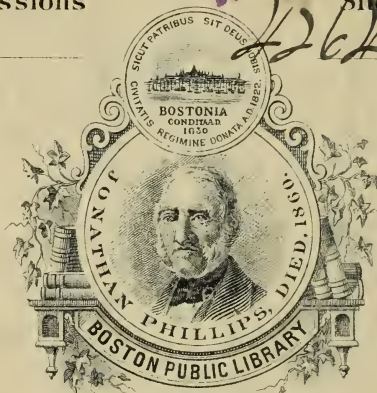


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SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY :

WITH

AN APPENDIX, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THIS SOCIETY,

IS TO PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE ;

TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES ;

AND TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF

BRITISH INDIA.

GLASGOW :

PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET ;

AND SOLD BY GEORGE GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET ;

JOHN M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET ; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE ;

AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXLI.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 2d August, 1841.

AGREEABLY to Advertisement, the Seventh Annual Meeting of the above Society took place this Evening, at Seven o'Clock, in the Trades' Hall, Glassford Street.

On the motion of Mr John Murray, one of the Secretaries, the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON was called to the Chair.

Letters of apology, for unavoidable absence, were read from John Dennistoun, Esq., M. P., and the Rev. Alex. Harvey.

Mr Smeal having read the Annual Report, and an Abstract of the Treasurer's Account, the following Resolutions were then moved, seconded, and carried, viz. :—

I. Moved by the *Rev. James M'Tear*, and seconded by *James Turner, Esq.*, of Thrushegrove :—

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

II. Moved by the *Rev. J. Kennedy* of Paisley, and seconded by *Mr R. Wright* :—

“That the history of the past year, in the Emancipated Colonies of Great Britain, calls for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation from the friends of freedom, and for increasing confidence in the justice and policy of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION :

“That this Society rejoices in the still onward progress of the sacred cause of Freedom in the United States, and regards with especial satisfaction, the late momentous decision in the case of the Amistad captives, now restored to liberty ; and the Society would, in connexion with that important decision, mention, with the gratitude and admiration they so highly merit, the generous and self-devoted exertions of the Venerable ex-President, John Quincy Adams. The Society, while they would renew to their

fellow-labourers in America the assurances of their continued sympathy and co-operation, would also earnestly and affectionately exhort them to be of one heart and of one mind in their work—a work pre-eminently calculated to cement, in a common effort—*without compromise and without hostility*—all the true lovers of humanity and justice.

“The Society would, further, record the pleasure with which they have contemplated the interesting movements of various European States on the subject of Slavery; and their conviction that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the cause of Emancipation has made cheering progress during the past year, throughout the civilized world.”

III. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *Thomas Brown, Esq.* :—

“That this Society, believing that Monopoly (whether arising from intentional laws, or from accidental circumstances) is one of the main supports of Slavery, and believing also that Slave Labour is more expensive than Free Labour, and that, of all Slave Labour, that is the most costly which is maintained by the importation of Slaves, express their approval of the recently proposed reduction of the duties on Sugar, and other articles of Tropical growth, and their confident conviction that the ultimate result of an unfettered competition between Free and Slave Labour will be the entire Abolition of prædial bondage :—That official documents having fully demonstrated, to a lamentable and alarming extent, the existence of Slavery of various kinds throughout the BRITISH INDIAN TERRITORIES, it is the bounden duty of the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, to adopt immediate measures for its extinction; and this Society pledges itself, in conjunction with kindred Associations, to continue its exertions unabated, until Slavery and the Slave Trade are banished from every part of the British Dependencies.”

An Adjournment until To-Morrow Evening, having been proposed and unanimously agreed to, in order to afford Mr Thompson a fuller opportunity of explaining the case of the Raja of Sattara—it was

IV. Moved by the *Rev. George Rose*, and carried by acclamation :—

“That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the REV. WILLIAM ANDERSON, for his conduct in the Chair.”

WM. ANDERSON, *Chairman.*

ADJOURNED MEETING.

THE Adjourned Meeting of this Society was held in the Trades' Hall, on Tuesday Evening, August 3d, 1841.

On the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, JOHN M'LEOD, Esq., was called to the Chair.

The following Preamble and Resolution regarding the treatment of the RAJA OF SATTARA, by the East India Directors and the British Indian Government, were—

V. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *William Gunn, Jun., Esq.*:—

“Whereas,—The British power in India can be permanently maintained, only by the adoption and steady observance of an honourable, a just, and a conciliatory line of conduct towards the Natives; and—

“Whereas,—It is the solemn duty of the People of this Country, on whose behalf, and by whose delegated authority India is ruled, to watch with vigilance the administration of affairs; to denounce every act of oppression perpetrated in their name; and to interfere with promptitude and energy for the redress of the wrongs of the injured and the helpless; and—

“Whereas,—One of the specific objects of this Society is, to protect the liberties, and advocate the rights of the Natives of the British Dependencies; and—

“Whereas,—A Native Indian Prince (his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara) has, by the British Indian authorities, been dethroned, deprived of his property, and driven into exile, without trial, upon charges which, in the late debate at the India House, were shown to be false and unfounded; and—

“Whereas,—The Directors of the East India Company have twice, by means of their own votes in the Court of Proprietors, decided against any re-consideration of the case, and systematically rejected every petition for redress: therefore—

“Resolved,—That this Meeting view with feelings of the strongest indignation, the treatment which the ex-Raja of Sattara has received at

the hands of the East India Company and the Board of Control—treatment contrary to the spirit of British Law—repugnant to the first principles of Justice—calculated inevitably to degrade the national character, and dissolve the ties of native allegiance;—And this Meeting pledge themselves to seek, through the medium of an impartial Parliamentary investigation and subsequent legislation, (and, if necessary, by a direct appeal to the Queen in Council,) the restoration of the ex-Raja to the Throne of Sattara, and the reparation of the wrongs inflicted upon him by the British Indian Government.”

An amendment to the above was proposed by the *Rev. P. Brewster*, of Paisley, and seconded:—

“That this Meeting, while they condemn the conduct of the British Indian Government towards the Raja of Sattara, as one of the numerous cases of oppression in that Country, feel themselves constrained, upon the same principle, and by a stronger claim, to express their deep sympathy with the great body of the British people, now suffering under the effects of those most impolitic and iniquitous statutes—the Corn and Provision Laws of Britain—by which many thousands of industrious labourers and artizans have been thrown out of employment, and reduced to starvation, or driven into exile; and when patiently enduring extreme privations in Scotland, refused aid by the administrators of the Poor Law, though that law expressly requires for them adequate relief; and they now pledge themselves to exert their best endeavours to obtain the total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, as in a great measure the cause of those privations and sufferings, along with a speedy revision of the Poor Law of Scotland, in reference to its present administration, as failing to afford the relief which humanity and justice alike demand: and, at the same time, to do their utmost to obtain immediate and sufficient relief for their oppressed and destitute Fellow Countrymen.”

On a vote being taken, the motion of Mr Thompson was carried by a large majority.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the following Resolutions were put from the Chair, *seriatim*, and carried unanimously:—

VI. “That this Society, believing that the American Colonization Society is—as they have often previously declared—inimical to the Liberties of the Black and Coloured population of America, and that many of the British people are deceived by the representations of the Agents of that Society, we therefore feel ourselves called upon to re-publish a Letter from the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON to William Lloyd Garrison, upon that subject, that Letter being; in the opinion of this Meeting, well calculated to undeceive the people on that important subject.”

VII. “That the thanks of the Meeting be given to George Thompson, Esq., for his kindness in attending, at great personal inconvenience to him-

self, this Anniversary ; and for the highly interesting information which he has, this evening, so eloquently laid before us."

VIII. "That the following gentlemen be the Office-Bearers and Committee of Management for the next year."—(See p. 8.)

IX. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and carried by acclamation :—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to JOHN M'LEOD, Esq., for his conduct in the Chair."

JOHN M'LEOD, *Chairman.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., OF WHITEHILL.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. DR. KIDSTON, JOHN DENNISTOUN, Esq., M.P., JAMES OSWALD, Esq., M.P., THOMAS GRAHAME, Esq., REV. WM. ANDERSON.

JOHN MURRAY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

WILLIAM SMEAL, *Recording Secretary and Treasurer.*

Committee.

Rev. William Auld.
John Eadie.
John Edwards.
John Graham.
Alexander Harvey.
William Lindsay.
J. M. M'Kenzie.
James M'Tear.
Thomas Pullar.
George Rose.
Dr. Willis.

Messrs. Ebenezer Anderson.
John Barr.
William Brodie.
Thomas Brown.
William Brown.
James Bruce.
Peter Bruce.
Walter Buchanan.
Robert Connell.
James Dunn.
William Ferguson.
John Fleming.
John. A. Fullarton.
William Gunn, Jun.
William Lang.

Messrs. Henry Langlands.
William Lohead.
Anthony M'Keand.
John M'Leod.
William M'Leod.
James M'Nair.
Robert Mathie.
John Maxwell, M.D.
Colin M'Dougall.
Hugh Muir.
Andrew Paton.
John Reid.
David Russell.
Robert Sanderson.
James Stewart.
George Thorburn.
James Turner.
John Ure.
Archibald Watson.
George Watson.
James Watson.
Thomas Watson.
William White.
Ronald Wright.
Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.
RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHAM.
DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M. P.
REV. THOMAS ROBERTS, Bristol.
REV. PATRICK BREWSTER, Paisley.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston, New England.
ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., New York.
JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., do.
JAMES JOHNSTON, Esq., Auburn, do.
JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, M.D., do.
M. GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE, } Paris.
M. VICTOR DE TRACEY, }

REPORT.

IN recording the transactions of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* during the past year, your Committee regret that they have been able to do but little, directly tending to the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade: They have, however, as in former years, to the extent of their means, laboured to diffuse information, tending to promote the benevolent object for which the Society was established. This has been accomplished by the circulation, amongst the Members and Friends of the Society, of various Publications issued at its own cost, as well as by those of kindred institutions; whilst our Correspondents, in the principal towns of the United Kingdom, have, through the medium of newspaper reports of our transactions, been advised of our continued efforts to promote the cause of Universal Freedom; and our coadjutors in the United States, and other countries, have also been informed of our solicitude to strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts, in the prosecution of our common object.

The Committee feel it their duty, in the outset of their Report, to notice the lamented decease of their late estimable Treasurer, James Beith, Esq. They record their grateful sense of the services rendered by him to the Society, and feel persuaded that the character of one whose ardent devotion to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty was so conspicuous, and whose efforts in its behalf were so unremitting and zealous, will not only be long admired by his fellow-citizens, but be esteemed precious by succeeding generations.

To mark the sense your Committee entertain of the warm interest felt in the object of this Society by John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P., and his liberality in contributing to its funds, they have added his name to the list of Vice-Presidents; also the

name of Thomas Grahame, Esq., and that of your present Chairman, the Rev. William Anderson. James Oswald, Esq., M.P., has likewise signified his acceptance of the office of Vice-President. Your Secretary, Mr John Murray, will, in future, conduct the Correspondence department; and your other Secretary has been appointed to keep the Records, and to act as Treasurer.

From dissension amongst Abolitionists abroad, and differences of opinion amongst themselves, your Committee have, during the greater part of last year, been placed in circumstances at once unprecedented and painful. To the origin and present position of these, they would now direct attention.

That a division had occurred in the Abolition ranks in America, was known to but few individuals at the Convention in London, in June, 1840; and even by those who did know of it, its *true* causes were not generally understood. It was hinted, indeed, and assiduously propagated, by those whose purpose it suited, that the division in America had originated in the admission of Females as co-labourers into Anti-Slavery Committees, and to their acting as public pleaders on behalf of their down-trodden sisters; whereas, such things had existed from almost the commencement of the Abolition movement. Division, however, at all hazards, had been determined upon by certain prominent individuals. A separation from sundry staunch Abolitionists *must* be effected, and a reason, of course, be assigned. This action of females, formerly so loudly applauded, now became too unnatural and hideous to be looked upon or thought of. Hence the cry of the "*Woman question*," or "*Woman's Rights*" question, spread in this country with fatal celerity, after the exclusion, by a vote of the London Convention, of some half dozen Female Delegates from the United States. By none was this matter viewed, seemingly, with more alarming apprehensions, as your Committee believe, than by ministers of the various religious denominations, both in this country and in America; and strange as it may seem, even by some Members of the Society of Friends!

Diversity of opinion had also found its way into your Committee, on certain points, arising out of the American divisions. One party declined to move forward where an opportunity offered; the other either could not, or would not, move alone. In consequence of which, but little business available to the cause was transacted. But, in shortly recording the events, and tracing the causes that have led to this unhappy result, it will not now avail to any good end that the parties recriminate

each other. Holding different views on various points, each may, in a spirit of charity, give the other credit at once for honesty of purpose, and purity of motive; although viewing matters in a different light, and on particular points arriving at opposite conclusions, they could not walk together, because they were not agreed—yet your Committee trust that the time and labour bestowed, in investigating the points in dispute, may not have been altogether lost.

It will be recollected, that the last public meeting prior to the Anniversary in August, was that held on the 27th July, 1840, to receive the well-known William L. Garrison, and his co-delegates to the London Convention; while our first meeting *this* year (20th October,) was to receive the Hon. Mr Birney, and his companion, Henry B. Stanton, Esq., who were also delegates to the Convention, and the Secretaries of the *new* Society in America, known by the name of the American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society. These parties, though representing different sections of American Abolitionists, were received by your Society, not only with equal courtesy, but without the smallest reference, on *our* part, to the differences existing between them, which, at that period, had not been so fully developed.

It will also, your Committee presume, be in the recollection of their constituents, that at last Annual Meeting objection was made to a portion of the Report; which, although *intended simply to record a fact* relative to the proceedings of the Convention, and *as it occurred*, without any colouring or partiality, was, nevertheless, regarded by some as assuming a particular side, and committing the Society to particular opinions. The Report was, therefore, by a formal motion, re-committed for revision by the Committee, that the portion designated as objected to might be amended.

On the evening of the 14th September, and immediately prior to the adjourned Anniversary Meeting, a meeting of the Committee was held, at which a Sub-Committee was appointed, for the purpose of amending the obnoxious portion of the Report. The Sub-Committee convened on the 21st October, when, being *unanimous* in regard to the emendation intrusted to them, and deeming the authority delegated to them final, the Report thus amended, was printed and circulated in the usual manner.

On the 11th February last, your Committee held a special meeting to receive Mr John A. Collins, the accredited and esteemed Agent and Representative of the American Anti-

Slavery Society, and the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts—then on a mission to solicit from British Abolitionists pecuniary assistance and sympathy on behalf of these Societies. Mr Collins had, some months previously, arrived in London, and had presented his credentials to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who stated no objections to them. In a letter, dated 2d January, however, they informed him, “that the course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society had alienated their confidence.” But, to this day, that Committee has never specified to Mr Collins any *particular* course to which they referred; nor yet to your Committee, who have again and again solicited information from them on the subject, without effect. The only attempt at explanation they have condescended to give, appears in a letter of the 16th January to Mr Collins, where they state that “what has been ‘alienated’ from the American Anti-Slavery Society, is the confidence of the (London) Committee in the salutary influence of that Society on the Anti-Slavery cause, since the division which took place in May last (*viz.* May, 1840,)—that cause in the United States the (said) Committee now consider as more truly represented by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.”

Had the British and Foreign Committee received Mr Collins with the courtesy to which he was entitled, as the representative of a highly respectable Society—so esteemed by the most distinguished Abolitionists, and, as far as your Committee know, *entitled to be so*—had they, at the same time, intimated to Mr Collins, that they preferred giving their countenance and support to the *new* society which had separated from the old one, probably few would have questioned their preference—nor, however desirous to learn their reasons, had any one a right to insist upon obtaining them, except for *public guidance*, inasmuch as it was a *public cause*. But it is obvious that, by referring to “the course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society,” as having alienated their confidence, a charge was thereby implied against that Society, of which Mr Collins was the representative in this country; and, had *he* not insisted upon knowing “the specific charge” thus implied by the London Committee, he would have been unworthy of the place he held. Not only could Mr Collins receive no satisfactory explanation from that Committee on this point, but it appears, from page 56 of his “Right and Wrong” among the Abolitionists of the United States, that, *before his correspondence with them had closed*, they had sent all over the Kingdom their

letter to him of the 2d January, accompanied (on their own confession, in some individual instances) by copies of the dastardly and slanderous insinuations of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver; thus tending to destroy all confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society, to injure the reputation of Mr Collins as its agent, as well as to undermine the character and Anti-Slavery influence of Mr William Lloyd Garrison.

It was under the influence of such baneful circumstances as these, that Mr Collins arrived in Glasgow. His reception by your Committee collectively, or in their individual capacity, was, as might have been expected, much affected by them; and probably, also, by intercourse directly, or by correspondence, with members of the London Committee; some of whom, as already noticed, had taken up the very unenviable position of detractors from the character of a Society of *long* standing in the United States, and which the First Annual Report of the British and Foreign Committee described as one "whose gigantic efforts to purge their institutions from the stain, and their people from the guilt of Slavery, they would have felt delighted to have referred to particularly." But, instead of using their endeavours to heal the divisions between the Abolitionists, to whose labours they thus refer, and endeavouring to persuade the separatists to abide by the excellent constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society—*under which they had done so much good*—they hasten to embrace the *seceding* party, thus rather widening the breach; and the attachment of the London Committee being pre-engaged, individuals evinced themselves but too ready to receive and circulate reports to the disadvantage of the old institution.

Enough of the feeling created by the doings of these individuals had reached Glasgow, to show that your Committee could not avoid being involved in circumstances of the most painful and perplexing character. They would only refer for particulars to the Correspondence which has been published, by which it will be seen, not only to what an extent the alarm respecting the "Woman Question," as it is called, had seized the minds of members of Committee, but also the transactions arising out of that alarm. The proceedings relating to the reception of Mr Collins by your Committee, have, in like manner, been detailed; with the subsequent resolution adopted, that no preference should, owing to the divisions in America, be evinced by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, for one more than for the other of the two leading Anti-Slavery Societies in that country; publicity has also been given to the resolutions adopted

at meetings called by Members and Friends of the Society, when additional members were voted into the Committee. The meeting of MEMBERS held in the Trades' Hall, on the 31st May, to decide upon the propriety of such addition, as is well known, by a majority overturned it; though the same meeting, by a subsequent resolution, admitted the Gentlemen to the place formerly assigned them; in which capacity they have accordingly acted up to the present time. With the foregoing brief reference to these matters, your Committee would close this section of their Report.

The Committee feel it due to themselves, however, as well as to their constituents and the public, on commencing another year, to state their sentiments, explicitly and fearlessly, on the "Woman Question." In the first place, then, the *broad* question of the "Rights of Woman" *never was before the London Convention*; and, consequently, there could be no "decision of the Convention, on that head," for the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* either to "accord with," or be opposed to. The only question at all akin to it, and which even some sensible persons have most unduly magnified—was the simple proposition, whether five or six females should not be admitted as delegates to take their seats in that body. In proof of the correctness of this position, they quote the following resolution and amendment on the subject, as they appear in the authorized record of the proceedings, viz. :—

Moved by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston, and seconded by Professor Adam (late of Harvard University),—

"That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the Members of this Convention, with instructions to include in such list all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-Slavery body."

The following amendment was moved by Mr George Stacey, one of the Society of Friends, and seconded by the Rev. Mr Galusha of New York :—

"That this Convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of Females, appointed as Delegates from America, to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative."

After a long debate, in which the speakers expressed themselves according to the various views they held, the amendment was carried by a large majority. Still, the resolution passed by the Convention did not, it is evident, involve the question of Woman's Rights. Again, there is not, so far as your Committee know, any Anti-Slavery Society, or "section of American Abolitionists," associated as an Anti-Slavery Society,

“ who support what is called the Woman Question.” The two leading Societies in America, the *Original American Anti-Slavery Society*, and the American and *Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, both approve of and commend the action of females in the cause of the Slave—with this distinction, that while the *new Society* has its female auxiliaries, they are not permitted now as formerly, to act in concert with them on Committees, nor publicly to plead the cause of bleeding humanity; and at anniversaries or conventions must be represented by male delegates. The old Society, on the other hand, not only has its female auxiliaries, but it permits the sending of females, as delegates, to annual or other meetings of Anti-Slavery Societies; and, if these females conscientiously believe it their duty to speak in behalf of the Slave, *it does not forbid them*; and this is in perfect accordance with the *original* constitution of the American Society, under which the leading men of the new Association acted for years, as Committee-men.

But farther, individuals in Anti-Slavery Societies in America, as here, are permitted to hold any peculiarity of view, and any shade of opinion, either on the Woman Question or any other question, whether of politics or religion; and long may it be before Abolitionists there or here are required to be of one creed in religion, or of one opinion on the Woman Question, the temperance question, or upon any other question whatever. The object of Anti-Slavery Societies is simply the Abolition of the Slavery of the human species; and, so long as the members of these Societies do not force their own private opinions upon the adoption of their brethren, *they may individually hold, as well as advocate, in their separate and independent capacities the sentiments they respectively entertain.* Holding these views, your Committee trust, that, both as regards their own Society, and kindred institutions, the Woman Question, *or any other extraneous topic*, will never more be mooted to mar the harmony, or retard the operations of those who, differing in other respects, unitedly desire the elevation of the Slave to the same rights and privileges with themselves. *The GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY has hitherto professed to hold these Catholic views; and it is for those now assembled at its anniversary to say, whether its constitution, based on such principles, shall continue as it is, or shall be altered or amended.* Your Committee regret to inform the members and friends of the Society, that several of their esteemed Office-bearers and members of Committee have resigned their offices; but they fondly trust, seeing that *the Society and its object are still the*

same, they will have the pleasure, ere long, once more to number their late coadjutors among them.

Your Committee have lately had their attention turned to the Free Trade question of the Sugar duties; and they hope to introduce, at this time, a resolution on that subject, which will meet the unanimous approval of the Society.

The consideration of holding an Anti-Slavery Convention in 1842, was remitted to your Committee by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at a recent period, but it has since been determined to defer the matter until the views of the Anti-Slavery Societies in America are ascertained, as that country is the most deeply interested in the subject.

The question of Slavery in British India, has also claimed the attention of your Committee; and one of your Secretaries, during the recent election canvass, pledged the Members of the City, James Oswald and John Dennistoun, Esqs., that, in the event of a Bill being introduced into Parliament for its entire extinction, they would give it their warmest support, to which they most readily and cordially assented. Slavery in our Eastern possessions is now claiming more generally the attention of the Anti-Slavery public, and your Committee earnestly desire that, before a very long time, its abolition may be decreed.

As connected with this interesting department of the Society's object, your Committee are happy to report, that their respected and zealous coadjutor in the Abolition cause, Mr George Thompson, has, during the last year, been engaged in England in eloquently pleading on behalf of the object of the British India Society. We have also the satisfaction to state, that, in order more effectually to promote the improvement of the condition of our oppressed fellow-subjects, the natives of British India, Mr Thompson has obtained a qualification to appear in the Court of East India Proprietors, and has, within the last few days, been arduously engaged in advocating in that Court, the case of an Eastern Prince, grievously wronged by these Directors and the British Government. The debate, it is believed, is unparalleled in the annals of that Court; it occupied five days, on the second of which, Mr Thompson made a most effective speech, the delivery of which occupied nearly three hours.

Your Committee rejoice, that the Negroes captured in the *Amistad*, and for nearly two years detained as captives in an American prison, while legal proceedings of a very intricate character were in progress, have been released, and are now in

the enjoyment of unrestricted freedom. During their confinement, they had great attention paid to their comfort by the American Abolitionists, and had the benefit of such education as could be communicated in that time, and under their circumstances, in which, notwithstanding, they have made astonishing progress. Their case was advocated, much to his honour, by the celebrated American senator, and formerly President of the United States, John Quincy Adams.

Appearances, in all quarters, indicate the rapid progress of the cause of human liberty. Public sentiment in France, and other continental nations, has made a most surprising advance. The triumphant success, in particular, of the experiment of Emancipation in the British Colonies, is making other Slaveholding States seriously to consider, whether Freedom will not, after all, be better, more politic, and more profitable than Slavery; we find indications of sentiments like these, even in that stronghold of oppression, the United States of America.

Your Committee, therefore, feel encouraged to persevere in the cause they have undertaken to promote. That cause, they believe, is a good one—it is the cause of God. Let us not injure it by our own contentions; but let us walk firmly and *unitedly* together, to abolish Slavery by every constitutional and Christian means in our power—freely allowing to all who co-operate with us, *that* liberty of opinion, on *other subjects*, which we claim for ourselves.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABOLITION OF BRITISH COLONIAL SLAVERY.

(Reprinted, with a few corrections, from the *GLASGOW ARGUS*.)

THE Annual Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was held in the Trades' Hall, on Monday evening, the 2d August, being the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies. The attendance was respectable, but not so numerous as at some previous meetings of the Society. The admission was by tickets. The platform was occupied by the Rev. William Anderson, Rev. J. M'Tear, and Rev. G. Rose, George Thompson, Esq., Rev. J. Kennedy, and P. Brewster, of Paisley, Messrs. M'Leod, Lang, Murray, Turner of Thrushgrove, Gunn, Paton, Smeal, Wright, Ferguson, Ure of Croy, W. M'Leod, Dr. Watson, M'Nair, Mathie, Brown, T. Watson, Muir, Reid, Dunn, Barr, Lochhead, &c. On the motion of Mr John Murray, the Chair was taken by the Rev. William Anderson, of John Street Relief Church.

The CHAIRMAN said he thanked the meeting for the honour thus conferred upon him; and, though he felt somewhat grieved that the Chair was not that evening supported by many old and esteemed friends, he would redeem the pledge he formerly gave, that he would stand by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* till he saw a better. (Cheers.)

Mr SMEAL then read a letter of apology for absence from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P., who stated that, had he been at this time in Scotland, he would have felt much pleasure in presiding on the occasion of their meeting. A letter of excuse was also read from the Rev. Mr Harvey, of Calton, who was necessarily absent in consequence of having been called out of town.

The CHAIRMAN then shortly addressed the meeting. He said, there is so much business before us, that my opening remarks shall be few and short. Let us keep in view that this is not merely an Anniversary Meeting of the Society to carry forward its business, but an Anniversary commemoration of a great victory which we achieved—the Emancipation of the Negroes in our West India Colonies. Let us cherish the remembrance of that triumph, not only that we may be animated in perseverance to go forward in the work which still lies before us, but that we may occupy carefully our position as guardians of that conquest which we have already made. (Cheers.) Our West India Negroes are properly our wards, and our honour is deeply concerned in their defence and prosperity. They are

worthy of all our care. How nobly these men have vindicated us from the charge of having over estimated their fitness for liberty! (Cheers.) If the Planters themselves had behaved as morally as the Emancipated Negroes, what happy islands our West India Colonies would have been at this day! While these wards are thus worthy of all our care and defence, they have need of it. They have need of our defence, not only against their masters at home, but they have need of our defence still against our own Government. (Hear.) We know with what watchfulness it has been necessary that we should keep our eye even on the proceedings of Lord John Russell in respect to our colonies; and it cannot surely be regarded as invidious, when I say we shall have to keep at least as watchful an eye on Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers.) Let us then cherish the remembrance of our victories, that, in the consideration of it, we may be resolved and determined that no man, be he who he may, shall rob us of those laurels we have earned. (Loud cheers.) But not only ought we to cherish the remembrance of our victory, in order to preserve the triumphs we have gained, we ought to remember it that we may be cherished to proceed forward to other conquests. (Hear, hear.) How much work we have still before us! There can scarcely be an individual present who does not know that it is a most vain and false boast to say that there are no Slaves to be found within the British dominions. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that I refer to the Slavery which prevails so extensively in our East Indian possessions. The crown of Victoria is still dimmed by her being a Queen of Slaves. (Cheers.) What think ye, friends? I am sometimes accused of speaking jokingly, and speaking paradoxically. On the present occasion I speak the sober truth; we have present among us a proprietor of Slaves—who has to tell us to-night of the iniquity of himself and his brethren as holders of Slaves. (Laughter.) We have heard his voice before stirring us up by his eloquence to defend and to care for the property of others; but he will be calling upon us this night to look mercifully to the property of himself. (Cheers and laughter.) And then there is America. What have we to do with America? say many. Our reply is, that the Abolition of Slavery in America is in some respects our cause more than it is the cause of any other party. It was our Missionary who properly commenced the agitation, and our honour is concerned in the triumph of that agitation. How gloriously that work of agitation goes forward there! It is true our friends have quarrelled, and quarrelled bitterly; but it is an evil out of which good is coming. They are contending with one another who shall do most to show that he is acting on behalf of the Slave. (Cheers.) We were nearly distracted by the importation of the quarrel among us; but we are at last agreed that we should give our particular countenance to neither party; *and we are here this evening to take part with both, and to encourage the heart of every man, of whatever class, in America, who is doing his duty faithfully to the Slave.* (Cheers.)

Mr SMEAL then read the Annual Report, and a statement of the income and expenditure of the Society.

The Rev. JAMES M'TEAR said—I rise not to make a speech in commendation of the Report you have just heard—it is a Report that needs no recommendation from me. Unhappily, it contains some things that must be regarded as matter of regret and of pain to the friends of freedom; yet it contains, on the other hand, so many things calculated to encourage us to go forward in the good cause, that I have no hesitation in proposing that the Report be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the sanction of the Committee.

Councillor TURNER seconded the motion.

