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Ph

PRINCIPLES AND MODE OF ACTION

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:

4265.368

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A SPEECH BY

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

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THERE are about three-and-a-half millions of slaves in the United States. Taking these at the very low average value of £50 each, they represent a capital of 175 millions sterling, and form by far the most important "interest" in that country. Although slavery is confined by law to the fourteen southern states, the social, commercial, religious, literary, and locomotive intercourse between the north and the south is incessant; and vast commercial transactions are continually carried on between the merchants of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the southern planters. We cease, then, to wonder that slavery is maintained with such vehement determination, or that those who labour for its overthrow are so fiercely maligned and misrepresented. We are no longer surprised, when we hear that, at the south, it is as much as a man's life is worth, to question the justice, policy, or scriptural sanctions of slavery; that the clergy preach in its defence; and that statesmen glory in the system, as the corner-stone of their republican edifice; or that in the north, where intercourse with the south is almost universal, slavery should often be looked upon with slight disfavour, and its earnest opponents regarded as fanatical disturbers of the public peace. Mr. Garrison's speech is reprinted with the omission of some passages not specially bearing on the subject, and likely to embarrass the English reader by local allusions. It gives a clear and forcible exposition of the principles and mode of action of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the parent of all those abolition organizations which are now labouring with such energy, ability, and self-denial for the overthrow of American slavery. The speech is mainly directed to show that the Society is of a catholic character, embracing all who are sincerely labouring for the common object, although they may widely differ as to details of opinion and practice; and that as the great object of the abolitionists is to correct public opinion respecting slavery, no man, no matter how great his services to the slave, can justly claim exemption from criticism, if he lays himself open to censure by inconsistency or error in his conduct or advocacy of the cause.

This speech may be considered a clear exposition of the aims and mode of action of the abolitionists, from the lips of their leader, a man of unimpeached purity of life, of rare moral courage and tenacity of purpose, and of a character so magnanimous and marked by such conscious rectitude, that although he is perhaps (as O'Connell used to say of himself) "the best abused man" in the United States, he regularly republishes in his own paper, the *Liberator*, the libels by which his devoted labours are continually assailed.

PRINCIPLES AND MODE OF ACTION

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

&c.

MR. PRESIDENT,—For what are we assembled at this Anniversary? It is to bear anew our testimony against chattel slavery in our land. That sin is so palpable, that crime is so enormous, that no man can honestly doubt in regard to its real nature; for God never yet made a human being who felt in his soul that he ought to be a slave; and, therefore, the universal heart of our common humanity, in all ages, in all climes, has rejected the idea that man can be made the property of man.

HOW SHALL WE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW SLAVERY?

Well, then, we are all opposed to slavery—so we say; we all desire its abolition—such is our profession; but how shall we proceed to effect its overthrow? What shall be the mode by which we shall co-operate in order to accomplish this great and sublime object? Or is there no common bond of union by which we can rally together on the side of liberty? Why, Sir, slaveholders, divided as they are by sectarian and party ties—divided in these particulars, just as we are at the North—are not divided on the subject of slavery. They readily combine their means and influence for its preservation and perpetuity, making every other consideration subordinate. Now, is it not possible for the true friends of freedom to be associated in its defence and extension, though differing in their religious and political opinions? I affirm that we can unite;

that we ought to unite ; nay, that the true in spirit *are* united, all over this country.

WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION SHALL WE FORM ?

But it is desirable to organize. It is better to work together than to work singly ; for by concentrating our forces, we can operate all the more powerfully upon public opinion. But how shall we organize ? What should be the platform laid down, on which to invite everybody to stand ?

IT MUST NOT BE A SECTARIAN ORGANIZATION ;

In the first place, it ought not to be a religious organization, technically speaking—Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other ; for that would be exclusive and sectarian. It would leave a vast multitude of the friends of freedom outside of it, for various reasons ; and therefore you would have loss of strength, and an unwise division of forces.

NOR A POLITICAL ONE.

In the second place, it must not be a political organization ; for as only a small portion of the people are permitted to vote in this government—as one-half of the population, on account of their sex, are politically disfranchised—as many persons are conscientiously opposed to upholding a government of violence and blood—as many others are precluded from the ballot-box by their views of the pro-slavery compromises in the Constitution—a mere political organization must necessarily be exclusive and therefore contracted in its sphere of activity and influence.

