



No 4265.369

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GIVEN BY

Mrs Mary Estlin

AN

EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGES

OF

MR. JOHN SCOBLE & MR. LEWIS TAPPAN

AGAINST THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

4265.369

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BY EDMUND QUINCY,

A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGES

MR. JOHN ...

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Miss Mary Estlin,
Aug. 1899.

BY EDWARD QUINCY

A STATEMENT OF THE ...

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages were sent in manuscript from the United States, for publication in Great Britain and Ireland, under the sanction of the Board of Managers of the American Anti-slavery Society, at whose request they were written. It was thought preferable to commit the publication to the care of some friends of the Society in England, who had better means of giving circulation to the "Examination," and of judging of the requisite amount of publicity, than could be possessed by those on whose behalf it was prepared.

In addressing his observations to the Editor of the *Bristol Examiner*, Mr. Quincy has evidently overlooked Mr. Scoble's statement of that paper having ceased to appear. But as this discrepancy detracts nothing from the value of his remarks, they are given to the public in the form in which the writer has sent them.

BRISTOL, April, 1852.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
The American Anti-slavery Society 	5
Political Action 	6
The No-Voting Theory 	7
The Philosophy of this Theory 	9
The American Anti-Slavery Society and the Church 	13
The American Anti-Slavery Society and the Infidels	15
The Broad-street Committee, Mr. Garrison, and "his Party"	17
Who was the First Abolitionist? 	17
Who formed the American Society 	18
Origin of Mr. Tappan's Society 	18
Transfer of the <i>Emancipator</i>	21
Debts of the Society 	22
The Meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society in 1840 	23
The American and Foreign Society 	24
The <i>National Era</i>	25
Mr. Tappan's Society's Freedom of Speech 	26
Conclusion 	27

AN EXAMINATION,

&c.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRISTOL EXAMINER.

SIR,

A pamphlet, entitled a "Reply to Charges brought against the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, &c. &c. By Lewis Tappan, of New York, United States. With an Introduction by John Scoble;" having been lately brought to my notice, I deem a few of its statements, or mis-statements, worthy of a rejoinder. This I should have considered quite superfluous, had the "Reply" in question been addressed to the American public. The facts, of the repetition of which Mr. Tappan complains, have become, here, what we call "fixed facts," and the minds of all persons interested enough in the question to which they belong, to inquire into it, are quite made up about them. But as Mr. John Scoble, on his return from his precipitate visit to America, has brought with him this contradiction by Mr. Tappan, of the statement of those facts by Mr. George Thompson and others, at Bristol and elsewhere, and has strengthened it by his own valuable indorsement; it may not be amiss briefly to recapitulate the grounds on which those statements were made, that the British Anti-slavery public may have an opportunity of making up its own mind, also, in the premises. And as Mr. Tappan has addressed his Reply to you, as the medium, I presume, through which Messrs. Thompson and Webb were heard, I take the liberty of giving the same direction to the few animadversions I propose to make upon it.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Three main charges are brought by Messrs. Scoble and Tappan against what the former gentleman justly calls "the self-

styled American Anti-slavery Society" (for it did give itself that good name, and none of its enemies have ever succeeded in filching it):—1. That it has abandoned its original ground of political action. 2. That it has changed its original policy of church action. And, 3, that it is infidel in its tendencies and instrumentalities. These charges may as well be first disposed of. But, before examining them, let us look for a moment at the nature of that excellent virtue, Consistency. The substance of what both Mr. Scoble and Mr. Tappan have to say on the two first points is, that the American Anti-slavery Society, and its President, Mr. Garrison, do not stand just where they did twenty years ago. Suppose they do not, is there any body that does? If a man, or a society, take a position at a certain time, as to certain modes and measures of action, does consistency require that they should refuse to learn by experience, or to change their tactics according to the ever-shifting necessities of human affairs? Consistency is fidelity to *principles*, which are eternal and unchangeable; not to *measures*, or the mode of applying or enforcing those principles, which may, and should, change with circumstances. For example, Mr. James G. Birney, in 1837, "deprecated the formation of any Abolition Political Party;" and yet, in two or three years, became the Presidential candidate of just such a party. Some years later, Mr. Lewis Tappan himself published a series of reasons—thirteen or fifteen, I think—why abolitionists should not join some Anti-slavery Political Party or other,—and very good reasons they were; but since then, if I am not much mistaken, he has acted with the Free-soil Party. Was either of these gentlemen inconsistent in thus changing his method? Not necessarily. Is everybody, then, to be permitted to grow wiser by living longer in the world, and seeing more of its ways, excepting Mr. Garrison and the members of the American Anti-slavery Society? One would really think so. The principle of that society is the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent duty of immediate emancipation. If its measures have been in accordance with this principle, and in furtherance of it, I think it has done all that true consistency requires.

POLITICAL ACTION.

How has the action of the American Anti-slavery Society agreed with its principle, as to the first point, of political action? In 1833, Mr. Garrison and the founders of the American Anti-

slavery Society, did, as Mr. Scoble quotes, express the following opinion, that "there are the highest obligations resting on the people of the Free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States." Meaning, that they would not do under the Constitution what the Constitution does not permit to be done. Also, that it was its intention to endeavour, "in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to abolish slavery" wherever it had the power to do so; and to prevent the admission of any new slaveholding state. The American Society still hold that it is the duty of the Free States to remove slavery by moral and political action. Only, they have attained, after long and bitter experience, to the conviction that it is a moral and political impossibility to remove it by political action, "as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States." They, therefore, enforce the duty of the Free States, as a body, and of each separate one, as an individual, to withdraw from the confederacy, and to consent no longer to be the instruments of holding their fellow-men as slaves. And they have never ceased asking Congress to do those things, and that in "a constitutional way," viz. by petition and remonstrance. Their present position they hold to be a perfect satisfaction of the intention, expressed or implied in 1833, of the duty of using "political action" for the removal of slavery, as read in the light of the present day.

THE NO-VOTING THEORY.

