American Anti-Slavery Society.: Address of the Executive Committee of ...

Liberator (1831-1865); Aug 7, 1840; 10, 32; American Periodicals

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American Anti-Slavery Society.

diffess of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the Abslitionists of the United States.

[cesetroro]

Hyper new said what we deem necessary in re-sectation has Annual Meeting, to the defection registering, to the avowed causes thereof, to the and the American and Foreign Anti-Slave-and in reply to its manifesto, we shall alwhot we believe to be the true causes of internation in our ranks.

Wentle light of Anonhonism first shone upon We get the land, chiefy through the second diverse of the land, chiefy through the second diverse and self-educated in-bal, the clorgy and the Church were startled at exposure of the enormity of the national wicked-against which they had raised no warning that with which they had been always, with e exceptions, compromising and striking Tray were sincerely frightened at the aw-stur responsibility which had accumulated place still increasing upon them. In such cir-places they felt the necessity of action. The partice, frond, and cruelty of the Colonization place had been unfolded too clearly and concluto permit that Society to be any longer a

parts and the state of things they determined upon a parts reminister of things they determined upon a parts reminister. Reputating, as they did, expatrigraphs remody for slavery, and an epitome of our class to two millions of innocent and tortured schem, the natural impulse of fair and unprejuminds would have been to unite with the exand Anti-Slavery Society, and if it were not as which and respectable as might be, to lend their aid value it more so. They admitted it to be right in reide, but did not like its measures, and thought a the right kind of men had not taken hold of the The two heliove, in fact, that they were influ-sed by pharisuical pride, and if they had spoken greek as those of olden time, they would have all is not this the printer's boy; has he not waited the backen for copy, and his mother, does she the backen in Newburyport with us? Besides as the dergy have always been in the liabit of the law large name arrays been in the habit of many possession of every benevolent and moral creative which stirred deeply and strongly the hearts discrete sociations and the community, and they dis-tant to play a second part in the Abolition move-met. Accordingly, after much correspondence and yelaction they assembled at Boston, in December, 184, to the number of 200, with a few laymen-set for a second heart to Magnetic 2.62 them. Several members of the Massachu-ers and of the American Anti-Slavery Society refs in attendance, and attempted to speak upon frequestion of the necessity of a new organization; bothey were interrupted and silenced by clamor. They were interrupted and silenced by clamor. The Convention proceeded to form what was wild the ***-*burian* Union, for the relief of the grade of color.² Some idea of the spirit and char-star of this assemblage may be formed from the fact that the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-ic that the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-ic that the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-fact was the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-fact was the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-fact away the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-fact away the Rev. Dr. Channing was at first appoint-tion of the residuent of the residuent of the residuent to proceed in like manner with the only remaining tataram. Professor Willard of Harvard University Estaman, Professor Willard of Harvard University, when that gentleman's sudden appearance in the resting arrested the proceeding. This association we universally regarded as sectarian. Another releation of its spirit was familiar in the months of meta-the time. Mr. Charles Tappan, one of the effects, called upon an editor of a daily paper, and effects. statian, Professor Willard of Harvard University, reported him to publish the proceedings. The ed-acdedimed: whereupon Mr. Tappan declared with tightsis, that the 'object, was to put down Garri-en!' If they thought Garrison until to be a lender

and? If they thought Garrison unfit to be a leader bins great movement, the obvious remedy was to the with the Anti-Slavery Society, and commit its subagement to better hands. But it did not suit bein spirit and purpose to associate with the origi-al families of American abolitionism. These were associate with the original families of an enclosed of numbers were transferred induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a swerght of names could induce to swerve from a statistic state of the second state of the swerght of names could induce to swerve from a state of names could induce to swerve from a state of names could induce to swerve from a state of a state of the faithful with here is swerght of the faithful with here is baselways been annoying to those who thrive by state of one another. This succumbed under the out of one another. This succumbed under ison weight and lifelessness, within a twelve-which are us birth, and it is now sunk into such "t oblivion, that, without reference to its records effect great doubt whether we have stated correct-is title. The truth was, that this society found middle ground on which they could stand. It was all occupied, either by the Anti-Slavery Soci-ly on one side, or colonization and pro-slavery on the other. Not content with no standing at all, they other. Not content with no standing at all, they period every man to his tent, and that was an end " the concern, but not of its spirit: that unfortu-maly survived. It did not, however, openly mani-ter assif again until the summer of 1837.

