

Boston, February 28, 1853.

Dear Mr. Estlin,

Although our 'English Box' can't be got off for 10 days yet, I will now at least begin a letter to you. Yesterday I wrote, at some length, to Mr. Webb, chiefly about the "Advocate", and Bazaar business. - Before this - or rather about this time - I suppose, you have received my letter in acknowledgement of yours, enclosing your thoughtful and generous donations, amounting to £30. - I have engaged Mr. Wilkin of Penn^a, to pay \$25. to Capt. Drayton, & hope to be able to send you with this, Capt. D.'s receipt. The other donations you will probably see acknowledged in the respective papers; I will endeavour that you shall. - The "Liberator" for a long time has been regularly sent to the "London Morning Advertiser", which never has returned (or acknowledged, so far as we know) the courtesy; but I see, ⁱⁿ the last No. of the "Penn^a Freeman", an acknowledgement of the regular reception of the Advertiser by that paper. Of course, I am glad of that; but why the difference? - I hope too much will not be yielded ^{by our Antislavery friends in England} to these bigoted and sectarian religionists; - who, for a difference of Creed, can coolly & intelligently turn their backs upon so pure, so truthful, so generous, so high-principled a man, as Mr. Garrison, - or, ^{who can} treat him coolly, & show their ^{by way of distinction} favour, to such as stand less adroitly in the eyes of ~~the~~ the bigots. I have always admired that old sentiment of Wendell Phillips - certainly not original with him in its idea, but I believe first used & applied by him in connexion with even that noble cause, for which ~~he~~ deems it a high privilege to labour, & for which ^{doubt not he would} ~~he would~~ be willing to die, - viz. "God sent us into the world not to abolish Slavery, but to do our duty." - I do not preach all this sermon (for which pray pardon me), on the slender text of the ^{refusal} ~~refusal~~ of the London M. A. to interchange civilities, - which ^{with the Lib^r} may have been ^{an} accidental, ^{omission} - but because, dear Sir, I have almost feared - may I speak so plainly to my senior in wisdom & experience, as well as in years? - that you were inclined to defer too far to

the sectarian prejudices of certain persons, lest they should be alienated from this good cause. But these prejudices are slavish, in their own nature, and will never let those who ~~hold~~ ^{are held by} them go beyond a certain length, even in the service of God; then they draw the rein, & the subject ~~knows~~ ^{will} ~~to~~ ~~venture~~ no farther. Such persons can ~~do~~ ^{render} but a temporary service to the Antislavery Cause. When they see where its plough-share will inevitably run - what time-honoured wrongs and generated absurdities & errors it will turn upside down - how the young giants of Liberty will cast off its antiquated garments, and take on a vesture better suited to the new work God has for the new & fresh hearts & hands continually being born, (pardon this too! I did not intend a sophomoric flight), - they will look back, and show themselves not fit for the Kingdom of God. ~~But~~ I do not know but that I am mistaken in my conjecture, & that there is no ground for my apprehension, so to call it. You will regard it, perhaps, as only another proof that we here do not understand your field of labour, and cannot appreciate your position. I readily ~~content~~ concede that there is some truth in this, but, I think, less than you suppose. - I know that "heresy" and "radicalism" are even more hated and feared in England than with us - being regarded, for the most part, as rather low & vulgar, besides criminal. I know that ~~your~~ 'Society' with you is much more sharply divided - classes & ranks more strictly defined, than with us. I suppose that you have not a well-educated and thinking labouring, farming, mechanic, class, to anything like the extent that we have, ^{in the Northern States.} You yourself suggest that, with you, reforms ^{must} commence with the higher classes, ~~in your country~~, - at least, that it is of primary importance to get those classes right. With us, it is exactly the opposite; and, I should have said, much more so in your country than I understand you ~~to be willing~~ to admit. Whence, for instance, came the Repeal of the Cornlaw System? Certainly Cobden, Wilson, and even Sir Robt Peel, ^{may have} secured the measures, & arranged the details; but did not the whole thing ~~lie~~ ^{lie} first in the hearts of the simple-minded peasantry and working people,

