity may be regarded by Americans, we are bound to proceed in the prosecution of the work which we have begun. (Cheers.) Oceans may separate one nation from another, and civil government may modify the laws and institutions of each, but still there are a community of interests and reciprocal duties which neither the power nor the legislation of man can annihilate. (Great cheering.) The different tribes of man form but one great family under the moral government of their common Father; and although He has made its members to differ in the complexion of their skin, the form of their features, and the texture of their hair, He has given them one spiritual and immortal nature by which they become equally allied to Himself, and responsible to Him for the manner in which they act towards each other. We are thus necessarily bound to use the influence we possess to promote the well-being of our race. But we are allied to Americans by peculiar affinities. They are bound to us by every tie that can bind man to man, but that of civil government. Our origin is the same:—our religion is identical;—nay, the very evil of which we complain was introduced into their country when they were our fellow-subjects. We feel ourselves bound by these and a variety of other considerations, to do all in our power to banish the curse of Slavery from their soil, that the banner of freedom may waive pure and unsullied over their magnificent and extensive territories. (Cheers.) We wish to see their star-bespangled flag floating on the breeze amid the joyous exultations of the free, without the incongruous and disgusting commingling of chains and whips, and the groans of the miserable captive. We should rejoice to be able to point exultingly to so large a portion of our globe, and to exclaim, "behold a happy population; for equal rights and

liberties are the common property of all." But this can never be so long as the withering curse of Slavery rests on any portion of the American soil. Every portion of it must become sacred to liberty before Britons can accord to Americans their full meed of praise. It matters not what may be the character of those institutions, in the enjoyments of which the *whites* have an equal share; they may be the freest on earth, and embody the collected wisdom of past and present times; but so long as these are made the instruments of oppressing and degrading any portion of the human family, they cannot command our admiration; nor can we recognize in those who support them, high-toned principle or a love of freedom, but a grasping selfishness. Sacred liberty is degraded into an avaricious despot, and instead of rising to our imagination as a fair lovely form, walking at large, dispensing blessings over a liberated world, it appears as a malignant demon loaded with chains, brandishing the cart whip, and trampling under its feet the dearest rights of humanity! (Great cheering.)

That Slavery is an evil of infinite magnitude, involving the severest miseries with which our species can be cursed, will be readily admitted by all. And are we not then bound by our regard to justice, to christianity, and to the well-being of those who hold their fellow-men in bondage, not to mention the wrongs of the oppressed, to have it instantly abolished if possible? So long as we merely declaim against Slavery, without taking any steps to exterminate it, we shall meet with no interruption from the Slave-holders themselves: they will even join our lamentations over the evil, and appear very soft and silken-hearted gentlemen till we proceed to apply the remedy, and then they will appear in their true character! It was thus among ourselves. So long as we merely agitated for the gradual emancipation of the Slaves in our own colonies, we excited no alarm among the interested supporters of the system. They were well aware that gradual emancipation was just a softer name for perpetual Slavery, and they felt perfectly secure. But no sooner did we abandon the untenable ground of expediency, and take the high and holy ground of justice, and demand that the oppressed should instantly be set free, than the deepest malignity, and the sternest denunciations of the selfish advocates of Slavery were called forth, and the loudest forebodings of disasters and massacre were every where heard. And thus has it happened in America. It was not till we demanded instant justice for the victims of despotism that we had any success; and therefore we rejoice that the friends of the Slave have taken the same position in America. They, under a strong sense of the righteousness of their cause, require that every yoke be instantly broken, and that the oppressed be set free. (Cheers.) And since they commenced on this principle their progress has been most cheering, and their triumph will be complete, we doubt not, at no very distant day. We have too high an opinion of the justice and christianity of Americans to doubt for one moment that they will long tolerate an evil so enormous in its magnitude, and so utterly incompatible with these principles. But even though principle were less strong than it is in America, the withering scorn of the civilized world would shame them into a compliance with the claims of so large a portion of suffering and degraded humanity. In that land, said to be consecrated to liberty, thousands and tens of thousands have already rallied around the standard of immediate emancipation. Slave-holders are becoming pale with fear at the progress the question is making. *Judge Lynch* himself is compelled to give up his trade, under the force of public opinion, now beginning to move in the right direction. (Cheers.) Interested partizans can no longer raise mobs in the free States, in defence of their infamous monopoly in the flesh and blood, souls and bodies, of their fellow-men. This cause is advancing gloriously, and must at no distant period be completely triumphant. (Renewed cheering.) It is the cause of humanity. Slavery cannot exist without reducing men to the lowest possible degradation. It strips the unhappy Slave of all the attributes of his nature, and reduces him to a level with the brutal tribes. It robs him of all his personal and social rights, and converts him into goods and chattels. It puts the enslaved beyond the pale of law, and subjects them to brutal violence, to be treated according to the whim or caprice of their taskmasters. The miserable bondsman may be bought, sold, exchanged, mortgaged, like any piece of furniture—lashed, tortured, imprisoned, murdered, and yet no adequate reckoning held with his tormentor. Can such a system much longer exist in a country calling itself free; and over which the heralds of salvation are proclaiming the religion of the cross? It is impossible. (Cheers.)

We join then with the friends of righteousness in America, who are banded together in this holy cause, and demand immediate emancipation for the Slave,

on the ground of justice. We ask it not on the ground of compassion for the wretched—of pity for the injured—or of benevolence for the helpless—but on the higher and loftier principle of Justice. Of justice to the Slave-holder. It is an irreversible law of the Creator, that no man can injure his fellow without still more deeply, in the end, injuring himself. He may escape the punishment of his crimes—nay, may be emboldened to commit them, and to glory in them, by the associated multitudes who have leagued with him in the perpetration of wickedness; but the retribution of the Almighty awaits him, and he shall not ultimately escape with impunity. We know it is said that the planters have a legal property in their Slaves; and that therefore it is wrong to deprive them of that which is legally theirs. But we ask, is that law just which gives them such a property? The law of might is one thing—the law of right is another. We read of “iniquity established by law;” and if ever there was a law entitled to be thus characterized, it is that which gives man a property in his fellow-man without his own consent—which strips him of personal liberty—loads him with chains—compels him to sweat and toil for the exclusive benefit of another—prevents him from enjoying the social endearments of domestic life—excludes him from the pale of society on earth, and does all in its power to keep him out of heaven at death. I blush when I hear it affirmed by ministers of the gospel, that Slavery is not a sin. We have never seen any attempt to establish this thesis upon the basis of justice—the rights of man or the principles of Christianity; for, by none of these can its truth ever be proved. It is true it is no sin for the unhappy man, who has been overpowered by superior might, to continue in a hopeless bondage, from which he cannot extricate himself. The Slave may occupy his unhappy condition without sin; but can his master reduce him to it, and keep him in it without sin? This is the question. And we fearlessly answer, No. (Cheers.) If a black man may be enslaved without sin, then why not also the white? If Americans may without guilt enslave Africans, why may not also Africans enslave Americans? In truth, Slavery is not only a sin, but an aggravated sin; and will be found sooner or later to drag down the nation that practices it to degradation and ruin. Already is America beginning to experience the truth of this: and if she do not speedily put away from her this crying evil, she is in danger of witnessing her soil dyed in the blood of her own citizens, by the intestine commotions to which this subject must inevitably give birth.

We likewise demand immediate Emancipation for the American Slave, by all that is sacred in our common Christianity. Infidelity never uttered a fouler slander against our Holy Faith, than that it sanctions Slavery. The great and universal maxim of social morality, promulgated by the Saviour, is, “Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” Let this simple rule be adopted as the principle of relative duty, and it annihilates Slavery at once. How would the Slave-holder relish a change of condition with the Slave? Could the Slave compel it,—Would he pronounce it right? He would not. Then let him learn the meaning of the Saviour’s maxim, and give the Slave his liberty. It is true the Apostles, when they went through the heathen world preaching the gospel, did not directly agitate for the immediate destruction of Slavery; but they laid down principles and inculcated duties, which, when practically recognized, lead most obviously and directly to this result. They taught masters to give to their Slaves that which is just and equal. Let the professed Christian Slave-holder comply with the injunction, and give to his Slave that which is *equal*—his liberty. Christianity is designed to secure equal rights and liberties to all, and consequently demands universal and immediate Emancipation. God is no respecter of persons. The bondman and the free are by Christianity incorporated into one sacred community of brotherhood, and are enjoined to love each other as themselves. Is this consistent with Slavery? It will require more logic than either the Planters or the Slavery-advocating ministers of the gospel possess, to reconcile Slavery with these declarations. (Cheers.) Christianity holds every man as deeply guilty who oppresses or injures his brother; and if its sanctions are not regarded in this life, it summons him to the judgment-seat of Christ, where he shall receive according to the deeds done in the body.

Finally, we demand immediate Emancipation—because it is perfectly safe. This is no longer a speculative, but a practical question. Justice must always be safe, and when its eternal and immutable principles are acted upon, be the consequences what they may, we are not responsible for them. When we oppose our own notions of expediency to justice, we run fearful hazards, and the results must be chargeable on us. But we not only assert that im-

mediate Emancipation is safe, but we likewise affirm that it is the only method by which we can save a country, in which Slavery exists, from ultimate ruin. We were repeatedly told by the Slave-holders in our own country, that if we agitated for immediate Emancipation in our colonies, we would occasion a universal insurrection among the Slaves, and deluge the country with blood. We have agitated, and what has been the result? Has any thing occurred to justify these dismal forebodings? No. The very reverse has happened. When the Emancipation Bill passed, we found that it was not the complete measure we desired and advocated; and though insurrection and bloodshed had followed, we would not have been responsible, because we never sanctioned the plan which Government adopted. Those who devised and carried an imperfect and insulting measure incurred the responsibility. By the Emancipation Bill the Slaves were, with very little alleviation of their sufferings, merely converted into Apprentices. Apprentices for what purpose? To teach the old and hoary-headed man the mighty accomplishment of digging cane holes; a piece of drudgery in which he had spent the strength of his days. But even here where the meaning of the English language was perverted to degrade the negro, and the benevolent intentions of his friends were frustrated by the graspings of avarice, no pernicious consequences ensued. And in two of the islands, where the local legislatures acted with greater intelligence and regard to justice than that of the mother country, entire freedom was granted with the happiest results. These islands rejected the half measure of the home Legislature, and have been amply repaid for their principled policy. When the first of August came, instead of telling their Slaves that they were Apprentices, they were told that they were free. (Cheers.) In Antigua and Bermuda, the jubilee of their release was spent as a Sabbath. The churches were crowded, and thanksgivings to God mingled with gratitude to their benefactors; and on the ensuing day they retired to their labour with light and joyous hearts. In Bermuda the blacks were few when compared with the whites, and therefore it may be alleged that fear kept them quiet, and led them to submit peaceably to a power they could not possibly resist. But this objection is met and triumphantly refuted by the state of Antigua. In that island the whites were only two thousand, while the Slaves were thirty thousand, and the free blacks four thousand five hundred. Here the preponderance of negroes is immensely great; so much so as to have rendered any resistance to insurrectionary violence utterly hopeless, and yet nothing transpired to give alarm to the most nervous and sensitive individual. No alarm gun was fired throughout the island—the militia were soon disbanded, and a soldier was not required to maintain internal tranquillity. Property rose in value, and at the present day an estate will bring more money in the market than it would formerly with its full complement of Slaves. (Cheers.) Such are the consequences of immediate Emancipation. The same conclusion follows from the condition of those States in America in which Slavery has ceased. They are rising with surprising rapidity into wealth and power, while the Slave States are remaining stationary, and many of them going backwards.

I trust I have said enough to convince you that the cause in which you are engaged is entitled to your support, and that you will persevere in prosecuting it till there is not a spot on our globe cursed with Slavery. No philanthropist can excuse himself for not interfering, by the allegation, that the evil does not immediately effect us—it afflicts our brother man, and insults our species—it degrades and injures humanity—and if a heathen could say, “Nothing that belongs to man is foreign to me,” shall we who profess the religion of Jesus, with cold-blooded indifference exclaim, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” We can use a considerable amount of legitimate influence with our American brethren, to excite them to put away this great evil. We can affectionately tell them what we think of their conduct. As Christian brethren, we can entreat them by all the motives which our common Christianity presents. We can rouse them to reflection on this crying sin; and we can help to scatter the light of truth among the Slave-holders of the south. America is too free to allow her press to be gagged, or free discussion suppressed. And although in the first frenzy of excitement, her mobs had recourse to Lynch Law—brick bats—tar and feathers—she will yet listen to reason, and respond to the calls of justice and humanity. (Cheers.) Although she has once banished a Thompson from her shores because he told her inhabitants the truth, we have no doubt but in a short time she will be ready to welcome him again as America’s truest friend, and give him a high place among that patriotic band of native heroes, who are nobly fighting the battles of truth and righteousness, with the spiritual weapons which are alone consistent with the rational and immortal

nature of man. I doubt not you will exert every energy to encourage those distinguished philanthropists, who are splendidly fighting the battle of liberty, and who, though they may fall in the high places of the field, are determined never to flee. (Cheers.) And although your own Thompson has retreated from the conflict, in compliance with the wishes of others, rather than the feelings of his own heart, it is only that he may plant more firmly his moral artillery on the British soil—a soil on which a Slave cannot breathe, and the enemies of freedom will feel to their cost, that his gun can carry its shot over the wide expanse of the great Atlantic. (Immense cheering.)

William P. Paton, Esq., seconded the motion.

Here an individual rose in the gallery, and, announcing himself as from America, commenced speaking. What he said was not distinctly heard below; it was, however, something about charity. (Cheers and hissing.)

Mr G. Thompson rose, and invited the stranger to take a place on the platform; where, Mr T. said, he would meet with a reception worthy of a British audience.

Dr Heugh also invited the stranger to come to the platform, to which he consented; and in order to save time while he was making his way thither, Mr Beith, the Treasurer, read to the Meeting a statement of the Society's Accounts for the last year, which seemed to give general satisfaction.

The stranger then rose, amid cheers and hisses, and said he had been in America as well as Mr Thompson. "I was at Fall River, and also at Lowell—you understand me?—when Mr Thompson was there lecturing—you understand me?—against Slavery." (The Speaker interlarded his remarks with the interrogation, "You understand me?" so repeatedly, that the audience were kept for some time in a roar of laughter.) "I was not sixty miles distant from Boston, when Mr Thompson was lecturing—you understand me?—in that city. Mr Thompson pretended to be a great friend to the Black Slaves; but I am for charity; charity for the White Slaves, as well as for the Black Slaves. You understand me? (Laughter.) I do not wish to be considered as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. You understand me? I wish to give him his character. You understand me? (Continued Laughter.) He should stick up for the White Slaves. You understand me? (Laughter.) When Mr Thompson lectured at Lowell, there was a brick thrown through the window at him, which was quite right. You understand me? (Laughter.) I was then the teacher of a school. Perhaps I required to be taught myself. You understand me? (Roars of Laughter.) But I had nine scholars. (Laughter.) I could give you their names, were it necessary, for I have them written on a piece of paper in my desk. You understand me? (Immense laughter.) When they came to the school on Sunday morning, I asked them about God, and about Christ, and about the Holy Spirit; but they did not understand me. (Laughter.) And they were the children of Baptists and Methodists. You understand me? (Laughter.) Mr Thompson would give liberty to the Black Slave—you understand me?—but not a word of the White Slave. I would ask Mr Thompson, if in Glasgow, Manchester, or Dublin—for I have been in all the three—(laughter)—there are not many thousands of White Slaves—you understand me?—(laughter)—more than ever he saw in Boston or New York—crying for bread, to keep themselves and their infants in life? I could not get up the streets of Dublin for White Slaves, with children asking for bread, and I had none to give them. You understand me?" (Disapprobation, mixed with laughter.)

Dr HEUGH here called the speaker to order, and asked if he had any motion, or amendment to propose.

The Stranger said, "I would wish Mr Thompson to show the difference between the black and the white Slave—which was most to be pitied. That's all the motion I have to make.—You understand me?" (Great disapprobation.)

Mr THOMPSON said, it was always best to take up but one subject at a time. The regular business of the meeting should first be disposed of. A motion had been made and seconded for the printing of the Report; and it was not yet carried. After this had been done, he would take up the "charitable" gentleman from Fall River. He would assure the meeting that they would find that gentleman to be left in good hands. They would soon see what stuff he was made of—whether of "brass," of which he said he had none, or of a "tinkling cymbal." (Cheers and laughter.)

The motion proposed by the Rev. A. Harvey, and which had been seconded by W. P. Paton, Esq., was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON, on rising to propose the next resolution, was received with enthusiastic applause. When the cheering had subsided, the Rev. gentleman said he had arranged some thoughts on the subject, for the purpose of laying them before the meeting; but he must confess, he had been taken somewhat aback by the incident which had just occurred. When Mr Thompson rose, said Mr A., after the gentleman from Fall River, I had almost anticipated a Lecture on the Temperance Society—You understand me? (Great laughter, followed by cheering.)

Mr Anderson then proceeded and said,—Mr Chairman, the advocacy of the Resolution, with the moving of which I have been entrusted, places me, I conceive, in a more difficult position than that in which any of the other speakers will be placed this evening. I fear I may be considered as violating the rules of courtesy, by expressing sentiments which run counter to the political feelings of some of our best friends. But, since the meeting are not called upon to sanction my opinions any further than they are contained in the Resolution, I trust I shall be treated with a brother's indulgence, when I declare these opinions freely. Nevertheless, to remove apprehension, I state at the outset, that I believe I shall not be found at the conclusion to have greatly exceeded my commission, as given by the Committee.

The Resolution, Sir, contains matter in the last degree humiliating to ourselves. We had assumed the credit of having wrought out the liberty of our Colonial fellow-subjects. We felicitated ourselves on the manner in which we had roused the public mind with exhibitions of the Negro's wrongs, till its voice morally compelled our Legislature to declare him free. And on the first of August, 1834, we assembled in our churches, and rendered thanksgivings to the Almighty for the manner in which He had crowned our labours with success. Each of us, in his oration, summoned up the best of his oratory in magnifying the blessings of liberty, with which that day's sun was gladdening the heretofore dark and horrid Antilles. We weened of ourselves that our work *there* was done. And we began to look about for other enterprises for our benevolence; and ultimately commissioned our great champion to go and tell the Americans what we ourselves had achieved, and urge them to follow our noble example. How deluded we were! What objects of mockery we appear at this hour! Slavery continues to rage as wickedly as ever, with the aggravation of the insult of telling its victim that he is free: and the taunt of America is most deserved when they say, that we have enough of work of our own for Mr Thompson at home, without sending him away in quest of adventures abroad. When the Resolution contains matter so humiliating to ourselves, equally does it contain matter most condemnatory of our Government. My political sentiments are generally well known; and no person present can suppose that I take any pleasure in making exposures of the faults of the Reformed Administration. But the discussion of the Negro's wrongs will admit of no partiality. (Cheers.) His oppressors, and the abettors of his oppressors, and those who wink at and tolerate the enormities of his oppressors, whoever they are, and wherever they are, cannot escape condemnation. The Emancipation Act, as it is called, was from the beginning an unsatisfactory measure; and a Liberal as I am, I ever feel deeply mortified, when the friends of Reform instance that Act as an evidence of the superiority of the Reformed Government over their opponents. Do not mistake me, Sir, I have no intention of re-awakening the question about the enslaver having been entitled to compensation for the liberating of the Slave. Let it be admitted he was entitled. I hesitate not to express my opinion, that had the country informed the Duke of Wellington that they were willing to give him Twenty Millions of gold for this work, he would have given us a Bill at least as good as that which we obtained from the administration of Earl Grey.

The history of the Emancipation Bill may be given in a few sentences. Lord Stanley's Speech, at introducing it, was, on the general question, one of the most eloquent and righteous by which the Legislature of this country was ever sanctified. But when he proceeded to explain the details of his measure, the country met them with a universal burst of execration. They were to this effect, that the Negroes should be put under an apprenticeship law of twelve years, and that they themselves should refund the Fifteen Millions of a loan, with which it was proposed the Planters should be accommodated, to enable them to meet the inconveniences of the change. When it was found the country would not tolerate this, we were promptly furnished with an amended edition, in which the apprenticeship was reduced to six years, and the loan of Fifteen

Millions raised to a grant of Twenty. As I have already said, I have no design to re-awaken the question of the right to compensation; but we were unanimously of opinion, that the Twenty Millions were enough for securing full and immediate freedom. What, then, was the object of this apprenticeship? It could not be the qualification of the Negro for the trade of digging cane-holes, at which he had been labouring for thirty or forty years already. Lord Stanley, and the advocates of this measure, said, it was that they might learn to be free. Learn liberty under a planter, as the master and teacher of it! No! the chief design of that apprenticeship, however it might be disguised with other pretensions, was, that it should form an additional compensation to the Twenty Millions, forced from the stolen man himself, to pay the stealer for his liberty! When as yet the proposition was, that the planters should have Fifteen Millions, the term for the Negro's learning the art of freedom was twelve years; but so soon as the Compensation was raised to Twenty Millions, Lord Stanley found that the Negro mind had suddenly enlarged in its capacity, so as to be able to learn the art in *six* years! (A Laugh.) Such are the wisdom and honesty by which nations are governed!

Having taken these general objections to the measure, Mr A. proceeded to observe, that the Act, nevertheless, contained many excellent provisions, by which the oppression of the Slave would have been greatly mitigated, had they been carried into execution: but that in consequence of so much having been left to the arrangement of the Colonial legislatures, every hope had been frustrated. Mr A. then entered into a detail of the manner in which, at almost every point, the humane intentions of the British Parliament had been thwarted and evaded to such an extent, as to convince all who have turned their attention particularly to the subject, that the Apprenticeship system is one of as cruel Slavery as that which was formerly practised. Is it to be borne patiently, exclaimed Mr A., that we should be cheated of Twenty Millions, after such a fashion as this? He then proceeded to urge on the Meeting their duty of returning to Parliament with their complaints on behalf of the Slave—for Slave he affirmed the Negro to be, as abused and oppressed as ever. Let no one plead, he said, in defence of his slackness in this work, that when four years have elapsed, this Apprenticeship Slavery shall have come to an end. Who, he asked, would not shrink with horror from the idea of his being subjected to four years of *fever*, though he were assured of health at their termination? And can any fever be more burning, consuming, and prostrating, not to say mortal, than that of the infamous Apprenticeship Slavery. (Cheers.) Though it should be but one year of its affliction, let us endeavour to save the Negro from its horrors. Think of being saved of a year of fever! Mr A. concluded by reading the Resolution, (see page 4,) and sat down amidst shouts of applause.

DONALD MACINTYRE, Esq. seconded the Resolution.

MR GEORGE THOMPSON rose to support the motion, and was received with loud cheers:—

SIR,—I feel constrained to rise and support the motion now before you. I cannot withhold from this meeting a communication I have to-day received from one who has boldly fought the battles of the apprentices of Jamaica—one who, amidst the corrupting influence of Colonial Society, and the sneers and threats of Slave drivers, and their pliant tools, has nobly done his duty, and is now in this country preparing his materials for a full exposure of that hateful system which has already been so well denounced by my friend Mr Anderson; and which all present are burning to denounce, by the unanimous adoption of the resolution before the meeting. Were any additional evidence wanting, this letter would supply any deficiency. I put it in, however, as corroborative only of that, which by itself, would have been amply sufficient to warrant the opinions we are about to send forth to the world. Sir,—We have been deluded. A vile hoax has been practiced upon the community. The demand of the nation was for *immediate and entire* Emancipation; and the reply to that demand by the Government was,—“The measure shall be safe and satisfactory.” It has however been demonstrated, that the measure is one of injustice and fraud—full of cruelty and all oppression. The nation, through three hundred and thirty-nine delegates, declared their determination to *reject* the measure if it left the Negro “half a Slave and half a freeman.” *He is ALTOGETHER a Slave.* Until the expiration of the apprenticeship, he will suffer all the horrors of Slavery. We are not therefore at liberty to let the system alone. Our principles, our pledges, our solemn vows before God and the world, call upon us to muster yet once again, and hurl the last remains of despotism to the dust. (Cheers.)

The letter from Demerara, read by Mr Anderson, was written by Mr Scoble, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Society for the Extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world. That gentleman, in company with several friends, is making a tour through the West Indies, for the purpose of obtaining correct information upon the question before us, and to qualify himself to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. I will read an extract from a Demerara paper, to show the spirit of the Planters. It will be seen that there is, in the West Indies, the same feeling towards any person suspected of an attachment to the interests of the Negro, as has shown itself in such dreadful forms in the United States—the land of Lowells (Laughter), and Fall Rivers (Laughter), and revivals, and Lynch Law, and Missionary operations, and heathen Slaves—the land of sounding brass—You understand me? (Great laughter, followed by a burst of cheering), and clanking chains. The *Guiana Chronicle* of December 16, contains a letter from a correspondent, who subscribed himself “*Anti-humbug*,” in reference to the philanthropic labours of the friends just mentioned. Take the following specimen:—

“These individuals, it is believed, have been sent out here by that class of chains-and-negro politicians at home, who find that profits and power have dwindled away by the settlement of the Slave question, and who, to revive the old trade, have risked the expense of fitting out emissaries, whose commission is to collect as many terrors, groans, and fearful iniquities, as will enable them to renew a cry among the old women, to make the twice-laid dish racy enough for the palled palate of the English.”

In addition to the letter, there is an editorial article, full of the old and murderous spirit of the Slave system. Speaking of our amiable friends, it says:—

“The laws of warfare condemn *the skulking spy to a GIBBET*,—those of peace consign him to a no less ignominious fate, that of *universal detestation and general contempt*. Let then, these men look well to their future proceedings in this Colony, for as we said before, we have *warned* them that the *vile objects* of their mission are known; and consequently, they will be watched with that suspicion which *avowed evil intentions* always arouse in honest minds.”

Let us be thankful, Mr Chairman, that our friends are under the protection of British law, and that though there is in the minds of many, every disposition to do them injury, the power is wanting. Let us also commend the cause in which they are engaged to God, and pray that they may not suffer in any respect, but be returned in safety to their native land, with the means of serving greatly the oppressed thousands on whose behalf they have embarked in their mission of mercy.

The editor whose gibbeting article I have noticed, adds, what may be aptly quoted on the present occasion:—“Of the men themselves, we know nothing; but, *if a man allows himself to be employed on a dirty errand, we naturally judge that he is a dirty fellow*.”—You understand me? (Great laughter,) “and in this way has our estimate of these people been formed.”

I will now, Sir, with your permission, read the contents of the letter which I received this morning. The writer has acted in the capacity of a Special Magistrate in the Island of Jamaica. I am truly sorry that his zeal and devotedness in the cause of humanity have been so ill-rewarded. After being displaced by the Marquis of Sligo, and re-instated by the Home Government, he has been again displaced by Sir Lionel Smith, whose conduct is, for the present, approved by the Government. I trust Dr. Palmer, (the gentleman to whom I refer,) will succeed in rousing both the Government and the country to a sense of their duty.

“2, QUEEN STREET PLACE, SOUTHWARK BRIDGE,
“*March 9th, 1837.*”

“DEAR SIR,—Without the ceremony of a formal introduction I venture to address you; the identity of our pursuits and principles, on the question of Negro oppression, render any ceremony superfluous.

“I have arrived here from Jamaica, (where I held the office of Special Magistrate) as a sort of delegate—perhaps self-elected, to implore justice and protection for 240,000 poor creatures, who are still bearing all the degrading and brutalizing attributes of absolute Slavery. I am to show, and I have ample means to do so, that, notwithstanding the costly sacrifice made by the people of England, to strike off the galling fetters of the Slave, and raise him to his proper standard in the family of man; that Godlike object has been shamefully

defeated by the subtle craft of the Planters, and the wilful blindness or base connivance of the Government functionaries. That the system of Slavery has but changed its name; that its atrocities are now legalized; that the people of England are actually paying 60 or £70,000 per annum, to a set of persons whose daily business it is made to inflict fraud, injustice, and cruelty on the Negro, to such an extent as to render his situation, in many material respects, more unendurable than that from which he was to be relieved; that the Negro has now no protection,—that those of the Magistracy who dare to be honest, are persecuted by the Planters, and openly discountenanced by the Executive; that, in fact, Government have not carried out their own measure in the spirit of good faith; that the Planters, after receiving the price, undeservedly awarded, for the freedom of the Negro, have contrived to rivet his chains more firmly than ever; and finally, that the whole scheme has turned out a disgraceful failure,—a vile fraud on the British public,—a cruel mockery to the Negro, and a most dangerous example to other nations in framing their enactments for the destruction of Slavery in their own dominions.

“I have abundance of materials to prove all these points; all I require is, an impartial hearing. The friends of the cause here are beginning to be roused from that sluggish apathy into which they had merged after the excitement which attended the great struggle three years ago: they must finish the work they so nobly began,—one simultaneous effort, and the work will be done. The Commons’ Committee is to be re-opened for the examination of Lord Sligo and myself; I have but little confidence in the integrity of the majority of the members, and despair of their doing any good, unless urged to it, by the expression of public opinion.

“The leading friends of our party, particularly ‘*The Friends*,’ are quite alive to the necessity of action,—we wait awhile to concentrate our force. At this juncture, I deeply regret your absence from London. Your powerful advocacy would be invaluable—I am sure it will not be withheld, so soon as your other engagements will permit your joining us here. I would enter more fully into details with you, but I am just now very fully engaged in a sort of critical controversy with the Colonial Office, relative to some personal wrongs I have sustained through the efforts I was making in Jamaica; and at the same time arranging my materials for the coming crusade against Jamaica oppression. I hope, however, that we shall not be long before we see you here. I have been all along admiring your brilliant career in the cause of American freedom; but I trust you will now turn your attention to that which engaged your earliest energies; we have a prior claim to your benevolent services, and according to the quaint old distich:—

‘It is well to be off with the old love,
Before you be on with the new.’

In common fairness you must see the end of the contest you began with. I have a letter of introduction to you from Mr Phillips of Jamaica; I hope to deliver it in person, at 2, Queen Street Place. The gentlemen who are now prosecuting the Inquiry into the actual state of the Negro population in the West Indies, are expected back in a few weeks. I am sure they will bring home a vast mass of information. I think the country should be roused before their arrival, so as to be prepared to act on their confirmatory evidence. We must break the last link in the chain of Slavery. I am not without hopes, that John Bull, when he finds how grossly he has been cheated by the rascally Planter, will indignantly insist on the immediate termination of the odious and disreputable system of Apprenticeship—this is my aim. I dislike all modifications of Slavery; I hate projected improvements, they are all deceitful; there is but one remedy. You must have either pure Slavery or perfect freedom; there is no resting-place between the extremes.

“Your arrival here will be greeted with the most lively sentiments of pleasure by hundreds of your friends, and by none with more sincerity than, dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

“A. L. PALMER.”

“GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.”

In addition to this letter, I have a vast quantity of evidence respecting Jamaica and the other Colonies, of precisely the same description. I will venture to read a few extracts from letters written by persons of thorough experience and unquestionable respectability. The originals are in the hands of the friends of the Negro.

“Yes, Sir, the (British) Parliament, it is true, passed a law, in which the flogging of females, under any circumstances, was prohibited. The Planters passed the same enactment, but with a rider attached to it in the shape of a proviso, that they shall be subject to any *police regulations equally affecting persons of free condition*. Now, free persons are seldom, if ever, sent to the workhouse; it is quite safe, therefore, to frame regulations *nominally* affecting all parties. In this way the Planters have secured the continuance of female flogging!—Sir, you may stop this gap, but rely upon it, for every gap you do stop, the Planter will contrive to open a dozen fresh ones. Therefore do I repeat the assertion, that nothing short of absolute freedom will cure the evils of Slavery. Yes, Sir, women are still flogged, and that too with a measure of atrocious cruelty, far outstripping the latter years of Slavery. Within the last month, two cases have come to my knowledge, both women with infants at the breast, sent to the workhouse by special magistrates; the flesh was literally torn from their backs; ‘you could not stick a pin between the sores.’ The infants of these poor women were brought to the verge of the grave by the dreadful condition to which the mothers were reduced.” (Cries of Shame! Shame!)

The following facts are from a medical man who had an official situation in Jamaica, and resided there twenty years. They are addressed to a Member of the British Parliament:—

“In apportioning their punishments, few magistrates observe any discrimination as to age, sex, condition, or previous character. Women with sucking children, and pregnant women, are sentenced to the workhouse to work in chains and collars, and to walk the tread-mill; and by the way, it is a notorious fact, that women are frequently flogged on these tread-mills. Apprentices of the best character are ruthlessly degraded by being sent to the workhouse, to associate with the most depraved and worthless characters.”

“Through great mercy we are all well, and matters are quiet, which would not be the case were not the Negroes the most patient people on earth! O this cursed Apprenticeship! Nothing but blood, murderous cells and chains! I think nearly forty young and old females pass my door in chains every morning. Not one school yet established, while most abominable cells and tread-mills are being erected all over the Island! This to prepare the poor Negroes for freedom.”

“Several of the Slaves have said to me in the bitterness of their sorrow, ‘that they wished things had remained as they were before.’ For this I always check them, and call to their minds the fact, that at the end of six years they will be free. They reply, ‘but if our owners are so hard upon us, we shall not live till then.’”

This Sir, is the Slavery we oppose: and he who would thrust himself into a meeting to thwart those who are honestly engaged in seeking the destruction of such a system, is either grossly ignorant of the facts of the case, and, therefore, guilty of a presumptuous and impudent interference, or he is the enemy of all freedom, and the Slave of his own vile and malignant passions. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I have visited most of the places in which it is said our white Slaves are found, and am here to testify that, themselves being judges, they are foully and falsely libelled. They have been amongst the foremost to sustain the cause of Negro Emancipation. They know the difference between what is termed white Slavery, and the Slavery of Jamaica, and Demerara, and the Carolinas, and Georgia, and Louisiana. They know that no man can claim them as his *property*. (Cheers.) If humble, and poor, and penniless, they are still free. (Cheers.) No brutal master can with impunity scourge the body of the wife, or violate the chastity of the daughter. No father amongst them, returning at night to his hovel, dreads lest the child of his affections should have been carried to the flesh market. Let the individual who talks of White Slavery, point to one such Slave in Britain, and I will answer for my country—the gathered lightning of British indignation shall shiver his chains in an instant. (During this burst of Mr T.’s characteristic eloquence, the “Fall River” gentleman slunk off the platform, amid the mingled cheers and hisses of the large assembly.) We call upon the nation to abolish the Apprenticeship. We say to the people of Britain, the Slaves are yours. You have bought them. You were promised they should be free. You were told that if you would pay twenty millions, women should be saved from the lash,—the Negro should be free to worship God,—the power of the Planter to tease and torture should cease; in a word, that the Slave should become a man, “and enjoy every right and every privilege of a freeman.” You have paid your money. The greedy tyrant has

received the bribe, but has forgotten his part of the contract. Will you be content to be deluded and robbed? Is it not the duty of Government to see the bargain fulfilled? Say not, "It is but till 1840, let us not trouble ourselves to remove so *temporary* an evil." I ask you to place your wives, your children, your honoured parents, yourselves, in such a case, and say what your decision would be. Are we not responsible for the scourgings, and exactions, and murders, done during this period? Are we willing to take the responsibility, and abide the verdict of God? Why slumbers the nation's energies! Do you say, "We have other great measures in hand." I reply, here is one to relieve bodily and mental suffering of the most intense description. Surely you will not allow your efforts to obtain the removal of any grievance affecting yourselves, to prevent you from sympathising with your fellow-subjects who are utterly deprived of every civil and social right; nay more, robbed of themselves, and those most dear to them, and in their suffering and destitution imploring *instant* aid—Up then, and rescue them at once and for ever from the grasp of their tormentors. So shall you secure their blessing, and heaven will abundantly reward you, by succeeding every holy effort for the enlargement of your own liberties. (Rapturous applause.)

Mr THOMPSON concluded by introducing Dr. Prince, a gentleman who had but lately returned from the Island of Jamaica.

