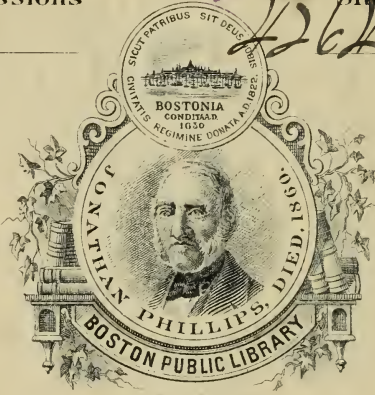


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RESOLUTIONS OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

OF THE

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY ;

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARIES;

AND

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAID SOCIETY,

SINCE THE ARRIVAL IN GLASGOW, OF MR JOHN A. COLLINS, THE
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

DIVISIONS AMONG AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

" READ—MARK—LEARN—AND INWARDLY DIGEST."

GLASGOW:

PUBLISHED BY GEO. GALLIE, 99, BUCHANAN STREET.

SOLD BY J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL ST.; J. SYMINGTON & Co., QUEEN ST.;
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DUBLIN: R. D. WEBB; AND BY P. KENNEDY, OFFICE OF THE HIBERNIAN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 8, ANGLESEA STREET.

MDCCCXLI.

ALSO BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE HISTORY OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY

MEMOIRS OF THE SOCIETY

1844

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GLASGOW:

Printed by AIRD & RUSSELL, Buchanan Court,

75, Argyll Street.

RESOLUTIONS, &c.

“ At a Public Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, held in Albion Church, on Friday Evening, 16th instant,

“ It was Resolved,—‘ 1st, That this Meeting express its disapprobation of the proceedings of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in reference to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and their Representative, J. A. COLLINS, Esq.

“ ‘ 2d, That the Secretaries be instructed to call a Public Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on an early day, for the purpose of prosecuting the business of this Meeting.’

“ JAMES M'NAIR, *Chairman.*”

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MEETING OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,

In the Bazaar, on Tuesday Evening, April 27.

“ Moved by the Rev. JOHN RITCHIE, D.D., of Edinburgh—Seconded by JAMES TURNER, Esq. of Thrusbgrove, and supported by the Rev. GEORGE ROSE, Methodist Minister :—

“ Resolved I.—‘ That Slavery being upheld by every class of society, independent of sect or party, it is equally important, successfully to oppose it, that the friends of the Slave should, irrespective of country, creed, party, or sex, harmoniously co-operate for its overthrow.’

“ Resolved II.—‘ That the constitution of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society being thus broad and Catholic,—the letter and spirit of it, so far as this Society has been able to learn, has not been violated by that association ; and that institution has, in connexion with its auxiliaries, been instrumental in working a great revolution in public sentiment in the United States, on the question of Slavery ; for these reasons, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* continues to cherish, as it has done for the last seven years, unwavering confidence in the integrity and efficiency of the American Anti-Slavery Society ; and that, so long as it continues faithful to the cause of the oppressed, we pledge to it our sympathy and support to the extent of our ability.’

“ Resolved III.—‘ That the Committee of this Society, after receiving Mr John A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in detaining him in this city for nine weeks, and then refusing to give him an opportunity of publicly advocating the claims of the Slave, or vindicating the Society which he represents from the aspersions of its enemies ;

in refusing to explain to their constituents their reason for this course of policy ; in disregarding the request of from three to four hundred members and friends of the Society, as also the request of a numerously attended meeting of Ladies, that a public meeting be convened to enlighten the community on the question of the American differences ; in refusing to receive a respectable deputation appointed by these memorialists to bring the matter before the Committee ; in publishing a series of resolutions calculated to mislead the public in reference to Mr Collins's mission ; and, finally, in virtually suspending the connexion of this Society with our American coadjutors, without consulting their constituents, is an act of gross injustice to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and meets with our unqualified disapprobation.'

" Resolved IV.—' That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in refusing to specify to Mr John A. Collins the grounds on which it had lost its confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society, while some of its members were actively engaged in privately circulating calumnies against it ; and also in refusing to give to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* the reasons for such conduct towards the Representative of the American Society ; has proved itself unworthy of our confidence, and cannot, therefore, partake of our sympathy or aid, so long as it pursues a course so reprehensible.'

" Resolved V.—' That this Society express their entire confidence in Mr John A. Collins, as the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that the Secretaries be instructed to issue, on behalf of Mr Collins and his Mission, a Circular Letter to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, setting forth the claims which the American Anti-Slavery Society has on our sympathies, our support, and our prayers, and that it be published for general circulation.'

" Resolved VI.—' That the following gentlemen be added to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* :—

" Ronald Wright, 33, King Street.
 James Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
 Andrew Paton, Moodie's Court.
 Peter Bruce, 6, Shuttle Street.
 James Bruce, Hill Place.
 Ebenezer Anderson, 30, St. Andrew Street.
 William M'Leod, 15½, Buchanan Street.
 James M'Nair, Greenlaw Place.
 Hugh Muir, 24, Hospital Street.
 John Barr, Ingram Street.
 William Lohead, Jun., 164, Trongate.
 Thomas Brown, 43, Queen Street.
 Rev. George Rose, 5, Rottenrow Street.
 James Turner, Thrushgrove.
 William Lang, 33, Duke Street.
 David Russell, 75, Argyle Street.
 John Ure, Esq., of Croy, Ure Place."

" Moved by Mr THOMAS BROWN, and seconded by JOHN URE, Esq. of Croy :—

" Resolved,—' That the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* be instructed to publish the Minutes and Correspondence of the Committee since the arrival of Mr J. A. Collins in this City, and that the Secretaries be a Sub-Committee to carry this into effect.'

“ Also, That a Second Edition of the Annual Report be published, if deemed necessary by said Sub-Committee.’

“ Moved by Mr M'FARLANE, and seconded by Mr GARDNER—

“ Resolved,—‘ That, in accordance with the sentiments contained in the Address to Mr COLLINS, now read, it is the opinion of this meeting, that the People of this Country are entitled to those rights of Suffrage for which they have been contending these last three years, and that we pledge ourselves to use every moral and legal means to obtain our own liberty and the liberty of all mankind.’

“ P. BREWSTER, *Chairman.*”

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARIES WITH JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ.

BIRMINGHAM, *25th of 1st Month*, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I received a copy of the Sixth Annual Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* a few days ago, and observe my name entered as an honorary corresponding member. I have no recollection of having been informed that I stood in that relation to this body, and as I entirely dissent from some of the sentiments contained in the Appendix to that Report, I must beg to have my name withdrawn. I am unwilling to believe that the unjust imputations cast by the Appendix to this Report, upon some of the best and most devoted of the Abolitionists in America, could have received the sanction of the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow, and I should be obliged by thy informing me who were present at the Committee when it was resolved to attach the Appendix to the Report in its present shape.—Very sincerely and respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

TO WILLIAM SMEAL, Glasgow.

GLASGOW, *4th of 2d Month*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—My time has been so closely occupied with a variety of engagements, that I have not been able until now, to acknowledge and reply to thine of the 25th ultimo.

I may inform thee, that thy name has been among the Honorary and Corresponding Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, ever since its establishment in 1833; and have no doubt that, along with the others, thou wouldst be informed of its being placed there at the time. I know that thou hast been constantly apprized of our proceedings, through the medium of newspapers, regularly transmitted to thee and all our Correspondents; and although the circumstance appears to have escaped thy recollection, thou must have seen thy name in our Reports, as I have sent thee large numbers of them, the receipt of which thou hast acknowledged. The entering of thy name on our list of Corresponding Members, was intended as an honour, as it was with our other Correspondents; and no objection having ever been stated, it was *continued* this year as a matter

of course. But as thou art now desirous it should be “withdrawn,” the omission, in our future Reports, of the name of Joseph Sturge, will be attended to.

The reason thou assigns, for begging to have thy name withdrawn from the list of the “Honorary Members” of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, is because thou “entirely dissents from some of the sentiments contained in the Appendix” to our Sixth Annual Report; in which, thou says, there are “unjust imputations cast upon some of the best and most devoted of the Abolitionists in America.” Thou art unwilling to believe that these “could have received the sanction of the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow;” and would be obliged by my informing thee, “who were present at the Committee when it was resolved to attach the Appendix in its present shape.”

Now, with all frankness, I honestly and candidly avow, that for the character and contents of the Appendix to our Report, my esteemed friend and co-Secretary, John Murray, and myself, are *wholly and exclusively responsible*; and that in *the present* as in *every former instance*, we have been left to select and arrange the matter for that portion of the publication, *according to our own discretion*. We are “perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment” about it; and have not the smallest reason to apprehend, that “the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow,” will now, any more than heretofore, (in thus exercising our discretion, for the promotion of the Great Cause of *Universal Freedom*,) be disposed either to censure or condemn our course. We wish nothing unfair or underhand—but all above-board work; desiring to do justice to all, without partiality to any; and, if unable to approve their doings, are ready to assign our reasons. It is our desire to see all who have the same object in view, acting harmoniously together—if not in one body, at least in a friendly and Christian spirit, one towards another. If we cannot walk together, in unity of purpose, let us beware of the disposition that would “bite and devour one another”—a spirit, there is reason to fear, unhappily too prevalent. Has any one body a complaint against another? Let them, as men, boldly make known what it is—that the accused, the sometimes hiddenly accused party, may have opportunity to exculpate themselves, or be justly obnoxious to the charge.

It is my firm conviction, that the statements in our Appendix are *substantially and generally true*; and that they exhibit a just view of the question, in connexion with which they are made public; at the same time, my esteemed colleague and myself are ready and willing to re-consider, when they are pointed out, the particular portions objected to, as containing “unjust imputations;” and, on evidence being furnished, that unmerited severity has been exercised towards any “devoted Abolitionists in America,” will make all the reparation in our power. The statements in our Report, be it remembered, are given from *Resolutions and Documents published to*

the world. The authors of these, I believe, are incapable of propagating any thing like falsehood; nor would they knowingly cast "unjust imputations" upon any one, and what they have made public, there is no doubt they will be abundantly able to defend, confirm, and justify.

I cannot, my dear friend, conclude this letter, without apprising thee, that I am by no means ignorant of the fact, that "*imputations,*" and these of the most *unjust and injurious* kind, have been industriously circulated in this country, affecting the character as well as prudence of "SOME OF THE BEST AND MOST DEVOTED of the Abolitionists in America," with this difference, however, that our course has been *open* and manly—bespeaking our motives to be at once honest and independent, (for we *are* independent, *as a Society,*) whereas, the policy of others has been secret; may I not say, mean and dastardly?—allowing the injured, if my information be correct, neither the opportunity of knowing directly the charges or insinuations brought against them, nor any effectual means of meeting them, in order to their own exculpation. Now, these things, I know thou wilt unite with me in saying, "ought not so to be." Thy character for consistency and open-handed dealing, is too well known, to favour the supposition that any such doings can meet thy approval; or that thou wouldst, for one moment, risk its maintenance, by even *seeming* to acquiesce in them. I am strongly of the mind, however, that the parties deeming themselves aggrieved by the proceedings alluded to, are beginning to think that matters have arrived at such a crisis, as will render it necessary they should come out with a very plain account of what they esteem their unseemly treatment, when that which may have been "spoken in the ear" as "in closets," shall come to "be proclaimed on the house-tops." When the fruit is deemed ripe, the work, I believe, will be done. The Abolition cause is a good work—it has been signally favoured of Heaven. Let us *all*, while "zealously affected always in a good thing," avoid every thing like an arrogant temper, or the domineering spirit of mere partizanship; remembering the exhortation, "love as brethren; be pitiful, be courteous."—I am, thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL.