Let useff again until the summer of 1837. At that time the appeal, commonly known as the "Seried appeal,' suddenly made its appearance. Tas document was subscribed by five orthodox min-less. At the head of them was the Rev. Charles Fash, who has since confessed his error, and made 'tends in as since confessed his error, and made 'tends in so conscientions and megnanimous a man-ter, that we would name him only with respect and thet are appeal was strongly seconded by a 'cenderble body of students at Andover Theologi-et Seainary: and there is no doubt that the senti-Seminary : and there is no doubt that the senti-

The objectionable measures specified by the Andover students were : 1. A strain of remark upon the gospel ministry

J. A strain of remark upon the gospel ministry fitted to impair its influence. 2. Statements prejudicial to the cause of foreign missions and to the character of the A. B. C. F. M. They declare under this head that a prominent reason of their opposition to slavery is, that it 'interposes fatal obstacles' to the faithful labors' of missionary societies, 'for the most enlarged and successful diffusion of Christianity.' B. 'Speculations, tending to disorganization and anarchy, and surrounding, the cause of emancination.

3. 'Speculations, tending to disorganization and anarchy, and surrounding the cause of emancipation with foreign and repulsive associations, making it responsible for heresies with which it has no affinity.'
4. 'An unwarantable interference' with the relation between the church and its members.
5. The public lectures of females in the then 'recent instance of departure from propriety,' by the Misses Grimke. They were 'desirous of allowing the individuals the full apology of their religious faith, yet they could not sufficiently regret that their influence was not confined to a sphere of labor which would advance, rather than prejudice the cause of emancipation.' mancipation," We have stated these charges, not to comment on

them, but as a part of the history of anti-shavery con-flicts, to which it may be profitable to refer for com-

The appeal, like the Union, was a total failure, The appeal, like the Union, was a total failure, yet the spirit survived. By the overwhelming ma-jority at Worcester it was overawed. The news-paper New-England Spectator, which had been the organ of the appellants, expired. Murnurs of dissatisfaction and discontent, confined chiefly to the closer and generally to one denomination, were clergy, and generally to one denomination, were heard from time to time. A public correspondence was soon after commenced between two clergymen of Manualum to the determination of the constant of Massachusetts, Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, and Professor Emerson, of the Audover Seminary, in which grievous complaints were uttered by the later against the measures and the men of the Anti-Slavery Association. The former exhorts his friend not to despair, but to unite in efforts to make both better, and thinks the time at hand when this will be accomplished. To this, no rational and sincere be accomplished. To this, no rational and sincere friend of the slave can object. But when amend-ment means proscription and 'getting rid' of origi-nal, tried and trusty friends, for the sake of propita-ting those who are neither, we think it is appeasing the pride and purchasing the patronage of the prela-ey at too great a price, no less a price than the sac-rifice of the purity and progress of the cause. The American clergy must place themselves right before the community and before Christendom in relation to this momentous and ever-enlarging question, in a to this momentous and ever-enlarging question, in a manner more consistent with Christian charity, brotherly love and humility; otherwise they will find themselves deserted apace by the people; and they, who refused to lead in a great and necessary nation-al reform, will not even have the privilege of follow-

2. One of our Massachusetts friends, soon after the formation of the American Union, illustrated this spirit by a comparison which we have always thought just and strictly applicable to the subso-quent disturbances of our anti-slavery harmony. 'Suppose the Philistines, after their champion was

⁴Suppose the Philistines, after their champion was shin and they had fled a great way, had halted and taken counsel to this effect: We are routed and ru-ined. Goliath is dead, and the dead bodies of our host strew the way from Shochoh to Ekron. We have no more the stout warrior, the mighty in battle, to whom the men of war may rally. We must pre-tend to submit to this race of Egyptian slaves, until we can rise and avenge ourselves on them that vex us. Now, therefore, for us cond them our crafty ones with the priests of Dagon to propose a covenant of peace, offering to come under their vain theoeracy, and pay them tribute, on condition that they first hang *lhat Darid*, or if not, that they at least take away *his sling*.' way his sling.

away his sling.
We are now arrived at the period 1838, when operations were commenced for forming what has been technically called the New Organization; and establishing an opposition paper as its organ in Massachusetts. These operations were conducted in secret during match of that year, primarily by the Rev. A. A. Phelps, General Agent of the old Massachusetts Society, aided by Mr. Stanton and other agents appointed by the lace Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. These gendemen, and all the other leaders in this business, were of the same religions denomination as the elertical appellants and the American Union. It would occupy too much space in this address to enter into an examination in detail of those operations. We recommend to those who are uninformed or unsatisfied on this subject, a small volume entitled 'Right and Wrong in Massachusetts,' by Maria Weston Chapman. 1839.