Sir, we want something better than either the one or the other—something more catholic, more philosophical, more comprehensive. Can we get it ? What ought to be its leading characteristic ? What should be the condition and test of membership ?

WE MUST NOT REFUSE THE ASSISTANCE OF WOMEN.

I add, in the third place, the organization must not exclude women either from membership or from active participation in its affairs ; because women abhor, and have reason to abhor slavery as intensely as men ; and because as many women

clanking their chains, and crying for relief, as men. Every member must be permitted to "plead the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction," on his or her own responsibility, as a sense of duty may determine.

OURS MUST BE A MORAL AGITATION.

Lastly, the object of the organization must be moral agitation—the promulgation of the truth, and its application to the consciences of a people who are "laden with iniquity," and "whose hands are full of blood." It is a moral regeneration which is to be effected, as much now as in apostolic times, and by the same instrumentality—the foolishness of preaching.

IT MUST BE ANIMATED BY A VITAL PRINCIPLE.

It is evident that such an organization must be based upon a self-evident truth, and animated by a vital principle, appealing alike to the understanding and conscience of every human being, without regard to religious or political opinions. That truth is, that slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a sin against God; and, therefore, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master. What is self-evident is all-embracing, and may be held in common by men and women; by Christians and infidels; by those who belong to religious bodies, and by those who do not; by those who exercise the elective franchise, and by those who are disfranchised for conscience sake. We can all give our hearty endorsement to the principle—requiring nothing beyond this, but that each one shall apply and carry it out, with conscientious fidelity, at whatever cost, and wherever it may lead, according to the light that is in him.

IT MUST BE FREE TO ALL, AND MUST ALLOW OF FREE SPEECH.

Well, what next? The platform of the organization must be free to all, and speech upon it left untrammelled. There must be a willingness to hear not only those who are friendly to its object, but also those who are hostile to it; for the truth has nothing to fear in an open encounter with error, and ever courts inquiry and examination—ever coming out the better and stronger for it.

THESE ARE THE FEATURES OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY
SOCIETY.

Now, Sir, this is the spirit, the freedom, the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society—nothing more, nothing less. It is willing to hear, at its own pecuniary expense, in its own meetings, whatever may be said against its principles or measures, in whatever temper or language. If it has any favours to grant, they are granted especially to those who are disposed to assail it—giving them not only an equal chance, but more than justice requires on the score of time. If ever the time shall come when this lofty trait in its character shall be blotted out, then you may write “*ICHABOD*” upon its walls, and proclaim its downfall.

WE RESORT TO NO DISCIPLINARY MEASURES.

Sir, we resort to no disciplinary measures. We put forth no bulls of excommunication. We neither exclude nor suspend any member, on any ground whatever. Every one is as free to go as he is free to come, incurring no censure for his withdrawal. We are agreed simply as to the abstract principle; we are agreed, also, that it is the duty of each and all to adhere to it, as its legitimate application may be perceived, “remembering them that are in bonds as bound with them.” Whenever anything is found hostile to its progress, then whoever makes the discovery is bound to cry out against the obstacle, and attempt its removal. If, in the course of the conflict, he shall find himself called upon to cut off his right hand or pluck out his right eye, there must be no hesitancy—the hand must come off, the eye must come out.

WE NEITHER IMPOSE TESTS, NOR INTERFERE WITH INDIVIDUAL
CONVICTION NOR PERSONAL FREEDOM.

Sir, we are sometimes accused of being narrow and exclusive in our organization—of imposing tests and requiring conditions which interfere with individual conviction and personal freedom. No accusation can be more unjust—no opinion more erroneous. Do we say that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society must all be agreed in proclaiming the Constitution of the United States to be “a covenant with death, and an agree-

ment with hell?" Do we say that none shall be members who vote for such men as Franklin Pierce or Winfield Scott?* Do we say that they shall be excommunicated if they remain with the Whig, or Democratic, or Free Soil party; or with a pro-slavery church or denomination;† or support a pro-slavery clergy? We say no such thing; we make no such requirement; we let every man stand accountable to his God.

WE KEEP OUR PLATFORM OPEN TO ALL, AND FREE TO ALL.