MR GEORGE THOMPSON came forward amid loud cheers. He said—I know not that, at any subsequent part of this evening, I could choose a better opportunity for making one or two observations than at this moment. I rise without prompting and without persuasion—I rise spontaneously, and in obedience to my conscience alone, to speak in the sincerity of my heart that which I believe to be dictated, and sternly demanded, by honour, by friendship, by truth, and by justice. Sir, there have been no circumstances in my short life that have been to me the sources of more pain than the circumstances connected with the late unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of the United States of America. (Hear.) And certainly no one circumstance connected with that unfortunate affair has given me pain in any degree approaching that which I experience, in the contemplation of the present state of the society with which it has been the chief honour of my life to be associated—the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. (Hear.) Never did I rise in this city under feelings so embarrassing or overpowering as at this instant. The place in which we meet—the number of this audience—the aspect of this platform—the absence of those whom I venerate, and not I alone, but whom we all venerate—these things so afflict me, that I could almost wish myself any where than where I am, though, in past times, I have never desired to be any where more than in the city of Glasgow. (Cheers.) I place little value on my own opinion—I desire you to attach no value to my opinion, save that which it merits as the opinion of an individual who has never been bought, or bribed, or menaced into the expression of any opinion which was not sanctioned by his judgment, and felt in his heart. (Cheers.) It has been—I will not say my misfortune—but my painful duty often to differ from my nearest and dearest friends; often have I been called upon in critical moments to denounce, even in the severest terms, the policy of those whom I most respected, and who, if duty would have allowed, I would gladly have followed, and acknowledged in every respect as my superiors. (Cheers.) Nor would I, to find favour, utter one word which truth did not warrant, or to maintain, in the place which he occupied, the nearest or dearest friend I have in this, or in any other part of the world. (Cheers.) I say this to strengthen, if it be possible, the testimony I am about to bear—a testimony such as I trust I shall be able to reflect upon with satisfaction hereafter, careless whether it be a testimony which others are disposed to corroborate, if my own conscience, in the sight of God, tells me it is true. (Cheers.) *I say, then, that the deep conviction of my soul is, that that section of the Abolitionists in the United States which has been repudiated by many of the Abolitionists in this country, and respecting whom, it seems, a vote of want of confidence has been passed in London, is that section of the Abolitionists which deserves pre-eminently the countenance, the confidence, the love, and the earnest support of every lover of human liberty in every part of the world.* (Great cheering.) And upon what do I ground this opinion? Charge me not with presumption when I say that I have a knowledge of the men and women in the United States who have been thus repudiated, longer in its duration, and more intimate in its character, than that possessed by any other man in this country. (Hear.) The first time I heard of William Lloyd Garrison, who stands at the head of this party, and deservedly so, was from the lips of one who left on my mind the impression that he was a bad man. He was represented to me as a convicted libeller, as the tenant of a dungeon, as a companion of felons, as a man reckless of the safety of others, and seeking to disturb the peace, and to destroy the institutions of his country. This description of Mr Garrison was given me by one to whose voice I

have listened in this room, Mr Elliot Cresson, the accredited agent of the American Colonisation Society. He it was who first uttered in my ears the name of William Lloyd Garrison as associated with the epithets I have repeated. Thereafter, I became acquainted with the real character of the man. First, through my friend, Captain Charles Stuart, who had visited America, and was then in London, and who had in his possession all the documents revealing the cause of the imprisonment of Mr Garrison, as well as illustrative of his early history, and the share he had taken in the Emancipation cause. What, then, became of the charges which had been made against my friend? He was "a convicted libeller," because he had denounced an individual of his own State, who, while sustaining a reputation for respectability, had nevertheless embarked his capital in the Slave Trade, and was then carrying on a traffic in human flesh between his own shores and those of Africa. (Hear, hear.) He was the "tenant of a dungeon," because, by the verdict of a pro-Slavery jury, and the sentence of a Slave-holding judge, he was ordained to pay a fine of 1000 dollars, or to be immured in prison on non-payment of the sum; the companion of felons he was—and many men, even holier and better than Mr Garrison, have been the companion of felons, who are now the companions of angels and the spirits of the just, and have been the admired, and cherished, and sanctified of all generations since they quitted their dungeons. (Great cheering.) My opinion of Mr Garrison, therefore, was changed; and soon after, I had the privilege of embracing him in the city of London; and from that period, the early part of 1833, down to this moment, I have been honoured with his friendship, and, I think I may say, with his unlimited confidence. From 1833 I have been intimately acquainted with the working of the Anti-Slavery cause in America. In 1834 I was sent out from this country to America, for the purpose of prosecuting an Anti-Slavery Mission, and during the time I was there I obtained a knowledge of almost every person with whose names you are familiar; and let me say, too, that my acquaintance in the United States was not confined to that party which has recently been cast off by a portion of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. It extended to all the prominent individuals who have felt themselves called upon to separate from Mr Garrison and his adherents. All of them, for I will make no exception, were men of respectability and worth. (Hear.) I shall not, on this occasion, judge the motives which have influenced the seceders—nor will I undertake to condemn their conduct—I step forward to bear my humble but honest testimony to the unsullied integrity and unfaltering perseverance of those whom I regard as the injured and the misrepresented party, the party that has been made to suffer, I will not say by what means, in the estimation of many, who once admired and loved them, in this country, and of some, I lament to say, in this city. (Hear.) With regard to the vexed question of Woman's Rights, which I find uppermost in the minds of many dear friends, it has been represented that the division in the United States has grown chiefly out of agitation on the Anti-Slavery platform, on the part of Mr Garrison and his friends, on the question of the abstract rights of women. Now, I undertake, unequivocally and solemnly, with my mind upon the history of this whole matter, to deny the accuracy of that representation, and I am prepared to demonstrate the justice of that denial. (Cheers.) When I was in the United States, I became intimately acquainted with that distinguished authoress, Mrs Child, and had the privilege of conversing with her at her own fireside in Boston; and not having the fear of ecclesiastical authority before my eyes, I ventured to say to her, "Why remain at home? I have

come on a mission to your country ; I have thrown myself into the breach with the generous spirits who are storming the stronghold of oppression in your land—go you to Europe—rouse the females of Britain—meet the Anti-Slavery Societies—address them with your voice—address them by your pen—call upon them to sustain me, and to sustain all who, in the dark day of danger and of conflict, are endeavouring to pioneer into birth the day-star of liberty in America.” (Cheers.) She nobly said, “ Let the means be found to send me, and I go.” I am, as you know, generally prompt in my movements. I got on board a steam-boat, and went to New York—the Anti-Slavery Committee was summoned—Arthur Tappan, the excellent President, in the Chair, with Lewis Tappan at his right, and the other friends of the movement around him. I said, “ I had got the consent of Mrs Child to go to England—she has made her Appeal in an admirable volume here in behalf of that class of Americans, called Africans—send the writer of that Appeal to our country, and let her appear there as the champion of freedom in your country.” (Cheering.) “ But what is to become of her husband ?” they said. (Laughter.) He is willing to go too, was my reply ; and, in less than an hour, through the munificence of Arthur Tappan, and the generous devisings of his colleagues, a fund was guaranteed sufficient to meet the charges of Mr and Mrs Child’s transit to this country, and their maintenance in respectability and comfort when here. (Cheers.) Circumstances, however, prevented the accomplishment of the intended mission. Was there any talk of Woman’s Rights then ? (Hear.) Did I go to New York as an advocate of Woman’s Rights ! Did I undertake the journey from Britain to plead the cause of petticoat supremacy. (Laughter.) It never entered my mind, nor did I see aught of impropriety in the action ? At that time there was no alarm felt at the proposition to send a female delegate to England, although, the other day, when four or five excellent females came over the water, the alarm was so great, that they were not only voted out of the Convention, but placed in the side gallery at Exeter Hall, though, strange to say, English ladies, several of them utter strangers to labour, still more to danger in the Anti-Slavery cause, were accommodated with seats on the right and left of the Chair, and I heard not a whisper from any one that they were out of their appropriate sphere. (Cheers.) Take another instance, equally illustrative of the joy with which female co-operation was at first welcomed. Those extraordinary females, the Misses Grimke, had their minds enlightened on the subject of Slavery, and were led to lay aside all their aristocratical pretensions, to forsake all the pleasures of the society in which they had been accustomed to move, and the comforts and indulgences of life, for the cause of truth and freedom, and finally came forth as the bold but modest advocates of human rights. Was there any alarm created then ? Nothing of the kind. These precious women came down to Philadelphia, and they laboured zealously and unostentatiously in the cause of human freedom there. They were comforted and encouraged by the very same men who are now condemning the conduct of Mr Garrison and his female fellow-labourers. It was not Garrison who called upon the Quaker sisters to make their appeals in public ; but they were sent for from Philadelphia to New York by those who have recently formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—Arthur Tappan being Chairman, and Elizer Wright, the Recording Secretary—and were offered a commission, signed and sealed, authorizing them to go forth, and without let or hindrance, without limit or restriction in public and in private, in season and out of season, to advocate the claims of the Slave. (Great cheering.) They declined such a commission, choosing rather to act upon their own

responsibility, and to follow the suggestions of their minds, illumined by Divine influence. They went to Boston, and over a considerable portion of New England; and by degrees they were forced out into public. They were attacked by the Boston press, and from the Pro-Slavery pulpits, but they nevertheless laboured, night after night, addressing men and women, ministers and senators, lawyers and physicians, in fact every description of people that came in their way. (Cheering.) And who were the defenders of these women from the attacks made upon them? (Cheering.) Those who have now separated from Mr Garrison and his coadjutors, on the Woman's Rights question. (Applause.) Yes; and whenever I am called upon to give more than my own testimony in favour of the wisdom and utility of female exertions, I will go to the *New York Emancipator*, and take from its glowing and argumentative columns, written by the very chief among the seceders, the most eloquent, powerful, and irresistible paragraphs in favour of the interference of women in this question. (Cheering.) Let me emphatically say I am giving no opinion of my own on the abstract question of Woman's Rights. The merits of the present question require no such declaration. I am simply giving an unvarnished account of the progress of this unhappy dispute. I come to an important view of this matter. Sirs, "the head and front of the offending" of the Boston Society, the old Massachusetts Society, as it properly is, and of all the Societies that support Mr Garrison, "hath this extent, *no more*," that *they have remained firm and fast by the original Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. The division took place on the interpretation of that Constitution, and, avowedly at least, on that alone. Two years before the last anniversary, the question came up as to the scope and bearing of that Constitution, which was *the primitive instrument which bound together in harmony, co-operation, and fellowship, all the Societies of America*. That constitution had a clause providing that *all persons* subscribing to the principles set forth, and contributing to the funds of the Society, should be members, and entitled to all the privileges of membership.* An attempt was made to limit the application of the

* There is a most remarkable similarity in the constitutions of the Societies in America and in this country, as regards Membership. Take first, that of the Pioneer Society in the United States, viz. :—

First. THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article III. "Any person, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer Fifteen Dollars as a Life Subscription, One Dollar annually, shall be considered a Member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications."

Second. GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Article V. "That this Society shall consist of *all friendly to its Object*, who shall contribute to its Funds, Five Shillings, or more, yearly."*

Third. AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article IV. "Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the Funds of this Society, and is not a Slave-holder, may be a Member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its Meetings."

Fourth. BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article V. "That every person who subscribes not less than Ten Shillings annually, or makes a donation of Five Pounds or upwards, shall be a Member of this Society."

* Though not here expressed, the *practice* has all along been to give each Member a copy of every publication of the Glasgow Society.

word "persons." In numberless instances it had been interpreted to include persons of the other sex; some of whom had laboured more publicly, others more privately, just according to their inclinations and views of duty. They really thought themselves persons—(laughter)—they subscribed the constitution, and contributed to the funds of the Society, and, as *persons*, they came in and laboured in the common cause. But now the time had come, when individuals, for certain reasons, wished to exclude women from the right of acting according to their own convictions of duty, and, therefore, they desired the word "persons" should be read "men," or that a rider should be appended, containing some explanatory clause that would have the same effect. Now, *who was it* that thus introduced the question of Woman's Rights into the Anti-Slavery ranks? *Was it Garrison.* NO. I say solemnly, and with a perfect knowledge of the whole of the transactions in this case, that *Garrison and his coadjutors have never introduced the question of Woman's Rights.* They have left it alone—they did *not* introduce it for purposes of *admission*, but they *resisted* its introduction for purposes of *exclusion*. The gist of the whole matter lies here,—the party accused were for leaving the platform, as it was originally erected, when you might have put all the Abolitionists of America on such a platform as that on which I now stand, and some of them were women. (Cheers.) Were they for voting them out then? No. They knew they had intellects; they saw in their forms that ethereal essence which went out over the wide field of humanity, without regard to sex, colour, creed or clime; they saw they had hearts, and that those hearts were beating strong with pity for the slave; and they did not stop to ask were they enveloped in waistcoats, or in corsets? (Cheers and laughter.) They had, however, inspired hearts, and they said, let them come in; they did not count how many *men* have we, but how many true hearts have we. (Great cheering.) Would to heaven it were so in this room,—in this city,—in this kingdom,—all over the world this day! I believe the hour is coming when those distinctions that have been set up in America and here, shall be blended so that it will not be asked what is the sex of a human being, but what are the principles, the aims, and the objects of the individual—(cheers)—and whether the being, man or woman, is fitted with faculties to promote the glory of God, and the best interests of immortal souls? (Great cheering.) I say again, Mr Garrison and his coadjutors *have never brought forward the Woman Question.* (Hear.) Women made their appearance, guarded and guaranteed by the Constitution, and when they came in they were left to be guided by their own feelings of discretion. And let me observe here—though I know not of one solitary act of indiscretion or impropriety on the part of any female Abolitionist—that had they, in later days, been guilty of any such, it had not been surprising; for when you goad people by proscription, by exclusion, and by depriving them of their rights, you are just taking the very means to lead them to acts of indiscretion. (Hear.) But how did our friends in America come to change their views? Here I shall give an honest opinion, however much it may offend some who live on the other side of the water. When the Abolitionists were few in number, despised, poor, and everywhere spoken against, they kept together like sheep in the storm, or at midnight, when the howling of the wolf is heard. The cause went on—the number of Abolitionists became greater and greater. Now the Rev. so and so joined the Society, after a great many ifs and buts—and then a Rev. Dr. so and so joined also, after a great many more—and some of these did not like the forwardness of the women. (Laughter.) We seldom like those that outstrip us in zeal. You will find

through life that for every hundred epithets of contumely—for every hundred imputations of improper motives cast upon one who gives himself on principle to the promotion of a good cause—you will not find the fragment of one flung at a man, if he only keeps snugly in the back ground, and follows obediently in the wake of his would-be superiors. Besides those who joined the Anti-Slavery Society, there were many outside, who said we cannot come in unless you put the women down. The clergy raised a most astounding hue and cry against the labours of the Misses Grimke; and then out came the celebrated manifesto called the “Clerical Appeal.” A number of ministers met, and banded together for the purpose of destroying the influence of these women. Now, I do not hesitate to say, that our friends in America (of the *New Society*) have missed their way in their efforts to win over such men. They had at last to choose between the maintenance of the original constitution, and the sanctioning (tacitly at least,) of the action of female members, as their conviction of duty might prompt them to labour in the cause of Emancipation, or they were required to violate their charter, and exclude the women, and receive as a compensation the proffered aid and patronage of a half converted party. They chose the latter alternative, and they attempted a modification of the constitution, which would have the effect of getting rid of the odium which attached to the exertions of females. Those who were for the exclusion of women were outvoted at the Annual Meeting two years ago; at the following meeting they were also outvoted; and they resolved to separate. They did separate, and the separatists have since called themselves by the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I have now touched upon this question, as far as refers to one at least of its most important historical features. There are many other circumstances to which I might advert, and I will here declare that there is not one connected with the whole matter that would not, I believe, admit of an explanation as exonerating to the conduct, and, as far as we can know them, the motives, too, of the parties I would humbly vindicate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I must be permitted, with all the emphasis I can command, and all the warmth it is possible to feel, to express my own strong and unmingled dissatisfaction with the attempts that have been made on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, to undermine and destroy the character of the late delegate to this country, Mr J. A. Collins. (Cheers.) I have received letters upon letters from persons in the United States, whose sense of honour and regard to truth, whose worth and respectability, in fact, whose every attribute commands my respect and confidence, and all these letters have spoken in terms of the most entire approbation of Mr Collins, as a devoted, incorruptible, and talented advocate of the Emancipation cause in America. (Great cheering.) He was, from the first, so recommended to me,—he brought as many letters of introduction as I could grasp, all speaking of him in the highest terms—and I will undertake to say that, together, they formed a volume of commendation to the hearts of the people of this country never excelled, and seldom equalled by any borne by any man that ever crossed the Atlantic to sit at your firesides and share your hospitality. I did not hesitate then to take him to mine, and others did the same. To have done less would have been to insult his friends; but he had scarcely time to look about him when over his devoted head gathered the black clouds of calumny. Charge upon charge was sent over the water against him, but not a fragment of evidence came with those charges to give them support. Friends of the cause wrote to the United States, and had answers, but no evidence substantiating those charges—evidence of nothing but of the groundlessness of the unkind accusations which had been fabricated to injure a

worthy man in the estimation of our countrymen. (Hear.) I am justified in saying that Mr Collins is, at this moment, pure in reputation, whatever may be his opinions, and may take his stand, with proud advantage, by the side of any man, whatever be his station in society, however sacred the office which he fills, who has stood forth as his accuser or calumniator. (Cheering.) And here (continued Mr Thompson), I must, for once, turn accuser myself, and prefer a heavy charge against those who have been the instruments in this country of giving secret circulation to these charges. I accuse such persons, whoever they may be, of a cruel violation of Christian charity, as well as of an infraction of all the rules of fair and honourable warfare. When such charges came, destitute of proof, and without the opportunity of the party implicated being heard in explanation or defence, they should have inclosed them, and sent them back with letters of Christian admonition to their fabricators. Should any such come to me, concerning any Anti-Slavery rival or opponent of Mr Collins, I trust I shall commit them to the lambent flame to be consumed to ashes, or to the innermost department of my desk, to lie and rot, rather than use them to the hurt of an innocent and defenceless brother. (Cheers.) It is within the compass of my own knowledge, that stab upon stab was inflicted in the dark upon the reputation of that gentleman, without warning and without affording him the smallest possible means of self-defence. These charges and inuendoes were, on reaching this country, transferred by accomplished copyists to sheets of foolscap paper, and inclosed in diplomatic envelopes, were sent to every part of the kingdom. They were again and again placed in my hands—none, let me tell you, ever came to me—(hear, hear)—by persons who knew not Mr Collins, and could only be alarmed and filled with suspicion by such dark intimations. Yes, everywhere I saw, or heard of, these sheets of foolscap, the post-paid calumnies, sent forth to close the ears, the hearts, and the purses of the uninformed, ere the innocent victim drew near. (Cries of “shame, shame.”) Was such Christian treatment to a stranger on our shores, and an accredited agent in the cause of humanity? (Cheers.) Sir, those who circulated these charges must yet answer for them at the bar of the British people. (Cheers.) And the day will come when they must do so; they have, in an unchristian manner, from beginning to end, attempted to injure a man, not because they cherished a personal hostility to him, but from a strong desire to injure, in the estimation of the Abolitionists of this country, the party represented by him. (Hear.) Could they blacken the representative, they knew they would throw discredit upon those he represented. I know of nothing connected with the conduct of the party which has been repudiated that can furnish a parallel to the treatment of Mr Collins.

“ Good name in man and woman, dear, my Lord,
 Is the immediate jewel of their souls;
 Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something—nothing;
 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
 But he that filches from me my good name,
 Robs me of that which not enriches him,
 But makes me poor indeed !”

So was it with my friend Mr Collins. He was left poor in every thing but conscious integrity, weak in every thing but the justice of his cause, a cause that will ultimately make him omnipotent. (Cheers.) You may naturally ask is there not really something in all this? How is it that so many good men in this country have taken part against these gentlemen? I will not attempt to answer this minutely; there is an old adage—Give a dog a bad name and you may hang him; if you don't, somebody else will.

(Laughter.) The other day I could not name Mr Garrison but the roof of the building reverberated with acclamations, and I was honoured and caressed because I was the friend of Garrison—he reflected upon me something of that lustre which, though dimmed for a day, shall yet shine brighter than before. (Cheers.) Now, “who so poor to do him reverence?” What has he done? Are his principles the same? Quite. Is the constitution of the American Society what it was? It is. Are the labours of Mr Garrison as constant, zealous, self-denying, and incorruptible as they were? Ay—every day reveals more and more how hard it is, how impossible it is, to make him swerve. (Cheering.) But then he has opinions that are not our opinions. (A laugh.) He has many strange and ultra views. What! is it come to this, that we, who are battling for personal freedom, shall put fetters on the immortal mind, and clip the thoughts of men like the wings of a jack-daw, that has not the liberty to go beyond the wall of the garden within which we have confined it. (Cheers.) Grant that Garrison differs from you and from me—I identify myself (on the Anti-Slavery platform) with no views of his but those that are Anti-Slavery views. (Loud cheers.) I worked with him in America, and he held many of those views then; but did that prevent us from working? No. When our work was done, we then talked together of these views. Did this mar our harmony? No. I have been in New York—and on the same platform have sat with one kind of a Quaker, calling himself orthodox, another denominated a Hick-site, with Presbyterians, and all other religious persuasions—here one black, and here another white, men of all creeds and colours, and in that crisis of the great cause it was the glory of the Abolition enterprise, it was the great distinguishing principle of the movement—that which told us our cause was founded in nature, and could lay hold of all hearts—that it was able to bring and to bind us together as one man, and, without the slightest compromise of individual opinions on other subjects, to knit our hearts in love. (Great cheering.) Oh! how often have I heard, from the lips of those men now writing down Garrison, the most eloquent eulogiums on this principle, and I have tried sometimes to imitate their strains;—it was indeed the grace and beauty of the movement in that country. (Cheers.) I ask again, what have the opinions of a man to do with the Anti-Slavery cause? I am not aware that I lost any of mine in America. I brought nothing extravagant or fanciful away from America. Has any one ever discovered in me a desire, up to the moment I introduced Mr Garrison to the Glasgow public, to bring forward the woman question? (Hear.) Mr Garrison came to this country. He found those who came with him shut out from the Convention, and he refused to be a member of it—I honour him for that. (Cheers.) I know, however, if he had gone in, his calm imperturbability, the force of his reasoning, the purity of his sentiments, the solemnity of his appeals, would have done good. In no meeting in America did Mr Garrison ever offer a word to cause division—he ever deprecated it. He has said, let us have a convention for temperance, and when that is over, let us away to the Abolitionist meeting. (Hear.) Now, take a remarkable proof of this in our own country. In the Convention there was a debate about the female delegates; afterwards I came with Mr Garrison to Scotland, and every where on the road, in the drawing-room, as on the platform, every body who saw, admired and loved Garrison, till he was gone. (Hear.) We came to Edinburgh—nothing could exceed the harmony there—we came to Glasgow, nothing could surpass the enthusiasm with which Mr Garrison was welcomed here. It was also my privilege to be associated with Messrs. Birney and Stanton,

two excellent individuals. The same scenes were witnessed. None of the peculiar theological views of Messrs. Birney and Stanton were brought forward; and thus was a living proof afforded of the harmonising operation of the great principle on which the American Society had been conducted. I, as an individual, could be equally at home with Mr Garrison, who holds so many odd views, as they are called, and with Mr Birney, who differs from them thoroughly. (Hear.) What, then, is the cause of all this discord? I pause for a reply. If there be an individual here to-night who knows any just reason why hearts understood to be one in this great cause should be divorced, let him speak out; and if any individual has a charge against the party with whom Mr Garrison is connected, and which has not yet been met, let that charge be brought forward to-night, and I deem myself strong enough to grapple with it. (Continued cheering.) Let it go forth that I am prepared to meet any individual who is willing, if this most unhappy difference continue, to show cause why this separation is necessary, to take up the gauntlet again in Glasgow, and demonstrate before any audience that no real cause of difference, still less of separation, exists. (Cheers.) *I ask you, then, to pause ere you withdraw your confidence from the men and women of America, who have made the Anti-Slavery cause what it is. Their principles, their constancy, their professions, and their practice, are the same as they ever were.* I deny not that others are, in respectability, and even purity of motive, equal to them. There are some particular acts like those to which I have adverted that can be attributed to no good motive: but to the great majority of them I grant the utmost respectability, and sincerity of motive. You can easily, from the experience you have had, and from your knowledge of the world, perceive for yourselves that the sensitiveness which many may feel to be connected with a suspected and odious party, and the desire of many more to be with the popular party of the day, must have actuated many in this matter. And then there are others who have been found to believe the reports circulated, because they came from respectable parties, who had not looked sufficiently into them. *I am convinced that nothing has ever been done by this party, against whom an act of excommunication has been pronounced, that should for an instant lessen the esteem of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. Had I the power to commit this great movement to any one party, I would, with much confidence, place it in the hands of that party who originated the Abolition cause;* while, at the same time, I believe that as sincere friends of the cause are to be found among the ranks of the Seceders, and that our duty is to wish both God speed, neither injuring the one by detraction, nor giving an exclusive support to the other. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said he wished to say a few words to exonerate his own mind on the present occasion. He had given a pledge, and he was willing to abide by it, that he would stand by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* till he saw a better. He accordingly resolved to be present that night, and had had the chair pressed upon him—so it could not be said he was there ambitious of honour. The Report before them, though, in respect of facts, it was perfectly correct, yet it had colourings that did not commend themselves to his mind. The question before them, so far as Woman's Rights was concerned, was this—was it competent, at this moment, to any gentleman in the meeting to move that a woman could enter the Committee, and could come into their meetings and speak, and make motions? He contended that this society never contemplated such a thing; and, if this harmonised with the original society of America, so far as he was concerned, he never understood that such was the constitution of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. He held that it was *ultra vires* for any man to propose

a woman to take her place on that platform, and that it was equally *ultra vires* for a woman to stand up and make a speech. He knew the ladies did not wish it. *He must give his dissent to the spirit of the Report, and also to the spirit of Mr Thompson's speech.* (Cheers.) Mr Thompson should know that he was not the only man who had advocated Woman's Rights. He (Mr A.) had done so himself in its proper sense; but the question here was, could she be made an elder in our churches, or a deacon? (Disapprobation.) Mr Thompson had been heard a full hour, and, when he was making a few remarks to exonerate himself, he was not allowed. (Cheers and more disapprobation.) He must tell the meeting that he would at once know how to proceed if he did not get justice. There were as honourable persons away from that platform, with whom he could go and harmonize, as there were upon it. (Hear, hear.) He maintained that the Rights of Women were not absolute, as Mr Thompson had inculcated. According to his principle, women may be elected office-bearers in our churches. (No, no.) Women's Rights were not absolute, nor equal to men's rights, and the question was, where was the limitation? He could confidently say respecting their own Society that it was never contemplated women should take their places among men, go upon the platform, and plead the Anti-Slavery cause—and that was the whole question in America. *He thought a case of inconsistency had been made out against the separatists*—that they fully homologated the Right of Women to come forward publicly and advocate the Emancipation cause; but, if they had seen this to be wrong, had they not a right to change their opinion? He held that if they declared for any one party in America they declared against the other party—and he was taught by Mr Thompson himself to look up to Arthur Tappan, as being as great a man as Wm. Lloyd Garrison; and if I declare for Garrison, I declare against Tappan. In present circumstances, it was prudent for Glasgow to remain neutral, yet that they should help every man, be he who he might, who was in any way helping the Slave. (Cheers.)

Mr THOMPSON said he had just a word or two of explanation to offer, as Mr Anderson had misunderstood him in more than one particular. He had described him at the commencement of the evening as a holder of Slaves. This, however, he knew, was only a bit of good humoured pleasantry on the part of his excellent friend, and he (Mr T.) would remark upon it in the same way. Now, he had certainly a qualification in the proprietorship of the East India Company, and was entitled to be called a member of a certain honourable Court; but Mr Anderson did not seem to be aware that the servants of the East India Company were positively prohibited from holding Slaves, and that they would be cashiered if they were known to have any thing to do in trafficking in Slaves. That was mistake the first. He was again in error in reference to his speech; *he gave no opinion at all on the abstract question of the Rights of Women—nor had he ever asked them to withhold their support from the party who had separated from Mr Garrison. Far from it; but, knowing that one party had been injured in this country, he deemed it his duty to come forward, and do what he could to place them, at all events, by the side of the opposite party, and to clear them from any unjust imputations cast upon them.* (Cheers.) Farthest of all was it from his heart to cast any reflection on those absent from this meeting. No; he was reminded of the words of the poet,—

“Love may sink by slow decay,
But, by sudden wrench, believe not
Hearts can thus be torn away.”

And it was not a momentary difference of opinion could banish from his heart the strong love and affection which he felt for many who were absent that night. (Cheers.) All he had said sprung from a desire to bring them back again. He deprecated the introduction of the Woman's Question, and all other dividing topics, even to the very end of his speech. *Indeed, his speech was intended to show that it had never been introduced in America by the repudiated party.* Let them have their opinion, and let the other party have theirs. As to himself, it was of very small importance what his own views on certain abstract questions were. He had cautiously abstained from stating them, and he would promise that he would never bring them into an Anti-Slavery Meeting. He gave no verdict on the one side or the other, and advocated no doctrine but this, *that in the common cause they should be one.* (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said he was quite satisfied with having exonerated himself; and he must say he had greatly misunderstood Mr Thompson, for he thought there was more than one sentiment fell from him in reference to the abstract question of the absolute equality of women with men.

Mr SMEAL said, perhaps the Chairman would allow him a word or two in explanation. He believed there were suspicions in that meeting, and elsewhere, that there had been a disposition on the part of some individuals, in the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, to introduce females into that Committee; but he had no hesitation in declaring, that such a thing never for one moment entered into his mind, and he never heard it stated in the Committee, nor any where else, till uttered by the Chairman that evening. He had no wish to see females on that platform. He had his own opinions as to the equality of the sexes, and he thought he had a right to entertain those opinions, just as his worthy friend in the chair had a right to entertain his; but that he wished to have his own peculiar views on that or any other question, mingled up with the Anti-Slavery question, he firmly and conscientiously contradicted. And he might say the same for his colleague, who was then absent.

The Rev. C. J. KENNEDY of Paisley, after some introductory remarks, proposed the next resolution:—

“That the history of the past year, in the Emancipated Colonies of Great Britain, calls for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation from the friends of freedom, and for increasing confidence in the justice and policy of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION:—

“That this Society rejoices in the still onward progress of the sacred cause of Freedom in the United States, and regards with especial satisfaction the late momentous decision in the case of the Amistad captives, now restored to liberty; and the Society would, in connexion with that important decision, mention with the gratitude and admiration they so highly merit, the generous and self-devoted exertions of the Venerable ex-President, John Quincy Adams. The Society, while they would renew to their fellow-labourers in America the assurances of their continued sympathy and co-operation, would also earnestly and affectionately exhort them to be of one heart and of one mind in their work—a work pre-eminently calculated to cement, in a common effort—*without compromise and without hostility*—all the true lovers of humanity and justice.

“The Society would, further, record the pleasure with which they have contemplated the interesting movements of various European States on the subject of Slavery; and their conviction that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the cause of Emancipation has made cheering progress during the past year, throughout the civilized world.”

Mr KENNEDY referred, by way of encouragement, to the opposition at

one time given to the Emancipation of the Negroes by a large proportion of the wealth and intelligence of the country ; but that measure had nevertheless been carried, and was now a matter of history. And now that these efforts in opposition to the cause of humanity had been overcome, they had also to look back to the complete frustration of those most distrustful auguries then drawn by the opponents of Immediate Emancipation. Our colonies were to be lost to the mother country. Had they been so ? They were now cemented to the mother country ; and he ventured to say that, if there should be a war between the two great Christian nations, and an attempt made to wrest these colonies from the British crown, the population would rise unanimously, and make the wresting of these colonies no easy matter to the assailants. (Cheers.) Then there was to be great commotion in the islands after the Emancipation, and the Planters would not be able to rest safely in their beds. Now, what had been the history of the Emancipated Negroes, but one large page written over with peace, peace, peace ! (Cheers.) It was said the Negroes would be wholly unfit for freedom ; but they had, in fact, shown themselves so fit for freedom, that it was with great difficulty the Planters could get them hood-winked. (Cheers.) Hence arose all their contentions about wages, and the like. The Planters represented them as ignorant, and so forth ; but they had intelligence enough to say they would not work for almost nothing, and would not pay more than was requisite for their cottages. (Hear, hear.) Even the difference which had taken place in the sugar crop was a proof of their intelligence ; for they rather preferred having their wives at home looking after their domestic affairs, and their children at school, than working at the sugar cane in the open fields. There had, in consequence, been a falling off in sugar, but this would soon right itself, and a greater supply than ever be produced. Religion and education had gone on increasing too since the Emancipation of the Negroes—chapels were rising in every corner, and schools along with them, and there was the prospect of our having a well-educated population in the islands. He rejoiced to hear that there was even some prospect of the Slave Trade being brought to a close. He was informed that there was a voluntary emigration of negroes from Africa to the West Indies. It was said they had gone there in considerable numbers, and entered cheerfully upon their work, and though it had been stipulated that they should be taken back to their own country, if they chose, and the offer was made to six of them to do so, in order that they might give a favourable report, they had refused. Now, from all this they might hope that there would be an improvement in the state of Africa, and that the Slave Trade would be gradually abolished. (Hear.) After referring to a conversation he had with Mr Gurley, of the American Colonization Society, on the subject of Emancipation, Mr Kennedy, to illustrate the feeling that prevailed in America against Emancipating the Negroes, alluded to the sensitiveness of some of his own relatives, long resident in America, on this subject, though they were not only pious, but liberal-minded men. He gave it as his opinion that the colonization scheme might be productive of good—it was like a black cloud in the heavens, on which the sun was shining—one side was light and the other dark—so had the colonization scheme its dark and its bright side. Now, he liked the African side of it, but he greatly disliked the American side of it. As to the recent dispute among Abolitionists, he did not think it would do much harm in Glasgow. Mr Thompson did not wish to introduce the abstract question ; and he thought the ladies of Glasgow would be willing to leave it entirely as an abstract question. (Hear, hear.) None of the ladies were pushing themselves upon the plat-

form ; but, by and bye, they would all be needed as collectors, and in making themselves, in many ways, useful in the cause. (Cheers.)

The Resolution was then seconded by Mr R. WRIGHT, and carried.

Mr THOMPSON proposed the next Resolution:—

“ That this Society, believing that Monopoly (whether arising from intentional laws, or from accidental circumstances) is one of the main supports of Slavery, and believing also that Slave Labour is more expensive than Free Labour, and that, of all Slave Labour, that is the most costly which is maintained by the importation of Slaves, express their approval of the recently proposed reduction of the duties on Sugar, and other articles of Tropical growth, and their confident conviction that the ultimate result of an unfettered competition between Free and Slave Labour will be the entire Abolition of prædial bondage:—That official documents having fully demonstrated, to a lamentable and alarming extent, the existence of Slavery of various kinds throughout the BRITISH INDIAN TERRITORIES, it is the bounden duty of the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom to adopt immediate measures for its extinction; and this Society pledges itself, in conjunction with kindred Associations, to continue its exertions, unabated, until Slavery and the Slave Trade are banished from every part of the British Dependencies.”

Mr THOMPSON, in proceeding to move a Resolution in favour of an alteration in the Sugar duties, &c., stated at the outset that it was his intention to move in the East India House, as early as possible, on the subject of Slavery in the East; he would not, at that stage of the evening, occupy their attention long in supporting the Resolution he had to propose. He might just say that, whether they looked to the great and natural principles on which trade should be conducted, or whether they looked to the origin of those duties, and their ascertained effects throughout a long series of years, in either case a change was demanded. If they remembered that they were duties imposed for the advantage exclusively of the West India Planters—if they recollected that at this moment these duties did not merely operate to exclude Slave-grown produce, but also Free-grown produce, to a very large extent—as from Manilla, Bengal, Cochin, Siam, Java, and other parts of the world, where Free Labour was in operation, and which could produce to an unlimited extent, and at a scale of prices that would immediately, if we could bring the system into operation, be more profitable than the cruel system in the Slave countries. And if they considered it as a question of abstract justice, which required that we should not do evil to promote any object whatever—considering, he said, all these views, he thought they were justified in proposing such a Resolution as the present. (Cheers.) They should remember, too, that their great, their steady argument, always gathering strength, was, that Free Labour was not only more natural and more just, but more economical than Slave Labour, and that nothing more was required than that men should have their energies unchained, and that the channels of trade should be unrestricted and impartial, to bring down every system that based on the monopoly of power and the application of that power to the compulsion of labour. (Cheers.) On the next Resolution it was unnecessary to say a word. Slavery existed still to a great extent in the British Dominions in India; and a great work was before them in rooting out that evil.

The Resolution having been seconded and carried, a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the Meeting adjourned till the following evening, when it was announced that Mr Thompson would give an explanation of the case of the Raja of Sattara, and that the other business of the Society would be proceeded with.

No. II.

ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

THE Adjourned Meeting of this Society was held in the Trades' Hall, on Tuesday Evening, August 3d, 1841.

On the motion of the Rev. JAMES M'TEAR, JOHN M'LEOD, Esq., was called to the Chair.