Chapman. 1539. The projectors of this movement did not perhaps aim directly at a new organization, but rather to get possession of the old Massachusetts, (originally the New-England and the pioneer) Society; and to es-tablish the new paper with its sanction and at its expense. They professed to be warmly attached to that society; and their agents for obtaining sub-scriptions to the proposed paper were instructed to say that it was not intended to injure the circulation of the Liberator, but on the contrary, to extend it, being enabled by smallness and cheapness to go where the Liberator at present could not, and thus to prepare the way for it. In this way, one person, an old and efficient abolitionist, and a fast friend of the old society and of the Liberator, was actually induc-ed to undertake to get subscribers for the opposition paper. He was undeceived by an exchamation of paper. He was undeceived by an exclamation of the Rev. Parsons Cooke, who, on affixing his name to the list, said with energy, 'I'll do anything to put

Abolitionists, in their indignation at 'the worst vstem of human villary which exists? and at the nvious opposition of the rabbies of the land ' to their efforts opposition of the house of the hand the test of test o customed to receive from their fellow-citizens in general. Their habit is to use a strong, plain, and primitive style of rebuke ; because they feel that in to other language could they express their sense of the pre-entitient wickedness of the system which hey suppose it to be their mission to destroy. Those unitisters who perform their duty to the slave, Those ministers who perform their duty to the slave, are not offended by the sharpness of their reproofs, but on the contrary make them sharper. This man-ner, while the matter remains, cannot be surrender-ed to please men. If we say, 'scribes and priveous to hypoerites,' 'ye bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but will not yourselves more them with one of your fingers,' 'you make broad your phylacteries,' and 'love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,' and 'to be called of men Rabbi, Rab-bi',' and if any yood man is offended at it there is it; and if any good man is offended at it, there is not one remedy for the case, and that is, for him to withdraw himself from the class to which he is conscious that the language applies. If he be good, his very displeasure, betraying that, consciousness, ought to be an admonition to him to pause and re-examine the case, and carefully review his own course. urse.

We must say, however, that if a harder thing was

We must say, however, that if a harder thing was ever said of the clergy by any abolitionist than was uttered on this occasion, by their brother Trask, we are yet to learn what it was. A society founded or acting on the principles avow-ed by Mr. Trask, night do well enough if nothing was to be done but to be printed, to hold anniversaries, and to make pretty addresses to please everybody and benefit nobody. But a real Anti-Slavery Soci-ety has work, of which anniversary parades and speeches are the smallest, and a very insignificant part. An Anti-Slavery Society, on the principle avowed by this new organizationist, (and the speech was evidently intended to be peculiarly candid and hearty.) would be a slave itself, as much worse off than other slaves, as voluntary slavery is worse than than other slaves, as voluntary slavery is worse our compulsory. It would be imbecile for every good and manly purpose, from its birth, and its speedy death could be the only atonement for its worthless life. This country has one example of such a soci-ety, and it must forget much before it will counte-nance another. ance another.

To these facts we may add the general testimony of a clergyman of Massuchusetts of the sume denom-nation with those who have originated and managed all these movements, but a hearty abolitionist and an upright man, that the real cause of these succesive attempts to obtain the control and to change sive attempts to obtain the control and to change the manner and course of anti-slavery action, is the free and bold discussion, in anti-slavery meetings and anti-slavery periodicals, of the relation of the church and clergy to slavery and the slave trade. His knowledge of the fact is derived from personal and pressing applications which have been made to himself to unite in the 'holy war.' The late Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slaver's Swinty refrained from any averagesion