GLASGOW, 20th of 2d Month, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote thee on the 4th current I think, in reply to thine of the 25th ultimo, stating that thy request to have thy name "*withdrawn*" from our "Honorary" list, would be attended to; and informing thee as to how the "Appendix" to our Annual Report came to be attached to it "in its present shape," &c.

As I am desirous to know whether said letter came to hand, please let me hear *by return*, if convenient, and oblige thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

BIRMINGHAM, 22d of 2d Month, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am favoured with thine of the 20th, and had I known thou wished an acknowledgment of the safe receipt of thy letter of the 4th of this month, I would have sent one at the time, as it came safe to hand, and I presume I was right in the conclusion, that I was at liberty to make use of the information it contained, wherever I found it needful to do so to correct any misapprehension, and that the part of the Report which was referred by your Public Meeting to the Committee to alter, was also so altered by the Secretaries, and not at a General Meeting of the Committee.—Very sincerely and respectfully, thy friend,

JOSEPH STURGE.

GLASGOW, 24th of 2d Month, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have thine of the 22d, and am pleased to learn that my reply to thy letter of the 25th ultimo, came safe to hand. Thou art perfectly right, in concluding that thou art at liberty to make use of the information it contained, “wherever thou may find it needful to do so, to correct any misapprehension.” But then, only see how deplorably thou wouldst misrepresent me, and may already to some extent, have done so, by stating “that the part of our Report which was referred by the Public Meeting to the Committee to alter, was also so altered by the Secretaries!” For there is not, in this statement, a single word *warranted by my letter*.

It was with the Appendix, principally, that thy dissatisfaction and dissent were expressed, and I pointedly wrote thee, that for the contents of that part of the publication, my fellow Secretary and myself were “*wholly and exclusively responsible* ;” having *uniformly*, as well as in *the present instance*, been left to select and arrange the matter for printing, “according to our own discretion.”

The Report was remitted to the Committee for “revision ;” *not* “to alter”—for “revision” does not, *necessarily*, imply alteration. It *was* altered, however ; and thou shalt know how—for we have nothing to conceal,—*not*, it is true, “at a General Meeting of the Committee”—but, at a General Meeting of the Committee held “14th September, 1840,” a Sub-Committee was appointed, including the Secretaries, to *revise* the Report, in terms of the resolution of the Annual Meeting of our Society. Full confidence being entertained by the Committee in the parties named ; they were left at liberty to pass it for publication, seeing it was only a very small portion of the document that had been objected to, and that objection made in a very untimely and improper manner, in *our* apprehension ; for, had the objectors been present at the *special* Meeting, convened to hear the Report read in Committee, as they should have been, (and all were *duly warned*,) the matter might have been so arranged, as to remove the scruples that were felt ; and these, in *our* opinion, were mainly owing to *misapprehension*.

Well—the Sub-Committee met, and they were all, with one exception, Delegates to the Convention, and when there, of *opposite* sentiments regarding that body and its proceedings, yet they *unanimously* passed that portion of the Report beginning with the words, “your Committee,” at the bottom of page 17, and ending with the word “oppressed,” at the conclusion of paragraph 3 in the page following. The whole affair about *revising* and *altering*, having ended in this, that on a comparison of the *original* essay with what now appears in print, the difference is simply this, that the *latter* conveys the sentiments of the Secretaries respecting the Convention, in terms even more decided than the former, a result with which, as thou may suppose, they were *not a little gratified*.

Hoping that from the history now given, there will in future, be “no mistake” as to the Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, and assuring thee, that the faults that have been found with it, have only increased its notoriety and importance, I may now inform thee, that a number of *highly intelligent* Abolitionists in *various parts* of the kingdom, of *both* sexes, and of *different* denominations, some of them *influential and active* members of the London Convention! have expressed themselves highly satisfied with our Report, for the reference it has made, *especially in the Appendix*, to what may be termed the *Questio Vexata*! Even from *Birmingham*, we learn that this is *the fact*!! Aye, and there are those who tell, that had they known *at* the Convention, what they *now* know, they would have had to draw very different conclusions regarding that body, and the *animus* of those who *controlled* its proceedings!!!

Ah, my dear friend, it is truly lamentable to think of the spirit which, at the present time, appears in some quarters to actuate the friends of Abolition! What estrangement is it engendering! What bitterness; what prejudice; what slander; what calumny; what violation of charity do we witness! May He, who *overrules all things*, cause it ultimately to redound to the benefit of the victims of oppression, and the exaltation of His own name!—With sincere regard, I remain, thy friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL.

BOWLING BAY, 25th February.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The above letter having been sent to me as one of the Secretaries of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, for my concurrence, I have no hesitation in saying, that I entirely concur in it. And I may take this opportunity of adding, by way of explanation, what may be partly inferred from the above, that the Committee knew nothing in this instance more than in former years what the Appendix contained, until they saw it in print. And *in this*, as generally in former years, the Appendix carefully avoids arguments or opinions, but for the more general information of those

who may not have access to them elsewhere, republishes matters of fact, and to this we have hitherto had no objections made. And now permit me, my dear friend, to say, that I am compelled to conclude that "the slander and calumny" referred to above, and the heart-burnings consequently arising, are not all unknown to you, and I am sorry indeed to think, that *you* should be in any way even tacitly countenancing the circulation of those especially, which are directed against private character, and obviously intended, through that medium, to *stab* the *American Anti-Slavery Society*. These you *must be aware*, are directed by parties in America, and the motives and the spirit by which they are actuated, surely cannot receive *your* approbation. They will be replied to in due and not remote time, as John A. Collins has a pamphlet in the press here, which will tend to put the public controversy and the private scandal on their proper basis.—I am, yours truly,

JOHN MURRAY.

BIRMINGHAM, *3d of 5th Month*, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am favoured with thine of the 24th ultimo, with an addition of our friend Murray's. It does not appear to require any reply, except that I think it right to say, I have sent an extract from it to Dr. Wardlaw, in consequence of some remarks in a letter of his to a friend of mine which were communicated to me. I sail for America on the 10th, and therefore have even less time and inclination than usual, for any controversy with friends of the cause with whom it has been so long my privilege to act in harmonious labour, and hope, if needful, I shall be willing to bear much unjust reproach without reply, but if some of us are not as watchful over our own spirits, as we are ready to judge uncharitably and censure others, the cause of the poor Slave is in danger of being neglected for quarrels amongst his professed friends. It is indeed a time when we had need all take heed to the injunction, "watch and pray."—Very sincerely, thy friend,

To WM. SMEAL, Glasgow.

JOSEPH STURGE.

EXTRACT OF NOTE FROM DR. HEUGH.

GLASGOW, *February 11*, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret that I cannot attend the Committee Meeting this evening. And I regret farther, that our Report for this year, is said to contain something equivalent to a support of that section of the American Abolitionists, who support what is called the "Woman Question." You know our Society accords with the decision of the Convention on that head. You will excuse me for withholding my subscription till I see farther into those matters.—In haste, yours truly,

MR SMEAL.

H. HEUGH.

In reply to the preceding extract of Dr. H.'s note, it was stated as matter of regret, (or words to that import,) that the Doctor had not been present at the Meeting to receive Mr Collins; that the statements he had laid before the Meeting were highly interesting; and that as he was about to bring out a pamphlet regarding the state of matters in America, it had been concluded to defer further proceedings on the part of the Committee, until that had been in the hands of the Members. In reference to the Report, a contrary opinion, it is believed, to that of Dr. H. was expressed; and allusion was made to the Appendix, as containing important information, &c.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, DRs. WARDLAW, HEUGH, AND KIDSTON, AND W. P. PATON, ESQ.

About this time it was *discovered*, that Captain Stuart had sent to Dr. Wardlaw a printed letter, containing charges against the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, and against Messrs COLLINS and REMOND, its Representatives in this country; which letter found its way to Dr. Heugh and also to Dr. King, whilst no copy was sent by the Captain to the official organs of the Society, the Secretaries. The reason for this will be seen hereafter. The Captain *knew*, that *that* was not the quarter for his purpose. This discovery induced the Secretaries to propose, while Mr Collins's pamphlet was going through the press, that Captain Stuart should be invited to Glasgow, for the purpose of Meeting Mr. C., and in presence of the Committee defending his charges. They therefore addressed the following letter to four of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, viz. :—

To Drs. WARDLAW, HEUGH, and KIDSTON, and WILLIAM P. PATON, Esq., Vice-Presidents of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN,—You are aware, that to bring about the Emancipation of the Three Millions of Slaves in the United States of America, constitutes now the main object of the Friends of Freedom;—and that for this the Abolitionists of Britain are still called upon to struggle with their Brethren every where, but especially with those in America.

You are also, we doubt not, aware that an unfortunate division exists there, amongst the Abolitionists, which is in some measure

paralyzing the efforts of both parties, and will doubtless continue to do so, as well as tend to damp the energies of Abolitionists in this country, and perhaps be laid hold of, as an excuse for refusing co-operation in the great work of advancing Human liberty.

This unhappy position of affairs among our American brethren, has claimed our serious consideration, and we feel deeply anxious for the prosperity of the cause, which is alike dear to you as to ourselves; and there appears to be no remedy now, but a full and free examination into the differences which separate our American friends.

Charles Stuart,—or Captain Stuart as he is often termed—has been the most assiduous in spreading information regarding the state of matters in the United States; and is, we believe, the best acquainted with the circumstances of any man in this country—for which reasons, we beg respectfully that you would unite with us, in requesting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the express purpose of investigating the whole case; Captain S. to take up the side of what is commonly designated “New Organization;” while the side of “Old Organization”—or that of the *Original* “American Anti-Slavery Society,” would be espoused by its *accredited* Agent, John A. Collins, now in this City, and who has already met the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*.

As the most likely course to give satisfaction to all parties, we would recommend that the investigation should take place, *first*, in presence of *our whole Committee*; and afterwards before a General Public Meeting of *the Members and Friends to the object* of our Society, the arrangements for both Meetings to be hereafter agreed upon by the respective parties.

Submitting these proposals to your calm and unprejudiced consideration, and requesting to be favoured with a reply at your *earliest* convenience, we are, Gentlemen, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,

Secs. to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GLASGOW, 18th February, 1841.

LINN, February 19th, 1841.

GENTLEMEN AND DEAR FRIENDS,—I have received a copy of your Address to the Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, proposing a private and public discussion in Glasgow, of the differences unhappily subsisting amongst the Emancipationists of America. Had I felt myself at liberty to retain my situation of Vice-President of that Society, which I have hitherto regarded as a high honour, I should have been disposed to question, on different grounds, the propriety of such a step. But I hereby do, what for a short while past I have had serious thoughts of doing—resign my Vice-Presidency, and my connexion with the Society.