But, it may be said, Mr. Garrison and his Society decline voting or holding office under the Constitution, and thus the "political action" then contemplated is neglected. Admitting this assertion, although it is an assumption of the very point at issue, (for there are manifold ways of using political action besides voting and holding office, or Heaven help the English people!)—admitting this to have been included in the idea then entertained and expressed of political action, we cannot hold ourselves precluded from a course of plain duty, as it now lies before us, by what was thought or said in those days of comparative ignorance. It was not for years after that time, that the true nature of our political relations was developed to our minds, which rendered our present course logically and morally obligatory. The Constitution of the United States being *lex scripta*, a written document, its requisitions are, of course, for the instruction of those appointed to execute it. Now among the instructions laid down in this fun-

damental law are, that the African slave-trade shall not be prohibited for twenty years (i. e. until 1808), with no guarantee for its prohibition then, or against its renewal at any time; that fugitive slaves shall be returned to their masters, on proof of their condition; that slave insurrections (included among "domestic insurrections," and the only ones that can ever require the help of the General Government) shall be suppressed by the strong arm of the nation; and that the slaveholders shall, virtually, have three votes for every five slaves they hold,—a provision which has delivered the whole nation, ever since its birth, into the hands of the Slaveholding Philistines. The reason why Mr. Garrison, and those who think with him, cannot hold an office which requires a preliminary oath to support the Constitution of the United States, (which is nearly every office, National or State) is, because they do not *mean* to support it in those particulars, (especially the second and third) and consequently cannot swear to do so. If they take the oath, they must mean either to *keep* it, and do those abominable actions if called upon; or to *break* it, and thus obtain power and emolument at the price of perjury. None of these things do they mean to do. They mean never to assist in the recapture of a fugitive slave; but, contrariwise, to obstruct and prevent such a crime to the best of their ability. And in case a servile revolution should be making head at the South, they are determined at least not to be found fighting *against* the insurgents. Therefore they refuse holding an office under such an oath; and therefore they refuse to appoint others by their votes to do so, or to swear to do these crimes as their attorneys or deputies, which they hold it foul guilt to do themselves.

It was on this ground, undoubtedly, that Mr. Garrison said, (if he ever said) "if my single vote would emancipate all the slaves in the United States to-morrow, I would not give it!" (Intro. p. 4). Would even Mr. Scoble say that if he could free the slaves, or save the souls of all mankind, by telling a deliberate falsehood, he would do it? I presume not, though there may be those who might think his hesitation strange. Even the Reverend Dr. Dewey would not tell a lie to save the Union, though he would send his mother (or, as afterwards amended, his *son*) back to slavery to do it. This is precisely why Mr. Garrison could not cast his vote; because he could not appoint another person by his ballot to do what he would not do himself, viz. return fugitive slaves, or put down a servile revolution, or swear to do these things, with the in-

tention of breaking his oath, when the case contemplated by it arose. We do not refuse to hold office, or vote, under the United States Constitution, as abolitionists, but as honest men. It is not the emancipation of the slaves, primarily, that we contemplate in this course, but the preservation of our personal honour, of our individual integrity. We acknowledge that our *second* duty is to the slave; our *first* is to our own souls. The slave has a right to ask anything of us except our honour; *that* he has no right to ask, even for his own deliverance.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THIS THEORY.

This course we adopt, irrespective of its effect on the anti-slavery cause. But we believe that, like every honest and sincere carrying-out of a true principle, it will have a far greater influence in its favour than any time-serving conduct. We, at least, establish the fact of our own singleness of purpose, to the satisfaction of our deadliest enemies. We give up, for the sake of a pure conscience, what an American prizes next to (if not above) his salvation, the holding and bestowing of office. We have all the strength of an unmistakably disinterested position. We may be fanatics, but we certainly are not self-seekers. We are not liable to that imputation of selfish ends, to which all, even the most honest, whose anti-slavery way lies through the primrose path to office, must be exposed. And our opportunity to do all that the most successful anti-slavery partizanship can accomplish at the present stage of our history, viz. the continual agitation of the slavery question, the incessant irritation of the national conscience,—is in no degree diminished, rather greatly increased, by the uncompromising front we present to the enemy. The first thing to be done is to change the *animus* of the nation, to make it really desirous of getting rid of slavery. This we are doing, and when it is done, the voting will take care of itself. Until it is done, all the voting and drilling of fragmentary parties, is mere beating the air. What small amount of political abolitionism exists, now, in the Free-soil, Whig, or Democratic parties, owes its existence, by the confession of the candid among themselves, to the agitation commenced and carried on by Mr. Garrison and those identified with him. And it is the inexorable fidelity of that censorship, in rebuke of shortcomings and denunciation of backslidings, that maintains in the Political Anti-slavery Movement the very moderate degree of vitality it possesses

Mr. Scoble thinks it impossible that the great body of abolitionists in England, "who had finally brought about the extinction of slavery in the British colonies, by political as well as moral action, can continue their connection with men holding such sentiments [as to voting], and giving them a practical direction." Now it rather strikes me that those are the very men to appreciate the power of public sentiment, outside of the government, but acting upon it. How many of the abolitionists who extorted that boon of justice from an unwilling government had the right of voting? A very moderate proportion, I imagine. How many of the masses that compelled the Reform in Parliament, and accomplished the peaceful Revolution of 1832, were parliamentary electors? Not one in ten. How were Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts effected? By the voting of the Catholics and Dissenters, mainly? Nay, verily. The philosophy of all these great reformatations was precisely that of the American Anti-slavery Society. The movers of them first agitated the general mind, and made it intelligently determined that they should be carried, and of this resolution the electors and the elected were but the instruments. Until the public mind was brought to this invincible determination, all political manœuvring was vain and impotent. The anti-slavery movement in this country is now in this stage. We are engaged in this work. It is a vastly more arduous work than any or all of those English agitations. It strikes at what Mr. Mc Duffie truly called "the corner-stone of our Republican Edifice." An agitation in England for the abolition of the Crown would be an apter analogy to ours than any its history has yet afforded. And the success of our enterprise is far more difficult of accomplishment than any reform proposed in your more fortunate country. It may sound paradoxical, but it is demonstrably true, that the popular will is more powerful in England than in America, considered in their national capacity. In the Free States, answering in some measure to your municipalities, the popular voice may be more immediately potential than with you; but in congress, which answers to your parliament, it is but as the idle wind which the Sovereign Slaveocracy that reigns there regards not. We think we discern clearly that the Union of the Free with the Slave States is at once fatal to the hopes of the slaves, and increasingly demoralizing to the Free States. And, therefore, we urge upon them the duty of separation, for their own sakes, as well as that of the slaves. There can be no alternative but

disunion, proceeding either from the Free or from the Slave States, or the utter and ignominious subjugation of the former to the latter.