After a few introductory observations by the Chairman,

MR THOMPSON said,—Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my object this evening to call your attention to a narrative of facts, connected with the dethronement of an Indian Prince; the confiscation of his property, and the banishment of his person to a distance of 800 miles from the principality over which he ruled. The case I am about to bring before you is important, in every aspect in which it can be viewed. Important,—if regard be had to the person who now complains of unjust and un-English treatment at the hands of the British Indian Government. That person is a Hindoo of high birth: a descendant from one of the most renowned among Indian warriors: the representative of the great SEVAJEE, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, succeeded in bursting the thralldom of the Mogul power, and became the founder of the powerful and wide-spread empire of the Mahrattas. The successor of this great man has recently been hurled from his throne in the sight of all India, and appeals from the power, and alleged injustice of those who have deposed him, to the people in whose name the deed has been done. The case is important—if you connect it with the past history of British India, and view it as another illustration of the grasping policy of the rulers of that country; who, from the condition of lowly merchants, soliciting, with bated breath, permission to exchange commodities with the subjects of the Mogul, have risen, by the conquest of the sword, to be the lords-paramount of India; and claim the right of dethroning, at their pleasure, the hereditary occupants of Oriental thrones. The case of the Raja is but a late act, in a long career of bold and often guilty ambition, stretching over more than half a century. The case before us is important—as indicating the fate which awaits the still remaining States of India; which, to use the words of the late Governor of Bombay, who deposed the Raja, seem doomed, the whole of them, “to fall, at no distant day, into the vortex of British power.” The case is a most important one, when viewed in connexion with its natural and inevitable effect upon the minds of the natives of India. It reveals the true source of our present danger—a danger growing not out of the designs of foreign foes, but out of the suspicion,

the jealousy, and the hatred, which are begotten by our continual acts of aggression and usurpation. It is not possible that the enlightened natives of India can witness our almost daily encroachments upon territory, which we have declared to be sacred to the possession of others, without being reminded of the near approach of their own doom, and without cherishing a desire, if possible, to avert it, by inviting the interposition of some power that shall humble the pride and prostrate the might of their oppressors, and prove milder in its rule over the dominion it may snatch from us. Neither is it to be expected that those whom we have already cast down and utterly spoiled, both of their ancient prerogatives and ancestral rights, can entertain any other than hostile feelings, however those feelings may be disguised, against those by whom they have been subjugated and bereft. Let those, who measure with complacency and patriotic exultation, the length and breadth of our Eastern territory, and swell the number of the Queen's subjects by adding the hundred millions of India, look well to the elements of which the mighty mass is composed. Prostrate they may be, and are ; but, beneath the ruins of the empires we have razed, there are smouldering fires of inextinguishable hatred, which some unlucky wind may blow into a flame which may burn to our destruction. The present case will be found important—as exhibiting the true character of the home government of India. It will take us to the Councils of the India House and the Board of Control, and will show us to what extent those who have been wronged abroad, are justified in expecting sympathy and redress from the authorities at home. And, finally, the case before us will prove the absolute necessity which exists for the people of this country becoming better acquainted with the state of Indian affairs—with their own solemn and tremendous responsibilities—and with the power, which they may constitutionally exercise, to check the progress of evil government, and save, from ultimate ruin or alienation, the empire they have acquired.

It may be proper here to premise, that, exclusive of those portions of India which are considered and denominated British territory, there are upwards of thirty Native States, the surviving fragments of fallen dynasties, which have relinquished political relations with one another, and are connected with the British Government by treaties of various kinds. Sattara, the state of which I am to speak this evening, is in alliance with us by a treaty, which guarantees the protection of the British Government, and gives to that Government the right, within certain defined limits, of controlling the internal affairs of the principality. The territory of Sattara, at the present time, extends over a surface of about 7900 square miles, and yields a revenue of about £180,000 sterling per annum. Sattara became the capital of the Mahratta empire in the year 1698, and has ever since remained the residence of the Mahratta Princes. The descendants of Sevajee, the founder of the empire, and a man of inferior religious caste among the Hindoos, continued to exercise sovereign

sway, until 1749, when the Bramin minister obtained a deed, empowering him, as Peshwa, or Prime Minister, to exercise the sole power in the State. In this he was supported by the Mahratta chiefs, on condition that a suitable allowance was made for the descendants of the royal house; and, from that period, the Peshwas, in regular succession, were considered as the actual rulers—while the nominal Princes resided in the city of Sattara. These Princes, however, were accustomed to receive the homage, respect, and reverence of all classes. They were called upon to confirm all successions to great offices of State; nor was any war ever engaged in without the sanction of the Raja.

At the commencement of the Mahratta war in 1817, the Raja of Sattara, recently dethroned, was a State prisoner in the hands of Bajee Rao, the then Peshwa; and, on the conquest of the Mahratta Empire, which was completed on the 20th of February, 1818, the power of the Peshwa was entirely annihilated, and the British Government proceeded to carry into effect the terms of a previous proclamation to the Mahratta people and chieftains, that the Raja, on being released, should be placed at the head of an independent sovereignty, of such an extent as might maintain him and his family in comfort and dignity. On the 20th of May, the Raja made his public entry into Sattara, escorted by the British troops, and most of the officers, and was formally placed upon the gadi (or, throne) in full Durbar. The motive avowed by the Governor-General of India, in thus establishing the Raja on the throne of his ancestors, with a limited territory, was to afford an honourable maintenance to the representative of the ancient Princes of the country, and to establish among the Mahrattas a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Bramin Government. On the 25th of September, 1819, a treaty was concluded with the Raja of Sattara, by which the British Government ceded to his Highness, his heirs and successors, in perpetual sovereignty, certain districts specified in a schedule annexed. This territory was to be held in subordinate co-operation to the British Government, and the Raja to be guided in all matters by the British political agent or resident at his Highness's Court.

Having now seen the Raja placed on his throne—that throne secured to him by solemn treaty, ratified, sealed, and delivered, let us look back for a moment to the still earlier history of this interesting Prince. His father had died in the year 1808, leaving two sons, himself, then four years old, and his brother, Appa Sahib, now his successor, and then an infant in arms. Their mother was a woman of high family, of great spirit, and of considerable natural talent. She was proud of her elevated rank, devoted to the interests of her children, a hater of the Bramins, who had usurped the power originally wielded by the Mahratta princes, and was bent on giving her sons an education, which should render them, in some respects, equal to cope with the monopolized learning of the priesthood. She, besides, carefully instilled into their minds, the dislike which she herself

cherished to the whole race; and, as will be seen in the sequel, the ex-Raja was not slow to profit by her lessons. It had been the policy of the Bramins to prevent the Sattara Princes from being taught to read and write, and to confine their accomplishments chiefly to skill in horsemanship, and the use of the bow. The Dowager, however, contrived to have her sons instructed in letters, after midnight, while their attendants slept; and the result was, that they were both tolerably educated before they were released from the Peshwa's power. The conduct of the Raja, when placed on his throne, evinced so much gratitude and fidelity to the British; so much talent and aptitude for public business; so much enlightened liberality and zeal for the interests of his people, that, in three years from the time of his installation, the entire management of the principality was placed in his hands, and the designation of *Political Agent*, to whose advice he had been required to yield submission, was changed for that of *Political Resident*, whose advice was only to be enforced, when the Raja's conduct was likely to lead to inconvenience or injustice, or to a positive breach of the treaty. Left to himself, he displayed a laudable, and, in India, extraordinary desire for the education of the people. He was most anxious to fit the Mahrattas for business, that they might supply the places hitherto filled by the Bramins. For his own connexions, and the sons of the great officers of his government, he set apart a suite of rooms, in his own palace, as a college. On one occasion, when it was deemed necessary to ascertain what was the state of education in Sattara, a town containing 10,000 souls, it was found that it contained no fewer than *forty* schools. He manifested the deepest respect for the advice of those who had placed him on his throne, and superintended his early administration; and rigidly fulfilled the parting promise, which he gave to Captain Grant Duff, the Political Agent, on his quitting Sattara for England, in 1823, that he would never depart from the laws established for him by that gentleman, and confirmed by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. Such is the testimony borne to the virtues and fidelity of this Prince, before the Court of Proprietors, on the 15th of last month, by Major-General Briggs, who immediately succeeded Captain Grant Duff, and was for four years the Political Resident at the Raja's Court. Nor was it on the subject of education alone, that the Raja displayed his zeal for the welfare and improvement of his people, and his fitness to rule over the portion of his ancestors' dominions conferred upon him. He made Sattara, from being a small and insignificant place, a handsome and populous town. He planned and laid out broad streets in every direction. He supplied the want of water by an aqueduct, brought from the neighbouring hills, a distance of two miles, and with so much skill, that a well known civil engineer in this country, who saw and examined the work while in progress, declared that he was perfectly astonished at the science which had been displayed in every part of its construction—whether as to the knowledge of hydraulics, or the ingenu-

ity in discovering and leading to the main trunk, the several small streams of water which were conducted into it; and he even carried with him the *recipe* for forming the cement which was used in laying the pipes. The Raja also laid out large sums, in the formation of roads and bridges, and set aside other large sums, annually, out of his revenues, for that purpose. Such was the Raja of Sattara, as he appeared every day in the eyes of the men appointed to watch his conduct. From year to year he received the lavish praises of the Bombay Government, and from year to year he was complimented by the authorities at home upon the wisdom and beneficence of his sway. At last, in the latter end of the year 1835, seventeen years from the date of his elevation to the throne, sixteen from the signing of the treaty, and fourteen from the period when he assumed the entire management of the affairs of his kingdom, the Court of Directors, desirous of bestowing upon him the highest and most gratifying mark of their admiration and respect, resolved that he should be presented with a sword, and at the same time with a suitable letter. In the letter, which received the signature of every one of the twenty-four Directors, they complimented the Raja upon the exemplary fulfilment of the duties of his elevated situation—they declared that, the whole course of his conduct reflected the highest credit on his character—that he had won their unqualified approbation—that his liberality in executing, at his own cost, various public works of great utility, had justly raised his reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India; and that, therefore, they had sent him a present of a sword, in testimony of their admiration and high esteem. Such was the Raja of Sattara in 1835. The sword and letter went out in 1836, but never reached the Prince. Before they arrived, he had incurred the displeasure of the Bombay Government, and engines were already at work to effect his ruin. Unhappily, they succeeded, and this exemplary Prince is now—the ex-Raja of Sattara. We proceed to the story of his downfall—a story reflecting the deepest and most indelible disgrace upon all the parties concerned in effecting it.

The treaty which placed the Raja on the throne, secured to him the absolute sovereignty over certain estates, or jagheers, as they are in India called, which, on the death of their then occupants, were to lapse to the Raja of Sattara. It may be proper to observe that, it is the practice in India, to reward services rendered to the State, by the bestowment of jagheers, or certain portions of territory, over which the parties to be rewarded are empowered, during their lives, to collect the revenue. These jagheers stand in the place of pensions. The sovereignty over several such jagheers was secured to the Raja of Sattara, by the same treaty which placed him on the throne. If any power was competent to deprive him of these jagheers, the same power was competent to take from him his entire dominion. It became a matter of the utmost importance, therefore, that the Raja should assert his right in this matter, and claim the fulfilment of

the treaty. He did so, and was evaded. He offered to submit the point in dispute to Mr Elphinstone, the framer of the treaty, then in England, and gave his word that he would abide by Mr Elphinstone's decision, whatever it might be. This was never done. He prayed that the matter might be referred home for the opinion of the Court of Directors. This was promised; but never performed. The disagreement about the jagheers took place in 1832 and 1833. After the promise of the Bombay Government that the subject should be submitted to the Court of Directors, the Raja rested for some time contented; but, at the end of three years, he discovered that he had been deceived—that no reference of his case had been made to the home authorities. He was displeased—he lost his confidence in the Bombay Government—he became disquieted in his mind, and declared he could not take his food, so deeply had the conduct of the local authorities affected him. He announced his intention of sending agents to this country to represent his case, and to claim the fulfilment of the Treaty. This openly avowed intention of appeal, the Bombay Government construed into an infraction of the treaty, and, still more, into an insult to themselves; and they retaliated, by rejecting the Raja's customary annual present and letter, thus breaking off all amicable relations with him. They also withheld the sword and the Directors' letter. Let me here observe, that these alleged infractions of the treaty on the part of the Company, in the matter of the jagheers, are now admitted. Mr Elphinstone, who was always at hand to be appealed to, and whose word would have settled the point at once, has never been appealed to. Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay at the time of the dispute, and who was at first inclined to sanction the resumption of the jagheers, has since confessed, that he was wrong and the Raja right. The treaty has been again and again produced in the presence of the Directors, and the three successive Residents at the Raja's Court, Generals Robertson, Briggs, and Lodwick, have all declared their unqualified opinion in favour of the entire justice of the Raja's claims. His right to appeal to the home authorities, by means of Vakeels or native agents, has never been disputed in open court. The right is undoubted; but it suited the purpose of the wholesale violators of treaties in India, to pervert a respectful application to the superior authorities in England, into a breach of treaty. The loss of the favour and good opinion of the Bombay Government was the signal for the rising of a host of enemies of the Raja, who found the local authorities but too willing to listen to every accusation they could invent. The first charge, gravely preferred against him, was that of seeking to corrupt two native officers in the service of the British Government. But, before I proceed, I must remind you of what I have already informed you. The throne of the Raja, who is a *Mahratta*, had been raised upon the ruin of the Peshwa, who was a *Bramin*. The Raja had been guided for years, by a policy which led him to adopt every legitimate means of destroying the influence of the Bramins,

and of raising the intellectual standard and political importance of the Mahrattas. He had, despite of all opposition, and all denunciation, prosecuted the work of educating the mass of the people; and he had filled up the measure of his offences, in the eyes of the Hindoo priests, by refusing to appoint to the office of Prime Minister, a talented Bramin, who, from the commencement of his reign, and before, had aspired to that high situation. He had, therefore, many powerful, malignant, and unscrupulous foes, who, though awed and held in fear during the period that the Raja was the favoured child of the Bombay Government, took immediate advantage of his quarrel with the British authorities, and determined to make it subserve the ends of their baffled ambition, their deep hatred, and their inextinguishable revenge. Accordingly, Untagee (one of the most profligate of Bramins) accused the Raja of tampering with the allegiance of two of the native officers, or soobadars. This charge was first gone into before a Commission sent up to Satarra, to try the Raja at his own capital, but behind his back. The Commission consisted of one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Government, a Colonel in the British Army, and the resident at the Raja's Court, General Lodwick. The last named gentleman, was appointed the President of the Commission, and I heard him the other day declare in open Court, that the originator of the plot, avowed himself actuated by revenge, and to be unworthy of belief; that while looking about for the means of revenging himself upon the Raja, heaven threw these soobadars in his way. He said, too, that one of these soobadars declared, that, to promote the plot, he took an oath which he had no intention to keep; and General Lodwick also openly stated that the Commissioners, with whom he was associated, would not allow these criminators of the Raja to be cross-examined; although their oral testimony was in many important particulars irreconcilable with their previous depositions. But you shall hear General Lodwick's own words in the Court of Proprietors, on the 15th of last month:—

“He would now state what he knew connected with the Commission at Sattara—a Commission which, in his opinion, was illegal and improper. He begged leave to observe, that these native officers were, at suggestion, ordered to attend the Commission for the express purpose of undergoing a cross-examination; that on the first question put to Subadar Seer Goolam Singh by himself (General Lodwick,) he became agitated and confused, and that his colleagues immediately interfered, and insisted upon no cross-examination taking place! Had that evidence been properly sifted, he felt satisfied that it would have been broken down. With respect to the other native officer, he declared before that honourable Court, that his appearance whilst giving evidence was that of a corpse, instead of an honest soldier deposing to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He pointed out this man's appearance to the other Commissioners, but without effect. No cross-examination was permitted. After the depar-

ture of his colleagues, he observed that this native officer recovered his usual healthy appearance. Having thus disposed of the two principal evidences before the Sattara Commission, what remained but a mass of perjury, prevarication, and falsehood? He perfectly recollected saying, whilst the political Secretary was securing and placing the precious document in his official box, that it was utterly worthless; and when, in obedience to the positive instructions of the Governor, Sir R. Grant, 'That he should, on all points, in the future course of these proceedings, defer to the opinion of the majority,' he signed those proceedings, he did so in the firm conviction that no unprejudiced person could read them without coming to a similar conclusion." By such means was it sought to sustain, the *first* charge brought forward to ruin the unfortunate Raja of Sattara.

A *second* charge was brought forward—that of conspiring with Don Manoel de Portugal, the Viceroy of a petty, poverty-stricken, powerless Portuguese settlement, on the southern confines of the Sattara territory, some 200 miles below Bombay—a conspiracy, to raise 30,000 troops in Europe, bring them to India, and, with this splendid army, to drive the English, for ever, out of Hindoostan! The witnesses brought forward to support this monstrous, wicked, and contemptibly ridiculous charge, were almost to a man Bramins. Several among them were gang robbers, whom the Bombay Government pardoned. The precious evidence of a written character, consisted of a bundle of Mahratta and Portuguese letters, found in pawn with an obscure inhabitant of an obscure village in the Goa territory, and purporting to have belonged to two Bramins, who had died ten months before, and are declared to have been the agents of the Raja of Sattara; while it is admitted that these same persons had for years been in the service of a man who is regarded as the Pope of the Bramins, known by the name of the Swamee of Sunkeshwar, and a known enemy of the Raja's. These documents, which have been pronounced satisfactory evidence of the Raja's guilty intentions, and which, if genuine, might have made their possessors rich for ever, were purchased by the British Government for the astounding sum of £40 sterling. The Portuguese papers thus found, and affirmed to be signed by Don Manoel, have been declared by that nobleman to be utter forgeries, and his alleged correspondence with the Raja a gross fabrication and falsehood. But, you will naturally suppose that the British authorities, both in India and at home, took the earliest opportunity of calling upon our ancient ally, the Portuguese Government, to explain the conduct of the high functionary thus directly implicated in a charge of cherishing, through twelve years, the design of subverting the British power in India. How great will be your surprise when I tell you that, while pretending to hold the proof of the Viceroy's guilt under his own hand and seal, there has not been, that I am aware, down to this hour, the slightest reference made to the subject in any correspondence between the British Government and the Government of Portugal. I am equally

ignorant if there has ever been any correspondence on the subject between any person connected with the executive of the East India Company, and the Viceroy himself. But there has been between that ex-Viceroy and *other* parties. A friend of the Raja proceeded, in April last, to Lisbon, where Don Manoel now resides, and fills a high situation in the household of the reigning Queen. He took with him a letter from Mr Hume, who had expressed his determination to bring the matter before Parliament. Mr Hume called upon the ex-Viceroy to give full and explicit answers to the questions which he put, relative to the crime said to have been by him committed. The high-minded nobleman went before the British Consul in Lisbon, and made the following voluntary and solemn declaration:—“Having received a communication, dated on the 8th instant, from the Most Illustrious Senhor Joseph Hume, Member of the British Parliament, relating to the conspiracy that the Raja of Sattara, at present dethroned, is said to have contrived against the British power in India; and affirming that I was aware of the said conspiracy—I feel it necessary, for the sake of justice and my honour, to declare that, during the whole of the time I governed Portuguese Asia, I never had any correspondence whatsoever, upon political subjects, with the said Raja of Sattara, and that whatever documents may appear relating to it, must be considered entirely false.”

What is to be thought of the conduct of the British Indian Government in this business? They have dethroned a virtuous and benignant Prince, upon a charge which they never took the most important preliminary step to substantiate, and at the same time have concealed from the Minister of the British Crown, all knowledge of the alleged guilt of a Government, in friendly alliance with us. It is not possible to believe that the British Indian authorities, either at home or abroad, ever entertained the most distant idea of the genuineness of the correspondence which they took out of pawn. Any thing approaching to a conviction of its authenticity, would have laid them under the most solemn responsibility, as loyal subjects, to bring the whole matter before the Queen’s Ministers, that an immediate and rigid inquiry might have been made into the facts of the case. But no. The evidence that was considered abundantly sufficient to warrant the dethronement of the Raja, was known to be too foul, contemptible, and unsubstantial, to be made the subject of a moment’s inquiry on the part of those who are sworn to maintain the integrity of her Majesty’s dominions, and to bring to justice all, whomsoever they may be, who meditate the dismemberment or ruin of her empire.

The *third* and last charge against the Raja is in perfect keeping with the two I have already exposed. It is set forth that the Raja, with the same design of overthrowing the English, intrigued with the ex-Raja of Nagpore. And who, pray, is he? Why, at the time, a wretched fugitive; subsisting on the bounty of the Raja of Judpore. A dethroned Prince, residing in obscurity, without money and without friends. A state

prisoner, inclosed within a court-yard, 20 feet by 12. Yet, with this poor spectre of a pauper Prince, the Raja of Sattara is charged with conspiracy, for the purpose of overthrowing the colossal power of the British in India; and the overwhelming proof, at once of guilt and danger, is, that the ex-Raja of Nagpore sent the Raja of Sattara a complimentary letter, and that the Raja of Sattara sent the ex-Raja of Nagpore a pair of shoes!

So much for the charges. Now for the use made of them, by men who are citizens of a state, in which the meanest person, accused of the most petty offence, may not be condemned unheard. Did they call on the Raja for explanation? No. Did they send him copies of the charges brought against him? No. Did they tell him who were his accusers, and confront him with them? No. What, then, did they do? They made up their minds that he was guilty. The evidence was so clear, so satisfactory, so complete, so irresistible, that it would have been a waste of justice to call upon the Raja to rebut it, or even to let him know what it was. What mattered it that he felt himself innocent, if they believed him to be guilty? What need of putting the Raja to the trouble of defending himself, when he is already tried, convicted, and condemned? Sir Robert Grant, one of the chief actors in this affair, having died, Sir James Rivet Carnac, at the time a Director, was appointed Governor of Bombay in his place. On reaching India, he drew out certain articles and a preamble, with which he proceeded to Sattara, with a view of winding up the case of the Raja, and as it has been stated by himself and his friends, with the benevolent design of saving the Prince from the consequences of his infatuation and guilty folly. The preamble to the memorandum, which the Raja was called upon to sign, contained an admission of his guilt. The articles required him to pass an act of oblivion with regard to his accusers—to yield a certain sum from his treasury for the benefit of his worst enemies—and to put away from him the persons in whose fidelity he could alone repose. What reply did this Indian Prince make to such a string of propositions, submitted by a British functionary, with the assurance that, if he agreed to them, he should remain upon the throne, and be restored to the confidence of Government? He made an answer worthy of the brightest hero of ancient or modern times: an answer which places him at a sublime height above the petty persecutors to whose arts he has fallen a victim. His answer shall be given in the words of Sir James Carnac, who has reported at full length his interview with the Raja. Sir James, speaking of his address to the Raja, an address intended to induce him to agree to the terms of the amnesty, as it has been called, says:—

“When I had concluded, he (the Raja) stated, that he regarded me as his friend and well-wisher; asserted that the accusations against him originated in the intrigues of his enemies; that as long as the British Government entertained the idea that he had cherished hostile designs he could agree to nothing, but this idea being removed, he would agree to any thing

I proposed ; that he would consent to any thing except to abandon his religion, or to acknowledge that he had been our enemy."

A second and third interview took place with similar results. The Raja persevered in his refusal to subscribe his own guilt, and thus sign away his honour, and put it in the power of the British Government at any time to publish him to the world a self-admitted traitor. He asked to be heard. He offered to lay aside whatever dignity might stand in the way of an ordinary trial, and to place himself before any honest tribunal. He offered to relinquish his person, his government, his kingdom, into the hands of the British, if they would grant him a fair trial. A trial was sternly denied. He was already guilty in the determination of the Bombay authorities, and must submit to declare himself to be, what they had undertaken to make him out to be, whether his conscience accused him or not. But these functionaries had to deal with a man whom they were incapable alike of understanding or appreciating. Perhaps they reasoned that he would do what, in like circumstances, they would have been willing to do. They thought that if they balanced his nice and fastidious ideas of honour and self-respect, against a throne, and the continued protection of the British Government, he would surely yield the former to secure the latter. But such views were far from the mind of this noble man. He said plainly—"Gentlemen, you mistake me altogether. I can relinquish a throne, I can go into exile, I can see my kingdom given to another, or absorbed into your own territory ; but, I cannot forfeit the testimony of my conscience ; I can sacrifice everything but my honour!" What was to be done ? It was secretly determined that the Raja should be forthwith deposed. He had already expressed his willingness to remove without a murmur at the bidding of the Governor. Nay, he had said, when with the Governor at the residence of the political agent at Poonah, "I will stay if you please here, in this bungalow, nor ever enter my capital again, till I have established my innocence, before an impartial tribunal." Neither force nor rudeness, therefore, were required. The Governor had but to say "depart," and the Raja had passed his word that he would quit his kingdom immediately. But guilt is ever clandestine, timid, and stealthy.

"This Conscience, doth make cowards of us all."

At midnight, when the Raja was in his chamber asleep upon his couch—at midnight, to suit the better, the time to the deed, and cover it with darkness, if possible, black as itself—at midnight, did two British officers, instructed by a British Governor, and led on by a traitorous brother of the noble Raja's, conduct a troop to Sattara and surround the palace. The brother showed the way to the resting-place of the Prince. They seized him—thrust him half-clothed into a palanquin—thrust into the same palanquin his faithful cousin Balla Sahib Sennaputtee—placed the Raja and his family under the charge of a British Lieutenant and a company of

soldiers, and ordered the escort to march for Benares, a distance of 800 miles. While pursuing their way with all the speed of guilty fear, the pangs of child-birth overtook the wife of Balla Sahib. The anxious husband implored a halt, which was denied. In a few days Balla Sahib himself was brought to the point of death. A halt was again implored. Again it was denied by this man of fleshless heart, and, at the close of the day, the devoted cousin of the Raja,

“Faithful among the faithless found,”

lay a corpse in his palanquin. My friends, I see the paleness of a speechless horror, mingling with the crimson of a burning indignation on your cheeks. Too deep your detestation cannot be, at this recital of atrocities, perpetrated in your own name, by your own countrymen, upon the distant plains of India, in the eyes of a people whom we have robbed of their country. Give your indignation words. Put it into action. Rouse up at the great call of nature and of justice, and check the deeds of those who are covering you with infamy, by the spoliations and tragedies they are enacting, with the power you have placed in their hands.

Let us leave the lifeless body of Balla Sahib in the jungle, and the Raja in his exile, and return to Sattara. The Raja, out of all his private wealth, carried with him only the jewels which the women of his household were able, in the hurry of departure to secure. Immediately upon the abduction of the Raja, his ruthless persecutors made themselves masters of all his papers. But I may here, once for all, observe that, there is not in the possession of the British Government a single document, or fragment of one, in the handwriting of the Raja, affording the slightest evidence of infidelity to the British. How triumphant is this fact! An intriguer for twenty years—a man accustomed to make the most regular minutes of all his transactions, even the most trivial—accused by a Government that had offered liberal rewards, personal indemnity, and honourable distinction, as the premiums for evidence against him—and yet not a solitary atom of proof, under his own hand, of his ever having cherished a thought at variance with his fidelity as a prince, or his honour as a man. In a very few days after the expulsion of the Raja—while the sighs of a travailing mother, the cries of her new-born babe, and the groans of the expiring husband and father were disturbing the stillness of the jungle—Sattara was the scene of the installation and enthronement of a new Raja. And who is he? Surely, some one more worthy of the throne than the man who has been hurled at midnight from it, and chased into exile. The deponents of the ex-Raja have, surely, found some paragon of perfection, who, by the lustre of his virtues, shall mitigate the “deep damnation” of the deed that has been wrought. Who is he, that is escorted by thousands of British troops to the capital, attended by the Governor and his staff to the palace, and placed, amidst the thundering of cannon, the clangour of trumpets, and

the explosion of fireworks, upon the throne of Sevagee, and proclaimed RAJA OF SATTARA—the ALLY and FRIEND of the British Government—the CHOSEN OBJECT of confidence and protection—in the place of the dethroned, despoiled, and desolated Purtub Sing? It is APPA SAHIB—the abandoned profligate—the companion of courtezans—the corrupt judge—the man who twice plotted the partition of the principality—the Judas Iscariot who betrayed his master—the inhuman brother who led the way to the chamber of the sleeping prince, and sold his mother's son into the hands of his enemies. He is the man, whom the Governor of Bombay delighteth to honour. He, is now the favourite of the East India Company, to whom, doubtless, the Sword which has been withheld from the brother, will be speedily presented, with a new and amended edition of the Court's complimentary letter, of 1835. In justification of the severe language I have used in describing Appa Sahib, I take the liberty of reading the following evidence. The Vakeels of the Raja—the ex-Raja, writing to the Court of Directors, thus describe the man who had displaced their Sovereign:—

“But, independently of his Highness's sufferings, we respectfully submit there are other grounds upon which the character of the British nation demands inquiry, with the view of ascertaining the principle of morality or justice by which it has elevated the present ruler of Sattara to a throne. The character of Appa Sahib has been long known to your honourable Court; it has been commented upon by your Governor-General; particularly exposed by Major Sutherland in his Sketches, and equally described by General Lodwick, previously to those misunderstandings; and lastly, he (Appa Sahib) acknowledged himself a conspirator.”

Such is the reference made to this man in the letter addressed to the Court of Directors, by the accredited agents of the dethroned Raja. Next, let me place before you the testimony furnished respecting this exalted traitor by General Lodwick, in a letter written so far back as April, 1835. An official letter, addressed by him as Minister at the ex-Raja's Court, to the Bombay Government:—

“I have to observe, that Appa Sahib, has long been *separated from his wife*, who is a most respectable person. This lady does not even reside under her husband's roof, but in the palace of his Highness the Raja. Appa Sahib, has taken in her place, a common prostitute, well known at Poonah, upon whom he lavished immense sums of money. The Raja, on the late marriage of his own daughter, endeavoured to persuade Appa Sahib to send this woman to Poonah, and advanced 3000 rupees to satisfy her cupidity; but when it came to the point, the attempt failed, and his Highness very properly cancelled the order for the whole sum of money.

“Since this transaction, it has come to my knowledge, that Appa Sahib was *suspected of receiving bribes* to a heavy amount, as Judge of the Adawlutt, in which he presides. This I made known to his Highness at a

private interview in December last, who replied, that he had heard of the suspicion, and had endeavoured to ascertain the proof, but without success. His Highness was unwilling to act decidedly without certain proof, out of regard to his brother, to whom he is warmly attached, and whom he invariably mentions as his heir, though this is quite optional, as, in default of a son to succeed, there is no bar to adoption.

“ With respect to the *presumptuous claim to equal authority* with his Highness the Raja, as set forth in the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs of Appa Sahib’s memorandum, I can attribute it to nothing short of mental derangement, as his relative situation to the Raja has been fully explained to him; and the gratitude he owes to his brother for invariable kindness has been frequently pointed out.

“ In concluding, I request to be allowed to make his Highness the Raja acquainted with Appa Sahib’s memorandum, in order to his meeting that punishment which is justly his due. I feel satisfied, from my knowledge of his Highness’s character, that the punishment will not bear a just proportion to the offence; but should I be consulted on the occasion, and the document in question proved to come from Appa Sahib, I should be prepared to recommend Appa Sahib’s removal from the Adawlutt, and the appropriation of a portion of his annual allowance to the liquidation of his just debts, admitted, by his own statement, to exceed the large sum of 175,000 rupees, and rapidly increasing.”

I have given you the testimony of our own ambassador at the ex-Raja’s Court, written in 1835, and will now adduce his oral evidence touching the character of the Company’s *protégé*, as it was given in the Court of Proprietors in February, 1840. General Lodwick, after five years’ additional observation of Appa Sahib, thus describes him:—

“ With respect to the Raja’s brother, *it is impossible to use terms that would sufficiently express my contempt for him*; he wanted both dignity and common decency of manner, and was *universally despised*. He became the *chief informer against his devoted brother the Raja*, and accused him of crimes which I shall not shock the delicacy of this Court by naming. Yet this is the man who has been placed on the throne, in the room of a most amiable and dignified prince—with some weaknesses certainly—but they were redeemed by noble qualities both of the head and heart.”

Let me observe, also, that the Company have deprived the ex-Raja of all the private property he left behind him, consisting of money and jewels, and other valuables, the savings of the years that he had upon the throne, amounting to at least £150,000 sterling. All this has been appropriately handed over to the exemplary Prince, who now sways the sceptre. But I pass over many deeply interesting features in this history, that I may describe the conduct of the home authorities. On the news of the Raja’s dethronement arriving in this country, a few of the friends of justice, Proprietors of the East India stock, signed a requisition for a Special Court for the 12th February, 1840,

“To take into consideration a recommendation to the Court of Directors, and to the Board of Control, to withhold their sanction to the dethronement of his Highness the Raja of Sattara, by the Bombay Government, until a full and fair investigation of the charges preferred against him shall have been made, according to his Highness’s earnest and repeated request.”

The Directors, who are, of course, proprietors, and, in consequence of their extensive patronage, most influential ones, came down, and, instead of following the dictates of delicacy, and leaving the Court to decide for itself, uninfluenced by their votes or dictation, themselves moved, and carried by their own votes, an amendment, that “it is highly inexpedient, and this Court accordingly, declines to interfere with its responsible Executive, in the affairs of the Raja of Sattara.” What else did the Directors do?

In the “Blue Book,” bearing the title of “Papers respecting the case of the Raja of Sattara,” printed in conformity with a vote of the General Court, held on Wednesday, the 17th of June, 1840, we find, on page 347, a “Copy of a Political Despatch to the Governor-General of India in Counsel, (No. 15) dated 1st April, 1840.”

This Despatch, consisting of fourteen paragraphs, purports to contain the deliberate decision of the Directors, after a careful and impartial re-examination of all the facts connected with the case of the Raja. I will read the concluding paragraph, and also the names of the Directors affixed to this extraordinary document; and I am much mistaken if the time is not at hand, when a far different judgment of this affair will be formed, from that pronounced by the “honourable” names which are annexed.

“14. In conclusion, we have to express OUR WARM COMMENDATION of the conduct of Sir James Carnac, in the transactions which we have now reviewed. He proceeded to Sattara with a manifest and earnest desire to save the Raja from the consequences of his own folly, and we are convinced that he left no means untried for the purpose. When this proved to be impossible, he adopted, with judgment and decision, the course which circumstances had rendered inevitable.”

Here we find the full sanction and “warm commendation” of *thirteen* of the Directors of the East India Company, bestowed upon the chief instrument in the dethronement, spoliation, and banishment of the Raja of Sattara. It is due to the other Directors, to say, that four of them placed on record their reasons for dissent, in most able and argumentative minutes. The dissentients were—Messrs Tucker, Cotton, Shepherd, and Forbes. The last is now, I lament to say, no more. I will quote three short paragraphs from his most honourable testimony in favour of the Raja, and in illustration of the nature of the evidence upon which he was deposed:—

“No fiction was too gross to obtain the implicit belief, and enjoy the elaborate vindication of the Indian Governments, whilst the most unwearied ingenuity wove a web of intrigue, which caught in its capacious folds, and converted into accomplices, the great states of Europe, the Pacha of Egypt, the venerable but insidious relic of Portuguese greatness at Goa, the deposed and dependent princes of India, the tribes of Arbusthan, the Raja of Nepaul, forsooth; and lastly, the maritime power of the Hubshee!”