My attention was recently called, by a highly esteemed friend in England, to the Annual Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, with special reference to those parts of its contents which relate to the question of "Woman's Rights." I examined the Report accordingly, and was certainly not a little surprised and grieved to find it so completely *one-sided* on that question; conveying to the public mind, both by the brief reference to it in the body of the Report, and more especially by the various documents relative to it in the Appendix, the impression that the Glasgow Society takes opposite ground on that question to that taken by the great London Convention. From what passed at the Public Meeting of the Society, when, by a formal resolution, the Report was, on that particular subject, remitted to the Committee for revision, I am bound to regard this as *the doing of the Committee, and not of the Secretaries*, whom I dare not suppose to have so far forgotten themselves as, on the ground of their own private opinions, to have *committed the Society*, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, on a great general principle, affecting to such an extent all the proprieties of public proceedings in all the benevolent Institutions of both countries; and that too in opposition to the decision of the Convention in London, and to the manifest general sense of the public meeting in Glasgow. My own convictions having all along been, decidedly and strongly, on the side of this question espoused by the London Convention, I do not feel myself at liberty, by retaining my connexion with a Society which has publicly taken opposite ground, to appear to countenance what I hold to be an outrage upon all decorum, and an insult to that invaluable portion of the community, whose rights it professedly maintains.

I have to request, therefore, dear friends, that you will lay before the Committee my resignation of my office as one of its Vice-Presidents, and of my connexion with the Society,—a Society to whose great and glorious object my whole heart remains, and while it beats must remain, as warmly attached as ever.—I am, dear friends, yours very faithfully,

Messrs. MURRAY & SMEAL.

RALPH WARDLAW.

GLASGOW, 23d February, 1841.

TO DR. WARDLAW.

DEAR FRIEND,—We beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 19th current, declining to comply with our request, that you would join us, as the Secretaries of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in inviting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of discussing both privately and publicly, with Mr Collins, the unhappy differences existing among our Abolition brethren in America; and desiring us, at the same time, to lay before the Committee, your resignation of office as one of its Vice-Presidents, and of your connexion with the Society.

You will believe us, dear friend, when we assure you, that few circumstances have occasioned us deeper regret, than receiving from you such a communication; and we are decidedly of the mind that had you been present at the Meeting of Committee on the 11th instant, to receive Mr Collins, or had heard the conclusion to which the Meeting came, you would not so hastily, *as appears to us*, have made up your mind on a question before hearing *all* the circumstances of the case—and far less have resigned your Vice-Presidentship and connexion with the Society—"a Society to whose great and glorious object," you inform us, your "whole heart remains, and while it beats, must remain as warmly attached as ever."

At the Committee Meeting we have referred to,—Rev. David King, LL.D., in the Chair,—"Mr Collins," as appears from the Minutes, "went into a detail of the present state and prospects of the American Abolitionists, their trials, sacrifices, persecutions, pecuniary difficulties, &c., particularly those of the *Original American Anti-Slavery Society*; giving at the same time an exhibition of their success, and of the state of feeling now, as compared with the commencement of the Abolition movement, of an exceedingly gratifying description. In reply to questions by the Chairman principally, Mr C. went at some length into the differences between the Abolitionists in America, but as he had a pamphlet on the whole subject about going to press, it was deemed desirable it should be brought out forthwith, and distributed to each member of the Committee, before coming to any determination either to hold another Committee Meeting or a Public Meeting, to decide upon the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society to our pecuniary support," &c.

The pamphlet of Mr Collins, is now in the press, and in a considerable state of forwardness; and we earnestly and most respectfully beg of you, dear friend, for your *own sake*, for the sake of *your friends*, but above all, for the sake of *truth and the interests of the Three Millions of enslaved* in the United States, to suspend your judgment as to *the real merits* of this question, and also to consider *more deliberately* your resigning of office in, and connexion with, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*.

With respect to the Report—to which it appears your "attention was recently called by a highly esteemed friend in England"—you will permit us to remind you, that we did not think ourselves at all well treated, at the time of the Annual Meeting, in regard to it. *As usual*, the Committee was faithfully warned to attend a special meeting *to hear it read*; and therefore, that any were absent, was no fault of ours. It was approved by those who were present. Then came the Public Meeting, when there was presented to the public, the unseemly spectacle of a *divided* Committee! The Secretaries were broadly accused of stating in the Report, what was false, or something like it; and finally, the Report was recommitted for revision. In terms of this remit, the Committee, on the 14th September last, appointed Messrs. Thompson, M'Tear, Kettle, and

Langlands, in addition to the Secretaries, to undertake the revision. They met in Mr Kettle's Counting-house, with the exception of Mr Langlands, who though warned to attend, we believe was absent on a journey of business; and the result of this Meeting was, that the paragraphs beginning with the words, "your Committee," page 17 of the Report, and ending with the word "oppressed," at the end of paragraph 3, in the following page, obtained the unanimous approbation of the Sub-Committee. The original draught, in reference to the doings of the London Convention, is in our hands; and differs from what appears in print, only in this, that the *latter* expresses our sentiments in even more decided terms than at first, though *dictated by others*. We are, as may be expected, gratified by the circumstance; especially, seeing that the revisers, with one exception, were all Delegates to the Convention, and were, moreover, of *different opinions*, in respect to its proceedings when there.

We cannot concur in your sentiment, that the Report is "*one-sided*" on the question of "Woman's Rights." We hold, that it gives *no opinion* on the subject at all, and that neither our Society nor all the Anti-Slavery Societies in the World put together, have any thing to do with the general Rights of Woman; nor are we, *as a Society*, either one way or another "committed" on the subject. We (*i.e.* the Society,) neither approve nor disapprove, by resolution or otherwise, any decision of the London Convention, that we are aware of; and hence we cannot see that as regards this side of the Atlantic or the other, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* is "*committed*" on the "great general principle" to which you refer.

For the contents of the Appendix, we are, in *the present*, as in *every former instance, wholly and exclusively responsible*, and have been left at liberty to select and arrange the matter for publication, according to our own discretion. No *opinion* is given, even in the Appendix, on the divisions among American Abolitionists; the various resolutions or documents presented to the reader, being *solely to afford information*, and that in an *authentic shape*.

You will excuse us expressing ourselves somewhat surprised, that your "attention was recently" pointed to the contents of our Report, "by a highly esteemed friend in England"—to what appeared to *that* friend, to be objectionable matter. But whilst this is to us, no *new* accusation against the Report, we have the satisfaction to inform you, that *several highly intelligent* Abolitionists, in *various parts* of the kingdom, of *both sexes*, and of *different* denominations—some of them *active and influential* members of the London Convention—have expressed their *entire approval* of our Report, for the reference it has made, *especially in the Appendix*, to the subject which, to you, appears to be so obnoxious. That these individuals had thus obtained *very important information* of which they would otherwise have been *entirely ignorant*, that it had led them to form very different conclusions from what they *formerly* held at the time of the Convention, where they were *purposely kept in ignorance*,

and that it had tended to *enlighten the public mind*, on the subject of the vexed question.

Matters being in this position, and you and we having the interests of the cause of Universal Freedom at heart, as well as the interests of the Society, in its instrumentally promoting that cause, we hope you will favour us with the name of the friend, or friends, with whom you have corresponded respecting the Report, seeing it is a matter in which *our vindication*, as *Secretaries*, and the *character of the Society*, are intimately concerned. We ought to know the sum and substance of the accusations brought against us, and the accuser's *proof of our error*. For we are firmly persuaded, had the Report been entirely silent on the topics which are the cause of division—had it only been, *we will not say* “one-sided” *the other way*; but had it *espoused and defended* the side which you and others of our friends seem to be prepared to stand by, and that, as already observed, before a full investigation of *all* the circumstances of the case—no ground for such offence would have been felt. It is just because a Report should *not*, we think, be “one-sided;” or at least, if it be so, to any extent, in the body of the work; if it there speaks the sentiments of the *majority*; that it ought to state, undoubtedly, if a *faithful* document, facts and information connected with the cause—but not arguments. This is precisely what is done in the Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. It has thrown some light—a very small portion, it is true—upon a subject, on which many Abolitionists in this country are in darkness. Some seem to prefer remaining in darkness, and will yet give opinions, while refusing the light. There are some who are endeavouring to shut out the light from their fellows, or are obscuring it by false statements, which others are quite prepared to adopt! Surely, dear friend, to *you* we need not appeal, and ask, is *this* a happy state of things, connected with *any* cause?

Permit us to remind you, that the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* is an *independent* institution. It has nothing to do with that of London, or any other, either at home or abroad, except when it appears expedient and proper, in furtherance of a *common* object, to unite with their measures. And we are more and more satisfied of the wisdom and propriety of *maintaining* our independent position. In this view of the matter, is it not highly important, nay, *incumbent* upon *us* to enquire *patiently and impartially* where the *truth* lies? *Who* are the *steady and unflinching* friends of the Slave, and the persecuted people of Colour? With *whom* rests the *hope* and the *confidence* of these classes? and having, after a candid investigation, attained to satisfactory conclusions on all these points, boldly and honestly to *stand by the right*.

It is quite reasonable to expect, that Abolitionists in America will extirpate Slavery in their own way. The *Constitution* of the *Original American Anti-Slavery Society*, *remains unchanged*. The admission of females to take a part in the Anti-Slavery crusade,

has been *from the first*, an *integral* part of that Constitution, and in our judgment, has *no more to do* with the maintenance or advocacy of the general Rights of Woman, than the admission of Mahomedans, Pagans, or those of *any religious sect whatever*, would necessarily suppose the *approval* of their *respective* opinions. As Secretaries to the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, we desire to know the utmost of the charges brought against the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, *as such*, or against William Lloyd Garrison, as an *individual*; who is very much mixed up, and very *improperly*—with the Society—although we think that his *peculiar* sentiments have nothing to do with that Institution, as an instrument for the Abolition of Slavery, any more than those of William Smeal as a member of the Society of Friends, or of John Murray as a *Relief* man, have to do with Dr. Wardlaw's as an *Independent*—simply because we have all been acting for many years, in promoting, through the Glasgow Society, the sacred cause of *Universal Emancipation*.

We deprecate (and we think *intelligently*) the new system of things which characterizes the course of the American and *Foreign Anti-Slavery Association*—the rival Institution in America of only a few months standing—and upon which the whole matter turns, of making the Anti-Slavery, or *any other* Philanthropic Society, an arena for debating sectarian differences; of deciding what sect shall be admitted and what excluded; of who think with us, or who differ, on this, and that, and the other religious principle or practice. Whereas, the only or main question, in our opinion, ought to be, is the individual a *good*, and *sincere*, and *active* Abolitionist.

The struggle in our *own* country, is to get rid of these sectarian differences on other matters, which rend man from man, even in objects of the highest philanthropy and Christian effort, where Christian ministers, because on *some* points of *opposite* sentiments, could not meet together for the circulation of the Bible, or for the promotion of other enterprises of a Christian nature. And are we *now* to see this *narrowness*—this *jealous*—this *sectarian* spirit, introduced into the *Anti-Slavery* cause? Forbid it, humanity; forbid it, charity and love!

Praying your indulgence for trespassing thus long on your attention, and trusting that you will re-consider your resolution ere you *finally* conclude to withdraw from the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, we remain, dear friend, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY.

WILLIAM SMEAL.