Permit me, while upon this subject, to illustrate the position of the non-juring abolitionists by some analogous cases in your own history. Have you not always had non-jurors among you, from Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Ken down to Baron Lionel de Rothschild and Alderman Salomons, who have lost or refused office because they would not swear to what they did not believe, or to what they did not mean to do? Why did not the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury and the other Catholic peers take their places in the House of Lords, and help to pass the Emancipation Bill? They had only to abjure the Pope and acknowledge the supremacy of the King? Why did Daniel O'Connell, when he was sent by Clare to the House of Commons, turn back from the bar, and return to Ireland, when his voice could have helped so much the deliverance of his religion? He had only the same simple ceremony to pass through. The answer is in every one's mouth. Because no public or private advantage could be well purchased at the cost of telling a lie. That is just our position. Even to accomplish the deliverance of the slaves, (supposing the case, which we utterly deny) we cannot do the mean, cruel, and wicked acts required by the Constitution. Therefore, we cannot swear to do them; even with the mental reservation of breaking our oaths. Therefore, we cannot put another in our place, by our vote, to do and to swear these things for us.

There is one sentence of Mr. Scoble's Introduction, to which I must draw your attention before leaving this topic, as a most extraordinary union, not of "simplicity and truth," but of simplicity and falsehood. He says Mr. Garrison's party, "calling itself the American Anti-slavery Society," "*having discovered some new mode of interpreting the Constitution of the United States*, or rather, HAVING ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION THAT ALL GOVERNMENT, NO MATTER WHAT ITS FORM, OR HOWEVER MODIFIED, IS A USURPATION OF NATURAL RIGHTS, repudiates all political action." As I am desirous of strictly observing the parliamentary decencies of discussion, I will not affirm that Mr. Scoble *knew* the proposition above distinguished by SMALL CAPITALS to be a lie. But I do affirm, most unhesitatingly, that it *is* a Lie of the First Magnitude. And, moreover, that if Mr. Scoble did not know it to be such, he *might* have known it, by a very brief inquiry in

the proper quarter. The American Anti-slavery Society never took any such ground. If any of its members have ever expressed opinions which might be distorted and caricatured into such a statement, it was in their private capacity, and their numerical proportion to the members of the Society is hardly appreciable. The great majority of the Society have no fault to find with the Constitution of the United States, except its pro-slavery requirements. They are quite ready to bestow or exercise power, as soon as these impediments are removed out of their way.

The simplicity of the clause printed in *italics* is quite as noticeable as the falsehood of the other. "*Mr. Garrison's party have discovered some new mode of interpreting the Constitution of the United States!*" It was they, was it, that gave the generally received construction to the pro-slavery clauses? I wonder whether slavery itself was not an invention of theirs! Mr. Garrison and "his party" are not so often in the majority, that they can forego the rare luxury of that position on this occasion. But as it respects their "mode of interpreting the Constitution," they have the numbers with them. Their views are in entire unity with the opinions of the Framers of that Instrument, of every statesman that has administered it, of every judge that has ruled upon it, of the entire Bench and Bar of the United States, of every member of Congress of all parties, and of more than nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people. A very small number of persons, of great excellence and sincerity, as well as ingenuity, of whom Mr. Gerrit Smith is the leader, hold, in intrepid contradiction of all this array of numbers and authority, that the Constitution of the United States is an anti-slavery Instrument, that the clauses usually supposed to refer to slaves mean nothing of the kind, and that it is within the Constitutional power of Congress to abolish slavery in the States. We must humbly disclaim any merit of originality in the views we hold of the Constitution and Slavery. All such credit is due to "the Liberty Party," chiefly confined to Central New York. Perhaps the comic force of this proposition may not be as obvious to you as to us. Let us suppose an analogous case. Suppose some five or six hundred *ultra*, but honest Radicals in England, should so read the English Constitution as to affirm, not that there *ought not* to be such things, but that there actually *was not* any such thing as the Queen, the House of Lords, or the Established Church, would it not be a funny exposition? There could be but one im-

provement on its comicality. And that would be to have some Yankee Scoble gravely declare that persons admitting Queen, Lords, and Bishops to be actually existing entities, and arguing from them as admitted facts, "had discovered some new mode of interpreting the British Constitution!"

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH.

I have dwelt at such length on the first one of the objections raised by Messrs. Scoble and Tappan against the American Anti-slavery Society,—its departure from its original ground of political action,—that I shall have to abridge my treatment of the other topics I propose considering. But it has seemed to me that the political position of the American abolitionists is what most needs explanation in England; though nothing can be simpler, when it is explained. Our relations with the churches and the infidels, I trust I shall be able to despatch more cursorily. Mr. Scoble complains that the operations of the American Anti-slavery Society are not carried on in "a Christian spirit." This is a vague term to which every class of Christians attribute their own meaning. What the Evangelical Churches would call a "Christian spirit," Unitarians and Universalists might regard as a diabolical one. What these would term such, might appear to their Orthodox neighbours as the deadliest Erastianism, and the most fatal indifference to the truths most vital to salvation. The "Christian spirit" of Catholicism is a very different thing from that of Protestantism. And so on. Now, if the spirit of the Samaritan, when he went to the relief of him that had fallen among thieves, and whom the priest and the Levite had looked upon and passed by, be a Christian spirit, I affirm the American Anti-slavery Society has been filled with it, in a measure surpassing any other body of men and women in America, calling themselves by whatsoever name. And this point I am perfectly willing to leave to the judgment of any sable Hebrew of intelligence, who has escaped from the thieves, the Levites, and the priests.