Anti-Slaver's Society retrained from any expression of opinion upon the merits of these important strugof opinion upon the merits of these important strug-gles in the great cause which they were appointed to superintend and to promote. To some, this si-lence itself seemed very expressive. One of three associates in business accuses a second of having neglected the duties and departed from the line of the partnership; of betraying its interests and treacherously applying its resources to a foreign ob-ject; the third, knowing all the finds, listens to this and utters not a word. Is not this taking sides? What inference does such behavior admit of, ex-cept that he deems the charges true and the con-duct of his accused partner wholly indefensible. If duct of his accused partner wholly indefensible. If he knew it to be otherwise, it was his duty to say so; and if he thought the accusations merited, he ought and a net thought the accusations merited, he ought to say that too, and to endeavor, by doing right, to put an end to the controversy. This is what any one of that Committee would have hastened to do if the concern had been a private one of his own; but they appear to have felt at liberty to manage a great public one upon totally different principles. The organ of the new organization was establish-ed by Mr. Stanton, one of the salaried Secretaries of the Frequencies.

of the Executive Committee at New-York, and con-ducted by him principally to the time that another Secretary, E. Wright, Jr., resigned his office at New-York, and took charge of the journal in Mas-sachusotts achusetts.

Cotemporary with these proceedings the Execu-ive Committee demanded of the Massachusetts Sothe commute demanded of the anasachusetts so-ciety payment of the second instalment of the State pledge of Ten Thousand Dollars to the American Society, made at its annual meeting in May previ-ous. The first instalment of \$2000, had been paid, and the delay in meeting the second was conse-quent on the extraordinary expense and attention bestowed on the Middlesex election of a Represenbestowed on the Middlesex election of a Represen-tative to Congress, an occasion deemed more im-portant in relation to political action, by abolition-ists throughout the country, than any other which has occurred since the origin of the anti-slavery or-ganization. The express condition on which the pledge was made, was, that the Massachusetts So-ciety should have the entire control of the cause in the State. The Decenting Committee to New Y the State. The Executive Committee at New York were rigorous in their call for the second instalment, and notwithstanding the protest of the Massachu-setts Board, they openly disregarded the condition on which the plodge was mado, and deputed agents to collect it.

on which the process the collect it. This circumstance was one of the chief causes of those wide-spread dissensions that have been so rife in our ranks for sometime past, and which have de-

his behalf. This step, we think, was in itself wrong. The abolitionists of the district generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular, at whose ex-Massiendagets board in particular, at whose ex-pense these operations were carried on, had a right to be consulted, both whether a separate nonination should be made, and if so, who should be the indi-vidual selected. It was mischievons in its conseguences, because the people of that district became so exasperated at this attempt, that the county of Middlesex, from one of the best and most hopeful, became and continues to be one of the hardest and most discouraging fields of anti-slavery labor in the free States. Mr. Woodbury had been a distin-guished sympathizer with the clerical appellants, was a friend of the national administration, and in 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 at-tachments. Mr. Woodbury had also been appoint-ed an agent of the Executive Committee, contrary to the remonstrances of the Massachusetts E part. The same fact is true in regard to other gentlemen The Executive Committee persevered in retain-ng those agents, until the new organization, when

seems to have transferred to that the duty of ceping those agents in service. The Executive committee discharged them after that event, appaently in compliance with the wishes of the Massahusetts Board, but in reality, because they knew hat the same individuals would be forthwith re-apointed by the new formed Abolition Society of that State.

At the time when the Executive Committee was oscouting its demand for the instalment due on the ledge of the Massachusetts Board, Mr. Phelps, the General Agent of that Board, was busy in address-ing circulars to abolitionists in that State, urging them to devote their contributions to the new pa them to devote their contributions to the new paper, and stating, as an inducement to this course that they would then know what became of their money; inuendo, that they could not be sure of that so long as it went to the Massachusetts Board. The inten-tion probably was to insinuate that money sent to the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Society for an-tic above, object was accurated but the Desider tion probably was to insinuate that momey sent to the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Society for an-ti-slavery objects, was percented by the Board to the support of 'Non-Resistance.' Mr. Stanton was at the same time sounding some of the leading abo-litionists on the subject of a change of officers of the Massachusetts Society. He suggested as a snitable President, the Hon. William Jackson of Newton, brother of the then and present President. It seems impossible to assign any reason unless it be a sectarian one, for this proposal. Francis Jackson has always been an open, active, and effi-cient friend of the cause: as a man, he is not less respected than his worthy brother. He particularly entitled himself to the esteem and gratitude of ab-olitionists by offering his dwelling house for the meetings of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Soci-ety, when they were mobled, by 'gentlemen of property and standing,' in their own hall. The agents appointed by the Executive Commit-tee were, from the beginning, nearly all of one relig-ions denomination, as was the committee itself. The impression of abolitionists who observed that fact, was that their brethren of the committee is creely believed that no agents of other denomina-tions could do so much good to the cause, and not a murnur was heard. Ultimately a request eame