LINN, *February 26th*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I have received and carefully perused your friendly letter. I thank you for the assurances of regard, for the regrets, and for the counsels and wishes, which it contains, as well as for the pains you take to convince me that I am wrong. That

this should be the case, is far more than possible. I must, however, proceed upon my own views and convictions; and these, I must confess, remain quite unaltered. I may be one of those who “prefer remaining in darkness, and will yet give opinions, while refusing the light”—but on the great general question, and the principle of it, on which my resignation is grounded, I must beg leave, however presumptuously, to consider myself quite sufficiently competent to form a judgment for myself, without the illumination of either Captain Stuart or Mr Collins, or the aid of any discussion between them, whether private or public. I refer to the “*Woman’s rights*” question, and the *principle* which it involves;—the *one-sidedness* of our Report upon the merits of that question; and the consequent *committing* of our Society to the particular side which the Report, both in the body of it, and especially in the contents of the Appendix, manifestly espouses.

It is vain to say, that “no opinion is expressed,” and that you “neither approve nor disapprove, by resolution or otherwise, any decision of the London Convention.” Is it necessary to remind you, how many ways there are of conveying a statement, without formally and in so many words expressing it, or throwing it into the shape of a resolution? If any have read the Report and Appendix, without considering it as palpably one-sided on the subject in question, I can only marvel what principles of interpretation they have applied to it. I could enter into details; but I forbear. The “esteemed correspondent” to whom I referred, never expresses the remotest doubt about the character of our Report, but, *proceeding on the assumption* of its *favouring a particular side* of the absurdly designated “*Woman’s rights*” question, regrets that the countenance of my *own name*, and that of others, should go across the Atlantic *on that side* of the question. He brings no charges. He enters into no proof. Your wish for his name, therefore, is useless. I have no idea that he would care though his name were proclaimed to the whole world; but my giving it would answer no end, but the gratification of curiosity. It is a name eminent, excellent, and honoured. I referred to the fact of my attention having been called to our Report by that friend, for the purpose of showing the light in which it appeared to persons—and persons well qualified to judge—unconnected with our Society.

I am very sorry that anything should have been introduced into our Report *at all* on what you call “the vexed question.” But since it *has* been introduced, and introduced in a way that throws the weight of the Glasgow Society’s influence into what I believe to be the wrong scale,—the scale of Woman’s misnamed *rights* in opposition to Woman’s appropriate *character*,—I must adhere to my resignation, as the only way of bearing my decided testimony in favour of the decision of the London Convention, to which, in the whole scope, and spirit, and effect of it, our Society’s Report is in diametrical opposition.

Into your *special pleading*, in vindication of the Report, I do not enter, farther than just to say, that it has produced the very opposite effect to that intended by it,—confirming, instead of shaking, my previous convictions.

With every feeling of personal regard, with unabated interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, and with regret that I should feel myself under the necessity of adopting such a course, I have to repeat the request of my former letter,—with the additional request that this subsequent correspondence accompany the laying of my tendered resignation before the Committee, and to subscribe myself, my dear friends, yours very sincerely,

RALPH WARDLAW.

Mr JOHN MURRAY and Mr WM. SMEAL.

Although the following, as Dr W. truly says, has “no connexion with his letter;” yet, being resolved to *conceal* nothing connected with our proceedings, we therefore insert it with the rest:—

LINN, *February 27th*, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—Since writing the enclosed, I have chanced to cast my eye on two paragraphs in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, headed John A. Collins—the one in the paper of January 7th, the other in that of January 21st.

Was the alleged stain on Mr C.’s character, there so confidently stated, fairly met and satisfactorily wiped away before he came to this country? This has no connexion with my letter; but the nature of the charge is such, that I have felt it a duty to open my envelope for the purpose of drawing your attention to it. It may not be true. I hope, in charity, it is not. But *there it stands*.—Yours, very sincerely,

RALPH WARDLAW.

To Mr WM. SMEAL.

I have *not* seen the vindication in Garrison’s paper alluded to in the second of the two paragraphs.

To this communication, we could send no reply; not having seen the papers referred to. Any reply from us, however, was soon rendered unnecessary, by Mr Collins noticing “the alleged stain” in his “Right and Wrong”—to which the reader is referred.

VIRGINIA BUILDINGS, *22d Feb.*, 1841.

To JOHN MURRAY and WILLIAM SMEAL, Esqrs., *Secretaries,*
Glasgow Emancipation Society.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your circular letter of the 18th instant, addressed to me and the other

Vice-Presidents of the Society, and after giving the subject of it the best consideration in my power, it appears to me that your suggestion is a very judicious one, for counteracting the evil effects which may arise from the unhappy division which has arisen amongst our American Abolition brethren, and I will be happy to co-operate with you in the matter, as far as may be in my power. With every good wish for the success of your labours, I remain, always faithfully yours,

WILLIAM P. PATON.

A week having nearly elapsed, and no reply being received from Drs. Kidston and Heugh, we addressed to these Gentlemen the following note:—

TO DRS. KIDSTON AND HEUGH.

GLASGOW, 24th February, 1841.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We wrote you on the 18th instant, along with the other Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, requesting you to join us in inviting Captain Stuart to visit this city, to discuss with Mr Collins the subject of the divisions among American Abolitionists.

You will oblige us by a reply, as the matter cannot remain in its present position. The question is a vital one to the interests of the Abolition cause; and the time of our friend, Mr Collins, you must be aware, is very valuable.—We are, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY.
WM. SMEAL.

BELLEGGROVE PLACE, 24th Feb., 1841.

Messrs J. MURRAY and WM. SMEAL.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—To the benevolent object of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, I am very far from being indifferent, and I am sorry that I am not able to give effectual aid in promoting this object. For some years, I have from necessity been nothing more than an Honorary Vice-President. I did expect, that the other Vice-Presidents would have arranged with you as to the proposed Meeting, and what they and you think proper will meet my cordial approbation. I think it likely, that the Secretaries have the power of calling such a Meeting as is proposed, and if they have not, the sooner it is given to them the better.—I am, my dear friends, yours sincerely,

WILLIAM KIDSTON.

MONTROSE STREET, Feb. 24th, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,—I regret that I have been prevented from replying to your joint letter, or indeed to any other letter, for a few days past.

The proposal you make took me by surprise. I did not think any member of our Committee or Society would have made such a proposal. For my own part, I should as soon propose for discussion, whether women should be eligible to the Glasgow Magistracy, or to a seat in the British Parliament, as this "Woman Question" of America. When that question was forced on the Convention, you know how it was disposed of; and you also know that our Society, with all but perfect unanimity, declared for the opinions of the Convention. As for British Ladies, we know their convictions and feelings, and they would thank no man to advocate imaginary rights, from the exercise of which, were they conceded, they would shrink with becoming sensitiveness. Indeed, (although nothing, I am aware, can be farther from your intentions,) I am persuaded, that few discussions could more effectually succeed, than the one you propose, to bring upon us the merited derision of the public in Glasgow—of that portion of the public at least whose opinion is much worth.—I am, Gentlemen, yours faithfully,

H. HEUGH.

Messrs. SMEAL and MURRAY.

TO DR. HEUGH.

GLASGOW, 3d March, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—We have, like yourself, been so closely occupied that we have only now been able to overtake the acknowledging of yours of the 24th ultimo.

Your letter contains abundant evidence of the extent to which other subjects must have engaged your attention, seeing you have totally misapprehended or misinterpreted the contents of ours. The letter we addressed to you and the other Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was, in its language so plain, and, in its object so definite, that we are utterly at a loss to understand how you could, to such a letter, send, what *seems to us*, so irrelevant a reply.

We respectfully requested that you would unite with us in inviting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the express purpose of investigating, along with Mr Collins, the whole case as respects the differences which separate our American friends. That you should disapprove of a public discussion, is no surprise to us; but that you should so entirely misapprehend our intention, as to take it for granted that the discussion was to be upon a question never once in the most distant manner referred to in our letter, appears to us altogether inexplicable, and you know best what were your reasons for so doing. This much at least is apparent; you have introduced into the official correspondence of the Secretaries with you, as one of the Vice-Presidents, the Woman Question—the very thing you profess to deprecate; and which we are desirous altogether to avoid. That is one of the bugbears got up to *serve a purpose*, in the same

way as the cry of "No Human Government" has been; and these having failed to excite such opposition as to put down the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, or to overthrow the uncompromising Garrison and his faithful coadjutors, other charges have been devised—such as "Infidel," "Unitarian," "Denier of the Divine Authority of Scripture," &c. None of these things, however, are sufficient to move us from a thorough determination to investigate all the bearings of the division among American Abolitionists; to ascertain *where* the truth is; *who* are the *stedfast* and *confidential* friends of the Slave; and, *with these*, to persevere in their noble crusade against oppression.

Passing by your allusion to Women being "eligible to the Glasgow Magistracy"—"or to a seat in the British Parliament"—as matters not adverted to in our letter, and as having nothing at all to do with the *Anti-Slavery cause*, any more than the question of the *rightfulness* of Queenly Government, or the *general* question of "Woman's Rights"—you say we know how the "Woman Question" was disposed of by the Convention; and "that our Society, with all but perfect unanimity, declared for the opinions of the Convention."

Now, in the first place, we are quite at issue with you, as to the Convention *disposing* of the question of Woman's Rights—it no more settled that, than it settled the question whether there should be a Buxton's "Extinction and Civilization Society," because it refused to hear Sir Fowell Buxton on that subject. As to the former, it was the mere expression of the opinion of the majority, which did not at all affect that of the minority; and the question was *not*, be it remembered, on the Rights of Women, but merely their admission *as Delegates*; seeing the other was not before them, and neither that Anti-Slavery body, nor any similar convocation, have either the power or the authority to interfere with Woman's Rights. No—the Convention no more *settled* the "Woman Question," than they settled whether the public should or should not be favoured with the *whole* of Mr Clarkson's speech at the opening of the Convention, though, by the *management* of the London Committee, the one-half of it was *suppressed*; and the same body managed to *control* the proceedings of the Convention, to the exclusion of the Female Delegates, who came 3000 miles to attend the meeting.

With regard to *our Society* approving the doings of the Convention on the exclusion of the Women, there is no resolution or decision to that effect; nor, indeed, in reference to any other of its proceedings; and we are well satisfied, *as individuals*, that such is the case.

Leaving your remarks about the "becoming sensitiveness," "convictions and feelings" of "British Ladies," as equally unconnected with the subject upon which we addressed you, as the matters we have already referred to, permit us, dear friend, to assure you, that such is the hold which the differences among American Abolitionists

has now taken, not only on the minds of our Committee, but of the public, that the matter cannot longer be minced. The question of who are right and who are wrong, and who are most entitled to our confidence, must be clearly and satisfactorily made out; and no way is so likely to elicit this, as the public discussion we have proposed. Give our fellow-citizens the FACTS of the case, and we have no misgivings about their judgment. On that judgment we have relied before, and were not disappointed.—We remain, dear friend, truly yours,

JOHN MURRAY.
WM. SMEAL.

Desirous to promote, as extensively as possible, the diffusion of Mr Collins's Pamphlet, entitled, "Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the United States," we issued the following Circular to the correspondents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, and forwarded the same to all the leading Anti-Slavery Friends in the United Kingdom:—

GLASGOW, 5th March, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—A Pamphlet of about fifty octavo pages, the object of which is indicated by the title annexed, is now in the press, and will be published in a few days. It is replete with most interesting and valuable information regarding the past and present struggles of the American Abolitionists. It should be put into the hands of every Abolitionist in the country, and read by every British philanthropist. To do this, will require a fund. Besides the expense of printing, the postage on each pamphlet will be Fourpence. If the leading friends of the Negro will aid in this undertaking, this valuable piece of history can find its way into every family.