Mr. Scoble, and afterwards Mr. Tappan, more at large, quotes correctly the original Declaration of Mr. Garrison and the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is true that they did say that they "should enlist the pulpit in the cause of the suffering and the dumb," "and aim at the purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery." It was the firm belief of all those men, that the clergy and churches needed only light to induce them to make

common cause with themselves against slavery. Mr. Garrison, to use the language of an eminent Free-soil Quaker, was even "fanatical" in his reliance on the clergy and churches. He and the society he formed *did* try, and that earnestly and in faith, to "enlist the pulpit," and "to purify the churches." But they most signally failed. And the statement of this failure, in emphatic language, is the only means by which "they have sought the destruction of the churches." The proof of the charge that they have ever done so in any other manner lies with the accusers. We plead not guilty, and offer all our official acts and expressions of opinion to their scrutiny, to help them to make out their case. The American Anti-slavery Society never denied the rightful existence of a Christian Church and Ministry. It has only denied that character to ministers and churches holding slaves, or defending or excusing slaveholding. It has said of *such*, that they are not Churches of Christ, but, in the language of Channing, "synagogues of Satan." When we find American orthodoxy, in the persons of Dr. Moses Stuart and Dr. Taylor, the chief teachers of their chief theological schools, teaching the religious duty of returning fugitive slaves; inferring it, in Mr. Stuart's case, from the Fourth Commandment; and in that of Dr. Spring, who was afraid to pray for immediate emancipation, if he thought his prayer would be answered: when we see American Unitarianism declaring by the mouth of Mr. Dewey, that a brother or a son should be sent back to slavery to sustain a political arrangement; and by that of Dr. Theodore Clapp, that God himself was once a slave-dealer: when we hear Bishop Hedding, the head of American Methodism, deducing the rightfulness of slaveholding from the Golden Rule of Christ; when we find Dr. Richard Fuller, an eminent Baptist divine, affirming that slavery was ordained by God the Father, not forbidden by God the Son, and expressly authorized by God the Holy Ghost; when we find Dr. Daniel Sharp (we grieve to say, an Englishman by birth, though *most* American in doctrine,) of the same denomination, uniting his voice with Drs. Tyng and Hawks of the Episcopal Church, in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law: we conceive that as it is our right, so it is our duty, to express our sense of their wickedness, and to warn the people against such wolves in sheep's clothing. If to say that such men as these, and multitudes more of every great sect, of whom these are but samples, are abominably wicked men and miserable sinners, be "making war on the ministry," we confess the crime. We boldly affirm that to

call such men as these ministers of God, and the assemblies to which they preach, and which abet them in their atrocious guilt, churches of Jesus Christ, is blasphemy against God and against his Son. And we appeal to the British Churches to decide whether this be "railing at ministers of the Gospel and the churches!" This is the extent of our offending.

When Mr. Tappan, among other accusations equally groundless, says that Mr. Garrison and his party, (meaning the American Anti-slavery Society,) "impugn Revelation, trample on the Sabbath, decry the institutions of Christianity, rail at ministers and churches as a body," he says what is utterly untrue. It does no such thing. Who is more ready to do justice to all ministers and churches, of whatever name, that are faithful to the slave, than "Mr. Garrison and his party"? Who more scrupulous to give to such the full measure of admiration they deserve? And who are more welcome to the anti-slavery meetings than such men? But such ministers and church-members have no complaint to make of the denunciations of the abolitionists. They know they are not aimed at them. It is the galled jade that winces. *Their* "withers are unwrung."

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND THE INFIDELS.

I come now to the third general charge against the American Society,—that it is infidel in its tendencies and instrumentalities. Here, again, a strict definition of terms is necessary. What is an Infidel? All Protestants are Infidels to the largest half of Christendom; and a considerable part of them mutually regard each other as such. If Mr. Scoble or Mr. Tappan means to imply, (for they do not say so) that any considerable number of the members of the American Anti-slavery Society are what is usually understood as infidels, the implication is groundless. A majority of that society may be "infidels" to Messrs. Scoble and Tappan, as it is not unlikely these gentlemen may seem to be "infidels" to that majority, in their turn. But, with scarcely an exception, if with one, the members of that society, from Mr. Garrison downwards, "profess and call themselves Christians."

But the American Anti-slavery Society is *not* "technically" a "Christian" association. That is, not so to the exclusion of Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, Atheists, or any human beings who have humanity enough to wish to help the overthrow of slavery. It has no religious test; no right of inquisition into

men's opinions; no power of excommunication for heresy. If heretics and infidels will insist upon doing the proper work of the church and ministry, we cannot help ourselves. We cannot prevent Mr. Henry C. Wright, or the Rev. Stephen Farley, or the anonymous correspondents of the *Ohio Bugle*, or any other member of the society, from saying what they please. They are solely responsible for what they say. If Mr. Tappan can show any attack on Christianity, the Bible, the Sabbath, the Church, or the Ministry, as such, contained in any authentic resolutions or accepted reports of the American Anti-slavery Society, he will have a shadow of evidence in support of his wholesale accusations, which shadow they now want. It is indeed singular that in a society composed of so many members, of such widely differing opinions, engaged in a continual discussion of opinions and practices, so industrious a man as Mr. Tappan should find so very few and such very feeble proofs of his charges, as he has adduced. It is a strong presumption that none such exist.

But these attempts to bring odium upon active abolitionists, on account of their imputed opinions, is a sure test of the quality of the abolitionism of those that make them. Suppose every member of the American Anti-slavery Society were an infidel in the proper sense of the word, ought not Messrs. Scoble and Tappan, if genuine abolitionists, to rejoice in their labours, and to give them their good word and helping hand? That society is strictly analogous in its nature to the Anti-Corn Law League, differing only in the infinitely higher importance of its purpose and its permanent activity of operations. I do not know whether Mr. Scoble sympathizes with that movement or not; but Mr. Joseph Sturge, one of his committee, certainly does. I would like to know what would *he* think of a man who, professing the doctrines of the League, should refuse to unite with it, and endeavour to impede its operations, and to blacken the characters of its members, because he is a Friend, and holds the peculiar views of his religious society as to the Sabbath, Ministry, Bible, and the speaking of women? Yet this is just what Mr. Scoble and his Committee, and Mr. Tappan and his Society, (since he insists upon its existence) are doing in regard to the American Anti-slavery Society! None of these gentlemen would refuse to co-operate with the rankest infidel breathing, in any honest combination intended to make or to save a shilling. But when the object of an association is merely the redemption of

a distant race of human beings from utter misery and degradation, where no money is to be made, but only bodies and souls saved, then is the time for the Sectarian Pharisee to say to the Anti-slavery Publican, "Stand farther off, for I am holier than thou!"

THE BROAD-STREET COMMITTEE, MR. GARRISON, AND "HIS PARTY."