Dr. PRINCE was not accustomed to public speaking. He did not come before them as an orator; yet he trusted if he ventured upon a few remarks, they would "understand" him. (Laughter and cheers.) And he knew this, that in order to obtain the assistance of the people of Britain, it was only necessary to have the truth on his side. Dr. Prince then proceeded to corroborate, by his personal testimony, the statements which had been read respecting the Apprenticeship system. He had lived in Jamaica since 1823, and would briefly state some of the facts which had come within his own experience. At the time when he left this country his opinions respecting Slavery were similar to those which prevailed in the Island to which he went. He had never inquired into the subject, and he expected to find a people there full of enmity to his white brethren. He soon found, however, who were the oppressed and who were the oppressors, and the opinions he had taken on trust were in consequence abandoned. He had good opportunities for becoming intimately acquainted with the character of the Negroes, having had at one time, not fewer than 4000 under his care. He had seen them in sickness and in other circumstances of trial and suffering. His sympathies had been awakened. He had, of course, come to be distinguished as the friend of the black man, and thus a great degree of odium was brought down upon him. Still he had not abandoned the principles he had imbibed as to the institution of Slavery; though he felt that, as a master, he could not be cruel to his Slaves. But in 1829, his mind became awakened to the wickedness of the system; and he felt it his duty to Emancipate the two Slaves of whom he had become possessed. (Cheers.) This increased the odium under which he laboured: his friends took from him the practice with which he had before been favoured, and he was allowed to fall to the ground. Dr. P. proceeded to state his opinion—an opinion founded upon what he had seen of the Negro character, that the Negro was fitted for immediate Emancipation. (Cheers.) The system of Apprenticeship, he said, did not encourage industry. The Negro found himself still oppressed; his energies were cramped, and he did not improve himself, as in other circumstances it was probable he would do. In Antigua, where immediate Emancipation was given, the state of affairs was much better than in Jamaica. There was one circumstance which served to damp the industry of the apprentices. There was the want of mutual confidence between the white and the black population. The Negro was disinclined to work for hire; because, the old spirit of oppression being kept up by the whites, he felt no security that terms would be kept with him. The work of religious instruction went but slowly on. Jails and tread-mills were resorted to in every quarter, while places of public worship were but thinly scattered. The children of Negroes were now also placed in a very bad position. As to medical attendance, for instance, they were now left quite destitute, in so far as the planters were concerned, the latter having no pecuniary interest in their health and comfort.

Dr. Prince was listened to with great interest, and sat down amidst general applause.

Mr THOMPSON then came forward to propose the third Resolution, (see page 5,) and said:—

SIR,—I have too much regard for good hours to detain this meeting long. I have often before advocated the various propositions embraced in the resolution which I hold in my hand. It speaks of the grand object of this Society—the overthrow of Slavery in every part of the world. It calls upon the Christian world to keep in view the various high interests which directly or indirectly are connected with our great plan. It brings before us the six millions of Slaves, groaning under the yoke imposed upon them by nominally Christian masters; and reminds us, that it is this system which perpetuates the diabolical trade by which two hundred and fifty thousand of the children of Africa are annually murdered in war, or carried into captivity. It has been my business to illustrate these topics in preceding addresses, and I shall therefore not attempt to dwell upon them to-night. The resolution refers in a parenthesis to the Slaves of British India. This subject is worthy of deep consideration. There are many millions of Slaves in India claiming the benefit of British legislation. They must not be forgotten. I am aware that the forms of servitude in India are almost endless—that Slavery is principally if not exclusively administered by the natives—that it has come down to the present rulers of India through many generations and centuries, and that it is deeply interwoven with the religious feelings and prejudices of the people; but notwithstanding these circumstances, we are bound, as a Christian nation, to give the many millions who have been brought under our influence and control, the full benefit of their connection with our nation and government. In the work of abolishing Slavery in India, we must look to the energy of the people at large. The directors of the East India Company in 1833, successfully opposed the plan of His Majesty's ministers. The latter introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the immediate and absolute extinction of Slavery throughout British India. The House modified the Bill, and fixed the 12th of April, 1837, for the emancipation of the Slaves. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough undertook the work of special pleaders for the East India Company, who appear to be opposed to all liberal or humane proceedings. Their Lordships listened to the suggestions of expediency and interest, and delivered over the wretched Slaves to the tender mercies of Leadenhall Street legislation. We must go again to the House of Commons. That House must again decree the extinction of Slavery in India, and should the House of Lords again defeat the friends of humanity, we must appeal again to the country, and through the country to the Commons; and if again their Lordships should love Slavery better than justice and humanity, they must be —— I need not say what. You understand me? (Laughter and loud cheers.)

Mr Thompson next referred to the African Slave-trade, and to the necessity of seeking the abolition of Slavery as an essential means of putting down the extensive commerce in the human species. He then went on to describe the progress of the cause in America—the diffusion of light—the employment of agents—the victories which had been achieved over prejudice—the multiplication of converts—the process of purification in the churches, and the evident signs of a general change in the views, feelings, and practices of the nation on the subject of Slavery. Here Mr T. read the following extract of a letter just received from WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:—

“The Anti-Slavery cause is marching onward with astonishing celerity; and it is now the all-pervading impression, both at the north and the south, that that cause is ere long to be completely victorious. Mobs are now quite rare—the *brutal* crisis seems to have passed away—and though we meet with sturdy opposition in various quarters, yet we always keep the mastery. The number of our societies increases too fast for me to keep an accurate reckoning. It cannot be less than 800, and may amount to 1000, and still it continues to augment. But the strongest proof of our growth—the most sublime manifestation of our whole-hearted determination to conquer by one decisive effort—is seen in the fact, that we have commissioned no less than SEVENTY agents to go forth and give battle to a corrupt public sentiment, all good men and true, all more or less able and successful lecturers; a large portion enlisted during the war, and others for a limited period. I believe the world has seen nothing like this since the seventy disciples were sent forth by our Lord. Only think of it—seventy men, official agents, pleading with the people night and day! If, in a cause like this, the promise is, that ‘one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,’ what under God may not this sacramental host achieve? As a specimen of their manner of working, I will simply add, that our stout coadjutor, Henry B. Stanton, has given no less than thirty-six long addresses to crowded public

audiences, in less than three weeks, in the heart of this Commonwealth, *i. e.* Worcester county. Among the agents is Amos Dresser, who was so cruelly treated by a Christian (?) Lynch Committee at Nashville. Wherever he goes his wounds cry like the voice of blood, and shock and quicken all beholders. The story of his sufferings will do more to make abolitionists than a thousand argumentative lectures. And why? Simply because he is a white man! if his skin had been coloured, few would have heard of his ill-treatment, and fewer still would have sympathised with him. Surely this is a signal proof that God can make the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain."

"I learn by your last, dated at Manchester, that your heart is still here—would that your body were here also! and yet I hardly know what to say on that subject. We all long to see you, with a longing words cannot express—but we dread to see you put in peril here, especially as you are achieving so much good in England. *Tell the Christians of Great Britain, who have sent over their remonstrances against our accursed Slave system, that they are helping us mightily.* Their united voices fill American oppressors with dismay. May God bless them abundantly."

By whom (Mr Thompson continued) has this great work been accomplished? By plain, humble, praying men. No transcendent genius has presided in their councils: no exalted patronage has paved their way to public countenance and support: they have fought their way through fierce opposition and universal contempt, relying upon the goodness of their cause, the purity of their motives, and the blessing of their God. Their Patron has been the Lord of Hosts: their chief weapon the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Their example should animate us to attempt great things. We should never wait for the titled and the wealthy to lead the way—they will come in when we have weathered the storm. I would call upon my friends around me to renew their pledge to-night. I would implore every individual whom I now address, to estimate aright his influence in the world of mind. There is a law of mutual influence, by which the conduct of one man may affect his fellow-men, to the extremities of the world, and the end of time. Every individual may be considered as the centre of a moral circle, which is connected by links of more or less power, and includes the whole of mankind. Do any ask, "Who is my neighbour?" I answer, every human being. "What do I owe him?" Love. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "What is my duty to him?" To relieve his wants; to pity his woes; to increase his happiness; to promote his present and eternal welfare. "What is the measure of my duty?" My *ability*. Hence the question is not, *Ought I to sympathize with my suffering fellow-creatures? ought I to help them?—but can I help them? Can I by sympathy mitigate their sorrows? Can I by remonstrance with their oppressors, lighten or remove their yoke? Can I by assurance of esteem and identity of feeling, encourage the hearts and lift up the hands of their friends and defenders? Can I by my prayers, the expression of my opinion, or in any other way, lessen the force of prejudice, weaken the power of despotism, extend the principles of benevolence, frown down the dogmas of ignorance and interest, uphold the rights of man, assert the claims of God? These are the questions we should propose to ourselves. The answer to one and all is,—yes. God has given us the power to do it; the measure of our duty is the extent of our ability.* We should seek to unite against this system the opinions of the enlightened world, and the prayers and energies of the Christian church; and the fervour of our love, and the lightning of our indignation would soon dissolve the fetters of the Slave.

In conclusion, Mr Thompson expressed his earnest hope that the day would soon arrive, when the American citizen, standing on his own loved native soil, would be able to vindicate with truth and consistency, the cause of liberty, from his country's example and laws, and say, "I speak in the spirit of our constitution, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from our soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon our native earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced;—no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him;—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down;—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of Slavery: the first moment he touches our sacred soil, the altar and the God sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond

the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." (Great cheering.)

It was now eleven o'clock, and a great number of names remained on the list of speakers.—Thanks were given, on the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, to the Rev. William Anderson and the managers, for the use of the church; after which, Dr. Heugh intimated that the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday evening, in Dr. Wardlaw's chapel. (Applause.)

ADJOURNED MEETING.

THE adjourned meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society took place, according to appointment, on Wednesday evening, March 15th.

P. LETHEN, Esq., moved, that in the absence of the Rev. Dr. Heugh, W. P. Paton, Esq., be called to the chair. The chairman having briefly thanked the audience for the honour done him in placing him in the chair, Mr W. Smeal, one of the Secretaries, read the resolutions passed at the previous meeting.

The Rev. JOHN BOYD, one of the Secretaries of the Paisley Emancipation Society, in proposing the fourth resolution, (see p. 5.) said,—It was, I assure you Sir, with unmingled delight and satisfaction, that I listened to the Committee's admirable Report of a preceding evening; and especially to that portion of it, which referred to the rapid and triumphant diffusion of the principles of freedom, in the United States of America. We have but to look back for only three short years, to see and be convinced of the almost unexampled progress of the Emancipation cause in that great and rising country. At the commencement of that period, there were, it is true, Abolitionists in America, many of whom had devoted their time and their talents, their property and their all, to the vindication of the claims of the injured and degraded Coloured population. But noble and resolute as those friends of humanity were, they were in the aggregate but few in number, and their influence was both feeble and circumscribed. They sent, as this society well knows, to this country for aid, and they received it: for our amiable and eloquent friend, Mr Thompson, responded to their invitation; he went over to America, joined them in their arduous and honourable exertions, and what have been the results? (Cheering.) The Report of your Committee informed us. It told us that that Scripture saying has again been fulfilled,—“The little one had become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation.” That the seed which your agent sowed has taken root, and has produced a most abundant and magnificent harvest. Already, nearly a thousand Abolition Societies have been organized. (Cheers.) The pulpit and the press have both lent their mighty aid, and many of the best and noblest spirits of the land have uprisen at the calls of religion and humanity, and come boldly and honestly forward to aid the cause of freedom, and to rescue their native country, and the various Churches of God in it, from the guilt of enslaving and trafficking in the bodies of their fellow-men. (Great applause.)

And there is one circumstance that I may mention, which, to my mind at least, has been a most satisfactory indication of the extent to which the people of America have become leavened by right views upon the question of entire and immediate abolition. Two years ago, the then President of the United States, in his message to the Senate, denounced (not certainly in the most measured terms,) the worthy and able agent of this Society, as a foreigner, a stranger, who had dared to intermeddle with the civil and domestic regulations of the States; and his object in thus denouncing Mr Thompson, was, if possible, to proscribe and frown down the progressing cause of abolition. The discussion of that question had certainly, by that time, excited public attention; but President Jackson did not think it had done so to an extent beyond his magisterial ability to allay. Well, twelve months passed away, during which time the excitement, instead of quiescing, only increased; and the friends of Emancipation instead of becoming fewer, had grown and multiplied a thousand-fold. The Senate again met. President Jackson again addressed its members; but, marvellous to relate, there was not one sentence in his message of reference to the grand question, which at that moment was agitating and convulsing the country. And why, it may be asked, this silence? The answer is obvious. Andrew Jackson denounced abolition in the presence of Mr Thompson, as long as he found it safe to do so—as long as the majority were on the *pro-Slavery* side. But whenever he saw the principles of Abolition becoming general—whenever he saw them adopted and avowed by some of the best and choicest of his country-

men—whenever he saw that he could not again refer to the same topic without arraying against him more talent, more learning, more truth, and more piety, than he was willing to encounter, then only he left the cause of abolition alone without complaint and without rebuke, to make its sure way into the hearts and consciences of the American population. (Applause.) Reflecting, Sir, on these things, and knowing how astonishingly our principles have triumphed, even in the United States, this meeting, I am sure, will readily agree to the first half of the resolution which I have the honour of proposing, viz., “That we cordially congratulate our Abolition brethren in the United States of America, upon the mighty progress, and auspicious aspect of the cause of freedom in their land.” (Cheers.)

The remaining half, however, of the resolution, I cannot put to this meeting for adoption, without some little previous explanation and defence. In a late public discussion in this place, between my respected friend, Mr Thompson, and a reverend visitor from America—the latter gentleman laughed at, and scouted both the numbers and the character of the American abolitionists. He represented them as few in number, as feeble and inefficient in influence, and as not deserving, in many instances, the confidence of the religious public of this country. But, Sir, we know the American abolitionists better now than we did when this calumny was spoken against them. We know that there have been, and still are among them, men and women of the very highest attainments in literature. There was a Channing, and there are now a Sigourney and a Child, with many others, not less gifted and equally devoted to the cause of injured and suffering humanity. (Cheers.) We are well aware that many of these estimable women would never have obtruded themselves beyond the privacy of their respective domestic circles, had they not been compelled to do so by a high sense of the clemency of that religion, and of those principles of eternal justice which Slavery in every form outrages and violates; and I appeal to you, my fair country-women, if these, our American sisters, have done, or are doing any thing inconsistent either with their sex or with their station. (Cheers.) Woman I know is always an object of attraction and of interest, when discharging, as she should do, the duties of her station. But never is she so interesting—never so attractive, as when, like some pitying angel, she is seen bending over the afflicted and the miserable, pouring into the wounded bosom the balm of consolation; binding up the broken heart; alleviating the sorrows of the captive, or pleading in her warmest accents with the enslaver for his freedom. (Applause.) But in addition to the female abolitionists of America, there are in that country a host of Christian ministers and professors, and judges, and senators, among whom are a Beman and a Cox, a Jay and an Adams, all engaged, and that actively and zealously, in behalf of the enslaved. There are also private Christians, distinguished alike for their personal worth, their enlarged benevolence, and their Christian philanthropy; and if such be the individuals who are now engaged on the farther side of the Atlantic, in advocating the cause of their oppressed countrymen, where is the man who shall dare, after this, to rise up and tell a British public that such persons are unworthy of their confidence? They are persons with whom it is an honour to be associated in any cause, and especially in the cause of human freedom. They have shown a spirit of zeal and self-denial, and devotion to the cause of righteousness, which we would gladly imitate. And I trust that there is not a single individual in this assembly who knows what freedom is, and loves it, whose heart has not been warmed, and whose zeal has not been stimulated by hearing of the exertions of his transatlantic brethren, who are fighting so nobly the battle of liberty in their distant native land. Mr Boyd then read the remainder of the resolution—“And our hearts being warmed, and our zeal stimulated by their noble and praise-worthy exertions, we cheerfully respond to their call for continued co-operation, and would assure them of our entire confidence, our fervent sympathy, and increasing prayers.” Let us therefore, in the language of this resolution, cheer them on by our sympathy and our prayers. Let us tell them that we shall give them our confidence and co-operation, until our principles are universally triumphant—until that happy time arrive, when Britain and America shall arise up, united in all the majesty of freedom, and break every yoke, and emancipate every Slave; and when, to use the language of the American poet,

“The mother and the daughter joined:
The wide, wide world is free!” (Great cheering.)

The REV. ALEXANDER FRASER of Alloa, then spoke as follows:—

Mr Chairman,—I most cordially second the motion which has now been made. You, Sir, are my friend, and these are my friends, and this is my home; nevertheless, I am this night a stranger at home, and in the midst of friends. More particularly do I regret that I am a stranger to the business of the present meeting. I did not enjoy the delightful spectacle, nor listen to the soul-stirring statements which Monday evening afforded. I cannot, therefore, as the preceding speaker has so ably done, enter into the particulars of the motion which is now before the meeting. But it would be a shame to any man who has trod classic ground, the native soil of freedom, (Hear, hear,) and who professes to labour as a benefactor of mankind, in the service of that gospel which at once proclaims liberty to the captive soul, and gives this rule of action to its votaries, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,"—it would be a shame, Sir, to any such man to be either unwilling or unprepared to support this motion. (Cheers.)

I beg leave therefore, Sir, to observe *three things*, concerning Slavery in general, the bearing of which upon our trans-atlantic brethren will be evident to all considerate men.

First, Slavery is injurious to the enslaver. I do not here refer to the cruelties which are concomitant with Slavery—to the galling chain or the torturing whip. I do not even refer to that extensive genus of miseries produced by the disruption of the most endearing domestic ties, although it will be allowed that even the breast of a Slave may harbour that "only bliss of Paradise which has survived the fall," but I refer more particularly to the intellectual and moral experience of the individual. Let us ask, then, Is Slavery favourable to knowledge? Who, in modern times, would give knowledge to a Slave! Let him work. The more ignorant the man, the better Slave. Knowledge is power. Give power to a Slave? No; that would be dangerous. They would then be a match for their masters—perhaps superior to some of them! In sober earnest, the means of education are withheld—the Slave is brought up in ignorance, and then, his capacities are affirmed to be of a lower grade. If it could be shown that Slaves, in general, are deficient in any part of their mental constitution, I would undertake to show that Slavery is the cause. (Cheers.)

Look again at the effects of Slavery on the morals of the enslaved. Has it not a tendency to produce cowardice and meanness; and do not these lead, in their turn, to falsehood and studied deceit? I by no means affirm that these vices exceedingly prevail among Slaves—that may or may not be, according to circumstances; but I am confident, from the very structure of our mind, and the laws of its operations, that Slavery has a tendency to produce them. Now, in all the cases in which they are produced, Who is accountable for the moral degradation—the Slave or the master? Who, at the great day of judgment, shall answer for the lies and thefts, and other immoralities committed through ignorance and constraint—the stolen captive and tool of dire necessity, or the free-born free-acting Christian owner who holds and rivets his chain? (Cheers.)

My second observation is, that Slavery is inexpedient and hurtful to the proprietors of Slaves.

Accustomed from their earliest years to behold injustice and oppression, they cannot sympathize with the generous benevolence of those who are wont to look upon all men as their fellows, and who rejoice in equal rights and impartial legislation. Possessed of power over their Slaves before they can command themselves, tyranny is interwoven in their very constitution; and they may one day display upon their children, or their fellow-citizens, or the inhabitants of other lands, those principles of arrogance and injustice which Slavery taught them. Used to silence the remonstrances of conscience, when mercy, or equity, or honour, might plead in behalf of a Slave, they may acquire a fatal proficiency in resisting the admonitions of the same monitor, when it pleads in behalf of God and religion—through the wondrous working of God's retributive justice, their own souls may be demanded for the souls of their Slaves! In a word, whether I consider the understanding, or the moral feeling, or the religious state of the owner of Slaves—whether I view him as a private citizen, or filling a public office—whether I pitch upon his childhood, or his manhood, or old age—whether I meet him in time or eternity; I see written in legible characters upon his character and his state, *THE EVIL OF HOLDING SLAVES!* (Cheers.)

I now come to my third observation, which is, that Slavery is an insult to the God who made both master and Slave.

All the works of God speak of their author. The heavens declare his glory, and the firmament showeth his handy-work.

"The meanest pin in nature's frame,
Marks out some letter of his name;
Across the earth, around the sky,
There's not a spot, or deep, or high,
Where the Creator hath not trod
And left the footsteps of a God." (Cheers.)

Now if minerals, and shells, and plants, are worthy our consideration, and demand admiration and reverence for their Maker, much more must animated nature. Animated nature, to all the wonders of organized matter, superadds the mysterious principle of life. But of all the inhabitants of this terrestrial world, Where is the living creature that can be compared with man? Man is "at once the head, and heart, and tongue, of all." Man is himself the greatest wonder to himself. When studying his own mind, he is at once the examiner, the object examined, and the instrument by which the examination is carried on? Look for a moment at the result of this examination. What store of memory replete with every thing remarkable in the history of the world! What power of discrimination and analysis, reducing the huge heaps of natural objects under their proper heads and classes; comparing, separating and combining them, until confusion and ignorance are banished, and order, beauty, and science, established in their stead. (Cheers.)

The powers of the understanding are surpassed only by those of the imagination. Science travels from world to world—measures their respective distances—calculates their superficial extent—weighs their bulky mass in her balance. Science lays the foundation on which analogy may build her theories of new worlds and systems. But whithersoever science may reach, imagination shall out-strip her. Away! away! is her motto; away, beyond the dull world of reality, into regions

"Where active fancy travels beyond sense,
And pictures things unseen."

There she has worlds of her own creation—regulated after her own plan—adorned according to her own designing—peopled with her own children. There a thousand years are as a moment, and a moment as a thousand years. Boundless periods are held within the compass of a thought. But to return; the mind possessed of these noble capabilities—capabilities whose family name is Divinity—is the work of God; and his noblest work with which we come in contact. But Slavery spoils this glorious work. Slavery debases the mind of the Slave; Slavery corrupts the mind of the master; Slavery, therefore, is AN INSULT TO GOD. (Cheers.)

But, again, God is a holy Being, and jealous of his own prerogative. He loves to see in man the image of his holiness. But Slavery is fertile in crime. Only fix your eyes upon a puny mortal, ascending the steps of the throne of God, and, with his arm of flesh, seizing the sceptre of the Divinity, that he may lord it over his fellow-man! No thunders roll! No lightnings flash! The Omnipotent permits him, for a time, to usurp the unseemly power. The tyrant binds his brother man with the chain of the Slave; he binds his body, and in many respects he binds his mind. The mind appeals to nature, to the winds and warring waves, the elements and seasons, all which declare for what the Almighty Maker has ordained the powers of man—but *in vain*; the iron does enter into his soul; but the groan of his agony enters into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. In the person of humanity, IT IS AN INSULT TO GOD.

I have now shown that Slavery is necessarily injurious to the Slave, inefficient for the master, and insulting to God. It may now be asked, what have we to do with Slavery in America? I shall answer this question, Scotsman-like, by asking another, Who is my neighbour? (Cheers.)

Who is my neighbour? God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the whole earth. God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. God hath appointed us to be born in this age; therefore we have the duties of this age to perform. God hath caused us to be born here, heirs of knowledge, religion and liberty; and the very circumstances of our birth bind us to guard the blessings we enjoy. The same Providence which allotted us so much good, has mingled the bitter cup of Slavery to the Slave. Then what have we to do with it? Every thing. God has given us the means of his freedom. We possess the strongest of all influence—moral influence; the most potent of all power—knowledge of the question. Let no man say, then, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Thou art thy brother's keeper.

If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and them that are ready to be slain, shall not He that pondereth the heart consider it; and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it, and shall He not render to every man according to his work? Remember them that are in bonds as bound also with them. Yes, God might have made the Slave free, and you the Slave. How would you have felt then? Would you have deemed it *very kind, and very Christian*, if persons professing to love their neighbours as themselves, both enjoyed their comforts with easy minds, and abandoned you to your fate?

If any are still selfish and indifferent, I have only one other argument to set before them. It is thus expressed by a heathen poet, "Your own interest is concerned when your neighbour's house is on fire." In plain language, if you do not attack Slavery, Slavery will attack you. Can tyranny possess any other spirit than that of encroachment? Will selfishness, and injustice, and cruelty, ever say, "We have gotten enough?" Would not the men who hold Slaves at home, have Slaves abroad too if they were able? Or if you answer, They shall never be able to enslave us, still, may not their example have a mischievous effect upon others? The truth is, that Slavery, even in its wide and distant influence, is detrimental to the best interests of man. Its poisonous breath blasts the fair blossoms of knowledge, and piety, and freedom, and at the same time fans into a flame those proud, malevolent, and tyrannical principles, which have been, alas! too long the bane of mankind. (Applause.)

Mr Chairman, I detain you and the meeting no longer; but conclude by repeating, that the motion has my cordial support.

The Rev. PATRICK BREWSTER of Paisley, moved the next resolution:—

"That the labours of Mr George Thompson, our devoted, and faithful, and indefatigable agent, during the past year, are entitled to, and do now receive, our unqualified approbation. That, believing it of the highest importance that he should continue his services in the cause of Emancipation, we earnestly request him to renew his engagement to the Committee; pledging ourselves, in the event of his compliance, to sustain him in the prosecution of his arduous and philanthropic career; it being our determination, never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and slavery ceases from the face of the earth."

I assure you, Sir, that it is with very great reluctance that I have taken charge of the important and interesting resolution which I have just read. It is only because the gentleman to whom it was at first entrusted,* has been prevented by circumstances from appearing among us this evening; and from the deep interest which I feel in the good cause which we are met here to promote, that I now venture to address a few words to you in its support. Your excellent Secretaries, who seem to be adepts in the Socratic method, have so skilfully framed their resolutions, as to make it a very easy task to recommend them to your approbation. You have already given your cordial assent to the previous resolution, which binds you to continued co-operation with our friends in America; and you cannot, with any consistency, refuse the pledge which I now claim from you—that you will continue to employ the most effective instrument of such co-operation, by again electing, sustaining, and encouraging your admired and talented agent, Mr George Thompson. (On the mention of Mr

* The Rev. Dr. Burns, who had consented to propose this resolution; and who, had the adjournment been to Tuesday evening, as he anticipated, instead of Wednesday, would have been present. A previous engagement also preventing the Dr. from taking part in the proceedings at the Ladies' meeting, on the following Friday; we think it right to insert here a letter addressed by Dr. B., on that occasion, to one of the Secretaries.

"PAISLEY, Thursday.

"DEAR SIR,—On my return from Glasgow a little ago, I found your letter lying for me. I regret that a *very special* meeting of our Jail and Bridewell Committee, to-morrow evening, at half-past Eight, will prevent me from attending the Ladies' Emancipation Society at Glasgow. For ten years I have had the charge (as Convener) of supplying the pulpit of our Jail and Bridewell, and I cannot possibly be absent from the meeting to-morrow, especially as the object of it is to devise a scheme of regular visitation of the inmates. I hope to have it in my power to attend the General Meeting of your important Society at some future time. In the meantime, I am anxious to hear from Mr Thompson, when I may expect him here to plead the cause of *Negro Education*, as he promised to do.—I am, dear Sir, respectfully yours,

ROBERT BURNS."

"William Smeal, Esq., Secretary to Emancipation Society, Glasgow."

Thompson's name, the assembly burst simultaneously into a tremendous shout of applause, which continued for some minutes.) When Mr Brewster was allowed to proceed, he said, it was unnecessary to inform such an audience as the one now before him, who Mr Thompson was, or what he had done in the service of the oppressed. (Cheering.) Mr Thompson was the ablest, the most eloquent, the most devoted advocate that had ever appeared for any cause. (Immense cheering, and cries of, "He is.") He was the friend of Tappan and of Garrison, of that host of noble spirits in America, who were now actively and earnestly endeavouring to free their country from the sin and the curse of Slavery. (Great cheering.) The resolution he had read, expressed confidence in Mr Thompson, and to this they had most heartily responded—(cheers)—but it expressed more, it contained a pledge that they would sustain him in his arduous labour. (Great cheering, and cries of, "We will.") He had anticipated a hearty response to this resolution, and he had not been disappointed. (Renewed cheers.) Having, therefore, adopted the pledge, it would be their duty to act up to it faithfully. He had now another, and, he hoped, not a more difficult task to perform—to procure the assent of Mr Thompson. He felt confident that Mr Thompson would not desert the glorious cause in which he had been so long, so honourably, and so successfully engaged. (Cheers.) It might be said to be his own cause. (Great cheering.) In his advocacy of it he obtained so many triumphs, he had pursued such a career of true glory to himself, and of benefit to others, that it could not be supposed he would ever leave it, so long as he was able to lift a voice in its support. (Tremendous applause.) There was one other reason why Mr Thompson ought to persevere. He had already roused America; he had stimulated many noble minds there to engage in the good work; but much still remained to be done—much that Mr Thompson alone could do. The influence possessed by Mr Thompson among the abolitionists was great, as it was desired; and that influence, it was to be hoped, would still be exercised, as it had been, to further the cause of freedom and humanity. (Cheers.)

The farther pledge, on our part, for Mr Thompson's encouragement, is "our determination never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference, on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and Slavery ceases from the face of the earth." Oh! how many victims of oppression are still suffering under the weight of unrighteous yokes; and how many unrighteous yokes are still bending down the neck of injured humanity; and how noble and animating is the sentiment, that you will never cease your exertions till every unrighteous yoke is broken. (Cheers.) The heart that responds not to this sentiment, should not have a place in the human breast. The intellect that approves not of this sentiment, has more in it of the demon than of the man. (Cheers.) It is not the Negro only then, whose Emancipation demands our aid. There are other yokes, not less unrighteous than the yoke of Negro Slavery, cruel and degrading as it is. Though every Negro were at this moment set free, there would still be work enough for the friends of the Slave. We have Slaves nearer home—White Slaves. Look at Russia, that wilderness of crushed spirits, over which the Imperial Slave-master of the north holds his hated dominion, and keeps in bondage, not the Negro or the stranger, but his own subjects—his own countrymen, those whom it is his highest duty to cherish and protect. (Cheers.) Look at unhappy Poland, whose brave sons are made to fight the battles of their oppressor, against the cause which they love. No less than 800 of these gallant men dragged into the ranks of the Russian despot, and fighting reluctantly against the independence of Circassia, have been made prisoners by its unconquered inhabitants and sold into Slavery, and are at this moment bondsmen to the barbarous Turk. Here is more work for the friends of freedom. (Cheers.) But the day of deliverance may not be far distant. Liberty has thrown a spark of her living fire on the bleak mountains of Caucasus; and if you foster that spark into a flame—not the flame of war but of love, the love of freedom and the love of man—it may yet spread itself with irresistible sway over the wide waste around it, regenerating, elevating, and emancipating both the tyrant and the Slave. Mr Brewster concluded amid great cheering.

Mr JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, M.D., on seconding the motion, said,—It is with great pleasure that I second the resolution so ably moved by the distinguished clergyman of the Church of Scotland who has just addressed you. And the audience will, I am sure, sympathise with me, when informed that I do so at a very short notice, in consequence of the absence of another ornament of the same church, whose name would have given the resolution additional currency among a body of Christians whom I am most anxious to see more generally engaged in

the cause of Emancipation; and whose eloquence would have claimed for the motion that respectful attention which no words of mine can command. (Cheers.) For I am unable, under present circumstances—and had months of preparation been allowed me—would still have been unable—to find expression for the feelings of gratitude which I entertain for the past exertions of Mr Thompson; or the eager anxiety with which I look for a continuance of those exertions which have been fraught with so much good to my native land; and which, I trust, will continue to be of eminent service, not only there, but to every country wherein men are enslaved by their fellow-men. (Cheers.)

Sir, there are two parties more immediately concerned in this Resolution—Mr Thompson, and the Emancipation Society of this city.—An offer is made, or rather renewed, to Mr T., which he will frankly and gladly accept. For with bleeding humanity soliciting him on the one hand, and the enlightened Christians of this free and enlightened country urging him on the other, he cannot refuse to continue these efforts—laborious indeed—for which he is so pre-eminently fitted, and which are so congenial to his mind. (Cheers.)

And with regard to the Emancipation Society here assembled, you will gladly renew your engagement with Mr Thompson; and with that hearty acclamation, which can be given by freemen only, and in a free country, cheering on a gifted and zealous philanthropist in his endeavours to achieve the liberties of their kind, by the physically harmless, but morally omnipotent, weapons of truth and righteousness. Were other means resorted to, were physical force made use of, I would be among the first to resist them. And be assured, Sir, that if at this moment any warlike armament were to invade the United States, even for the purpose of liberating the victims of prejudice and of Slavery, the men who would strike first, and would struggle longest in defence of the American coast, would be the 800,000 free people of colour, who are Americans by birth, Americans in principle, and have proved themselves in many a field of fight, as well as by present sufferings, which I cannot recount,—the most ardent lovers of the American soil. But, Sir, there is no need of physical force. The weapons used by this Society are more powerful, and will prevail. The American people know this, indeed have admitted it. They have admitted it in the person of one of the most gifted among them, and on this very platform, which is consecrated to the cause of civil and religious liberty. (Loud cheers.) For in that brilliant encounter—in which truth so signally triumphed through the lips of your agent—America, by appearing before such a tribunal, admitted not only its right to make this moral invasion, but also by her attempt to maintain the justice of her present conduct, admits the irresistible power which you can wield over her destinies. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to forget these circumstances: forget not the agent who has placed such priceless influence in your hands: forget not incessantly to exercise that influence for the benefit of the helpless Slave. And then, Sir, I will go back to the land whence I came, happy in the thought that at a day not very distant, it may be my privilege once more to appear before you,—no longer an outcast from the land of the free—no longer the victim of a cruel prejudice—no longer debarred from seats of learning, for a physical accident, no fault of mine—no longer deprived of any of the privileges of an American citizen—but that it will be my lot to tell you that AMERICA IS FREE! (Cheers.) And who knows, Sir, but that there may come with me an American Slave, whose chains shall have been broken; an American Slave-holder, whose whip shall have been destroyed; and an American Christian, whose prejudices shall have been annihilated by the means you are now using to attain these ends. (Tremendous cheering.) And we will come, not only to thank you for what you have done, but to entreat you to re-engage your eloquent and devoted agent in those labours, which, I trust, will never cease until Slavery be banished from the face of the earth. (Cheers.)

Mr THOMPSON came forward, and was received with shouts of applause from all parts of the house. He said there were some occasions in which it could scarcely be affirmed that he was a man of few words; but when he had to speak of himself, such might be said with great truth. Occasions like the present completely unmanned him; it was impossible for him to speak to such a resolution. He could only say, that all his soul, and mind, and strength—every feeling of his heart, and all his power of judgment, would continue to be employed in the holy, the glorious, the inspiring cause, to which he had so long been attached. (Great cheering.) But he had another and a better topic on which to speak. Thank God, we lived in a time, when instead of idly looking back to the deeds of their ancestors, men are eagerly engaged in providing for the future—in ad-

vancing freedom and civilization. For his part, he was not one of those who wished to have nothing to do; he was no fresh water sailor. (Cheers.) He was glad when he found something with which to contend. He did not rejoice in the existence of Slavery; but he rejoiced in being actively engaged in its suppression. Mr Thompson then congratulated the meeting on the progress which Abolition principles were making in America. The Abolition Societies had increased from 300 to near 1000; the Churches had begun to rise in their strength, and the public mind of America was awaking from slumber. On looking around, there was much to inspire, and they might joyfully buckle on their armour for another campaign. In his usual animated and forcible manner, he exhorted the meeting to persevere in the work they had taken in hand; he thanked them for the suffrages they had that night bestowed upon him, and said that, with the assurance of their continued favour, he would go onwards in the course he had already pursued. Mr Thompson sat down amid the cheers of the meeting. But on the chairman intimating that the Rev. Dr Kidston, who was to move the next resolution, had found it impossible, from the pressure of other public business, as yet to get forward,

Mr T. continued,—Mr Chairman; Ladies and gentlemen, I rise to submit a series of resolutions on the subject of Texas. These resolutions are conceived in a spirit of deep indignation at what I deem a murderous blow at the cause of human rights, and they are expressed in language correspondingly strong. It is necessary I should solicit some indulgence while I state such facts as will justify the views embodied in these resolutions, and dispose this Society to adopt them with unanimity. (Loud cheering.)

No movement of the present day has a more important bearing upon the objects of this Society than the present struggle in Texas. The issues of this question, whatever they may be, will affect the liberties and happiness of many millions of the human family. Should the Texian arms be victorious, the Slavery of the United States will be perpetuated to an indefinite extent, and the Slave-trade, with all its horrid features, be revived.

Texas is that portion of the North American Continent comprised between the mouths and the sources of the Sabine and Rio del Norte rivers; between the 27th and 35th degrees of North latitude, and the 94th and 104th parallels of West longitude. It is a beautiful and fertile country, covering nearly two hundred millions of English acres.* Though lying immediately contiguous to the State of Louisiana, Texas is almost entirely free from the malaria, so fatal to the Anglo-Saxon and his descendants on the Eastern bank of the Mississippi. Texas has been termed the Italy of the West—the garden of North America. The whole of this country belongs to Mexico. At present it is the scene of an important struggle—the government of Mexico seeking to subdue to order and allegiance a revolted province, and Texas aiming to become, first, an independent republic, and next, one of the United States of America. I have no time to dwell upon the position, natural advantages, and almost boundless capacity for improvement, of this country, and shall satisfy myself with reading a short extract from the *North American Review*, of July, 1836:—

“Texas possesses great natural beauty and fertility. It is intersected by the Trinity, the Brazos, the Colorado, the Guadaloupe, and some smaller streams, which rise in the springs of the rocky mountains, forming a ridge generally called the Sievia Morena, and after a comparatively short course, fall into the gulf of Mexico. The country is very open, being principally composed of extensive prairies; but the alluvial upon the water courses, covered with wood or cane, is admirably adapted to the culture of Cotton and Sugar, and the open plains to the raising of cattle to an unlimited extent. During the existence of the Spanish Government, the natural resources of this beautiful country appear to have been wholly unknown, or never appreciated. * * * * * At the period we speak of, these extensive and woodless plains were the haunts of innumerable droves of horses, ‘desert-born;’ and nothing can be imagined more grand than their movements in squadrons of thousands, when frightened by the approach of the solitary traveller.