including that vast class which labours with its hands for daily bread - and did not the demand for that repeal come first from them? This ^{and the} A. S. Question is not, I know, altogether parallel - it being a question, in one sense, foreign to your people and country, - and one which depends, so far as your country can influence & determine it for good, very much on the judgment of the educated & thinking portion of your people. But what is to excite & render active that judgment? Archbishop Whately, Lord Denman, Lord Shaftesbury, the Earl of Carlisle & all his relations, have known for years and years, just as well as they know now, what Slavery is & does, what American Slavery is & does. Why ^{have} they not testified before, as strongly & eloquently as of late? Some few of them have. But the most of them give tongue now for the first time. Is it not ^{owing to} the fact, that the popular heart and conscience of England was touched & roused, in God's providence, by that simple tale of Mrs. Stowe's, that we are now having the testimonies, the remonstrances, and the intercessions of these distinguished ones? They speak, because England expects and demands it of them; & because they know they will be sustained - which even the loftiest peer, & the wisest doctor, likes, as well perhaps as another. But this is a long digression. - To go back to what I was saying - I do not grant that we are so little able to appreciate the peculiar difficulties of our British Antislavery friends, as they imagine. We have had to face, here, fairly, fully, squarely, the question of how much truth we would speak, what part keep back, how measure & temper our words in speaking of the most enormous wickedness, how far be guided by policy (I speak now of the very best sort of policy, - unselfish, &c.) in efforts to conciliate & secure the aid of powerful parties & sects, and similar questions in a thousand shapes. - And, in deciding them all one way - in deciding "to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help us God" - ^{offer what possible man or party it might -} but where it may, lay bare what respectable sin it might - it has not been without looking, with the utmost care and diligence, at every side of the question, and being thoroughly convinced that it was no less our

true expediency, than our clearest duty, to "declare the whole counsel
 of God". I certainly can understand that the time may not have come
 yet for you to be equally out-spoken and (as the world views it) Schmach-
 I can imagine that it may never become ^{as} necessary with you as it has
 been with us. Yet I believe it to be equally necessary, and that either this
 or another will inevitably lead Gt. Britain ^{& all the civilized world} to a perfectly free investigation of
 every question which concerns mankind, and upon which the human mind is
 capable of acting. - Now, I pray you not to suppose that I would think
 of dictating any course to you; - or even that I am advising you how to act.
 I continually rejoice, and thank God, for your many, your wise, & your successful
 labours in behalf of our wretched & wronged American bondmen, and of ^{their} little
 handful of defenders - the Abolitionists. That you know, I would only pray you
 not to yield anything to bigots, which they have no right to ask; and, if they
 are to be blamed, let them be "resisted to their face" - yet not with harshness - for that
 I surely would not contend. Not even for the sake of the Anti-Slavery cause,
 should there be any deference to the spirit of proscriptions for opinions sake,
 prejudice founded upon evil rumours or imperfect knowledge. - I admit
 the force, too, of many of your criticisms upon the "Liberator". Its free and
 open course ^{does} sometimes lead to things I do not like - ^{at} which many here are
 pained & shocked; sometimes ^{pieces} things are inserted which, it seems to me, no
 rule of liberality rendered necessary to be inserted. * But I see wiser & better ones
 than I, tolerant of the "Liberator", & full of respect for it, even if not entirely agreeing with it.
 I have never known of any one harmed, or weakened, by the "Liberator"; any number
 of cases, just the opposite! The complainants here are usually persons who rank
 their sects higher than "peace on earth, good will among men"; - and with regard to most
 of them, I think I have very strong evidence of their being more swayed by motives
 of a selfish, & worldly character, than by that sensitive regard for the truth, to
 which they ~~all~~ lay claim. - And it is so difficult a matter to
 regulate & control the "liberty of speech & of the press", that, within the bounds of
 sincerity and decency, I think it the only safe way to allow the largest liberty.
 Of course, we must expect many to be offended, and must tolerate, or endure, even
 their weakness, if such it be.