Before parting with Mr. Scoble, I must notice one or two things on the first page of the Introduction. He says in substance, that he has refrained from replying to the gross misrepresentations and calumnies circulated against the British and Foreign Society and himself, for the part they were supposed to take against the self-styled American Anti-slavery Society, of which Mr. Garrison is the acknowledged head; but that he has never written or spoken against it, "or *publicly*" [the *underscoring* is mine] "impeached the character or motives of its supporters." I believe we have never accused either Mr. Scoble or his Committee of any open and manly attacks upon us. His own private attacks he admits, and perhaps he has not forgotten (at any rate we have not) what the Broad-street Committee did in 1841. In that year, Mr. John A. Collins being in England as our agent, the Rev. Nathaniel Colver wrote a letter to Mr. Joseph Sturge, replete with the grossest calumnies against Mr. Garrison, (the same which have recently been revived by the Rev. Dr. Campbell,) among them that "*he had identified himself with the No-marriage Perfectionists,*" &c. and warning the English public against Mr. Collins. *This letter was copied and privately circulated under the seal of the Committee!* And it was only by accident that Mr. Collins ascertained the fact. This indorsement of Mr. Colver's slanders, made under the seal, if not under the hand, of the Committee, (of which Mr. Scoble, I am quite sure, was one) shows the *animus* of that Society towards Mr. Garrison and those that act with him. That these *private* attacks have been repeated, Mr. Scoble does not deny. It is a melancholy sight to see a Society which has done such noble work in its day, shrunk into a malicious dotage, and only saved from the pity its anile feebleness might excite by the contempt aroused by its impotent malignity.*

WHO WAS THE FIRST ABOLITIONIST?

Mr. Tappan says (p. 9) that it has been erroneously stated, "that Mr. Garrison originated the Anti-slavery struggle in this country." It is true, of course, that Mr. Garrison was not the

* See Appendix.

first who perceived and protested against slavery in this country. Woolman and Benezet, not to go back to Chief Justice Sewell and Cotton Mather, or to the Massachusetts General Court in 1638, which sent back the first cargo of slaves to Africa, were early abolitionists. Franklin, Rich, Witherspoon, John Jay, and many Revolutionary men, were members and officers of Abolition Societies, long before Mr. Garrison was born.* But Mr. Garrison *was* the first who commenced an anti-slavery movement in this country, on the principle of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION,—the principle which has given the “modern anti-slavery movement” the vitality and energy the elder societies lacked. Even Mr. Lundy, to whose services Mr. Tappan gives none too much praise, did not accept this principle for several years after Mr. Garrison had enunciated it; I think not until 1834, after the American Anti-slavery Society was formed upon it.

WHO FORMED THE AMERICAN SOCIETY?

Mr. Tappan also contradicts the statement that Mr. Garrison was the founder of the American Anti-slavery Society, and gives the credit to Mr. Evan Lewis, of Philadelphia, whose correspondence and exertions brought about the Convention that formed it. It is quite likely that Mr. Tappan is right, (though I never heard it before), and that Mr. Lewis was the active agent in collecting that Convention. But would he ever have done it, had it not been for the influences created by Mr. Garrison? That Society was the necessary result of the promulgation of the principle of Immediatism. Whoever wrote the letters and suggested the time and place, it was the chief apostle of that principle who really called the Convention, as he breathed his spirit into it, in the Declaration of Sentiments, which he wrote after it had assembled.

ORIGIN OF MR. TAPPAN'S SOCIETY.

Mr. Tappan having very briefly glanced at the reasons which called his Society (the American and Foreign) into existence, you will excuse me if I go a little more into detail. As I have already said, when the American Anti-slavery Society was formed, its members were confident of the co-operation of the churches and ministers in a movement so clearly humane and Christian. Many ministers and church members came into it,

* I may remark, *en passant*, that the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, a Scotchman I think by birth, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, thought it no harm to sit in an Abolition Society alongside of the well known Thomas Paine.

when it was first presented to them, chiefly from among the younger sort. The agitation went on prosperously, and societies were rapidly formed in multitudes of towns throughout the country; but especially in New England. But after the mob excesses of 1835 (springing from the fears of the mercantile classes) had passed away, with the naturaleffect of strengthening what they were intended to destroy, a new element of hostility developed itself from an unexpected quarter. The elder and more sagacious among the clergy saw the logical result which must follow from the application of the anti-slavery doctrine to the practice of the churches. They were in fraternal communion with churches at the South, and the denunciation of slaveholding as a deadly sin could not but lead to schism and division. When the Anti-slavery Movement had reached this point, and the ecclesiastical relations of slavery began to be stirred, the leading powers in the evangelical churches thought it time to act. The process can only be judged from the result, which was this. The anti-slavery clergymen began to show signs of uneasiness. The "cold shoulder" was turned to them. They had, in effect, to choose between their anti-slavery fidelity and their position and prospects in their profession. The uncompromising character of Mr. Garrison was made the occasion of the first divisions. Everybody, of course, was "opposed to slavery as much as anybody;" but they could not abide the spirit and language of Mr. Garrison. If he could only be removed out of the way, anti-slavery would be made easy. Then he admitted the questions of Peace and the Rights of Women to be discussed in his own newspaper. Thus, as Bunyan tells us backsliders are apt to do, they began "to pick holes in the coats of the saints."

The first open movement in this direction was "the Clerical Appeal," in 1837, an address signed by five clergymen, marvellously anti-slavery, but remonstrating against the measures of the abolitionists, and urging a large infusion of the Christian element. The signers were persons of no note in the cause, and having done their appointed work, they went their ways and were seen no more. Excepting one, the Reverend Charles Fitch, who in 1840 addressed a contrite letter to Mr. Garrison, acknowledging his part in the Appeal to have been caused "by a selfish and most wicked desire to gain thereby the good opinion of such men as I supposed would be pleased by such movements,"—meaning, of course, the pro-slavery clergy and churches. Though this movement subsided after a while, yet the spirit which had called it forth still existing,