How much, dear friend, will you contribute, to aid in circulating this Pamphlet? Will you send us, as early as your convenience will permit, the address of the principal Abolitionists of your acquaintance; and also endeavour to secure the insertion of MISS MARTINEAU's Introduction into some Newspaper in your vicinity.

Permit us to suggest to you, the propriety of starting a Subscription among your friends at once to aid this object, and any amount of money forwarded to ELIZABETH PEASE, *Darlington*; R. D. WEBB, *Dublin*; JANE WIGHAM, 5, Gray Street, Newington, *Edinburgh*; or to WILLIAM SMEAL, *Glasgow*, will be gratefully received, duly acknowledged, and faithfully appropriated.—We are faithfully, your sincere friends,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,

Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

The above having been objected to, by certain Members of Committee, as committing the Society; we appended to a Second Edition, the following note:—

Some apprehension having been entertained, that our last Circular, having our names officially attached, necessarily committed the Society to the sentiments of our letter, to those of H. Martineau's Introduction, and also to the contents of J. A. Collins's Pamphlet,—we beg distinctly to state, that the Circular was issued on *our own responsibility*; and that our names, *as Secretaries*, were appended with a view to our being more readily recognised by the Abolitionists in the United Kingdom.

J. M.

W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CAPTAIN STUART, RELATIVE TO THE
PROPOSED DISCUSSION WITH MR COLLINS.

GLASGOW, 4th of 3d Month, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND, CAPTAIN STUART,—At a meeting of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, held last evening, it was resolved, that the Secretary be directed to invite thee to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of defending the charges against the American Anti-Slavery Society, which thou hast in thy *printed letter* widely circulated all over the country; that defence, thou wilt understand, is to be made in the presence of John A. Collins, and, in the *first instance*, before the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*.

Owing to the state of our pecuniary affairs, we cannot offer, I regret to say, to pay thy expenses; but presuming that thy object is to make known the truth, we have no doubt thou wilt gladly embrace such an opportunity of doing so.

Hoping to have a reply at thy earliest convenience,—I remain, thy friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

BATHWICK HALL, BATH, 8th March, 1841.

MY DEAR SMEAL,—I have just received the invitation which you have conveyed to me from the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, to visit Glasgow for the purpose of defending the charges “against the American Anti-Slavery Society,” which I have promulgated.

Now, I am not aware, that those charges need any defence. They are simple matters of fact, and rest on other grounds, than on my affirmations, and I am not of opinion, that *truth* becomes *more true* by mere repetition. But if my charges be false, the *disproof* of the facts on which they are founded, will *best* disprove them, whatever affirmations I may continue to make that they are true; and this disproof can be supplied, *if it exists*, quite irrespective of me. But I do, here, most unequivocally, solemnly, and fully, re-affirm their entire truthfulness.

I may add, my dear Smeal, with all candour and kindness, that if I am to judge of the Glasgow Emancipation Committee, by the sentiments and positions advanced by you and dear John Murray, *on this subject*, when I last met you in Glasgow, I should be insane in submitting myself to you as judges, knowing the total and deplorable derangement of your views, *in this matter, both as to facts and principles.*

In Edinburgh, I offered Mr Collins, to debate this question with him round the kingdom. He then declined it.* I have since been satisfied, that I at that time greatly over-rated his power of mischief in the Abolition cause amongst us, so that I do not feel at all warranted at present, in duty, to turn any portion of my time and means from the direct service of God and of my fellow-men, to the indulgence of irrelevant, captious, and pernicious questions. I trust and believe, that my circular has produced, in a good measure, the healing and purifying effect, for which it was solemnly and kindly intended, and it will be time enough for me to undertake its defence, when I find that my countrymen are far more astray from God and their brother, and are far more given up to the pernicious intrusion of extraneous and distracting questions, than I believe them to be.

I expect shortly to make a trip of a few months to America, on my private affairs. As far as duty permits, I shall there further explore this question, as it continues to develop itself, and upon my return, shall probably make a pretty extensive Anti-Slavery tour for the communication of my information, as well as for other Anti-Slavery purposes.—Believe me, kindly yours,

C. STUART.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LONDON COMMITTEE.

GLASGOW, 5th of 3d Month, 1841.

TO J. H. TREGOLD.

DEAR FRIEND,—At a meeting of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, held on the 3d instant, to consider the propriety of inviting Captain Stuart to meet J. A. Collins here, and, in presence of our Committee, to defend the charges, he has, by his printed letter, been circulating widely throughout the country, against the American Anti-Slavery Society—this proposition was resolved upon, and Captain Stuart has been written to accordingly.

“The meeting having also considered the information received from various quarters, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London have been circulating privately, accusations and defamatory statements against the character of W. L. Garrison, the devoted American Abolitionist, and against that of J. A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the said Committee having, as appears from official correspondence, refused to give Mr Collins an

* For Mr Collins's reply to this, see “Right and Wrong,” page 72.

opportunity of ascertaining and disabusing their minds of the reasons alleged by them, as the cause of their alienation of confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society—It was therefore resolved, unanimously, that the Secretaries be requested to correspond with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to solicit from them information as to the grounds upon which they feel warranted to circulate the defamatory statements referred to, and to withhold their confidence from the Society of which Mr Collins is the accredited agent.”

“It was further resolved, that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, while it adheres to its original constitution, by which it retains an *independent management*, is, at the same time, pledged ‘to promote by every means in its power, the great and important object of the London Society,’—when its measures are such as we approve—yet, that the continued co-operation of this Committee with that of London, will very much depend upon the nature of the information now solicited; and it may also affect the channel through which our sympathies are, in future, to be sent across the Atlantic.”

Have the goodness, dear friend, to lay the foregoing resolutions before the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at the earliest opportunity; and, expecting to hear from thee soon, I remain, sincerely, thy friend,

WM. SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

TO W. SMEAL, ESQ., &c.

27, NEW BROAD STREET,
15th March, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am directed to inform you that our Committee have received a letter from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, containing similar inquiries respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society and Mr J. A. Collins, to those contained in your letter to them of the 5th instant. I am therefore directed to transmit to you a copy of their letter to the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society as an explanation of their views and proceedings in this matter.—Yours respectfully and sincerely,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY
SOCIETY, DUBLIN.

27, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,
12th March, 1841.

DEAR SIRS,—The spirit of controversy is opposed to the principles and feelings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. On points of difference in theology and politics amongst Abolitionists, they give no opinion, but recognize all who embrace the fundamental views set forth in the Constitution of the Society, as fellow-labourers in the good cause; and they would deeply regret if any of their old friends in any part of the country, should

think they have just ground to question their sincerity on this point. Bear with them then, when they say that you have written in a tone and manner, which they should be sorry could be justified by any act of theirs.

The difference of opinion which exists among Abolitionists in the United States is notorious. It has led to the disruption of the Anti-Slavery Societies there, and engendered a spirit which this Committee would be extremely sorry to see transferred to this country. With whom the blame exists, or whether the points in debate be speculative or practical, or both, may be matter of opinion; but the Committee presume they have not ventured too far in forming for themselves a judgment in this matter.

They have made their election, but this is not to be interpreted into an impeachment of the American Anti-Slavery Society; the Committee say nothing of the spirit that Society has exhibited, lest it should be supposed that the attacks they have made on them, have warped their judgments. It must, however, be obvious to you, that the "alienated confidence" of which this Committee have spoken in their former communications, is but the faint echo of a similar opinion, publicly and frequently expressed in reference to this Committee, by the leading men of that Society at their Public Meetings, which has been embodied in strongly condemnatory resolutions, and in the currency which has been given to the same, through its acknowledged organs. But further, the Committee have decided upon supporting the claims of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, not merely because its executive Committee is nearly to a man the same as that which formerly conducted the affairs of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with so much ability and zeal, but because its constitution and character most resembles its own, and as they believe its proceedings are most likely to accomplish the object they have in view; most sincerely, however, will they rejoice if the other Society be made instrumental also in accomplishing that great end.

The Committee earnestly intreat their Dublin friends and coadjutors not to press the matter further, and not to allow a difference of opinion on the claims of what, unfortunately, must be denominated rival Institutions, to prevent their usual warm and efficient co-operation with the London Committee, in the noble work before them.

The Committee are not aware that they have insinuated charges against Mr Collins, or given rise to "evil surmisings" against him. They have done neither. True it is they could not assist Mr Collins in the object he had in view, for the general reason set forth in their correspondence with him, but that was no attack on Mr Collins. And 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 nor the other. The Committee neither knew nor sanctioned, directly nor 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.

IN REFERENCE TO MR COLLINS,

The Committee have only to add, that in so far as the representations made by him, affect the character of their valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, they cannot but regard a course of accusation against absent and defenceless parties, as much more injurious to the character of the accuser, than to that of the accused. Such conduct alone must have alienated from the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the confidence of this Committee.

In bringing these remarks to a close, the Committee disclaim any intention to reflect upon their Dublin friends, when they observe that they do not think they have any right to make the "demands" upon them that they have done, at the same time they feel no disposition whatever to stand upon punctilio. All that they desire is, that their intercourse with their friends may be regulated by Christian kindness and courtesy, and they beg to assure them, that they have too high a sense of the obligations which the Anti-Slavery cause owes to the Hibernian Society, to cherish other feelings than those of sincere respect for its Committee. They would not in the slightest degree interfere with their liberty of action and opinion, and they trust the day is far distant when the bonds which have hitherto united them, shall be either broken or relaxed.—On behalf of the Committee, I am, dear Sirs, yours very respectfully,

JOHN H. TREDGOLD,

Secretary.

To JAS. HAUGHTON, Esq., *Chairman,*
And RICHARD ALLEN, Esq., *Secretary of the* }
Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

GLASGOW, 29th March, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter to one of our number, dated 15th current, accompanied with copy of a letter addressed by your Committee, to that of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, Dublin, was laid before a meeting of our Committee on the 26th, and said letters being regarded as unsatisfactory, we have now, by desire of the Committee at a meeting held this evening, respectfully to request that you will, as early as possible, be so good

as recall the attention of your Committee to the terms of our Resolution, and transmit us a more specific reply, detailing what are the principal reasons upon which the London Committee has come to the conclusion, that "the new Society in America, in its constitution and character, most resembles its own;" and why they "believe its proceedings are most likely to accomplish the object they have in view." The Glasgow Committee make this inquiry with the desire to have information collected from every quarter, to enable them to come to a decision on what their own conduct should be, in reference to their Anti-Slavery brethren in America.—We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,

Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,
17th April, 1841.

TO WILLIAM SMEAL, Esq., &c.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to inform you, that the communication from your Committee of the 29th ultimo, has been submitted to their consideration, and having received another letter from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Committee of a similar purport, they transmit to you herewith a copy of their reply to that Committee, which they trust will prevent the necessity of their entering into further explanations with you on this subject.—On behalf of the Committee, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,
April 17th, 1841.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR SIRS,—Your communication of the 31st ultimo has been submitted to the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and I am directed to inform you, that the Committee have felt regret that after their explanatory letter of the 12th ultimo, you should still continue to make demands on them which they cannot but regard as unreasonable.

The Committee again decidedly disclaim having insinuated charges against John A. Collins; they alluded in their last, to the charges which Mr Collins has publicly made injurious to the reputation of their valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, after both these gentlemen had left England.