But there is one thing we do, and mean to persist in doing; we keep our platform open to all, and free to all, without respect of persons. We utter our convictions fearlessly and independently, as to who and what is pro-slavery; and allow nothing in Church or State to pass unchallenged respecting its position to the anti-slavery cause; we mean to criticise, reprove, and warn, and are ready to be criticised, reprov'd, and warn'd in return.

THE SOCIETY CHERISHES AND PROMULGATES DEFINITE OPINIONS.

Of course, the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be effective, must cherish and promulgate definite opinions—the collective

* Franklin Pierce, the successful democratic candidate at the last election of President of the United States. He is a lawyer, and was a general in the Mexican war. He is a native of New Hampshire; and, until a very few months before his elevation to his present position, was very little known beyond his own neighbourhood. With that jealousy of great men for which republics are remarkable, the Presidents of the United States, for many years past, have generally been persons of very little personal ability or intellectual eminence. General Scott, the defeated Whig candidate, was a successful commander in some of the frontier wars against the Indians.

† The great political parties of the Union are the Whigs and Democrats. The former, who were almost annihilated, as a party, at the last presidential election, are opposed to free trade, favour a high tariff of protective duties, and generally include the wealthier and more educated portion of the people. The Democrats favour the complete ascendancy of the multitude. Both parties propitiate the slaveholders to the utmost, and the slaveholders play both off against each other for their own purposes.

The Free Soil party are a small body in comparison to the other two. Its members are opposed to slavery, but their political objects are, the exclusion of any more slave States from the Union, and to prevent slavery from being allowed to extend into those territories of the republic which have not yet attained to the position of self-governing States.

opinions of its members, as expressed by a majority on any given point for the time being. It may sometimes err in judgment; it may not always come to a right decision; still, as it ever holds itself open to reproof and conviction, as it gives the minority every desirable opportunity to expose its fallacies or errors, this affords no good reason for refusing to co-operate with it. All that can be done among fallible human beings, under the circumstances, to arrive at a true result, is assuredly done; and where this spirit prevails, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, rely upon it that result will be satisfactory. Welcoming the light from whatever quarter it may shine, how is it possible for the Society to evince a stronger conviction of the rectitude of its course—or if in error, a more manly desire to be set right—or a more unselfish consecration to the cause of the enslaved in our land?

THIS SOCIETY HAS TAKEN NO STEP BACKWARDS.

No step has the American Anti-Slavery Society ever taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical, unwilling to yield when in error; but because there has been no occasion for retracting or going back. We have abandoned many of our steps; but it is the abandonment of an onward march, to grapple all the more vigorously with the enemy. We do not stand precisely where we did twenty years ago, or even ten years ago; we are all the while making new issues and fresh advances; and all this is essential to the abolition of slavery.

NO SINCERE OPPONENT OF SLAVERY NEED WITHHOLD HIS
COURTESY FROM THIS SOCIETY.

Now, then, if we do not dictate to any man to what party he shall belong; to what creed he shall subscribe; to what church he shall give in his adhesion, or from which he must withdraw; or what he shall think or say of the Constitution or government of the country—if we allow him free speech, and he professes to agree with us in principle, and in the duty of adhering to it—what excuse has he for absenting himself from this platform? How can he justify himself in lifting his heel against us? Why should he run away? Here is the place to defend himself. What if the Society deem him to be unsound in some of his

views, or pro-slavery in some of his relations to Church or State? *He* believes his position to be a tenable one. Then he will be serene and unmoved, instead of getting angry and furious. Instead of impeaching the motives or spirit of the Society, he will say, "You give me all I ask or can desire—the opportunity to state my convictions freely, and to defend my conduct; and that is enough! Believing that I am right, I have full faith that, ultimately, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing the Society espouse my side of the question."

YET MANY SECESSIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE FROM OUR RANKS.

And yet, Mr. President, what secessions have taken place in our ranks from time to time! All the way through, and following along the track of our march, are to be found the carcasses of multitudes who have perished by the way. They ran well for a time, and then they fell to the earth; or, growing hateful and personal in their spirit, they have become embittered against the Society, and sought to destroy it; evidently far more anxious to cripple the efforts and blacken the character of the uncompromising abolitionists, than to bring slavery into disrepute.

WHAT DO WE EXACT FROM OUR MEMBERS?