it soon made its appearance in a new shape. It next took the form of a proposition to supersede the *Liberator* by a new paper, from which all extraneous matters were to be excluded. Hostility to the *Liberator* was, of course, disclaimed; but no one could be mistaken as to the meaning of the proposition. Horror at the extreme peace views of Mr. Garrison, and at the right of women to act in the Anti-slavery Societies, (all the Anti-slavery constitutions making all "persons" active members) was the next form of this Protean spirit. At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, in 1839, this last question came up, and was decided by a large vote in favour of the constitutional rights of the female members of anti-slavery societies. The same result attended the raising of the question in the New England Convention. These discussions and decisions (at least, on the part of Mr. Garrison and his friends) it must be remembered, did not at all touch the question of the abstract rights of women anywhere else, but only whether they were "persons" intended by the anti-slavery constitutions. Immediately after the New England Convention, an antagonist Society to the Massachusetts Society, called the Abolition Society, was formed, and a paper established as its organ, called the *Abolitionist*. This Society maintained a rickety existence for a few years, till, having answered its purpose of covering the retreat of its members back to the Church and the world, it died a natural death. Its organ, after a variety of transmigrations and metamorphoses, came at a later date to the same end.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, May, 1839, the old committee, of which Mr. Tappan was a prominent member, was re-elected, although the confidence of its members had been so seriously shaken in them. At the meeting, however, Mr. Alvan Stuart, afterwards a prominent member of the Liberty Party, and its candidate for Governor in the State of New York, moved that the expenditure of the Executive Committee be limited to 32,500 dollars, in order to guard against that grasping centralization which had crippled local societies. This motion was vehemently opposed by the Committee and its friends, as equivalent to a vote of want of confidence; and it was finally passed over, with the understanding that the well-understood wishes of the Society should be complied with. No sooner had their constituents turned their backs, however, than the Committee issued a plan for raising 100,000 dollars, and did in about six months actually raise near 50,000 dollars.

But, at last, the long lingering confidence of the abolitionists began to fail. They found that their own money was used to foment dissensions among themselves, and to malign their own characters, while their implied instructions were set at naught. The *prestige* of so many years was destroyed. The money ceased to flow in. The operations of the Society were suspended. The Committee saw that the day approached when they were to meet their employers; they foreboded that they would be dismissed from their offices; and, like the unjust steward in the parable, they began to cast about and see what they could secure to themselves.

THE TRANSFER OF 'THE EMANCIPATOR.'

During the three years preceding May, 1840, the members of the American Society had raised and placed in the hands of their Committee no less a sum than 150,000 dollars, besides many thousands in previous years. About 20,000 dollars had been invested in the *Emancipator*, and expended in its support. A large sum, also, was invested in publications, booksellers' stock, &c. This organ and this property, of course, belonged to the Society, and not to the Committee, who were merely their trustees. Just before the Annual Meeting, on pretence of poverty (they having allowed a draft for 150 dollars to be protested just before) the Committee transferred the paper to a Society of Young Men, themselves in another shape. This they did, as they affirmed, for want of *three hundred dollars* to carry it on for three weeks until the Annual Meeting; while AT THE SAME TIME THEY HAD ON HAND ASSETS, STANDING IN THEIR OWN BOOKS, AT MORE THAN EIGHTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS !! At the very same meeting, they voted EIGHT HUNDRED dollars to enable Messrs. Birney and Stanton to go to the London Conference of 1840! This money was raised, for to England these gentlemen went. Could it not have been raised to continue the *Emancipator*, till its owners could come together and provide for it? But there was other property to be made away with, as I have said above. There was a certain sum due to Messrs. Birney, Stanton, and Lewis Tappan for salaries and expenses, amounting in all to 3,995 dollars, 98 cents,—(three thousand nine hundred and ninety-five dollars, ninety-eight cents). It was voted that this amount should be paid to those gentlemen, *in publications at half the wholesale price*; so that they received for the sum just named, (3,995 dollars, 98 cents), property worth, *at wholesale prices*, SEVEN THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY DOLLARS, NINETY-SIX

CENTS! Whatever remained of the unlucky Society's property was conveyed by the Committee to two of their own members as trustees, to secure the debts they had themselves incurred; and so the Society found itself, when it had discharged its unjust stewards, stripped of its organ and every penny of its property, and obliged to begin the world anew. I may as well mention, that among the other articles belonging to the Society which the Committee carried off was its CASH BOOK, of which they have resolutely refused their successors so much as a glimpse. So that the Society was, and is, in entire ignorance of what was done with the large sums placed in the hands of the Committee.

THE DEBTS OF THE SOCIETY.

The first exact statement we have ever had of what became of this trust property, is the statement in Mr. Tappan's "Reply," that it fell short of the debts by the sum of 3,400 dollars, which deficiency was made up by the discharged committee. They are too good men of business to complain of the result of a transaction they had arranged themselves. The cool impudence of the proposition recounted by Mr. Tappan, that they would re-convey the property (*except the Emancipator!*) on security being given for the debts, seems as admirable now as it did when first made. That is, a Committee limited by mutual understanding to 32,500 dollars, raises nearly 50,000 dollars; then transfers the property of their employers to themselves, to secure debts they had no right to incur; and offers it to the lawful owners again, if they will give them security for the debts, they keeping the very piece of property, the *Emancipator*, which the owners most wanted! It is quite likely that the Committee and others holding the stock of publications did suffer a loss, and for this reason. It appears that the buyers, as well as the givers, of the society were, to an extent unexpected to both sides, on the side of the Society. And they resolutely refused to buy back their own property of their own evil servants, and so left the stock to rot on their hands. Had the Committee restored the property and the *Emancipator* to their successors, the debts would have been paid, of course. For a much larger sum had to be provided to establish the *Standard*; and, moreover, we could have worked off the publications at little or no loss. Mr. Tappan seems to feel as if he and his Committee were the Society, and all belonging to it theirs. This Mr. Joshua Leavitt once had the intrepidity to affirm in so many words, saying, that "in selling the *Emancipator*, and transferring

the other property, the Committee acted AS OWNERS!" I am quite willing they should have the full benefit of this defence, and I allow its full weight with the "business men" to whom Mr. Tappan appeals.*

THE MEETING OF 1840.