The Committee have published, as you are no doubt aware, resolutions expressive of the fullest confidence in the integrity of character of Messrs. Birney and Stanton, as likewise of their high estimate of the valuable services, rendered by them to the cause of Abolition; to comply, therefore, with your request in reference to Mr Collins, would be to stultify their own acts, which they think you can scarcely expect them to do.

The Committee would now express their earnest hope, that you will excuse their entering into further correspondence on these matters, which it appears to them can only terminate in an unsatisfactory result, and which serves to occupy time they are desirous of devoting exclusively to the prosecution of the important object they have in view.—On behalf of the Committee, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE GLASGOW
EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

“ At a Meeting of Committee, held 11th February, 1841,

“ Present :—Dr. King in the Chair,—Rev. J. M‘Tear, and Messrs. Gunn, Murray, Reid, Stewart, T. Watson, and Smeal.

“ William Smeal intimated that he had received letters, apologizing for absence, from Dr. Heugh and George Thorburn, Esq.

“ He further stated, that as indicated by the circular, the object of the Meeting was to receive John A. Collins, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

“ On the invitation of the Chairman, Mr Collins then went into a detail of the present state and prospects of the American Abolitionists; their trials, sacrifices, persecutions, pecuniary difficulties, &c., particularly those of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society; giving, at the same time, an exhibition of their successful struggles against the Slave system, and of the state of public feeling now, as compared with the commencement of the Abolition enterprise, of an exceedingly gratifying description.

“ In reply to questions by the Chairman, principally, Mr C. went at some length into the differences between the Abolitionists in the United States, but as he had a pamphlet on the whole case about going to press, the Meeting deemed it highly desirable that it should be brought out forthwith, and distributed to each member of the Committee, before another Meeting was held, or any decision come to respecting the holding of a Public Meeting, to decide upon the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to our sympathy and pecuniary support.”

“ At a Meeting of Committee held 3d March, 1841,

“ Present :—Dr Maxwell in the Chair,—Rev. Messrs. M‘Tear, Johnston, and King,—also Messrs. Blyth, Mathie, Lethem, Reid, Smeal, Watson, and Gunn.

“ The Meeting having been convened to consider the propriety of inviting Captain Stuart to meet Mr J. A. Collins, and in the presence of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, to defend the charges made by him against the American Anti-Slavery Society, in his printed letter, which has been widely circulated throughout the country—it was, after some discussion, resolved, with one dissident, that Captain Stuart be invited accordingly, and that the Secretaries be requested to write him, in terms of this resolution.

“ The Meeting having also considered the information received from various quarters, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London, have been circulating, privately, accusations and defamatory statements against the character of William Lloyd Garrison, the devoted American Abolitionist, and against that of John A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the said Committee having, as appears from official correspondence, refused to give Mr Collins an opportunity of ascertaining and disabusing their minds of the reasons alleged by them, as the cause of their alienation of confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society—It was therefore resolved, unanimously, that the Secretaries be directed to correspond with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to solicit from them information as to the grounds upon which they feel warranted to circulate the defamatory statements referred to, and to withhold their confidence from the Society, of which Mr Collins is the accredited agent.

“ It was farther resolved, that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, while it adheres to its original constitution, by which it retains an *independent management*, is, at the same time, pledged ‘to promote, by every means in its power, the great and important object of the London Society,’ when its measures are such as we approve—yet that the continued co-operation of this Committee with that of London, will very much depend upon the nature of the information now solicited; and it may also affect the channel through which our sympathies are, in future, to be sent across the Atlantic.”

“ At a Meeting of Committee, held 10th March, 1841,

“ Present:—W. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Drs Heugh and King, W. Anderson and J. M‘Tear—also Messrs Reid, Murray, Smeal, T. Watson, M‘Leod, Gallie, Maxwell, Lethem, D. Anderson, Blyth, Gunn, and Langlands.

“ The circular calling the meeting having been read by one of the Secretaries, Drs Heugh and King intimated that the present meeting had been convened in consequence of a note addressed by them to the Secretary, who they observed had, in the circular, embodied part of said note. That they had been induced so to do, from having a few days ago received a printed circular, to which Messrs Murray and Smeal had appended their names as Secretaries to this Society. Attached to that circular was a letter by Miss

Martineau, recommending in very strong terms, the Pamphlet now in progress of publication, by Mr Collins; and they (Drs. H. and K.) were unwilling it should be understood that they, as individuals, or that the Society should be in any way committed, either to the contents of the Secretaries' letter, to that of Miss Martineau, or even to the contents of Mr Collins's Pamphlet. Dr King next gave a lengthened statement of his dissatisfaction with certain parts of the Sixth Report of the Society, which was agreed to at the Annual Meeting so long ago as in August last; with others in that part of it, revised by the Committee subsequently, and also with portions of the Appendix; contending that altogether the document bore the appearance of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* having taken the side of those Abolitionists in America, who are understood to be what is called the 'Woman's Rights' party, &c. Dr K. concluded by stating, that as an individual, and in conjunction with Dr Heugh, he could not consent to be held as an approver of such views, whether upheld by the Secretaries' letter and its appendage, the Pamphlet of Mr Collins, or the Report of the Society; not only so, but they were of opinion that this Committee was called upon in present circumstances, to make some declaration of its sentiments on behalf of the Society, in order that it might stand right with the public. Opinions very much akin to these, were stated by a number of the other gentlemen present; but it was agreed, for the sake of order and perspicuity, that the two points thus brought under notice, should be treated of separately. This done—the Secretaries were severally heard in explanation and vindication of the course they had followed; and pointedly and frankly disclaimed all intention in any way to commit either the Committee or the Society, by the circular they had published and distributed among the friends of the Emancipation Cause, having added their names as 'Secretaries,' &c., merely with a view to insure the confidence of those who might transmit to them pecuniary assistance, towards the printing, &c. of Mr Collins's pamphlet. They also readily concurred in the wish expressed by different members of Committee, that an explanation should be sent to all those who had received the circular, intimating that the Committee was no way implicated therein, but that they, as Secretaries, were *alone* responsible.

"The meeting then unanimously agreed to adjourn till the evening of Tuesday next, the 16th current, at seven o'clock, when 'the duty of the Committee in present circumstances, will be taken into consideration,' and also the objections to the Report before referred to."

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 16th March, 1841,

"Present:—Wm. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Dr Heugh, W. Brash, W. Anderson, J. Edwards, and J. M'Tear—also Messrs Blyth, Langson, G. Watson, T. Watson, Mathie, Reid, M'Leod, Sanderson, Landlands, Murray, Smeal, Lethem and Gunn.

"The Minutes of last meeting having been read, and also a letter from Mr Kettle, omitted to be noticed on that occasion,* Dr Heugh went over much the same ground as Dr King had done at the previous meeting, in regard to those parts of the Report which were then objected to as committing the Society; upon which, after expressing his views at considerable length, both with respect to the Report and its revision by the Committee,

* This letter contained expressions of dissatisfaction with the contents of the Appendix to the Report; but said nothing of resignation.

and also with respect to the Appendix, Dr Heugh offered for adoption the following Resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Wm. Anderson:—

Resolved—“ That the Sixth Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* having appointed that the Report should be re-committed for revision by the Committee previous to its publication, on the ground, as appeared at the meeting, of its seeming to favour the sentiments of the minority in the late Anti-Slavery Convention at London, respecting the exclusion of Female Delegates, and of that section of American Abolitionists by whom these sentiments are held and defended, and the Report of the Society having been printed and circulated on a review by a Sub-Committee, and without undergoing the revision of the Committee itself,* accompanied also with certain documents in the Appendix, devoted to the defence of the sentiments referred to, this Committee declare, that neither they nor the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, are responsible for those parts of the Report and Appendix, and agree to publish this declaratory Resolution for the information of the members and friends of the Society, reserving for future consideration the conflicting claims of the American Societies.”

“ After a general expression of opinion regarding this Resolution, on the part of the members present, the Secretaries being also heard at length in explanation of their views and motives in reference to the framing of the Report, and the contents of the Appendix; the following amendment was proposed by Mr Murray, and seconded by Mr Thomas Watson, viz. :—

“ Whereas, it is the opinion of certain members of this Committee, that the amended portion of our last Annual Report does still, as originally, convey sentiments which favour the opinions of that party among American Abolitionists, who are said to advocate what is technically termed the Woman’s Rights question; and also that other passages in the Report passed by the Society at the Annual Meeting, convey similar sentiments: It is therefore Resolved, as the judgment of this meeting, that the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* has as yet made no declaration of its views, either on this or other questions which divide American Abolitionists; but that it is still, as heretofore, connected with the original American Anti-Slavery Society, and that as an Anti-Slavery body only.”

“ A show of hands being taken, first in favour of the amendment, and then of Dr Heugh’s Resolution, the former was carried by a majority; upon which Dr Heugh tendered the resignation of his office as one of the Society’s Vice-Presidents, and of his connexion with the Society.

“ It was then unanimously agreed by the meeting to adjourn the consideration of any other business, until after the pamphlet of Mr Collins had been three days in the hands of the Committee, when the Secretaries were instructed to summon a meeting.”

“ At a Meeting of Committee, held 25th March, 1841,

“ Present:—Rev. J. M’Tear in the Chair,—also Messrs T. Watson, Young, Blyth, Smeal, Reid, Murray, Anderson, Maxwell, M’Leod, Sanderson, Brodie, G. Watson, and Gunn.

“ Present, also, John A. Collins, Esq., Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

“ Read Minutes of last meeting, also a letter from Mr Macintyre, apologising for absence; and suggesting that the Secretaries of this Society

* See opinion of Mr George Thompson, one of the Sub-Committee, who dictated the alteration.—See p. 41.

should, as usual, remind the Congregational Union of Scotland, at its approaching Annual Meeting, of the importance of continued rebuke on the subject of Slavery, directed to their Congregational brethren in America.

“ The meeting then heard the credentials of Mr Collins, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society ; also the concurrent testimonial, on Mr Collins’ behalf, of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society ; after which, it was proposed that the Committee do, by minute, formally record their reception of Mr Collins in that capacity. A counter-proposition was made, that, owing to the diversity of opinion existing in the Committee, this should be delayed till we have further information regarding the divisions in America ; and that the meeting should proceed to consider the letter of Dr. Wardlaw, resigning his office as one of our Vice-Presidents, and his connexion with the Society. To the latter part of this proposal it was objected by the Secretaries, that, as there were other resignations to be laid before the meeting for its consideration, Dr. Heugh having also resigned at our last meeting, and Joseph Sturge having requested to have his name withdrawn from the list of Honorary Members, they were decidedly of the mind, that, in order to do justice to all parties, their whole correspondence with these gentlemen, with Captain Stuart, and with the London Committee, should now be heard ; after which, the meeting could take up, seriatim, such matters arising out of said correspondence, and the credentials of Mr Collins, as might be deemed advisable. The meeting having then heard the correspondence read by one of the Secretaries—the following resolution and amendment, in reference to the reception of Mr Collins, were moved and seconded, viz. :

“ Moved by Mr Murray, and seconded by Mr M’Leod,

“ Resolved, ‘ That the credentials of Mr John A. Collins now read, are satisfactory to this Meeting ; that he be cordially welcomed among us, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society ; and that this Committee consider what answer should be given to the request of that Society.’