What is it that we exact? Not conformity as to the *application* of the principle, in order to membership in our Society, but only as to the *principle itself*—an endorsement of its soundness. We make due allowance for the fact, that mankind make progress, if sometimes rapidly, more commonly slowly. We know, in the nature of the case, that all men do not leap to the same conclusion, logically or by intuition, at the same moment. We know that, among those who are equally honest, there may be hesitancy on the part of some, and doubt on the part of others, as to where the principle fairly applies. We admit that there will be cases where men the most clear-sighted may, for a timé, be somewhat troubled to decide whether this or that step is really a compromise of principle. But then, Sir, all these things must be tolerated, if we would work together for the overthrow of slavery. Ultimately, we may all see eye to eye.

THE LIBERTY OF OPINION ENJOYED BY OUR MEMBERS, AND OUR
DUTIES TOWARDS THEM.

Sir, if a member of our organization can belong to the Whig or Democratic party, and feel that he occupies a true anti-slavery position in so doing, let him remain with the party. To his own conscience let him be true. To his own master he must stand or fall. What we shall do, when he comes upon our platform, is to endeavour to show that his position is inconsistent with the principle he has accepted, and is practically pro-slavery. As Lot was commanded to flee out of Sodom, that he might not be destroyed with its inhabitants; as God says to his people in Babylon, 'Come out of her, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues;' so anti-slavery demands the abandonment of every pro-slavery sect and party. Still, if any one does not feel called upon to leave his party, or church, or the government, he is at liberty to remain, and he will manifest his sincerity by exhibiting a manly and catholic spirit, and a readiness to be examined as to his conduct.

Now, Sir, can you conceive of anything more charitable than this—more magnanimous than this—more sublimely courageous than this—a higher evidence of a desire to be in the right, and a wish never to be in the wrong? Where is there such liberty conceded on any other platform under the whole heavens?

WHITHER HAVE WE BEEN LED BY THE FAITHFUL APPLICATION OF
OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE?

Mr. President, adopting the fundamental principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society, what have we done with it in our organization? In a faithful application of it to men and measures—to the religious and political institutions of the land—to constitutions and laws—we have made many discoveries—discoveries that have filled us sometimes with amazement, sometimes with deep regret, sometimes with heartfelt anguish; because we started at the outset, mixed up with the old parties and with the religious sects, ardent in our attachment and earnest in our support of them. We did not know where we were going; we could not tell what was before us; for who foresaw, when he gave in his adhesion to the cause of the

oppressed, that he would be called upon to give up his party, his church, his minister—to lose his reputation and jeopard his worldly interest—to the extent he has been required to do? But we took the pledge of fidelity to the slave. We declared his cause to be good and true—yes, divine; and hence, whatever obstructed its triumph must be from the adversary, and not from God. At what hazard and cost all this has been done, let posterity decide.

On many points, slowly but surely, we have arrived at great unanimity of sentiment. We are generally agreed in the opinion, that the Whig party of the country is foully pro-slavery, and therefore ought to be abandoned. We are equally convinced that the Democratic party is utterly subservient to the slave power, and thoroughly polluted, from which it is the duty of every pure-minded man and every true democrat to withdraw. We also affirm that a church, claiming to be the church of Christ, and yet having no bowels of mercy for the oppressed, nay, receiving slaveholders and slave-breeders to its communion table, is a church with which no Christian abolitionist ought to be connected; and that, if there be one thus associated with it, he is bound, by his fidelity to God and the slave, to withdraw from it, and register his testimony against it as an anti-Christian body.

To such conclusions, after careful examination and mature consideration, we have come, with but few dissenting voices in our ranks, but not without great hesitancy and reluctance on the part of some, for a time. All did not see the duty at the same moment; at first, perhaps only a solitary member saw the guilt of the relation, raised the warning cry, and called for consistent action. Then another and another apprehended it clearly, and the discussion went on, until nearly the whole body became satisfied as to its reality, and pronounced sentence of condemnation accordingly.