* For a very interesting account of this country, the reader is referred to a series of articles in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

" A thousand horse, and none to ride,
 With flowing tail and flying mane ;
 Wide nostrils never stretched with pain ;
 Mouths bloodless by the bit or rein ;
 And feet that iron never shod ;
 And flanks unscarr'd by spear or rod.
 A thousand horse, the wild, the free,
 Like waves that follow o'er the sea,
 Come thickly thundering on."

Texas is an interesting portion of the globe, in whatever aspect it is viewed.

Politically, as affecting the value and security of many of our Colonial possessions, and the observance of treaties which have been solemnly signed and ratified both on this side of the Atlantic and the other. As connected also with a country to which we have advanced 70,000,000 of dollars, the reimbursement of which depends upon the prosperity of the nation at large. As unfolding the policy of the United States' people and government, and their ultimate designs upon the various territories adjacent to their own. As shaping the destiny and moulding the political character of the United States. These, however, are not the considerations which render the question one of importance to this Society, or induce me to stand forth as the mover of the resolutions I hold in my hand. While the merchant and the statesman may look into this question with interest, it is for the philanthropist to appreciate its peculiar and paramount importance. (Great cheering.)

My design to-night is to demonstrate, that there is an unholy league between the rebel Texians and the Slave-holders of the United States, aided by grasping land speculators in the free States, to dismember the Mexican territory ; to establish domestic Slavery ; to re-open an immense Slave-market ; to set up the shambles for human flesh ; and then annex the whole to the United States ; that thereby the Slave-holding portion of the ' Union ' may wield a preponderating influence, and the conquest of Texas be the first of a series of aggressive movements, which shall at no distant day bring the entire Mexican territory under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon Slave-holder, and the cart-whip be the symbol of supremacy from the banks of the Potomac, to the Isthmus of Panama.

The history of the present unholy attempt to rob Mexico of Texas, presents in striking colours the tendency of that accursed system which reduces to the condition of animated machines, put in motion by the scourge, the immortal offspring of God. It shows that those who have so far trampled on the divine law, as to make merchandise of men,

" Are fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

The United States furnish at the present moment the instructive, though humiliating example, of a civilized, republican, and nominally Christian nation, in the middle of the 19th century, turning away from the claims of humanity, and the dictates of religion, and the teachings of the times, and rushing with mad and guilty delirium into a strife, in which nothing can be gained but an increase of blood-stained territory, and an extended revenue of deep dishonour.

In the year 1819, the United States became possessed of Florida, a peninsular of nearly 600 miles in length, and 90 in breadth ; stretching out into the Atlantic Ocean, commanding the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribean Sea. Prior to 1819, Florida belonged to Spain. The United States desired to possess it on account of its commanding position—its value as a cotton growing country—and because it was a refuge for run-away Slaves from Georgia. England reluctantly consented to the purchase, with the understanding that the United States' territory should never extend westward of the Sabine river. All the maps subsequently published have made the Sabine the boundary line between Mexico and the United States. The question was finally settled in 1832, by negotiation between the two countries. The following is an extract from the 2d article in the Treaty :—

" The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude ; thence by a line due north to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River ; then, following the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington ;

then crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a line due north, to the River Arkansas, to its source, in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Mellish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818."

Prior to 1820, Texas was comparatively unknown to the land-speculators of the United States. A few persons from the United States had established themselves in the eastern part of the province, as Indian traders and unauthorized adventurers. Besides these, the tenants of the vast and beautiful district were the Aboriginal *red men of the country*, and the Mexican inhabitants of a few scattered towns: Texas and the whole of Mexico were in possession of Spain.

The first regular plan for colonization was a privilege granted to a person of the name of Moses Austin, a native of Missouri; who, after surveying the land, obtained from the Spanish authorities a large tract, on condition that he introduced 300 families of industrious orderly settlers, within a given time. Then commenced the colonization of Texas. Moses Austin returned to Missouri: before his arrangements were completed, he *died*. He was succeeded by his son S. F. Austin, who determined to follow out the plan of his father, and ultimately repaired to Texas with a considerable number of families from the States of Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana.

Prior, however, to his obtaining legal settlement for himself and the families who accompanied him, the Revolution of Mexico took place, which annulled the authority of Spain, and resulted in the separation of all the Mexican provinces from the Spanish crown. These circumstances rendered it necessary for Austin to apply to the new government for a confirmation of his father's grant; this was obtained with little difficulty, in a modified form. The Mexican government pursued the most liberal and generous policy towards the contractor and settlers; exempting them from all duties on articles imported for their own consumption, and all taxes for the support of government, for the term of ten years from their settlement. The settlers on their part promised obedience to the laws of Mexico, and were legally subject to all the regulations of the Mexican government.

The Mexicans having in 1822 succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spain, became an independent nation, and established a government similar in its general principles and features to that of the United States. The constitution was formed and adopted in 1824; and the first Congress convened in January, 1825. The republic, besides five territories, were divided into nineteen states, Texas with Coahuila forming one of them. The population of Mexico, estimated at eight millions, was composed, with the exception of Texas, of European Indians, a mixed race of Whites and Indians, Whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Indians.—I proceed to notice another feature in the history of Texas.

As soon as Mr Adams came into office, (1825,) Mr Poinsett of South Carolina, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico. Mr Poinsett was in Mexico five years, and during that time did his utmost to effect the annexation of Texas to the territory of the United States. What share Mr Adams had in the design does not appear. It is quite certain, however, that Mr Poinsett acted as the representative of a large and powerful party in the United States.

There are no official documents in existence to throw light on the proceedings of that skilful diplomatist in this matter. The United States' government have kept them a profound secret. Some facts, however, are known. Mr Poinsett found that the constitution of Mexico had *fixed* the national domain, and that no administration could, without a violation of the constitution, cede one foot of it. He soon learned that the Mexicans were sensitive on the subject. In fact, the general murmur was so great that he was obliged to substitute secret machination for open negotiation. He sought to avail himself of the intestine divisions, and political animosities, with which Mexico was unhappily distracted. It was at his house, and under the sanction of the American flag, that the conspirators for expelling the President, *Pedraza*, held their consultations. He identified himself with a faction in that country, and was the master-spirit of one of the great political parties!

After General Jackson came into power, Mr Poinsett's diplomacy assumed an unwonted activity. This was not more the result of fresh instructions than of a political event which made much noise in the New World. In the summer of 1829 an expedition sailed from Cuba, conveyed chiefly by *American* vessels, for the purpose of re-conquering Mexico. At this juncture, Mr Poinsett offered

the government the loan of 10,000,000 dollars, *to be secured by mortgage of Texas* Had Mexico acceded to the insidious proposal, she would never have seen Texas more. Mr Ward, British Minister, in his work on Mexico, significantly observes that he "was never informed what security the United States proposed for the restoration of the territory, in the event of the money being repaid." In 1829 Mr Poinsett was recalled, and left Mexico amidst the general execrations of the people and government. But to return.

By an article in the constitution of 1824, it was provided, that no one should thereafter be born or brought a Slave within the limits of Mexico; and by another it was provided that Slavery should be entirely abolished in 1829. The first of these articles the Texian emigrants contrived to evade, by taking their Slaves with them, held as apprentices, some of them for the term of *ninety-nine* years. (A laugh.) The year 1829 arrived, and Gen. Guerrero, the President, in conformity to the latter article, issued a decree abolishing Slavery throughout Mexico. A change in the administration of the government took place soon after, and representations were made to the General Congress of Mexico, setting forth that many of the Slaves introduced by the Texian colonists, were so extremely ignorant as to be unfit for freedom; and a dispensation of the aforesaid decree was granted, so far only as related to Texas. To remedy the abuses of the apprenticeship system, (a system which differed from absolute and perpetual Slavery only in name,) a law was enacted, making void all indentures, or contracts for labour, in ten years from their date. To get rid of these restrictions, and for the purpose of attaining other objects, the Texians, in 1833, called a convention to draft a State Constitution for Texas. Such was the haste of the Anglo-Saxon Slave-holders and office seekers of Texas, that the convention was assembled without having been legally authorized to enter upon the performance of the duties which it assumed. A draft of a constitution was prepared by that body, and Stephen F. Austin was deputed as the bearer of it to the capital of the Republic, to apply for its ratification by the General Congress. The constitution, principally because it contained no prohibition of Slavery, was promptly *rejected* by the Congress. Many of the colonists, and even some of the members of the convention, openly admitted, in conversation with the citizens of the United States, that it was the special *design* of the framers of that instrument, to leave it open for the re-establishment of Slavery, under the sovereign authority of the contemplated State Government. Nay more, even while the convention was in session, a Slave-trader boldly landed a cargo of Slaves in Texas, from Africa, *via* Cuba. This was such a bare-faced violation of the laws of Mexico, and the treaties with other nations, that the convention felt the necessity of passing a *formal* censure upon the conduct of the Slaver. Yet some of the members warmly opposed it! and nothing was done to punish the "pirate," although it was publicly known that he was for some length of time in the country, making sale of his Slaves, not far distant from the place where the convention met. A short time after, a similar cargo was introduced, and disposed of with like impunity.

"On learning the fate of their proposition at the seat of Government, the clamours and complaints of the *movement* party in Texas were loud and general. To preserve his popularity with that party, Austin was said to have acted very insolently toward the federal authorities. A little difficulty, at least, occurred between them; which, however, was soon adjusted. But finding that he could not then obtain the sanction of Congress, to the measure of establishing a State Government for Texas, separate from Coahuila, he wrote to the Ayuntamiento (Council) of the municipality of San Antonio de Bexar, recommending an immediate organization for the purpose. It is also believed that he recommended the same thing to the other municipalities in Texas. A majority of the Ayuntamiento of Bexar were native Mexicans, and indisposed to second the rash proposition of Austin, and the reckless proceedings of some of the other colonists. Instead thereof, that body passed resolutions severely censuring this act of Austin, and sent an official statement of the whole proceedings to the Governor of Coahuila and Texas. He immediately communicated the same to the Federal Executive; and orders were issued for Austin's apprehension. The latter had been informed of the measures adopted by the Ayuntamiento of San Antonio de Bexar, and quitted the capital before the Executive had received the documents. A force was instantly despatched in pursuit of him, and he was overtaken at Saltillo, having merely crossed the boundary line and entered the State of Coahuila and Texas. He was forthwith remanded to the seat of Government, and committed to prison, to await his trial upon

a charge of treasonable conspiracy, or insubordination to the laws of the republic.”*

Austin remained in confinement upwards of eighteen months, and was finally liberated through the clemency of the federal authorities, and he again left the capital—having pledged himself, it was stated, to use his influence in preserving the political tranquility of Texas.

“Previous to the arrival of Austin in Texas, a small number of troops reached its southern borders, under General Cos. The Government had not contemplated an open resistance on the part of the Colonists to the re-establishment of the Custom-Houses, the enforcement of the laws, &c., and did not send an adequate number to compel their obedience. But, true to their long-settled determination, they proceeded to arrest the march of the Mexican troops into that part of the country. Austin had visited New Orleans on his way home. There the future plans of operation were concocted. He was accompanied to Texas by some daring adventurers. An army was immediately organized. Mexican revenue cutters were seized, under the charge of pirating upon the commerce of the United States, in the Gulf of Mexico. The troops under General Cos were driven into the fort at San Antonio de Bexar. Expeditions were fitted out in various parts of the United States, and auxiliary forces proceeded to the assistance of the Colonists, under the guise of emigrant settlers. An agent of the Texas land speculators in New York was stationed at New Orleans, for the express purpose of forwarding these ‘emigrants,’ &c. Austin took the command of the colonial army, but he soon thereafter relinquished the office, leaving the Mexican troops besieged at San Antonio. He never was popular with the turbulent spirits in Texas; and they now got him out of their way, by giving him the appointment of Commissioner to procure further aid, both physical and pecuniary, from the United States.”† No sooner were the rebel Texians fairly in arms against the Mexican Government, upon the hypocritical pretext of attachment to the constitution of 1824,—a constitution they had evaded and violated, than the press of the United States sounded the note of preparation for a grand attempt to effect the overthrow of the Mexican authority in Texas, and annex that fertile region to the United States. The most glowing appeals were made to the citizens for supplies of arms and ammunition, loans of money, and the raising of volunteer corps; and such descriptions were given of the country to be conquered, as were likely to tempt the cupidity of all classes. The appeal was not made in vain. A wide sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon Texians was every where created, and liberal supplies of money and men were obtained. Commissioners from Texas travelled through the United States holding meetings, attending dinners, and organizing Committees, every where denouncing the tyranny of the Mexicans, and imploring the sympathy and aid of the United States’ people. The giddy, the adventurous, the avaricious, and the warlike, eagerly embarked in the guilty crusade. Large offers of land were made to such as volunteered in the revolutionary army, and the land speculators, in all directions, did their utmost to fan the flame, knowing, that upon the issue of the contest depended the value of their assumed title to the broad acres of which they had become, many of them, the fraudulent claimants.

All this was permitted by the United States’ Government, notwithstanding the explicit language of treaties and laws. The following may be cited. In the first article of a treaty, concluded April 5th, 1831, it is provided:—

“There shall be firm, inviolable, universal peace, and true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and *between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places.*”

The thirty-fourth article of this treaty farther declares:—

“If any one, or more, of the citizens of either party, shall infringe any of the articles of this treaty, such citizens shall be held personally responsible for the same.”

Again, the following sections are taken from an act of Congress, of April 20th, 1818:—

Sec. 48. “If any citizen of the United States shall, within the territory or

* For the above extract, and much besides that is contained in this speech, I am indebted to a pamphlet by Mr Benjamin Lundy of Philadelphia, a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

† Mr Lundy’s pamphlet on Texas.

jurisdiction thereof, accept or exercise a commission to serve a people, &c., in war, against a people, &c., with whom the United States are at peace, such person shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor," &c.

Sec. 49. "If any person, &c., shall enlist, &c., or hire, or retain another person, &c., to go beyond the limits, &c., of the United States, with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign people, &c., every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor."

Sec. 53. "If any person shall, within the territory, &c., of the United States, begin, or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence, against the territory, &c., of a people with whom the United States are at peace, any person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor," &c.

In the enthusiasm excited in behalf of the rebel Texians, even the *females* of the United States shared, and Committees of ladies in the Slave-holding States were appointed for the purpose of equipping regiments, styling themselves "The Ladies' Cavalry,"—"The Ladies' Legion," &c.

On the 1st of April, 1833, an army headed by Santa Anna, in person, entered Texas; the President was at first successful, but on the 21st of the month, the rising of the river Brazos, cutting off his retreat to the main body of his army, he was taken prisoner, and the victory was gained by the Texians.

Let me here notice the conduct exhibited by the United States' Government. We have seen that treaties were violated, and laws set at naught with impunity, by the permission given to "commissioners," "agents," demagogues, and other pliant tools of the designing Slave-holders, to traverse the country and raise supplies of every kind for men who were enacting treason against a Government they were bound, by every tie of duty and gratitude, to respect and obey. General Jackson winked at these things, and professed to think them inevitable and unavoidable, and stoutly maintained that the intentions of the Government were pacific. While the Abolitionists were every where denounced and exposed to the most eminent peril for pleading in behalf of the liberty of two millions and a half of American born citizens, the tyrants and traitors of Texas were every where welcomed and caressed. The laws were doubly violated by extremes of conduct. With reference to the Abolitionists, it was violated by the passage of GAG LAWS and the felonious interception of their publications, and in the case of the Texians by permitting their agents and friends to make the United States the theatre of their preparations for the dismemberment of a country with which the United States were at peace. The celebrated Aaron Burr, once Vice-President of the United States, was tried for high treason for an alleged offence of a character precisely similar to the acts which have been committed every day for the last year, by distinguished citizens of the United States, and even members of the Government. Let us see how general Jackson proved the sincerity of his professions. No sooner were the Texians in arms, than under pretence of defending the frontier from the effects of an Indian war, General Gaines was despatched with an army to the bank of the Sabine river, and a million of dollars placed at the disposal of the President in case of an emergency. General Gaines having safely reached the eastern bank of the boundary river, soon received orders to cross with his men and station himself at Nacogdoches, a town seventy miles within the Mexican territory. A more bare-faced invasion of a foreign country was never committed. No sooner had General Gaines reached Nacogdoches, than large numbers of his men, in full uniform, and well stocked with arms and ammunition, all paid for by the United States; *deserted to the Texian army*, commanded by General Houston, a bosom friend of General Jackson's! In vain did the Mexican minister at Washington, remonstrate against such flagrant conduct. He was from time to time put off by plausible excuses; until, filled with disgust, he asked permission to depart, leaving behind him a protest against the conduct of the United States' Government, calculated to raise a blush of shame upon the cheek of every citizen of that country, not lost to every feeling of honour and consistency. I shall here read a few passages from the brilliant and high-toned speech of John Quincy Adams, the ex-President of the United States, delivered in Congress in May last. Let me first observe, that the United States' Government has recently shown a fixed determination to go to war with Mexico, and by the overwhelming force of the war-like power of the United States, crush the Mexican nation, rather than see the Texians overcome by the Government from which they have revolted.

"You have been, if you are not now, at the very point of a war with Mexico—

a war, I am sorry to say, so far as public rumour may be credited, stimulated by provocations on our part from the very commencement of this administration, down to the recent authority given to General Gaines to invade the Mexican territory. It is said that one of the earliest acts of this administration was a proposal, made at a time when there was already much ill-humour in Mexico against the United States, that she should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory—large enough to constitute nine States equal in extent to Kentucky. It must be confessed that a device better calculated to produce jealousy, suspicion, ill-will, and hatred, could not have been contrived. It is further affirmed that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with Slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which Slavery had been abolished throughout that Republic.

“The war now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, and a war for the re-establishment of Slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between Slavery and Emancipation, and every possible effort has been made to drive us into the war, on the side of Slavery.

* * * * *

“It has struck me as no inconsiderable evidence of the spirit which is spurring us into this war of aggression, of conquest, and of Slave-making, that all the fires of ancient, hereditary national hatred are to be kindled, to familiarize us with the ferocious spirit of rejoicing at the massacre of prisoners in cold blood. Sir, is there not yet hatred enough between the races which compose your Southern population and the population of Mexico, their next neighbour, but you must go back eight hundred or a thousand years, and to another hemisphere, for the fountains of bitterness between you and them? What is the temper of feeling between the component parts of your own Southern population, between your Anglo-Saxon, Norman French, and Moorish Spanish inhabitants of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri?—between them all and the Indian savage, the original possessor of the land from which you are scourging him already, back to the foot of the Rocky Mountains? What between them all and the native American negro, of African origin, whom they are holding in cruel bondage? Are these elements of harmony, concord, and patriotism between the component parts of a nation starting upon a crusade of conquest? And what are the feelings of all this motley compound of your Southern population towards the compound equally heterogeneous of the Mexican population? Do not you, an Anglo-Saxon, Slave-holding exterminator of Indians, from the bottom of your soul, hate the Mexican-Spaniard-Indian, emancipator of Slaves and abolisher of Slavery? And do you think that your hatred is not with equal cordiality returned? Go to the city of Mexico, ask any of your fellow-citizens who have been there for the last three or four years, whether they scarcely dare show their faces, as Anglo-Americans, in the streets. Be assured, Sir, that however heartily you detest the Mexican, his bosom burns with an equally deep seated detestation of you.

“And this is the nation with which, at the instigation of your Executive Government, you are now rushing into war—into a war of conquest; commenced by aggression on your part, and for the re-establishment of Slavery, where it has been abolished, throughout the Mexican Republic.

* * * * *

“In that war, Sir, the banners of *freedom* will be the banners of Mexico; and your banners, I blush to speak the word, will be the banners of Slavery. But will your foreign war for this be with Mexico alone? No, Sir. As the weaker party, Mexico, when the contest shall have once begun, will look abroad, as well as among your Negroes and your Indians, for assistance. Neither Great Britain nor France will suffer you to make such a conquest from Mexico; no, nor even to annex the independent State of Texas to your confederation, without their interposition. You will have an Anglo-Saxon intertwined with a Mexican war to wage. Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, as a barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandisement to you, she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of Slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished Slavery throughout all her Colonies in the West Indies.

After setting such an example, she will not—it is impossible that she should—stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of Slavery where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighbourhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your confederacy, it must be without the taint or the trammels of Slavery; and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow-man, she will wage the war against you to break his chains. Sir, what a figure in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she, fighting the battles of Emancipation, and you the battles of Slavery; she, the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of Emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national rivalry, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandisement. No war was ever so popular in England as that war would be against Slavery, the Slave-trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

“At this time circumstances have changed, popular revolutions, both in France and Great Britain, have, perhaps, curbed the spirit of conquest in Great Britain, and France may have enough to do to govern her kingdom of Algiers. But Spain is again convulsed with a civil war for the succession to her crown; she has irretrievably lost all her colonies in both continents of America. It is impossible that she should hold much longer a shadow of dominion over the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; nor can those islands, in their present condition, form independent nations, capable of protecting themselves. They must for ages remain at the mercy of Great Britain, or of these United States, or of both. Great Britain is even now about to interfere in this war for the Spanish succession. If, by the utter imbecility of the Mexican confederacy, this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on with indifference while this operation is performing. She will see that it must shake her whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Carribean Seas, like an earthquake; she will see too that it endangers her own abolition of Slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of Slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colours in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain, or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you in return, by what authority you have extended your sea coast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely, by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of men. She will carry Emancipation and Abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapours of oppression; and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task-master.” (Loud cheers.)

In proof of the truth of Mr Adams’s statement of the object of the war in Texas, as well as in support of the resolutions, I shall presently read,—I shall cite an authority of the highest kind,—I shall make the Texians themselves declare their ultimate intentions. Let me crave special attention to an extract from the Constitution adopted by the Texians a few months ago. I shall not here attempt to characterize it as it deserves, but leave it without note or comment, to be considered by every freeman and lover of the species, without respect of colour.

“SECTION IX.—All persons of colour who were Slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, SHALL REMAIN in the like state of servitude, provided the said Slave shall be the bona fide PROPERTY of the person so holding said Slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their Slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such Slaves were held in the United States; NOR SHALL CONGRESS HAVE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; nor shall any Slave-holder be allowed to Emancipate his or her Slave or Slaves, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her Slave or Slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or part, SHALL BE PERMITTED TO RESIDE permanently in the Republic, with the consent of the Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or Negroes into the Republic, EXCEPTING FROM

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy."

Let me also put on record the deliberate opinions of the Abolitionists of America on this subject.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May, 1836:—

"On the motion of GERRIT SMITH, Esq.,—*Resolved*, That it is evident that the present struggle in Texas against the Government of Mexico is mainly for the extension and perpetuity of Slavery, and therefore deserves the strongest reprobation of the friends of liberty and humanity; and that we fully believe that the independence of Texas, or its requisition by our Government under these circumstances, would be mournfully disastrous to the cause of the coloured race,—of Liberty, Republicanism, and Christianity."

The following was passed at the Anniversary of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, October, 1836:—

"*Resolved*, That we recognize in the Texian rebellion a scheme for robbing Mexico of her territory, for the purpose of re-establishing Slavery upon it; and that we regard the exclusive privilege of supplying the Slave-market of Texas, recently granted to this country, as an insult to the moral sense of the nation, and also as a bribe to facilitate the admission into the American Union of a loathsome republic, which, while pretending attachment to liberty, is seeking to establish and perpetuate the most horrible and abominable despotism."

The following are resolutions and a memorial adopted at a large and important Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, in February, 1837, and attended by upwards of 160 delegates from all parts of the State. The Convention was called to form a State Anti-Slavery Society:—

"*Resolved*, That all Anti-Slavery Societies, and friends of the cause throughout the United States, be requested to use proper exertions for the dissemination of correct information upon the subject of the contemplated re-establishment of Slavery in Texas, &c., and also that they endeavour to impress on the minds of the people generally a sense of the danger which menaces our free institutions from that source.

"*Resolved*, That the following memorial and remonstrance be presented to the Congress of the United States, at as early a period as may be practicable, during the present session of that body:—

MEMORIAL.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives, of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

"The memorial of the Convention for the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society for the State of Pennsylvania, assembled at Harrisburg, respectfully sheweth:

"That your memorialists have learned with sorrow and alarm, that a proposition is at this time before your honourable body, to recognize the independence of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas. Against this measure, your memorialists in behalf of themselves, of the thousands whom they represent, and of the principles long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania; in the name of liberty, justice, and humanity, enter their SOLEMN AND UNITED PROTEST.

"Facts incontrovertible, which have come to the knowledge of your memorialists, warrant the belief that the insurrection in Texas, has been aided by citizens of the United States, that its main object, the grand cause of the movement, as evinced by the sentiments and conduct of its advocates, and by the very constitution of their assumed Government, is the establishment of domestic Slavery, the re-opening of an immense Slave-market—to set up anew the shambles for human flesh, where the abhorrent traffic had been arrested and abolished by the legitimate authorities of Mexico—and finally, to annex the territory to the United States. From a regard to the national honour; for the character of the age in which we live; by their obligations to posterity; and above all, to the God of justice, your memorialists feel themselves called upon as Pennsylvanians, the representatives of freemen and Christians, to offer their strong remonstrance against any act on the part of the country of which they are citizens, which shall sanction or recognize a Government which owes its origin to the base and unhallowed purpose of re-establishing Slavery upon the soil of liberty.

"Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honourable body, to reject the proposition for the recognition of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas, as well as all attempts that may be made to connect it with the United States, and as in duty bound we will ever pray, &c.

"Signed in behalf of the Convention,

"F. JULIUS LE MOYNE, PRESIDENT."

The following is from the *Boston Courier* of May 23d, 1836. This paper is opposed to the Abolitionists:—

"SLAVERY IN TEXAS.—Some people are, or affect to be, much surprised that the southern and south-western members of Congress are so unanimous in their wish that Texas may become an independent State. The problem, if it be one, is of easy solution. If it can be severed from the Mexican government, it will be a vast Slave-market—we had almost said, a *menagerie* for the production of BLACK cattle. If it can be united to our Republic, it would be, ere the lapse of many years, cut up into several new States, with constitutions like those of Arkansas and Missouri, entailing upon the coloured population eternal Slavery. The north and the west ought to raise its voice against such a project, which, if successful, would subject them for ever to the domination of the Slave-holding States."

The *Buffalo Spectator* says,—“We regard the conduct of the Texians in the light of a rebellion, and believe their object is to ESTABLISH AND PERPETUATE SLAVERY AND EXTEND THE SLAVE-TRADE. This is our deliberate conviction, and we express it without hesitation, believing that the friends of humanity and true liberty are called upon to expose the iniquitous schemes that are carried on in that country, under a pretence of ‘a struggle for liberty against cruel oppression.’”

The *Boston Atlas*,—another paper opposed to the abolitionists, enquires,—“And who are the leaders in this ‘heroic struggle?’ General Houston, once governor of Tennessee, but since that, a chief of the Cherokees, a miserable vagabond and brawler, lately enacting Lynch’s Law at Washington, now the apostle of Texian freedom. Robert Potter, once a member of Congress, but infamous throughout the union for his bloody brutality, and universal scoundrelism—lately the tenant of a state prison—expelled with scorn and contempt from the legislature of North Carolina—‘now a great character’ in Texas. Add to these, all the murderers, swindlers, and horse thieves, who have fled the Southern States for the last ten years, and the list of Texian heroes will be complete.

“These people may be, in the opinion of North Americans, fit to instruct the poor benighted Mexicans, in the science of liberty and good government; but the only discoveries they have yet offered to introduce among them, are Slavery and Lynch’s Law—two grand republican panaceas, of which if Mexicans cannot yet apprehend the sublime merits, the extreme darkness of their ignorance must be their excuse.”

Yet in such a cause the following language is employed in an address to the Texian army, composed of the filth and offscouring of the United States:—

“Let then every patriot and soldier, every worthy citizen who abhors the name of traitor, and contemns the vile epithet of coward, rally to the call promptly around the unfurled banner of freedom: let him repair with impatient zeal to the theatre of his nation’s glory, and there snatch, upon the brink of danger, fame for himself and safety for his country. The dastard who lingers behind may live to fatten upon the fruits of his recreancy, but when he dies he rots in infamy to the joy of all: whilst the noble hero, who makes his bosom the bulwark of a people’s liberty, will find a rich reward for toil and valour, in the thanks of a grateful land, and the smiles of its high-toned beauty. If he fall in the holy cause, he will still survive in the affections of his comrades, and his name will gather glory with the flight of ages.

‘Each little rill, each mountain river,
Rolls mingled with his fame for ever.’

“Citizens of the Red Lands! You are looked to for aid in this second struggle for independence. Your contributions, heretofore, have not been proportionate to your population. Few of you have participated in the toils and glory of the

strife. Your homes have been exempt from the calamities of war; for that exemption you are indebted to the gallantry of your more exposed and suffering countrymen. Whatever circumstances may have restrained you before, there can remain no reasons to withhold you now. We know your courage. Your skill in arms is familiar to us all. Your country requires the immediate exhibition of both; let both be displayed when the great and decisive battle which is pending shall be fought; and Texas is free, sovereign, and independent! Hold not back, I adjure you, by every principle of honour, of gratitude, and of patriotism. If any man amongst you prove a recreant now, let him be stigmatized, treat him as an outcast, and let a nation's contempt rest like a black cloud upon his name. The call *en masse* let all obey, and all will be well.

Referring to some who had fallen in battle he says,—“Their glorified spirits, still hovering round the home of their patriotic devotion, call upon you to sustain the independence which they have consecrated by their martyrdom, and to recompense with merited vengeance the wrongs they have endured from a perfidious and dastard enemy.”

Such falsehood and impiety fill the mind with horror and disgust, and we turn from the scene to weep over the wickedness and inconsistency of man. Who can read the following song of Slave-drivers, fighting for the privilege of buying and selling human flesh, without a feeling of irrepressible indignation. Such conduct brings republicanism into contempt, and curls with scorn the lip of every European despot:—

TEXAS WAR SONG.

Wake! ye sons of Texas wake!
 God and freedom call you now,
 Life and honour are at stake,
 Will ye to a tyrant bow?
 Will ye kiss the cruel chain,
 Will ye raise a fettered hand,
 Will ye bend and cringe again,
 Offspring of a favoured land?

Grasp the sword, unsheath the blade,
 For your altars and your fires,
 God your struggling arms will aid,
 Strike as sons of valiant sires!
 Let each blow for victory tell;
 Curs'd be him who turns to fly,
 Raise the war-cry loud and shrill,
 Spread it—“Death or Liberty!”

Tell the tyrants that ye scorn
 Life without its dearest tie:
 Tell them, Slaves ye were not born,
 Tell them, Slaves ye will not die!
 Tell them how your fathers fought,
 How they conquered—how they fell,
 Point to them each honoured spot—
 Where was sung a tyrant's knell!

Tell them ye can strike as sure,
 Ye have hearts as bold as they,
 Ye have homes and altars pure,
 Rights which none shall wrest away;
 Arm to arm, and side to side,
 Dare as men to live or die;
 Spread the watch-word, spread it wide,
 Shout it—“Death or Liberty!”

Such are the history and principal features of the Texan revolution. It was concerted by planters and Slave speculators in the Southern States, ever since the first permission given to Moses Austin, in the year 1820, to introduce 300 families as colonists of a grant of land obtained from the Spanish government. From that time to the present moment the aggressions have been on the part of the colonists, under the sanction of the southern speculators; and not until their purpose of getting a physical force into the province, which should detach it from Mexico, and make it a Slave-holding state, became flagrant and undisguised, had the settlers ever received aught but protection, encouragement, toleration and kindness from the Mexican government. They paid no taxes, had their own laws and tribunals; were allowed to profess and exercise all the

religious they chose, though contrary to the Mexican constitution; enjoyed all the fruits of a beautiful and bounteous soil, without return or tribute to the government to which it belonged, and were, without exception, the freest civilized people on the face of the earth. But the object of the colonizing land agents of the South, was to make this prolific province their own, and the field of a new and lucrative Negro Slavery. They have so far succeeded, and there is reason to fear, that Texas will be soon incorporated with the United States, and rapidly settled by Slave-holders from all the middle and Southern States of the Union. The Mexicans labour under every possible disadvantage in the struggle. There is much internal derangement and conflict of parties—their army is comparatively ill-disciplined—their exchequer is exhausted. They have opposed to them the Anglo-American Texan settler, who hates the Mexican on account of his *colour* and his *opposition to Slavery*, and who is determined to become a citizen of that part of the Continent with which he stands connected by birth, blood, political connections, and Slave-holding. In the United States, the Slave breeder, the Slave trader, the land speculator, and the Southern statesman, are all desirous of possessing Texas, and determined to resort to every means of obtaining it, not excepting a war of aggression against the whole Mexican territory.

An interesting debate on this subject took place in the House of Commons on the 5th of August last, occasioned by a motion made by Mr Barlow Hoy, for an address to the Crown, to take such measures as might be proper for the fulfilment of the existing treaty, by which this country was bound to co-operate with Mexico. He was of opinion that England ought not only to remonstrate with America, but have a naval force on the coast to support Mexico against American aggressions. Unless Mexico was assisted as she ought to be by this country, she would fall an easy victim to the ambition of the United States of America.

Mr Ward (formerly minister to Mexico) seconded the motion. To Texas the United States had long turned covetous eyes, and to obtain possession of that province had been the first object of its policy.

During his residence in Mexico, America contrived to have a proposal made to the Mexican Government, offering 10,000,000 dollars, for certain privileges in Texas, and that proposition having been refused, America then proceeded to encourage the settlement in Texas of the refuse of her own Southern States, who took possession of the land without title, or pretension to any title, and thus drew into it a population exclusively Slave and American. A declaration of independence next followed.—That declaration issued from men recognizing no law, and signed by only one Mexican, the President of the province, a man of talent, it was true, but who had dealt most largely in Texian lands, and sought his own advantage. He was supposed to have formed a connexion with some influential men of the American Cabinet, and amongst them with Mr Forsyth. What then had followed? America having created a population in Texas in the way he had stated, and having given to it every possible assistance, a committee of foreign relations in the Senate made a Report signed by Mr Clay, for whom he entertained a high respect, discussing the necessity of recognizing the declaration of the independence of Texas.

Lord Palmerston assured the House of the earnest desire of the Government to put down the Slave-trade.

His Majesty's Government had no agent in the province of Texas, and they had only lately received information from the British Minister at Mexico bearing on an illicit trade in Slaves, supposed to be carried on in Texas. It would be a great evil, much to be deplored, if the course of the civil war were to lead to the extension or re-establishment of Slavery. That was a matter deserving the attention of the House. Mr Hoy's motion was finally withdrawn. A second debate took place on the 9th of the present month, (March), when Mr Hoy moved for copies of all correspondence between the Government of Mexico and his Majesty's Government, on the subject of Texas, from the 1st of March 1836, to the present date; also, of all correspondence between the Government of the United States of America and his Majesty's Government, on the same subject, for a like period.

An animated debate followed, and the House evinced a feeling of just indignation against the conduct of the Texians, and the party in the United States now aiding them in their unrighteous struggle. On one of the speakers observing that it would be the duty of the House to remonstrate with the Government of the United States, he was loudly cheered.

In conclusion. It is the solemn duty of the friends of freedom in this country, to lift up their voice and boldly denounce the measures of the United States in reference to Texas. It is the duty of the Government to enforce the treaties for the suppression of the Slave traffic, and it is the duty of every Abolition Society to record its strong disapprobation of a scheme for perpetuating the horrors of Slavery and the Slave-trade.

This speech, in which is incorporated so much important historical information, was listened to with the deepest attention; and the frequent impassioned appeals of Mr Thompson on behalf of the Slave, were responded to by the meeting in repeated bursts of applause.

Mr THOMPSON then moved the following Resolutions:—

Resolved,—“That it appears fully evident to this Society, that the struggle to achieve the Independence of Texas, is not a struggle for the acquirement or maintenance of Civil and Religious Liberty, but for the privilege of *holding Slaves*, and carrying on the *Slave-trade*; and that the triumph of the Texian arms would, therefore, be calamitous to the Cause of Universal Freedom:

“That the 9th Section of the Constitution adopted by the revolted Texians, demonstrates the inconsistency and falsehood of their profession of attachment to the principles of righteous liberty,—is an infamous and wicked document, reflecting the deepest disgrace upon its framers, and deserving the unmitigated execration of mankind:

“That the offer made by the Texians to the United States, of an exclusive monopoly of the TRADE IN SLAVES, should have been resented as a gross insult to the moral sense of the nation; and that its acceptance is a melancholy proof of the deadening and demoralizing influence of the Slave system:

“That we regard with the highest admiration and respect, the exalted and independent conduct of the Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in the United States' Congress, in pleading for the Emancipation of the Slave, and in exposing the very suspicious conduct of the United States' Government, in regard to Mexico and Texas.”