Again ;—

“ So far from leniency and moderation, the terms submitted to the Raja were most harsh and oppressive. They could have been accepted only by conscious guilt or a debased spirit ; but to a man who felt aggrieved, first by wrongs of which he had complained for years without redress, then by unjust charges ; and lastly, by the refusal of a fair trial, or any trial at all, it was a gross aggravation of the injuries inflicted upon him, to assume that he was guilty of ingratitude and treachery. The Raja’s prompt and steady rejection of all terms, unless full opportunity had been given for the vindication of his character, even though that rejection involved the forfeiture of his throne, is *the strongest moral proof of the Raja’s innocence, worthy of his high and ancient lineage, and of universal respect and admiration.*”

Finally :—

“ A mass of fiction, as I verily believe, consisting of *letters not proved to be authentic, of seals and ciphers forged, of oral evidence obtained under every suspicion of undue influence, of partnerships contracted with bankers, and false entries made in their books*—every artifice, in short, that the great cunning, great ability, deep personal interest, and inveterate hatred of Ballajee Punt Nattoo, (now prime minister to Appa Sahib) and his ignoble instrument, Appa Sahib, could employ, has been directed against the *devoted prince* ; and these, on the other hand, have been assisted in their fatal effects by *the weak credulity of every member of the two Governments abroad.*”

No further movement took place until the 23d of June, when further papers were moved for, and, after a sharp struggle in the Court of Proprietors, a day was named for the consideration of their contents. That day was the 14th of July. During a debate of five days which followed, the case was fully argued. It has been most truly said, in the paper which I hold in my hand, that “ the advocates of the Raja went at once into the merits of the question. There was no special pleading—no torturing of words—no twisting of minutes—no mouthing of high names—no begging of the case by quoting mere opinions—(opinions mostly of men deeply compromised) ; but there was an appeal to the evidence produced against the Raja, though not printed by the Court of Directors—that evidence was discussed, dissected, put to the test of probability, weighed with living testimony of unimpeachable character : and we fearlessly assert, that the verdict of any twelve honest men would be the verdict so emphatically pronounced by General Robertson—that ‘ *upon such evidence he would not hang a dog.*’ Yet, upon such evidence, has a Prince—an ornament to his kind—been hurled, unheard, from his throne. A more wicked, disgraceful spectacle of lawless power arrayed against helpless right, the world has never beheld.” What was the result ? The gentleman who opened the debate moved for the reconsideration of the Raja’s case, by the Court of Directors. Other gentlemen recommended amelioration. I felt it my duty to give notice of the following amendment :—

“ That, in the opinion of this Court, his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara is innocent of the charges brought against him, of having entertained treasonable designs against the British Government in India, or, of otherwise, intentionally violating the treaty of September 25th, 1819 : And that, therefore, his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara, according to the principles of British law, founded upon

immutable justice, and the unalienable right of prince or peasant, is entitled to an entire restitution of all his rights, and to ample reparation for all his wrongs."

The Directors modestly proposed that the Court should pass over again their resolution of the 12th of February, 1840. The original motion was lost by a majority of seventeen—the majority being *all* Directors. On the motion of the Directors being put from the Chair, one experienced proprietor got his amendment before the Court, which was, however, lost. The rest were joekeyed aside in the most shameless manner, and the Directors carried, *by their own votes*, their own resolution, that there should be no interference with the "responsible Executive."

I ventured to tell, the Honourable, the Court of Directors, that they must not lay "the flattering unction to their souls," that they had placed the question of the Raja of Sattara at rest. I reminded them, that there were other and higher tribunals before which this cause could be tried. That there was a legitimate appeal to the Imperial Parliament, the source of their power, and that—to Parliament we would go. I reminded them, that we had upon the throne a benignant Queen, who would listen to our petition in behalf of a prostrate Indian prince, and that—to the footstool of that monarch we would go. I reminded them, finally, that there was a bar, even before which, *they* might be placed on their trial, and, peradventure, be found GUILTY: and I promised them, that no humble efforts should be wanting on my part, to bring them to that bar, if they should turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of disinterested compassion, and obstinately refuse the demands of outraged justice. They have fulfilled my worst fears. They have resisted evidence, as clear, as cogent, as convincing, as authoritative, as ever was submitted to the judgment and verdict of the human mind. If, in hot haste, or blind ambition, or wounded pride, or partial or entire ignorance of the facts of the case, they drove the Raja from his throne, and chose a supple villain to supply his place; time, ample time, has been given them, to grow cool and thoughtful—to review and to retrace their steps, and, though late, to do something to redeem themselves, and to save the British name from lasting infamy. If they ever had a doubt respecting the Raja's innocence, that doubt must have been a thousand times removed, by the accumulated proof which has been furnished, that the Prince they have trampled upon and exiled, has been, from first to last, the victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever hatched by perjured catiffs for the ruin of an honest and noble-minded man. From day to day, and from the debate of one year to the debate of another, they have seen the most upright and distinguished of their own servants stand forth to declare, after years of the most intimate knowledge of the Raja, their firm and enlightened conviction of his entire innocence. They saw the other day the evidence, which they had bought in every market where falsehood was exposed to sale, dissected, and demonstrated to be utterly unworthy of notice, where but the life of a dog might be concerned. It was proved, that, *themselves* were the violators of the treaty with the Raja, when they cast upon the Jagheers a look, like that which Ahab cast upon the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreelite, and felt like him, when the possessor said, "I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers." Yet have they decreed, that there shall be no justice done. The man is proved to be *innocent*, but they abide by the award they made, in the day they declared

him to be *guilty*. It is upon record that the sentence under which the Raja lies, was not pronounced or inflicted because he was guilty, but for the act—the thrice noble, the ennobling act, of declining to keep his throne at the expense of his honour. What then remains, but that the lovers of justice out of doors should espouse the cause of helpless innocence, now enduring the unjust sentence of unrelenting power. This, I believe, will be done. Let the work commence here. To you, as to a part of this great nation, I appeal. I call upon you to send this cause for trial to that assembly where your representatives sit, under the solemn obligation to restrain the abuse of the power they have, by act of Parliament, delegated. I call upon you, to demand, through them, an impartial investigation of the merits of this case. We have witnesses at hand, who have not yet appeared, whose testimony will carry confusion into the camp of the adversaries of the Raja. Let the Raja have a fair trial, and I fear not the issue. I now submit the motion of which I last evening gave notice. I anticipate your vote with confidence, and, when it is passed, I shall accept it as the happy herald of a verdict which shall, ere long, place the Raja of Sattara on his throne; vindicate the tarnished honour of the British name; and prove to the world that, though the acts of the East India Company may be cruel, the heart of the British people is just.—Mr Thompson concluded by reading his motion, viz. :—

“Whereas,—The British power in India can be permanently maintained, only by the adoption and steady observance of an honourable, a just, and a conciliatory line of conduct towards the Natives; and—

“Whereas,—It is the solemn duty of the People of this Country, on whose behalf, and by whose delegated authority India is ruled, to watch with vigilance the administration of affairs; to denounce every act of oppression perpetrated in their name; and to interfere with promptitude and energy for the redress of the wrongs of the injured and the helpless; and—

“Whereas,—One of the specific objects of this Society is, to protect the liberties, and advocate the rights of the Natives of the British Dependencies; and—

“Whereas,—A Native Indian Prince (his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara) has, by the British Indian authorities, been dethroned, deprived of his property, and driven into exile, without trial, upon charges which, in the late debate at the India House, were shown to be false and unfounded; and—

“Whereas,—The Directors of the East India Company have twice, by means of their own votes in the Court of Proprietors, decided against any re-consideration of the case, and systematically rejected every petition for redress; therefore—

“Resolved,—That this Meeting view with feelings of the strongest indignation, the treatment which the ex-Raja of Sattara has received at the hands of the East India Company and the Board of Control—treatment contrary to the spirit of British Law—repugnant to the first principles of Justice—calculated inevitably to degrade the national character, and dissolve the ties of native allegiance;—And this Meeting pledge themselves to seek, through the medium of an impartial Parliamentary investigation and subsequent legislation, (and, if necessary, by a direct appeal to the Queen in Council,) the restoration of the ex-Raja to the Throne of Sattara, and the reparation of the wrongs inflicted upon him by the British Indian Government.”

Mr GUNN seconded the motion proposed by Mr Thompson.

The Rev. Mr BREWSTER, of Paisley, said he rose to address them at the present moment with feelings somewhat akin to those of a person who intruded himself upon a meeting contrary to the inclination of that meeting. They had just been listening to the details of a case of great cruelty, for he conceived there could not be two opinions regarding the case of the Raja of Sattara. They had heard a most convincing, though no doubt a one-sided statement, from Mr Thompson, on this subject, but even one hundredth part of the evidence which had been laid before the public must have been sufficient to convince them of the cruelty and injustice of this case. (Hear, hear.) He confessed that there had been gross injustice and oppression in that case; and it was not with a view of paying any disrespect to his friend, Mr Thompson, who had submitted the details of that case to them with his usual eloquence and talent—it was not with the view merely of differing from him, or throwing any imputation on his motives, that he now rose to propose another motion, or at least a modification of the motion Mr T. had laid before them. He admitted that the motion which had been submitted to them was a perfectly competent motion, as the Emancipation Society had, by a vote of its own, brought within the range of its objects such cases as that of the Raja of Sattara; but he submitted, that the business of that Society was rather with multitudes of men than with individuals;—it was first confined to Slaves alone, and then it extended its sympathies to those of every class groaning under oppression. He for one, rejoiced that this was the case; and, in accordance with this extended principle, he had attempted to direct the attention of the Society to cases of great oppression, but had not succeeded. He brought before them the subject of Slavery at home, and had been told that the objects of the Society did not apply to them; now, if the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* was to be restricted to natives of India only—(no, no)—then he must declare that he was no longer a member of that Society. He maintained that there were thousands of cases in our own land more worthy of their sympathy, and as much demanding their assistance as that of the Raja of Sattara. Mr Thompson had asked why they should not do justice to the prince as well as to the peasant; and he (Mr Brewster) echoed the question, and asked,—why not? Why not do justice to the peasant as well as to the prince? (Loud cheering.) They had among the working and industrious classes hundreds and thousands labouring under oppression—why not do justice to them? He would not detract from the strength and validity of the case which had been brought before them; but still this was the case only of a single individual; and though the Society stood pledged to be the protectors of liberty, and the advocates of the oppressed in India, yet this referred only to the great body of the people of that country, and not to single individuals. There were about 900,000 Slaves, and thousands of men and women had been crushed in that country through the influence of British sway. Then, why bring forward only the case of a single man—why ask the British Legislature to interfere in this one case, and not in the case of the thousands who had been plundered and oppressed? If they interfered in every individual case of oppression that arose in India, he could assure this Society they would soon find plenty of work upon their hands. Why, the whole history of India, since it came under the dominion of Britain, was one continued record of fraud, rapine, oppression, and bloodshed; and, if they were to go into every particular case, and demand justice, they would find that the whole country ought to be restored to the native Princes, and that nothing short of the ejection of the English would suffice for that object. He was,

however, for India remaining in our hands, in order that we might learn the native Princes how to govern their people. He gave Mr Thompson full credit for the eulogium he had passed upon the Raja of Sattara; but, perhaps, if he had opportunities of inquiring into the history of that Prince, he might have found many things in his history and character that would have made him appear in a different light. It was well known that the native Princes were almost all of them gross and cruel oppressors of their subjects—and he could give instances in which one of them, (the King of Queda,) when complaints were made by his subjects, sewed up their mouths. He did not impute such cruelties to the Raja of Sattara; but perhaps a better knowledge of him might show that he was not altogether a fit person to be in possession of the all but irresponsible power he possessed in his territory. At all events, his situation could not for a moment be compared to thousands in this country who were compelled, as compulsorily as he had been, to leave their country, and without the means of support he had enjoyed; for it must be recollected he was the possessor of a handsome pension even in his exile. Having given some proofs of compulsory emigration from this country, to substantiate this statement, Mr B. proceeded:—Had Mr Thompson confined his motion to an expression of indignation at the treatment received by the Raja, he would have been satisfied; but, when he wished to bring the matter before the Legislature, and to excite the sympathies of that great association in behalf of a single individual, while nothing was said about the thousands who were suffering at home, he contended that they were directing their exertions into a channel that would occupy almost all their time—that they were directing their sympathies away from their own people, and exerting them in behalf of one individual in a distant land. He contended that they should give those at home a preference—and that they should direct their energies in favour of those who were dying from want, and that in violation of a law enacted for their support. Mr B. then proceeded to point out cases of extreme destitution in his own parish—one in which a widow and five children were starving on 1s. 6d. a-week, 1s. of which had to go for rent—and other two cases of equal distress. The unemployed in Paisley, amounting to 700, were, he said, condemned to live on a penny a-day, and he proceeded to state the efforts he had made to get their allowances enlarged. The misery now existing was in defiance of a law specially enacted for the benefit of the poor, and he charged, as being guilty of slow murder, the administrators of that law who permitted such things to exist. In consequence of the refusal of the Relief Committee of Paisley to enlarge the relief given to the unemployed, he had thought it his duty to resign his situation in that Committee. Mr B. then referred, as another proof of the misery and want that prevailed, to Captain Miller's recent report, of 1038 cases of destitution in Glasgow. In short, he said, thousands were from want dying by inches in our land. Yet for them there was to be expressed no sympathy—(no,)—but here was a well-pensioned Raja in India, whose case must be made the subject of Legislative interference. He felt grateful to Mr Thompson for his labours in behalf of bleeding humanity all over the world; he felt specially grateful to him for his exertions to put down the iniquitous Corn Laws—(great cheering,)—and he hoped he would next turn his attention to the thousands of poor in our own land. Mr B. then went on to speak of the necessity of a total abolition of the Corn Laws—he was for no fixed duty, holding a fixed duty to be a fixed iniquity—and of a revision, or better administration of our poor laws; and concluded by proposing, as an addition to Mr Thompson's motion:—

“That this Meeting, while they condemn the conduct of the British

Indian Government towards the Raja of Sattara, as one of the numerous cases of oppression in that Country, feel themselves constrained, upon the same principle, and by a stronger claim, to express their deep sympathy with the great body of the British people, now suffering under the effects of those most impolitic and iniquitous statutes—the Corn and Provision Laws of Britain—by which many thousands of industrious labourers and artizans have been thrown out of employment, and reduced to starvation, or driven into exile; and when patiently enduring extreme privations in Scotland, refused aid by the administrators of the Poor Law, though that law expressly requires for them adequate relief; and they now pledge themselves to exert their best endeavours to obtain the total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, as in a great measure the cause of those privations and sufferings, along with a speedy revision of the Poor Law of Scotland, in reference to its present administration, as failing to afford the relief which humanity and justice alike demand: and, at the same time, to do their utmost to obtain immediate and sufficient relief for their oppressed and destitute Fellow-Countrymen.”

This motion was seconded by a person in the body of the meeting, whose name was not given. A short conversation followed, carried on by members of the Meeting not upon the platform, (one of them, ex-Deacon Convener Neilson) two of whom supported the motion of Mr Thompson, and two that of Mr Brewster. The former contended that to mix up extraneous matters with the object for which the meeting was called, would tend to destroy its object; and that it could not be said to relate to one individual only, for whatever affected the Raja, necessarily affected all his subjects, who were now placed under the sway of a tyrant. One of the latter gentlemen argued that the privations of our own countrymen ought not to be overlooked by the meeting. Mr James Scott thought the Society ought not to take up individual cases, seeing that, if they introduced one question of such a nature as the present, it would open the road to fifty others; and they would come at last to be involved in all the shifting political questions of the day. He thought the Society should confine its attention to the question of Slavery alone, and he moved accordingly, but was not seconded.

Mr THOMPSON was then heard in reply. He said, were he disposed to follow in the train of Mr Brewster, he should have much to do indeed; but as he was not disposed to do that, he would take the liberty of referring to only one or two of his remarks. Indeed, the one part of Mr Brewster's speech eat up the other part of it, and there was little after all left to him to answer. (Laughter.) Mr B. said he would not impute motives, but he nevertheless did impute motives. The Raja was a good man, but still he might be a bad one. The Raja was a good and beneficent Prince, but he might not be so good a Prince after all. The King of Queda sewed up the mouths of his subjects, and therefore the Raja might be a tyrant to his people. (Laughter.) And there were many things which he (Mr T.) might have done, but which he had not done—and upon these Mr Brewster had dilated at great length. Now he had not asked them to give all their time, and all their money, and all their sympathy, to the case of the Raja of Sattara—he had not asked that the business of the House of Commons should stand still till they had settled the case of the Raja of Sattara—he had no wish, nor had he asked them, to advocate the cause of the oppressed in India, while he neglected the miserable at his own door. (Hear, hear.) He did not impute motives to Mr Brewster, though Mr Brewster had imputed them to him as he went on—but, as he withdrew them at the end, he had no wish to complain of them.

Mr BREWSTER here disclaimed having imputed any motives to Mr Thompson, and complained of the mode in which Mr T. was answering his speech.

Mr THOMPSON—Mr Brewster had said many things that went to an imputation of his motives. He attempted very skilfully to soften down the eulogium he had pronounced on the Raja of Sattara by speaking of the monsters who had governed the natives of India; as if he (Mr T.) had said one word in favour of the enormities which had been practised by native Princes; and every person present knew that he had not, and would not; and, besides, the cruelties of other natives Princes never could affect the Raja. He had not said all he might have said in favour of that unfortunate Prince. Instead of sewing up the mouths of his subjects he filled them; but one capital punishment had taken place in his kingdom during his reign. (Cheers.) He reserved to himself, in all cases, involving the punishment of death, the infliction of the sentence, and only one capital punishment had been inflicted, and that at the command of the resident. Though a Hindoo, and punctual in the observance of the rites of his religion, never did a widow offer herself to the Suttee without his offering her a handsome pension to live, and wait till Providence should take her to her resting-place. (Cheers.) Such was the Raja of Sattara. But they were told it was an individual case. Why, all the oppressions of the world were made up of individual cases. Mr Brewster was toiling nobly—and long might he live to toil till he commanded success, and obtained his reward—he was toiling for the relief of his suffering fellow-creatures—but all his cases were individual cases, and brought together, they made that black aggregate which he had exhibited before them to-night. But in the case of the Raja of Sattara the principles of eternal justice had been violated—as much violated as though 50,000 Rajas had been overthrown. Had no injustice, he asked, been done to the subjects of this Prince, by blotting out from the hemisphere of their hopes a star brighter and purer in its influence than ever shone upon India before?—(Cheers)—the subjects that once lived free and happy under the benignant rule of the Raja of Sattara, now trembled under the eye of a debauchee and a tyrant. But then, they were told it was an extraneous topic. Two years ago he had endeavoured to bring the merits of the British India question before the people of Glasgow. He then advocated not the rights of one individual, but of all—he laid bare the miseries, not of one, but of all—he took the great mass of the population, oppressed and wronged, robbed of their patrimonial inheritance, and their all torn from them by the grasp of an enslaving conqueror; and now, did he bring forward the case of the Raja of Sattara to the exclusion of these? Certainly not. (Cheers.) There was a motion now on the books of the East India House, which it was his intention to support, to the effect, that the British Government was not, either *de jure* or *de facto*, proprietors of the soil of India. Was this confining his sympathies to one individual, and overlooking the oppressed thousands of India? (Cheers.) Advocate the Corn Law question, said Mr Brewster. He loved that question better than to do so now—he was too sincere an advocate of the Corn Law repeal to mix it up with the case of the Raja of Sattara. (Cheers.) He had advocated that question—of late he had done something to promote it—and by to-morrow night's mail he would travel to a great distance from Glasgow, to join in a discussion for the abolition of the Corn Laws; but he was not practically so great an enemy of the repeal of those laws as to bring it forward with the case of the Raja of Sattara. He could tell Mr B. how well he loved that cause. He had taken upon him extra-officially,

and without fee or reward, the advocacy of the Corn Law repeal. He was working night and day to advance that cause; and he would tell Mr Brewster, that if he desired to alienate from any good work, he most effectually did so, when he attempted to coerce others into it—when he came among those met for other objects, and endeavoured to force upon them an extraneous topic. (Hear.) There was a time for everything: there was a time for the Raja of Sattara—there was a time for the handloom weavers of Paisley—and there was a time for those of Glasgow. The present was the time for neither. It was doing justice to none to be called upon to look at the sufferings of the Paisley weaver on the one hand, and of the Indian Prince on the other; but neither should be neglected. “This ye should have done, and not left the other undone.” Mr Brewster told him he did wrong to labour for the millions of India, and he called upon him to bring forward this case and that case of oppression and misery in our own country. Had Mr Brewster called a meeting, (he knew not if he had done so, and he put the question,) had he called a meeting in Glasgow, in behalf of the 1000 destitute people in this city, or had he called a meeting in Paisley, to alleviate the miseries of his fellow-townsmen there? Had he, like him, travelled to London to advocate the cause of those in whom he had interested himself? If he had not let him pluck a leaf from his book,—travel to London, and there enforce the claims of his suffering fellow-countrymen. We ought not, he said, to do this, that, and the other thing, for India; but in reality they had, as yet, done nothing. Granted that there was distress in this country: they had also innumerable sources of amelioration: they had Infirmarys, and Hospital, and Night Refuges, and Relief Funds, and a whole constellation of institutions, which, though not enough, yet formed a galaxy of benevolence and humanity that, in some degree, redeemed our land. But there was not, over the whole surface of India, from the white beach that looked upon the sea, to the snow-capped mountains of the Himmalaya, a vestige of one institution for the benefit of that vast empire. Talk of Paisley! He would cheerfully fight for them—he would struggle with them till the want that pinched their pallid cheek with the hue of death should be tinged with the hue of health, and their homes made the abodes of peace and plenty; but he would tell Mr B. that he was not bound by Paisley-bred philanthropy—man to him was man wherever he was found—on the shores of India as in Paisley; injustice was as insulting to God and to man in India as in Paisley, and if there was any difference it was felt by the Indian, for whom Mr Brewster did not plead. He would divide the work with him—strong as he was, he would give him Paisley, and weak as he (Mr T.) was, he would take India. He did not love Paisley less because he said so. In Paisley Mr Brewster had defended him from interruption. On the China question he had shown a strong desire that he should obtain a hearing; he thanked him for his kindness, and only wished that he had copied himself to-night. (Cheers.) In Paisley they had his friend Mr Brewster ever ready to defend their cause, but in India none stood forward to prevent oppression, and they were degraded and outcast, and subjected to every insult, because, shame to our nature! they had the colour of an Eastern sun. (Cheers.) In India, the granary of the world, famine sometimes carried off by death 600,000 in a few short months; and if he stood forward to denounce these gigantic oppressions, he was, forsooth, a monopolist, giving exclusive sympathy, and giving a preference—he never made use of the word—he never said one case should be preferred to another—nor did he ever brand any man with doing wrong, who did not come forward to help him. After some observations in reference to the spirit in

which he had penned the resolution submitted by him, he asked what good had ever been done to any cause by such interruption to the business of a meeting as the present, and by bringing in one question upon another? What was it, in such an instance as the present, but throwing a reflection upon the men and women there convened, that they did not care for the interests of the poor. (Hear.) If Mr Brewster wished to find such a description of persons, he could tell him it would be any where than in an Anti-Slavery Meeting; for he might depend upon it, that the best friends of the poor every where were the friends of the Negro. (Cheers.) Those hands which best ministered to the wants of the poor, were the hands of those that had been taught to feel for the sufferings of the Negro. While he said this, was he insensible of the value of Mr Brewster's services? He admired the very over-zeal which made him on the same occasion go beyond the bounds of propriety, because he knew that his conduct was dictated by the purest love of humanity. It was not that Mr Brewster wanted compassion, it was just that he wanted a little more knowledge and experience in conducting public business. He did not know the man he would wish more to be a despot—for he was only a despot in the cause of freedom—he was outrageous only in oppression, or in the cause of humanity. (Cheers and laughter.) After some other remarks of a similarly good humoured kind, Mr T. concluded by appealing to the justice of the case he had brought before them, and calling upon the meeting to vindicate, though in the person of one man, the cause of justice and humanity. (Cheers.)

Mr BREWSTER said they had heard from Mr Thompson a reply never equalled, he believed, for evasion and injustice; and he would confidently appeal to the decision of the public on that point. He entirely disregarded the attempt to throw discredit on the principles he held. His philanthropy, he would say, was not Paisley-bred philanthropy, and he trusted he was able to show that he had always advocated the rights of every human being, and that he had advocated those rights even more than Mr Thompson himself. He had periled his place in society—he had risked his professional standing, and he certainly did not deserve, at the hands of Mr Thompson, or any man, the imputations cast upon him. Mr B. then went on to observe that he had never, as represented by Mr Thompson, looked upon the case of the suffering poor as his case; he had never attempted to force that case upon a reluctant meeting, or where the rules of debate did not enable him to do so. Unless the objects of that Society were to be confined to foreign nations, he defied Mr Thompson to make good his declaration, but he had always understood that they extended their labours to oppression of every kind. He denied that he had said the Raja was a bad man; but he said he ought not, any more than any other human being, to be intrusted with irresponsible power. Mr Thompson asked if he had ever called a public meeting, to consider the 1038 cases of destitution in Glasgow, or to consider the state of the poor in Paisley. Now he should have thought it belonged more to the supporters of Mr Thompson's motion to call a meeting than to him, and he could tell him that, though they might have been indifferent or quiescent in this matter, he was not. (Hear, hear.) He had called a meeting; and in Paisley he had been the principal means of calling more than one meeting; and, by these means, had succeeded in getting the only relief that was given to the suffering unemployed. It was strange we should be charged with having no sympathy with foreign oppression, when foreign oppression was admitted in the case of one individual, and it was only asked that equal attention should be paid to the cases of oppres-

sion at home, yet he was told that he was not a friend to the poor. (No, no.) Mr B. then proceeded to make some further remarks, but the audience became impatient. He then challenged Mr Thompson to meet him before the public of Glasgow, and discuss the matter at issue before them. The audience latterly became very impatient, and the chairman, who reminded Mr Brewster that he was speaking only by sufferance, brought the matter to a close.

A division then took place, when Mr Thompson's motion was carried by a large majority.

The following resolutions were then, owing to the lateness of the hour, put from the Chair, *seriatim*, and carried:—

“That this Society, believing that the American Colonization Society is—as they have often previously declared—inimical to the Liberties of the Black and Coloured population of America, and that many of the British people are deceived by the representations of the Agents of that Society, we therefore feel ourselves called upon to re-publish a Letter from the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON to William Lloyd Garrison, upon that subject, that Letter being, in the opinion of this Meeting, well calculated to undeceive the people on that important subject.”

“That the thanks of the Meeting be given to George Thompson, Esq., for his kindness in attending, at great personal inconvenience to himself, this Anniversary; and for the highly interesting information which he has, this evening, so eloquently laid before us.”

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr Thompson for his eloquent and able address; which Mr Thompson briefly acknowledged.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the Meeting separated.

After the Chairman had left his seat, Mr Brewster again challenged Mr Thompson to meet him and discuss the question between them. Mr Thompson stated he was ready to meet Mr Brewster upon any subject, but he wished to know what was to be discussed—as he could see no question between them, that called for such a meeting. Several persons in the meeting interfered, and Mr Brewster, instead of one, soon found himself in the hands of at least half a dozen opponents; and amid some little confusion, the matter terminated, near 12 o'clock.

No. III.

T. CLARKSON, ESQ., AND THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

LETTER TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

(From the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, Sept. 23d, 1840.)

DEAR SIR,—When you was in England on a former occasion, you did me the favour to call upon me at Playford Hall, to take a part against the “Colonization Society.” Long before this visit, my friend, Mr Elliot Cresson, had engaged me in its favour, so that I fear I did not show you the attention and respect (while you was at my house) due to so faithful an apostle of Liberty. You have lately been in England again, but your numerous engagements prevented you from seeing me, though it was your

intention to have done so, and to have conversed with me on the same subject. I understood from your friends in London, who sent me a message to that effect, that you wished to know the particular reasons why I have changed my mind with respect to that Society. I have no objection to give you a short account of the reasons which induced me to enter into it, and finally to abandon it.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by Mr Elliot Cresson, who said that there was at that moment an almost *universal* desire, in the people of the United States, *to abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade*, and that he and they had a plan for this purpose. The plan was to emancipate all those men in bondage there, and to send them to Africa, the land of their fathers, where they were to buy land and form colonies, on the principle of *civilizing* the natives thereof, *teaching them Christianity*, and of preventing the *Slave Trade* in their immediate neighbourhood, as well as of trying to put an end to it in other parts, wherever their influence might reach. This desire or disposition in the American people to accomplish so glorious a work, was, he said, almost *universal*. It was not confined to the Clergy, or persons of superior intellect, or high moral character, but it extended through the various classes of Society, *even to the Planters themselves*, who were then deeply *convinced of the sin of holding their fellow-creatures as Slaves*, so that Slaves for transportation might be bought for £7 10s. each—(the sum calculated to pay their passage.) Many masters were so convinced of *the sin of Slavery*, that they would emancipate, and were then emancipating their Slaves for nothing, that is, *without any pecuniary consideration*, or on the *condition* only, that they should be sent to Africa, and comfortably provided for there. Upon this *universally prevalent* disposition, the *Colonization Society* was founded, and a district to be called Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, was fixed upon for the purpose: this was the account given me by my friend, Mr Cresson, and I own that I was *overcome* with joy and carried away by it. I thought it was one of the sublimest plans ever devised. Here the two great evils of Slavery and the Slave Trade, were to be done away at one and the same time in the United States. But *that circumstance* which astonished me the most was, that there should have broken out *all at once*, and *over the whole land*, such a sunshine of benevolent feeling; that men should suddenly, and all at once, have given up long established customs, and the rooted prejudices of ages; and that the hardened hearts of Planters should have been all at once melted and softened, and their consciences so smitten, as to have acknowledged *Slave-holding to be a sin*, for which they were anxious to *make reparation at a great sacrifice*, namely, the free Emancipation of their Slaves. These feelings, on the part of the American people, were not to be accounted for upon any *ordinary principle*. I thought that nothing but the Spirit of God could have worked such a miracle, and that, as it was His will that the blessing of Freedom should come to American Slaves, through the means of the Colonization Society, we were bound most thankfully to accept the boon. My astonishment was so great at this miraculous change of things, that I questioned my friend, Mr Cresson, *over and over again*, if his account was not exaggerated. He replied always that it was strictly true—and these were the reasons why I patronized the Society in the very beginning of its formation.

I began now to think very seriously on what had been at different times related to me on this subject; and first, how such an immense work was to be accomplished. Nearly *two millions and a half of Slaves* were stated to be then in the United States; and all these were to be transported to Africa. It struck me, that no private funds could be collected by Mr

Cresson, either in England or in America, sufficient for this purpose—that it was in fact, and ought to be a government work, and I told him *my fears* that he would never accomplish his object. He told me in reply, that besides subscriptions by individuals, the different states in the Union would each give its quota of money towards it, sufficient to transport all the Slaves within its own districts or boundaries. He then showed me one or two American newspapers, in which it appeared that one of these States, Virginia I think, had already promised a very large sum, *some thousands of dollars* to the work, and he believed the rest of the States would follow the example. Thus my fears were quieted as they related to this part of the subject. I do not know whether Virginia has to this day fulfilled her promise. On going more deeply into this subject *new fears* rose up to my mind. I began to think that, if the Slaves in the United States amounted to the *immense number* reported, with the population every day increasing by birth, *no man* then living might see this good work brought to an end, and *that during all this time*, that is during their transportation, all the horrors of Slavery would be going on among those who were left behind. I determined, therefore, to satisfy myself on this point, and therefore, when I saw my friend Mr Cresson next, I inquired what was the state of Liberia; how many Emancipated persons had been already imported into it; and what was the number annually expected to be brought into it. I gathered from him, as far as I can now recollect, that between two and three thousand had already come into it, and that more were on their way thither; but that, if I waited a little time longer, he could give me a better answer. I accordingly waited for some months, when I found that the recruits began to come in *much more slowly than before*, and that judging by the last importations, or the number then imported in a given time, I could not expect that more than 1000 or 1500, or at the most 2000 Emancipated Slaves could be *then counted upon to be sent annually into Liberia*. This alarmed me, and I began to think that some difficulties had occurred in the way of the emigration; either that the *funds were then* not equal to the transportation of more, or that *more could not be procured*. *Not more than 2000 at most* could be expected to be brought into the colony *in a year*, whereas not less than 1000 *per day* should have been sent to that and other parts of the continent of Africa, to get rid of a population of between two and three millions in any reasonable time. No person, if Mr Cresson's plan were followed up in *such a slow and lingering manner*, could hope to see the extinction of Slavery in the United States in less than 500 years, if at all. Nor even could they take off by such a slow process even the rising generation as they were born, nor, if the American Government were to take the plan into their own hands, could they *in any reasonable time* accomplish the work, were they even to give to the project *every shilling of the surplus revenue in their treasury*, and *employ their whole navy in the transportation of those people*, taking in the rising generation, and all the difficulties which would occur. Even they, the American Government, could not accomplish it in less than fifty years.

I considered, therefore, Mr Cresson's plan, so far as related to the removal of these unhappy people, *as impracticable* within the life time of any man then living, and I told him so repeatedly, but I could never get a satisfactory answer from him; nor can any satisfactory answer ever be given to show that the scheme is practicable, and this ought to weigh with those, who, if this society still exists, *have a desire to enter into it*. Let such persons moreover consider that this Society has already existed, I believe, for upwards of twenty years, and that there is *not a Slave less in*

the United States now than when they began their work. Indeed, notwithstanding all their efforts, *during all this time* there are *hundreds of thousands more*, in consequence of the increase of population, than when the plan was first proposed, the Slave population according to the best accounts *amounting now to nearly three millions*. I may say further, that if this society still exists, it is criminal; for to hold out that their scheme would produce *the entire extinction of Slavery in America*, (and this was held out with an inconceivable obstinacy) what was it, or what is it, but to delude the public as well as themselves, and to teach people *to rely upon this one measure*; whereas if their scheme had never been proposed, they *would have been looking out for some other remedy or cure*.