NO MAN NEED WITHHOLD HIS HELP FROM US, BECAUSE HE DIFFERS FROM OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

We come now to the question of withdrawal from the Government, in consequence of the pro-slavery compromises of the

Constitution. On this point, while the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society are generally agreed, the professed friends of the slave, acting in other relations, are very much divided. They advocate various and discordant notions about the constitution. Some say they hold it to be thoroughly and intentionally anti-slavery, and so they can vote and hold office under it without any compromise of principle; others acknowledge its pro-slavery features, but argue that as it provides for its own amendment, the ballot may be innocently thrown with that object in view; while others think that, if nothing more can be accomplished by the elective franchise than the election of men to Congress who will exert themselves to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia and the territories, and to prevent the further extension of slavery, it justifies political action. Here is a wide difference of opinion; but what then? What if we differ *ad infinitum* as to the application of the principle by which we profess to be governed? I want to know who the man is who is going to run away from the anti-slavery platform on that account; and if he runs, I want to know what is the matter with him. He says that his own position is sound and practical; that his conscience is satisfied; that his judgment is confirmed, and he has not a doubt troubling his mind. What cause has such a man to run from anybody? Is not he who is in the right the "one man who shall chase a thousand," and one of the "two who shall put ten thousand to flight?" But if he be not in the right, even then he will manifest no disposition to flee, if he sincerely believes he is right, or desires to be so, if in error. The language of his heart will be, "Search me as with a candle, and see if there be anything wrong in me." Being fallible, he may honestly mistake his way or misapprehend his duty, but he is not the man to keep from a free arena because somebody will impeach his judgment or censure his conduct—far otherwise! Who that is satisfied that he ought to remain connected with the Whig or Democratic party, pro-slavery though it be—with the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other church, pro-slavery though it be—who, I say, that believes it his duty to do this, *as a friend of the slave*, has any just cause to complain of the liberty exercised on this platform, or to stand aloof from our meetings?

WE MAINTAIN FREE UNTRAMMELLED SPEECH ON A FREE UN-
TRAMMELLED PLATFORM.

I told you that the American Anti-Slavery Society excommunicates nobody, disciplines nobody; but it does far better than that. It is not without a winnowing machine, which separates the tares from the wheat with wonderful discrimination. It has an instrument by which it detects the false, un-masks the hypocritical, exposes the compromising, almost as by an infallible power. It is FREE UNTRAMMELLED SPEECH ON A FREE UNTRAMMELLED PLATFORM! Whoever cannot stand the trial is either a coward or a consciously corrupt man. (Loud cheers.)

BUT WHY CRITICISE ABLE ADVOCATES OF THE SLAVE WHO DO NOT
CO-OPERATE WITH THIS SOCIETY?

But the inquiry is raised, "Why criticise and arraign such men as Charles Sumner, Horace Mann, and John P. Hale?" Why not criticise and arraign them, if they are at any time found wanting? Who are they, to claim exemption from the strictest scrutiny? Are they infallible? Are they demi-gods? If they stumble in the dark, shall we raise no warning voice, acting as they do the part of political leaders? Not criticise them!—let them go, forsooth, because they make good anti-slavery speeches now and then—help the fugitive slave now and then—and manfully resist the usurpations of the slave power! Why, sir, do we not gratefully acknowledge all that they do for the slave, and give them full credit for it? The anti-slavery speeches of Mann, of Sumner, of Hale, of Giddings, I have always gladly printed in the columns of THE LIBERATOR*—(loud applause)—and I think I have not been

* These gentlemen are distinguished members of the Free Soil party, and have all made speeches of remarkable ability and eloquence, on behalf of the slave, in the American Houses of Congress. Whilst the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its kindred organizations, honour them for their works' sake, they do not consider that those who admit "the sinfulness of slavery," can consistently fake that oath of obedience to the United States' Constitution, which is demanded of all who take office or enter Congress. And for this reason, that the constitution, amongst its other provisions, contains the following, for the support of Southern slavery:—

1. The President of the United States is bound to suppress all in-

chary in my tribute to those gentlemen for the anti-slavery work that they have done: For one, I must be beside myself if I can quarrel with them for being faithful to our cause. But, sir, when, in my judgment, they fail to carry out the principle, or stand in a pro-slavery relation, what shall I do as an honest man, as their friend, and as the advocate of the slave? Shall I be dumb? Shall I say, "No matter—they mean well; they have said and done many very good things; let them run?" Why, nobody should let them run. I hold the slaveholder to the strictest account; shall I not hold every other man? To such an account God will hold us all.