Dr. KIDSTON having now come forward, moved the resolution assigned him—and said,

Mr Chairman, and my friends whom I now address,—I consented to take part in the proceedings of this meeting somewhat reluctantly, in compliance with the solicitation of friends whom I highly esteem, and whose exertions in behalf of the injured, the enslaved, the oppressed, are approved of by all who have been taught of God to love their neighbours as themselves; and which is of infinitely greater importance, “of the High and Holy One, who inhabiteth eternity; who hath looked down from the height of His Sanctuary to hear the groaning of the prisoner,” who hath proclaimed His compassion, saying, “For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise. I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.”

It was, Sir, with reluctance that I engaged to address this assembly on the present occasion. It is not that I am indifferent to the benevolent object which you contemplate and prosecute,—THE TOTAL AND FINAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE EXTENT OF THIS LITTLE WORLD; or that I do not approve of the measures which you have adopted and propose to adopt for this purpose. I am a decided friend of unqualified abolition; and in common with you, and all the members of this Society, I feel and acknowledge myself bound by the law of eternal righteousness, to do what I can to break the unholy bonds in which our sable brethren are held, that the oppressed may go free; and to rescue our brethren, by whom they are held in bondage, (whose skin like ours is white,) to rescue them from the heaven-daring and heaven-provoking iniquity with which they are chargeable. I will not say that there are none who more earnestly desire that your labours shall speedily be crowned with success. I must know the hearts of all the friends of the Slave who surround me; and of the millions with whom, not the British empire only, but many other lands, are replenished; and their hearts I must compare with my own, before I can be prepared to make such a sweeping statement, and I must have ascertained my superiority to all others before I can have any title to pay myself such a high compliment. I regret that in the cause of suffering and degraded humanity, humanity degraded and suffering in body and in soul, I regret that I do not feel an interest warmer by much. But this I do say in truth, that from the heart I bid you God speed; and may “they who go by say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we have blessed you in the name of the Lord. Let them shout for joy and be glad that favour our righteous cause, and let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon

us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us, yea, the work of hands, O Lord, establish thou it."

My aversion to take a prominent part in the proceedings of this Society must be traced to a very different source. I was not trained in my early days to exhibitions of this kind; and I say nothing but what I feel, when I state, that my younger brethren are much better qualified to address such an assembly as this, and on such an occasion as the present. I am not good at making platform speeches, and I do not like the employment; and I cannot divest myself of the impression, that I now stand in the place which might be occupied more efficiently by another, on whom, by my feeble voice, silence is, for the present, imposed. In spite of all my aversion, I resolved to comply with the request of your Committee; and I am confident, that in spite of all the homeliness and plainness of my speech, I shall be favoured with an indulgent and an attentive hearing; I do not say with a patient hearing, for of your patience I do not intend to make any severe trial.

The Resolution which I hold in my hand, and which I shall have the honour to propose, is the following;—"That in conformity with the Resolutions," &c., we shall remonstrate "with the people of the United States of America, especially with Christian professors there."*—That we shall remonstrate with them on the Slavery which continues to pollute that land of liberty,—on this foul blot, which darkens and disgraces her escutcheons. When you adopt this Remonstrance, and send it across the Atlantic, you carry into effect the Resolution unanimously and solemnly adopted at the last Public Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society. The Remonstrance now submitted for your approval, appears perfectly to accord with the spirit and the design of your previous Resolution. The expediency of this measure on our part, and the benefit likely to be derived from it by our brethren in America, were stated and illustrated on that occasion, and on this subject we were all of one mind; on these topics, therefore, I shall not enlarge.

There are two questions which I shall propose and answer. The first is this, Is it our duty to take an interest in the condition of the two millions and a half of our brethren in the United States of America, who wear the unrighteous, the galling yoke of Slavery, and to do what we can for their Emancipation? Every one of those whom I address has already answered this question to himself. It can admit of no answer but one,—that as men, and as Christians, we are bound by the law of heaven's Eternal King, to do what we can for the purpose of rescuing our brethren from Slavery; of raising them to the dignity of men, by making them free; of rescuing their proprietors from the crime and the guilt of holding in bondage men and women and children, whom God has made of the same blood as themselves; whose souls are immortal, and equally precious as their own; who with themselves are heirs of eternal misery or of eternal blessedness, is, I think, a self-evident truth, and must universally be acknowledged. Would to God that on this subject the conduct of mankind were in full accordance with the principles which they must, which they do acknowledge. While our attention was not directed to the condition of the enslaved millions in the States of America, ignorance pleads for us, and to a great extent is an apology for our apathy and indolence. This excuse can no longer be urged. From the eastern shores of the broad Atlantic, the cry of the enslaved, the oppressed, the miserable, has been wafted to the British Isles. It is loud, piercing, bitter melancholy. This doleful voice is accompanied by the sighs and entreaties of many thousands of our brethren in America, (that their number is rapidly increasing, we have heard with unmingled satisfaction,) who weep over the miseries of their enslaved brethren, and the wickedness of their country, the laws of which sanction this flagrant violation of the law of God, and the rights of man, and the charter of American independence, and who will be encouraged, comforted, and strengthened, by our sympathy and co-operation. Shall we stop our ears and shut our bowels against the cry of our degraded and suffering brethren? Can this be our duty to our God or to them? Shall our compassion evaporate in a passing sigh? This sigh the winds of heaven will not carry to America; and though they were to waft it over the ocean, what would it avail the wretched sufferers? We must be verily guilty concerning our brethren, in that if when we hear of the anguish of their souls and the sufferings of their flesh, we refuse to do what we can for their Emancipation. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn into death, and those that are ready to

* For Remonstrance, see page 100.

be slain: If thou sayest, We knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider? and He that keepeth thy soul doth not He know? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?"

The second question to which I refer is this, What can we do for our enslaved brethren in America? This question you have answered practically to a certain extent. That something may be done, is proved by the most satisfactory evidence, the evidence of fact and deed. You have declared your resolution to continue united, and to agitate until Slavery shall cease throughout the world. You have said of this monstrous evil as Rome decreed concerning Carthage—*Slavery must be blotted out*; and you have resolved to persevere, until it shall be said of Slavery, as it was of Carthage—*Slavery has been*, but now it exists not; it has been wiped from the face of the earth, and is not known but in the page of history. You have invited other societies to take part with you in this noble enterprize, and the invitation has been cheerfully accepted. In conjunction with other affiliated societies, you sent an agent to America that your sentiments and feelings might, by the living voice, be sounded in living ears, and conveyed to living hearts. Unappalled by threatenings and dangers; unsubdued by labour and fatigue, he has faithfully performed the difficult, the hazardous work assigned to him; he has returned unscathed from the land of liberty and of Slavery; we have received him safe and sound; he has given an account of his stewardship; we have unanimously approved of his diligence and fidelity, and we rejoice in the success of his mission. Shall we congratulate ourselves that we have done all that we can—that so far as we are concerned, the work is completed? Shall we fold our arms and quietly sit still, and “look on the day of our brother, in the day that he became a stranger? shall we look on their calamity in the day of their affliction?” and shall our bowels not be moved? No, no. This work of mercy has indeed had a beginning, and little more can be said. Shall we sound the tocsin of war and commence a crusade against the Slave-holders in America, or against the United States, because Slavery is there permitted to sway a sceptre of war over millions of rational beings, our brethren according to the flesh? The thought be far from us and our coadjutors. We have proclaimed war, and we are engaged in a warfare, not against the persons of our brethren in America, (greatly to blame in this matter though we hold them to be,) we love them as brethren, and we give a decided proof of our love, when we seek their welfare in this world and in the world to come; when we beseech them by the mercies of God, and the kindness of humanity, that they “shall break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.” The warfare in which we are engaged is against sin and crime, and guilt and wretchedness; and this warfare we prosecute after the example, and in the spirit of Him who “came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal. They are not swords and spears, and muskets, and cannon. They are reason and benevolence, and justice, and truth, and religion. We address ourselves to the understanding, the conscience, and the hearts of our brethren. It is a bloodless, a peaceful, and a peacemaking victory which we labour to achieve. It is in our heart to win our erring brethren to ourselves and to righteousness, “by converting them from the error of their way,” that the blessing of many who are ready to perish, of the oppressed set free, may come upon them; and the blessing of that God who is “a refuge for the oppressed; a refuge in time of trouble.” We wish to crown them with the laurels of victory, when in their hearts and in their land, the knowledge and the acknowledgment of their duty and Christian love, shall triumph over deep-rooted prejudice, sordid selfishness, and other perverse principles, to which Slavery in these States owes its origin, and by which it has been so long perpetuated. This is the object which your Remonstrance contemplates; and with this object its spirit and its language happily corresponds. Reproof is administered, not in enmity, but in love. When you reprove your brethren with whom you remonstrate, you obey the law of the universal Lord, which speaketh expressly on this subject, “Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart;—thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him.” All who with us “name the name of Christ,” all at least “who have received the love of the truth, that they may be saved,” know the voice of Him who hath spoken, saying, “Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful,” and their souls must ascend to Him who heareth prayer, in the words which his Spirit hath dictated for direction in prayer to them and to us. “Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practice wicked works with men that work iniquity, and let me not eat of their dainties. Let the righteous smite me, it

shall be a kindness, and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head."

Although I have occupied more of your time than I anticipated, I must add, that I do sympathize with our Christian friends in the States of America, office-bearers and members of the churches. When, Mr Chairman, I take into account the prejudices which they must have imbibed with their mothers' milk, which have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength—their familiarity with the evil against which we remonstrate—with scenes of suffering, which to us would be repulsive in the extreme,—their connexion with many whose good opinion they must desire to retain for the purpose of doing them good—the laws by which even the enlightened and the benevolent must find themselves fettered, so that they are not able to perform what their hearts approve and purpose—when I take into consideration these and many other particulars in their condition, I do pity them, I do sympathize with them, and I make very considerable allowances for what I cannot fail to reprobate. I will imitate Michael the archangel, and I will not dare "to bring against them a railing accusation," but I will pray for them; and I request, on their behalf, the prayers of this assembly, that in the thing wherein they sin they may obtain forgiveness; and that God will "grant them repentance to the acknowledgment" and the practice "of the truth," in reference to this matter.

Of all that I have read or heard on the subject of Slavery, there is nothing which filled me with deeper abhorrence of its atrocities, and with more tender sympathy for brethren, whose moral sensibility must have been deadened, or at least strangely blunted, by long-continued familiarity with such scenes, than *The short account of a Six Weeks' Residence in Jamaica*. The writer left his native country, the enemy of Slavery and the friend of the enslaved. His sentiments and feelings could not be concealed in that Island. He was at once a *marked man*. He soon found that his personal safety imposed on him the necessity of living in retirement. His friend who afforded him an asylum, had the charge of a numerous gang of Negroes. His soul was harrowed up by what he could not avoid seeing or knowing; and yet he confesses, that the short term of Six Weeks' Residence in Jamaica, diminished the horror with which he regarded the sufferings of men and of women also, tortured by the cart-whip, and subjected to cruelty in other forms; and that, before he made his escape from that land where, according to the common saying, reported and confirmed by the venerable John Newton, whites become blacks, (not in body but in soul,) and that his feelings, at first painful in the extreme, were not a little blunted. What then must be the effect on those in whom natural benevolence and sensibility are not extinguished, to whom such scenes have been familiar from their infancy?

I am far, very far from despairing of a favourable change in the sentiments, and feelings, and conduct, of our American brethren, who at present are unfriendly to the Emancipation of the Slaves. Not a few who zealously opposed our righteous cause, are now its warm advocates. Others will follow their example. I am old enough to recollect the progress of opinion in this land, in reference to the legalized system of robbery and murder, by a strange perversion of language, called *the African Slave-trade*. I have heard this abomination vindicated by men professing godliness, and even by some of whose piety no doubt could be entertained.—Great is the truth, and shall prevail. Never was this adage more delightfully verified, than in reference to what once was called trade; but now, by the law of the British Empire, by every true-hearted Briton, is denounced as felony of the blackest character. The continuance of Slavery in our Colonies found many advocates, as you all know; and against *immediate Abolition*, we have seen in this city a formidable array of wealth and influence. Talent was not there until the battle was fought and the victory gained. Again, truth prevailed, and Slavery is abolished, though many of its evils still remain to be swept away. The progress of opinion in favour of Emancipation, is more rapid than our most sanguine hopes anticipated. The spirit of Abolition has been awakened in America, it has gained many proselytes,—it has disturbed the selfish repose of others; and from the North to the South, from the East to the West, the cry I trust will soon be heard, Let the soil of America, like that of the British Isles, bless with freedom every man, and woman, and child, by the soles of whose feet it is touched. The present irritation is to me the foreboding of a better spirit and better times. The forming of healthy matter, which heals the sore, must be preceded by pain and in-

flammation. The rapid increase of Emancipation Societies in the United States, is the dawning of the morning of liberty to the Slave, which shall shine more and more unto the perfect day—when America shall bless her sable sons with complete Emancipation—Emancipation without purchase and without apprenticeship, and when two millions and a half of her population shall bless her for restoring their long-usurped rights, and making compensation, as far as is possible, for the wrongs and injuries inflicted on them and their progenitors.

After all that has been said, I must, Mr Chairman, with your permission, have a few "more last words." I have been, to a certain extent, the apologist of the United States of America. I shall now be their advocate, for the purpose of repelling the basest, the foulest calumny that ever was cast on them. Of this I am confident, that none worthy to be compared with it has reached my ears. And what is this calumny, and by whom preferred? Is it any secret adversary of liberty and religion, who has whispered in my ear what was never heard by any other man? what the most bigotted enemy of popular rights never dared to utter in public, or to publish on paper? Was it any hired emissary of the Abolitionists in America? Was it a Garrison, or a Tappan, or a Cox, or a Jay, or a *Dresser*; or was it by George Thompson that they have been so grossly slandered? No. It was no enemy that reproached all that is benevolent, enlightened, religious, in that mighty, that rapidly-extending empire. It was not in a whisper, not in a private room, that the slander was uttered. It was stated and repeated in public, in the hearing of many hundreds; it was in this house, and nearly on the spot where I now stand. It was in the progress of a discussion which we cannot soon forget. Was George Thompson the author of the calumny to which I refer? No. It was his antagonist, the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, the accredited agent of the United States, who volunteered his services as their advocate and defender. And what did he advance to calumniate his beloved country? He told us that the cause of Emancipation had made rapid progress in America for several years—that much had been done, and much was in progress for the attainment of this most desirable object. In all this we rejoiced; but he added, that by your agent whom you sent to America, immense injury had been done to the cause of Emancipation—that he and you together *had thrown back the Emancipation of the Slaves in the United States for a whole century—for one hundred years*. This is the calumny to which I refer, and which, in the name of the Christians in America, I do repel. Alas! alas! he who uttered the calumny and all who heard him, must be in the house of silence before any farther progress shall be made in this good cause, if his statement be worthy of credit. George Thompson, we were told, is a man of no consideration in America. And yet it seems he has had the power to inflict on them such mighty damage! Has he arrested in their onward, their zealous progress in the path of justice, of honour, of benevolence, of mercy, of pure and undefiled religion? Are Americans—are American Christians made of such perverse materials, that for a century they shall cease to do well; because, as they say, as their accredited agent at least said for them, we have acted unwisely in the method which we have adopted, to forward the cause in which they have long laboured zealously. Tell it not in New York; publish it not in the streets of Boston; tell it not in Baltimore, lest the Slave-holders and the Colonizationists rejoice.

We bear our united testimony against this slanderous report, and we are confident, that before a century of months shall have elapsed, our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic will present a full refutation by fact and deed. George Thompson, must, in America, possess importance immensely beyond his own estimate, and far beyond our estimate, if the statement of his antagonist deserves credit. You sent him to that land on a visit of mercy, and if his mission shall, to them, produce an offence, an occasion of sin, which, God forbid, the cause in which you are engaged, and the agent whom you employed, will more nearly resemble the Apostles of our Lord, and the Gospel of the grace of God, "For they preached Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block;" an offence over which they stumbled and fell to their ruin. Let America wipe away the calumny cast on her by her own accredited agent. She cannot be so infatuated as to punish herself in resentment against George Thompson and this country. Let her prove that her agent does not know the elements of which she is composed; that she is made of sterner and better stuff than that she shall be arrested for a hundred years, in her benevolent career for the liberation of her enslaved population, by the means which were

most certainly intended, which we thought, and still do think, were happily calculated to accelerate her progress in the path of justice, and consistency, and benevolence, and which, to a great extent, have contributed to this desirable object.

The REV. MR SOMERVILLE of Dumbarton, in seconding the resolution, said :—

Sir, I approve highly of this plan of national remonstrance. It seems to me to be founded on just, enlightened, and benevolent views; and to be calculated, if properly managed, to effect great good. The principle on which it rests is, that we are to love all men, and according to our influence and opportunities, are bound to promote their welfare. It is opposed to those injurious prejudices and feelings, which induced nations to consider each other as hereditary foes, and which raised up between them a partition wall of fierce and vindictive hatred. This international enmity produced incessant wars,—imposed restrictions on trade,—retarded social improvement, and poured over the surrounding countries desolation and misery. It may be charged also with promoting the cause and feeding the markets of Slavery. It scarcely ever happened that any nation sold its own subjects into perpetual servitude. These were regarded as brethren, and could not be thus degraded; but captives taken in war, persons who belonged to another nation, were considered objects of lawful sale, and formed the great supply of the Slave-markets of the old world. The wide spread Slavery that defiled the earth, was thus, in a great degree, the result of the barbarous feeling, that men were hereditary and national foes.

But, Sir, the tendency of the expanding knowledge of the age, is to cast down the walls of national hatred, to assimilate different communities, and to bind all men in the links of a near and common brotherhood. A state of things more accordant with the great laws of humanity, the principles of the Bible, and the best interests of our race, is beginning to arise. And why should we not seek the happiness of other nations as well as of our own? Why should we not extend to all men sympathy, relief, and love, and labour to promote their good? (Cheers.) Science is universal in its range. It appropriates the inventions and the discoveries of every clime. With keen and steady eye it contemplates the whole world; and wherever it sees any thing that is valuable, it instantly adopts it, whoever was the man or whatever his colour, that found it out. Trade too is universal in its operation. It traverses every sea, and penetrates into every region. It takes equally the offered goods of the black and the white man—the savage and the civilized. Why, then, should not philanthropy answer to its name, and be universal in its range? (Cheers.) Why should it be confined to mere sentiments and feelings, and not put on a practical shape? True benevolence, like true faith, is a practical principle, and must be shown to be genuine by its fruits. Now this method of remonstrating with the citizens of other lands, is nothing else than the great principles of benevolence and philanthropy embodied in practice. We do not assume a superiority over the Americans. Ours is not the language either of pride or of national prejudice. We address them as friends, and tell them that, linked to them by the bonds of a common nature, we are degraded in their shame and elevated in their honour, and that we desire them for their own sake and for ours, to respect the rights of man, and to cast away Slavery from among them. (Cheers.)

The great character of the benevolence of the present age is, that it is disinterested and universal. It is disinterested, as it seeks not the territorial extension or the pecuniary advantage of the country whence it emanates. There were missions in former times—even in the dark and despotic periods of European history, there were missions to heathen nations. But generally speaking, these were but the extended arm of the parent state, and were designed to widen its power and secure its advantage. They were associated with armies and fleets, and wrought along with them in subjecting mankind to the controul of the country that deputed them. But this is not the form of the benevolence which has been developed in our Bible and Missionary Societies. It is truly Christian and generous. It seeks the good of those for whom it labours, and the only benefit it asks for those that employ it, is the blessing of heaven. This benevolence also is wide as the globe. It looks on the world and watches for every opening through which it may pour the stream of its healing and enriching influence. It cares not what be the people, where they dwell, or from whom they are descended. It views alone their miseries, and it seeks to relieve them. This benevolence has sent forth Bibles,—it has sent forth Missionaries, and it has done many other great and noble deeds. This method of remonstrating is

just another of its works. Let us recognize and love it in this as in its other forms. Let nations enter into this contest of benevolence. Let them declare that the dominion of physical force has ceased, and that the intellectual and the moral powers are now to hold the chief place in the conduct and intercourse of mankind. Let them, laying aside their prejudices, animosities and hostile feelings, excite and provoke each other to better and more exalted deeds. Let them live not for themselves merely, but for all men—lights and benefactors of the world. (Cheers.)

This moral interference of one people with the sentiments of another, seems to many timid and cautious persons a new thing, and they shrink from it as if it were attended with danger. Now the precise shape which it has assumed may be new, but the practice itself may be defended by example as well as by argument. It is not without precedents. There are instances of individual and national interference which historians have been accustomed to applaud. It may be known to many here, that one of the best works of Witsius, a celebrated foreign divine, is an appeal to the Theologians of Great Britain, on certain controversial points, by which they were at that time unhappily divided; and that John Knox, the great Scottish Reformer, wrote and addressed "a faithful admonition to the true professors of the Gospel of Christ within the kingdom of England." It would not be thought wrong in any subject of Britain, to address the inhabitants of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on any great and important question. Who will declare it right to address our fellow-subjects, and wrong to address those of other nations? Do not our obligations to seek the good of all men bind us, and the common rights of humanity warrant us, to do the one as well as the other? None will approve the one line of conduct and condemn the other, except the person who holds the bigoted opinion, that the limits of kingdoms, which are a mere human arrangement, restrict the operation of the divine law of love to our neighbour. (Cheers.) One of the brightest spots of English history—a spot on which the eye loves to repose, is the interference of Cromwell in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. When these meek and faithful followers of Christ were plundered, banished, and murdered, by the soldiers of the Duke of Savoy—led on by the cruel emissaries of Rome, Cromwell, by the hands of the immortal Milton, interfered in their cause, and arrested the arm of the destroyer. Yes, Milton, whose name is the rich inheritance of England, exerted his seraphic genius in exhorting the Protestant Princes of the Continent, to remonstrate with the fierce and bloody persecutors of that harmless and loyal people. There is another part of the history of England which records a deed with which the Protestants of Scotland will not quarrel. When the cause of truth and liberty was in danger,—when the infant reformation was like to be crushed by the armies of France, and when the lords of the congregation were unable to resist this foreign enemy—Elizabeth interfered, and was instrumental in saving the liberties of this land. These are instances of interference which persons have been wont to praise. Why laud these, and find fault with this peaceful, moral, and argumentative mode? (Cheers.) We do not plead for an interference like that of Elizabeth. We do not even want our Government to meddle in this matter; for in this respect the present mode is new, that it is an interference by the people: the subjects of one nation corresponding with the subjects of another, on the laws, and rights, and duties of their common humanity. But what we demand is, Why extol the conduct of Cromwell and Elizabeth—why record their deeds in bright and glowing panegyric, and condemn our conduct? No reason can be assigned for this contradictory judgment, except one, and that one must be, a lurking feeling that black men, that the enslaved sons of Africa, are not worthy of our care. Do you disown this feeling? (Cheers.) Do you acknowledge that they have as strong claims upon your sympathy and love as white men have? (Cheers.) Then remonstrate—lift up your voices with ours in calling upon their masters to give them immediate liberty. Act upon the generous principles of the Gospel. Imitate the conduct of Christ and his apostles, in seeking to heal the diseases, dry up the sorrows, and remove the burdens of all classes and kindreds of men. (Cheers.)

This conduct is necessary for the sake of the Americans. It will cheer the friends of Emancipation, and it will have an influence upon the Slave-holders. Slavery has many attendant evils, besides those which it inflicts on its actual victims. It blinds, perverts, and debases the Society where it exists. It is scarcely possible for Slave-holders to have just views of human rights and the principles of social justice. They do not see and feel in the same manner as others do; and they need to be enlightened. Better views must be obtained

from others, and it is kindness to give them such information. Now the state of feeling on this subject in America—especially among the Slave-holders, shows that they are in a condition for profiting by our remonstrances. The uneasy, fretful, and agitated state of their feelings, their furious indignation, and the cruel laws which in some places they have recently passed against the Slaves, show that truth has begun to work among them. They see that the progress of events in all nations is towards liberty. Light is peering into their minds, their consciences are touched, and the conviction has sprung up, that their Slaves must soon be set free. Shall we, as some advise, leave them to themselves—shall we allow this light to be extinguished, their consciences again to fall asleep, and their convictions of duty to subside? No: let us remonstrate with them—let us send reproofs, exhortations, and warnings, till the light shall become effulgent and overpowering, the agitations of conscience irresistible, and the convictions of duty so all-subduing, as to make them strike the fetters from those they have made fast in the stocks, bring them from the prison, wash their stripes, and embrace them as brethren. (Great cheering.)

And why not cherish the hope that it will soon be so? God assures us that all classes of men will yet be free and happy. The heart is saddened while we look on the nations and behold the millions of our fellow-creatures bending under Slavery, despotism, superstition, and vice. But the Bible gives us relief. The page of prophecy describes a brighter scene. Onwards, a little only onwards, in the history of our race, a light streams from heaven upon our condition. God comes forth in his glory and his love, to renovate and to bless all the kindreds of the earth. The Gospel is preached in all lands,—the light of divine truth shines, and the influences of the Spirit fall. The chains are broken, superstitions disappear, the thrones of tyrants are cast down, and the enlightened and emancipated nations lift themselves up from the bondage of four thousand years, and praise Him who bought their liberty with his blood. Who does not rejoice in this prospect? Who does not desire that it may soon be realized? Who would not exert himself to bring about this state of predicted happiness and glory? Then listen to the groans of the oppressed, labour to free from servitude your fellow-men; and when Christians have done this act of justice, they may then lift their eyes to heaven and say, Lord, pity, liberate, and save, the degraded Slaves and captives of sin, Satan, and death. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me in conclusion to advert to the progress of this cause in that district which I have this evening the honour to represent. Your distinguished agent, Mr Thompson, about a month ago, delivered in Dumbarton and Bonhill, two most eloquent and impressive lectures, which produced uncommon excitement. A remonstrance on the subject of American Slavery was prepared and adopted at a public meeting. Four thousand two hundred persons of both sexes have signed this document, and have sent their names in their own hand-writing across the Atlantic, to give if possible greater weight to the sentiments which it contains. (Cheers.) The utmost enthusiasm has prevailed; persons of all classes and sects, Churchmen and Dissenters, have come forward; and I do not believe that there are fifty adults in the whole of Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, that have refused to sign it. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to hold up this example, and to say, go ye and do likewise. (Cheers.)

Bailie W. M. CRAIG moved thanks to the Ladies' Auxiliary, and to the Societies &c., which had remitted contributions in aid of the funds, and said.

Mr Chairman,—I am no advocate, generally speaking, for females engaging in the strife and contention of public and political life. But where there is human wretchedness to relieve, and the burning tear of sorrow to wipe away, and the heart-breaking amidst the manifold sufferings of oppression, to be sustained and fortified, there is the field for the exercise of the virtues of womanly sympathy and kindness. And wherever human woe abounds, it is to the credit of woman, that hers is the readiest and the gentlest hand, in assuaging human sorrows. All ages, and all countries, and all conditions of life, afford evidences in support of this truth. Amidst the persecutions of the church, how often have the ministers of religion been indebted to woman for concealment from their blood-thirsty pursuers, for succour in their flight, and for the most generous and devoted sacrifices in support of their cause. And in the history of our Saviour's sufferings on the theatre of this earth, in the stead of the guilty; in devotedness to his person and his cause, there are related, to the honour of woman, in the volume of inspiration, some of the finest memorials of human sympathy and attachment that are to be found upon record.

Yes, Sir, and in the great struggle in which we have been engaged, for the

Emancipation of the Negro, the sufferings of our Colonial Slaves found ready sympathy in the hearts of many of the ladies of our own city. When they thought of the happy condition to which civilization, but above all, to which Christianity had raised them, they could not think of the flogging of females in the West Indies, of their intense sufferings in all the various forms which cruelty and ingenuity could devise, without the deepest commiseration and the most active benevolence. Nor as mothers, could they look upon their own well-cared-for children, without thinking with a mother's anguish, upon the hapless lot, and degraded and merciless doom that awaited the outcast children of our Colonial Slaves. And in this cause, Sir, they have done well, and deserve our thanks for having come to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. To the other Societies who have contributed along with the Ladies' Auxiliary to our funds, we also owe our warmest thanks. I now therefore move,—"That we present our warmest acknowledgments to the 'Ladies' Auxiliary' of this city, for their exertions in aid of our Funds, and earnestly request them to continue their valuable co-operation: and that we also tender our cordial thanks to those friends of Universal Freedom, who, as Societies or otherwise, have, during the past year, remitted contributions to this Society."

DAVID SMITH, Esq. seconded the resolution, which was carried amid great applause.

The Committee for next year was then nominated, and thanks given to Dr. Wardlaw and the Trustees, for the use of the Chapel.

Mr GEORGE THOMPSON, in moving thanks to the Rev. Dr. Heugh and Mr Paton, for their conduct as Chairmen, also noticed the highly valuable exertions of the Secretaries, Mr John Murray and Mr William Smeal, as worthy of the approbation of the Meeting. The motion was carried with loud acclamations.

The Chairman having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the Meeting broke up about half-past eleven o'clock.

R E M O N S T R A N C E S .

REMONSTRANCE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, AND THE FRIENDS OF UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, WITH THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES; ESPECIALLY THE MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, AS UPHELD IN THIRTEEN OF THE TWENTY-FIVE STATES OF AMERICA, AND AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS!—Linked to you by the ties of our common nature, and warranted by the principles of humanity, and the doctrines of the gospel, we address you on the subject of Slavery; and call upon you by the highest and most solemn considerations, to remove, as speedily as possible, this corrupting evil from your domestic institutions. In doing this we do not arrogate superiority over you, nor are we actuated by feelings of national prejudice, or with the slightest wish to disturb your social harmony. We are constrained by a sense of duty, arising from the obligations of that law to whose sanctions we are all amenable, which commands us in matters relating to our neighbours, to disregard the boundaries of nations, and to seek the welfare of all classes of men. Part of the great human family, and participating in your shame and in your honour; united to many among you by the close bonds of kindred and friendship; feeling towards you as a great, enlightened, and Christian people, whose exertions for the diffusion of the gospel have been magnificent, warm sentiments of esteem and affection; and sincerely desirous that your splendid example and efforts may, in conjunction with those of other free nations, be more successfully employed for the renovation and happiness of the world, we fervently implore you to consider the guilt, pollution, and danger, that are connected with social Slavery; and to comply with those appeals which the lovers of freedom, in your own and in other lands, are making to you on this subject. Bleeding humanity and insulted liberty cry aloud for redress; and the patriot and the Christian cannot be deaf to their voice.

We do not feel it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the nature, extent, and working of American Slavery. Its foul abominations and awful horrors are well known to yourselves. It was but recently that the people in Britain were generally aware of the fact, that Slavery existed in the American republic; and when it was told, on unquestionable authority, that thirteen States recognised domestic Slavery; that two millions and a half of our black fellow-men were held in cruel bondage; and that the internal traffic in human beings was encouraged by the federal constitution, it is impossible to describe the feelings of astonishment and sorrow which pervaded all classes. Authentic information has shown, that this iniquitous system has been attended by its usual base and terrible results; with the aggravating circumstance that in your case it is the inconsistent and unnatural deed of freemen. How incongruous is it, that in a free nation, whose soil was the sacred asylum of the persecuted, and whose institutions were ostensibly framed on the benevolent principle of giving entire liberty to the bodies and the souls of all persons, without reference to those oppressive distinctions which prevailed in the old world, two millions and a half of immortal men should exist in a state of Slavery, reduced by the will and power of the people to the most abject condition; deprived of the rights of marriage; and generally of the means of education, and of all those influences by which they can improve their moral character, and perform the duties which they owe to God, to their own souls, and to their fellow-creatures. This fact, when viewed as the deliberate and justified deed of a nation, the rule of whose government is the will of the majority of the citizens, will stand on the history of our world as the blackest and most infamous act that ever disgraced any people.

Contemplate the evils of Slavery, as it degrades man, provokes God, and defiles the land. It is that thing which is hated and shunned by all men, as the greatest calamity that can befall a human being. It annihilates natural rights, and reduces its wretched victims below the brutes; for while these know no other state, the soul of the Slave, writhing under its degradation, pants for liberty and justice. War slays its thousands and is satiated. The fields which it had trodden down resume their beauty, and man goes forth cheerfully to his labour. The pestilence covers the land with mourning and woe; but its poisonous breath is soon exhausted. The dead are buried out of sight; and the living renew their scenes of enjoyment and mirth. The elements, touched by the anger of God, desolate whole regions; but these cease their rage, and again peacefully smile on man. But Slavery, with sure and untiring energy, ever tortures, wastes, and kills. It is never glutted with its cruelties. It flows on from generation to generation, a stream composed of blood and tears. Even despotism, abhorred by mankind, makes havoc but of general and political rights, and arrays against it the sympathies and feelings of the people; but Slavery descends to the homes and the hearts of men; rends asunder the dearest ties, and holds up its victims to scorn and disgust. The worst tyranny is the sword of state, that, with some show of justice, destroys public interests; but Slavery is the knife of the assassin, who traces man through all his domestic scenes, and stabs him at his own hearth. It is the concentrated essence of cruelty and malice, that, with the fell spirit of pagan and priestly fury, offers up the sweetest and tenderest feelings, men's quivering affections, upon the blood-stained altar of avarice and mammon.

Difficulties may lie in the way of the removal of this great evil, just as obstacles are felt by all who proceed to redress grievances that have long existed, and that have spread their roots and fibres through all the departments of the state. But there is an essential difference between the acknowledgment of difficulties, and the urging of arguments for the justification of Slavery. Those who sincerely plead the former, are entitled to our sympathy and aid, while those who avow themselves the advocates of Slavery, in any form, deserve to be expelled from the ranks of freemen, and treated as the enemies of human rights. Difficulties may, in the present matter, spring from social customs and habits—from pecuniary considerations—and from a view of the federal union. Without entering into the full discussion of these points, we may remark, that the customs of a state may be displaced by an opposite course of conduct; and that should these be radically evil, as in this case they are, the strongest obligations bind us to begin immediately the work of transformation. As the importation of Slaves is prohibited, the claim which the masters have to property in those human beings whom they possess, must be traced to the heart-chilling doctrine, that the children of Slaves are born in chains; but while we give no opinion on the subject of property, the settling of this matter being a question that belongs

to yourselves, we express our decided conviction, deduced from innumerable facts, that the immediate and unconditional Emancipation of the Negroes, would raise the value of estates, benefit the owners, and be followed by the happiest consequences to all parties. But the most curious and striking objection of which we have heard, is that which is said to arise from that constitution, the fame of which has filled the world. The federal government, it would appear, is merely a band of iron thrown around "the distinct sovereignties" and the "domestic institutions," of which the confederacy is made up, designed to hold these together, and to present them to other nations as a compact body, while it leaves to each state "the sovereign power unimpaired" in all matters of internal government; and therefore as Slavery is a "domestic institution," it cannot be abolished by the representatives of the whole community.

These difficulties are not insuperable. Human governments are the work of men; and it is imperative upon the people to reform them whenever they are wrong, and to adapt them to the principles of justice, and to the demands of advancing civilization. The deeds of our fathers cannot bind us, unless they are based on immutable justice, and are confirmed by the dictates of conscience and sound reason. It is enough for our argument, that the particular States, or the "distinct sovereignties," have the power of abolishing Slavery; and to hasten this result, let all in America insist upon the free, ample, and public discussion of the subject, that light may be diffused, and the freedom of the Negro achieved. But let the difficulties which surround this question be great, let them be admitted in all their magnitude and force, it is manifest that these form an invincible argument, proving the urgent duty of immediately adopting measures to liberate the enslaved. The longer the system continues, the difficulties will increase; their ramifications will extend through the whole body; and they will ultimately bind you in the fetters of political bondage. The putrid mass of Slavery will corrupt the living body of liberty, and render your state a weak, worthless, and loathsome thing. It is not, we are persuaded, these difficulties which oppose the freedom of the Negro, but the want of a deep and impressive sense of the guilt and peril of the system. Were the public mind imbued with just convictions of the enormous sin of Slavery, these difficulties would instantly melt away, and leave a broad and open path by which your degraded bondmen might walk into liberty, happiness, and honour. Whatever be "the limits around the action of the federal union," Slavery is the sin of the whole people, and invokes on their heads fearful judgments. We are aware of the attempts which have been made, to show that the acknowledged guilt of this system lies only with the Slaveholders, and that the hands and the consciences of the nation are clean; but these attempts disgrace the man who makes them. Have not your best divines held the doctrine of national responsibility? Does not the Bible teach it in the clearest manner? On what principle do you, of all the nations that ever existed, plead exemption from it? Why were judgments threatened by the prophets against those pagan kingdoms that surrounded Judea? The doom with which they were menaced, went upon the ground, that, as nations, they were responsible for their public sins. These nations have long since been blotted from the map of the earth; and their destruction proves, that national sins provoke national punishment. The mode of government in those states was autocratical or despotic, in which the rights of the people were trampled under foot, or but feebly exercised; and yet, because they submitted to such governments, and acquiesced in their public acts, they shared in their ruin. If such was the case with nations whose governments were despotic, much more do public evils entail guilt upon that nation, whose rule of government is the will of the majority of the people. We beseech you to ponder this reflection, and to admit the truth that the existence of Slavery among you, covers every American citizen with deep and fearful guilt. The facts which support this point cannot be demolished. Does not your Slave population, though held as property, form an element in your national representation? Is there not a considerable number of the members of Congress whose claim to their seats depends upon the existence of Slavery? These do not represent the rights and the interests of the Slaves, for the vote of Congress denying to these miserable men the right of petition, and thus trampling upon the attribute of mercy, shows that they are not considered as human beings. Every act of Congress then is tainted with the guilt and pollution of Slavery. Does not your federal union oblige the northern states to restore runaway Slaves? Do not all the states profit politically by the labours of the Slaves, and the prosperity and wealth of their masters? Are not the gains which come from their forced and unrequited toils shared in by the whole republic?