But I began to have other fears as I looked into the subject farther, from a very different view of it. I began to question whether the persons to be sent out were the *proper persons to found a new colony* in an uncivilized *part of the world*, and whether they would not do *more harm than good*. The natives of Africa, besides being called upon to abolish the Slave Trade in their own territory, were to be *improved in their morals*, to be *civilized*, to be *christianized*; but were *Slaves newly Emancipated* fit persons to carry on such a work? And yet by the scheme such and such alone, except the officers, were to be employed in it. The scheme had reference *only* to those who were *then Slaves*, and who were to be made free on the occasion, that is, just before the sailing of the vessels which were to convey them to their new homes. Now it is obvious that, if these people were to be sent to Liberia and other parts of the same continent, they would go there *with all the vices of Slavery upon their heads*. Theft, lying, prevarication, and trickery of every kind are the characteristics of a Slave, brought on inevitably by the vicious system under which he had been obliged to live. To this are to be added the brutal and superstitious notions which such people must have; their want of education and of any knowledge of civilized life; but above all, their want of any moral principle to guide them, and their total ignorance of God and religion. Now I did not think that people of this description were fit to be sent to Africa to *form a pattern colony* for the imitation of the natives there, for they were not persons of a *pattern conduct* themselves. These were my thoughts upon this part of my subject, and I mentioned them several times to Mr Cresson. He said that hitherto he had taken all the care he could to make a selection, but admitted that 120 of this description had come into Liberia amongst the last importations. He candidly confessed that he did not see how he could help himself on a future occasion, indeed he spoke only the truth; for the scheme *related only to those who were then in bondage*, and who, as *soon as ever they were Emancipated*, (however unfit they might be) were to be the component parts of the new colonies in Africa.

You will see in this narrative my reasons for patronizing at first the "American Colonization Society," and my reasons also for having afterwards deserted it. I left it, first, because it *was entirely impracticable*. This is a *sufficient reason* of itself, for no man in his senses would pursue a plan which he thought could never be accomplished. I left it, secondly, because I thought that *newly Emancipated Slaves* were not qualified to become colonists in Africa to any good purpose. How could persons be sent with any propriety to civilize others, who *wanted civilizing themselves*? Besides the advocates for the Colonization Society in America had no right to send *the scum* of their population to Africa, to breed a moral pestilence there. As far, however, as *the Abolition of the Slave Trade* in Africa is concerned in the plan, it must be allowed that Liberia has done a

great deal of good. But then this was the *first* colony planted, and the people sent there, as Mr Cresson assured me, were more select. Many of these had been Emancipated a considerable time before, and had got their own living, knowing something of the habits of civilized life. My argument relates only to newly Emancipated Slaves, who, according to the scheme, were to be hurried off from the plantations as soon as their liberty was given them. If the Society did not take these people, then the prospectus offered to the public had no meaning in it, and Slavery could never, according to its promises, be *extinguished* in the United States.

Since writing the above, I have learnt from an American paper that a skirmish has taken place between the colonists of Liberia and the people of Gaytoombah's Town. I know nothing of the causes of this apparently little war, but am grieved to learn, when the skirmish was over, that a most wanton, deliberate, cold-blooded act of butchery was practised *by the missionaries themselves*; who boasted that, while the people of Gaytoombah's Town were gathering up their dead, they had the *best chance of any to fire into their groupes*, and, when they had turned their backs, to "*pepper their hams with buck shot.*" This was too bad, and contrary to the usages of war among civilized nations; but to rejoice in, to boast of, to make a joke of such a murderous deed, belonged only to *savages*, and yet these men were, we repeat, missionaries, *disciples of the Prince of Peace*, and perhaps, *leading men* in the colony. What effect such barbarous conduct will have upon the natives, to prevent future colonies from being settled on their coast, we may perhaps live to see. The news of this massacre will certainly be spread by the Kroomen all over the African coast, and the Colonization Society may be deprived of the power of making further purchases in Africa, except in their own immediate vicinity, where they may have done some good. If this should ever be the case, they may bid farewell to their future hopes. Where then will they provide land on this continent for three millions of Emancipated Slaves?

But I have not done with the subject yet. Mr Cresson had hardly left England the last time, when new information was given me on this same subject, by two American gentlemen *of the very highest moral reputation*, by which I was led to suppose two things—either that I had mistaken Mr Cresson in his numerous conversations with me, or that he had allowed me to entertain erroneous impressions without correcting them. It was true, as my two friends informed me, that there had actually been a great stir or agitation in the United States on this subject, and quite as extensive and general as Mr Cresson had represented it to be; but that the cause of it was *not a religious feeling*, as I had been led to imagine, by which the planters *had been convinced of the sin of Slavery*, but a base feeling of fear which seemed to pervade all of them, and which urged them *to get rid of the free people of colour* by sending them to Africa. These people were more knowing, intelligent, and cultivated than the Slaves, and it was believed were likely to join them, and be very useful to them in the case of an insurrection, so that, if these were once fairly sent out of the country, they, the planters, might the more safely rule their then Slaves with a rod of iron. This information was accompanied by an account, by way of proof, taken from American newspapers, of different meetings held by the friends of the Colonization Society in different States of the Union, and of the speeches made there. It appeared from these speeches, that the most violent supporters of this Society *were planters themselves*, and that the speakers did not hesitate to hold out the monstrous and hateful proposition that the negroes were *not men and women*, but that they belonged to the *brute creation*. It was impossible to read these speeches, which were so

many public documents, and not perceive that the persons then assembled were no friends, but bitter enemies to the whole African race, and that *nothing in the way of good intentions* towards the negro could be expected from them. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to describe what my feelings were upon this occasion. I will only say that I saw the scheme, shall I say the diabolical scheme, with new eyes; and that the new light thus thrown upon it, added to the two arguments before-mentioned, determined me to wash my hands clean for ever of the undertaking.

With respect to my dear and revered friend, Mr Wilberforce, I will tell you what was his opinion on this subject. He saw Mr Cresson through my introduction, and having heard patiently all that Mr Cresson had to say in favour of his scheme, put this important question to him, "Why, when the government of the United States have millions of acres of land, whole States indeed, at their disposal, why do you send them to Africa for a new home, when you can locate them in the country in which they were born, and to which they have a claim by birthright, and on account of services to the community?" Mr Cresson never answered this question so as to satisfy Mr Wilberforce, and Mr Wilberforce would not stir a step till it was answered. His opinion was, that if Congress were composed of just and honest men, they would locate these Slaves in a territory neighbouring to their own, and make a separate State of them, and have them represented on the floor of Congress; or that they would send them to a great distance, making an allied state of them there, and sending proper officers and magistrates with them to live among them, and to put them into the way of governing themselves. But he gave the preference to the former measure; he always thought that there was something hidden in Mr Cresson's plan, which was purposely concealed.

I have now given you my reasons for having once patronized the Colonization Society, and then deserted it, and hope you will consider them satisfactory.—I am, dear Sir, with great esteem, very truly and cordially yours,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

To W. L. GARRISON, Esq.

No. IV.

HISTORY OF THE DIVISION IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.*

WITH MR GARRISON'S REMARKS THEREON.

(From the *Second Annual Report of the MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.*)

THE Committee have long felt that a full and accurate history should be given to the public, of the origin and progress of the unhappy division

* This history is furnished by the Separatists themselves; and it may be proper to note, for the information of the reader, that the Society in New England, with which Mr Garrison is connected, is the oldest in the United States on the principle of *Immediate Emancipation*, and is known by the name of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*.

among the friends of the slave in this country, and of the causes that led to it. The developments of the past year have increased their conviction of its importance, and encouraged them to believe, that the abolition mind in this country and abroad is prepared to receive and credit *all* the facts in the case—those especially, which, as they implicate personal character, have hitherto, from personal friendship and a regard to the cause, been withheld from the public generally, but which, though not the *grounds* of the secession, are yet important, as throwing light upon and giving meaning to those that were the grounds of it. The Committee feel that such a history of the case is due to themselves, to those who, having been providentially prominent in making the secession, have been the special objects of assault and abuse by those from whom we have separated, to the friends of the Slave generally, and to posterity. Such a history is the more important, also, from the many partial and erroneous representations of the facts which have been given to the public by our former associates and friends. Such a history, the Committee directed their Secretary, some months since, to prepare. Various causes prevented his doing it then, and entering soon after on another field of labour, he has been unable to do it since. As the best substitute which the circumstances now allow, he has grouped together a few of the facts of the kind referred to. To these the Committee invite your special attention, and with the exposition of the case which these furnish, the Committee hope to be able to close this unwelcome, yet, as they believe, necessary controversy.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in their last Annual Report, say:—

“The position assumed by that (the Abolition) Society is one of unmitigated hostility to ours. By its MANAGERS, its OFFICIAL ORGAN and AGENTS, it has left untried no device to prejudice the public mind, and especially the religious portion of the community, against the State Anti-Slavery Society, and ourselves as its official representatives. All this has been done with such a *wanton disregard of truth*, such a wide departure from the ground of Anti-Slavery union and fellowship, such *palpable intent to gratify personal and sectarian feelings*, that it is in the highest degree painful to contemplate such a development of moral character.”

These are grave charges. They are made *officially*, by the State Society and its official representatives. They have been repeatedly made before, by those whose influence controls and gives tone to that Society. They aver that the Secession had its origin in feelings of *personal and sectarian hostility*. Nothing can be more untrue. It is not known that any of those, who have been prominent in the Secession, have *ever* had the least personal difference with the individual, (Mr Garrison) out of hostility to whom it has been so often alleged the Secession arose. It is believed that to this hour they are *all* on terms of perfect personal friendship and good will to that individual, and that when they meet him, as they occasionally do, they meet as friends, with no personal animosities whatever toward each other. At all events, this is true of the Secretary of this Society, whose alleged personal hostility has been the subject of frequent and extensive remark. Such personal hostility has never existed. Equally unfounded is the charge of Sectarianism, as the sequel will show. The charge that the “managers, official organ and agents,” of this Society have conducted the controversy with “a wanton disregard of truth,” is a polite way of saying that we are all liars. This Committee will not retort the charge. Yet, when such a charge is gravely and officially preferred, when it has received the sanction, not only of the general meeting, but of the cooler and deliberate reflections of such men as Edmund Quincy,

Francis Jackson, and Ellis Gray Loring, and, with such sanction, has been put on record to go down to posterity, it is surely time to make known *all* the facts, whatever may be the results to personal character in return.

CAUSES OF THE DIVISION.

At the formation of this Society, its Executive Committee were "instructed to prepare and issue at an early day an Address to the public, setting forth our objects and reasons for separate action." In that Address, the "causes of division" were declared to be the introduction into our cause of what is technically called the "Woman's Rights question," the departure of the old Society from the "original doctrines and measures" of the Anti-Slavery Associations on "the subject of political action," and a serious "defect in regard to the composition of its business meetings." The defect in question practically destroyed the representative character of the Society, and, as experience proved, enabled Lynn and Boston to legislate for the State. It was by taking advantage of this, that the action of the Society, on the two topics named, was controlled, and the Society carried over from the ground of simple and original Abolition, to that of a Woman's Rights and Non-government one. Lynn and Boston sent their scores of delegates, so-called, to the meetings of the Society, while towns more remote, with an equal proportionate amount of Abolitionists, could send but two or three. Such was the fact at the meeting at which the revolution in question was effected. Lynn had a delegation of 120 present. Boston had a greater number. Of those from Boston, *eighty* were appointed by a meeting of *seven* members of a new city Society, that had been formed with special reference to the then approaching meeting of the State Society. This was in fact the appointment of nearly the whole membership of the Society, as delegates.

And what is worse, not less than twenty or thirty of these were induced to join the City Society, merely that they might be appointed as delegates to vote at the State Meeting. And so prominent an individual as the Treasurer of the State Society, was a prominent actor in this shameful proceeding! Yet each of the so-called delegates, from Boston and Lynn, claimed and exercised an equal voice with those from remote parts of the State, in deciding the action of the State Society. Nor was there any thing, in the constitution of the Society, to forbid it. To remedy this defect, to bring the cause back to its original ground, that so it might be presented to the public on its merits, unincumbered by the extraneous and sectarian questions with which, in the action of the old Society, it had been identified, were the avowed reasons for the formation of the new Society—these, connected with the hopelessness of effecting any reform in the old Society, were the avowed "causes of the division." They were its *true and real causes*.

THE REAL "PLOT."

In presenting them to the public as such, your Committee have hitherto rested their defence of the case upon these simple facts. From a regard to former friendships and the general cause, they have been anxious, as far as possible, to spare the personal character of leading individuals from whom we have separated. It was enough, that in the action of the old Society, the Anti-Slavery cause was, as a *matter of fact*, turned aside from its original character, and identified with other matters, and that the determination to turn it aside thus, from whatever motives, was, as a *fact*, deliberate and settled. These two facts the Committee have ever regarded as ample jus-

tification of the separation. On their presentation *as facts*, have they hitherto rested their defence in the case. They believe, however, that the time has now come, and that the circumstances of the case are now such, as to require them to go behind these facts, and give the public some of the evidences, which have for some time satisfied them of the existence of a *deliberate and well-matured design*, on the part of those who have controlled the action of the former Society, *to make the Anti-Slavery organizations subservient to the promotion of their personal and sectarian views on the subjects of Woman's Rights, so-called Civil Government, the Church, the Ministry, and the Sabbath.*

THE DESIGN DISCREDITED AND DISCLAIMED.

It was a long time before those who have been active in the separation could believe in the existence of any such design on the part of individuals with whom they had been so intimately associated, and to whom they had been accustomed to look as counsellors and leaders in their efforts for the enslaved. When such a design, indeed, was charged on them, particularly upon Mr Garrison, as it sometimes was, it was indignantly disclaimed.* Such was the fact at the time of Mr Garrison's first assault upon the Sabbath, and at the subsequent period of the Clerical Appeal. In the conclusion of the Sabbath discussion in 1836, Mr Garrison said:—

“Once for all, we beg our readers to be assured that we have not for one moment cherished the purpose either of being diverted from the special advocacy of the *one great cause* which we have so long espoused, or of making the *Liberator* the arena of a controversy which does not belong to its character or its object. Our Sabbatical animadversions upon Dr. Beecher's speech were purely incidental, and quite subordinate to the main design of our review. * * * We take our leave of the Sabbatical controversy, so far as the columns of the *Liberator* are concerned, merely remarking again that we shall not suffer ourself or our paper to be diverted from the steadfast and zealous advocacy of the Anti-Slavery cause. * * * As the *Liberator* is patronized by persons of almost every religious persuasion, and chiefly because it is an Anti-Slavery paper, it is obvious that it does not properly come within our province to attack the peculiar tenets or ecclesiastical arrangements of any sect. We shall studiously aim not to do so.”

And subsequently, in January, 1837, when it was proposed to have the State Society assume the pecuniary support of the paper, Mr Garrison referred to the same discussion in a similar manner, and added:—

“The leading, all-absorbing object of the *Liberator* shall continue to be, as it has been hitherto, the overthrow of American Slavery—not to conflict with any religious sect or political party.”

DEFENCE OF MR GARRISON AND OTHERS.

In the full belief of the sincerity of these disclaimers, we were ready to defend him and others of kindred views, as members of the Anti-Slavery Society. Our plea was, that the Anti-Slavery Society, as such, had nothing to do with, and was not to be held responsible for the private opinions of its Members on any subjects other than that of the Abolition

* In Mr Garrison's phrenological development, as given by Mr Fowler, and published in the *Liberator*, is the following:—

“He generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself, and carries his plans into execution without divulging them. * * * He has more forethought than he manifests. He has great literary ingenuity, and is full of new schemes and projects. He shows a great deal of tact as a writer and reasoner. He seldom or never commits himself.”

of Slavery. And, giving Mr Garrison the full benefit of this plea, the Secretary of this Society, then Editor of the *Emancipator*, (August 18th, 1836,) said:—

“We trust that we love the Sabbath, and dissent from Mr Garrison’s views on the subject as much as any one—but what then? Nay, what if he were throughout a thorough Quaker? Must I therefore abjure his sentiments on the subject of *Abolition*, or temperance, or any other similar question, and refuse to co-operate with and sustain him in their promulgation? Nonsense.”

And in so saying, the Editor did but express his own and this Committee’s present as well as former views in the case. With the private, religious, or other opinions of its members, the Anti-Slavery Society, as such, and we as members of it, have nothing to do. It is only when these opinions are thrust upon the Anti-Slavery platform, as part and parcel of Abolition, and the attempt is made to model the action of the Anti-Slavery Societies in accordance with them, that we have any right to complain, and the community a right to hold us responsible for them. Nor was it until this was actually done, and conclusive evidence was furnished that it would be persisted in, that remonstrance and resistance, finally issuing in separation, began.

VIEWES AND FEELINGS OF MR GARRISON AT THIS PERIOD.

The Clerical Appeal controversy commenced in August, 1837. In the progress of that discussion, it became manifest that Mr Garrison’s heart was set upon other reforms more generic in their character, and, in his view, more important, than the Anti-Slavery reform. He used frequently to remark, that nothing thorough and effectual could be effected for temperance or Abolition, until we had had some more radical and generic reform. *At this period he gave up all hope of the Abolition of Slavery by moral and peaceful means.* In the New England Convention, June 2, 1837, he said “he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity” of the annexation of Texas to the Union “would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed.” (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 110.)

On the 4th of July of the same year, in a public address at Providence, (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 123,) he said he “stood forth in the spirit of prophecy, to proclaim in the ears of the people that our doom *as a nation* is sealed; that the day of our probation has ended, and we are not saved. * * * Nor form of government, nor representative body, nor written parchment, nor social compact, nor physical preparation, can give us perpetuity, or hide us from the wrath of the Lamb. *The downfall of the republic seems inevitable.* * * * If history be not wholly fabulous—if revelation be not a forgery—if God be not faithless in the execution of his threatenings—the doom is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure. The overthrow of the American confederacy is in the womb of events. * * * The corruptions of the CHURCH, so-called, are obviously more deep and incurable than those of the STATE; and, therefore, the CHURCH, in spite of every precaution and safeguard, is first to be dashed to pieces. ‘Coming events cast their shadows before.’ * * * *The political dismemberment of our Union is ultimately to follow.*”

On the 11th of August following, in reply to an invitation to attend a Peace Convention in Vermont, Mr Garrison (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 146) wrote the Rev. O. S. Murray as follows:—“In giving my attention to the degradation and misery of two millions of American bondmen, I do not forget mankind. *My mind is busy* in the investigation of many subjects, which, in their full elucidation and practical bearings, are destined to shake

the nations. The subject of peace" (by which he meant "non-resistance," so-called) "is among them, and is peculiarly dear to me. * * * I hope to be more deeply engaged in it by and bye than I am at present, and unless they alter their present course, the first thing I shall do will be to serve our Peace Societies as I have done the Colonization Societies."

On the 2d of October, Mr Garrison was at Worcester, in attendance upon the Massachusetts Young Men's Anti-Slavery Convention. At noon, at the house of Mr Earl, Messrs. Stanton, Green, and others being present, the conversation turned upon the merits of Thompsonianism. Mr Garrison avowed himself a believer in the theory, and added, with much emphasis, "law, medicine, and divinity are the three great impostures of the day." On the 13th of the same month (*Lib.*, vol. 7, pp. 166, 167) he published a letter dated "Newark, N. J., March 22d, 1837," and which had therefore been on hand some *six months* before its publication was ventured upon! In the letter, the writer said,—“The present governments stand in the way of God's kingdom, just as Colonization once stood in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground without effecting the object. * * * By the foregoing considerations, I am authorized not only to hope for the overthrow of the nations, but to stand in readiness actively to assist in the execution of God's purposes. And I am not forbidden to do so by any *past order*” (referring to the Bible) “to be subject to earthly governments.” * * *

My hope of the Millennium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires, viz., AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION.” The writer then declares, “God, by his spirit, has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world.” He also says, referring to a former interview with Mr Garrison, “You said your mind was heaving on certain momentous subjects, and you only waited to put Anti-Slavery in the sunshine before you turned your mind toward those subjects.” Mr Garrison, in an accompanying editorial, called this, “The solemn and powerful letter from Newark,” and said, it “is in accordance with our views and feelings.”

These extracts make obvious what was well known to the intimate and careful observers of Mr Garrison, at this period, but what was not generally noticed or duly weighed by Abolitionists as a body. It was at this period, that James Boyle of Ohio, in his famous letter, endorsed by Mr Garrison, said, “I have observed of late, that you have become satisfied that moral influence will never abolish Slavery in this country.” Mr Garrison *had given up all hope for the Slave from such means*;* his mind

* And yet, when in October, 1839, it became necessary to issue a “*Liberator* extra,” for the purpose of warning “the Anti-Slavery electors of Massachusetts,” against lending any countenance to the “Independent Anti-Slavery nomination,” then this same Mr Garrison was foremost and loudest in the outcry for “moral action,” in distinction from political, as the sure and only hope for the Slave. In the “address” of the board of managers of the old Society, issued at that time, and to which his name is attached, Mr Garrison, in common with the others, says:—

“It (the formation of an Abolition political party,) would be virtually denying the power of *moral suasion* and *eternal truth* to overcome corruption and prejudice. * * * It is to be feared that some who bear the name of Abolitionists, are beginning to lose their faith in truth, and the God of truth, *to despair of obtaining victory by the use of spiritual weapons*, (!) and hence their anxiety to go down into Egypt for horsemen and chariots. * * * It will take but a very short time, comparatively, for the ‘little leaven’ of Anti-Slavery to leaven the whole lump of politics, provided Abolitionists hold fast their integrity, and have faith as a grain of mustard seed. Both political parties *will yet be compelled to do homage to the MORAL MAJESTY of our enterprise*, and be emulous to do it service, because of the great *moral change that WILL BE*

was labouring and his heart intent on those great reforms, with the idea of which he had become intoxicated, and compared with which, he more than once remarked, that the Anti-Slavery reform was but as a drop to the ocean.

PRIVATE REMONSTRANCE.

In this state of things, Mr Garrison was pressed by private and fraternal remonstrances, either to waive the pressure of his views in connexion with the Anti-Slavery cause, or to come out at once boldly, and fling the banner of universal reform to the breeze. The evidence of such remonstrance is on record. On the 19th of January, 1838, (*Lib.* vol. 8, p. 9,) Mr Phelps, in reply to a communication of Professor Smyth of Maine, after making sundry admissions, said:—

“And does Professor Smyth exclaim now, that against these things, Brother Phelps has never felt it his duty to remonstrate? A little pains to get light would have told him a different story. It would have told him, not indeed that I had carried my griefs to the bar of the public in the form of ‘Appeals,’ and ‘Protests,’ and ‘Voices,’ in the belief that ‘private remonstrances would be entirely unheeded,’ but that I had sought my end in a more fraternal way. It would have put him in possession of the following, among other facts, * * * that when the connexion of the *Liberator* and the Society first came up for consideration, Brother Phelps expressed his firm conviction, that it was, in itself, an improper one, and ought to cease with the end of the year; that on the other topics there has been private and personal remonstrance, and that at times, on some of these points, Brother P.’s feelings have been very strong, and his remonstrances very earnest.”

The Editor of the *Liberator* accompanied the article containing these statements with editorial remarks, commending it to the attention of his readers; but did not intimate that such remonstrances had not been made. Indeed so great was the dissatisfaction of Mr Phelps with his course, toward the close of the Clerical Appeal controversy, that, on one occasion, after conversing on the subject at some length, he assured Mr Garrison, in distinct terms, that he could not and would not sanction the course he was then pursuing, and that if he persisted in it, he must and should come out against him. At the same time, October, 1837, he also wrote to some of Mr Garrison’s most intimate personal friends, stating what his feelings were, and urging them to use their influence to induce him to modify his course. Among others, he wrote to Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, then and now a firm adherent of Mr Garrison. In his reply, dated “Groton, October 27th, 1837,” Dr. Farnsworth said:—

“Garrison will have a large party, and it cannot be otherwise, but there will be strife between the two divisions. Besides, would not his power for doing mischief by the circulation of his sentiments on other matters, be greater than it will be if we keep with him, and surround him with our influence, which must restrain him to a very great degree. * * * I know your regard for the Anti-Slavery cause, and have full confidence in your judgment and discretion to navigate safely in this dangerous sea. And allow me to believe, that the obstinacy of Garrison will not stimulate you to any sudden act which the circumstances of the times do not imperiously demand.”

wrought in public sentiment. Friends of the sighing bondman! let us never give them occasion to think, for a moment, that we have no abiding faith in the promulgation of truth,—*Anti-Slavery truth*,—to overcome their opposition. Let us ever speak in the language of *victory*, and regard their *absolute subjection* as a SETTLED EVENT.”

And this was the man, who, two years before, had proclaimed it to the world, that moral influence would never Abolish Slavery in this country?

John G. Whittier, in a letter to Mr Phelps, dated "Amesbury, 22d 10th month, (October,) 1837," said:—

"As to the *Liberator*, I have just forwarded to Garrison a letter in reference to the Newark Perfectionist's letter. I sent a resolution and a letter to the Essex County A. S. Society, (being unable to attend,) disapproving of the course of the *Liberator* in this matter, but it was voted down. I am anxious to do all that I can to preserve peace."

Other individuals, ignorant at the time, of Mr Phelps' feelings, wrote him of their own accord, giving an expression of their feelings, and urging him to use his influence with Mr Garrison, and announcing the fact that they also had sent their private remonstrances to Mr Garrison. Among others, "Father Ward," so-called, wrote Mr Phelps a long letter on the subject, and as he was in doubt whether Mr Ward intended that he should show the letter to Mr Garrison, he wrote Mr Ward for information. In reply, Mr Ward, "October 26," said:—

"As you express a doubt as to my object in writing you, I would observe, it was not that you should 'show the letter to Mr G.' As I had previously written to him, he knew my views as to his course."

On the same week, N. Crosby, Esq., now General Agent of the Mass. Temp. Union, and then resident in Newburyport, wrote as follows:—

"I sent, by yesterday's mail, a long letter to Mr Garrison, which I wish you to read, and you will see what considerations I have urged upon him. I have suffered amazingly from the appeal, answers, attack on Sabbath, clergy, &c., and that so much of the *Liberator* has been taken up in resolutions, letters, &c., to the almost entire neglect of the poor Slave."

Elizur Wright, Jun., writing on another topic to Mr Phelps, on the 26th of the same month, and referring to the correspondence below, said:—

"I have just received a letter from Garrison, which confirms my fears that he has finished his *course for the Slave*. At any rate his plan of rescuing the Slave by the destruction of human laws, is fatally conflictive with ours. Only one of them can lead to any good result. Still, if he would run up his *perfection flag*, so that Abolitionists might see what they are driving at, shouting for him, he would not do us much hurt. I have *conjured him to do so*. *Honesty requires it of him*."

The remainder of the story in regard to this correspondence with Mr G. is thus told by Mr Wright, in a "Chapter on Plots," in the *Abolitionist*, December 5th, 1839; nor has Mr Garrison ever dared to deny one of the facts here stated.

"Now that our hand is in for this chapter, we will plead guilty to certain anterior plots. We will go back to the beginning—the *fons malorum*, of all our plots. In the summer of 1837 we were vehemently urged by Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman, to come out in condemnation of a certain not very powerful document, since known as the 'Clerical Appeal.' We replied, for substance, that we considered that document a personal affair, with which the *Emancipator* was not called upon to meddle, especially after the *Liberator* had so fully disposed of it; but that if we *did* take notice of it, we should feel bound impartially to make a clean breast, and rebuke the *Liberator* and Mr Garrison for faults *not* charged in that 'Appeal.' What these faults were, we at once plotted to make known to Mr Garrison, by a correspondence which was kept religiously private on our part. On the first part of this correspondence, we cannot at this moment lay our hands, but the following extract of a letter from Mr Garrison, dated October 23d, 1837, will show of what sort it was:—

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am indebted to you for two long letters, to which perhaps, I shall reply at equal length, at some leisure hour. The first—though written, I am sure, with the most friendly feelings—excited my surprise far more than the Clerical Appeal; and, you will pardon me for saying, was as illogical in its reasoning as it was cruel in its impeachment of my motives.

Elizur Wright, Jun., never wrote that letter. Some other spirit than your own free-born, generous, independent spirit, prevailed with you for the time being, and made you indite that strange composition,' &c.

"Though we were not sensible of making any cruel impeachment of motives in that letter, its language certainly was stronger than we would use *about* any fault, *behind his back*. We did not then consider it inevitable that Mr Garrison's faults should be discussed by us before the public, but continued to hope that by 'plotting' with him, like, a brother, he might be prevented from saddling his own vagaries upon the Anti-Slavery cause. What was the precise position we took with him, will appear from a subsequent letter of our own, dated November 4th, 1837, in which we read:—

"Perhaps your 'surprise' at my first letter would be less, if you were to reflect that, not believing in the doctrine of 'perfect holiness,' I am not unprepared to see faults in my very best friends, and can reprove them without hating or despising them. Whether such reproof betoken on my part a lack of freedom, generosity, and independence of spirit, I leave to the verdict of your own good sense. Sure I am that there is little enough cause in me, but my letter to you was dictated by my conscience, if any letter of mine ever was. My sentiments in regard to your freedom of speech, you know from a letter more recent than those to which you replied. When the Anti-Slavery Society fairly stands before the world clear of all responsibility for the *Liberator*, I shall not charge it upon you as a sin against the Abolition cause that you advocate in its columns your own religious views. You say, 'truth is *one*, and not conflictive or multitudinous.' True, but the *people* are conflictive. Abolitionists do not agree on many points not involved in their Declaration of Sentiments. Hence it is no more than right that the paper which is understood to speak the common language of all, should confine itself to the subject on which all agree, or rather on which they do not seriously differ. If any brother has discovered what he deems to be important truth, heaven forbid that Abolitionists should *hinder* him from the full development of it, *on his own responsibility*.

"But it does appear to me that *your* 'truth'—that human government has no rightful authority, does conflict with the *truths* of our Declaration of Sentiments, and especially with our measures. In our Declaration we maintain 'that the Slave ought instantly to be set free and brought under *the protection of law*;' and that 'Congress has the *right*, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade.' Now here is downright *untruth*, if human government has no right to exist. And as to our measures, the discrepancy is still more glaring. *We* labour to bring the Slave under the protection of government, *you* destroy the government that is to protect him. I suppose you will say that you would only supersede human authority by the establishment of the divine. Still our action militates against yours, for ours tends more thoroughly to establish the human government—the latter being never so firm as when the weakest are enjoying its full protection. Still, conflictive as are your truths with ours, theoretically, I have little apprehension that we should receive any injury from them practically, if they made their home in their own tub—and that stood on its own bottom. What I should then most fear, would be that they would suck *you* into a vortex of spiritual Quixotism, and thus absorb energies that might have shaken down the mountain of oppression."

"Had we written such letters to any mortal on earth *about* Mr Garrison, would not excerpts—all the blood and 'murder' of them—have certainly come 'out' in Mrs Chapman's last book? But, some how or other, they have totally sunk out of her grand *complotation*, and her pages make up a face of the most wide-orbed surprise at the positions which H. B. Stanton and ourself have taken in 1839—as at *laymen* carried away by a sudden clerical plot and side wind. Just as if Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman did not perfectly know, more than two years ago, that other names besides the honoured one of H. B. Stanton, names far more prominently and worthily identified with the Abolition cause than our own, had plotted this same new organization plot to their private ears—that is, had pressed upon them the doctrine which has at length made it proper and necessary for the new organization to exist! But they understand the power of *plot*.

Rev. C. W. Denison, then in Maryland, and one of Mr G.'s earliest friends, remonstrated in a similar way about the same time. Other individuals did the same. But amid all the clamour in the *Liberator*, in Mrs Chapman's books, and elsewhere, about "plots," and "treasons," and

“detected letters,” not a hint of these private remonstrances has ever yet been given, nor one solitary line of *these* private letters been printed! This single fact speaks volumes.

THE DESIGN MATURED AND DELIBERATELY ADOPTED.

These remonstrances all coming upon Mr Garrison about the same time and from different quarters, effected a temporary modification of his course. Nevertheless, his mind was “busy” and “heaving” with the supposed great reforms that in his imagination had already “shaken the nations.” The circumstances of the case were peculiar. *He* was panting for the conflict with principalities and powers. His friends were remonstrating. *They* thought his schemes ruin, not reform. At all events, they were quite sure that their advocacy in connexion with the cause of the Slave would be ruin to that; and they urged him, for the Slave’s sake, to desist, or else to quit the Slave and fling out his banner without fear and without disguise. What should be done? It was a serious question, but must be met. There were but three courses that could be taken. One was, to waive their advocacy for the Slave’s sake. That would have been generous, and would have evidenced a sincerity and fervour of devotion to his cause alike honourable and above suspicion. This was not done. A second course was to lift the banner of universal reform on independent grounds, and separate entirely from the cause of the Slave. That would have been manly and honest. That was not done. The only other course was to push on the schemes of universal reform under the banner and in connexion with that of Freedom to the Slave. *This was done.* If done in the sincere and heartfelt belief that thereby the cause of the Slave would be most effectually promoted, it was the mistaken policy of sincere yet misguided zeal. If done with the deliberate design of taking advantage of the Anti-Slavery cause to give currency to views that it was well known could not gain a hearing or stand a moment on their own merits, it was a treachery to the slave, as base as it was cowardly and mean. If done with such design, the natural and obvious course would have been first to consider and decide on this as the policy to be pursued; second, in pursuing it, to seek to shape the Anti-Slavery cause to the principles of the other reforms; third, in doing this, to urge those modifications first which would be least obnoxious, and least likely to create alarm; and finally, to bring other organizations and instrumentalities into the field to do that portion of the work which could not be effected through the Anti-Slavery organizations and instrumentalities. And this, the Committee are obliged to say, *is just what was actually done.* The policy to be pursued was considered and deliberately decided upon: it was that of “*sifting them in*” upon the Anti-Slavery reform; and it was chosen because, *avowedly*, the other reforms, standing alone and on their own merits, could not get a hearing or make any general lodgement in the public mind.