Cereity believed that no agents of other denomina-tions could do so much good to the cause, and not a murnur was heard. Ultimately a request came from Massachusetts to appoint the Rev. S. J. May, of Seitmate, a local agent simply. To this the Ex-ecutive Committee denurred for some time, but after in unaccountable lapse of time made the desired ppointment.

appointment. The Rev. Mr. Phelps, in reading from his pulpit, a few months since, a notice of a union concert of prayer for the slave, to be held in one of the apart-ments of the building in which his church worship, took occasion to remark that he had communicated the notice because as he felt oblige to do so, but he felt it his duty to observe that when he hereameGause The index bound of the probability of the solution of the solu on the evening of the notice.

The one specified in the notice was, an opposi-tion prayer meeting, at which Universalists, Unita-rians, and women, and all sorts of people, would probably take part, and there would be the singular probably take part, and there would be the singular spectacle of two sets of people meeting on the same day, under the same roof, to pray for the same ob-ject. Mr. Phelps blaned the proprietors of the building for letting a room for the Union Concert of Prayer for the slave. Mr. Lewis Tappan and A. A. Phelps have been beyond comparison the most active and conspicuous founders of the Massachusetts Ab-olition Society, and of the American and Foreign Aut. Sharary Society. In fact they are the scul of Anti-Slavery Society. In fact, they are the soul of 'new organization,' wherever it is. Mr. Tappan ad-vised a division of the Massachusetts Society, and Mr. Phelps executed it. At the formation of the new Society in New-York, the former presided and the latter penned, as we have reason to believe, the principal part of the regulations and sentiments adopted. Mr. Phelps and his condjutors in Massa-chusetts have mustered their abolition forces with the cry of 'down with the Unitarians.' Yet Mr. Phelps knew that only a small minority of the Mas-sachusetts Board were at any time Unitarians, and that a number of orthodox members constantly acted with them, and were conspicuous for the unhesi-tating, and we might say indignant decision, with which they disapproved and opposed his proceed-ions.

Since the formation of the American and Foreign

offensive to those who might otherwise join the anti-slavery ranks, and help on the cause of emancipa-tion to a glorious consummation. Here we have the identical grievance of the American Union, the the identical grievance of the American Union, the clerical appellants, the Andover seconders, an' Prof. Emerson, that 'worthy men' are beaten of from active exertion for the slave, though 'their hearts bleed for him,' and though they 'tremble for their country.' Do they mean that there are not 'good' and 'worthy' men in the Society? We pre-sume none will say this, 'Good' and 'worthy' men can, then, unite with us, without impairing their character. What excuse then have 'worthy' men, whose 'hearts bleed for the oppressed,' and who yet whose 'hearts bleed for the oppressed,' and who yet do nothing for his relief or vindication? How shall we obtain the important co-operation of such men? Shall we follow the recipe of the Rev. Mr. Trask?