Do not the free support the Slave-holding states, and throw over them the shield of their power, and the influence of their liberties and moral excellence, and thus protect them on the one hand from the physical assaults of the oppressed, and on the other from the unmitigated abhorrence and execration of the civilized world? These are facts which no sophistry can remove. Slavery lies at the foundation of your political structure, and affects all its parts. It insinuates itself into all the acts and details of public government, and loads them all with guilt and infamy. It violates the moral relations which the members of the state sustain to each other; corrupts the whole body; and holds up the entire nation to the lightning of Almighty wrath.

We entreat you as freemen, and as patriots, to weigh, seriously, the circumstances of your country, and to consider the bearing of the present conflict of opinions upon the future liberties and destinies of America. Many of your public acts show that you have enlarged views of the rights of white men, and we wish that you would lay aside those prejudices which are founded upon the colour of the skin, and extend these views to your African brethren. The basis of free government is the recognition of the principle that all men, being equal in the sight of God, are entitled to equal liberty, protection, and encouragement, and that the only differences which society acknowledges, are those which arise from superior wisdom, industry, and moral worth. The government in which this principle is not fully adopted and applied to all the members of the state, is partial and unjust, and should not be acquiesced in by those who have the legitimate power of reforming it. Arrogated privileges degrade the favoured class more than the want of them does the injured, as it is on their part the willing and deliberate violation of just and equal rights. The genuine patriot labours for the good of all ranks. He does not wait till the ignorant and debased ask their rights; but actuated by the broad principles of justice, he extends to them the civil advantages to which they have a claim, and employs all his energies to raise them to the same standard with himself. This is the conduct which becomes a benevolent and patriotic government. Now, the conclusion which unbiassed conscience and judgment approve, is, that it is the immediate right of the Slave to be set free, and the immediate duty of the master to grant him his liberty. Any other view of the matter is unjust and nefarious; and those plans for uprooting Slavery, out of which the colonization scheme arose, merely go to remove the most disgusting excrescences, while they strengthen the sinful prejudices against the black race, and leave the great evil itself to fester and to spread. But we ask you particularly to reflect upon the aspects of the present discussion, as they affect the constitutional liberties of America. All human institutions tend to corruption. However excellent they may be when founded, the contact of sinful passions speedily defiles them. The nations of the old world have, by severe experience, been taught this truth; and hence the efforts of all long established governments are now put forth in removing those evils which time has gathered. The contest in all kingdoms, where information is allowed to circulate, is between truth and error, despotism and freedom, corruption and purity. The symptoms which the agitation of the question of Slavery has developed in your land, prove that the process of depravation has begun, and is operating to a considerable extent; and unless it be quickly arrested, you may, at no very distant period, have to mourn over your buried liberties. Look at the arguments and the conduct of those who are hostile to immediate Emancipation, and you will see that they lead to a melancholy result. The Congress has denied the right of petition to two millions and a half of their citizens, and thus established a precedent which may be dangerously extended; the laws which certain states have passed against the reading and circulating of Anti-Slavery publications, abridge the liberty of discussion—the noblest privilege of freemen; and the doctrine that the Congress will not abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia, “against the wishes of the Slave-holding states,” fetters the exercise of the legislative power, and in one important question, subjects the whole republic to the dominion of a particular class. These things, together with the singular haste and avidity with which the independence of Texas has been recognised, demonstrate that Slave-holding principles and interests have already acquired an undue and perilous influence in your national affairs. Let these principles be applied to other matters; let the respective states act upon them; and let the number of those holding Slaves be multiplied; and you will find that, instead of being a free, independent, and vigorous people, you are a number of associated corporations, with separate and conflicting interests, and that your constitution, like the feet of the prophetic

image, is partly iron and partly clay. These things threaten the welfare and stability of all the states; and the man who is not aroused by them to throw away neutrality, and do justice to himself and his country, by granting liberty to those in bonds, has feeble views of his duty. Let all classes plead for free discussion; let the question be calmly debated; and on whatever side truth, justice, and benevolence lie, these will prevail. And surely if American Slavery be what many represent it, and if the Slaves are so well treated and so happy, there is no need to shut out information from the Southern states, and to bridle the liberty of the press. Your honour, interest, and peace, are involved in the proper settlement of this question, and the friends of universal freedom expect that you will do your duty.

We expostulate with you as fellow-Christians, and by all that is dear in "the common salvation"—we beseech you to consult the glory of our Divine Master, the honour of the Gospel and the spiritual good of all classes. The Gospel is pre-eminently a system of love, grace, and mercy, to fallen, sinful, and miserable men. It is the development of the eternal love of the Father, the exceeding riches of the grace of the Son, and the boundless consolations of the Holy Spirit. All its aspects are mild, peaceful, and benevolent. It calls all men brethren; it offers to them the treasures of salvation, and it invites them to the mansions of heavenly rest. As the greatest blessing enjoyed by the Gentiles, it proceeds upon the ground, that all distinctions are abolished, and "that now there is no difference" among men. We were aliens and outcasts; but the partition wall has been broken down, and all the Gentiles are now fellow heirs and partakers of the same heavenly privileges. Shall we then, after being favoured with such distinguished kindness, raise up walls of separation between the black and the white? Shall we renew an enmity similar to that which Christ shed his blood to remove? If we do so, we act a more sinful and ungrateful part than did that man, who, being forgiven ten thousand talents, took his fellow-servant by the throat because he owed him an hundred pence. We deeply deplore the injury which Slavery does to human rights; but we feel unspeakably more acutely the sacrifice of divine truth which is now being made in your land, and the efforts which Christian ministers and others are putting forth to wrest the Scriptures. It is a fearful thing to deprive our brother of his rights, but it is a more fearful thing to rob the Divine Saviour. It is dangerous to sacrifice political truth, but it is ineffably more dangerous to sacrifice the truths of the Gospel. This, however, is what many seem to be doing among you. We do not speak of those ministers who practice Slavery themselves; for their guilt baffles description. We have no terms sufficiently strong to paint its blackness. But we speak of those who countenance, palliate, and defend Slavery, and who urge Bible examples and doctrines, as supports of this horrid system. Their arguments would equally uphold unmixed despotism, arbitrary taxation, and all those evils which mankind detest. These persons limit the universal offers of mercy,—make the common salvation the privilege of a special class,—give a partial account of the divine will, and are the servants of men. The Bible encourage Slavery! No doctrine ever flowed from the man of sin, more degrading to the sacred oracles than this. The sum of human misery is in that divine book denominated captivity, bondage, Slavery; and the sum of spiritual happiness is called liberty, redemption, salvation. Christ came to proclaim liberty to the captive,—the opening of the prison doors to them that were bound, and to give to all freedom from passion, sin, and woe; and he sends forth his servants, as ambassadors of peace, to preach good will, benevolence, and forgiveness, to all kindreds of men. Shall these servants of this meek and gracious Saviour, strip the Gospel of its celestial beauty, majesty, and light, and clothe it with the sordid garments of this world? Shall they take that system of doctrine which teaches us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and make it a rule more cruel and bloody than the laws of Draco? Shall they convert the revelation of mercy, designed to subdue sinful passions, and to heal the sorrows of the human heart, into an engine of oppression, cruelty, and sin? Shall they turn the ordinances of the Church, through which God ministers the blessings of his love, into an apparatus which torments the bodies and destroys the souls of men? Shall they seize the out-poured riches of divine truth, adulterate them with the basest materials, and send them abroad to promote the interests and the gains of Satan? Shall they poison the bread and the water of life, to the everlasting ruin of millions, and thus thwart the gracious purposes of heaven? Shall they do all these things in the name of the Prince of Peace, whose government is founded on justice and righteousness, and

who declares that in Him there are neither bond nor free? They may do these things, but their doom will be more terrible than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, who took away the key of knowledge, imposed heavy burdens on the people, and called them accursed. Brethren, will ye thus plead for Baal? will ye fall down and worship the golden image which Slave-holders have set up? will ye servilely minister at the shrines of avarice and lust? Rather look into the perfect law of liberty, and continue therein, and be not forgetful bearers but doers of the word, that ye may be blessed in your deed. Imitate the conduct of the Prophet of Israel, who remonstrated with his fellow-citizens, because they had led captive their brethren of Judah. "And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you; but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God. Now, hear me therefore, and deliver the captives again, which ye have taken captive of your brethren; for the fierce wrath of the Lord is upon you." 2 Chron. xxviii. 9, 10.

To those who advocate the doctrine of immediate Emancipation, we offer our warmest congratulations. Their principles and conduct have our entire and cordial approbation. We are persuaded that the plan which they urge is the only safe, just, and scriptural method, and that they are the best and the most enlightened friends of America. They are defending the rights of man, the liberties of their country, and the purity of divine truth. The welfare of the human family, and the glory of God, depend in your nation upon the successful issue of the enterprize in which they are engaged. Let them proceed undismayed; strong in the uprightness of their cause, and in the protecting favour of the Lord of Hosts. Let their numerous Societies,—their seventy agents, and all friendly to the cause of the suffering Negro, powerfully, energetically, and unflinchingly, advocate immediate and unrestricted Emancipation. The time will come when they shall be viewed as true patriots, and be lauded for arresting the current of corruption. May they enjoy as their present reward the liberty of the children of God, the consolations of the Gospel of peace, and in every place be made to triumph. May their principles soon be universal, and enwrap America as in a garment of light, and beauty, and love.

We have thus discharged a solemn duty. We have obeyed the divine will in not suffering sin upon our brother; and as these admonitions proceed from fraternal love, we pray you to receive them in good part, and to try them by the standard of truth. But whatever be the result of this and similar appeals, we know that Slavery, despotism, superstition, and all evils are doomed to ruin. The Lord is coming out of his place, to shake terribly the earth, that those things only which cannot be shaken may remain. Slavery will not stand the concussion: and it will be well for those who now encourage it, to reflect how grievously its forcible removal may rend and lacerate the political body. The Saviour has decreed the freedom and the happiness of all nations, and He rules all things for the purpose of accomplishing this grand result. The divine Spirit of liberty will yet be amply poured out, and will emancipate the master from the dominion of fiery passions, and the Slave from corporeal bondage. When the light of divine truth shines with unclouded brilliancy on the world,—when the influences of the spirit affect all classes of men,—when the pure and gentle doctrines of the Gospel form the acknowledged rule of conduct, and when the Saviour reigns over his Church, commensurate with the limits of the globe, not a chain, nor a yoke, nor a mark of degradation will exist. Men shall be blessed in him, and all nations shall call him blessed. Our prayer is, that America may anticipate this period, and by casting away Slavery, and raising her coloured children to the rank and the rights of citizens, and by unfolding all the energies of political and spiritual power, may stand forth to the world an example of liberty, happiness, and virtue, so bright and commanding as to guide the nations to that state of social improvement and prosperity, at which it is the divine will they shall all yet arrive.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE UNITED ASSOCIATE SYNOD, 1836.

1st. That we hold as one of "those things that are most surely believed among us," that the treating of human beings as property, without an express permission from Him who is the Supreme Proprietor, is utterly repugnant to

the principles both of reason and revelation—equally inconsistent with the law of justice and of love—an outrage on human nature, and an insult to God its author.

2d. That believing that “God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth,” and that “in Christ Jesus” all believers are in relation, and character, and privilege, “one,” without respect to distinction of *colour*, any more than of origin, or sex, or age, or station, we maintain that all men yielding obedience to the laws of civil society, have an equal right to the secure enjoyment of life, liberty, and property—that all Christians yielding obedience to the law of Christ are equally entitled to the joint participation of all the ordinances appointed for the Members of the Church—and that it is the duty of the followers of Jesus, to “honour all men,” and to “love the brotherhood,” and to express these sentiments by a corresponding conduct.

3d. That we contemplate with deep sorrow and regret, the enormous guilt which our own nation has contracted by the practices of holding and trading in Slaves,—practices persisted in for a long course of years, notwithstanding the clearest exposition of their impiety, injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy,—with devout wonder, the forbearance of God in not having shown his righteous displeasure by involving in common ruin those who perpetrated and those who permitted such enormous crimes—and with lively gratitude, first to God, and then to the benevolent men whom he honoured as the instruments of his mercy, those two great national measures, the Legislative Abolition of the British Slave-trade, by declaring that traffic to be felonious, and the Legislative Abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies of Great Britain.

4th. That while we cherish a fraternal esteem and affection for Christians and Christian Churches of every land—for “all who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus, both theirs and ours,” we regard with peculiar interest the Christians and Christian Churches in the United States of America, not so much because many of these Christians are sprung from a common ancestry, and many of these Christian Churches hold not only the same doctrinal sentiments, but maintain the same ecclesiastical polity with ourselves, as for their distinguished zeal, energy, and perseverance in “works of faith, and labours of love”—for the unprecedented exertions they are making for the universal and thorough christianization of their own country and of the world.

5th. That in proportion to the esteem and affection with which we regard the Christians and Christian Churches in the United States of America, are the astonishment and grief with which *we have heard* that not only among the members, but even among the office-bearers of some of these Churches, are to be found proprietors of, and even dealers in Slaves—that not only private individuals, but some ecclesiastical bodies have engaged in a shocking, though, happily, hopeless attempt to reconcile these monstrous practices with the law of God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ,—and that to such an extent does the irrational and unchristian prejudice connected with these practices prevail, that, not merely in the ordinary intercourse of society, but even in the most sacred institutions of religion, men of *colour* are treated as if they belonged to an inferior species, acknowledged indeed to be fellow-Christians, yet dealt with as if they were not fellow-men.

6th. That we greatly rejoice to know that just sentiments on this subject are not only held by many individual Christians in the United States, but are clearly and forcibly expressed in the symbolical books of some of the churches, and that there is a rapidly increasing conviction of the reality and magnitude of the evils specified, manifesting itself in vigorous exertions for their complete removal,—and although sensible of the numerous and powerful obstacles which our Christian brethren, both in their political and ecclesiastical capacity, have to surmount, in order to their success in this sacred enterprise; we confidently trust that by the blessing of God on the faithful statement of Christian truth, and the impartial exercise of Christian discipline, these unseemly stains on the fair character of American Christianity will be wiped away; and so powerful an influence be exercised by a purified church over the national mind, as shall secure, ere long, the legislative abolition of Slavery throughout the whole territory of a people, the liberality of whose political institutions gives them so high a place among the nations, while it contrasts so strangely with the upholding and even with the permitting of Slavery and the Slave-trade; and hopefully anticipate that that degradation of character, which is said to belong to men of colour in the United States, and that contempt and dislike which have alter-

nately been the cause and the effect of that degradation, will not long survive the dissolution of that unnatural state of society in which they both originate.

7th. That disclaiming, as fellow-servants of a common Master, all disposition uncharitably to judge, or magisterially to dictate—remembering that “every man must give an account of himself unto God,”—and hoping that our Christian brethren in America will not be backward either to receive or to return, when circumstances shall seem to them to require it, the kind office of faithful admonition,—we are constrained by the love we bear our Lord, the regard we have for his authority, the jealousy we feel for the honour of his name, and the desire we feel for the prosperity of His cause, as well as by our cordial affection for brethren for whom “we labour fervently in our prayers, that they may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God,” to strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts in the arduous but honourable work to which our Lord is now loudly calling them, by urging them by the regard we know they have for the authority of God, the grace of the Saviour, the honour of Christianity, and the salvation of the world, to employ the mighty influence which God has given them, and which brings along with it a corresponding weight of responsibility, in “loosing the bonds of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, taking away from the midst of them the yoke and the putting forth of the finger;” that so “their light” which has already “gone forth as the morning, may shine more and more unto the perfect day.”

REMONSTRANCE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF SCOTLAND, 1836.

I. That as a meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, we are not to be considered, in regard to any sentiments we express, or any resolutions we adopt, as sustaining an official and representative character, or as assuming any kind or measure of authority which would be at variance with the great distinguishing principle maintained by us, of the mutual independency of the Churches of Christ: that, in the resolutions which follow, we speak for ourselves, whilst, at the same time, we have abundant ground for entertaining the most confident assurance, that they are in full accordance with the views, and wishes, and prayers, of the great body of the brethren throughout the country with whom we are associated.

II. That in the spirit of those Christian principles which are the foundation of our personal hopes, the elements of our spiritual life, and the charter of our New Covenant liberties, we look back with devout thankfulness to the God of Providence, to the decision of our Legislature, by which, after a long and arduous struggle, the Slave-trade was branded with the stigma and condemned to the punishment, of felony: and, in the same spirit, we contemplate the more recent act, following up the abolition of that nefarious traffic, by which a final termination has been put to Slavery itself throughout all the colonial dependencies of the British Empire,—an act by which a seemly and glorious consistency has been imparted to our character and institutions as a free people, and a dark cloud has been dispelled, which had long brooded over our beloved land, heavily charged with the vengeance of offended Heaven.

III. That at the time when this act was passed—an act demanded alike by the claims of humanity, justice, religion, and sound policy—one, and not the least of the sources of our grateful joy, was the sanguine anticipation of the beneficial influence which might be exerted on the counsels and conduct of other people, by the example of a nation occupying, through Divine favour, so exalted and commanding a position as our country does, amongst the Governments, not of Europe only, but of the world—an influence of which our high estimate led us to cherish the delightfully cheering hope, that, at no distant period, “every yoke should be broken,” and, in all lands, “the oppressed should go free.”

IV. That we cannot but regard with feelings of special interest, our Trans-Atlantic brethren in the United States of America, congratulating them on their participation with ourselves, through the kindness of the same universal Ruler, in the precious blessings of a common freedom, and a common Christianity; holding in admiration, the amount of Christian liberality and Christian effort evinced by them, in the dissemination of the Word of God, and of the education requisite for the use of it, through every part of their own territory, as well as for the complete evangelization of the world; but that in proportion to the delight

we have experienced in hearing of such triumphs of Christian principle amongst them, have been our astonishment and concern, that both their freedom and their religion should be so sadly tarnished by the incongruous association with them of Slavery, to so vast an extent, in all its hideous forms of traffic and oppression, and in regard to millions of immortal fellow-creatures dependent upon them; the systematic proscription, by severe penal laws, of all that instruction which might impart to the victims of corporeal thralldom, the knowledge which enlightens and saves the soul, and the liberty wherewith Christ makes sinners free; and our wonder and sorrow are rendered the more intense by the information, that so many Christian men and Christian ministers stand chargeable with what we are constrained to denominate the *sin* of Slave-holding and Slave-dealing, in direct contravention, as we hold it to be, of those principles and precepts, which it is the very object of the Christian ministry to expound and inculcate, and of the Christian character to exemplify.

V. That "God having made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth,"—and all sprung from a common origin, having become partakers in a common guilt, the objects of a common redemption, we sincerely lament the extensive and deep-rooted prevalence of a prejudice so unworthy the generosity of freemen, and of the humility and dignity of Christians, as that against *colour*—a prejudice by which so many millions of fellow-men are placed under an unmerited and disgraceful opprobrium, are excluded from intercourse, are prevented from availing themselves of such advantages as might enable them to evince their fair average of intellectual endowment and moral capabilities, and so to assume the position in society to which they might thus establish their claim; and even, in many instances, doomed to retain the stigma of marked separation in those ordinances of Christian communion, where all distinctions ought to be merged in the common characters of fellow-sinners and fellow-saints.

VI. That we cannot adopt, as the principle of our conduct, the spirit of the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—but in the better spirit of that religion which associates in one holy and blessed fraternity "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours," and which imperatively prohibits our "suffering sin upon our brethren," we feel it our incumbent duty to expostulate most affectionately, most respectfully, but most earnestly, with our Trans-Atlantic fellow-Christians, imploring them to lay to heart, in this matter, their duty to God, the common Father, to Christ, the common Saviour, to their kindred of the human family, and especially to those members of the redeemed family of God, who, with themselves, shall form a part of the "multitude which no man can number, out of all peoples, and kindreds, and nations, and tongues, that shall stand at last before the throne and before the Lamb;" to raise themselves from their lethargy, and, in the power of the principles of our common faith, with the largeness of heart which Christianity inspires, the regard to humanity and justice which the royal law demands, and that practical consideration of the true interests of their country, which a sound policy dictates, to unite their efforts and their prayers in breaking asunder the yoke both of cruel bondage and of degrading prejudice, in rolling away the reproach that lies at once on their national and their Christian reputation, and so bringing down upon themselves, upon their churches, and upon their country, the blessing of Him who, in immediate connection with such deeds of justice, and such "works of charity and labours of love," and in token of his gracious approval of them when done for his name, hath said—"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy re-reward."

VII. That in such way as may be deemed most expedient and efficient by the Committee of the Congregational Union, these resolutions be transmitted to our brethren of the Congregational Churches in the United States of America, with assurances of our most cordial affection, and with earnest prayers that they may be received on their part in the same fraternal spirit in which, we are deeply conscious, they have been dictated on ours, and that, by the Divine blessing, they may, in some small measure at least, contribute to the realization of the inexpressibly interesting and momentous objects to which they relate.

G. D. CULLEN, CHAIRMAN.
JOHN WATSON, SECRETARY
TO THE UNION.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE RELIEF SYNOD, 1836.

I. That this Synod, with devout admiration of the grace of God, acknowledge the eminence in piety to which many of the churches of the United States of America have attained, and that, in many respects, they feel themselves called upon to cherish warmer zeal, by the example of their Trans-Atlantic brethren.

II. That, nevertheless, their admiration does not render this Synod blind or insensible to the foul blot which darkens and disfigures the profession of so many of those churches, in the manner in which they treat the claims of the coloured and Slave population of their commonwealth.

III. That with respect to the first of these classes—the free coloured population—this Synod regard with deep abhorrence the extent to which the prejudices of the whites against a different complexion have been carried, so as to afflict their coloured fellow-citizens with much positive injustice, in the common intercourse of life, and even to stigmatise and degrade them within the sacred pale of the Church of Him who hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and who, without distinction of tribe or family, saves and sanctifies by his blood and Spirit.

IV. That with respect to the other persecuted class—the Slave population—this Synod would have felt astonished and grieved, had their American brethren shown any apathy to the grievances and wrongs of those hapless millions. How much are they not filled with dismay at the dishonour inflicted on the Christian profession, yea, with indignation, when ministers of the Gospel and their flocks, are beheld abetting and aiding in the dark work of prohibiting the education of the Negro, and resisting and persecuting the advocates of his Emancipation!

V. That this Synod not only feel themselves called upon, in defence of the honour of their common Christianity, to raise their solemn testimony against the conduct of their American brethren in this matter; but, that they consider they have a *right* to interfere with them, by fervid remonstrance, for they hold, that they are the American Christians' *fellow-citizens*, in virtue of the unity of the Church Catholic of the Redeemer.

VI. That this Synod, therefore, instruct their Moderator and Clerk, to communicate these resolutions, in the manner they judge most suitable, to those quarters in America to which they are applicable; and further, that the Synod earnestly recommend to such members of their denomination, as may have friends and acquaintances in America, that, in their correspondence, they deal with the consciences of their brethren in this matter, and admonish them on the subject of their accountability to the God of justice, and the Redeemer of the African.

VII. That this Synod express their admiration of the heroism with which the friends of the Negro are, in the midst of scorn and persecution, pursuing the work of the Abolition of that evil which is the dishonour and scourge of their country; and instruct their Moderator and Clerk to employ the means which appear best to them, to communicate to these brethren this expression of our admiration, our sympathy, and our gratitude, (for we feel ourselves their debtors), that they may be encouraged in their labours.

Which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS FROM THE YEARLY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, IN 1836, TO
THEIR FELLOW-PROFESSORS IN THE UNITED STATES.

“DEAR FRIENDS,—This meeting has been introduced into a feeling of deep sympathy with the victims of Slavery, and of the Slave-trade in your land. The faithfulness with which many of your ancestors bore their testimony against this unrighteous system, not only by precept, but by an example involving great personal sacrifices, has been gratefully brought to our remembrance; and when we consider how fully you have washed your hands of this iniquity, and how long you have continued to deplore the existence of this enormous evil, we trust we may cordially unite together, in deeply commiserating the condition of more than two millions of these unhappy victims of the laws of your country, who, for

no crime of their own, are unjustly deprived of their personal liberty, liable to the cruel dissolution of the tenderest ties of nature, and a large proportion of them sunk into the depths of moral degradation.

“The sufferings of these wretched outcasts of society are doubtless not unnoticed by Him who died to save them; and as we must all look to Him for the extension of mercy towards ourselves, let us be careful to lose no opportunity of showing mercy to our fellow-man, by seeking to alleviate his afflictions.

“We regret that the ultimate object of the act which lately passed our legislature, for the Abolition of Slavery, in all the dependencies of the British empire, has been delayed by a term of apprenticeship, which is now proved to have been entirely unnecessary, by the safety and advantage with which immediate Emancipation was effected in Antigua and the Bermudas, two of our West India colonies.

“It was under the divine blessing, through the powerful influence of Christian principle, that this act of justice was at length accomplished; and in humble grateful recollection of the conspicuous part which our religious society took in this great work, we have abundant reason to believe that we were made instrumental in awakening many of our fellow-Christians, of other denominations, to a sense of their religious obligations on this deeply interesting subject.

“The noble sacrifices which your forefathers made for the support of that principle which you have so consistently maintained:—That man cannot hold property in his fellow-man,—has placed you in a position more advantageous than that of any other body of professing Christians, for holding up prominently to view this testimony, on pure Christian principle. We affectionately desire to strengthen your hands, in meekly, yet boldly, advocating this cause of justice and humanity, and in a steady perseverance in promoting it, however discouraging your circumstances may appear.

“Fully aware that you have greater difficulties to encounter than we had, in advocating the cause of the oppressed, we sincerely sympathize with you, but earnestly desire that by the help of the Lord, you may be enabled firmly to advance in this labour of love, in the full persuasion that the path of duty will ever be found to be the path of true safety.

“It is with lively feelings of interest in the welfare and prosperity of your country, that we venture to suggest to your consideration, whether there are not indications of an approaching crisis in this momentous question, in which it will mainly depend, under Divine Providence, on the faithful conduct of those who act on Christian principle, whether Slavery shall be abolished in your land by peaceful legislation, or by confusion and violence. We desire to unite with you in earnest prayer to the Father of mercies, that He would be pleased to protect you in all your dangers, preserve your country in tranquillity and peace, and hasten the day of universal freedom.

“Living, as we do, in a land where Slavery is unknown, we may not be able to make sufficient allowance for those prejudices to which a closer connection with this great evil insensibly leads. But in remembering that God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, may you be enabled to labour against the influence of this baneful feeling, which has inflicted upon a large portion of even your free community, the cruelty of unmerited degradation.

“When we consider that every human being, of whatever colour, or of whatever clime, is equally with ourselves an object of redeeming love and mercy, and that all those who by obedience to the Holy Spirit, are enabled to work out their souls’ salvation, will meet together in one kingdom of rest, and peace, and joy: we entreat you, whilst we desire it for ourselves, to seek after and cherish that spirit of Christian love, which enables us to consider every country as our country, and every man as our brother.

“In the earnest desire that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon you, and upon your labours in this righteous cause,

“We remain, with love, your friends,

“(Signed on behalf of the meeting,)

“SAMUEL TUKE, CLERK.”

REMONSTRANCE OF THE PAISLEY EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, 1837.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN!—In addressing you on the subject of Slavery, we beg most distinctly to assure you that we do so in no spirit of pride or assumed superiority; but with respect and affection, as persons professing the same common faith, and avowing obedience to the same Lord and Master; and we should certainly not have troubled you with any communication on such a subject, had we been able to reconcile silence regarding it, with those duties which we owe you as brethren, in whom we dare not see sin without rebuking it; or with those obligations under which we all lie, to observe the injunctions of the Saviour, and to take heed, that, as far as we can, these injunctions be observed also by others.

It has been reported to us by persons who have travelled in your country, and their statements have been fully confirmed by works descriptive of America, that have issued from the press on both sides of the Atlantic, that of the *Thirteen Millions* of inhabitants in the United States, there are no fewer than *Two Millions and a half* of Slaves, who have been deprived of that liberty which by God's gift belongs naturally to every human being, and of which no man has a right to deprive his brother, unless he has forfeited it by conduct destructive of the peace, and inimical to the welfare of Society. And we are informed by one of your own judges, that these Slaves are generally considered and treated as little superior to the brute creation. That they are regarded by your laws as the mere personal *goods* or *chattels* of the individuals who may own them—are declared incapable of possessing property—their children may be torn from them whenever their master pleases, and sold by him into perpetual servitude; that these Slaves are herded together like cattle, and goaded on to their profitless, because unrewarded labour, by the whips of their task-masters; and are, in short, treated as if they were the reverse of immortal beings, destined equally with their masters to the enjoyment of salvation, and to honour and glory, in those realms of happiness which are beyond the confines of the grave.

Now, if this, dear brethren, be, as we have reason to believe, a true and correct account of the Slavery which exists among you, we would wish most affectionately, but honestly, to expostulate with you as to its continuance; and you will permit us to say, that our conscientious belief is, that as Christians, you cannot, without guilt, engage in, or sanction a system so utterly at variance with the whole spirit of the gospel—a system which gives man a power that God has not given him—to make merchandise of his brother—to rob him of his freedom—to steal away from him his child, and to break up at pleasure all those social relations and obligations which God has established for the comfort and the happiness of his intelligent creatures; all which is in direct and flagrant violation of the two great gospel rules which Christ himself has laid down for his followers:—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

We believe also, brethren, that the system of Slavery which exists in your country is utterly inconsistent with the principle of your civil constitution. In the original Declaration of American Independence, it is expressly affirmed, "That all men are created equal—that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" which statements all of you, we presume, approve, and in token thereof have subscribed. But is it not, we would ask, exceedingly inconsistent to hold such a principle in theory, and yet violate it in practice? To avow, in the face of the world, that all men are created equal, and yet make the mere colour of the skin a ground of inequality—to maintain before high Heaven, that God has endowed all men with *liberty* as an inalienable right, and yet deprive *two millions and a half* of human beings of its enjoyment, are, at least to us, contradictions so palpable and so unworthy of the character of your country, that we would entreat you, as freemen, and especially as Americans, either to cancel such statements from your national charter, or annihilate for ever a system which thus belies your national faith and national integrity.

But what has chiefly excited our astonishment and regret, is the fact, that a system so unjust, unscriptural, and revolting as Slavery, is abetted and encouraged by many of the ministers, office-bearers, and members of your various churches, without subjection to Christian censure or discipline for conduct so improper and unbecoming. Nay, it has been stated to us, that among your

church members, and ministers of the gospel, there are to found proprietors of, and even dealers in Slaves; and we have seen, with humiliation and sorrow, some of your ecclesiastical bodies, such as Presbyteries, Synods, and Conferences, attempting to defend these monstrous practices, and to pervert the very statements of the inspired word, in order that the dealers in Slaves may be shielded from deserved dishonour and detestation, and that Slavery itself may be continued to disgrace and to stain most foully your national honour.

We have heard also, that in some of your churches, the prejudice against colour prevails to such an extent, that the white and the dark hued children of the same Almighty Father, are not permitted to worship in the same place, but are separated from each other into different allotments; and that in some instances, the master and the Slave are not suffered to sit down simultaneously at the same communion table, to commemorate the love of him who died to reconcile man to his Lord, and men to one another; and who in the bestowal of his blessing, equally receives and saves all who come to him, no matter what their previous character, their colour, or their clime.

And is it really true, dear brethren, that "these things are so?" That opinions such as those above stated are held by many of your number; and that practices so abhorrent to every principle of humanity and religion are perpetrated by professed disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus? Suffer us, in affection and in love, to expostulate with you on this subject, and to beseech you, by the duty which you owe to the law of God, which describes the stealing and resetting of a man to be equally capital offences in his sight—by your obedience to the commands of Christ, and by the love which he has bound you to exhibit to your fellow-men, to wash, as Christians, your hands free of all participation in such opinions and such practices. For your duty to yourselves, and to your religious principles—your attachment to the precepts of eternal justice—the love which you bear to your native country—and the desire you have to see her great, and prosperous, and happy, all urge you to "loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, to take away from the midst of you the yoke, and the putting forth of the finger." The existence of Slavery among you is, in our estimation, a foul blot upon your national character, and a crying disgrace to the Christian Churches of your land; and never till it has been completely annihilated, will your great and rising country assume honourably that high place in the scale of nations which we believe her destined by Divine Providence to occupy; and never, till Slavery is abolished, will your Christianity appear as it ought to do, "fair as the sun, unsullied as the moon, and terrible as the bannered host."

In conclusion, we would just remark, dear brethren, that although you may refuse attention to, or compliance with, the brotherly appeals which in this remonstrance we have addressed to you, we have only been discharging our duty to God, to the church, to ourselves, and to you; and we would wish affectionately to remind you, that although Christian men may *now* refuse to do justice to their coloured brethren, there is a time coming when that God who heareth the groanings of the prisoner, and pitieth the sufferings of the distressed, will vindicate his own law from violation, and prove to the satisfaction of the universe, that the mere circumstance of country or of colour, does neither warrant any human being to oppress his brother, or expose any to oppression and contempt.

In name and by authority of the Paisley Emancipation Society.

JOHN BOYD,
JOHN HENDERSON, } SECRETARIES.

REMONSTRANCE FROM THE INHABITANTS OF DUMBARTON AND THE VALE OF LEVEN,
ADOPTED IN 1837, TO WHICH WERE ATTACHED FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED
SIGNATURES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS!—We, the undersigned inhabitants of Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, in Scotland, address you in the spirit of kindness and brotherly love. We disclaim all right to dictate to you; to interfere with your political institutions, or to do any thing that is inconsistent with the dignity

of freemen and the charity of the gospel. Prompted by sympathy for the oppressed, and warranted by the rights of our common nature, we, as one portion of the family of man, would affectionately and solemnly remonstrate with you, as another portion of this family, on the guilt, infamy, and danger of practising or countenancing social Slavery. That period, we trust, in the history of civilization has arrived, when wars of aggression shall cease; and when nations, instead of contending by armed forces, shall emulate each other in deeds of benevolence, and shall reciprocally exert the exciting and moulding influence which their attainments in liberty, in science, in learning, and in religion, qualify them to put forth. Ours is a moral interference; founded on the great principles of humanity, the laws of God, and the dictates of the gospel—an interference which the state of things in your country constrains us to employ—which we invite you to reciprocate with regard to our faults—and which all good and benevolent men will respect. Allow us then to lay before you the views which we entertain with reference to Slavery.

We abhor Slavery in all its forms, as a system which debases man, corrupts society, and provokes God. It sears all kindly feelings in the heart of the master, brutalizes his nature, and assimilates him to a malignant demon—inflicting upon the helpless, pain, suffering, and woe. It robs the Slave of his natural rights, wrests from him his personal labour, and converts him into a chattel and beast of burden; thus putting him into a condition where, by physical necessity, he is prevented from discharging the high duties of a responsible creature. It considers men as mere animals, devoid of immortal souls, that may be bought and sold, and used like cattle and articles of merchandize. Other sins are generally individual acts—even despotism is the deed of one or at most of a few—but Slavery is “iniquity established by law,” and involves either as agents or abettors, all the members of that community where it exists. It is a flagrant violation of the design of social government, the grand purpose of which is to protect and secure the persons, property, and rights of mankind; for the nation in which Slavery is sanctioned is an association formed on the base and ruffian principle of one class of human beings degrading permanently another, and profiting by their bondage, their toils, and their blood. It is a system rife with indescribable horrors, the working of which spreads guilt, pollution, and misery through all parts of the land, and causes to arise from unnumbered broken and bleeding hearts, a cry which, there is reason to fear, the Divine ruler will yet answer in terrible retribution.