Mr. Tappan says that "in 1840 a successful attempt was made by Mr. Garrison and his adherents in Massachusetts, to obtain the control of the National Society." "This they did," he says, "by bringing on an unusually large number of partizans, from two or three localities, to outvote the members of the society assembled from various parts of the country." Now, by the Constitution of the Society, the members assemble at the Annual Meeting to elect the officers and do the other business of the society. Those who feel sufficient interest in the cause to be at the expense of time and money to go to New York, are naturally the proper persons to direct its action. All may come. Should they all happen to come from one town, it would be unobjectionable. In this case, however, they came from very many towns, and from a wide range of States. The course of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society was perfectly correct. They openly urged, by appeals through the press, and by public meetings, upon all members to attend the New York meeting, and made arrangements for diminishing the expenses of the excursion. Mr. Tappan says, "Those opposed to Mr. Garrison, instead of retaliating, and inviting to the meeting a large number of persons of both sexes in New York and vicinity, and obtaining a majority," withdrew, etc. Mr. Tappan is very oblivious, for this very thing which he says was *not* done, *was* done. On the eve of the meeting, a *circular* was issued *privately* by the Society of Young Men, to whom the *Emancipator* had been assigned, informing the public of the terms of admission,

* It has been suggested to me, that it may be well to state distinctly the nature of our Anti-slavery Societies. They are popular bodies, assembling at a certain fixed time for a choice of officers and transaction of business. The officers or executive committee are then chosen, and represent the society until the next annual meeting. Their functions expire with the year, and cannot be continued without a re-election. They have no power of continuing themselves in office, or of choosing members of their body, except to fill vacancies. The committee are the agents, the trustees, the servants of the society, and are held strictly accountable for their use of the means put into their hands. All moneys and property belong to the society, and are expended and taken care of by the committee, for the society, subject to its direction and instruction. This it has been thought well to make clear, as I understand benevolent societies in England are frequently under the control of self-electing, irresponsible committees. It has never been so with the Anti-slavery Societies in this country.

and urging all and singular to join the society, and save it from the hands of Mr. Garrison's party! And in Massachusetts, (contemporaneously with Mr. John A. Collins, the agent of the Massachusetts Society,) Mr. Charles T. Torrey was engaged in the same business of privately beating up recruits for the other side. It was, indeed, the accidental information that the Committee were using industrious private efforts to pack the meeting, that led to the effort of which Mr. Tappan complains. But with all these efforts and advantages, the true Abolitionists outnumbered the disorganizers, and prevailed. One would judge, from what Mr. Tappan says, that he and his friends withdrew without a contest. But this is a mistake. He says towards the end of his pamphlet, (pp. 22, 23) that the secession was not on account of the permission given to women to act. It is very true that this was but the pretence of that apostasy; but it was the only ostensible reason. The question was on the appointment of Miss Kelley on the Business Committee. This, which was the test question, and was carried by a large majority, occurred at the very outset of the meeting. There was no time for the "unusual and improper" demonstrations of the women present, which he says was one main cause of the secession. The meeting then adjourned, and at the next session Mr. Tappan gave notice of the formation of his society. What he says of the willingness of his party to allow women to vote, is as utterly destitute of foundation as his assertion, that the Garrison party "seemed determined to introduce upon the anti-slavery platform the question of Woman's Rights." This was never done by the Garrison party. And if Mr. Tappan's party did not secede on the ground that women were not "persons," as described in the Constitution, why did they exclude them from the New Society, by confining membership to "*gentlemen*"?

THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN SOCIETY.

Mr. Tappan enlarges in glowing terms on the great work his Society has done for the anti-slavery cause. He disclaims the soft impeachment that its name is but an *alias* of his own, and enumerates several gentlemen as his associates. One of these, Judge Jay, is a man of great excellence of character and warm anti-slavery feelings, and who has written several excellent books on subjects connected with slavery. He bears an illustrious historical name, and is a gentleman by position and education, of whose countenance Mr. Tappan may well be proud, if he have it to the extent he claims. But Mr. Tappan is

modest overmuch. I cannot be separated from the faith that the American and Foreign Society lives in him and will die with him. One christian characteristic he and his society certainly possess. What their right hand doeth the left hand knoweth it not. With a good deal of leisure, chiefly devoted to watching the anti-slavery field, I very seldom, if ever, hear of Mr. Tappan or his Society, except at his anniversary. If he and it do anything to advance the anti-slavery cause, I most heartily rejoice at it. But he is lost in the crowd of abler political managers and manœuverers with whom he has cast in his lot. It is the enemy, after all, who settle the question of who is foremost in such a fight as ours. And whose name is so rife in the mouths of the whole south, as Mr. Garrison's? Who but he is acknowledged by the whole nation as the incarnation of Anti-slavery? I have no disposition to magnify him, or the doings of the Society of which he is the head. If our works do not praise us, and the slaveholders curse us, it is of small avail to praise ourselves.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

Mr. Tappan claims the establishment of the *National Era* at Washington, as one of the jewels of the crown of his Society, and exults over its sixteen thousand subscribers as the Great Babylon that he has builded. It was issued under the imprint of that society for two years, and since then under that of Dr. Bailey, only. This change, Mr. Tappan says, was made for "various reasons." I had always given Mr. Tappan and his Society the credit of believing that the chief reason was, that the tame and time-serving character of that paper was more than even they could bear—that milk and water could be diluted so as to sicken even them. But of this imputation he has now absolved himself. I am not in the secrets of those gentlemen; but my belief is that the facts, if known, would stand about thus:—

Dr. Bailey was editor of the *Philanthropist*, a Liberty Party paper at Cincinnati. He intended removing it to Washington. Mr. Tappan offered him the list of his dying *Reporter*, and his assistance in getting subscribers. Dr. Bailey was very willing to use the services of so indefatigable an assistant as Mr. Tappan; and, having established himself, he kicked down the ladder by which he had partly risen.

But, be this as it may, Mr. Tappan is welcome to all the credit he can get from the *Era*. It is conducted with very

considerable literary ability and newspaper tact, but its anti-slavery tone is below contempt. It could not exist a day in Washington, if it dared to stand erect and speak plain. I do not know of a single Free-soil paper that is not infinitely its superior in *pluck*. The namby-pamby character of its Anti-slavery, joined to its literary merit and its excellence as a Congressional reporter, accounts very satisfactorily for its subscription list.

MR. TAPPAN'S SOCIETY'S FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

Mr. Tappan affirms, (p. 18) that freedom of speech prevails in all parts of the Free States, in New York and elsewhere, to all who do not *needlessly outrage public feeling!*" To be sure. And in all parts of the Slave States, too. One may say anything, anywhere, that the people are willing to bear. The American Anti-slavery Society had its meeting broken up in New York in 1850, and has been unable to procure a place to hold its meetings in, last year or this. But Mr. Tappan's Society finds no difficulty about it. Captain Rynders, the chief bully of New York, has no objection to him and his Society.* Mr. Tappan has been able to have an organ in Washington for two years. How long could the *Liberator*, the *Standard*, or any uncompromising anti-slavery paper, exist there? I dare say his Society could hold its next session there. The free speech of Mr. Tappan and his Society is not of a nature to inconvenience the utterer.