* That General Discretion of H. C. Whipple's in a particular instance is a matter of course, & I shall be glad to see you.

Liberator Henry

Wooten, March 9, 1853. Nine days have elapsed, since I wrote the other Sheet. I have just read it over again, & have been minded to destroy it; but, on second thoughts, I prefer you should fully see just what I have thought & felt, knowing that your candour and good sense will excuse & forget what in it may seem to savour of any injustice to you. - I certainly am content to let you manage the cause on your side the water, especially when such good fruits appear. Still, there is a truth, especially for the Abolitionists with their small array of numbers, in the old saying, "We are nothing, if not critical"; - and we have, you know, the world-wide reputation of being inveterate faultfinders. Our only strength & hope, humanly speaking, is to challenge every doubtful principle, every questionable maxim & custom, & bid them show Reason for going at large; - and who can say what is doubtful, & what is questionable, save the mind which is in each & every thinking man? - I therefore let the other sheet go as it is; not as being just what it ought to be, but because it does express what I suppose is a real difference between you & some of us here. The difference in our respective positions will go some way towards explaining & necessitating that difference, I doubt not. - And I will just add that what I wrote, & what I now write, is simply my own thought, without hint from any quarter. - I have not yet found the happy hour for transcribing, from your last to me, ^{so much of} ~~the~~ that part of your letter, as I know you would not object to having Garrison see, - in the hope that he will, some time, write to you on some of its topics. +

We are subjected to new delays, in getting off our English box. The packet ship, instead of sailing tomorrow, ^(18th) as advertised, will not sail until the 21st. This happened well enough, for us; for W. Phillips has so hindered our printers, by re-modelling & adding to his Speech, as printed in Connection with ^{the} Annual Report, (and in an Extra Edition)

Member of A. S. Standard &
 Penna. Freeman

that the Report is not yet ready, and the Box would not have gone, had the Ship sailed. We hope to be ready, when she does go. -

Can you send me two or three copies - or even one - of No. 1 of the Advocate? R. D. W. wrote me, some time since, that he was all out of them. I rec^d. Tweedie's "Weekly News", for which I thank you. From that, and a number of the "Daily News" (for wh. also I am indebted to you), I cut some valuable testimonials to the "Advocate", which I hope will appear in this week's Liberator. They were excluded from last week's. -

I am pleased to tell you of a change - and, we all confidently anticipate, an improvement ^{to be made} in the A. S. Standard. Mr. Oliver Johnson, Editor of the Penn^a. Freeman, one of the earliest of the New Eng^d Abolitionists, once ~~a sub-editor~~ ^{an associate-editor} of the New York Tribune, is to be appointed with Mr. Gay, as joint editors of the Standard. Mr. J. will remove to N. York; some improvements will be made in the Antislavery office there; and the paper, we expect, will become more attractive. Many, now, think it heavy, at least so far as its editorials, and its Antislavery Selections are concerned. The Penn^a. Antislavery friends, who are much attached to Mr. Johnson, and entirely satisfied with him as Editor of the Freeman, very generously & magnanimously relinquished Mr. J., on seeing the strong reasons ~~then~~ for this arrangement, which exist. We are, too, going to try holding the Annual Meeting again in New York City. A hall is engaged - the Chinese Museum Assembly rooms - capable of seating 1200 persons, conveniently & centrally situated, on Broadway. We mean that the very best of 'English' (if you please) good sense & discretion shall preside over it; and hope to have W. Phillips, D. Farnes, & Th. Parker as Speakers. W. Garrison says the Meeting will not be held in the rooms engaged, nor in N. York city at all, - and wonders at our credulity in supposing it to be possible -