“ Moved by Mr D. Anderson, as an amendment to the foregoing, and seconded by Mr Young,

“ ‘ That in consideration of the divided state of feeling in the Committee, upon the subject of the reception of Mr Collins as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, his reception in that character be delayed.’

“ The amendment and resolution having been severally put from the Chair—the latter was carried by a majority of 10 to 4. There voting for the amendment, Messrs. Anderson, Young, Brodie, and Blyth ; and for the resolution, the Rev. J. M’Tear, and Messrs. T. Watson, Smeal, Reid, Gunn, Maxwell, M’Leod, Murray, Sanderson, and G. Watson.

“ The letter from Capt. Stuart, mentioned at last Meeting, declining to accept the invitation of this Committee to meet Mr Collins, was next taken into consideration ; and it appearing that the Captain intends shortly to proceed to America, it was concluded to drop further attention to the subject.

“ The answer from the London Committee, to the resolution transmitted them by direction of the meeting of the 10th current, being considered unsatisfactory ; the following were appointed to prepare another letter to said Committee, and present it for approval of next meeting ; viz., the Chairman, the Secretaries, and Messrs. D. Anderson and T. Watson.

“ The Secretaries were instructed to furnish Mr Collins with a certified copy of the Resolution respecting his reception, as the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

“ It having been proposed, that the Secretaries should prepare a Circular, addressed to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, in behalf of Mr Collins and his mission, and that the same should be submitted for the approbation of next Meeting, to be held on Monday evening the 29th current, and the said proposal having been put to the vote, it was carried by a majority of nine to two—two declining to vote.

“ In reference to the request of Mr Sturge, to have his name withdrawn from the List of Honorary Members, while the Committee regret that such request has been made, seeing there is not, in their judgment, any adequate reason for it, they leave the matter to be attended to by the Secretaries.

“ Some conversation then took place, relative to the resignation of Drs. Wardlaw and Heugh, and it was proposed that a deputation should be appointed to wait upon these Gentlemen, to endeavour to induce them to withdraw their resignation. Agreed to defer this for the present.

“ The same conclusion was come to respecting the publication of the Correspondence between the Secretaries and these Gentlemen, and also with Mr Sturge.”

“ At a Meeting of Committee, held 29th March, 1841,

“ Present :—Rev. J. M'Tear in the Chair,—afterwards succeeded by W. P. Paton, Esq. ; also Rev. Dr. King and W. Anderson, Messrs Maxwell, Blyth, A. Watson, D. Anderson, M'Leod, G. Watson, Langlands, T. Watson, Gunn, Murray, Gallie, and Smeal.

“ A draught of the minutes of last meeting was read and approved.

“ The Sub-Committee appointed, produced the essay of a letter to the London Committee, which having been read, was, with some alteration, unanimously agreed to, and the Secretaries directed to forward a copy thereof.

“ The meeting then entered on the consideration of the circular in behalf of Mr Collins and his mission, which was ordered at last meeting to be prepared by the Secretaries, addressed to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom. Much discussion took place, both before and after the circular was read ; Dr. King and Mr D. Anderson, urging, at considerable length, that the matter be delayed—some others being of the same sentiment ; while the majority of the meeting, on the other hand, considering that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* had always been in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society, and no valid reasons having as yet appeared to warrant our departure from that connexion ; considering also, that the Committee had, at last meeting, by a decided majority, received Mr Collins as the accredited agent of the American Society, it therefore appeared to them to be only a proper, and legitimate, and consistent course, for the Committee now to agree to, and forthwith issue, the circular on Mr Collins's behalf.

“ On the vote being taken, that the circular be *adopted*, Mr D. Anderson moved, as an amendment, that the matter be delayed, which was seconded by Mr Langlands. The amendment, however, was lost by a majority of two to one. The names being as follows :—

“ For *Delay*—Messrs D. Anderson, Langlands, Dr. King, Blyth, and Paton.—5

“ For *adopting* the circular—Messrs A. Watson, M'Leod, G. Watson, Murray, T. Watson, Smeal, Gunn, Maxwell, Gallie, and Rev. J. M'Tear.—10.

“ A lengthened conversation followed the recording of the votes ; when

it was mutually agreed on both sides, in order to promote, if possible, greater unanimity in the Committee, that the *issuing* of the Circular should be considered at an adjourned Meeting, to be held on Tuesday the 13th of next month; of which Meeting the Secretaries were instructed to give timely notice, by issuing the cards, to the ministers especially, several days previous.

“The following Gentlemen were appointed a Deputation to wait upon Drs. Wardlaw and Heugh, to endeavour to prevail upon them to recall their resignation, and continue to act with the Committee, viz., Dr. King, Dr. Watson, and Mr Paton.”

“CIRCULAR IN BEHALF OF MR COLLINS.

“*To the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom.*”

“DEAR FRIENDS,—The Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in commending to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, their Transatlantic friend and brother, John A. Collins, the Representative of the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, beg your attentive and serious consideration of the following reasons which induce them thus to bespeak for Mr Collins, your confidence and liberality.

“That principle of humanity and religion which led you to labour and sacrifice for the Abolition of Slavery in our own Colonies, can never slumber while the same foul system continues to pollute any of the Governments of this World. In no country does the system of Slavery exist in so frightful and wicked a form, as in the United States of North America. It may be considered as emphatically the stronghold of Slavery. The civil, political, and religious interests of the whole country, previous to the benevolent and untiring efforts of American Abolitionists, were governed by a Slave-holding policy. This system received homage from *every* class of Society. It had poisoned the heart of the nation, and forced its life blood through every vein of the body politic, corrupting and cursing it at its touch. It had smothered the pulpit in its folds, and silenced the voice of the preacher with respect to this greatest of the national sins. Yet the American Anti-Slavery Society and its Auxiliaries have been permitted, in spite of an unexampled combination of opposing influences, to witness an amount of success attending their labours, which has seldom if ever crowned any work of moral reformation during the same space of time. The rights of the Coloured man are now to some extent boldly advocated from the press. The pulpit now not unfrequently resounds with the pleadings of impartial humanity, and the prayers of all-comprehensive love. In many churches, the equality of the Gospel is beginning to be recognized; and in these, there is no longer a ‘*Negro Pew*.’ In some colleges and seminaries, and in many schools, may be seen the White and the Coloured youth meeting together, jointly to study those laws, those discoveries of science, and those humanities of literature, in which it is the will of Him who has kindled the light of reason in the minds of both, that they should feel a sympathetic interest. These are important changes, and others not less so might be named, in the production of which the American Society and its Auxiliaries, have been, under God, mainly instrumental. No revolution in public sentiment has been more extraordinary, more hopeful, or more important. Notwithstanding the success which has attended their labours, the work is far, very far from being accomplished, much, very much, still remains to be done.

“ In advocating this righteous object, great sacrifices have been made by many of its ardent supporters. To sustain the cause, some have devoted their time and purse, others have contributed to the extent of their means, and others still have denied themselves even some of the comforts of life. It is estimated that this Society, independent of the amount expended by its Auxiliaries, in the short space of seven years, has expended for the distribution of books, getting up of petitions, sustaining of Agents, &c., more than £50,000 sterling. From a combination of circumstances, the American Anti-Slavery Society is at the present time greatly in need of pecuniary assistance, to enable it to prosecute its unequal warfare against American Slavery. The pecuniary embarrassments to which the Republics of North America have, for the last few years, been subjected, have greatly diminished the Society's resources; but the great cause of its present distress, has arisen from the opposition which the American Society and its Auxiliaries have received, from those who have seceded from their ranks. Many have made the existing differences an excuse for not contributing in behalf of the great and praiseworthy object of the Society, and this again has tended to paralyze the efforts of many who formerly appeared its firm friends.

“ The Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* have watched with pain, the history and progress of these unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of America. Were they to consult their own feelings, they would gladly keep aloof from their differences, and leave the Societies in America to fight their own battles; but the cause of Three Millions of oppressed Negroes in that Country, and the truly noble and catholic principles upon which the American Anti-Slavery Society is based, will not allow them to remain longer silent. By its constitution, that Society can proscribe no person on account of their condition, or their opinions on other subjects, but is bound to give the right hand of fellowship to all who are willing to labour for the overthrow of Slavery. So far as this Committee have been able to examine the subject, the American Anti-Slavery Society has adhered strictly to its constitution, and has uniformly refused to entertain, as a *Society*, any question foreign to the Emancipation of those in bondage.

“ As regards the lamentable separations that have taken place among their Abolition friends in the United States, whilst this Committee have for some time past had these under consideration, they feel bound to acknowledge that they have not yet obtained information to warrant their withdrawing confidence from the American Anti-Slavery Society, which, so far as appears, is acting entirely on the defensive. As that Society is the only National Institution which this Committee has hitherto known in America, whose object is the Immediate Abolition of the Slave System, and with which they have now co-operated for the last seven years, they therefore consider themselves virtually pledged to continue that co-operation, so long as that Society continues to labour with its accustomed efficiency, energy, and devotion, or until we shall see sufficient reasons for withholding it. The Committee hope, that those individuals or Committees, into whose hands this Circular may fall, will come to no conclusion regarding the state of parties among Abolitionists in America, until after a careful and impartial investigation; but that, in the meantime, as it were treason to the cause of humanity to allow our efforts to slumber, pending investigation, the Committee trust the Friends of Freedom in the United Kingdom, who have a single eye to the Universal Abolition of Slavery, will, with us, give Mr Collins a cordial reception, and the Society he represents all the aid which it may be in their power to bestow.

" This Committee have had submitted to them, the credentials of which Mr Collins is the bearer, from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which ably defend the policy and proceedings of the former Society. Its situation at present, is such as calls for our sympathies, our contributions, and our prayers. Let us hasten thereby to aid in the extermination of the monstrous Slave System from the United States, and then that great and otherwise interesting Country, with its moral and political influence among the nations, will unite with the Friends of Liberty in this Kingdom, to expel Slavery and the Slave Trade from the face of the habitable Globe.

" Signed," &c.

GLASGOW, 29th March, 1841.

" At an adjourned Meeting of Committee, held 13th April, 1841,

" Present:—Wm. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Messrs. Eadie, Harvey, King, Lindsay, and Dr Heugh—also Messrs Anderson, Kettle, Reid, A. Watson, Thorburn, Langlands, Dr. Watson, T. Watson, White, Macintyre, Dick, Murray, Gallie, Smeal, Young, Stewart, Mathie, Lethem, M'Leod, and Dr Maxwell.

" Read and passed Minutes of last meeting.

" Mr Paton, as Convener of the Deputation, appointed to wait on Drs Wardlaw and Heugh, reported that Dr King, Dr Watson, and himself, had had an interview with these gentlemen, on the subject of their resignation of office as Vice-Presidents of this Society, &c., and stated to the meeting sundry grounds upon which they would be willing to withdraw their resignation, and still to act with the Committee, which were substantially those embodied in the Resolutions subsequently moved by Dr King, and carried.

" On the subject of *issuing* the Circular adopted at last meeting, in behalf of Mr Collins, the following Resolutions were proposed as an amendment by Dr King, which were seconded by Dr Heugh—Mr Murray moved the previous question, and on the vote being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of fourteen to nine.

" For the amendment, Rev. Drs Heugh and King, and Messrs Harvey, Lindsay, and Eadie—also Messrs Macintyre, Dick, Lethem, Stewart, Langlands, Kettle, D. Anderson, Young, and Paton—fourteen.