Mr. Tappan (p. 18) says that Mr. Gerrit Smith attended the last anniversary of the American Anti-slavery Society at Syracuse; "but this gentleman found, before the meeting was over, that he had mistaken its character, and *declined taking a part in it.*" I do not know Mr. Tappan's authority for this assertion; but it was news to me as well as to others who were at Syracuse during that meeting. And I rather think it will be news to Mr. Smith himself. My own impression is that he staid throughout the meeting, and made a liberal donation, or pledge, on the last day to the funds of the Society. He certainly knew us well enough before he came to our meeting, to know what he had to expect.

* This Rynders, a mercenary bully, led on the mob which broke up the Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society in 1850, and that in defence of the *Church!* They were pursued by Rynders the next day, and obliged to give up the meeting. Mr. Tappan has had no trouble from him. His Society held its meeting in the afternoon of the same day without disturbance. Probably Captain Rynders does not think *his* Anti-slavery of a dangerous type. Certainly his employers and setters-on do not.

CONCLUSION.

I have taken no notice of Mr. Tappan's strictures upon Mr. Thompson and Mr. R. D. Webb, conceiving those gentlemen quite competent to take care of themselves. The obligations under which we lie to those gentlemen, and to other equally faithful and clear-sighted abolitionists, for defending the true Anti-slavery Movement against the insidious attacks of its bitter enemies, we can never sufficiently acknowledge or repay. All we can do in return for their many offices of anti-slavery and personal friendship is, to promise continued and increasing diligence in the prosecution of the great cause in which we are engaged together. We invoke their continued help in that work which belongs to no country or time, but to all time and to all mankind. We acknowledge, with gratitude, the bountiful manner in which the British Abolitionists have furnished us with the sinews of our warfare against the common enemy of the human race. We hope and believe that these malignant attacks and misrepresentations of Mr. Scoble and Mr. Tappan will fail of their obvious purpose, and divert no portion of that help which the anti-slavery men and women of the British Islands have been wont to extend for the rescue of the most wretched class of their fellow-men. In return, we will pledge ourselves that, as we have ever done, we will still apply all the means placed at our disposal to one single end, the deliverance of the American Slaves.

I have the honor to be, Sir, very faithfully,

Your obedient servant,

EDMUND QUINCY.

Dedham, near Boston, Massachusetts, U. S.
March 28th, 1852.

APPENDIX.

Correspondence between Miss Elizabeth Pease of Darlington, and Mr. John Scoble, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in reference to the private circulation, by members of the Committee of that Society, of defamatory letters against the American Anti-slavery Society and its members.

MISS PEASE TO MR. SCOBLE.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

DARLINGTON, 3rd mo. 25, 1841.

RESPECTED FRIENDS:—Having received a letter from my esteemed friend, James Cannings Fuller, I enclose an extract from it to you, with the request that, in justice to William Lloyd Garrison and John A. Collins, you will transmit a copy of it to every individual to whom the extracts from the letters of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver were sent, as an antidote to the false and libellous charges brought by Mr. Colver against those individuals. The letter of J. C. Fuller was written in reply to one which I addressed to him, making particular inquiries with respect to the foundation for Mr. C's statements. I shall be obliged by an early acknowledgment of the receipt of this communication, with the information whether my request can be complied with.

I am respectfully your friend,
ELIZABETH PEASE.

MR. SCOBLE TO MISS PEASE.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY,
27, *New Broad-street*, April 20, 1841.

MY DEAR MISS PEASE:—Your letter of the 25th ult. with the extract from a communication of James Cannings Fuller to yourself, respecting Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John A. Collins, having been read in Committee, I am requested to acknowledge the receipt of the same, and to state that you labor under a wrong impression in supposing the Committee to have been parties to the circulation of what you designate "false and libellous charges, brought by Mr. Colver against those individuals," and that, therefore, they are not in a position to comply with your request.

The Committee of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society having addressed them on the same subject—laboring under a similar error—they beg to hand you extracts from that part of their reply to the friends in Dublin on the subject:—

"With respect to the extracts from Mr. Colver's letters, and from the Massachusetts Abolitionist, which were transmitted to you, the Committee are in no way responsible for the one or the other. The Committee neither knew of nor sanctioned, directly or indirectly, their circulation in any direction. On inquiry, however, they find that one or two of their number conceived it to be proper, that a few of the more active anti-slavery friends in the country should be made aware, that statements of the nature of those referred to were circulated in the United States, apparently on good authority, leaving their friends to exercise their own judgments as to what degree of credit or importance might be attached to them. This is the true state of the affair."

I am, my dear Miss Pease, yours truly,
JOHN SCOBLE.

MISS PEASE TO MR. SCOBLE.

DARLINGTON, 4th mo. 27, 1841.


ESTEEMED FRIEND:—It appears by the letter of the 20th inst. that the Committee of the B. and F. A. S. Society have not, as a body, deliberated on the circulation of the extracts from the letters of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, but that they have been circulated by some of its members. Now, if their being thus issued by influential members of the Committee from the office of the Society, forwarded under the cover of its Secretary, sealed with the Society's seal, and transmitted, together with other official documents, to the Secretaries and influential members of its auxiliaries, in various parts of the country, does not stamp them as *official*, it is difficult to determine what would; and they are generally regarded in this light by the individuals who have received them.

Under these circumstances, therefore, permit me to say that, whether the Committee *intended* their circulation to be stamped with its authority or not, they owe it no less to the individuals whose character they have thus been the means of injuring, than to their own, as men of integrity and honor, to require their Secretary, and those of their members, through whose instrumentality they have been brought under the censure of a large portion of their constituents throughout the country, to make all the reparation in their power, by giving a publicity to the refutation, *equal*, at least, to that which was given to the "charges,"—charges which have been fully proved to be both "false and libellous."

With best wishes for the success of the efforts of the Committee in the promotion of all the legitimate objects of their association,

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,
ELIZABETH PEASE.

John Scoble.

 To this letter, it is believed, no reply was ever received from Mr. Scoble.



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