We detest this system wherever it is found, and in what form soever it appears. Whether the Slaves wait on the Eastern despot, or serve the President of the great Republic, we welcome them as brethren, pity their degradation, and in the name of insulted and outraged humanity, we demand their freedom. But Slavery assumes its darkest and most loathsome forms when it is connected with the institutions of a free, generous, and enlightened people—just as poverty becomes more squalid and disgusting when it is seen beside the glare of wealth and grandeur. We felt this truth as applied to ourselves. We deplored the existence of Slavery in the British dominions; confessed the guilt which it had brought upon us; laboured to procure the liberty of our enslaved fellow-subjects; and as an evidence of our repentance and sincerity, we gave twenty millions sterling to gain their emancipation. It is therefore with feelings of deepest grief and shame, that we learn there are upwards of two millions of Slaves in the United States; that the condition of these in many States is exceedingly miserable; that they do not legally enjoy the benefits of marriage and the sweet affinites of father, husband, and brother; that they are generally denied the advantages of education; and that property in man, the accursed traffic in human beings, and all the horrid attendants of Slavery, are countenanced and perpetuated by the laws of your country.

We deplore this system of things on account of the Slaves, on account of the free citizens, and on account of the serious injury which it does to the sacred cause of liberal principles. America is a great and a splendid nation, and has been contemplated with the liveliest interest as a magnificent experiment regarding what enlightened and patriotic men, unopposed by prejudices, by illiberal customs, by vested rights, by adverse interests, can accomplish for the social welfare and happiness of man. Peopled by persons who came from other lands, and who carried with them intelligence, experience, and piety, your country obtained at the very outset wise and excellent institutions. It was a new and peculiar state of things, that a matured system of laws should be given to a nation at the first; and as there was nothing in the condition of the people

to defeat the operation of the most benevolent principles, the progress of the experiment has been watched with the deepest solicitude. The eyes of the sincere lovers of civil and religious liberty have been turned to America with intense and anxious gaze; they have prayed that the experiment might be successful; and they have ardently wished that the energies of the social system, unrestricted by the encumbrances of ages, might gloriously expand and bear the richest fruits. Your exertions were hailed with growing pleasure. Your magnificent home societies for diffusing the blessings of education and scriptural knowledge, your methods for preventing crime, your revivals of religion, your efforts in the cause of temperance, and your missions of love to the heathen—executed with so much energy, were all welcomed as proofs that America was destined to instruct the nations, to stimulate the kingdoms of Europe in the noble career of social improvement, and to shower blessings on the world. Arguments in favour of liberal principles, both civil and ecclesiastical, were beginning to be enforced by confident appeals to America. We looked to the west, and we saw indeed freedom arrayed in her brightest attire, adorned with all that is fair and precious; but when she rose from her glittering seat, and held out for the admiration of Europe the charter of American independence, we beheld a stain on her brow and a fetter on her right hand; Slaves scourged, bleeding, and dying behind her; and that her beautiful robe was spotted with the blood of murdered thousands. The friends of despotism rejoiced at the sight, and the friends of liberty turned away and wept; and silenced and ashamed, they retired to mourn over the guilt and inconsistency of sinful men, and to lament that the moral influence of America upon the nations should be thus cruelly destroyed by the existence of domestic Slavery.

These things ought not to be. We entreat you as freemen to wipe away this foul disgrace, and to purify your national institutions by giving immediate liberty to the enslaved. Adopt without delay, measures for opening the doors of their servitude. Strike the fetters from every hand—proclaim liberty through all your States—and embrace in the arms of love your black and coloured brethren. They have immortal souls; warm affections; and useful energies; and when blessed with freedom, they will promote and strengthen your social prosperity. Be just and consistent. Bear not the symbol of liberty in one hand, and the scourge in the other. Weaken not your influence upon the old world by tolerating longer this system which stains the moral beauty, and paralyses the strength of your nation. Delude not yourselves with the idea—subversive of all the responsibilities of the social state, that you are not accountable for the guilt of American Slavery, and that it is a matter which concerns the Slaveholders alone. It is a national sin. The Slaves are your fellow-creatures—your brethren, whom in the eye of the Divine law, you are bound to love and to relieve; and “if you forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; and if you say behold, we know it not, doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he that know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?” Recognize the great principles that all men, whatever be the colour of their skin, have by nature equal rights, and that it is the immediate right of the Slave to have Emancipation, and the immediate duty of the master to grant it; and employ every lawful means, such as example, discussion, and the diffusion of information, for carrying these principles into full effect; and then your national brightness will be without a spot, and the delight which good men feel in your prosperity will be without an alloy.

We beseech you, as fellow-Christians, regard and act upon the free and generous spirit of the gospel. It offers the high privileges of salvation to all classes. It opens the gates of heaven to the black, as well as to the white man. It tells us that in Christ Jesus there are neither bond nor free but that all are one family, of which God is the head. It softens and removes oppression wherever it comes, and pours into the wounds of society the healing oil of gladness and joy. The Redeemer says, “Preach the gospel to every creature;” and shall American Christians interfere and say, Lord, not to the sons of Africa? The Divine Judge says, “Love all men;” and shall the fearers of his name in America say, Lord, exempt the coloured race? The blessings of heaven’s love and mercy descend like the rays of the sun upon all lands; and shall the government of the freest people in the world, interpose an enactment to prevent these blessings from falling on the black and degraded children of Ham? Such conduct is assuredly not doing to others as you would wish them to do to you. Our Lord’s will, clearly taught in the Bible, is, that you love these men, give them equal

privileges with yourselves, and lead them with you to heaven; and if you disregard this, you will exclude yourselves from the family of God. Remember the fate of Egypt. The cry of the suffering Slaves is ascending to heaven, and is entering into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, and he who heard the groaning of the burdened Israelites, will hear the sighing of your prisoners, and display in your land, unless speedy repentance arrest his arm, the wide-wasting judgments of his awful power.

It is with unspeakable pleasure that we have heard that numerous Societies have been formed among you for the glorious purpose of procuring, by constitutional and peaceful means, the immediate Emancipation of the Negroes. These Societies have our entire and cordial approbation, and our fervent prayer for their success. Their principles appear to us to be accordant with Scripture and human rights—and the plan of operations which they have adopted, to be that which seems best calculated to gain the end which all the sincere opponents of Slavery have in view—namely, the freedom of the enslaved. We bid these societies God-speed; we encourage them to go forward, undismayed by difficulties, scorn, and danger; the persons who compose them, are, in our opinion, the best and truest friends of America; and we warn others against opposing them, lest it be in their case as it was with those who compelled Moses to flee from Egypt, when he interfered with his brethren, that they retard for many years the full prosperity, happiness, and glory of their country, and be obliged to implore those very men, whom they now despise, to assist in rescuing them from the dreadful evils in which the perpetuating of Slavery will undoubtedly involve them.

Despise not this remonstrance. Say not that it comes from a comparatively small and unimportant place, and that it is the act of those who are adorned neither with rank, power, nor wealth. We are, however, free men; and can you bear the scorn of the lovers of liberty? The circumstance that this appeal in behalf of the injured Negroes comes from the working classes—from the inhabitants of a manufacturing district, proves that your guilty conduct has excited universal astonishment, and called into operation feelings which shall prompt incessant rebukes, till ye loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.

In addition to the foregoing Remonstrances and Resolutions, we have before us similar documents adopted in large public meetings at BRADFORD, LEICESTER, YORK, LEEDS, DARLINGTON, BIRMINGHAM, BATH, BRISTOL, &c. &c.

CASE OF AMOS DRESSER—ATTACK ON MR. THOMPSON IN THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN, AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED AT NASHVILLE; AND MR. THOMPSON'S REPLY.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

OUR readers are aware that in May last, Messrs Thompson and Breckinridge were engaged in a public controversy in Glasgow, on the subject of Slavery in the United States. In another column will be found one of Mr B.'s speeches on that occasion; we have not heretofore noticed this controversy, nor would we, on the present occasion, have introduced any part of it into our columns, were it not that we deem it high time for some one to speak out in relation to the Dresser case. That Mr Thompson has been guilty of the most gross misrepresentations of the Gospel ministry, in the Slave States of America, is obvious to all who reside in the southern section of the Union. Thus, he represents many of them as Slave-dealers, at which assertion we cannot but be amazed. Mr Thompson, when he gulled his Glasgow hearers with this slander upon the ministers of the Gospel here, certainly was not aware that the man who, in this country, makes a business of buying and selling Slaves stands upon a level with the black-legged gambler, and is viewed as a nuisance to society. He certainly was not aware that such an employment would for ever close the ears of the community against the preaching of any minister; and that if such a one would attempt to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would be hissed out of the pulpit by an indignant people. This, however, is only of a piece with Mr Thompson's other representations concerning American Christians.

But our chief object at present is, to give the true version of the Dresser case; and we deem it necessary for some one to vindicate the characters and conduct

of the seven or eleven elders of the Presbyterian Church, alluded to by Mr Thompson. Indeed, *we* feel in duty bound to attempt this vindication, because, in Dresser's account of that affair, he laments the absence of his friends from the city during his trial—they being at the camp meeting when he was taken prisoner. These friends of Mr Dresser were the members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Nashville, who were then absent at a meeting held by a sister church some ten miles from town. For his introduction to these *friends*, Mr Dresser was indebted to the writer, and he attended that meeting with the expectation that his special friend, the writer of this article, would recommend to the congregation the Cottage Bible, which he offered for sale, not because Bibles are a scarce commodity in Middle Tennessee, for we presume they are nearly as plenty as in Glasgow; but because it is a valuable commentary, admirably adapted to the wants of plain people, who cannot afford the expense of a more voluminous work.

Then, as the acknowledged friend of Mr Dresser, we deem it our duty to give the true version of the conduct of those implicated elders of the Presbyterian Church here. Moreover, as we do not belong to that Church, but to one that by many is viewed as a rival to it in this country, we cannot be suspected of a desire to conceal the improper conduct of its members. Again, we are no Slave-holder, but have often in our columns pleaded the cause of the African, and insisted on the amelioration of his condition. Besides, being a native of Glasgow, and our connections well known there, we think our statements should have some little weight in that city, where Mr Thompson's assertions were made concerning the seven or eleven elders of the Presbyterian Church in Nashville.

We have seen the names of these seven or eleven elders given by Mr Thompson, and what must the citizens of Glasgow and of Great Britain think of the correctness of Mr Thompson, when informed, through the medium of a paper published in Nashville, that on that occasion there were present neither seven nor eleven Elders of the Presbyterian Church, but three—Mr J. C. Robinson, Mr S. Seay, and Mr William Armstrong. All of them respectable gentlemen—who, Mr Thompson to the contrary notwithstanding, would do honour to the eldership of any church in Glasgow, or elsewhere. With the first of these gentlemen we have conversed upon this subject, who stated he had been appointed a Member of the Committee of Vigilance, but never attended except during Mr Dresser's trial. And then he was induced to be present for the most benevolent purpose, viz. : to do his utmost to have Mr Dresser treated as he would wish his own son to be in similar circumstances—and that during the whole scene he pled that the young man should go unscathed. The motives of the other gentlemen we believe were equally good.

A true statement of the circumstances attending that trial, however, will place the whole affair in a very different light from that given by Mr Thompson. Mr Dresser came to Nashville under the character of a book-pedar, about the time that an effort was being made by a band of white desperadoes to excite the Negroes in a neighbouring State to deeds of rapine, bloodshed, and murder: was discovered and prevented; and when the citizens of Nashville had good ground to believe that persons of a similar character were at work inflaming the minds of the coloured population here, when pictures of white men and even children cruelly lacerating the backs of Negroes, were being circulated among them; in a word, when the whole population were in a most fearful state of excitement! On his arriving in town, Mr Dresser, being a Presbyterian, applied to Dr. Edgar, the Minister of the Presbyterian Church, to countenance him in the sale of his Commentaries; he, to encourage the young man, introduced him to the members of his church, some of whom purchased his books, and treated him with great kindness. When he had supplied that congregation, Mr Dresser introduced himself to the writer of this article as a candidate for the Gospel Ministry—stated that he had not sufficient funds to complete his education, and had resorted to the business of selling books to enable him to finish his course. The writer gave him an introduction to the members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church here, many of whom patronised his work purely to help him to finish his studies. Meanwhile, certain very inflammatory placards, addressed to the coloured population, were posted on the corners of the streets during the night by some one unknown. When the Cumberland Presbyterian congregation here were supplied, the writer introduced Mr Dresser to a C. P. congregation in the country, some five miles from town, recommending him to their patronage, and left him with them to dispose of his Bibles. During his stay

there, placards of the same description with those already mentioned, were posted on the trees in different parts of the neighbourhood. These circumstances excited suspicion, and created indignation in the minds of the populace, *we think justly*.

The morning before Mr Dresser went to the camp-meeting, in his barouche were found, accidentally, a number of inflammatory tracts and pictures of the same character with those already in circulation; and, it being noised abroad that an Abolitionist incendiary had been detected with the publications in his possession that had created so much excitement, the *whole* population became exceedingly exasperated. A number of gentlemen who had been appointed during the emergency of the occasion, a Committee of Vigilance applied to the Mayor of the city for a warrant for the apprehension of Mr Dresser, who had followed the writer to a camp-meeting, for the ostensible purpose of selling his Bibles. On his being brought to town, the Committee entered into an examination of his papers and conduct; during which the indignant and much-excited populace demanded that he should be placed in their hands; some were for tarring and feathering, others were for whipping him severely, and others for shooting him. The Committee believed that he had acted very wrong, and deserved punishment, but were unwilling that he should fall into the hands of an exasperated populace. Some insisted that he should be committed to jail, and be tried by the laws of the land; but it was evident that if this were done, the enraged populace, in all probability, would take his life before he could reach the prison; and it should be remembered by the citizens of Glasgow, that, in Nashville, the civil authorities have it not in their power to send up the Gallowgate for hundreds of armed men; no, the people govern themselves, and there is no check here upon popular fury except their own good sense. In this dilemma the Committee thought it most prudent to appear to punish him, and sentenced him to receive twenty lashes. A gentleman of great popularity was appointed to declare this sentence to the people and obtain their acquiescence—with some difficulty he succeeded. Mr Broughton, the officer who had him in charge, having received secret orders not to hurt the young man, directed Mr Dresser to hold his hand upon his back, and stated that he would strike that. Mr Dresser himself afterwards said that he felt only the last blow, owing to the whip passing over his hand. At the close another gentleman addressed the throng, and insisted that no further punishment should be inflicted upon him, and called upon them to give a token of their approbation, which was accordingly done. During the whole scene the members of the Committee surrounded him to keep off the populace, and at its close they conveyed him to his lodgings; had this not been done, Dresser never would have left Nashville alive. Mr Dresser subsequently, to the Rev. Mr Hall, a Presbyterian minister in this vicinity, expressed his grateful thanks to the Committee for the course they had pursued; and to us it is most evident that these gentlemen saved his life. We now appeal to every reflecting man, what in such circumstances would have been the fate of a person in the hands of a Glasgow, a Manchester, a Liverpool, or a London population, without the interference of the military? He would have been torn piece-meal.

Mr Thompson says, the elders who condemned Dresser to be whipped had the Sunday before given him the elements of the broken body and shed blood of the Lord Jesus Christ: if they did, in our humble opinion, on that occasion they acted the parts of friends, and to these very men he is in a great measure indebted for his life. But to our knowledge, the Sabbath before his trial, Mr Dresser was in Frankland or its vicinity, eighteen miles from Nashville; and he acted very disingenuously in his publication of that affair, to represent the conduct of the elders of the Presbyterian church in so dark a light, from some of whom, previous to his trial, he had received many marks of attention and hospitality, and all of whom befriended him as much as they possibly could when his life was endangered. As an act of justice to those who cannot be present to speak for themselves, will the Glasgow editors to whom this number is sent, give this article insertion? Will Dr Wardlaw, to whom we send a copy, be so kind as to see to it, that the false statements of Mr Thompson, in relation to the seven or eleven Presbyterian elders, are corrected?

MR GEORGE THOMPSON'S REPLY.

To the Editor of the Glasgow Argus.

118, PRINCE'S STREET, EDINBURGH, Feb. 10th, 1837.

SIR,—In your paper of Monday last is an editorial article taken from the *Cumberland Presbyterian*, a religious newspaper, published at Nashville, Tennessee, United States, in which the writer attempts to invalidate my testimony respecting the character and influence of Slavery in the United States, by impugning the truth of a certain statement made by me during my recent discussion with Mr Breckinridge. As I am charged with having “gulled my Glasgow hearers,” I am sure you will afford me the space necessary for the vindication of my veracity. In the course of the debate I stated—“That Mr Dresser, a pious and respectable young man, was apprehended in Nashville, on suspicion of being an Abolitionist, brought before a Vigilance Committee, and, according to ‘Lynch Law,’ was sentenced to receive 20 lashes with a cow-skin on his bare back. That he was so punished, and that upon the Committee were seven elders of the Presbyterian Church, and one Campbellite minister.” The whole case, as narrated by Mr Dresser, and published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, is now before me. The Committee by which Mr Dresser was tried and sentenced, is called a “Committee of Vigilance and Safety!” The following are the names of the seven elders in the Presbyterian Church:—

“JOHN NICHOL.
A. A. CASSEDAY.
SAMUEL SEAY.
S. C. ROBINSON.
ALPHA KINGSLEY.
WM. ARMSTRONG.
S. V. D. STOUT.

THOMAS CLAIBORNE.

“The name of the Campbellite minister.”

—See *Second Edition of the Discussion*, p. 131.

I have never referred to the case of Amos Dresser for the purpose exclusively of demonstrating the corrupt state of the American Churches in the Southern States, or the Slave-dealing propensities of the “Gospel Ministry,” but rather to illustrate the history of “Lynch Law,” and the blind and merciless fury of republican abettors of Negro Slavery.

The writer in question is careful to deny, what I have never asserted, that many ministers of religion in America are Slave-traders. I understand the technical meaning of the word “trading” in Slaves too well to charge any of the clergy of America with following that profession. Far be it from me to class them with those human jackalls who are ever prowling over the *Slave-raising States*, to find a supply of victims for the distant *planting States*; but I have charged them, and do again charge them, with *buying, selling, and holding Slaves*—with enforcing human labour with the whip—with keeping back by fraud, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down their fields—with building their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong—with using their neighbours’ service without wages, and giving him not for his work—with suffering human flesh to be classed (O, horrid iniquity!) with the property sacred to sacerdotal purposes—with sanctioning by practice, and greedy participation in its gains, a system which deprives more than a sixth part of the population of the United States of their inalienable natural rights, and social and religious privileges.

Let the “natives of Glasgow” ponder well the following uncontradicted statements, made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America, May, 1835:—

“Thousands and thousands of our fellow-creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted too by *ministers and elders* of the Presbyterian Church. Ministers of the Gospel and doctors of divinity may engage in this unholy traffic and yet sustain their high and holy calling.

“Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, are with both hands engaged in the practice.”

Has “a native of Glasgow,” since he reached his adopted land, seen any advertisements like the following? If he has not, and will read them in cou-

nection with the above citations, he will, I think, be disposed to admit that he did me some wrong when he branded me as a slanderer of the Christians of the Southern States. If he is familiar with such documents, then he must have left his love of freedom and justice in Glasgow, and become, against conviction, the apologist of "Lynch Law," and sanctified Slave-driving.

From the *Charleston (S. C.) Courier*, February 12, 1835:—"Will be sold by Thomas Gadsden, on Tuesday the 17th instant, at the North Exchange, a prime gang of TEN NEGROES, belonging to the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, in Christ Church parish." (!)

Again, February 1st, 1835, the "sale at auction, of the property (?) of the Reverend Doctor Furman, consisting of a cotton plantation of 2000 acres, a library, chiefly Theological, TWENTY-SEVEN NEGROES, two mules, one horse, and one old waggon." !!!

Again, the *Southern Religious Telegraph* of October 31, 1835, states that, in one part of Virginia, "of rather more than thirty Presbyterian ministers, including missionaries, twenty are farmers, (viz., planters and Slave-holders,) upon a pretty extensive scale."

While such a state of things continues, while the Church is thus defiled with innocent blood, let not the *Cumberland Presbyterian* imagine that the Christians on this side of the Atlantic are to be silenced by the cry, "misrepresentation!" "slander!" &c. We shall continue to cry aloud and spare not. We shall tell the people of America their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins; nor cease our remonstrances till they let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke. Greatly do I rejoice to find that the movements in this country on the subject of American Slavery, are exciting attention and creating discussion. Let us have *free discussion*, and the accursed system will soon be hurled to the dust.

The denial that there were *seven or eleven* elders present during the trial of Amos Dresser is altogether unnecessary. I have *never* stated the number of elders on the Committee as more than seven. I have *never* stated that these were *present* when Dresser was condemned. It is not denied in Nashville, that the elders named were members of the Committee. Their *connection* with that infamous association is all I have ever insisted upon. Seven elders and one minister on a Lynch Committee! Officers of a Christian Church in league with the mail plunderers of Charleston, the kidnappers of New Orleans, and the murderers of Mississippi! This is amalgamation indeed! But, says their apologist, they did not go all lengths with the mob, or with their brethren in the Committee. They are pious and kind hearted men. One of them pled, but pled in vain, that Dresser might go unscathed. Again, I ask, what had *they* to do with an illegal and self-constituted tribunal, erected in contravention of all law and justice—in direct violation of the Constitution—a wicked, and worse than inquisitorial aggression upon the person and liberty of the citizen! These modern *Pilates* may pronounce their victim innocent, and wash their hands, and plead the will of the rabble, but they can never erase the fact, that they "delivered him to be scourged." They cannot deny that they were members of an unconstitutional court, making itself at once accuser, witness, judge, jury, and executioner; and that they condemned a Christian citizen who had committed no crime, broken no law, to a painful and ignominious punishment. "But," says a native of Glasgow, "they did not hurt him." Be it so: let them *have* the benefit of the unexampled clemency of the man who wielded the "heavy cow-skin," the scene is quite sickening enough without the addition of a bloody back. My advice to the elders of Nashville, "who would do honour to the eldership of any church," is, Let Satan do his own work. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?—and what communion hath light with darkness?—and what concord hath Christ with Belial? If determined to act in the matter, it should have been to denounce the unlawful doings of their fellow-citizens, and to have stood forth the open and dauntless asserters of the rights and innocence of the stranger in their midst. The language of every man *fit* to be an elder, in reference to every Lynch Committee, must be, "O, my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

It is further denied that Mr Dresser received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of any of the elders who sat upon his trial. From Mr Dresser's own narrative of the transaction, published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, I find that he arrived at Nashville on *Saturday*, the 11th of July, and took lodgings at the Nashville Inn. That, during the following week, he proceeded

with the sale of his Bibles, till *Saturday* the 18th; when, while attending a camp meeting a few miles from the city, he was apprehended by Mr Broughton, the principal city officer, brought to Nashville, and, by order of the Mayor, (!) delivered over to the Lynch Committee. Mr Dresser then adds—"Among my triers, there was a great portion of the respectability of Nashville. Nearly half of the whole number professors of Christianity, the reputed stay of the Church, supporters of the cause of benevolence in the form of Tract and Missionary Societies, and Sabbath-schools, several members, and most of the elders of the Presbyterian Church, from whose hands, *but a few days before, I had received the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of our blessed Saviour.*" Some of the Committee were in favour of thirty-nine, others were for inflicting one hundred lashes, whilst others still thought me *worthy of death.*"

Thus have I shown that, in my statement of this affair, I have not wandered the breadth of a hair from the narrative of the sufferer himself. I have stated that I frequently referred to the case of Mr Dresser to exhibit the headlong fury of the Slave-holders and the triumph of mob-law. Let us see how far the admissions of the *Cumberland Presbyterian* go to support my representations.

I. Christian men pleaded in vain with the "respectability" of Nashville that Dresser should go "unscathed."

II. The Committee thought it "prudent to appear to punish him, and sentenced him to receive *twenty lashes.*"

III. But for the efforts of the Committee "Dresser never would have left Nashville alive."

IV. Of the indignant populace, "some were for tarring and feathering, others were for whipping him severely, and others for SHOOTING him."

V. "The people govern themselves, and there is no check here upon popular fury except their own good sense."

What a revelation is here! Tar and feathers, the cow-hide, and the rifle, are the portion of the man who dares to avow himself the friend of the oppressed! The laws and the constitution are "blurred and blotted parchment." Mayors, constables, and militia, are puppets to fill the gewgaw scene, without power to oppose the will of their high mightinesses, the disciples of Judge Lynch. Property, liberty, and life, depend upon the "good sense" of an "excited" and "enraged" populace. Precious safeguard! Who would not dispense with the ordinary securities enjoyed by a free people and dwell in Nashville, where all depends upon the "good sense" of the mob?

The *Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle*, of the 26th August, abuses the citizens of Nashville on account of the mercy shown to the delinquent. "He should (says that paper) have been hung up as high as Haman, to rot upon the gibbet, until the winds whistled through his bones. The cry of the whole South should be—*Death, INSTANT DEATH*, to the Abolitionist wherever he is caught."

Let the reader of this imagine himself suddenly caught up and conveyed beyond the seas to an unknown land. He alights in the centre of a city having all the appearances of high civilisation. The Church, the school-house, the Exchange, and the thronged Mart, bespeak education, trade, commerce, and religion. The scene changes—it is midnight—he beholds a spacious square lighted with torches, and filled with an infuriated multitude, breathing out threatenings and slaughter. In their midst, a human figure is seen, naked and kneeling, with hands clasped and raised to heaven. A number of well-dressed men, nearly resembling in outward appearance the servants of God in his own land, are near the kneeling man, giving directions, and superintending the proceedings. A tall figure draws near, and holds above the suppliant the instrument of torture, and the emblem of infamy—a signal is given, and blows are commenced—twenty stripes are inflicted. While yet the lashes are falling, the bell tolls the noon of night; the solemn sound ushers in the Christian Sabbath. The punishment ended, the victim rises, and, with a glad voice, praises the God of his pilgrim sires for the grace vouchsafed in the hour of need. Suddenly the voice of thanksgiving is drowned amidst loud exclamations of "G—d d—n him, stop his praying." You turn in horror from the scene. Retiring, you join yourself to a citizen of the place, who has been also a spectator, and the following conversation ensues:—

Stranger. Tell me in what country I am at this moment sojourning?

Citizen. The United States of North America, of which I am a native born citizen.

Stranger. What is your form of Government?

Citizen. Republican—based upon these self-evident truths, that *all* men are created *free* and *equal*, and that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

Stranger. What is the religion of these States?

Citizen. The religion of Christ, who was anointed to preach deliverance to the captives.

Stranger. Who is yonder culprit who has just been subjected to an ignominious scourging?

Citizen. He is a citizen of these States, and a candidate for the Gospel ministry.

Stranger. You fill me with surprise and horror ! Say, what foul crime has he committed?

Citizen. He is the friend of universal liberty ; books and papers, advocating *freedom* and *equality*, have been found in his possession. He belongs to a society for promoting the Emancipation of a sixth part of our population, now held in basest bonds. For this he has been scourged, and may deem himself happy that he has escaped with his life.

Stranger. By what law has he been condemned ?

Citizen. Lynch Law.

Stranger. I do not understand you. What law is Lynch Law ?

Citizen. It is mob-law, or vigilance and safety Committee law, and is declared by a judge of a neighbouring State, where they recently burned a man alive under it, to be *paramount* to Congress Law, and the constitution of the land.

Stranger. By whom was his sentence pronounced ?

Citizen. By sixty of our most respectable citizens, including *seven* Presbyterian *elders* and *one* MINISTER of the Gospel.

Pardon, Mr Editor, the length of this, and believe me, respectfully yours,

GEO. THOMPSON.

CONTRABAND IMPORTATION !—THE AMERICAN ANTI-CHRISTIAN PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOURED PERSONS, IMPORTED INTO SCOTLAND.

(From the *Glasgow New Liberator* of May 20, 1837.)

TO CAPTAIN BIGLEY, OF THE BRIG CANONICUS, NOW LYING AT THE BROOMIELAW.

SIR,—The people of this country, in thousands and tens of thousands, are remonstrating with your countrymen against their national sin of Slave-holding, Slave-trading, and kidnapping, and their anti-Christian prejudice against Coloured persons on account of the complexion God has been pleased to give them. Regarding the last of these, Sir, I feel myself called upon to remonstrate with you, and that publicly, because the offence with which you are chargeable is a public offence, and because the people of this country should know that the illiberal, cruel, and sinful prejudice against which they are contending, is by you and such as you brought home to our doors ; and that your countrymen may be made aware that they may expect to be remonstrated with and publicly exposed, if they attempt to import such anti-Christian maxims and practices into this country.

You will be at no loss to discover that the case referred to is that of your refusing to take out, as a cabin passenger, a young gentleman of Colour who applied to you on the 4th inst., when the following conversation ensued :—

Gentleman. What is the price of the passage to New York, in your vessel, Sir ?

Captain. How do you wish to go ?

Gentleman. In the cabin.

Captain. I have very good accommodation in my *second* cabin.

Gentleman. But I wish to go in the best.

Captain. I cannot take you in my best cabin.

Gentleman. Why not, Sir ?

Captain. (Staring the gentleman in the face for some minutes.) Are you not a COLOURED man ?

Gentleman. Certainly I am, Sir.

Captain. Then I cannot take you in my cabin; I have not been accustomed to live with *Coloured* people.

Here a third person, who was in the captain's company, said, If he took you in his cabin it would prevent other passengers from going.

The gentleman asked if there were any American passengers, and being answered that there were none, replied, No British subject would refuse to go in the same cabin with me on account of my complexion, since I have repeatedly travelled in the best cabins of the first steamers in Britain, without meeting with any such objection.

Captain. Although all my passengers were perfectly willing, yet I would not suffer you to go in my cabin, for I have not been accustomed to live with *Coloured* people. He farther stated, that as such was the custom in the United States, and as his was an American vessel, the same rule would be followed by him here.

This, Sir, is a public offence; because you publicly advertised your vessel for passengers, without stipulation as to colour or any other exception; and when a gentleman, intending to become a passenger, applies as above narrated, you turn round and say, "No Sir, I can't take you; your complexion is not so fair as mine." You should in your announcement have stated that you would take passengers only provided they are white, not *Coloured* people; and then the public would have known your conditions and exceptions; but it is right now that the public should know that they are such; and it is to be hoped that the people of Scotland will appreciate both you and them.

I proceed now to endeavour to show that such prejudice is, as said above, anti-Christian, sinful, cruel, and illiberal, and shall be most happy if I succeed in convincing you and some others of your countrymen, that it is so, notwithstanding that it prevails very extensively in the United States; and, what is remarkable, among persons professedly religious, and indeed of whose soundness in the faith we can have no doubt. In attempting this task, the limits of a newspaper compel me to be concise.

It is so obviously unjust to subject a person to any obloquy, inconvenience, or disadvantage, on account of adventitious circumstances, over which he neither had nor can have any control, and which constitute in him no real demerit in moral character or mental qualifications, that it appears quite superfluous to prove its injustice. It may be said, indeed, to be an intuitive axiom. It would be as reasonable and just to inflict upon a man any disqualification on account of his stature, the colour of his hair, the shape of his nose, the place of his birth, or if he should happen to want a limb, or be otherwise deformed, as on account of his complexion, which is to him as much an accidental matter, and as little implying any moral or mental defect, as any of these circumstances, and many more which might be enumerated.

The inconsistencies in the conduct of man are, in some cases, so extravagant, that they may be said to make angels weep and devils laugh. And in your country these may be seen in as great luxuriance and perfection as anywhere.

You associate with, and inflict no disqualifications on a man on account of the place of his birth or his religion. He is equally eligible to places of trust and power, whether he be of Dutch, French, English, German, Grecian, Turkish, or any other origin, provided he be white, and have no African blood in his veins; and you admit men of all religious denominations, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Jew, Turk, Mahomedan, or Infidel; and you would give a passage to, or associate with, any of these, or with any white man, although he may be flying from his creditors, whom he may have defrauded, or from the gallows, to which the laws of his country may have sentenced him. But to a "*Coloured man*," who has sustained an unblemished character, who has pursued his studies with credit and distinction, surrounded daily with white students, who has honourably taken his successive degrees, and finally that of M.D., in Glasgow University, to which he had been driven from New York, his native place—these illiberal prejudices interdicting him from pursuing his studies in any American University—to "*a Coloured man*," who, on account of his mental acquirements, his liberal education, his moral and religious character, and polite behaviour, is unquestionably entitled to the rank of a gentleman; and who, as such, has freely associated in this city, and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, with gentlemen and ladies of the most respectable classes of society, at their private tables, and in parties, and in public meetings; to such a one you refuse a passage in your vessel, for the good and substantial reason that God has been pleased to make his complexion different from yours!!!

And have you any reason to infer that *your* complexion is the most acceptable in the sight of God—of that God who has “made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the whole earth?” Do you not know that “God looketh upon the heart,” *not upon the colour of the skin*, as a test of admission to His divine favour and presence in the heavenly kingdom? You may refuse him a passage in your vessel, but you cannot refuse him a passage to heaven—you may refuse to associate with Coloured persons on earth; but will you not associate with them in heaven? May they not stand there in judgment against you and your countrymen, for the injustice done them here? Or think you, that there will be one heaven for whites, and another for Coloured people? Is it so that you have read your Bible?

I appeal to your own conscience, Sir, and ask you, were *you* a coloured man, would you like to be so treated on account of a matter over which you have no more controul, than over the colour of your hair, or the height of your stature? For, as the Scripture says, “you cannot make one hair black or white;” and if not one hair, certainly not the colour of the skin. Would you account such treatment to yourself just and Christian? I am sure your conscience answers No. Then what do you make of our Saviour’s command, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them?” He neither taught nor exemplified in his own conduct any such unjust distinctions.

If I have succeeded in showing that the prejudice against persons on account of their colour is unjust, it must follow that it is anti-Christian, sinful, and cruel. Although aware that many sensible and otherwise good men yield to its influence, perhaps from having imbibed it from their earliest years, yet I am not aware of any rational defence being attempted to be set up for it. It seems to be thought bad policy to obliterate such a distinction; but be assured, the old maxim may be depended on, that “honesty” or justice “is the best policy;” *that* promotes dissension and division, *this* union and strength. Look at South America, and even the West Indies, where Slavery lately existed; Jamaica, for instance, where there are free coloured gentlemen in the legislative Assembly, and some of them holding other civil offices.

Now, because it is so in the States, you and many others, I believe, seem to be satisfied that you should yield implicit obedience to the custom. But, what has made it custom, and what keeps it custom in the States? Slavery and Slave-holding. “Know ye not,” says the Scripture, “that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?” In thus yielding submission to distinctions set up by Slavery and Slave-holders, which are opposed to the will and the Word of God, but united as political expedients to maintain their sinful sway, are you not yielding yourselves the servants of sin unto death?

Trusting that you and your countrymen, who are verily guilty concerning your brother in this matter, may soon be made free from this sin, and become the servants of righteousness, I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

JOHN MURRAY.

BOWLING BAY, NEAR GLASGOW, 12th May, 1837.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND ITS EFFECTS.

THE SHIP CANONICUS, CAPTAIN BIGLEY.

We have seen in two Glasgow papers, the (*Chronicle* and *Argus*) a statement respecting a student of Glasgow College, who was refused a passage in the cabin of the American Ship *Canonicus*, Captain Bigley, because of the *colour of his skin*, being descended from the African race. We have ascertained that the statement is perfectly correct, and we happen to know the excellent young man who has been thus treated—thus insulted because of the colour of his skin—his Almighty Maker’s work! We believe no one in the Glasgow College was more esteemed for his amiable qualities and literary acquirements, and by none more than by the Professors of our University, who showed their esteem by marked attention to him.

We have often denounced the system of Slavery, and, from every appearance, no country in the world has more to dread from its moral and physical results than the American Republic, of all nations the most inconsistent, and, we are afraid, the most guilty touching this matter. We say this more in sorrow than in

anger, because we know what a bad use foreign despots and their beloved friends the Tories of our own land make of this. They scornfully point to the United States saying, "There is your glorious Republican freedom! there is the working of your Voluntary system of religion! there is the cause of man in its perfection, and 2,500,000 human beings the cattle-property of the boasting nation!" American President! American People! look at this picture. The despots of the old world, and their sweet cousins the Tories, have you fast bound here between wind and water. They have certainly a heavy hit at you here, and the speech of the new President of your Republic was by no means calculated to weaken the force of this sneer at your *spotlessness!* We tell you frankly that your country will speedily be broken up into separate hostile, if not despotic states, if you do not abandon Slavery; and you ought to think of St. Domingo and be wise. The chain which you keep so closely round the necks of "Afric's insulted race," cannot but, as a retributive justice, gall yourselves; and the effects will be to keep your great Republic in an unquiet and unsafe state. The brig *Canonicus*, Capt. Bigley, is not the only instance which has lately occurred of refusal to passengers, (educated classical scholars, and worthy men,) because of the *tinge of skin*, and of their origin. A statement appeared some eight months ago, in the Glasgow and other papers, of two Clergymen who were thus refused; and a poem, which was admired for its force, beauty, and sentiments, was connected to one account, which related the case of the Rev. Peter Williams of New York, (a Coloured gentleman,) who was refused a passage in an American ship to London; but a noble-minded English captain took him into the cabin of his own ship, and treated him with distinguished regard. The following lines occur in said poem:—

"And dar'st thou, America, say thou art free,
Whilst thus thou degradest thy brother?
The scorn of the nations is pointed to thee—
Deep scorn which thou never can'st smother.
Whilst thus thou deniest the rights of mankind,
Thy odium shall sound on the waves and the wind."

LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, TO JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, Esq., M.D.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,—When you are about to leave our shores, and return to your native country, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of tendering you a formal testimony of our esteem, in addition to all the common evidences of affection and respect for you which it has been our privilege to give, during our intercourse for several years.

When you first appeared among us, the circumstance was in a high degree calculated to excite our sympathy on your behalf, that a young man should be found seeking, in the Institutions of Scotland, those intellectual accomplishments which he was refused an opportunity of acquiring in those of his native land, on account of his complexion not suiting the taste of a prevailing party of his countrymen. Our first feelings towards you, dear Sir, we acknowledge, were chiefly feelings of compassion. But, after a brief acquaintance, you became the object of sentiments much more honourable to yourself. We felt ourselves called upon to esteem you for your virtues, and to admire you for your intellectual powers and attainments: and from the contemplation of your character, we acquired additional ardour in the work of delivering your kindred from the oppression of men, few of whom, we are persuaded, equal you in whatever dignifies and adorns human nature. We did not, indeed, require to be convinced for the first time, that the man of *Colour* is possessed of all moral and intellectual capabilities in equal measure with the white; but you made the doctrine less a matter of abstraction to us, and impressed us with the sight and the consciousness of the present living reality.

When we were struggling for the Emancipation of our own fellow-subjects, we felicitated ourselves on gaining you as a member of our Anti-Slavery Committee; and we assure you, that when you appeared on our platforms, and moved or supported our Resolutions, the demonstration given to the citizens of Glasgow, how much of a scholar's taste, how much of an orator's eloquence, how much of a patriot's zeal, and how much of a gentleman's courtesy and bearing may be found associated with a *Coloured* complexion—was productive of the happiest consequences, in stimulating the Abolition zeal of our population. Our

West India fellow-subjects are deeply your debtors: but your own countrymen are more so; since not a little of the fervour of many among us, in the enterprise against American Slavery, is to be ascribed to the circumstance, that the insulted and oppressed of that land are the kindred of James M'Cune Smith.

You leave us, Sir, with our earnest prayers on your behalf, that God may bless you abundantly; that He may prosper you in your profession as a Physician: but especially that He may counsel, strengthen, and protect you, in your patriotic efforts for the deliverance of your brethren, *and ours*, from ignominy, sorrow, and oppression.

We perpetuate our brotherhood, by enrolling you as an Honorary Member of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society; and, with the love and honour of brethren, bid you farewell.

Signed in name, and by appointment of the Committee.

JOHN MURRAY, }
WILLIAM SMEAL, } SECRETARIES.

GLASGOW, 15th June, 1837.

PUBLIC MEETING.

ABOLITION OF THE NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

A PUBLIC meeting of the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity, to petition Parliament for the Immediate and Unqualified Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies, was held on Monday evening, June 19th, at seven o'clock, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel. The house was crowded in every part by a most respectable and attentive audience, it having been announced that Mr George Thompson, and the Rev. Mr Cheever from America, were to address the meeting.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill, the venerable and much-esteemed President of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, was called to the chair, amidst reiterated bursts of applause. The respected gentleman said, it would be utterly preposterous in him to attempt a lengthened address on the present occasion; because the object of the meeting would be much better and clearer, and more forcibly and eloquently stated by the gentlemen who were to address them. (Cheers.) He should, therefore, not occupy more of their time than to thank them for the honour they had conferred on him by calling him to the chair. (Great cheering.)

The Rev. Dr. WARDLAW presented himself to the meeting amidst great applause, and said:—

Mr Chairman,—In rising to submit a series of resolutions for the adoption of the audience, it may be proper to observe, that this meeting, as was known to most present, had been intended to be held on the evening of Thursday last, and had been previously advertised accordingly. Before that day, I had addressed a letter to one of the Secretaries of the Emancipation Society, apologising for my unavoidable absence in the discharge of official duty at a distance from home;—and, as that letter, which, in consequence of the postponement of the time of meeting, had been rendered useless, contained, though hastily expressed, the sentiments entertained on the great subject that has brought us together, I beg permission to make it the groundwork of my present brief address. After stating the apology for absence on the intended day of meeting, the letter, with interspersed remarks, proceeded as follows:—"I should have felt it both an honour and a pleasure to have moved into the Chair our venerated President, the uncompromising friend of Negro freedom, and of freedom generally; (cheers,) or, in his absence, to have occupied his place; or to have done any thing else the Committee might have wished me to do, in *such a cause*. I have

read the statement of Joseph Sturge with the deepest interest and concern. He deserves well of all the friends of the oppressed for what he has done." It may be right to mention, for the information of some in this auditory, who may not be aware of it, that Mr Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, a member of the Society of Friends, paid a visit, at his own cost, along with one or two other Friends, to the West Indian Islands, for the express purpose of investigating the true state of things relative to the actual working of the Apprenticeship system; and has recently brought home his report, of which some of the statements have been laid before public meetings, and have issued from the press. "His statements are sadly and too satisfactorily calculated to confirm all that we had previously heard, by which the suspicion and belief had been awakened, of the existence, to no small extent, of *foul play* in the working of the Apprenticeship system." The accounts brought home by Mr Sturge are not, by any means, the first we have received on the subject. Reports, well authenticated, had previously reached us, such as, even so long as two years ago, produced in many minds a strong suspicion, and in others a full and deep conviction, that the system was working, and likely to work, any thing but well. The minds in which the full conviction was produced, were those which, from previous familiarity with the whole subject, were prepared for the result; and there was no mind in which the anticipation had been earlier and clearer than the mind of my friend on the opposite side of the platform, (Mr Thompson,) who had seen with a kind of prophetic intuition, what the consequences were likely to be. (Cheers.) The letter proceeds:—"A system which formed no part of what was petitioned for by the British people." The system was one, for the invention of which, Mr (now Lord) Stanley has the credit—I presume rightfully. It is not ours to say what his views and anticipations might be. Charity enjoins upon us to believe they might be good. But, whatever the intentions of the inventor might be, the system was founded in an apprehension of consequences from immediate and unconditional Emancipation, such as experience had evinced to be utterly destitute of foundation. The Apprenticeship was a kind of *middle state*;—not, however, alas! such a middle state as some divines had supposed, in which there was no suffering,—but a kind of *purgatorial* middle state, in which the poor Slaves, by a process of subjection to penal fires, were to be fitted for the heaven of freedom. "A system which has at once gulled the poor Slave of the reality of freedom, and made him to feel that 'the little finger' of Apprenticeship is, in some respects, (I do not say in all,) 'thicker than the loins' of Slavery; and, at the same time, gulled the nation out of the attainment of its benevolent purpose, for a succession of years, and exposed it to hazard even at the close of the stipulated period." Yes, Sir, it is the *name*, not the *reality of freedom*, which the Negro, by this Act, has obtained. The terms of the allusion I have made may be deemed strong;—but you will have abundant evidence laid before you to-night, that they are not too strong. Allow me just to quote a sentence or two. The first is from Mr Sturge, and relates to the effects of the system, especially as to females and their infant offspring, in consequence of that offspring not being now regarded as the property of their master. The facts related by Mr Sturge relative to the treatment of females, were of the most thrilling description. Not only were they most cruelly punished, but their infants also suffered from the inhuman treatment of their parents. The men and women work in penal gangs in chains. The case of ten women with children in jail, was this:—They said that on Friday morning last, as it was very wet, they did not turn into the field before breakfast on account of their children; for this on Monday they were brought before the Special Justice, and ordered to pay five Saturdays; they told him they could not, as their provision-grounds were six miles off; they did not get their half Fridays, nor their salt fish, nor flour, nor sugar for their infants, and that without their Saturdays they were destitute of the means of support. This refusal of theirs to submit to so unrighteous a decision appears to have been construed into rebellion. They were sent to the workhouse for three days, and will still have to pay back their Saturdays. Pregnant women are often obliged to pay back the most of the time their masters lose by their confinement. They are not permitted to leave the field to suckle their children; and when they complain of this cruelty, their masters turn round upon them and say, they do not care what becomes of them, for they are free children. The other quotation is from a narrative just published in this city, of the sufferings of a young Negro Apprentice, of the name of Williams, who was deemed by Mr Sturge, and brought home to this country; of the general contents and general merits of the narrative. I say nothing at present, save that it is

written with all apparent simplicity, and chiefly in his own broken *lingo*:—"I have been very ill treated by Mr Senior and the Magistrates since the new law came in. Apprentices get a great deal more punishment now than they did when they was Slaves; the master take spite, and do all he can to hurt them before the free come;—I have heard my master say, 'Those English devils say we to be free, but if we is to free, he will pretty well weaken we, before the six and the four years done; we shall be no use to ourselves afterwards.'"—And then, continued Dr W., as to the nation, what else or what less is it than its being *gulled*? It is a hazardous thing, in certain quarters, to pay in advance. I was always, and still am, a compensationist; but I was for seeing our article before we paid for it. And, whether we succeed in obtaining an abridgment of the Apprenticeship term or not, those with whom we have to do will require to be looked closely after at the period of its termination. "O, it is affecting to think to what extent the system of Slave-holding has destroyed the principles of honour and integrity. The British nation has fulfilled *its* part of the compact to the letter, by the payment, with interest, from the 1st of August, 1834, of the twenty millions of compensation;—the Slaves, we have abundant testimony, have fulfilled *their* part of the compact, with the most patient and persevering industry (I speak, of course, of the mass); and by those who, of all the parties, ought to have been most upon their honour, have the provisions of that compact been violated, in a degree that has rendered it a matter of doubt whether the Apprenticeship has not been an aggravation, rather than a diminution of the pressure of the previous yoke—of the woes of Slavery itself." There is, Sir, a want of honour in all this, which they who have discovered it would not, in all probability, have shown at home. There is, Sir, a want of integrity, from which shame would have kept them—from which conscience would have kept them. But it is the effect of familiarity with the system of Slavery, to eat out the very vitals of sound principle. Let me not be misapprehended. I speak generally. I speak not without exceptions. There are exceptions. I know there are. But the natural tendency and the general effect are as I have stated. "*This is not to be borne.* Blessed facts have proved—facts for which we cannot be too thankful—that the apprehension of evil results from immediate and full Emancipation was utterly groundless—all having prospered in those instances in which it was wisely and—I was going to say *generously*, but I will rather say—*righteously* granted." I refer here to the cases of Antigua and Bermuda, in both which islands full Emancipation was granted, and in both which islands the results have been most propitious. Allow me to quote, in a single sentence, the summary of Mr Sturge's account of Antigua. From "a summary of the result of their inquiries in this island, it appeared that the great experiment of Abolition had succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. The trade of the island had revived, the people were more prosperous, houses and land had risen in value, and the moral and religious education of the inhabitants had kept pace with the amelioration of their condition." "And, whereas, some may allege that it is not worth while petitioning *now*, I," said Dr Wardlaw, "would answer, those on the spot are better able to judge of this than we are, and they urge us to use every possible effort to get the system abolished by 1838." I must here present an important document. It is the conclusion of an address to Mr Sturge, before his leaving Jamaica, *signed by fifteen Missionaries* on the island.

"We cannot refrain expressing our deliberate opinion of the total unfitness of the Apprenticeship system as an act of preparation for freedom; and that it is to the unparalleled patience of the apprentices, and not to its tolerant spirit, that the present peaceful and prosperous state of the island is attributable.

"To you we unhesitatingly declare our belief, that this mockery of freedom is worthless as a preparation for that state to which it can have no possible affinity; that, while it represses the energy of the Negro, it has rendered him distrustful of the British public, by whom he considers himself to have been cheated by a name; that it has entailed, and is still entailing, excessive suffering, especially on the mother, and her helpless and unavoidably neglected offspring; and that, to secure its termination, no effort can be considered too great.

"We do, therefore, most earnestly entreat you, on your return to your native land, to exert your influence to effect the total abandonment of this system in 1838.

"But, if every effort fail in procuring the abolition of the term of apprenticeship to the predial apprentices, that those advantages may at least be secured

to them, to which they are entitled by the provisions, imperfect as they are, of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery.

“We further urge you to watch with vigilance any law which may be introduced in the Imperial Parliament, or passed by any of the colonial legislatures, to curtail the liberty of the Negro after the termination of the present system; and any enactments of a restrictive and oppressive nature, calculated to keep them more degraded than any others of their fellow-subjects, for one moment beyond that period.

“Your own observations in this *Colony* must, we think, have convinced you that the costly apparatus by which it was intended to secure a measure of protection to the Negro, is in many instances made instrumental in carrying on a system of coercion and oppression as odious as that from which he was intended to be freed.

“We cannot but express our regret at the apathy manifested of late by some of those friends in England, who so long and so zealously exerted themselves in behalf of the injured sons and daughters of Africa, and must consider that the responsibility rests on them, who have the power to obtain justice for this still injured people, for any consequences that may take place; meanwhile we shall continue to exert our influence to tranquilise their minds under every disappointment, and to induce them to bear with patience the wrongs they are called upon to suffer.”

My letter to the Secretary, continued Dr Wardlaw, closed thus:—

“Is the abridgment of suffering such as we know to be inflicted, by the space of *two years*—the abridgment of it by that period to so large a number of our fellow-creatures—not worth being in earnest about? I envy not any man the possession of a heart that allows him to think or to say so. Were it *months* instead of years, we should do what in us lies to effect the deliverance. If we do not succeed, we at least enjoy the satisfactory reflection of having done our duty.” I shall not detain you longer, Mr Chairman; but, on the grounds which have thus been stated, and which, in the course of the evening, will, I doubt not, be amply illustrated and justified, I beg leave to propose the following resolutions for the adoption of this meeting:—

“Resolved, 1. That the Act of 1834, purporting to be an Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, contains provisions which, from the first, so far from approving, we deplored and deprecated;—that the scheme of Apprenticeship, whatever might be the views and anticipations of those by whom it was proposed, did then appear to us to be little better than a prolongation of Slavery under another name;—that, in opposition to every such half-measure, we ever regarded the Negro as entitled to Immediate and Unqualified Emancipation, whether respect were had to his claims on justice, to his capacity for using liberty with discretion, or to the munificent compensation awarded to the planter for the loss of his personal service as a bondsman;—that, notwithstanding, we could not but hail the passing of the Act with emotions of satisfaction, having experienced the bitterness of long-frustrated efforts, and the oppressive sickening of the heart from hopes deferred, fondly flattering ourselves with a present mitigation at least of existing wrongs, and anticipating with joy, at a period which, compared with past delays, seemed brief, their entire and final cessation:—

“2. That, while our apprehensions have been more than realized, our hopes have been miserably disappointed;—that on the ground of most unexceptionable testimony, we are unwillingly but sadly convinced, that under the colonial administration of what is termed the Emancipation Act, not only does the system of oppression maintain its ground in unmitigated severity, but that, in some respects, it has even assumed an aspect of augmented atrocity; so that not merely do we feel ourselves deluded by men who, in failing to implement their part of the compact, have defrauded us of our compensatory millions,—but, if measures be not instantly adopted for putting an effectual termination to such infamous abuses and such faithless mockery of a nation’s confidence, we still stand, as a people, obnoxious to the charge of national guilt, and to the consequent displeasure of the ‘righteous God who loveth righteousness:’—

“3. That we therefore reiterate our old demand of the instant and entire Abolition of Colonial Slavery; and urge it with even increased vehemence, on the ground that, under a delusive name, nearly three years of scandalous oppression have been added to the Negro’s previously accumulated wrongs; that our estimate of his average character and capacity for the right enjoyment of liberty, has been abundantly confirmed by the happy results of various trials;

and that whatever rights the Apprenticeship Act may be conceived to have conferred on the planter, to the temporary continuance of his unremunerated services, have been utterly forfeited by a system of outrage so nefarious, as would warrant the insulted people of Great Britain to insist on the exaction of a much heavier penalty:—

“4. That, instead of pleading the pressure of our own commercial distresses as a reason for suspending our attention to the Negro’s interests, we rather feel ourselves thereby called upon to the more prompt and energetic exertions in his behalf;—because our own sufferings do not answer their end, unless they increase our sympathy for the sufferings of others; because our duty to the oppressed Slave, misnamed Apprentice, in our Colonies, is neither altered in nature nor diminished in imperativeness, by the additional duty laid upon us of providing relief for our distressed operatives at home;—because at the tribunal of Divine Judgment, the merciful alone are warranted to expect the blessedness of finding mercy; and because, in the reckoning of that God who chastises us by his righteous inflictions, the oppressions and cruelties still practised in our Colonies, form, we are convinced, no trivial element in that guilt, on account of which He has ‘a controversy’ with our land;—

“5. That we deprecate the heartless indifference of those who would discourage the efforts of the Friends of the Negro to procure the Abolition of the Apprenticeship System, by pleading the shortness of the time it has now, by the terms of the Act, to last; that, on the contrary, we hold it to be our duty, even were the unexpired period shorter than it is, to demand its Immediate and Unqualified Extinction, as we would not willingly be answerable for even a single hour’s unmerited and unnecessary suffering, far less for two full years of suffering, on a scale so painfully extensive; and we earnestly entreat all who formerly struggled with us so nobly in this cause of humanity, to imitate our example; that so, by one simultaneous effort, we may, if possible, secure the real and perpetual annihilation of the accursed system of British Colonial Slavery, under whatever form and by whatever ALIAS it may disguise itself.”

The Rev. Mr JOHNSTONE of Port-Eglinton, said, he was not under any necessity of making a lengthened address, in seconding the resolutions just proposed, as they spoke sufficiently for themselves. The very excellent remarks with which they were introduced, must tell on every bosom that throbbed with the feelings of our common humanity. On that account he did not feel himself called upon to detain them by any remarks; but there was another circumstance connected with the meeting of that evening which prevented him from intruding himself. By addressing the very respectable audience before him, he should only detain them from listening to facts and arguments, accompanied by eloquence that must not only charm every ear, and carry conviction to every heart, but rouse the higher principles and the nobler feelings of our nature. (Cheers.) Mr J. then seconded the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr GEORGE THOMPSON rose to introduce to the meeting the Rev. George B. Cheever, from Salem, Massachusetts, United States, and warmly eulogised the Rev. Gentleman as an ardent Abolitionist, who had devoted his head and his heart to the great work of Emancipation. He was certain that his reception in a land of strangers would be a most cordial one, and such as, from his talents, piety, and general worth, he was eminently entitled to.

The Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER rose to propose a resolution with which he had been intrusted:—

“Resolved, That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship System in the Colonies of Great Britain, is intimately connected with the advancement of the Emancipation Cause in America; believing, as we do, that so long as the system is suffered to exist, the march of Freedom in the United States must be proportionably retarded.”

Mr Cheever observed that the resolution put into his hands accorded so entirely with his own convictions, that he felt very great pleasure in saying a few words, however inadequate, in its support. He remarked, that when the bill was signed that sanctioned and established the system of West India Apprenticeship, the people of Great Britain lost an opportunity for striking a blow at American Slavery, which, it was to be feared, they could never regain. Had they done what they ought—what every consideration of humanity and justice demanded—had they struck the fetters at once from their Slaves, and lifted up the trampled Negro to a full participation in their own rights, unshackled and undegraded by the bondage of the Apprenticeship System, they would have shown to the world the glorious spectacle of eight hundred thousand enslaved

Negroes made at once and absolutely free—you would have held forth, said Mr Cheever, the pleasing sight of eight hundred thousand Negroes advancing—the moment the weight was taken off that crushed and paralysed their energies—advancing in intelligence, in order, in education, in sterling worth of character, both as moral beings and as members of the body politic. You would have silenced for ever the arguments of Slave-holders against the measure of Immediate Emancipation, by an example,—just such as the whole world needed,—of the practicability, the wisdom, the expediency, as well as the justice and benevolence of that measure—(hear, hear, hear)—and by this time, instead of a community of Negroes, driven to their ceaseless tasks amidst insults and stripes, and the horrible cruelties of the treadmill, you would have had a happy and peaceful community, cheerfully working for their just wages, grateful for the change you would have made in their condition, obedient to the laws as good citizens, and demonstrating to the whole world the vile slander of those who asserted, and still assert, that the blacks can never be tolerated among the whites in a state of freedom, and that the measure of Immediate Emancipation would be a measure fraught only with terror and death. Instead of this, you have suffered yourselves to be cajoled into the purchase and support of a system of barefaced iniquity and oppression—a system that perpetrates and perpetuates the most atrocious enormities of Slavery, under the plausible shape of a gradual preparation for freedom—a preparation, as it has been admirably described this evening, of “penal, purgatorial suffering.” You thought you had got rid of Slavery, when you were only lengthening out its ferocity; and you thought you were setting an example of benevolence to America, when you have made it, for American planters, an example of avaricious and successful cruelty. You thought you were aiding Abolitionists, and you have abetted Slave-holders. By bidding twenty millions as the price of sin, you have endorsed the wicked claim of property in man; you have signed and sealed it with your own sign-manual; and you have encouraged the rapacious dealers in human flesh to demand, whenever occasion elsewhere offers, a tenfold sum. (Hear, hear.) You have made a precedent that every man-stealing nation will quote with savage delight; and you have put an argument into the mouth of every such nation, in the opportunity to say that since, with all the power of your Parliament to act upon the subject, you either dared not, or could not, or would not, give to your Slaves the justice of Immediate, Unconditional Freedom; you have thereby declared that the measure itself can neither be deemed wise, nor practicable, nor expedient. You may say what you will to disallow that conclusion, but the enemies of human kind will tell you that actions speak louder than words. (Hear.) In giving to the West India planters their system of Apprenticeship, you have taught American planters to expect theirs. You have set an example of Abolition, by a prolonged form of injustice, which indeed is no better than if your physicians should attempt to teach us to cure a fever by changing it into a consumption. And in so far you have rivetted the chains of American Slavery, even while you have been professing your horror and indignation against it. You have been putting beams in your own eyes, while you have been saying to brother Jonathan across the water, “Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye.” (Loud cheers.)

I will not say, “thou hypocrite,” for doubtless you have been perfectly sincere; you demanded immediate unconditional Emancipation, and you might have had it if you had not suffered yourselves to be so egregiously deceived; but I do say, “cast the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye;” for the world, you know, will not endure to be lectured on their sins by those who are partakers with them. The very resolution put into my hands, as the judgment of this meeting, plainly intimates that you are still giving opportunity to all who hate the truth to say to you, in answer to all British remonstrances on the subject of American Slavery—Physician, heal thyself. (Loud cheers.) And indeed you well know that it is the very edict of the Almighty, even in the nature of our souls as he has made them, that every sin we indulge, and every abuse we foster, either as individuals or nations, weakens our power of rebuke over the consciences of others. It cannot but be so, and therefore it is that the effectual energy of a nation’s benevolence is so vitally connected with, and so intimately dependent upon, the purity of her own institutions, and the holiness of that living temple, which, in the Church of Jesus Christ, enshrines the only true and steadfast principles of benevolence within a nation’s bosom. And I do say, in regard to the main point of this resolution, that the iniquity of your Apprenticeship

system is so great and so glaring, that if you, with the Parliament of England in your hands, and the power of acting directly upon Colonial Slavery, neglect to do your duty, and fail to procure the Abolition of this cruelty, you do, in just the same measure, tie yourselves up from all effectual labour for the Abolition of Slavery in America. You are like men with iron gyves upon their wrists, attempting to stretch forth their arms to save their fellow-creatures from perdition. If, with the power of acting directly through Parliament, you cannot at once abolish your own Slavery, but leave your 800,000 Negroes still groaning beneath its execrable torments; how can you expect that in America, with such tremendous obstacles in our way, and no power of immediate constitutional remedy through Congress, (I mean so far as Slavery in the separate individual States is concerned), we can in a moment work ourselves free from this iniquity. Here permit me to say a few words as to the reason why we are truly anxious to obtain your undivided energies in our help. I do assure you it is not because we feel ourselves behind the British nation in any one movement in the march of Christian benevolence; it is not because our possession and profession of unlimited freedom is not as genuine as yours; though, indeed, until you on the one hand have redeemed the wrongs of the Caffre nation, and snatched your 800,000 Negroes from the pangs of West India tyranny, and lifted poor degraded Ireland to an equal participation in every one of your own privileges—(loud cheering), and until we, on the other hand, have redeemed our millions of bondmen from Slavery, and wiped the reproach of its existence, as we soon shall do—(cheers), from our national escutcheon, the profession of freedom in neither case is altogether free from the charge of hypocrisy. It is not because we are not as quick in our sympathies as you are, for I believe that even now there is more apathy on the subject of Slavery in Old England than in New England (hear, hear, and cheers)—and a more healthy Anti-Slavery feeling in New England than in Old England (cheering)—an Anti-Slavery feeling of such tremendous power that it shakes the nation to its centre. And if the sin of Slavery existed in your country as it does in ours, and our Abolitionists were to send a religious deputation to your Churches, it would be one that would speak out without the least concealment, in a voice of thunder, though disgrace or death itself were threatened as the consequence. Be assured that if we possessed the power of acting directly through Congress, as you do of acting directly through Parliament, we would ask for no help from abroad, we would scorn to have a word said to us upon the subject, even by our mother nation, beloved and venerated as she is; and we would abolish the whole evil, and set our two millions and five hundred thousand Slaves at liberty; yea, set them in the open air of liberty, in less time than you have taken to put your eight hundred thousand, even beneath the tender mercies of the "West India Apprenticeship." You have only changed evils; we would have annihilated them at once. But we ask your aid, and we welcome your remonstrances, because, as Abolitionists, we depend, under God, upon the hearts, and minds, and efforts, and prayers of Christians, upon the free discussion, upon the universal, reiterated, perpetual agitation of the subject, upon the burning power of truth over the consciences of Slave-holders. Every voice of the civilized world therefore helps us, every remonstrance from this Continent, every strong expression of outraged humanity, acts with the intensity of galvanic force across the Atlantic. (Hear, hear, and loud cheering.) The sin is festering, even in our Churches, and every earnest rebuke in the Spirit of Christ from your Churches, and every word from your eminent Christian philanthropists goes down into our inmost convictions, and greatly animates our efforts. The bare knowledge of the fact that a man so universally esteemed among us as the venerated minister of Christ, in whose chapel we are this evening assembled (loud cheers)—a man whose praise is in our Churches as well as in yours, gives the aid of his presence and his counsels to a meeting like this, and has heretofore lifted his voice to encourage the band of Abolitionists in America (cheers); adds to the influence of Abolitionists there, and will carry with it a sensation of delight to all our hearts. Let a few such minds combine to help us, and it will be help indeed. Let a few more such names here and in the United States be enrolled among our ranks, and our cause will speedily become popular, and the whole multitude of waiters for the movement of the tide of popular opinion will crowd themselves into it. And if you, the British public, will rise in your united energies, and annihilate the system of Apprenticeship, which, as long as you suffer it to exist, does indeed retard the march of freedom in the United States, then you will be strong to help us, without any thing, so far as Slavery is concerned, to neutralise the

power of your appeals. Let not the idea that but few years remain for the legal existence of that system, prevent your exertions. Let not Slavery die out beneath your apathy, but strike it out, cut it up by the roots, for if you leave the stump in the ground, as you have done, it will be sending out its tough and poisonous runners all over the country. The wickedness of the system is desperate, it is incurable; nor can it be supported in any part of it but by argument as grossly immoral, as incurably wicked, as the system itself. Think of going to the holy Scriptures for a defence and a foundation of Slavery; yet even thus have the apologists for Slavery in the United States profaned the Word of God, and would palm upon an indignant world a Slave-holding Christianity as the Christianity of the Bible! The wickedness of the system only appears the more perfectly hateful, the more utterly intolerable, by the light of such an attempt, and we are determined in America to have nothing to do with patching it up as you have done. (Hear, hear.) We will have no Apprenticeship system there. (Cheering.) Our Yankee Abolitionists are too shrewd for such a cajolement, (hear), and too stern in their principles for what would seem to them such a desecration of their cause. Here I might tell you of the scenes of deep interest transacted already in our Senate Chambers, and in our National Assemblies, as well as at the Anniversaries of our State and National Anti-Slavery Societies. (Hear.) I might tell you of the noble stand in opposition to southern blustering and tyranny, taken by the venerable ex-President of the United States, John Quincy Adams (hear, and cheers); and of the onward progress of this mighty movement of freedom and benevolence, amidst all obstacles or evils that men or devils can array against it. Doubtless our country is to be the theatre of scenes of yet deeper interest, deepening, indeed, as the consummation advances; for never was an era in the world's history, when the conjunction of circumstances, and the period of time, and the state of Christianity, and the state of political society, and the arrayed energies of the prince of darkness on the one side, and the host of light on the other, conspired to make a crisis more sublime. Never before was there an arena so completely open, in which tyranny and liberty, in the eyes of all the nations, engaged in a contest of such infinite importance. And the genius of despotism seems perfectly aware, by the madness of its struggles, that if it fails here it fails for ever. We trust in God it will be a bloodless contest, and we are sure of victory, for our cause is the cause of religion; it is deep in the hearts of men of ardent piety, whom you might as soon compel to renounce their Confession of Faith in Jesus Christ, as to relinquish their holy, self-denying labours, in behalf of their perishing brethren in bondage. It is deep in the hearts of men, who long for the spiritual regeneration of more than two millions of immortal beings, excluded from the enjoyment of heaven's sweet light, even amidst all the surrounding light and privileges of Christianity. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Trusting in God, we are confident of victory, and fearless of danger. Our cause shakes the Union, it is true, but only in order that it may be cemented still more strongly, cemented in the righteousness that exalteth a nation; that all its stones and timbers of iniquity may be shaken out of it, and their place supplied with majestic buttresses of universal freedom. We have no alarm for the continuance of the Union, save in the continuance of Slavery. But even if the danger which our opponents charge upon the agitation of the subject, were real, is not our duty to the oppressed as real? The danger is merely contingent, while the duty is present and actual. And we dare not, in defiance of God's law, place a contingent danger on the one side, in the way of the performance of a manifest moral duty on the other; no, not even if it were a danger involving the possible destruction of the whole habitable globe. A manifest, immediate moral duty, is to be immediately performed, and the consequences must be left with God. (Loud cheers.) We expect opponents indeed, and we have them in abundance, nor was there ever any good work that had them not (hear, hear, hear); nor any "wide and effectual door" thrown open, that had not its many adversaries, and its alarmists in the open passage, and who would tell you that you are moving too soon and too hastily, (hear, hear), and that you are rolling back and ruining your cause by your reckless imprudence. There is not a purer enterprise of Christian benevolence in the world, than this. There is not one more immediately connected with the march and advancement of the kingdom of our Redeemer, (hear, hear), and I hold it an honour and a privilege for any man to be engaged in it on either side of the Atlantic, or any corner of the globe. (Hear, hear, hear, and cheers.) And to be persecuted for righteousness sake, in such a cause, is a still greater privilege. It was a noble sentiment of Edmund

Burke, that "it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that obloquy and abuse are essential parts of triumph." Certainly those men who, like Mr Birney and Arthur Tappan, have suffered in the cause from genuine, sterling principle, are to be envied. Their day of reward is near, and they who persecute will yet behold the subjects of their persecution completely triumphant, and invested with the crown, even of this world's reverence. I will not detain you, but only reiterate, in the name of all my countrymen who love the cause of Negro Emancipation, the earnest prayer that you would hasten and press on the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship system in the Colonies of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Do it now, and you would strike a most powerful blow for the extinction of Slavery in the new world across the ocean; though the effect of the blow would still be diminished by the injustice of its delay; and the planters would still cry out to us, when we would urge the tardy example in favour of immediate Emancipation in America—"Aye but, after all, you had in the West Indies several years of Apprenticeship; and if it had not been for that, the measure of Emancipation would have been ruinous." The truth is, every hour's delay on your part to administer the justice that lies in your power, or to express your abhorrence of the Apprenticeship system, in tones that all the world may hear, is injurious to our cause. And while we welcome your Christian remonstrances, and spread them out with their thousands of signatures before our public meetings, and commend them to the consideration of our Churches, we would do it with a tenfold delight, and your remonstrances would come to us with tenfold energy, if you would complete, now and for ever, the Abolition of Slavery throughout your own possessions; and, as you boast that the bright sun never sets upon the British dominions, enact that its light shall never more fall upon the dwelling of a bondman, nor shine upon a single rood of land in all these dominions, that is hoed, or planted, or trodden by a Slave. (Loud cheering.)

The Rev. Mr EADIE seconded the motion.

The Rev. JAMES M'TEAR, on moving a resolution relative to Mr Sturge, said, as the resolution now to be moved has only been handed to me since I came to this platform, (for it was understood, Sir, that a gentleman every way better qualified to do justice to the sentiments which it contained was to have taken charge of it), I acknowledge that I do not feel prepared as I could wish, for addressing an audience so very numerous and so highly respectable as the present. The resolution, however, is so completely in accordance with my own sentiments, and I am so persuaded that it accords no less with the sentiments of those who compose this meeting, that I shall crave your indulgence while I attempt to say a few words in support of it. To those who have so often assembled within these walls, to plead for the immediate and unconditional freedom of our Coloured brethren, the name of Joseph Sturge is not unknown. We have frequently heard of his labours of love—of his disinterested benevolence—of the munificent sums which he has again and again subscribed to promote the good cause, and of his varied and untiring exertions in behalf of the wronged and oppressed Negro. But when we see a modest and unobtrusive man like Mr Sturge, (for such I am well informed is peculiarly his character), when, I say, we behold a man like this display a firmness and decision of character, in undertaking and prosecuting what he conceives to be his obvious duty towards the oppressed and the helpless—when we see him, for a considerable time, leaving the comforts and endearments of home—not for the purpose of commercial speculation—nor for the sake of increasing his fortune, by forming profitable connections in trade; but, actuated by a spirit of the purest and noblest philanthropy, undertaking a tedious and expensive voyage, exposing himself to the influence of climates which are allowed on all hands to be highly pernicious to European constitutions—and that, too, at his own cost—when we see him doing all this, that he might, by his own personal inquiry, obtain that information which he deemed necessary to influence the legislature of his country, and to rouse the British public to demand, with a voice which should reach through the length and the breadth of the land, that the odious system of the Negro Apprenticeship should be immediately and entirely abolished—is not such conduct worthy of our highest approbation? When we advert to the horrors of that system which he has so simply yet so graphically described—horrors, the existence and atrocity of which he has but too clearly demonstrated; when we attend to the overwhelming mass of evidence which he has thus been enabled to bring forward, to prove how completely the friends of Emancipation have been duped and defrauded by the wicked scheme of the Apprenticeship,

and the consequent necessity that it be immediately brought to an end; I am sure that this meeting will cordially agree with me, that our warmest thanks should be given, and given with acclamation, to Joseph Sturge, Esq., and to his colleagues who went out on the same humane and benevolent Mission. Sensible as I am, Sir, that these sentiments require no lengthened speech to recommend them to the approbation of this meeting, I will not detain you a moment longer, but conclude by simply reading the resolution—which was then carried by acclamation.

“Resolved, That this meeting express their cordial and unanimous thanks to Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, and the other gentlemen who accompanied him on his benevolent Mission to the West Indies: that the pure spirit of philanthropy which so nobly stimulated Mr Sturge to undertake the Mission at his own cost, and in the prospect of a host of opposition; which animated him to the prosecution of his humane object, amid scenes of the most revolting and heart-rending description; and which has enabled him to obtain such an overwhelming mass of evidence of the cruelty, oppression, and fraud, practised upon the Negro Apprentices in our Colonies, is worthy of our highest admiration, and entitles him to the warmest commendation of the friends of universal Emancipation; and this meeting earnestly hopes that Mr Sturge’s efforts will, under the divine blessing, powerfully contribute to promote the immediate termination of the odious Apprenticeship System.

“That the Chairman be requested to write to Mr Sturge, and transmit to him a copy of this resolution.”