It is well known that at the period referred to, when Mr Garrison’s mind was “heaving” with these other great reforms, so-called, he had frequent consultations with some of his most intimate friends in respect to the course to be pursued. George W. Benson, his brother-in-law, Maria W. Chapman, the Misses Grimke, and others, were so consulted. One plan proposed was to give up the *Liberator*, or retire from its editorial care and start a new paper. Another plan was to make a formal change of the *Liberator* itself, and announce the fact that its leading object would no longer be the Abolition of Slavery, but generic and universal reform, including the Abolition of Slavery as a part of it. Another plan was to continue to hold out

the Abolition of Slavery as the leading object of the paper, and then to "sift in" the other reforms, as the people could bear them. The latter, as appears from the following correspondence, was adopted.

The Rev. Mr Cummings, an agent of this Society, had been told the facts stated in this correspondence, by some friends in this city. In the prosecution of his labours as an agent, he came in contact with a Mr Whiting, an agent of the old Society, and in the course of the conversation or discussion repeated the facts to him. He at once denied their truth, said he knew they could not be so, and that he would write Mr Garrison about it. Weeks passed on, and nothing was heard, either from Mr Whiting or Mr Garrison. That there might be no apology for longer silence, if the facts were not as stated, Mr Cummings addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr Fuller, through the columns of the *Abolitionist*, to which Mr Fuller gave the following reply :—

THE INQUIRY ANSWERED.

MR H. CUMMINGS:—Dear Sir,—I find in the last *Abolitionist*, a letter from you, addressed to me, of which the following is an extract :—

"I have been very credibly informed, that some two or more years since, Mr Garrison called a meeting of his special friends, in the Marlboro' Hotel, Boston, among whom was yourself, and after reading Mr J. Boyle's letter on non-resistance and perfectionism, distinctly proposed to inculcate and spread those doctrines. The *medium* through which he proposed to propagate them was the *Liberator* and the *Anti-Slavery organization*. The *manner* was to sift them in *incidentally*, and press them upon the people as fast as they were prepared to receive them. The *reasons* assigned for such a course were, a new paper and separate organization could not be sustained, for the people were not prepared to receive such doctrines when presented in their fullest light, as they would be in a new paper, but if "*sifted*" into the Anti-Slavery organization, they would drink them in imperceptibly, and thus would not be so offensive to them. The substance of the above facts I have frequently stated in public and to private individuals; and the general inquiry has been, 'why have not these facts been published?'"

Satisfied that the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause demands a publication of the facts of the case, I do not feel at liberty to shrink from the responsibility of giving them to the public in answer to your inquiries. They are briefly these. Some two years ago, Mr Garrison received a letter from Mr James Boyle of Ohio, which was subsequently published in the *Liberator* under the caption of "A letter to William Lloyd Garrison, touching the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, and True Holiness." The character of the letter may be judged of by the following extracts :—

"For your (Mr Garrison's) independent expression of your sentiments respecting human governments,—a pagan originated Sabbath, (sun's day,) your wise refusal to receive the mark of the beast, either in your forehead or in your right hand, by practically sanctioning the irreligious sects which corrupt and curse the world,—your merited denunciations of these sects, of the sordid, dough-faced, popish leaders, but above all, for your Christ-exalting poetry, 'Christian Rest, you are in my heart,' &c."

"It would seem, from the sympathy manifested by 'Clerical' men in this country toward the religion and priesthood that were abolished in France, that they would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell, than none at all.

"I have observed of late, that you (Mr Garrison) have become satisfied that moral influence will never Abolish Slavery in this country.* Of this I have long been certain. 'The signs of the times' indicate clearly to my mind, that God has given up the sects and parties, political and religious, of this nation, into the hands of a perverse and lying spirit, and left them to fill up the measure of their sins," &c., &c.

In publishing the letter, Mr Garrison said,—

"It is one of the most powerful epistles ever written by man. We alone are responsible for its publication. It utters momentous truths in solemn and

* This was Mr Garrison's opinion at that time.

thrilling language, and is a testimony for God and his righteousness, which cannot be overthrown."

Mr Garrison had the letter on hand some considerable time previous to its publication, and read it repeatedly to individual and particular friends. On one occasion, before its appearance in the *Liberator*, myself and several others were invited to meet at a room in the Marlboro' Hotel to hear it read. Mr G. having read it, spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation—saying, in substance, that however unpopular its doctrines, they were true, and would yet be received by the people. That they were not now prepared for them—that if a new publication were started for the purpose of promulgating them, (a measure which he had under consideration some months before, and in respect to which he consulted some of his most confidential friends,) it would not get sufficient circulation to sustain it—that the Abolitionists indeed, were the only class of the community that had been so trained to free discussion as to bear their discussion; "and therefore," said he, "as our enemies say," (referring to the charge of Mr Woodbury some time previous,) we must "sift it in" to the *Liberator*.

This is the substance of what he said. The impression I received from it at the time was, that it was then his deliberate design to take advantage of the abolition character of his paper to "sift" his peculiar opinions on other subjects, into public favour. As I had never before believed that Mr Garrison had any such design, and had repelled the charge as a slander upon him, I was, of course, surprised at this avowal of it by himself.

That he made what amounted to such an avowal I am sure from these facts. First, I mentioned it to Mrs Fuller the same evening. Second, *up* to that time my confidence in Mr Garrison's integrity was entire and implicit, and *from* that time it began to be shaken. And third, the columns of the *Liberator* have since been in exact keeping with such a design.

I make these statements in answer to your inquiries, in no ill will to Mr Garrison, but solely because I believe that the cause of truth and freedom demand it.—Yours for the bondman,

JOHN E. FULLER.

BOSTON, Nov. 25th, 1839.

These statements have been before the public, have been copied into various papers, and been repeated in private conversation and public discussion for nearly a year and a half, and to this hour Mr Garrison has never said one word in explanation or denial of them.

THE DESIGN CARRIED OUT.

The design thus deliberately conceived has been steadily and perseveringly carried out by the two leading minds in the case, (Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman,) through their subordinate agents and friends. As subordinates, Messrs. Johnson, Collins, and Whiting, as agents; Messrs. George W. Benson and William Chase, as family connexions of Mr Garrison; Mr Phillips, whose wife is a relative and when here an inmate of the senior Chapman family, and Mr Quincy, whose recent confession is, that for years he has played the hypocrite in regard to his religious opinions—these, as subordinates, have been specially prominent and active.*

To trace the design in question in all the instances and steps of its development, would swell this report to a volume. The Committee can notice but a few of them, as specimens of many others.

* Mr Quincy's confession (see *Lib.*, March, 1841,) is as follows:—

"As for myself, I had attained the views I now hold on the church, ministry, and Sabbath, before I knew of your (Mr Garrison's) existence, I believe: certainly several years before I had any acquaintance with you, or knew any of your opinions on any subject except Slavery. My error and sin (which I confess and repent) consisted in giving my countenance to them for a time, from a mistaken idea that the views I held were dangerous to be known by the common people, who needed a little jugglery (!) and legerdemain (!) to keep them in order."

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The first illustration of the kind is furnished in the manner and history of the introduction of the "Woman's Rights Question," so called. As was to have been expected, on the supposition of the design named, this being the least obnoxious of the proposed modifications of the cause, the least likely, from the circumstances of the case, to create alarm and provoke resistance, or if it did so, the most easily to be effected, was the first to be attempted. The New England Convention of 1838 was chosen as the occasion, and Oliver Johnson, the well known echo of Mr Garrison's wishes on such occasions, as the agent for introducing the attempt.—For several years the form of invitation to membership and action in the Convention had been "*all gentlemen present.*" On this occasion, at an early period of the Convention, when Messrs. Phelps, Smith, and some others, who from various causes had been more awake to the progress of things than their brethren generally, and would have been more likely to have detected and resisted the movement on the threshold, were out of the room preparing business for the Convention, Mr Johnson brought forward a carefully worded resolution, inviting, not "gentlemen" merely, as formerly, but "all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, *whether men or women*, who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of Slavery, to become members and participate in the proceedings of the Convention." In the bustle of the moment, and not dreaming that this "was to be the first public act of a mighty reform," the difference in the form of invitation was not generally noticed, and the resolution was readily adopted. Its adoption was received by the initiated with a burst of applause, as if conscious of having achieved some anticipated and mighty victory. The proceedings of the Convention on a subsequent day, opened the eyes of all to the meaning of the vote and the design of its introduction. At once a private meeting of the leading Members of the Convention, on both sides of the question, was called to see in what way the matter should be adjusted. The Woman's Rights men were resolved on retaining the ground they had gained, and would not listen a moment to the idea of reconsideration or compromise. Others who regretted the resolution and said they would not have voted for it had they been aware of its import and extent, thought that as the money of the ladies as members had been received, and as the Convention had proceeded so far on that basis, the resolution could not be reconsidered without undoing all the proceedings of the Convention through the two preceding days, and therefore that the better way, on the whole, was to let the matter pass, and look out for the remedy the next year. Mr Garrison at first refused to come nigh the meeting. He did at last come in a few moments when the Conference was nearly closed, and all but four or five of the persons present had retired; and after sitting a short time, remarked, with a smile of seeming exultation, that he did not see that any thing could be done. Thus this fraternal effort at an adjustment of the matter at the threshold was sternly and resolutely repulsed, just as we should expect it to have been on the supposition that the initiated had made up their minds beforehand to push the measure at all hazards. From this point, the measure has been carried by the same persons and with the same pertinacity, first to the Massachusetts State Anti-Slavery Society, then to sister State and local Societies, then to the National Society, and finally to the World's Convention, and there contested in such a manner as to show that William Lloyd Garrison and his associates crossed the great Atlantic, not to further the cause of the Slave, but to take advantage of the Slave's Convention to

test and give currency to his and their Quixotic schemes of "Woman's Rights." And all this, when the evidence is indisputable on their own confessions, that *that* public action of Women in our State and National Societies for which they have so strenuously contended, was never contemplated in the original formation of those Societies. The evidence of such confessions is at hand.

On the 11th of March of 1836, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society wrote, by their Secretary, to the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, stating that that Society was auxiliary to the American, and that, at a recent meeting of its Board of Managers, it had been proposed to inquire of the Executive Committee of the National Society, whether or not they would be expected to send a delegation to its annual meeting, &c., &c. The proposition occasioned some debate, and as they supposed the Boston Society was auxiliary to the State or national, they wished to be informed what their "opinion and practice were respecting the sending of delegates to its annual meeting"—a strange inquiry truly, if the sending of such delegations, and the public action consequent upon it, has always been contemplated, and is in keeping with the constitution of that Society, as originally adopted in that same city, and in presence, too, of the very women that now urged it! The Boston Society was not auxiliary to either of the Societies named, and of course had no "*practice*" on the subject. A meeting was accordingly held to consider and give an "*opinion*" in the case. A majority of the meeting were opposed to the measure. Mr Garrison was then boarding at Miss Lucy Parker's, and manifested great anxiety in respect to the result. The following certificates will show what he said when informed of it, and what he then thought of the measure proposed:—

"I hereby certify that on our return from the meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, at which the opinion of the Society was taken in regard to the question submitted to it by the Philadelphia Society, Mr Garrison inquired what we had done, and when informed that a majority were against the measure proposed, he said, '*I am glad of it, for it was never contemplated.*'"

"MARY S. PARKER."

This is the Miss Parker that was, for several years, the President of the Boston Society. Her sister says:—

"The impression of the undersigned is that Mr Garrison said, '*I am glad of it, for it would only make trouble.*'"

"LUCY PARKER."

"BOSTON, *January 14th, 1840.*"

Both these testimonies were given Mr Phelps in writing at the date of the latter. They are both identical in fact, though not in terms; for why would the measure "make trouble," but on the ground that it "was never contemplated?"

On the 8th of March last, Mr St. Clair writes Mr Phelps, in respect to Mr Johnson's confessions, as follows:—

"A short time after the New England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1838, at which Mr Johnson presented the Woman question, he observed to me that you had said, in a conversation with him"—(this was so)—"if the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should take the same course the New England Convention had upon the subject, you and many others should leave it. I replied, then it must not be brought forward. He said, it certainly would be. Then, I inquired, why not make the motion in the language of the constitution, inviting all '*persons*' to act, and leaving it to each to give his own construction. Because, he replied, when the constitution was adopted, it was not contemplated that women should act in the public meetings of the Society; and unless specially invited they would not. I inquired if he would push that subject if he knew it would

divide the Society. He replied, Yes; it would drive off only such men as Phelps—the orthodox and the clergy would leave, and they could be very well spared.”

These facts need no comment.

THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL ACTION.

A second instance of the development of the same design, is furnished in the attempt to modify the action of the Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with the views of the Reformers on the subject of civil government. The intention obviously was to prepare the way for this modification by the same silent and “sifting-in” process, that had done the work in the case just named. Hence the discussion was introduced, little by little, in the *Liberator*, great care being taken at the same time to reiterate the assurance that Anti-Slavery is still its leading and distinctive object, (*Lib.*, vol. 8. p. 155,) and that “the discussion of the peace question in its columns, will continue to be, as it has been hitherto, *merely incidental!*” The impression was also studiously made that Abolitionists were rapidly going over to the new doctrine, especially the most ultra and thorough of them.

The providence of God, however, hastened the development on this subject sooner than had been anticipated, and before the leaders in the matter were fully prepared for it. Various causes combined, in the summer and fall of 1838, to call the attention of the Abolitionists of this State and of the country, to the consideration and discharge of their duty, as citizens, in the use of the elective franchise. The doctrine of the Anti-Slavery Societies always had been that the use of that franchise for the Slave was a solemn duty—a matter demanded not on the ground of consistency merely, but of sacred obligation.*

* The doctrine of the Declaration of Sentiments, drafted by Mr Garrison, and put forth by the convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in December, 1833, was as follows:—

“*We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS resting on the people of the free States, to remove Slavery by moral AND political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.*”

“Political action” is here affirmed to be a matter of “*highest obligation.*” It and “moral” action are put on the same footing—that of *duty*, not of *consistency* merely with one’s professions. That this sentiment had main and ultimate reference to the use of the elective franchise, is proved beyond a doubt. Some two years since, JOHN G. WHITTIER, then editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, said:—

“We were a member of that Philadelphia convention—one of the three constituting the Sub-Committee, which drew up the Declaration of Sentiments. No one at that period objected to political action in its fullest extent. Our friend Garrison told us how the Abolitionists in Great Britain were carrying their principles to the ballot box, as an earnest of what we shall be able to do ere long in our own country.”

Mr Garrison has never denied this statement. Indeed, in the autumn of 1834, he virtually declared the same thing himself. In reply to a correspondent, who complained that he had too much politics in his paper, he (*Lib.*, December 27th,) said:—

“Hitherto, we have said little or nothing in reply to the hypocritical cant and lugubrious outcry which have been uttered by the pro-slavery party, respecting the ‘Political action’ alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention; but in our next volume we shall take up this subject, and tell Slave Traders, Slaveholders, Colonizationists, and all others, what we mean to do with our elective franchise, towards breaking up the impious system of Slavery. *As that Declaration was penned by us, we presume that we are competent to give an exposition of its doctrines.* One thing we will say, in advance

So soon, therefore, as the course of events called on Abolitionists to give expression to their opinions in resolutions of conventions and societies, this was the doctrine which they everywhere avowed. Among other events, in consequence of successive defeats, the several contested elections in the fourth Congressional District in this State, came on.

On the 11th of December, 1838, preparatory to the election on the following Monday, the Abolitionists of the District held a meeting at Concord. Messrs. H. B. Stanton, A. A. Phelps, A. St. Clair, Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison, were there. Among the resolutions adopted on that occasion, and in support of which, Wendell Phillips made a most eloquent speech, were the following:—

Resolved, That we will not content ourselves with simply staying away from the polls, and neglecting to vote for the candidates in question, but, Providence permitting, will be at the polls without fail, and vote *for* some one who is true to the Slave—deeply sensible that it is quite as important, and AS MUCH OUR DUTY, to be at our post, and vote *for* a good and true man, as it is to *decline* voting for one who is not; and that we earnestly recommend to all Abolitionists in the District to do the same.

Resolved, That the more effectually to secure this object, it be recommended to the Abolitionists in each town, to appoint a Committee of one, two, or three, as the case may require, whose duty it shall be to see that every Abolitionist in the town is at the polls, that he may there vote for the Slave.*

of our essays, that the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the Slaves in the District of Columbia and the territories, is to be made A TEST AT THE BALLOT BOXES, in the choice of representatives to Congress; and that no man, who is a Slaveholder, will receive the votes of conscientious and consistent Abolitionists, for any station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States.”

This is a plain confession that “the political action alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention,” and urged as a duty, had special reference to the use of the “elective franchise.” Yet when the same doctrine was urged in 1838, it was resisted as an attempt to drive non-governmentalists in general, and Mr Garrison in particular, from the Anti-Slavery ranks! The “essays” promised never made their appearance.

* In the *National Standard* of July 23d, 1840, there is an “Address of the (new) Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the Abolitionists of the United States.” It is signed by JAMES S. GIBBONS, Chairman, and JAMES C. JACKSON, Secretary. It purports to give a history of the division among the Abolitionists. “We have made this development,” say they, “by order of the Society, to the end that Abolitionists, of this and of coming time, may understand the true causes of the alienation which has been consummated by the act of forming a new organization at New York.” The document is, throughout, *one continued tissue of misrepresentation and of mis-statement of facts*. As one illustration of this, by no means the worst, we select the following:—

“It is proper to observe that Messrs Stanton and Phelps had the whole control of that field”—(the 4th District.) They put in nomination the Rev. James Woodbury as the Abolition Candidate, and circulated printed votes in his behalf. This step, we think, was in itself wrong. The Abolitionists of the District generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular, at whose expense these operations were carried on, had a right to be consulted, both whether a separate nomination should be made, and if so who should be the individual selected.”

And then, as the *motive* of the nomination, the address adds:—

“Mr Woodbury had been a distinguished sympathizer with the clerical appellants, was a friend of the national administration, and in this respect, harmonized with Mr Stanton, as he did with both Stanton and Phelps, in his *sectarian attachments*.”

Now it so happens, that not a solitary item in the above statement is correctly given. Messrs. Stanton and Phelps did *not* have the whole control of that field; they did *not* put Mr Woodbury or any one else in nomination as the

These are a specimen of the character of the resolutions that were being adopted at that time in all parts of the land. They affirmed voting for the Slave to be a *duty*. This, of course, was in flat contradiction of the principles of non-governmentism. Nevertheless, so obvious was it that they were only expressive of the doctrine of original and genuine Abolition, that Mr Phillips eloquently advocated them, and Mr Garrison said not one word in opposition. This was on the 11th of December, 1838. A *crisis* was at hand. The "sifting in" process would no longer answer. Some bold push must be made, or political abolition, without one word of controversy, would drive non-governmentism from the field. At the annual meeting of the State Society, within one short month after, that push was made; it was to drive from the field that *form* of political action, which, recognizing the right of government to exist, affirmed the use of the elective franchise for the Slave to be a duty, and to substitute in its place a non-government form, *i.e.*, one that should not affirm the use of the franchise to be the *duty* of any one, but should say, merely, that if any *one thought* it his duty to vote for the Slave, and then did not, he would act inconsistently! Accordingly, when Mr St. Clair brought forward his resolution, saying, "it is the imperious duty of every Abolitionist who *can conscientiously* exercise the elective franchise, to go promptly to the polls and deposit his vote," &c., it was seen that although it had a saving clause in favour of those who could not conscientiously do it, which the resolution at Concord had not, yet it contained the obnoxious principle—it affirmed it to be the duty of somebody to do it.

At once the hue and cry was raised, that the presentation and passage of such a resolution was all a piece of persecution—a deep laid plot to drive non-resistants in general, and Mr Garrison in particular, from the Anti-Slavery Society. And this hue and cry was led off by the very men, *who one month before, at Concord, had advocated or silently acquiesced in the passage of a resolution which affirmed the same doctrine, and had no sav-*

Abolition Candidate; no such Candidate was put in nomination by any one; nor was any thing important done, in that whole campaign, without careful consultation with the Abolitionists of the District generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular. It was by the direction of the Board, *as their records will show*, that Messrs Phelps and Stanton gave their attention to that field at that period. It was by their direction, too, that, preparatory to one of the trials, Messrs. St. Clair, Wise, Phillips, and Russell, were all sent, in connexion with Messrs Phelps and Stanton, to lecture in the several towns there. It was under their eye, and especially that of Mr Garrison, and only partially at their expense, that the *Liberator's Extra* and other documents were printed and sent into the field at each of the successive trials there. Previous to all, or nearly all of those trials, a convention was held of the Abolitionists of the District. Those conventions—and there were at least three of them—were well attended, representatives being present from a large majority of the towns. Each convention decided for itself, and as the representative of the Abolitionists of the District generally, the course to be pursued at the election then at hand. At none of these conventions was Rev. J. T. Woodbury, or any other individual, put in nomination as the Abolition Candidate. *The scattering system was universally adopted.* To facilitate its operation, the names of some five of the most prominent Abolitionists in the District, of both political parties, were printed on a slip of paper and circulated, that each might make his own selection, and vote for which of the five he might prefer, or for neither if he pleased. This was all; and *this* was done at the convention named above; Messrs. Garrison, Jackson, and Phillips, as Representatives of the Board and members of the convention, participating in the deed!

The above is a fair specimen of the general inaccuracy of the Address, and also of Mrs Chapman's books, in respect to their representations of the facts connected with the late division in our ranks.

ing clause whatever for conscientious scruples. It was to no purpose that they were assured there was no such design; that there was a saving clause for the sake of the very men whom they alleged it was designed to drive off. There was a plot and they knew it, and there was an end of argument and of reason in the case. Moreover, they said that the resolution did affirm it to be the duty of somebody to vote, and they, as non-resistants, could not say that; and so long as the Society said it, it conflicted with their views, which it had no right to do, but was bound to modify its action so as not to do it. And so Mr Garrison brought in his substitute, and the modification was effected; the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was made to abandon its own original doctrines on the subject of political action, and become subservient to the promotion of the dogmas of non-governmentism!

THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITIONIST.

In exact keeping with the same policy and the same design, was the conduct of the same individuals and their associates in respect to the establishment of the Massachusetts Abolitionist. The repeated political conflicts in the 4th District, concurred with various other causes to beget the feeling in many minds of the want of a new and cheaper paper, that should specially urge the duty of political action, be adapted to general circulation, and be the organ of the State Society. The Board of Managers of the Society had been fully apprised of the existence of this feeling. As early as the middle of November, Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, called at the Anti-Slavery office to see Mr Phelps about what should be done in reference to the then next election, in the 4th District. In the course of the conversation, he, of his own accord, said we needed a new Anti-Slavery paper; to which, without hesitation, Mr Phelps responded. Dr. Farnsworth had suggested the same thing before, at his house, to Mr St. Clair. He was indeed among the first to suggest and favour the measure, though afterwards opposing it. On the occasion just referred to, he told Mr Phelps he would go and see Messrs. Garrison and Johnson, and talk with them about it. He did so. About a month after this, on the 14th of December, the subject came up informally, in board meeting, and then Mr Phelps stated fully and frankly what the feeling was and what the kind of paper that was needed, so far as he knew. Toward the close of that month, Mr Phelps being absent from the city, the Board took up the subject in form, of establishing such a paper. A Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Quincy, Garrison, and Phelps, to consider and report upon it. On the 31st of December, Mr Phelps being still absent, Mr Quincy, in behalf of himself and Mr Garrison, made the following Report:

The Committee to which was referred the subject of a new Anti-Slavery paper to be the organ of the Massachusetts State Society, and to be conducted under its direction, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

Your Committee are given to understand that the want of an Anti-Slavery newspaper, of a cheaper description than the *Liberator*, *Emancipator*, *Friend of Man*, &c., for gratuitous distribution by societies and individuals, has been widely felt and loudly expressed throughout the State. If such a want exist, your committee can entertain no doubt that it would be for the advantage of the cause that it should be supplied. If properly conducted, such a periodical would contain in a cheap and condensed form, a great amount of Anti-Slavery reading which might be widely disseminated by the local Societies at a small expense. Such a periodical, it is believed, would not interfere injuriously with

the circulation of any of the larger sheets which are issued in various portions of our country for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. A publication not unlike the one proposed, has been lately issued by the New York Anti-Slavery Society entitled the *Anti-Slavery Lecturer*.

As the periodical which is believed to be demanded by the friends of the cause, must be in a great degree local in its character, and devoted to the peculiar wants of this State, there *seems to be a peculiar propriety in its being sent forth under the auspices of the State Society*. This Board, moreover, will find it a convenient organ for the publication and recording of its proceedings and official acts. Its being made the organ of this Board, too, would give it an importance in the eyes of the Abolitionists throughout the State, which it would want if issued by any individuals, of however high standing in the Anti-Slavery ranks. The principal objection which your Committee apprehend will be urged against this proposition, will arise from the expense which will attend it.

The Committee show that nothing is to be apprehended on this ground, and then add:—

“Your Committee are of opinion, that the arguments in favour of such a publication are of more weight than those which occur to them against it. They therefore recommend that the experiment be tried; and would respectfully submit the following details of the plan in the form of Resolutions, which they deem the most feasible, leaving it with the Board to adopt or reject it in whole or in part.

“Resolved,—That it is advisable that a periodical be published monthly, under the direction of this board.

“Resolved,—That the name of this periodical be ‘The Abolitionist.’

“Resolved,—That the *Abolitionist* be edited by a Committee of Three Members of this Board, to be chosen by ballot.

“Resolved,—That the *Abolitionist* be furnished to individual subscribers at 50 cents a copy, per annum, only on condition of payment in advance, and to societies or individuals for gratuitous distribution, at 25 cents a copy, per ann., provided the number so taken be not less than ten. All which is respectfully submitted,

“EDMUND QUINCY, *for the Committee*.

“BOSTON, *December 31st, 1838.*”

This Report was accepted, and a Committee of three appointed to edit the paper, with directions to issue an edition of 3000 copies of a specimen number, to be laid before the approaching Annual Meeting of the Society for its approval or otherwise.

The Report is the Board’s official confession (1) that they had been fully apprised of the state of feeling in respect to a new paper, and (2) that, in their view, if established, there would be “a peculiar propriety” in its being their “organ,” rather than that of “any individuals of however high standing in the Anti-Slavery ranks.” Let this be noted.

The paper they proposed to issue, however, did not meet the views of those who desired a new one. Mr Torrey, having been informed of their action in the case, immediately wrote them, urging the necessity of a weekly.* Mr Phelps also assured Members of the Board, and among them Mr Garrison, that it would not meet the wants of those who desired it if it were not weekly. It was seen that this project would not answer. At once the whole system of tactics was changed. Instead of seeking to soothe and win the “malcontents,” and “disorganizers,” so called, the policy was adopted of forcing their submission, or driving them, as “insidious plotters,” “traitors,” &c., &c., in disgrace from the ranks. The maxims of policy plainly were, “rule or ruin”—“submission or

* It is worthy of note that among all the plot-wise letters of Mr Torrey that have been carefully gathered up and printed, the two letters written to the Board at this time have never yet seen the light of day, nor has a hint been given to the public, by the “plot” manufacturers, of their existence.

death." The Committee to issue the specimen number did nothing, and on the 11th of January, in an editorial headed "Watchman, what of the night?" Mr Garrison raised the cry of treason and of plots. He said:—

"Strong foes are without, insidious plotters are within the camp. A conflict is at hand—if the signs of the times do not deceive us—which is to be more hotly contested, and which will require more firmness of nerve and greater singleness of purpose, (combined with sleepless vigilance and unswerving integrity), than any through which we have passed to victory. Once more, therefore, we would speak trumpet-tongued—sound an alarm bell—light up a beacon fire—give out a new watchword—so that there may be a general rallying of our early, intrepid, storm-proof, scarred and veteran coadjutors, at the coming anniversary—all panoplied as of yore, and prepared to give battle to internal contrivers of mischief, as readily as to external and avowed enemies.

* * * * *

"With pain we avow it, there is a deep scheme laid by individuals, at present somewhat conspicuous as zealous and active Abolitionists, to put the control of the Anti-Slavery movements in this commonwealth into other hands. This scheme, of course, is of clerical origin, and the prominent ringleaders fill the clerical office. One of the most restless was a participant in the infamous 'Clerical Appeal' conspiracy, though not one of the immortal five. The design is, by previous management and drilling, to effect such a change in the present faithful and liberal minded Board of Managers of the State Society at the Annual Meeting, as will throw the balance of power into the hands of a far different body of men, for the accomplishment of ulterior measures which are now in embryo. The next object is, to effect the establishment of a new weekly Anti-Slavery Journal, to be the organ of the State Society, for the purpose, if not avowedly, yet designedly, to subvert the *Liberator*, and thus relieve the Abolition cause in this State of the odium of countenancing such a paper. Then—make way for the clergy! For, by 'hanging Garrison,' and repudiating the *Liberator*, they will surely condescend to take the reins of Anti-Slavery management into their own hands.

"The plot, thus far, has been warily managed, so, if possible, to 'deceive the very elect.' Many, we know, are already ensnared, and some, at least, who neither intend nor suspect mischief. The guise in which it is presented is one of deep solicitude for the success of our cause. No attempt is to be made to lower down the standard—O, no!—but simply to change the men to whom has been so long entrusted the management of the enterprise, and put in their place younger men, better men, who will accomplish wonders, and perform their duties more faithfully—that's all! While privately, by conversation, letters, circulars, &c., &c., every effort is making to disparage the *Liberator*, (the paper is too tame for these rampant plotters!) and to calumniate its editor, no hostility to either is to be openly avowed. Far from it; for honesty in this case might not, peradventure, prove to be the best policy.

* * * * *

"The trusty friends of our good cause, and all who desire to baffle the machinations of a clerical combination, will need no other notice than this, to induce them to rally at the Annual Meeting, and watch with jealousy and meet with firmness every attempt, however plausibly made, to effect any material change in the management of the concerns of the State Society. 'The spirit that would discard such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel E. Sewall, Edmund Quincy, and Wendell Phillips, is treacherous to humanity.'

What is said of discarding such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, &c., was purely gratuitous. Such a thing had not been thought of. Mr Jackson had said to Mr Stanton that he thought of declining a re-election to the Presidency of the Society, and in consequence, Mr Stanton remarked to some Member of the Board that *if* he did, he thought Hon. William Jackson, the brother of Francis, would make a good successor. Mr St. Clair had also suggested to some one, that he thought the Board ought to be enlarged, so as to take in some friends of the cause at Cambridgeport and Lynn, and at the same time give the several religious denominations a fairer proportionate representation on the Board; and

behold! a foul plot is discovered to revolutionize the Board and "subvert the *Liberator!*"

Such was the key-note given out for the Annual Meeting. The meeting was held, and lo! the very men that three weeks before had voted to establish a new paper to meet the wants of the State, now insisted that none was needed; they who then saw a "peculiar propriety" in its being the "organ" of the Society, would not have it so now on any account; and they who wished such a paper were told to start it themselves and not tax the Society with it, and were assured that if they did so, there would be no complaint or opposition. No sooner said than done. The paper was established, and lo! another change. Scarcely had another three weeks rolled away, before the same men issued a paper of their own, of the same size but cheaper than the *Abolitionist*, and with the avowed design, first, of meeting the want in question, and second, of destroying the *Abolitionist*. Such facts speak for themselves.

THE CHURCH, MINISTRY, AND SABBATH.

On the 25th of February, 1839, Oliver Johnson, having fully adopted the opinions and imbibed the spirit of Mr Garrison, addressed a letter to the church in Middlebury, Vt. in which the following passages occur:—

"It is, if I mistake not, about three years since I esteemed it both a duty and a privilege to become a member of your body. I then believed that you were in reality what you claimed, and still claim to be—a church of the Lord Jesus Christ,—and consequently, that I could not rightfully withdraw from you, except for the purpose of connecting myself with another similiar association. It is my duty now to apprise you that my views of the nature of your organization, and, indeed, of all the ecclesiastical organizations with which I am acquainted, have undergone a *radical change*. I now regard them as *mere human societies*, which can rightfully exercise no powers whatever, except such as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of which they are composed. That they have derived, in their associated capacity, any power from the Great Head of the church, I do not believe; and hence, it is clear to my mind, that I may as rightfully withdraw from your body as from any other human society. * * * I readily concede that moral beings have a right to form associations (on principles which do not restrict individual freedom,) for the purpose of mutual edification, and the propagation of what they believed to be gospel truth, but to call such associations *churches of Christ*, I believe to be an assumption wholly unwarranted by the Scriptures. Christ has but *one* church in the world, and the members of the church are known, not by their connexion with any society formed by men, but 'by their fruits,' consequently a withdrawal from such a society is not a withdrawal from the church of Christ. It is my full conviction, that Christianity has suffered, and is still suffering greatly from the common belief, that organizations which are the work of men, are churches of Christ; and I cannot consent, by remaining a member of your body, to give countenance to so pernicious an error."

Having thus given his view of "the *nature* of the church organizations of the present day," he proceeded, as one among "other important reasons," why he felt called upon, by a withdrawal from their body, "to bear a solemn testimony against them," to state that, in his belief, they are "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity—a block before and a weight behind the wheel of gospel reform." * * * "When the *corruptions* of these organizations," he adds, "first arrested my attention, I consoled myself with the hope that they might be purified and reformed; but subsequent reflection, and the events of the few past years, have utterly destroyed that hope, and forced upon my mind the conviction, that their *overthrow*, and not their reformation, is 'registered on the scroll of Destiny.'" And he then formally "withdraws" from the church.

These sentiments, it will be seen, assail the churches and their connected institutions, on two grounds, first their "*nature*," and second their "*corruptions*," upon both of which, it is maintained, they should be rejected. These, it is well known, were the sentiments and feelings of Mrs Chapman, Messrs. Garrison, Benson, Quincy, and others of the initiated, at this period, and for some time previously. In the Reply to the Clerical Appeal, two years before, Mr Garrison declared that the "great mass of the clergy" were "nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term," and that their "overthrow is registered on the scroll of Destiny." The same summer also, at Providence, he proclaimed, as we have seen, the speedy overthrow of the nation and the church. During the autumn following, Mrs Chapman is known to have said to him repeatedly, "Your first business is to crush the clergy." Such, subsequently, have become the sentiments and feelings of Messrs. H. C. Wright, Collins, Whiting, Pillsbury, Foster, and others of the leaders and subordinates in the movement.