" For issuing the Circular—Dr Watson, Dr Maxwell, and Messrs T. Watson, White, M'Leod, Reid, A. Watson, Murray, and Smeal—nine.

" The following is the amendment proposed by Dr King:—

" For the purpose of preventing division among the friends of Negro Emancipation in Glasgow, and with the view of obtaining all necessary information on questions of great importance before finally deciding upon them—

" Resolved—1. That this Committee disclaims giving any judgment on what is called the Woman's Rights question, and is not to be understood, from anything that has happened, as pledging itself to a recognition of such rights.

" 2. That as there are now two Anti-Slavery Societies in America, one called the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the other the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and as there are many members in each of these Societies, who were wont to be held in high estimation as friends of the Slave, by Emancipationists in this country, no preference be meanwhile expressed, or in any way indicated of either of these Societies over

the other, but all diligence exercised to obtain the fullest information respecting both of them, in the hope of thereby reaching a unanimous or harmonious estimate of their comparative claims.

“ 3. That this Committee, in accordance with the preceding Resolutions, abstain from identifying itself with any publication or agent of either of the forenamed American Societies, till the most ample opportunity has been afforded of investigating their differences.”

“ Dr King moved that the Resolutions be printed, which was agreed to, and committed to the care of the Secretaries.

“ A Remonstrance from fifty-nine members and friends of the Society, in reference to giving Mr Collins a public hearing, was then read; and it was agreed to send as a reply, a copy of the Resolutions just adopted.

“ The same reply was also agreed to be sent to a letter now received and read, signed by the chairman of a public meeting held this day, of the Female Abolitionists of this city, conveying to this Committee a resolution of said meeting,—that George Thompson, Esq., be invited in conjunction with John A. Collins, Esq., to address the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on the subject of the differences at present existing among the Abolitionists of America. Also informing the Committee, that a Memorial to Mr Thompson, signed by 308 members and friends of the Society, requesting him to address them on the same subject, was ready for presentation—which Memorial the subscribers wished the Committee to forward along with the aforesaid Resolution, to Mr Thompson.

“ It was further agreed, that the Secretaries should forward to Dr Wardlaw, and also to Mr Collins, a copy of the Resolutions.”

REMONSTRANCE,

To the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN,—We, members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, being anxious to see the integrity of this Institution maintained, and its humane object promoted, most respectfully request that you inform us and the Society at large, with as little delay as possible, why J. A. Collins, the representative of the Original Anti-Slavery Society in America, has not been afforded an opportunity of stating publicly to you and to the Society, the objects of his mission? It is well known, that there has been a division among our American friends, and that Mr Collins has come to Glasgow for the purpose of securing a continuance of that friendly co-operation, which has existed between us and the Society which he represents since its formation, and that he is able to communicate the information we at present so much require, in reference to the position of the American Abolitionists. Mr Collins has been here for the last six weeks, patiently waiting for an opportunity of defending the old Society from the aspersions of the new one. *He* is now about to leave this country. What will the noble-minded men of America, who have maintained their integrity in this righteous struggle think of us, when their representative has to tell on his return, that the very men who sent George Thompson across the Atlantic at the peril of his life, to inspire the American mind with sympathy for the oppressed, have refused to receive an American delegate from the very Association in which we have all along been so deeply interested? We regard it as due to the American Anti-Slavery Society—to their representative—and to ourselves, that the reasons for this unprecedented conduct be

plainly stated. It surely cannot be a departure from our original zeal in behalf of the Slave, or the fear of having our minds enlightened on a subject of such vital importance to the oppressed, that is thus stultifying our movements. Whatever be the cause, we entreat it be made *public*, that no misunderstanding exists between us and our trans-Atlantic brethren, who in the midst of much persecution, are maintaining the integrity of our principles. Let us beware of doing, or omitting to do, aught that might incur the responsibility of disheartening such men as the Garrisons, the Chapmans, the Childs, and their devoted coadjutors.—We are, Gentlemen, yours in the cause of the Slave,

William Lang, 33, Duke Street.	Hugh Muir, 45, Crown Street.
William Reid, 33, Duke Street.	R. Wright, 33, King Street.
James Turner, Thrusgrove.	W. Wright, Govan Croft Dyeworks.
Chas. & Henry Dow, 231, High St.	J. Wright, Govan Croft Dyeworks
John Comrie, 12, Glebe Street.	Jonathan Cartmill, 44, High Street.
Peter Bruce, 10, College Street.	Charles M'Millan, 141, Bridgegate.
Robert Simpson, 50, Candleriggs.	Duncan Livingston, Springbank.
Robert M'Kay, 123, Candleriggs.	John Dick, 56, Crown Street.
James Alexander, 123, Candleriggs.	Alexander Campbell, 1, Coburg St.
James Reid, 71, Queen Street.	Robert Barr, Spring Place.
John Dalziel, 62, Queen Street.	Thomas Steel, 21, Thistle Street.
David Smith, 173, Trongate.	Robert Steel, 21, Thistle Street.
Mary Welsh, 33, Duke Street.	Peter Fergus, 10, Eglinton Street.
Peebles Wright, Commercial Road.	John M'Nee, 3, Muirhead Street.
Mrs P. Wright, Commercial Road.	James Wallace, 47, Crown Street.
Mrs R. M'Farlan, 3, Lawmoor Pl.	Wm. Fulton, 67, Eglinton Street.
Janet Wright, 27, Commercial Rd.	Mrs Fulton, 67, Eglinton Street.
J. Wright, jun., 27, Commercial Rd.	Wm. M'Comb, 60, Oxford Street.
James Dunn, 33, Govan Street.	Wm. Cochran, 8, Norfolk Court.
Christina Dunn, 33, Govan Street.	William Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
Mary Dunn, 33, Govan Street.	Mrs W. Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
Elizabeth Dunn, 33, Govan Street.	James Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
Duncan Bayne, 71, Commercial Rd.	A. Broom, 52, Bridge Street.
Cathrine Grahame, do. do.	E. Daniel, 43, Bridge Street.
Matilda Duff, 70, St. George's Pl.	J. Daniel, 43, Bridge Street.
Thos. Bayne, 71, Commercial Road.	Mrs Jackson, 48, Norfolk Street.
Andw. Paul, 71, Commercial Road.	Agnes Fisher, 48, Norfolk Street.
Robert Reid, 33, Duke Street.	J. M'Nair, Greenlaw Place, Paisley
Janet M'Kenzie, 77, Commercial Rd.	Road.
Janet Paul, 71, Commercial Road.	

GLASGOW, 6th of 4th Month, 1841.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of a letter to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, signed by thyself and 58 other members and friends of the Society, which I shall lay before a meeting of the Committee, to be held on the 13th current, that date having been fixed upon at a previous meeting; as, from local circumstances, we could not conveniently meet on an earlier day.—Respectfully thine,

WM. SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

TO ROBERT REID.

The following was intended to have been presented to the Committee personally, by three gentlemen, on behalf of those who conducted the Meeting of Ladies; but the Committee declining to receive them when they called with the Memorial, they had no alternative but to send it in by the Beadle :—

MEMORIAL.

TRADES' HALL, *Glasgow*, 13th April, 1841.

To the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN,—We have been instructed to forward you the following Resolution, unanimously agreed to at a Public Meeting of Ladies, held here this forenoon :—

“That George Thompson, Esq., be invited, in conjunction with J. A. Collins, Esq., to address the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on the subject of the differences at present existing among the Abolitionists of America.”

We are also instructed to inform you that a memorial to George Thompson, Esq., signed by 308 members and friends of your Society, requesting him to address them on the above-mentioned subject, is ready for presentation. This Committee having no wish to interfere with your operations, are desirous that the resolutions and memorial be forwarded by you. Owing to Mr Thompson's engagements at Manchester on the 19th instant, the proposed meeting will require to be held this week.

Hoping you will be agreeable to the above proposal, we are, gentlemen, yours, &c.

(Signed)

R. WRIGHT, *Chairman.*

P. S.—It may be proper to state that no reference whatever was made to the American dispute, at the meeting of to-day.

An answer will be expected by to-morrow morning.

R. W.

Extract of a letter from Mr George Thompson, dated Manchester, March 16th, 1841, conveying his judgment as to the power of the Sub-Committee *finally* to amend the Annual Report, without referring it back to the whole Committee :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have just perused your favour of the 14th. You will perceive at once my inability to get my views before the Committee at your meeting this evening. Had your letter come earlier into my possession, I would have written such a reply as might have been read at the Council Board. I have a strong impression that, when the amended paragraph was drawn up in Mr Kettle's Counting-house, those concerned were acting under the appointment of the Committee, with full and final powers. Of this, I cherish no doubt whatever. I have not the Report by me to refer to, but do not think there is any thing in the paragraph, as it stands, to offend a liberal mind, or call for censure or revocation.”

“Mr J. MURRAY, Bowling-Bay.”

Such is a detail of the proceedings of the Committee up to the Public Meeting in Albion-Street Chapel, on the 16th April; since which, no meeting of Committee has been held; and the Public Meeting just referred to, and that held in the Bazaar, on the 27th, (which *unanimously* voted that this correspondence should be published,) have both been managed, *independently* of the Committee, by members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, who are the *constituents* of that Committee; and who can, *at any time*, unquestionably, *if they see fit*, cashier those who are *their servants*; add to their number; or call them to account; in *the very same way* as a Parliamentary constituency does its representatives in the House of Commons.

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,

Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GLASGOW, 15th May, 1841.

LETTER FROM MR GEORGE THOMPSON.

THE following Letter from Mr Thompson, having come to hand, just as this pamphlet was leaving the press, we insert it here for the information of the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. We are persuaded, it will be perused with deep interest; and that the sentiments it contains, will receive that respectful attention, to which, from the character of the writer as an uncompromising Abolitionist, they are so justly entitled.

JOHN MURRAY.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

MANCHESTER, May 17th, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—You have intimated to me, that, it is the wish of some of the Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, that I should state my opinions on the following points, viz. :—

1. Whether the American Anti-Slavery Society, (founded in 1833,) has deviated from its Constitution and original principles? and
2. Whether there exists any sufficient reason for the friends of the Emancipation cause in this country, withholding their sympathy and co-operation from that Society?

My engagements will not permit me to express myself at large upon these particulars; but, I feel no hesitation in conveying in brief language, an opinion, founded upon, I think, a full and accurate knowledge of the Society's operations from the commencement of its existence, and an intimate and endeared acquaintance with many of its most distinguished and

devoted friends. My opinion is, that, the Society has maintained inviolate, both in the letter and in the spirit, the admirable constitution which it originally adopted; and that it has been steadily true to the high principles put forth in its noble declaration—promulgated at the same time.

Such being my deliberate opinion, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that I consider the Society still entitled to the sincere sympathy, the unabated confidence, and the earnest co-operation of the friends of the Slave in this kingdom.

For my own part, I cannot suffer any differences of opinion on other points, to sever me from those whose love for the Anti-Slavery cause I believe to be, at least, fully equal to my own. While I entertain my present conviction that the American Anti-Slavery Society remains firm in its allegiance to the cause it has espoused, I shall feel it to be, as I have ever done, an honour to be regarded as one of its humble supporters, and to share any reproaches with which it may be assailed.—I am, my dear friend, yours very truly,

GEO. THOMPSON.

MR WM. SMEAL.