Mr THOMPSON then rose, and was received with loud cheering. He said, he would not attempt to describe the feelings with which he had attended that meeting, and especially the feelings with which he had listened to the various speeches which they had heard delivered. He could candidly assure them, that, much as he had been in the habit of administering reproof, and much as he had been in the habit of cultivating those principles which ought to enable him to receive reproof meekly and kindly, he had not that night sat unmoved under the severe, though he was sure it was the honest reproof of his excellent friend from America. (Hear.) He had not been angry, but he had been deeply grieved and humbled, that they, as a nation, should have so fully and so justly deserved it, and that the reproof which they had received that night ought to have been far more severe than their friend would be willing, perhaps, to administer. (Hear.) And yet he felt that he must say one word for them (the meeting,) and for himself—for them first, and for himself next—(cheers)—viz., that while all was true that had been said, and while human language could not overcharge the picture of misery and injustice in the British Colonies, and while it was open to any one to prefer against them a charge of want of firmness and skill, as characterising their struggle with reference to Abolition; yet so far as their intentions were concerned, the continued existence of Slavery was scarcely chargeable upon their hearts, but rather upon an infirmity of purpose in particular quarters—upon that want of foresight which was manifested when they were within sight of port; and when, (continued Mr Thompson,) with swelling canvass, and amid the shoutings of a triumphant crew, they were about to cast anchor in the haven of Emancipation; some want of courage necessary to success was then exhibited—some influence operating on persons having the last management of the cause, tended to produce not what they indeed anticipated they should be able to accomplish—the Total Abolition of Slavery—but an odious, unnatural, incongruous mockery of freedom, called the Apprenticeship system of the West India Colonies. (Cheers.) And yet he granted that they were justly chargeable as a nation with this state of things. It was indeed a sad state of things; and they were now called on imperatively to arise and undo with tears that which they had done, but which they had done so ill that he had almost said they had better never have done it at all. (Cheers.) And yet he scarcely knew why they agitated. At the present moment, he scarcely knew whether they ought to agitate at all, unless they knew the management of their cause was not to be committed to people in London. (Cries of “Hear.”) They could put no faith in Committees, either Parliamentary, or Anti-Slavery, so called, at present established in London. With reference to all Anti-Slavery Committees they had known in London, they were for all practical purposes extinct; and when they were summoned, what then? Why, Committees might be called together in London, in Birmingham, in Liverpool, in Manchester, in Edinburgh, in Glasgow, in Aberdeen, in Dundee, and as many other places as they chose, but what would be the result? In vain they

would petition—in vain they would demand attention—in vain they would instruct their representatives—in vain they would send up delegates to London, if those who were charged with the immediate settlement of the matter, wanted the prudence or the honesty they ought to have, and, proving recreant to all that they pledged themselves to do, took from a Minister just that which a Minister offered, forgetting their principles, their pledges, and their constituents; forgetting all that they owed to man—all that they owed to the Slave—all that they owed to God. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) He would say, renounce all these—place no confidence in Ministers of the Crown, in Colonial Secretaries, in any Parliamentary leaders who had thus deserted the cause, and committed themselves to measures, and to men adverse to the interests of the great object they had at heart—and let it be known to the world that they, the inhabitants of Glasgow, in public meeting assembled, have spoken boldly out; that they required an immediate answer from those to whom they addressed their petition, and that standing by themselves they demanded, that night, and would prosecute that demand till its fulfilment to the utmost farthing—the complete, the universal, everlasting overthrow of that fabric of cruelty and oppression, which held in cruel bondage the bodies and the souls of eight hundred thousand human beings in the British Colonies. (Loud and continued cheering.) They must not trust any longer to the Colonial Office. Take one specimen of the honesty of the Colonial Office. But first he would remark that when they should send up their petitions to London, embodying their prayers, founding these prayers on the facts authenticated by Joseph Sturge, they would tell Lord Glenelg and Sir George Grey nothing that they did not know before. They knew it all before. Letters upon letters, dispatches upon dispatches, and deputations upon deputations, had made them acquainted with the whole facts; and, before the Committee of the House of Commons, witnesses had made known all these things; yet, in the face of such convincing facts, the Committee decided in their Report of last year, that not one day of the Apprenticeship should be taken off the amount. (Hear.) Their recommendation to the House of Commons was, that they should discourage, both on the part of the master and the Slave, the slightest abridgement of the Apprenticeship term. As to the honesty of individuals connected with the Colonial Office, he would give one fact connected with the conduct of Sir George Grey; and to him alone he would refer, as he was not aware that Lord Glenelg had much to do with the West India department of the Colonial Office. There was one gentleman who faithfully discharged his duty as a Colonial magistrate in Jamaica—Dr Palmer. From the first moment of his appointment as a magistrate, Dr Palmer did most honestly and fearlessly his duty to all parties, and what was the consequence? Why, he was persecuted by the whole island. Every effort was made to crush him, and drive him from the Colony. At last, by means of incessant clamour, his enemies induced the Marquis of Sligo, the Governor, to suspend him from his office, on the allegation that some decision he had given was contrary to law, and that it would be for the peace of the island if he was dismissed. Dr Palmer, on this occasion transmitted a full account of the facts to the Colonial Office. At this time, the Marquis himself became unpopular, in consequence of doing impartial justice: a meeting of proprietors was held, and some strong statements made as to the Marquis, describing him as a man very unfit for the Government of the island, and a resolution to that effect was proposed. This resolution however, did not pass; but the minority met by themselves, and appointed a deputation, consisting of West India proprietors in London, to wait on Sir George Grey, and advise the immediate recall of the Marquis of Sligo, from the Governorship. What was the reply of that Minister to this extraordinary application? He said, “I enter fully into your views, but we cannot recall the Marquis of Sligo, without a reason. He is a great friend with the Dissenters, and it will not do to irritate the Dissenters.” (Sir George Grey never recollecting all the while that he owed his seat for Devonport, to the Dissenters.) (Hear.) “But,” continued he, “I will tell you what—the Marquis of Sligo has done a certain thing—he has suspended Dr Palmer; we have sent out word to him to reinstate Dr Palmer in the magistracy. This will in all likelihood bring about his resignation; we will accept it at once, and then put a better man in his place.” (Hear.) As was anticipated, the Marquis did send home his resignation; it was accepted, and Sir Lionel Smith put in his stead. But let the meeting mark the double dishonesty of this act. Dr Palmer was reinstated; but Sir Lionel Smith (the Marquis of Sligo’s successor,) soon afterwards again suspended him. On this occasion the treatment of Dr Palmer was even more unjust than before;

and if they had strong reason to disapprove of his suspension the first time, they had still stronger reason the second time, and ought to have reinstated him. But no; Dr Palmer was made, on the first occasion, the means by which the Marquis of Sligo might be superseded; and though Sir Lionel Smith had again suspended him, and the latter had again given a full statement of the case, they confirmed his suspension,—thus by a double stroke of policy, getting quit at once of both Dr Palmer and the Marquis of Sligo. (“Shame.”) This country had paid twenty millions, with interest, for the law which they had got; and then it had appointed about a hundred Magistrates to go to the islands and administer the law. Now, what sort of men were appointed? Why, in the first place, it was decided that no man having an Anti-Slavery reputation should go there. They were chiefly taken from the army, almost all military men. He did not mean to disparage the military profession; but he thought a better class of men could have been got for so important a duty, than those who had served in the army, where, to the disgrace of our country, the cat is not yet abolished. (Great cheering.) Such were the men sent out to the West Indies; and, that they might be the more impartial, the more incorruptible, they were to receive the enormous salary of £300 a-year;—that they might mix with the Colonists and the higher classes of the people there, they were allowed the large sum of £300 a-year. (Hear.) Why, every person who knew any thing of the expense of living in the West Indies, was aware that this was little more than pocket-money. (Hear.) The consequence was, that they found they could not live on this sum; and the planters came around them and invited them to their houses and to their parties; and the magistrates, that they might find fodder for their horses, dinners for their tables, and wine, and all the luxuries of the island—why, they must, of course, dance with the ladies—that they might borrow a gun from one, a horse from a second, a dog from a third, and a wife from a fourth, instead of becoming the friends of the injured Negro, and impartially administering the law, became at once the willing, subtle, industrious, unceasing tormentors of the Negro. They ate with the planter—they hunted with the planter—sung with the planter—got drunk with the planter—in the expectation that, in return, they should flog the Negro—(Hear);—and amply did they deserve all their dinners, and their wine, and every luxury which was poured upon them; for they had not ceased, since the 1st of August, 1834, to torment the Negroes, young and old, even to a degree greater than before that period. (Shame, shame.) The Colonial Office knew all this, and, without wishing to disparage the course in which the present administration were engaged, he would say with Mr Sturge, that they would have had more impartiality from any other, and that it would have been given with a better grace than by the present administration; that administration was a cruel, heartless, dishonest administration, on the subject of Colonial Slavery. He said this the more fearlessly, as he wished for the success of many reforms that they were promoting. But he repeated, that it was heartless, dishonest, and cruel, in reference to Slavery. The only mode of acting upon them was through the people’s House, and he felt persuaded they would yet be forced to listen to the complaints, and obey the behests of the people. (Great cheering.) Mr Thompson then proceeded to point out in what respects the Emancipation Act had been violated in the West Indies. The food of the Negroes, he observed, had been greatly diminished—their usual allowance of salt fish, and even their salt itself, had been taken away—their medicine had been withheld from them, and the women were not now, as before, permitted to have nurses to take care of their children, while employed at labour—old women were driven to the field to work; and those nursing children were not allowed to take even a drop of water to cool their parched tongues, and give nourishment to the infants that drew from them their sustenance. (Shame, and expressions of indignation.) The 13th clause of the Act provided that all children below six years of age, on the 1st of August, 1834, or born after the same date, left destitute by their parents, or in consequence of the death of their parents, and should become burdensome to the planters, then the planters, in consideration of their care and maintenance of these children, should have their services, male and female, till the age of twenty-one years. After remarking upon the base and iniquitous character of this provision, Mr T. said, the planters, from the moment they read it, endeavoured to make it an impossibility for Negroes to take care of their children, in order to drive them to ask the planters to take them off their hands and provide for them. Yet, to the honour of Negro mothers, only seven children in Jamaica had in this way been abandoned, though that island contained 320,000 Negroes. (Cheers.) But

the consequence had been the most dreadful sufferings entailed on the mothers of these children—horrors unutterable endured, and many of the children perishing, in consequence of the treatment to which their parents were subjected. One clause in the Act provided that the Negroes should be divided into two classes—the prædial and the non-prædial: these again were divided into the prædial attached, and the prædial unattached—the former those employed on the soil—the latter not employed on the soil of their owner. This had been flagrantly violated—for those who, before 1834, were non-prædial, had been registered as prædial, or field labourers—and hence, if they wanted to purchase their freedom, they must purchase two years more than if they were registered as non-prædial labourers—thus paying a much higher price than they would otherwise do. (“Shame.”) By the Act, the Negroes were not to labour more than seven hours a-day, or forty-two hours a-week. The Negroes of course, (continued Mr Thompson,) carried no watches to the field, and were easily imposed upon by the overseers, unless the decline of the sun told them their labour hours were long before finished, or the oppressed mother discovers it by the want of that sustenance which she is unable to give her children—these often tell them that they have worked twelve instead of seven hours in the field. By the Act (said Mr Thompson), it was expressly prohibited that women should be flogged, but they are nevertheless flogged with more severity than they were before;—for though it is enacted that there shall be no female flogging, they are yet flogged by another law—for the Emancipation Act provides “that this Act shall not prevent from being flogged for the violation of any law or police regulation, being applicable to all other persons of every condition.” Though no white women were ever flogged in Jamaica, or ever will be, they have nevertheless made it legal to flog them, in order that through this they may get at the black women; and thus the latter are brought under the old regimen, and subjected to greater cruelty than ever they were before. Here Mr Thompson related instances of cruelty exercised towards females, who, besides being exposed to the horrors of the tread-mill, had been severely lashed. The tread-mill he described as a machine of exquisite torture. It was a cylinder of ten feet diameter, with broad steps. The hand-rail above it had eight pair of straps fastened to it, to which the prisoners were secured by the wrists. The board under the hand-rail descended perpendicularly towards the wheel, and did not therefore afford the slightest protection to the prisoners in case of their hanging. The steps of the wheel projected twelve or fifteen inches beyond the board, and were bevelled at the edge, so that the keen side revolved against the bodies, legs, and knees of the prisoners with torturous effect. On such a machine as this it is difficult to move—the women particularly are not able to “dance the machine,” as it is called, and in consequence suffer dreadfully when they miss the steps, by being knocked on the shins and knees. The women are often left, by being unable to dance the wheel, hanging by the wrists, when they suffer excruciating pains, being sometimes all over with blood. Mr Thompson then gave the following from Mr Sturge’s account:—“We asked the jailor at — whether the driver was allowed to use a cat, and asked to see the instrument. It was a whip composed of nine lashes of small cords knotted. He said it was absolutely necessary to ‘touch them up,’ women as well as men. They struck the latter on the back, but the women on the feet. Not only all the steps, but the very drum of the mill were stained with old and recent blood, the latter being that of a poor old woman, which had been shed so profusely, that even the sand on the floor underneath was thickly sprinkled with it. I saw the blood, and put the question myself to the jailor respecting the cause of it, who informed me that the poor old woman had been put on the mill that morning, and, being unable to keep the step, hung for the whole fifteen minutes, suspended by the wrists, with the revolving steps beating against, and bruising her body the whole time. We saw this woman the next day with the penal gang working on the roads, compelled to carry a basket of stones on her head, and chained like the rest in pairs, two and two, with iron collars. She was so dreadfully mangled, they had not attempted to put her on the mill again that morning. Other women showed us their legs lacerated in the same cruel manner.” He then, from an account by Dr Palmer, gave the following additional instances of cruelty:—“He (Dr Palmer) would notice a most horrible and afflicting case that came under his own observation, in which a poor creature, for simply asking payment of his wages for extra labour, had received a punishment of so dreadful a nature as to ruin him for life. Robinson had, along with his fellow-apprentices, contrived to give his extra labour during crop for the sum of 2*s.* 1*d.*

currency per week; payments were always made on Saturday morning; it happened, one Saturday, that Robinson required to go to Spanish Town; he desired his wife to receive his money; the overseer refused to pay it, as he was not present to receive it himself; he took no notice of this until the following week, when being paid for the current week's wages, he asked for the amount due for the previous week. The overseer refused it, and ordered him to be off; the man indignantly replied—"I work for the money, and it belongs to me, and you have no right to keep it from me; and, if you no pay me, I will go complain to massa." The overseer threatened to kick him out of the place. He went to his master, but got no satisfaction. On Monday he was taken into custody, and taken before the Special Magistrate. He (Dr Palmer) had no hesitation in giving the name of the magistrate, it was Mr Thomas Baines, who was now in England, and might deny any part of the statement if he were able. Robinson was charged with insolence and threatening his overseer—threatening to complain to his master. It was positively sworn to, that Mr Baines refused to hear a word in defence, and forthwith sentenced Robinson to receive thirty-nine lashes in the workhouse. How the punishment was inflicted there were no means of ascertaining, but it would appear that the flesh was literally ploughed up on the man's back. A large mass of malignant looking tubercles had arisen, which caused extreme torture when the rays of the sun or the slightest cold air came in contact with the part; the man's strength was gone; his constitution impaired, and his mind had become a good deal affected by his long-continued sufferings. In describing the agony he had endured, he became almost frantic, a very distressing affection of the heart had been produced, and which it is probable will carry him to his grave." (Cries of shame, shame.)

The above details were received by the meeting with expressions of the deepest indignation.

Such, continued Mr Thompson, were one or two instances of the horrible oppression to which the Negroes were exposed under the Apprenticeship system. Mr Brown, the returned magistrate, to whom he had before referred, told him that he found the Slaves were so much the worse treated for complaining of their barbarous usage, that he told them, as the most friendly advice he could give them, never to complain to him at all, but to suffer the cruelties with meekness and patience, rather than expose themselves to the refined barbarity which their complaints were sure to bring upon them. And now he asked, what was the response of that meeting to the tale? Was it not, "Let us rise at once, as in the days that are gone, and demand, without the delay of one hour, the total, the immediate, the everlasting destruction of such a system." (Great cheering.) And this brought him to the chief object of his rising, which was to propose, that a petition, founded on the resolutions they had adopted, should be sent to the House of Commons, to be presented by Lord Wm. Bentinck, and that Mr Dennistoun be requested to support its prayer. (Cheers.) He hoped this would be done without delay, and that they would stand prepared at no distant day, should their petition be ineffectual, and the state of things remain as they were, to convene a meeting ten times as numerous as the present. (Cheers.) Let them have a meeting in the public Green, and give an unequivocal demonstration of the feeling of Glasgow. (Tremendous cheering.) Nothing would tell so powerfully upon the inhabitants of this country, or on the members of the House of Commons, and on the heartless ministers of the Crown, who had so recklessly neglected the interests of the Slave, and pampered the wishes of the planter. He felt assured that even the suffering weaver, would for an hour forget his own sorrows, and come forward to commingle his sympathies and groans with those of the oppressed Negro, and help to swell such a note of earnest, impassioned, and irresistible demand, that the British Legislature would be constrained to yield to the voice of such a people, that which they had so long withheld from the prayer of those who had gone before them. (Cheers.) Mr T. then proceeded to point out, in forcible language, that it was to British, not to Colonial law, that the present abominable system owed its existence; and showed the bad effects which the continuance of such a system must have upon their efforts towards the Abolition of Slavery in America. He trusted they had representatives in Parliament who would fearlessly back all their efforts towards its Abolition; but, whatever was the issue, they would still have the consolation that they had done their duty. He exhorted the meeting to guard with anxiety against the possibility of any measure being passed in Parliament which would place the Negro in the power of the planter, even after the Emancipation Act should be no more, and concluded by enforcing upon them energetic measures in prosecuting the good work they had so hon-

ourably and so gallantly undertaken. Mr Thompson then read the resolution, and sat down amid loud and long-continued cheering.

“Resolved, That a Petition to the House of Commons, founded on the resolutions just adopted by the meeting, be drawn up by the Committee, as the Petition of this Meeting of the Inhabitants of Glasgow and its vicinity; that the Chairman do sign it on behalf of the meeting; that it be by him transmitted to Lord William Bentinck, and John Dennistoun, Esq., the Members for the City, to be presented to the House of Commons; and that they be respectfully requested to support the same.”

The Rev. WM. ANDERSON, in seconding the resolution, addressed the meeting in a short speech, in which he spoke of the Emancipation Act, coupled with the Apprenticeship clause, as having transferred the responsibility of the planters upon the British nation.

Mr CHEEVER again rose. He said the meeting could scarcely conceive the pleasure felt by the Abolitionists of America on receiving communications and remonstrances from the friends of the Cause in the mother country; but to give them some idea of it, he would read to them from the *New York Emancipator*, an account of the joyful and thankful manner in which the celebrated Remonstrance from Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven had been received. The extract was highly interesting, and was listened to with deep attention.

Mr MURRAY then moved the thanks of the meeting to Dr Wardlaw, and the Managers of the Chapel.

The Rev. ALEX. HARVEY moved a vote of thanks to Mr Grahame for his conduct in the Chair. Notwithstanding his advanced years and infirm state of health, the venerable Chairman retained his place till the close of the meeting, and evinced the deepest interest in the proceedings—his invincible love of freedom sustaining him under the debilities of age. In regard to the matter on which Mr H. had risen to address them, he said he had the pleasing duty to perform of proposing the thanks of the meeting to their venerable and respected Chairman—(great cheering)—a man who had spent the fervour of his youth in advocating the cause of liberty generally, and who had turned to the work in which they were more immediately engaged, with increased energy—(cheers.) They had seen him there that night displaying all the fervour of youth in this holy cause. (Great cheering.)

The motion was passed with loud acclamation.

Mr THOMPSON said it was not, perhaps, known to their friend from the other side of the Atlantic, that the venerable gentleman who presided was the friend and brother, in friendship and in labour, of one than whom there was none stood higher in the estimation of the American people; he meant the venerable Lafayette. (Cheers.) Mr T. then called their attention to the financial affairs of the Emancipation Society, and said, give them but the sinews of war, and they had two Secretaries on the platform that would move all England. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the honour which had been conferred on him, and reminded them of the labours of Thomas Clarkson in the Emancipation Cause. They should never, at any of their meetings, part without acknowledging the services of that excellent man, who was the prime mover in all that had been done. (Great cheering.)

The meeting then dismissed.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

A.		D.	
Joseph Afleck,	0 10 6	Dr. Wm. Davidson,	0 5 0
Aird & Russell,	0 10 6	Alexander Dawson,	0 5 0
Alexander Allan,	0 10 6	George C. Dick,	0 10 6
James Alexander,	0 5 0	John Douglas, Esq. of Barloch,	1 1 0
Alexander Anderson,	0 5 0	James Drummond,	0 10 0
David Anderson,	1 1 0	James Duncan, Mosesfield,	0 5 0
Ebenezer Anderson,	0 5 0	Rev. John Duncan,	0 5 0
James Anderson,	0 10 6	Do.	0 5 0
Rev. Wm. Anderson,	0 5 0		
Do.	0 5 0	DONATIONS FROM SOCIETIES, &c.	
Rev. Wm. Auld,	0 5 0	From the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,	80 0 0
Do.	0 5 0	Friends of Emancipation at Manchester, per Mr George Thompson,	50 0 0
Wm. Auld, Sidney St.	0 5 0	Newcastle Emancipation Society,	15 0 0
B.		Paisley Do. Do.	10 10 0
Robert Barclay,	1 0 0	North Shields Anti-Slavery Society,	10 0 0
John Barr,	1 1 0	South Shields, Do.	6 16 0
James Beith,	0 10 6	Friends of Emancipation at Leicester,	6 12 6
James Beith, Candleriggs,	0 5 0	Do. Do. at Stirling,	6 0 10
Thomas Binnie,	0 5 0	Servants of Scotston house,	3 3 0
Robert Bland,	0 5 0	E.	
John S. Blyth,	0 10 6	Rev. John Eadie,	0 5 0
Do.	1 1 0	William Easton,	0 10 6
Andrew Boggie,	0 5 0	Rev. John Edwards,	0 5 0
Rev. J. Borland, Lanark,	0 5 0	Do.	0 5 0
David Boyd,	0 5 0	Rev. Greville Ewing,	1 0 0
Rev. Wm. Brash,	0 5 0	Do.	0 10 6
Do.	0 5 0	F.	
Henry Brock,	1 1 0	William Ferguson,	0 10 6
Archibald Brown,	0 5 0	Do.	0 10 6
Hugh Brown, jun.,	1 1 0	Rev. Charles Findlater,	1 1 0
Do.	1 1 0	Finlay & Neilson,	0 10 6
William Brown,	0 5 0	James Fleming,	0 5 0
Brown & Downes,	0 10 6	John Fleming,	0 10 6
Peter Bruce,	0 5 0	A Friend, H. D.,	2 0 0
C.		Do., A. B.,	1 0 0
James Cairns,	0 5 0	Do., A. M. K.,	0 10 6
Dr. Campbell, Kent St.	0 5 0	Do., in Annan, † W. Kay,	0 5 0
James Carmichael,	1 0 0	Do., W. B.,	0 5 0
William Chisholm' jun.,	0 10 6	Do., M. B.,	0 5 0
Allan Clark,	0 5 0	Do., T. B.,	0 5 0
James Clark,	0 5 0	Do., D. A.,	0 5 0
James Cocker,	0 10 6	Do., A. A.,	0 5 0
James Collins,	0 2 0		
Robert Connel,	0 5 0		
Do.	0 5 0		
Thomas Craig,	0 5 0		
William Craig,	1 1 0		
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0 5 0		
Andrew Crichton,	0 2 6		
John Croom,	0 5 0		

A Friend, J. F.,	0	5	0	M.			
Do., J. N.,	0	5	0	Alexander Martin,	0	5	0
Do., in Jamaica,	0	4	0	Robert Mason,	0	5	0
Do., A. M. M.,	0	2	6	Robert Mathie,	0	5	0
Do., J. M.,	0	2	6	John Maxwell, M. D.,	0	5	0
Do., W. T. J.,	0	2	6	John Millen,	0	5	0
Do., W. E.,	0	2	6	Do.	0	5	0
Archibald Fullarton,	2	0	0	James Miller,	0	5	0
G.				James Miller, Argyll Street,	0	5	0
				Do.	0	5	0
George Gallie,	0	5	0	Robert Miller, London Street,	0	5	0
Alexander Galloway,	0	10	6	Robert Miller, Bookseller,	0	5	0
William Gilmour,	1	1	0	Robert Miller,	0	10	6
Wm. Gilmour, Writer,	0	5	0	William Miller,	0	5	0
William Goold,	0	5	0	James Milliken,	0	5	0
Archibald Graham,	0	5	0	Alexander Mitchell,	0	5	0
William Graham,	0	5	0	Andrew Mitchell,	1	1	0
Robert Grahame, Whitehill,	5	0	0	Samuel Moir,	0	5	0
John Gray,	0	5	0	James More,	0	10	6
John B. Gray,	1	1	0	Edward Morris,	0	5	0
Archd. Greenshields,	0	5	0	David Muir, Kilwinning,	0	5	0
William Gunn, jun.,	0	10	6	James Muirhead,	0	5	0
H.				Right Rev. Bishop Murdoch,	0	10	6
				John Murray,	0	10	6
John Hamilton,	0	5	0	Mc.			
Rev. Alex. Harvey,	0	5	0	John Mackay,	0	10	6
Do.	0	5	0	Robert Mackay,	0	10	6
Andrew Harvie,	0	5	0	Donald Macintyre,	1	1	0
William Harvie,	0	2	6	Do.	1	0	0
James Hedderwick,	0	5	0	Do. Donation,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Heugh,	0	10	6	Peter M'Ara,	0	5	0
Do.	0	10	6	Colin M'Dougal,	1	1	0
W. B. Hodge,	0	5	0	Robert M'Gavin,	1	1	0
J.				R. F. M'George,	0	5	0
				Ninian M'Gillp,	0	5	0
Robert Jameson,	0	10	6	John M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Johnston, Galbraith, & Co.,	1	1	0	Anthony M'Keand,	1	1	0
Rev. John Johnstone,	0	5	0	Alexander M'Kinlay,	0	5	0
K.				Alexander M'Leod,	0	5	0
				John M'Leod,	1	1	0
Alexander Kellar,	0	5	0	John M'Leod, Argyll Street,	0	10	6
Hugh Kennedy,	0	5	0	Rev. James M'Tear,	0	5	0
Robert Kettle,	1	0	0	N.			
Rev. Dr. Kidston,	0	10	6	John Nairn,	0	5	0
Do.	0	10	6	William Nairn,	0	5	0
Rev. David King,	0	10	6	P.			
Do.	0	10	6				
John King, Advocate,	1	0	0	William P. Paton,	2	0	0
L.				Rev. James Paterson,	0	5	0
				James Paul,	0	2	0
William Lang,	0	5	0	Richmond Picken,	0	5	0
Henry Langlands,	1	1	0	James Proudfoot,	0	5	0
Robert Laing,	0	5	0	Rev. Thomas Pullar,	0	5	0
James Laurie,	1	1	0	Do.	0	5	0
Robert Leslie,	0	5	0	R.			
Patrick Lethem,	5	0	0				
George Lewis,	0	5	0	James Rankin,	0	2	6
Andrew Liddel,	0	10	6	John Reid,	1	1	0
Rev. William Lindsay,	0	5	0	John Reid, Queen St.	0	10	6
Do.	0	5	0	William Richmond,	1	1	0
William Lohead, jun.	0	5	0	Rev. Wm. Ritchie, Berwick,	0	10	0
Rev. Dr. Lockhart,	0	5	0	David Robertson,	0	5	0
Andrew Lottimer,	0	5	0	David Robertson, Buchanan St.	0	5	0

William Robertson,	0	5	0	Rev. Robert Thompson,	0	5	0
George Robson,	1	1	0	George Thorburn,	0	10	6
S.				Archibald Todd,	0	5	0
Robert Sanderson,	1	1	0	James Turner, Thrushgrove,	0	5	0
James Scott,	0	5	0	V.			
John Scott,	0	5	0	Peter Virtue,	0	5	0
Semple & Co.,	1	1	0	W.			
Thomas Service,	0	5	0	James Wallace,	0	5	0
William Service,	0	5	0	Rev. Dr. Wardlaw,	0	10	6
Wm. Shanks, Johnstone,	1	1	0	William Wardlaw,	0	5	0
T. H. Slater,	0	5	0	Archibald Watson,	1	1	0
John Small,	1	0	0	George Watson,	1	1	0
William Smeal,	0	5	0	James Watson, Buchanan St.	0	10	6
William Smeal, jun.	0	10	6	Robert Webster,	0	5	0
David Smith,	1	1	0	William White,	1	1	0
Do.	1	1	0	John Williamson,	0	10	6
James M'Cune Smith, M.D.	0	10	6	Rev. M. Willis,	0	5	0
Andrew Steven,	0	5	0	Do.	0	5	0
Andrew Stevenson,	0	5	0	Samuel Wilson,	0	10	6
Duncan Stewart,	0	5	0	Thomas Wilson,	0	5	0
George Stewart,	0	10	6	Walter Wilson,	0	5	0
James Stewart,	1	1	0	William Wilson,	0	5	0
William Strang,	0	5	0	William Wotherspoon,	0	2	6
F. B. Stuart,	0	5	0	Ronald Wright,	0	5	0
John Symington,	0	10	6	Do.	0	5	0
Do.	0	10	6	Robert Wylie,	0	5	0
T.				Y.			
David Taylor,	0	5	0	Andrew Young,	0	5	0
Andrew Tennant,	1	1	0				

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE CONNECTED WITH THE DISCUSSION BETWIXT
MR GEORGE THOMPSON AND THE REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

DR. *The Treasurer of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.* CR.

<p>1836.</p> <p>June 21. To Sale of Tickets for the Discussion in Dr. Ward-law's Chapel, between Messrs. Thompson and Breckinridge,.....£111 18 11</p>	<p>1836.</p> <p>June 24. By Glasgow Chronicle, 900 Copies, containing full Report of the whole Discussion, for five nights, £26 7 0</p> <p>— Advertising Discussion in sundry Newspapers, and Printing Bills,..... 5 13 6</p> <p>— Fee to Special Reporter,..... 3 0 0</p> <p>— Printing Tickets,..... 4 3 0</p> <p>— Gas Light Company, and attendance of Police-men,..... 2 11 0</p> <p>— Expenses of Platform, Cleaning Chapel, and Beadle's attendance,..... 7 12 0</p> <p>— Posting Bills, Hire of Committee Rooms, and sundry small Charges,..... 2 19 7</p> <p>July 2. — Printing 2000 Copies of the Discussion in Pamphlet form,..... 50 0 0</p> <p>— Balance carried to Emancipation Society's Account,..... 9 12 10</p> <hr/> <p>£111 18 11</p>
--	---

GLASGOW, 13th March, 1837.—Examined and found correct.

(Signed,)

JAMES M'TEAR.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

Cr.

March 13, 1837.

To Annual Subscriptions and Donations,.....	£118	8	0
Donations from the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,.....	80	0	0
Sale of Tickets at Annual Meeting, 1836,.....	20	8	9
Do. at Mr. Thompson's Lecture on "Prejudice," ...	14	4	0
Collection at Public Meeting in Dr Heugh's Chapel, 1st of August, 1836,.....	4	13	8
Sale of Tickets at Mr Thompson's Lecture on Texas, Sale of Pamphlets,.....	10	13	2
Do. of Second Edition of the Discussion,.....	24	10	3½
Balance of Discussion Account,.....	35	0	0
Remittance from Friends of Emancipation at Man- chester, & Mr George Thompson,.....	9	12	10
Do. from Newcastle Emancipation Society,.....	50	0	0
Do. Paisley,.....	15	0	0
Do. do,.....	10	10	0
Do. North Shields Anti-Slavery Society,...	10	0	0
Do. South Shields,.....	6	16	0
Do. Friends of Emancipation at Leicester,...	6	12	6
Do. do. at Stirling,.....	6	0	10
Donation from Servants of Scotston House,.....	3	3	0
		£425	13
		0½	0½

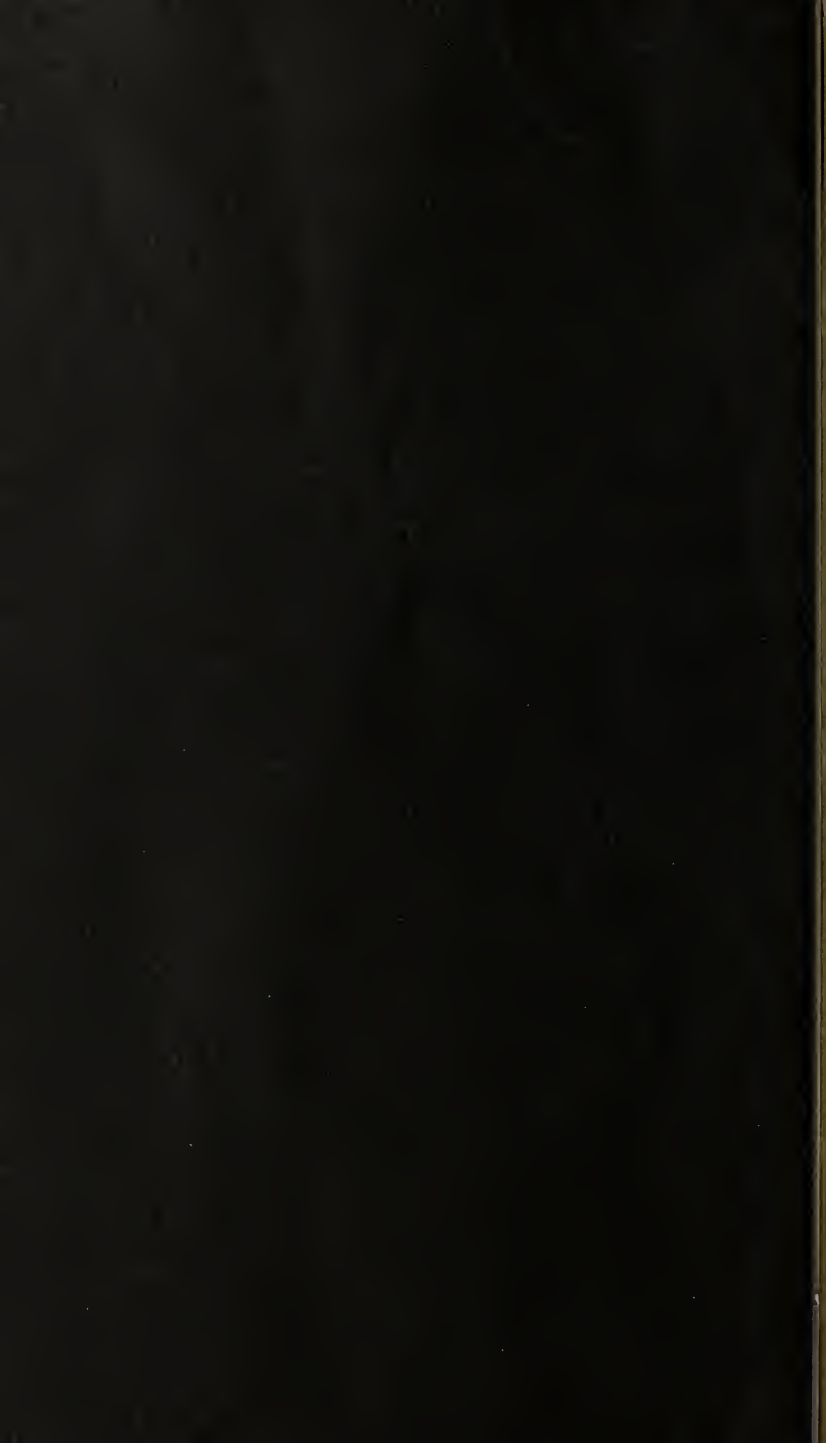
March 13, 1837.

By Amount paid Mr George Thompson, the Society's Agent,.....	£200	0	0
Expenses of Annual Meeting, 1836,.....	13	5	2½
Do. Petition against the Apprenticeship, ...	37	7	1
Do. Mr Thompson's Lectures on Prejudice and Texas,.....	5	0	10
Expenses of Public Meeting on 1st of August, 1836, in Dr Heugh's Chapel,.....	4	13	0
Printing Fine Edition of the Discussion, 1000 Copies, Sitching 2000 Copies of Cheap Edition,.....	45	0	0
Printing Annual Report, and Committee's Address to Ministers, &c.,.....	3	10	0
Advertising, Printing Tracts, Committee Notices, and Second Address of Committee,.....	13	11	6
Newspapers, for Transmission by Post, containing Accounts of Annual Meeting, Mr Thompson's Lectures in various places, and Addresses of the Committee,.....	58	18	3
Expenses attending Meetings at Greenock, Paisley, and Dumbarton,.....	18	15	7
Balance due late Treasurer,.....	0	18	4
Do. James Johnston & Son,.....	1	18	8½
Postage of Letters and Foreign Newspapers, Car- riage of Parcels, and warning Committee Meet- ings,.....	0	19	3
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer,.....	14	2	9½
		£425	13
		0½	0½

GLASGOW, 13th March, 1837.—We have this day examined the above Account, with the vouchers produced, and find the same to be correct.—The Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, at this date, is Seven Pounds Twelve Shillings and Sixpence.

JAMES M'TEAR,
WILLIAM SMEAL.

(Signed.)



1875