It is plain that persons entertaining these sentiments, could not seek the "reformation" of the churches, as their object. Such reformation would but perpetuate organizations, which, in their very nature, they regarded as "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity," and especially of "gospel reform." They had declared "reformation," moreover, a hopeless event. Of course whatever they might do or say, in respect to the churches, their object must be "overthrow," not reform. *Honesty* would have sought this object *directly and openly*: and to this end, would have gone back at once to the "*nature*" of the organizations, and calling that in question, waged its first and main conflict there. *Dishonesty* would have sought it *indirectly and covertly*: and to this end, would have taken advantage of the Anti-Slavery cause, to raise a hue and cry about "the corruptions of these organizations," in order to break down public confidence in them on *this* ground, and *then*, in due time, to call in question their "*nature*," or right to be, as such.

The latter policy was adopted. In prosecuting it, the "sifting-in" process was vigorously plied. The ministry were special objects of attack. "Any thing to give the clergy a dab," said Oliver Johnson. "Wolves in sheep's clothing"—"Hirelings in the bad sense of the term"—"The deadliest enemies of holiness, as a body, in the land," said Mr Garrison. Such were the epithets continually heaped in rich effusion on them. They were the grand obstacles to reform. "The Anti-Slavery car has rolled forward thus far, not only without the aid, but against the combined influence of the ministers and churches of the country," said Mr Johnson. (*Lib.*, Oct. 13, 1837.) If they come into the ranks it is because the cause is getting popular; or they are clutching for power and mean to take the management of the cause into their hands, was the imputation constantly thrown out by Mr Garrison. The churches also were represented as alike corrupt. In Sept., 1838, the New England Non-Resistance Convention came. With it came a renunciation of civil government, coupled with the declaration, "We purpose to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and *ecclesiastical* institutions." Mrs Chapman commenced the application at once. In the paper (Oct. 5th,) following the one that contained the proceedings of the Convention, she threw out some "definitions, the result of observation and thought," which she hoped might prove useful to any who are entangled in the weeds, that, springing up out of the slime of ambiguity, impede a free movement through the waters of truth. The definitions made the "church originally" and "voluntary associations" now, substantially the same thing. The one was "a body

of men drawn together by the affections and sympathies ;" the other a body of men "drawn together by an agreement in principles of action, which they deem divine."

The work went on. Anti-Slavery lecturers of the "right" sort were put into the field. Anti-Slavery Societies were summoned to the passage of resolutions, denying the Christian name and character to the churches generally. Step after step was taken, until, at the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, in May, 1840, after the division had taken place, Mr Garrison presented, and the Society adopted, a preamble and resolution, affirming that "the American church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American Slavery," and therefore "ought not to be regarded and treated as the church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, so long as it occupies its present position."*

Similar resolutions were passed at other meetings. About this time James Boyle, of Ohio, appeared in print again. His letters were published in the *Liberator* with high approval. In one of them he said, "Lawyers, doctors, and priests, are the devil's trinity—and professions, as such, must perish." On the 2d of July following, in an editorial, in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, prepared for the purpose of expressing their views, the new Executive Committee of the old Society said:—

"*Anti-Slavery* is a word of mighty power. Oh, it strikes at the very corner-stones and key-stones of society. It aims a death-blow at long cherished habits and opinions. It robs life of all factitious honours; but above, and more than all, it would put an end for ever to the unrighteous dominion of 'the church,' it would unseat popular theology from its throne, break down the barriers of sect, and in short, resolve society into its natural elements, saving all the real progress it has made in the scale of improvement. *Here is the true issue on which*

* The position of the churches and ministers has by no means been what it should, on this subject. At the same time they have been, relatively, very far in advance of the State and the people at large. A careful statistical examination, made by Mr Phelps, gives the following, among other results.

Taking the country together, there is, on an average, one minister to 500 people. In the early Anti-Slavery conventions and meetings, of those who signed the call for the Maine, New Hampshire, and first New England Convention, in 1833 and 1834, more than one-third were ministers; of the delegates present in these and the National Convention at Philadelphia the same year, more than one-fifth were ministers; and of the delegates to these and the first four annual meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the proportion was the same. So that in the Anti-Slavery reform, in its unpopular days, taking all together, the ministry, as a class, were to the people, not as 1 to 500, the ratio of population, but as 1 to 5.

Again, in the latter part of 1837, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society requested all its auxiliaries to report their name, officers, and number of members. From the returns received it appeared that the Anti-Slavery Societies then had a membership of 19,206 in the State, which was equivalent to 1 in 36 of the people. About the same time Mr Phelps commenced a similar inquiry in respect to the ministry. He wrote to some minister in each association, or religious connexion, known to him as a decided Abolitionist, requesting the number of members in said body, and also the number known as members of Anti-Slavery Societies, on the principle of immediate emancipation. Estimating the whole from the returns actually received, and it appeared that of the 792 ministers of all denominations then in the State, 367, or 103 more than one-third, or nearly half the whole, were members of such societies. At that time, taking the population as a whole, there was in the State one minister to 518 of the people. Had the ministry, as a class, been equally advanced with the people, and no more, we should have had one minister to 518 of the people in the Anti-Slavery Societies. Instead of this, however, there was one to 52—showing that instead of being *relatively* behind the people, on the subject, they were in fact 900 per cent. in advance!

the division in our ranks has been made up. What do 'Woman's Rights' and 'Non-resistance' weigh in a contest which threatens such a revolution? If it were possible to change the nature of the reform, so that it should have reference only to the Abolition of Negro physical Slavery, and none whatever to *the general emancipation of mind*, depend upon it, women and non-resistants might have participated in our action, and not a thought of secession would have been tolerated."

Thus was the work of perversion consummated. The very *end and aim* of the Anti-Slavery cause were changed. "*The general emancipation of mind*," not the abolition of Negro physical Slavery, was now its object. It went for generic reform,—the "resolution of society into its natural elements." Anti-Slavery Societies had been and were to be used as a means to *this*, not to their original end. And it was just because certain of the early Abolitionists would not consent to it, that the division arose. "*Here*," on the confession of the party implicated, "*was the true issue*;" but for this, "*not a thought of secession would have been tolerated.*"

This perversion effected, and matters stood thus. The Anti-Slavery organizations were used to unhinge public confidence in the ministry and churches, and to carry on the war against them on the ground of their alleged Pro-Slavery "corruptions;" the non-resistance Associations were used by the same persons to do the same work, on the ground of their so-called, war-making "corruptions;" and Abolitionists were urged, in repeated instances, to withdraw from and bear their testimony against these "synagogues of Satan." The *preparation work* was done. All that could be effected indirectly, through the Anti-Slavery organizations, was effected, and the time had come for the final development,—the assault on the ministry and the churches as such. On, therefore, came the "Church, Ministry, and Sabbath Convention," so termed. The result of that meeting, its denial of the Sabbath and the ministry, and above all, its rejection of the Bible as of supreme authority in matters of religious faith and duty, are well known. Mr Garrison feared, beforehand, that the calling of the meeting was "somewhat premature." Afterwards, he rejoiced in its result, because he "believed that the truth as it is in Jesus was signally promoted by it;" and *Kneeland's Infidel Investigator* rejoiced in it as "a monument of the vincibility of prejudice, and the triumph of plain truth."

SPIRIT, SECTARIANISM, AND DISHONESTY OF THE LEADERS.

A few facts in illustration of these points must close this humiliating and painful development. They will also show, we think, that the very sectarianism and dishonesty so often charged upon the secession, really belong to the other party.

At an early stage of our contentions, a difficulty occurred between the Executive Committees of the National and State Societies, in respect to the payment of a pledge due the former from the latter. The Committee of the State Society sent a Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. H. G. Chapman and others, to New York, to remonstrate with the Committee of the National Society, to induce them to change their decision in the case. Soon after their return, Mr H. G. Chapman met Mr Stanton in the Anti-Slavery office, 25, Cornhill, and almost the first salutation was—"By G—d, your Committee at New York are what I call d—n small coffee." Nor was this a solitary instance of the kind.—The use of profane language is not unfrequent with that individual, at least, on exciting occasions. Yet with this fact well known to his immediate friends, he has been put in nomination year after year, and elected to the office of treasurer of an

institution that asks the co-operation and the charities of Christians, and has been heralded in the *Martyr Age*, and elsewhere, as "an excellent man," with a "spirit of self-denial" worthy of all praise!

Again, the Rev. A. St. Clair, at the commencement of the difficulties, was an agent of the State Society, and a Restorationist and Christian in his religious sentiments. Subsequently he has changed his religious views, and is now a member in good standing of an Orthodox Congregational Church in New Hampshire. The strange developments made, in the course of our divisions, on the part of those with whose religious sentiments, he, at the outset, sympathized, have done much in effecting this change.—On the 8th of March, 1841, in reply to inquiries made by Mr Phelps, Mr St. Clair made the following statements in writing:—

You are aware that my confidence in Mr Garrison and Johnson, as men of truth and integrity, was formerly very strong and full. In the former it remained so till the course he adopted and pursued in relation to the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. In Mr J. it was partially alienated and impaired the summer previous. In one instance he made a remark which led me to question the motives with which he was attacking ministers, and in another to fear that he was willing to sacrifice the Anti-Slavery cause to his other peculiar views. The first remark was the more surprising, as I did not suspect, at the time, his views in relation to the Christian ministry and church, which have since been developed.

During the summer of 1838, while Mr Garrison was at Brooklyn and Mr Johnson was editing the *Liberator*, a statement about a clergyman was published in the paper, which, knowing the circumstances, I was aware was untrue. But supposing Mr J. had made it by mistake, through misrepresentation, and would be willing to correct it, I stated the facts to him, and desired him to do so. Some time afterwards, as he did not, I reminded him of it again. He replied, "Never mind it; any thing to give the clergy a dab."

From the time the attempt was made in Boston to form an evangelical Anti-Slavery Society, Mr J. often manifested a cordial hatred of evangelical principles as well as men. At one time during the summer of 1838, on my combating some loose opinion advanced by him, he replied that I was "getting to be too everlasting evangelical." At another he manifested his contempt by sneeringly calling the bathing tubs at the Marlboro' Chapel, "the evangelical watering troughs." Nor did he share this hatred alone; but many other *then* and *now* leaders of the old organization, partook of the same feeling, and this has been the most powerful motive in the course they have since pursued, and the secret of many of their movements. For the truth of this remark take the following instances as proof:—

At the time the question of establishing the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* was pending, in the winter of 1838-39, great efforts were made by the leading friends of the *Liberator* to induce me to abandon the project. The evening before the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, while returning from Cambridgeport, in company with Rev. J. V. Himes, of whose church I was then a member, he inquired why I wanted another paper—why the *Liberator* was not sufficient? I replied, for two reasons. First, we wanted one so cheap that every Abolitionist could and would take it; and second, we wanted one free from objectionable extraneous topics. The *Liberator* was two dollars and a half a-year, and devoted just as truly to the "woman question" and the overthrow of human government, as to the abolition of Slavery.—He admitted the charges, but said if we established another paper it would "bring the Orthodox into power." I asked whom he meant by Orthodox. He replied, "all the so-called evangelicals." Then, I remarked, they constitute nine-tenths of the Abolitionists in the State. He said he was not prepared to dispute it, but that he did not like their mode of doing business; that hitherto the Anti-Slavery cause had been kept out of their hands, and that he meant to keep it out if he could.

This was the first development of sectarianism of so palpable and barefaced a nature, which I had ever witnessed in connexion with any Anti-Slavery movement.—Mr Himes was and still is a member of the Board of Managers of the old Society in Massachusetts—a "no-government" and "Woman's Rights" man, and a cordial hater of evangelical Christians. I had frequently,

during the summer and autumn previous, heard the Executive Committee at New York hinted at as persons of doubtful trustworthiness, on account of their evangelical character, whom it would not be amiss to remove. But here was the open avowal of an intention, by a leading member of the Boston Committee, to keep the control and influence of the Anti-Slavery movement in the hands of a small minority, because he disliked the religious views of the majority. I was alarmed at the disclosure, and, as you are aware, the same evening stated the fact to you and H. B. Stanton, which you threw out by insinuations the following evening, in the public meeting.

The next day was the Annual Meeting of the State Society. On entering the Marlboro' Chapel, I was met by several friends, who informed me that George Benson, brother-in-law of Mr Garrison, was inquiring for, and anxious to see me. I now met him—with much anxiety he desired me to accompany him to a lobby, where he immediately opened the subject of the newspaper, which was to come before the meeting for discussion and action. It was all, he assured me, an Orthodox plot and trick, to get the Anti-Slavery cause into their own hands, and throw Garrison overboard. I inquired for the evidence; he had none to give, but endeavoured to produce conviction, by repeating the assertion. I asked if he supposed I would be guilty of any such plot. He replied, No. He and his friends thought me deceived; but still it was a plot, and if I would come out and abandon the proposition for a paper, they could show it to be such. I asked how. He replied by showing that there was nobody in favour of it but the Orthodox. I assured him, if there was any plot in the matter, I was guilty of it; for I had first laid the project before a few Abolition friends; and then, at the request of Dea. Everett, had presented it in resolutions before a county meeting, which had adopted it with but one dissenting vote. He next endeavoured to carry his point, by representing that the paper, if established, would bring the Orthodox into power, who would kick me overboard with him, for my trouble. Finding I was not moved by the fear of such a terrible result, he attempted to dissuade me from my purpose by flattery, assuring me how much confidence he and his friends had reposed in me to carry forward Mr Garrison's views and interests in Massachusetts, and that they would be ready to overlook any trifling error, and give their fullest confidence. Nor was he slow or backward in making promises of any thing in their power to bestow, in case I would abandon that "Orthodox plot," and return to Mr G.'s interest. But as this did not produce its desired effect, he next addressed my fears; stating that the Orthodox Abolitionists had no confidence in me, but would certainly kick me with him overboard the moment a paper should be established. I asked for evidence of these charges. He did not attempt to give any, except an account of H. B. Stanton's having, at sundry times, made me the subject of ridicule, which he afterwards denied, on being brought face to face with Stanton on the subject. This interview impaired my confidence in Mr Benson. I saw that, like Mr Garrison and Himes, while he was charging sectarianism on the orthodox (whom he explained to be Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists,) he was governed purely by this principle himself.

A few days after, it had been agreed by the friends of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* what sort of a paper it should be, and when started, I called on Mr Garrison to let him know what we intended to do. He remarked that he deprecated the measure—it would open a door to let all those persons into the Anti-Slavery ranks, whom it had always been his object to keep out. Surprised at this remark, I asked him if he did not suppose the paper was to be Anti-Slavery. He said yes. I inquired if he supposed it was to compromise Abolition principles. He said no: he had no fears but that it would be high-toned. Then I asked how it could open a door of admission to the Anti-Slavery ranks to any but Abolitionists; and who they were whom he wished to keep out? He gave no explanation, but repeated that it would open a door to all those whom he had always laboured to keep out. From his exceeding hatred of ministers, a remark he is said once to have made, viz.: that being a clergyman is *prima facie* evidence of a bad man, the remark he endorsed in his paper that clergymen "would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell than none at all," and from his uniform denunciations of that class, whether in or out of societies, I supposed he meant ministers. But as he refused to explain himself, I have no other evidence of his meaning.

A few days before the Albany convention, the same summer, on going into the same office one morning, my attention was directed to two pictures—caricatures—fastened up on the left hand, among many others representing the atrocities of Slavery. They were drawn in pencil, of a coarse, vulgar character,

designed to ridicule brothers Orange Scott, John G. Whittier, and William Goodell. In one picture was drawn Brother Scott alone, in the dress of a soldier, with high boots, long huge spurs, epauletts on the shoulders, Napoleon hat, high nodding plume, a long sword hanging by the left side, a brace of pistols in his belt, a huge bowie knife in his left hand, and in the right, a lance or spear, one end resting on the ground, and from the other hanging a flowing streamer, labelled "the staff of accomplishment." From his mouth were proceeding the words: "I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred; the Prince of Peace, is not the Prince of Orange." Under his feet in large capitals, were the words, "AN AMBASSADOR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN FULL CANONICALS."

On the other picture were drawn Scott, Whittier, and Goodell. Scott occupied the right, Whittier the centre, and Goodell the left. The design of Scott's dress was that of a clergyman, with bands round the neck, like those worn by Episcopal clergymen, bare headed, posture exhibiting great fury, a pistol in the left hand, right arm raised and fist clenched as if to strike some one, and these words proceeding from his mouth:—"If you insult me, I'll slap your chops; for I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred." Goodell stood on the left, facing Scott, *Friend of Man* in his left hand, right arm raised and hand pointing toward Scott, with the following words coming from his mouth: "Go ahead brother, show yourself true pluck, and I'll back you. By the bye, it is high time I got out my new evangelical paper, in which I shall show that all kinds of forgiveness are criminal, except when a man buys and sells you as an ox; in that case only forgiveness becomes a duty."

In the centre stood Whittier in his Quaker dress, with the *Pa Freeman* in his left hand, right arm raised, and he addressing Scott and Goodell in these words, "I'll join you, brethren, in a moment, if you will only show me how to get rid of this Quaker coat." Under the feet of the whole was drawn in large capitals, "FIGHTING CHRISTIANS COMING TO THE SCRATCH."

I asked the clerk, or man behind the counter, who put them up. He said it was the work of the non-resistants. I inquired who. He said Comstock drew them. I asked who had them put in that office. He said Collins and Johnson. I inquired if Mr Garrison knew they were there. He replied, of course; he is in and out every day. I inquired if he *knew* that Mr Garrison was aware of it. And he replied, yes; he had frequently seen him laughing at them with others. I then took a paper, wrote down their appearance and what was written, and said to him if he did not take them down I would expose the whole. He replied that he disapproved of it, but it was more than his commission was worth to remove them.—Yours for the truth,

A. ST. CLAIR.

The Committee forbear. They are humbled and mortified at the developments which have been made in the progress of this division, and which they have now felt constrained to lay before the public. They reveal sentiments, and designs, and traits of character, which, with two or three exceptions, the Committee did not suspect, before the division commenced, to exist. They have been withheld from the public, generally, to the very last—till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. They are now given in sheer justice to those most implicated, to the Anti-Slavery public, and to posterity. They are given as specimens of others like them. They are given with sorrow of heart, yet in the hope that, with this presentation of the case, the controversy, on our part, will end.

VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES.

There is a tendency in the minds of some men, Abolitionists as well as others, to overlook the proper boundaries between the province and duties of Voluntary Societies, and those of the great permanent institutions of society in Church and in the State. A Voluntary Society is not a church, with its ordinances and forms of worship, and disciplinary powers; nor a government, with its system of civil and penal law. Nor is it a substitute for either. The heaven-appointed institutions, for the perpetuation and

extension of the gospel, and for the preservation of liberty and social order, can never be set aside, or beneficially exchanged for any other plans, by any power less authoritative than the divine voice by which they were established.

But, like every other institution administered by men, imperfect in wisdom and goodness, they may be perverted in part, or wholly, from their legitimate ends; or through the supineness, or ignorant or criminal apathy of the administrators, cease to discharge some one or more of the duties entrusted to them. And it is a principle universally true, that the *guilty* will never reform themselves, without the pressure of some external influence.

Here, then, is the proper province of Voluntary Societies, viz., to reform or reanimate the social, civil, and ecclesiastical institutions of the community. The latter are the necessary and permanent arrangements of man in social life. The former,* temporary in duration and specific in design. They are, and must be, in the first instance, composed, not of the churches and municipalities, but of those individual members of these bodies who see the need of reform, and are able to agree together to employ the most judicious means to effect it. When these means have been used with such success as to rouse the churches and municipalities to the discharge of their duties, the work of the Voluntary Society is done. Its continuance is useless if not injurious.

The design of Abolition Societies was, and is, to effect a reform both in church and in State, both of which we judged were corrupted by the influences and gains of Slavery, in almost every department of their organization. We aim to rouse the churches, of every sect, to purify themselves from all connexion with the system of Slavery, and the several governments of our own and of other countries to terminate its legal existence. That we have not yet made such progress in our work, that we can dispense with our Societies, we think is obvious. But that much progress has been made towards this result, we firmly believe.

EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION.

Some persons, without due consideration, have supposed that the division in our ranks has hindered the onward course of the work. It is true, that for a time some were disheartened. Amid the din of internal warfare some almost forgot the Slave; and a few of the faint-hearted withdrew wholly from our Associations. But those who deemed the division so disheartening, do not sufficiently consider what would have been our present position without it. Had the insidious poison of Antinomian perfectionism been allowed to make its way unchecked, through all the ranks of the Anti-Slavery host, we had now been engaged, as a body, as a few of our former coadjutors are, in a bitter but fruitless warfare upon the permanent institutions of society and of religion, unmindful of the cry of the perishing poor—while the possibility of any real progress in our appropriate business would have been destroyed. In a word, whatever of advancement in the cause has taken place since the division in the winter of 1839, must be attributed to the new organizations, or to the previously existing agencies which were saved from the grasp of the no-government faction by the

* Those Associations, like Missionary and Bible Societies, are indeed "Voluntary," because no one is compelled to join them. But they should be regarded simply, as the judicious arrangements of a church already (so far) reformed, and awake to its duty, to extend its boundaries, by the conversion of the unbelieving.

influence, direct and indirect, of the protest against and the stern resistance of their insidious designs.

Nearly all the existing State and Local Societies, in every part of the land, have, by withdrawing auxiliaryship and other measures, cut loose from this destroyer of our harmony. While the very few that still adhere to it, nominally, are rendered exceedingly cautious in their downward movements. If they do anything for the cause, as we are happy to express our belief that some of them do, it is one of the results of the division. But for this, acting as a conservative power, they might have been wholly perverted ere this.

No. V.

GROUNDS FOR SECESSION—MR GARRISON'S
REPLY.

(From the *LIBERATOR*, July 2d, 1841.)

IN the last Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, all the charges which had been brought against it by those who had seceded from it, were fully and accurately grouped together, and proved to be FOUL CALUMNIES, by an appeal to the official proceedings and documents of the Society. No vindication was ever more triumphant—no exposure ever more terrible to the plotters of mischief.

In the second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, (to which reference was made in the 25th number of the *Liberator*,) an elaborate but fruitless attempt is made to impair the force of this defence. Twelve columns of the *Free American* are occupied in stating the grounds for the secession, not *one* of which has, in fact, any thing to do with the question at issue; and nearly all of which are devoted to an exposition, not of the misdeeds of the State Anti-Slavery Society, but of my individual heresies! The impudence, the folly, the maliciousness, the degradation of mind exhibited in this Report, demonstrate alike the guilt and the fatuity of new organization, and prove that it is indeed at its wit's end to find any plausible excuse for its schismatical course. It has been already stated that this document was drawn up by AMOS A. PHELPS and CHARLES T. TORREY, who were the leading and most active disorganizers in the Commonwealth, and whose apostacy will long constitute a black feature in Anti-Slavery history. They have done their best—*i.e.* their worst—of course; and the Abolition Society having made their plea its own, has signified that nothing more can be urged in its own defence, or against the old organization. For myself, I must seriously declare that, in my judgment, this Report more clearly establishes the innocence of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the criminality of its rival, than any paper which has yet appeared on either side of the question—not excepting the triumphant vindication of the former, to which allusion has already been made.

Before I proceed to examine the document under consideration, there are two or three points which I wish to impress upon the memory of the reader.

1. Every Society or organization is to be measured by its own standard,

and held responsible for its own proceedings, but not for the opinions or conduct of any individual member.

2. For evidence in favour of or against an Association, references must be had to its official organ, papers, or proceedings; or, in other words, to what it actually approves or rejects, *as an Association*; and no evidence can be valid which is drawn from any other source. If—for example—there were individual members of the Colonization Society, who cherished and avowed dangerous opinions on the subject of Slavery, or on any other subject, the Society itself could not justly be held responsible for those opinions, unless it sanctioned them as a body.

3. If the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has departed from the broad, catholic ground which it formerly occupied—if it has become a mere automaton in the hands of a few designing individuals—it must and can be shown from its official acts, no matter what may be proved against one or more individuals connected with it. The only pertinent question is—What has the *Society* done?

4. On the Anti-Slavery platform, all sectarian and party variances are professedly forgotten; and the friends of bleeding humanity meet for the promotion of a common object. But though, by the very nature of their organization, they are restricted, while standing on that platform, from attempting to proselytize any to their peculiar religious or political views on other subjects, they may nevertheless, as individuals, on their own responsibility, be as zealous as they please in inculcating their sentiments as Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, Infidels, Whigs, Democrats, Agrarians, &c., &c. They do not consent to lose their right to speak or act in the spirit of freemen on all questions that may challenge the attention of the human mind, because they are willing to band together as Abolitionists; and whoever denies to them this right, or refuses to walk with them in Anti-Slavery fellowship, because of its exercise, is a bigot in principle, or an oppressor in grain.

5. I am not, have never been, and have never aspired to be, the accredited mouth-piece of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth, or of the republic. From the commencement of my labours, I have acted for myself, on my own responsibility, as a common soldier, and without asking any man, or any Association, to endorse my conduct as an Abolitionist. I am connected with the old Anti-Slavery organization on the same terms and under the same restrictions as others. For the proceedings of that organization, I hold myself responsible only so far as I give them my approval; and never have I wished or attempted to modify its action contrary to its original structure and spirit.

6. The *Liberator* is not and has never been the official organ of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or of any other Association. It is, and has ever been, a strictly independent journal, under my exclusive control, for the management of which no other person in the wide universe is responsible but myself. Whatever may be its merits or its faults, therefore, the praise or the blame belongs to me alone.

These points have been repeatedly stated in the course of the controversy which has grown out of the secession from the Anti-Slavery platform; but it is essential to the formation of a correct judgment on the part of the candid inquirer, in relation to the merits of this controversy, that he bear them continually in mind.

Having thus frankly stated the position which I occupy as an Abolitionist, and defined the limits and responsibilities of the Anti-Slavery Association, I now proceed to show that the grounds set forth for the secession in the Report of the Massachusetts Abolition Society are untenable, that a

false issue is made in that document, and, consequently, that all the charges which have been brought against the old organization are truthless.

But, first, it must be premised, that, if the original constitution of the State Anti-Slavery Society was formerly unobjectionable to the seceders, then, in order to justify their secession, they are bound to show that they no longer regard it as a sound instrument, or else that it has been so altered as to be fundamentally wrong in principle. It will not suffice to show that, in one or two instances, a wrong interpretation has been put upon the language of the constitution by a majority of the Society—for the minority cannot be bound by any such interpretation, and it is for them, under such circumstances, not to secede, but to endeavour to convince the majority of the error into which they may have fallen. Now, it is not pretended by the seceders, that any change has been made in the constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or that they cannot any longer assent to its principles; and whether that constitution has at any time been violated by the Society remains to be seen.

The Report under consideration professes to give to the public, and for the benefit of *posterity*, “a full and accurate history of the origin and progress” of the Anti-Slavery division in this Commonwealth. The items of which this important history is composed in the Report will certainly amuse, if they fail to convince “posterity” of the genuineness of the new organization—that is, if such an abortion shall ever meet the eyes of posterity.

It will be remembered, that the charges which have been brought against the old Pioneer Society are—that (in the language of the present Report) it has been made, by a “deliberate and well-matured design,” on the part of one or two individuals, “subservient to the promotion of their personal and sectarian views on the subjects of Woman’s Rights, so called, Civil Government, the Church, the Ministry, and the Sabbath!!!” Orange Scott has styled it that “rotten-hearted, no human government, women’s rights institution.”

Let us now see in what manner these accusations are sustained in the Report; for, as they are weighty, all will admit that the evidence adduced to show their accuracy should be ample and explicit.

It is denied in the Report, that any of those, who have been prominent in the secession, have been actuated by personal feelings towards myself! “It is believed that, to this hour, they are *all* on terms of perfect personal friendship and good will (!) to Mr Garrison, and that when they meet him, as they occasionally do, they meet as friends, (!) with no personal animosities whatever toward each other.” If such men are my friends, then I have never had any enemies. They have spared no pains to make me appear hideous in the eyes of individuals and of the public. They have represented me as a cunning, crafty, unprincipled man, a heretic in religion, a jacobin in politics, seeking nothing but the gratification of my own selfish ambition, and basely intent upon subverting the integrity of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. They have assailed me with an apparent ferocity of spirit, and a malignity of purpose, surpassing any thing that I have experienced at the hands of the open and avowed enemies of the abolition movement. And yet they have the cool effrontery to disclaim any personal ill-will, and to assume to be “on terms of *perfect personal friendship*” with me! I can forgive them even this additional outrage; but I tell them it is impossible for me to regard them as entitled to my confidence or friendship. If they are my friends, then I have only to adopt the exclamation of another—“Save me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies!”

The Report mainly consists of a series of personal attacks upon sundry individuals, of which any Association, having a just sense of decency, magnanimity, or honour, would be heartily ashamed.

But, to the point—to wit, the “facts” demonstrating that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had so far become changed in its character and object as to justify secession from it.

All its own members, and all regular delegates or members of auxiliary Societies, were allowed to participate in its proceedings; just as in the case of the American Society and other kindred bodies. This had been its uniform practice from its commencement. Some towns being nearer Boston, and more thoroughly abolitionized than others, were naturally more fully represented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, than those which were remote, or which had less zeal and spirit in the cause. For refusing to make any geographical distinctions or artificial arrangements in its meetings, so as to cripple the free action of a large portion of those who were among its most valuable supporters, this stands in the category of new organization as—*Crime No. 1!*

2. Mr Fowler, the phrenologist, in giving “Mr Garrison’s phrenological development, says—“He has more forethought than he manifests, is full of new schemes and projects, seldom or never commits himself, generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself,” &c. Hence one reason for the secession! This is, on the part of the old Society—*Crime No. 2!* The Report might have made some other extracts from Mr Fowler’s description—such as, “His (Mr Garrison’s) friends are his strong friends, and his enemies most bitter.” * * * “He glories in standing alone, and meeting danger single-handed; and relies more on himself than on any human aid. He never compromises to secure the approbation of others, but acts totally regardless of what others may think or say.”

3. In 1837, “he (Mr Garrison) used frequently to remark, that nothing thorough and effectual could be effected for temperance and Abolition, until we had some more radical and genuine reform.” Nay, he said, “he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity of the annexation of Texas to the Union would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed.” Hence another reason for the secession from the Massachusetts Society! *Crime No. 3!*

4. In a letter addressed to Orson S. Murray, of Vermont, dated August 11, 1837, I said—“In giving my attention to the degradation and misery of two millions of American bondmen, I do not forget mankind.” How monstrous! “My mind is busy in the investigation of many subjects,” &c. How dangerous! “The subject of peace is among them, and is peculiarly dear to me.” Worse and worse! “I hope to be more deeply engaged in it by and bye, than I am at present.” This is frightful! Hence a fourth reason for the secession! This is charged upon the State Society, by implication, as—*Crime No. 4!*

5. In Worcester, October 2d, 1837, “at noon, [the precise moment is not specified in the Report!] at the house of Mr Earle, Messrs. Stanton, Green, and others, being present, the conversation turned upon the merits of Thompsonianism. Mr Garrison avowed himself a believer in the theory, [shocking!] and added, with much emphasis,—Law, medicine, and divinity are the three great impostures of the day.” Hence a fifth reason for seceding from the old Society! Put this down against it as—*Crime No. 5!*

6. In the *Liberator* of October 13th, 1836, a letter was published, and endorsed by Mr Garrison, in which the writer said—“The present governments stand in the way of God’s kingdom, just as Colonization once stood

in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground without effecting the object," &c. And he further declared—"God, by his spirit, has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world." Hence the sixth reason for the abandonment of the State Society! *Crime No. 6!*

7. Messrs. Phelps, Whittier, E. Wright, jun., "Father Ward," "N. Crosby, Esq.," and "Rev. C. W. Denison," remonstrated with Mr Garrison for allowing such sentiments to appear in the columns of the *Liberator*; but he turned a deaf ear to all their remonstrances—telling them that if they could refute those sentiments, he would give them a hearing. He persisted in doing just as he pleased with his own publication! Record it against the State Society as—*Crime No. 7!*

8. Mr Garrison read a letter from James Boyle, of Ohio, relating to the spiritual and political condition of the country, in the presence of "John E. Fuller" and others, and "spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation—saying, in substance, that, however unpopular its doctrines, they were true, and would yet be received by the people." And so secret was he about it, that he actually "sifted it in" to the *Liberator*, that the whole country might read it! Another reason for the separation from the State Society! *Crime No. 8!*

9. The *New England* Anti-Slavery Convention in 1838, invited "all persons present, whether men or women, to become members, and participate in its proceedings." Put this down against the *State Society* as—*Crime No. 9!*

10. In 1836, it is alleged that I expressed an opinion adverse to the sending of female delegates to the Annual Meeting of the American Society, on the ground that it was never contemplated, and would make trouble. Another good reason for the secession from the Massachusetts Society in 1839! *Crime No. 10!*

11. On the 25th of February, 1839, Oliver Johnson addressed a letter to the church in Middlebury, Vt., with which he was connected, in which he gave his views of "the nature of the church organizations of the present day!" What an outrage upon Anti-Slavery liberty! Nay, the "Rev. Alanson St. Clair" affirms that Mr Johnson once said to him, "Any thing to give the clergy a dab!" Hence, another reason for secession from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. *Crime No. 11!*

12. In his reply to the Clerical Appeal, "Mr Garrison declared that the great mass of the clergy were nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term, and that their overthrow is registered on the scroll of Destiny." For this the State Society must be held responsible. It is—*Crime No. 12!*

13. "In September, 1838, the New England Non-Resistance Convention came." October 5th of that year, Mrs M. W. Chapman wrote an editorial article in the *Non-Resistant*, in which she defined the "church originally," and "voluntary associations" now, to be substantially the same thing. Of course, the guilt of this daring act belonged to the old Society! *Crime, No. 13!*

14. In a letter from James Boyle, of Ohio, published in the *Liberator*, the writer said—"Lawyers, doctors, and priests are the devil's trinity—and professions, as such, must perish." Hence, another reason for new organization! *Crime No. 14!*

15. At the Annual Meeting of the *American* Anti-Slavery Society in May, 1840, a resolution was adopted, affirming that "the American church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American Slavery," and therefore "ought not to be regarded and treated as the

church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, *so long as it occupies its present position.*" This is gravely brought forward among the reasons to justify the secession, although that resolution (which is an Anti-Slavery truism) was adopted after the secession had taken place! This, too, is put down to the account of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, and is—*Crime No. 15!*

16. On the 3d of July, 1840, an article appeared in the *National Standard*,—not as "editorial," nor "prepared for the purpose of expressing the views of the new Executive Committee of the old Society," as the Report falsely declares, but written on the sole responsibility of a single individual, the initials of whose name were appended to it,—in which the opinion is advanced, that the Anti-Slavery reform in this country is necessarily of a far more more radical character than "the Abolition of Negro *physical* Slavery," and will "unseat popular theology [which is pro-Slavery] from its throne, break down the barriers of sect, [which is pro-Slavery,] and, in short, resolve society into its natural elements, [now thrown into a most *unnatural* state,] saving all the real progress it has made in the scale of improvement"—[a terrible *loss* truly!] It is, of course, perfectly fair to charge upon the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society the errors (?) of an anonymous writer in the *Standard*, and to make a newspaper essay, written in 1840, a reason for seceding from the State Society in 1839! Put it down, therefore, in the account, as—*Crime No. 16!*

17. In November last, a "Church, Ministry, and Sabbath Convention," was held in Boston. [No doubt the sun rose and set, and stars were seen at night, and the weather was somewhat cold, and many other monstrous events happened, during that month; for all which, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society must fairly be held accountable!] "The result of that meeting, its denial of the Sabbath [a falsehood—it took no action whatever upon the subject] and the ministry [ditto!] and, above all, its rejection of the Bible as of supreme authority in matters of religious faith and duty, [ditto!] are well known." Hence, another reason for the new organization in 1839! Here, then, is—*Crime No. 17!*

18. "Mr H. G. Chapman met Mr Stanton in the Anti-Slavery Office, 25, Cornhill," and, the Report says, expressed a very contemptuous opinion of the old executive Committee at New York, (in view of their unmanly and unjust treatment of the State Society,) couched in highly reprehensible language. The manner in which this language (if it be accurately given,) uttered (if it were uttered at all) in the heat of excitement, in private conversation, is dragged into this Report, during the absence of Mr Chapman from the country, evinces a spirit not far from diabolical. But the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as such, must be made responsible for the private behaviour of its members. *Crime No. 18!*

19. Some time ago, two pictures, drawn in pencil, and intended as a humorous satire, were suspended a day or two in the office at 25, Cornhill, without leave, on the responsibility of an individual not connected with the Anti-Slavery or the Non-Resistance Society. The design of these was to place the furious opposition of Orange Scott, William Goodell and others, to the divine cause of non-resistance in a just though ludicrous point of view. For instance—"in one picture was drawn brother Scott alone, in the dress of a soldier, with high boots, long huge spurs, epaulets on the shoulders, Napoleon hat, high nodding plume, a long sword hanging by the left side, a brace of pistols in his belt, a huge bowie-knife in his left hand, and in the right, a lance or spear, one end resting on the ground, and from the other hanging a flowing streamer, labelled "the staff of accomplishment." From his mouth were proceeding the words: "I hate

non-resistance with a perfect hatred ; the Prince of Peace is not the Prince of Orange." Under his feet in large capitals, were the words, "AN AMBASSADOR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN FULL CANONICALS."