Do you recollect the case of the young man in the Gospel—the *good* young man—who had lived so exemplary a life, who came to Jesus, saying, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take up thy cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions." So in regard to our Free Soil friends. Have they not made good anti-slavery speeches?—what lack they yet? Have they not contributed to the funds of the anti-slavery cause?—what lack they yet? Have they not assisted fugitive slaves to escape?—what lack they yet? One thing;

surrections, including those of the oppressed slaves. This no abolitionist could do, who considers that black men as well as white have a right to their liberty.

2. Three-fifths of the slaves in the South are included in the population of free persons, in estimating the basis of representation for the election of members to Congress. The slaves have no votes, and the members are returned by the slaveholders, who thus make them the instruments of their own oppression.

3. All fugitives from slavery, when taken in the free states, are liable to be returned to their masters by an express stipulation in the American Constitution.

and that is, they are in a political union with bloody-minded oppressors, and they ought to come out and separate themselves for ever from it.

WE ARE BOUND TO WATCH OVER EACH OTHER.

Sir, we are bound to watch over each other ; to admonish each other in love, and with all fidelity. And what if a man does not admonish me in love—does that justify me in getting angry ? What, if on this platform, I am unjustly censured ? Shall I leave it in a passion ! No, sir. It is for me to bear with him ; to bear with everybody ; to let patience have its perfect work ; and to be satisfied with the liberty granted to me to show that my accuser is in the wrong, if I am able.

THIS IS THE ONLY VITAL ORGANIZATION TO OVERTHROW SLAVERY.

Such is the American Anti-Slavery Society. Honest Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, you can be members of it ! Honest Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Catholics, why stand aloof from it ? You have equal rights here—free speech here—and the object is worthy your united support—freedom for all, and chains for none ! The ground occupied by the Society is catholic, broad, comprehensive ; yet stringent to that kind of criticism to which I have alluded, namely, free speech and free investigation. This is the only vital organization to overturn slavery. The political one is narrow, and its action is spasmodic and limited. A sectarian organization cannot meet the wants of the great heart of our common country. I glory in the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the spirit which animates it, in the noble and unsurpassed example it is giving to the world of faith in the truth, in its willingness to be searched, in its determination to make the liberation of the slave paramount to all other considerations.

AS A SOCIETY, WE DEBATE NO OTHER QUESTION THAN THAT
RELATING TO SLAVERY.

no word further. We do not come together to endorse each other's views on politics or religion, or even the anti-slavery goodness of any member of the organization. We acknowledge simply an abstract principle, adverse to the institution of

slavery, and agree that we will be true to it, as light is given us. That is all. As to the hue and cry on this side of the Atlantic and in England, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is a no-Bible, no-Sabbath, no-Government Society &c., it has never come from a heart beating in deep sympathy for the perishing slave. It is both a sectarian and a pro-slavery device. As a society, we debate no other question, decide no other question, than that pertaining to slavery. As for the holiness of the Sabbath, or the inspiration of the Bible, or the rightfulness of government, we never have assumed to settle any of these things. In discussing the subject of slavery, it is to be expected that every man will speak in his own dialect and after his own method of thinking, and illustrate his ideas in his own way. He is entitled to do this, and no one has a right to complain. The Calvinist who occupies this platform will talk of slaveholders going down to a never-ending hell if they do not repent; and no Universalist has a right to take offence, and say, "I do not believe that doctrine, and it shall not be uttered here—it is extraneous." No, it is not. It is proper for the Calvinist to assert it; because, with his moral training, with his conviction of the sin of slavery, it is the natural expression of his idea. So the Universalist, standing on the platform, may affirm that he believes in the final restoration of all to God—even slaveholders not excepted—if he chooses to do so, in illustration of an argument against slavery; and the Calvinist has no right to take offence, and say, "I will not be connected with such a declaration, nor be connected in any association with such men." So if a word is incidentally uttered here in relation to the Bible, or the Sabbath, or any other subject, that is deemed heretical, remember it is the speaker who is to be held responsible, not the organization; nor is he to be blamed if he evidently means to give no offence. When the organization shall endorse any heresy, shall bring in any extraneous question, and attempt to settle it, forgetting the slave, then denounce it as false to its professions.—and not till then. (Cheers.)

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