I will endeavour very soon to transmit to you the materials you ask for an Advocate Article on the American Unitariany. If I have all the needful documents, as I think I have, here in Boston, I shall probably be able to send the paper so that you will receive it before you do this. A letter which I rec^d. from R. D. Webb today speaks of the 6th No. of the Advocate as out, or at least ready to go out. But none have come to us - probably not mailed in season for that ship. - Shall I tell you what R. D. W. says of you? perhaps you can bear it the better, after the first part of this letter of mine. - After speaking of yourself & daughter as very busy, in London, for the cause, he says "Mr. Estlin, though feeble in health, is the Atlas of the Cause in England". - I am sure you will not suspect me of undervaluing the labours of yourself & daughter. You have set on foot, and directed, the only systematic effort, the only machinery, which has been lately as is now working in Gr. Britain for our cause. This is much - very much; and we know, of course, but little of the details of your labour. We see that you set such men as E. Matthews & W. W. Town useful to work, & keep them so. The "Advocate" speaks for itself - W. W. B. by the way, very generously sent a considerable number of his handsome & very agreeable books - (thinks of a Chattel Slave because the Author of so clever & handsome a volume!) - to friends here - to myself, among the number, a beautiful copy. - I doubt not you materially aided him, in this book. - Your judicious, indefatigable, & continued kindness to the Crafts, - so much beyond what most persons, even in good health, would have thought they could possibly do - can never be forgotten by the friends of the American Slave. - But you don't need that I should assure you of this. And, if we forgot ~~that~~ all, I am sure you would not cease to do what you could.

I feel disappointed, somewhat & somehow, about Francis Bishop. Or, is he an indolent man, & slow in doing what he undertakes? I had not supposed the latter. He did ^{some} ~~many~~ good & have things here, and we all loved him. But, in his religious & ministerial intercourse, he seemed to make no difference between Ezra S. Fannett & Wm. H. Furness, &c. &c.

Then, he was proposing to publish some account of his travels in this country - what he saw, &c. &c. Perhaps it is too soon to expect this; I hope he may be stirred up to publish something. It is quite important he should. - He gave Miss Weston quite a strong encouragement of writing something for the "Liberty Bell" - which, evidently on account of the great hurry of his last days and weeks here, he did not do. - I hope he will send something, during this summer for the next "Bell." - Mr. Wicksteed, of Leeds, has lately spoken very well on the Slavery question - as I see by a brief sketch of his remarks copied (from the Inquirer perhaps) into the A. S. Standard.

You speak of having been charged 12 shilling for a copy the Boston 2 vol. edition of Uncle Tom. I hope this was not the copy which Mrs. May sent to Miss Estlin? I sent that by my sister, in the confidence it w^d. get into J. Chapman's hands, without any expense. Did you pay the 12/ as duty, or was that the shop price? If the latter they just doubled the American price. - The B. & Clifton Report cost me nothing, that I am aware of. You prefer the postage.

I want to send you the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" by this box; but it is not yet out. From what I hear of it, I anticipate that it will be a most terrible shock to the Church & religious people generally - and I dare say, will prove too strong a dose for many a British minister & church member. - I have got for you, also, an "American Almanac" for you. I don't know whether this is of much use to you. Would it be worth while to publish, from it, in the Advocate, the Tables of the Slave Population, as taken from the last U. S. Census?

Did you notice a late letter of R. D. Webb's, in Standard, undertaking the defence of Sa Gurney, & Joseph Sturge, from some editorial strictures of the Standard? It seemed to me our good friend had taken up quite a superfluous work - or, rather, a vain one. We know what both of these men have done for Antislavery; and we know something they have said & done against it. It is generous in Webb to come to their defence; but I think we did them no injustice before. To be sure, I don't distinctly recollect the Standard's remarks, or which he animadverted upon. - You will see, in Standard, an acknowledgment of your donations. I shall send you a Pa Freeman, with this, acknowledging also. I shall send a Bye, too, when I get it. Capt. Drayton's receipt has not come; but the money (£25.) is either in his hands, or J. M. McKim's for him. - I still retain the m^o. for Mrs. Garrison, by his request. - With the sincerest & friendliest regards to Miss Estlin and to yourself, I am, Yours Samuel May, Jr.

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