This was intended to illustrate the true position in which those, who profess to be the "ambassadors of the Prince of Peace," are placed by advocating the use of carnal weapons against enemies. It is said that birds that have been hit are easily known by their fluttering, and that the coat is very apt to be put on by those whom it suits. Now, the clamour which has been made on account of these harmless sketches, by such *peaceful* belligerents as the *Reverend* Messrs. Colver, Phelps, St. Clair, Wise, Torrey, Cummings, &c., &c., is in the highest degree ludicrous, and speaks volumes as to the pertinency of their application. They who sanction the use of deadly weapons must not be offended if they are represented armed at all points to defend themselves in case of an assault! They who uphold a government, which keeps a standing army and a navy to execute its bloody purposes, must not foam at the mouth when they are portrayed in a military or naval dress! What they justify in others, they ought not to regard as an affront when alleged against themselves. What they say others may lawfully do, they concede may be lawfully done in their own persons. There have been very many caricatures of Abolitionists by their opponents; but who ever saw an Abolitionist angry on that account? It is only when the portrait is "drawn to the life," and the individual thus sketched is conscious that he is justly placed in a ridiculous or a criminal attitude, that displeasure is excited, and the spirit writhes in agony. If Mr Comstock's illustrations of the anti-non-resistance position of Messrs. Scott, Whittier, and Goodell, had been palpably absurd and monstrous, then, instead of making these individuals ridiculous, the necessary effect would have been to cover the artist with shame, and to injure the non-resistance enterprise. If they merely carried out, (as they did without any approach to caricature,) the principles and doctrines maintained by the persons represented, then why so much heat and excitement on the part of the new organization opponents of non-resistance, unless they are conscious that the mirror has been held up to nature?

This coarse but playful effort of genius on the part of Mr Comstock was immediately seized upon by the seceders, to excite odium against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and to justify their own schismatical conduct, as "drowning men catch at straws!" They have expatiated upon it in private, and in public, in their journals and lectures, in season and out of season, as though it were a very dreadful affair—more shocking to humanity than the battle at Waterloo, or the naval conflict at Trafalgar! They have even dignified it so far, and magnified it so hugely, as actually to have held it up on the other side of the Atlantic as an intolerable grievance and a terrible affront!! This caps the climax of human weakness and folly. The fable of the mountain in labour, that brought forth a mouse, or of the tempest in a tea-pot, is grave in comparison. It proves that some men, at least, "are but children of a larger growth." Small children would be ashamed to make so "much ado about nothing." The attempt to make the State Society, or its Board of Managers, responsible for the pictures alluded to, because they happened to be pinned up at 25, Cornhill, by the individual who drew them, is alike impudent and absurd. Yet it is charged upon them in the Report as—*Crime No. 20!*

No marvel that the Executive Committee of the Abolition Society say, that "they are humbled and mortified" at the pitiful reasons which they present in their Report for the secession from the old Society. They ought

to be. The marvel is, that they should be so infatuated as to resort to low artifices, and coarse personalities, and the presentation of false issues, and suppose that in this manner they would be able to justify themselves in the eyes of an enlightened people.

There are various other equally grave and awful counts in the indictment against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—such as that Mrs Chapman is known to have said to Mr Garrison repeatedly, “Your first business is to crush the clergy!”—that “George W. Benson and William Chace (!) are family connexions of Mr Garrison”—that the wife of Wendell Phillips “is a relative, and when here an inmate of the senior Chapman family!”—that (Alanson St. Clair being witness) Joshua V. Himes is “a no-government and woman’s rights man, and a cordial hater of evangelical christians!”—&c., &c. Upon these I shall not pause to comment, but allude only to one other point—viz.,

20. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is accused of refusing to adopt language on the subject of political action, which it formerly used, affirming it to be the duty of Abolitionists to vote at the polls. The simple fact is, that such language was never adopted with invidious or proscriptive intent, but always in a popular sense, as applicable only to those who were in the habit of going to the polls; and at no time was it intended to mean any thing more than that abolition voters were bound, by their own standard, to be as zealous and faithful at the ballot-box in the cause of the Slave, as they had once been in favour of party. Several of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia, in 1833, and of those who assisted in the formation of the National Society, have not voted from that day to this. Is it to be supposed that they would have appended their names to an instrument, binding them to the discharge of a certain act which they never meant to perform? Preposterous idea!—As soon, however, as the Non-Resistance Society was organized, Messrs. Stanton, Phelps, Torrey, Scott, Colver, Birney, and others, began to make war upon it, *in their Anti-Slavery character*, and to interpret the language of the Philadelphia Declaration and the Constitution of the National Society in a sense never before contemplated; and avowedly on purpose to exclude from the organization, or to subject to censure, such members of the Anti-Slavery Society as were conscientiously scrupulous against voting at the polls in any case whatever. Perceiving the object of this unjust procedure, the State Society refused to sanction it even in appearance; and hence the clamour that has been raised by the seceders on this point. But, in the teeth of all their charges, it still remains true, that—in the language of the last Annual Report of the Society—

“Not a sentence in favour of the peculiar doctrines of non-resistance can be found in any of its publications; nor has any resolution respecting that subject ever been discussed in any of its meetings. Our non-resistance brethren are as much opposed to its introduction on the Anti-Slavery platform as those who have seceded from our ranks; and in no instance, to our knowledge or belief, have they ever attempted to obtain the sanction, either of this or any other Anti-Slavery Society, to non-resistance principles or measures. On the contrary, while they are giving their zealous and efficient support to our enterprise, they have marked out their own distinct course as non-resistants.”

And again:—

“On the subject of ‘political action,’ the Society constantly inculcates the doctrine, that Anti-Slavery should be made the paramount question at the polls, to the sacrifice of all mere party considerations, by all those who wield the elective franchise,—and that it is highly inconsistent for Abolitionists to vote for Slaveholders or pro-Slavery candidates; but it does not make it a part of the Anti-Slavery creed to believe in the duty of every man to mingle or *not to mingle*

in the political conflicts of the country—for that is an ‘extraneous topic.’ The Society could occupy no other ground without being ‘sectarian,’ and destroying its own platform.”

I have thus examined all the evidence which is adduced in the Abolition Report, intended to justify the secession; but, it will at a glance be seen, that, of the twenty specifications, only *two* of them relate to the action of the *Society*—all the rest being personal attacks upon individual members, for whose conduct or opinions the Society is not any more responsible than the present national administration. To these two, the Society must plead guilty; for one is, that all its members are left free to participate in its proceedings; and the other is, that no religious or political test is made a condition of membership.

It is scarcely credible that such a scandalous Report should have been intelligently adopted by an Association making some pretensions to decency and self-respect; but the official record declares that it obtained the sanction of the Massachusetts Abolition Society at its late Annual Meeting. “O Shame! where is thy blush?”

MR GARRISON FURTHER, IN HIS OWN DEFENCE.

[*Speech delivered at the Quarterly Meeting of the Norfolk County (Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society.**]

MR GARRISON rose, labouring under a severe cold. I am thankful, he said, that I have voice enough left to say, “Liberty for all mankind!” Every voice that utters that sentiment, does something for the human race, however feeble it may be. We are here to-day surrounded by God’s atmosphere, and cheered by his all-pervading light. But something else, as subtle and as universal, surrounds us on the right hand and on the left—it is the influence of Slavery. It is paramount at the head quarters of our government, and its power reaches to the most distant and obscure hamlet. In the State-house—in the court-house—in the private dwelling—in the church of every denomination—in the caucus room, and at the ballot-box—go where we may, we find it. It is omnipresent! It rules the nation with a rod of iron. Hence it is plain, we cannot labour to abolish it, without taking up a very heavy cross. It follows, of course, that we must be persecuted, if we make the attempt. My venerable friend spoke of counting the cost, as did the wise king before going to war, and of the importance of knowing what manner of spirit we are of. I think I am prepared in spirit, and ready to meet the consequences of doing right, whatever they may be. But I wish to know whether the facts of the case will bear us out in the adoption of the resolution under consideration. Are the religious denominations in this country on the side of humanity, or are they not? The Presbyterian church—is it anti-slavery or pro-slavery? Ask the South! Look at the component parts of Presbyterianism. See what was its latest action at Philadelphia. When some of the local presbyteries sent up petitions for action in behalf of the cause, the General Assembly, in imitation of Congress, scorned to listen to those petitions!

This was the old school. The new is not much better. It is on the side

* Deeming every man to be the best expounder of his own principles, we consider that, in justice to W. L. G., this Speech, extracted from papers recently received from America, should occupy a place in the Appendix.—*Secs. G. E. S.*

of the soul-buyers. How are the Baptists? As a denomination, wholly with the South. I know that individuals have remonstrated—I know that local Associations have petitioned; but if they continue to be carried along with the denomination, what does it signify? Look at the Baptist Triennial Convention! What was it but a bowing down of the whole body to the power of Slavery and pro-Slavery combined? The Methodist body is even more deeply steeped in pollution than the others. It has given the right hand of fellowship to that progeny of hell, the Colonization Society, and completes its guilt by declaring that the testimony of coloured church members shall be inadmissible in Slaveholding States! How ludicrous, and yet how horrible is this! Here is one recognized as redeemed by Christ—a child of God—a member of a royal priesthood—and yet his evidence is refused against a white person, lest it should have a tendency to unchattelize his race! As for the Society of Friends, the fathers did well, but the sons have suffered the Society to take a pro-Slavery position. The Slaveholders are satisfied with it. *They* do not ask whose discipline permits or forbids the holding of Slaves. They only wish to know, *who are against the Abolitionists*; and they know that all such are in reality on their side.

Now what is the position of those local bodies, who remain in connexion with the general body which is on the side of Slavery? Look only at one fruit of Slavery, and it will furnish grounds for our decision. Slavery refuses to recognise as any thing but property, beings “created in the image of God”—“a little lower than the angels.” A man puts his brand upon a barrel of mackerel. Why? *It is his property*. So (he claims) is his brother whom he has enslaved; and he puts his mark upon his flesh with the burning irons! Suppose there were no other horror connected with Slavery; this single fact, we should suppose, would frighten all beholders. But these denominations look on—and are they horror-stricken at the bloody spectacle? No! Do they protest against the deed? No! Are they merely indifferent to it? Not at all! Are they in the Priest’s and Levite’s position, as exhibited in the parable of the good Samaritan? Far worse! They not only pass by on the other side, those who have fallen among the worst of robbers, and who lie bleeding and wounded, and stripped of all; but they pour out anathemas upon those who are moved to compassion. They take a round-about way to get to the thieves, and say, “Don’t you cease from this! To do so would be alike injurious to your interests, and to the safety of society.”

I need not dwell on all these things. The last few years have been swift witnesses against these denominations. I cannot find language to expose their hypocrisy and inhumanity. They say it is their object to evangelize the world. There is no part so distant, so hopeless, so obscure, that they would have it overlooked. I will take their own standard to measure them by. They profess to reverence the Bible. Now, I affirm that they do not believe the Bible; for he who believes that, receives the gospel as given not for one race of men, but for all—not for one portion of the earth but for all; and would place the sacred scriptures in the hands of all. But these pretenders are utterly regardless of the souls that surround them, perishing in chains and slavery. They cannot be the friends of moral purity; for Sodom and Gomorrah were not more polluted than are our Southern States. Yet these bodies look on! Can you convince me that they have any love of purity in their hearts? If a man truly feels for humanity, imbruted and degraded by sin, he does not single out a portion of it to be given over to wretchedness and ruin. If he truly feels for one, he feels for all.

We have been talking of the duty of *Abolitionists*. I want men to feel and act as *Christians*. As either, how can we remain any longer with bodies, which, when tried by the scripture test of love to God, *i.e.* love to man, are surely anti-christian? If they are not christian bodies, why are we with them, endorsing their piety before a jeering world? Let us not be deceived by those who wish to pacify us. There is no deceit they are not continually practising with their lips, to turn attention from the real question at issue. They dread this strict adherence to our principles. They know how mighty will be its effect. They will pretend to be very much Abolitionized in their feelings, if they can avert this decisive action by so doing. But are they really in favour of Immediate *Emancipation*? No! Do they assert the reality of that love to God which shuts out the love of man? Yes! Do they believe they can faithfully serve Christ, while assisting to degrade and enslave those for whom Christ came? Yes! And is it for us, as Christians, to degrade our religion by adopting the same idea? No! Suppose a meeting of Christians, deeply impressed with the importance of evangelizing the South, the *whole South*—and of giving it the Bible without restriction; what would the members of that meeting be called? Fit for Bedlam! and for the same reason, the Abolitionists are called so.

The examination of the whole matter makes the pro-slavery of the North show even more hideously than the Slavery of the South.

Another thing should be considered in judging of these bodies—namely, the age in which we live. This is the nineteenth century—this is republican America! Remember that the whole country has declared from its first settlement, “All men are born free and equal.” Yet there are men to be found to plead ignorance in behalf of Slavery, and to apologise for slaveholders on the ground that they have not had light. *Not had light?* when the whole structure of our government is based upon the Anti-Slavery principles, and they profess to admire the Declaration of Independence! *Not had light!* I say they do not need light. When I think of them not merely as Republicans but as Christians, how doubly ridiculous is the plea of ignorance! They have the revelation of God in their hands, and the exhibition of Slavery before their eyes! Oh, to take a woman, and lacerate, and defile, and sell her, and then claim, and receive too, the countenance of a professedly religious denomination! The fellowship of such denominations is pollution.

Did our Saviour give a hard rule when he said, “By their fruits ye shall know them?” “But give them credit for what they *do*,” men say. I will. But does that prove what they *are*? They build meeting-houses, they settle ministers, they establish schools. It is no cross to do that,—it is fashionable—it is popular. But in what spirit are they doing these things? Are they not offering this mint, and annise, and cummin, as an excuse for mercy and justice?

How far will these resolutions unchristianize the community? it is asked. I cannot tell—I am not responsible in this matter. Let God be true, though every man a liar. This I know, that these denominations unchristianize themselves, and that it is perilous to the soul to remain in them.

Another thing. Slavery is not content to remain at home, protected as she is by the northern portion of these denominations. She labours to extend her dominion. She is petrifying the national heart, and these bodies know it. She is opposing the spread of the gospel, and these bodies know it. The gospel of Christ cannot be preached at the South as it can in India, and these bodies know it. Our missionaries can distribute tracts and Bibles in the very presence of Juggernaut, but they cannot

do so at the South—and these bodies know it! Juggernaut is merciful in comparison with the Moloch of the South. But these bodies have all fallen down and worshipped that idol. Let me warn you, that if you come out from them, you will lose your Christian character. Can you bear it? You will be branded as infidels, disorganizers, fanatics! But be not daunted by this clamour. We ought to desire to be stigmatized by them; for they cannot compliment us *till we are as bad as they*. We should be proud to be called infidels by the faithless. However blameless and irreproachable you may be, you may look to be forsaken of your friends and neighbours, if you refuse to fellowship their pro-Slavery. Do you expect to fare better than the Master you follow,—of whom it is said—“they all forsook him and fled.” Much is said of worship, and of our obligations respecting it. There is a difference in worship between Christianity and Judaism. Christ permits us to worship just where we please. In the gospel, there is no particular requirement to *go* any where to worship, whatever may be the doctrine of Judea or Rome. As a fact, no one will deny this. Why then is it assumed? To strengthen pro-Slavery. God is not in conflict with himself. If he requires me to carry out my principles, he cannot require me at the same time to violate them.

The true church is not composed of flesh and blood. These organizations *are*. The true church is made up of all those who are in the kingdom of Christ; but these organizations are a temporal concern. Is the true church subject, as these are, to all the vicissitudes of time? Oh, if we are only members of the true church, our anxiety soon ceases about these pro-slavery organizations.

One objection is, “If you are consistent, you must look for a church that is perfect; and where will you find one?” I will not stop here to ask, how perfect or how little imperfect a church I can consistently join. But this I say—I cannot join a pro-Slavery church! One thing at a time. I shall disunite myself from pro-Slavery, and settle the question of perfection afterwards.

It seems as if the plain obvious duty of withholding the strongest testimonials of approbation we have—fellowship and pecuniary support—from the “grand bulwarks of Slavery,” could hardly be made clearer by illustration. But so dead has custom made us, that the idea of giving our countenance, through the medium of church fellowship, to crimes which dwindle into insignificance when compared with Slavery, gives a shock to our moral sense. Suppose, for instance, a company of pickpockets in the next town, whose business it was to steal penknives, purses, and handkerchiefs. Supposing this church to refuse to blame them, or so feebly that it rather encouraged them than otherwise—all the while giving them fellowship and pecuniary aid. Would you remain members of that church? Not a week—not a day! But when it is a complicated case of robbery—murder—outrage of every kind, involving the commission of all crime in ways the most horrible in their aggravation—we are shocked at the thought of cutting the link that unites us to *these* criminals! Here are the facts of our case; and it is a fearful aggravation of their guilt when men plead the interests of Christianity or Republicanism as a reason for refusing to bear their testimony against the sin of Slavery. And while committing and upholding this sin, men can profess to be moved by the Holy Ghost.

One brother feels that it is difficult to sunder these guilty ties, and inquires if he must give up his minister. Yes, even your minister. If he is a minister of sin, ought you to treat him as if he were a minister of Christ? No! He is to be rejected as an imposter, now that you have found him out.

My friends, Satan is all the time busied in persuading us to temporise

and compromise, and telling us what a dangerous thing it is to follow principle; and that, however bad the advocates of Slavery are, they are yet the lights of the world, if they belong to the church and the ministry. We forget what a very active, subtle, effective preacher the Devil is, till, at length, we get to be so impressed with his piety, that it seems really hard to deny him to be of Christ, even after we have found out that the Devil is in him.

All these cases which are brought forward touching worship, schools, influence, &c., I can easily solve for myself. In order to know how to act, I forget all the universe but God. Alone, before Him, all these little difficulties vanish. The moment we take our eyes from Him, and inquire what are the consequences of obeying Him, we wander from the path of duty and safety.

There is, in this age of the world, a great deal of talk about our Saviour, but there is little Christianity. Men deal greatly in cant. Oh, how full they are when engaged in public worship, of faith, and love, and Christian resolution! Oh, with what unhesitating fervour and amazing courage they can sing—

“When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.
Should earth against my soul engage,
And hellish darts be hurled,
Still I can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world.”—

And, all the while they cannot even face their next door neighbour, and do not mean to! (General movement.) No!—we don't live by our hymns, —we shall be *judged* by them, though.

Let us not fear for our reputation. That will be taken care of. Justice—mercy—compassion—courage—perseverance—fidelity—the character a man must possess to be a true Abolitionist, *will* command respect. The South cannot help themselves. However glad they would be to despise us, they do respect the Abolitionists, and look with contempt on the “Northern dough-faces.”

Let no persecution, temptation, or cajoling, draw us down from the spiritual and moral attitude of our position.—(*Boston Liberator*, edited by Mr Garrison, August 6th and 13th, 1841.)

No. VI.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY AGAIN!

In addition to the Letter of Mr Clarkson, reprinted at page 57, in compliance with a Resolution passed at the Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, it is deemed proper also to reprint the following Correspondence, in the hope that, as Messrs. Cresson and Gurley, the agents of the Colonization Society, are now or have lately been in this country, the perusal of these Documents may be the means of preventing benevolent individuals from being imposed upon, or entrapped into the support of an Institution, so unworthy of the countenance of intelligent Abolitionists.—*Secs. G. E. S.*

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the PATRIOT.

SIR,—By publishing in the *Patriot* the following letters, which have been addressed to me by eminent advocates of Negro Emancipation, I do not doubt that you will not only hasten the liberation of more than two millions of Slaves in the United States, and the downfall of that brazen hand-maid of Slavery, the American Colonization Society, but also prevent many a benevolent and confiding person from giving his money to the agent of that Society. For notwithstanding he stands publicly charged, by the leading Abolitionists in this country, with having misrepresented the character and objects of the Colonization Society, and notwithstanding he has pusillanimously shrunk from the offer of a public discussion in this metropolis, to my astonishment I learn, that Mr Cresson has either departed, or is about to depart, for Ireland, in order to obtain new charities for a scheme which is “full of all deceivableness of unrighteousness.”—Your much obliged servant,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

Agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

18, ALDERMANBURY, July 22d, 1833.

54, DEVONSHIRE STREET, July 12th, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow.* The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed any thing else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people—I am, my dear Sir, with real esteem, yours respectfully,

T. F. BUXTON.

CONWAY, NORTH WALES, July 14th, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—Our friend, Mr Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have been absent; for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of Negro Slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire

* Referring to a Public Meeting which was held at Exeter Hall on Saturday, the 13th instant, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society.

above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its scheme, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the Negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour, in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of colour, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the Negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures; is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the Negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all co-operation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse, not only to the liberty of the enslaved Negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free Negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.

PARADISE ROW, STOKE NEWINGTON,
15th of 7th Month, 1833.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,—When I first heard of the formation of the colony at Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa, with feelings congenial with my own; that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured. This must be the excuse of many in this country, and perhaps in North America also, who have countenanced or patronized the American Colonization Society. I have repeatedly told Elliot Cresson that so far from being an enemy to this American Colony, I should be glad to see twenty more of them established, that so a more extended line of coast might be protected against the Slave Traders. But having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation—surprise, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also that Elliot Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent. My indignation is roused when I find it asserted in one of their publications, that the free people of colour constitute a class, “out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.” Again, “We have endeavoured, but endeavoured in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed—it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which

neither we nor they can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased ; more than this, they must be for ever useless ; more even than this, they must be for ever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid." Again, "Is it not wise, then, for the free people of colour and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of colour must, in this country, remain for ages, probably for ever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?" If it be said that these are quotations from the *African Repository*,* I understand that it is the ground maintained by the American Colonization Society. This being the case, I cannot but feel indignant that the benevolence of Great Britain and Ireland should have been so imposed upon, to the amount of subscriptions obtained under the circumstances stated ; and I do hope that an account will be called for of the sums subscribed, and of their application.

I rejoice that you have formed an Anti-Slavery Society in New England, and shall be glad to hear that it goes on with increasing success. Can you not find some noble-spirited landholders, in your parts, (who have capital also,) to set an example of what may be done for the free coloured people, by placing them down upon land, and showing them how to cultivate it on the spade or garden plan ? I have to request thy acceptance of two pamphlets, in which these plans are detailed. The capital employed in this way might be made to return with ample interest.—I remain, with great regard, thy sincere friend,

WM. ALLEN.

P R O T E S T .

WE, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the *American Colonization Society* appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless ; and we feel bound to affirm, that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the Abolition of Slavery are altogether delusive,

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading Establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leoue ; we are enormously burdened by our own connexion with Slavery ; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that

* The *African Repository* is a monthly periodical, printed in Washington City, and (as declared on its title-page) "published by order of the Managers of the American Colonization Society; the profits arising from this work will be devoted to the cause of the Colonization Society."

Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. *The only effectual death-blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of Slavery throughout the world.* To the destruction of Slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society *to be an obstruction.*

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly these:—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, Slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races (or classes)—exposes the coloured people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and, finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that Slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE.
SUFFIELD.
WM. SMITH.
S. LUSHINGTON, M.P.
ZACHARY MACAULAY.
THOS. FOWELL BUXTON, M.P.

WILLIAM EVANS, M.P.
JAMES CROPPER.
SAMUEL GURNEY.
WILLIAM ALLEN.
GEORGE STEPHEN.
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

LONDON, *July*, 1833.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO


The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 1st August, 1840, to 1st August, 1841.

A		James Brown, Douglas,	£0	5	0
David Anderson,	£1 1 0	Robert Bland,	0	5	0
James Anderson,	1 1 0	C			
Alexander Anderson,	1 1 0	Andrew Cross,	0	10	6
John Anderson,	0 10 6	John Croom,	0	10	6
Rev. William Anderson,	0 10 0	James Campbell, Esq.,	1	1	0
Rev. William Auld, Tolcross,	0 5 0	William Campbell, Esq.,	1	1	0
William Auld, Sidney St.,	0 5 0	James Clark,	0	5	0
Robert Aitken,	0 5 0	Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0	5	0
Ebenezer Anderson, 1840,	0 5 0	Dr. Campbell, Kent St.,	0	5	0
Do. 1841,	0 5 0	James Cairns,	0	5	0
Allan & Ferguson,	0 10 6	James Cocker,	0	5	0
B		W. D. Cocker,	0	5	0
Hugh Brown, Jun.,	1 1 0	Andrew H. Crawford,	0	5	0
John Barr,	1 1 0	Andrew Crichton,	0	2	6
Thomas Brown, Writer,	0 5 0	William Chisholm, Jun.,	0	10	6
William Brown,	0 5 0	D			
Robert Burns,	0 5 0	John Douglas,	1	1	0
James Brock,	0 5 0	John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.,	10	10	0
J. & T. Brown, & Co.	0 10 6	James Drummond,	0	5	0
Robert Brand,	1 1 0	W. & P. Dick, & Co.,	1	1	0
William Brodie,	1 1 0	George C. Dick,	0	10	6
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William Bankier,	0 10 6	Alexander Denovan,	0	5	0
Rev. William Brash,	0 5 0	James Dunn,	0	5	0
Robert Barclay,	0 10 6	Thomas Downs,	0	5	0
Thomas Binnie,	0 5 0	E			
James Beith,	0 5 0	Dr. Easton, Calton,	0	5	0
Moses Brown,	0 5 0	Rev. John Eadie,	0	5	0
Joseph Brown,	0 5 0	Rev. John Edwards,	0	5	0
Henry Brock,	1 1 0	F			
Walter Buchanan,	1 1 0	Friends at Falkirk, per Mr			
Peter Bruce,	0 5 0	James Johnston,	2	0	0
Robert Bruce,	0 5 0				
James Bruce,	0 5 0				
James Boyd,	0 5 0				
Thos. Brown, Turner's Court,	0 5 0				
William Brown, Gallowgate,	0 5 0				

Friends at Perth, per M.		William Lohead, Jun.,	£0 5 0
Gowans,	£1 0 0	Robert Laing,	0 10 6
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James Finlayson,	0 8 0	Thomas Lochhead,	0 5 0
John Fleming,	1 1 0	Henry Langlands,	0 10 6
Finlay & Neilson,	0 10 6	Rev. William Lindsay,	0 5 0
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John Fyfe,	1 1 0	William Lang, Queen St.,	1 1 0
William Ferguson,	0 10 6		
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Do.,	0 2 6	Andrew M'iler,	0 5 0
G		David Muir, Kilwinning,	0 5 0
Robert Goodwin,	0 5 0	Robert Mason, New Lanark,	0 5 0
John B. Gray,	1 1 0	John Maxwell, M.D.,	0 5 0
Alexander Graham,	1 1 0	James M'Keand,	0 10 6
Thomas Graham, 1840,	5 0 0	William M'Lean,	1 1 0
Do., do., 1841,	5 0 0	James M'Lean,	0 5 0
Robert Grahame of Whitehill,	5 0 0	Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch,	0 10 6
George Gallie,	0 5 0	John M'Leod,	0 10 6
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I		Hugh Muir,	0 5 0
Charles Inglis,	0 10 6	David M'Connochie,	0 5 0
Malcolm Inglis,	0 5 0	Colin M'Dougall,	0 5 0
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J		Rev. James M'Tear,	0 5 0
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		David Russell,	0 12 0

Archibald Rigg,	£0 5 0									U	
J. & C. Risk,	1 1 0										
John Reid,	0 10 6			John Ure,	£0 5 0						
George Robson,	0 10 6										
Robert Reid,	0 5 0									W	
S											
Andrew Stevenson,	0 5 0			Charles Whish,	0 5 0						
James Stewart,	0 10 6			Robert Wylie,	0 5 0						
William Sneddon,	0 5 0			Archibald Watson,	1 1 0						
James Stenhouse,	0 2 6			Thomas Watson,	1 1 0						
David Smith,	1 1 0			John Whitehead,	1 1 0						
Semple & Co.,	1 1 0			James Wotherspoon,	0 5 0						
Thomas H. Slater,	0 5 0			William Wilson,	0 10 6						
William Stewart,	0 5 0			James Watson,	1 1 0						
Robert Sanderson,	1 1 0			Oliver Wingate,	0 10 6						
F. B. Stuart,	0 5 0			Walter Wilson,	0 5 0						
William Smith, Polmadie,	0 10 6			George Watson,	1 1 0						
William Smeal,	0 10 6			Rev. Dr. Willis,	0 7 6						
T											
George Thorburn,	2 2 0			William Watson,	0 5 0						
James Turner,	0 5 0			William White,	1 1 0						
James Thomson,	0 5 0			Samuel Wilson,	1 1 0						
				John Williamson,	0 10 6						
				James Wallace,	0 5 0						
				Ronald Wright,	0 5 0						
				Thomas E. Waugh,	0 5 0						
				Peter White, Old Kilpatrick,	0 5 0						
				William Wright,	0 5 0						
				Peebles Wright,	0 5 0						

 Every person subscribing 5s. per annum, is a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, WILLIAM SMEAL, 161, Gallowgate; or by any of the Members of Committee.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

Cr.

1840.			
Aug. 7.—To Collection at Annual Meeting in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel— per Tickets,		£14	9 0
Aug. 11.—To Collection at Adjourned Meeting in Do.		2	18 7
Sept. 14.—To Collection at Second Adjourned Meeting in Dr. Heugh's Chapel—per Tickets,		7	10 0
Oct. 20.—To Collection at Public Meeting in Nile St. Chapel, to receive Messrs. Birney, Stanton, and Scoble—per Tickets,		7	4 5
1841.			
Jan. 22.—To Donation from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.,		10	10 0
July 31.—To Donation from Friends of Emancipation at Falkirk, per Mr James Johnston,		2	0 0
— To Do. at Perth,		2	0 0
— To Annual Subscriptions, per Treasurer's Collecting Book,		117	14 6
— To Sales of Publications,		2	17 7½
— To Balance due the Treasurer,		9	12 2
		£176	16 3½
		£176	16 3½
1841.			
July 31.—By Balance due at last Annual Meeting, By Expenses of Public Meetings,		£34	1 9½
By Expenses of Advertising, Printing, and for Newspapers to Correspondents in this and Foreign Countries,		32	4 11
By Expenses of Committee Meetings, Collecting Subscrip- tions, Postages of Letters and Foreign Newspapers, Carriage and Booking of Parcels, and sundry other small incidental outlays,		86	19 0
		23	10 7

Glasgow, 2d August, 1841.—We have this day examined the above Account, and the vouchers connected therewith, and find it to be correct.—The Balance due to the Treasurer, is Nine Pounds Twelve Shillings and Twopence.

(Signed,)

JOHN BARR.

THOMAS WATSON.