Shall we follow the recipe of the Rev. Mr. Trask? But that would be formal emptiness and miserable inbecility. It would render our Society a sham, and no sham will ever abolish American slavery. The newspaper called the Emancipator, was maintained by abolitionists as the organ of the Amer-ican Anti-Slavery Society. This was done at an expense of three thousand dolars per amann, over and about the other internet. and above the subscriptions. The entire amount which the Society has such in bringing the paper up to its present circulation, is not much short of 20,000 dollars. This paper, thus sustained and cherished, has, for the last two years, opposed the wishes of a majority of this Society, and has been an efficient promoter of dissension in our ranks. The editor, like the Rev. Mr. Trask, could see no harm in a 'honse divided against itself,' and thought harm in a 'house divided against itsen, and mought that both societies might do good; but he did not inform the readers of the Emancipator that the new Society, in the very act of coming into being, ac-cused the old of offences which, if true, ought to be fatal to its influence and even its existence. It has been the same with the replies of the Massa-chusetts Board, to documents of the Executive Committee which had appeared in that paper. Thus the protest of the Massachusetts Board against the summary proceedings of the Executive Committee reserving the proceedings of the executive Committee reserving the proceedings of the sector Committee, respecting the priment of the pledge, never found its way into the Emancipator. One would have thought that the common justice of the press, even if the Emancipator had been under no press, even in the Enthereipator had been under ho peculiar obligations to all the abolitionists in the country, would have secured to that document a place in its columns, it being a reply of the ac-cused to an attack commenced there. With an ap-peasance of fairness, the Executive Committee did councel to document benefities with their aburger and pearance of fairness, the Executive Committee did cause the document, together with their charges and their rejoinder, and a long argument from Mr. Phelps, in support of all their views and proceed-ings, to be published in an extra of the New-York *Clristian Journal*. Could not the Committee have published an extra of their own paper, as well as of another, and even more conveniently and economi-cally? Undoubtedly this would generally he the case. We do not pretend to account for this pro-ceeding. One thing we do know, that the exposi-tion of the Massachusetts side of the affair was never laid before the readers of the Emancipator. The subsequent documents constraint from the The subsequent documents containing from the Massachusetts Board, tonching subjects of vital in-terest to the cause, topics upon which the interest was deep and intense, in the anti-slavery body, touching too the conduct of the Emancipator itself, have failed no better ; but rather worse. If their ex-istence has been noticed, it has been by such partial, and sometimes garbled extracts, with comments, as would present the Board in an invidious light, without

and sometimes garbled extracts, with comments, as would present the Board in an invidious light, without conveying any information. The unfairness of the Emancipator has not been confined to matters in dispute betwist the two Boards. While its editor and correspondents were continually addressing the abbitionists in favor of 'independent nominations,' as they are called, for political office, and a third political party, those who disapproved that policy have been unable to obtain a hearing through its columns. The license of the Emancipator, appointed and maintained as the organ of this Society, for which, in every respect, this Society was responsible, con-trasts strikingly with the attempts to tranmel up the Liberator, a paper which its editor always refused to make the official organ of any Society, or submit to the control of any body of men, preferring to main-tain it in entire independence, or not to maintain it at all; a paper which never received a farthing from the anti-slavery funds poured into the treas-ury of the national Society. But for this spirit of independence the Liberator would have become the organ of the national Society diventions and the the organ of the bartisch are diventioned bare bare of the divention. organ of the national Society immediately after its formation. Yet because its editor has used that lib-erty which he has struggled so hard to maintain, and which no temptation of case or atfluence could induce him to surrender, attempts have continually been made, and by none more than the Emancipa-tor, to control him, and failing to control, to underin him, and harms and airing to control, to under-mine him; and what was equally unjust, to hold the Massachusetts Board, who never interfered with the sentiments and conduct of the paper, and had no right so to do, responsible for what it published ! Hence the stale charge against the Massachusetts Society, of 'encumbering the cause with foreign subjects.'

We look upon this charge as inapplicable even We look upon this charge as inapplicable even to the editor of the Liberator hunself. Was it for nothing that he had toiled on without aid from the nothing that he had toiled on with a scanty aud precarious general funds, and with a scanty and precarious subsistence, while the Emancipator was consuming those funds at the rate of three thousand a year? Must he who had never contracted an obligation to be directed or overruled by others, submit to a sur-veillance which the Emancipator, with all its obli-rutions accounted account of a

writer fuiled. The old brotherly love and rightcous toleration of these men could not be broken up. The Society, notwithstanding the weight of Mr. Birney's character, respected and beloved as he was. decided that women were 'persons,' and therefore (having paid their money) members, and therefore (having paid their money) members, that they were members, and therefore entitled to sit and take part in its meetings. They likewise passed an expressive, but tender censure upon the Executive Committee for their proceedings in relation to the Massachusetts pledge. From a disposition to conciliate, and a cherished

Massachusetts pledge. From a disposition to conciliate, and a cherished feeling of fraternity, too grateful to the hearts of those engaged in vindicating the universal brother-hood of man to be suddenly eradicated, the Execu-tive Committee were all re-elected for that year. Their first impulse appears to have been to decline, their course of conduct and policy having been de-cidedly disapproved by their constituents; and one of them, Mr. Lewis Tappan, did actually resign, but afterwards came in and withdrew his resignation. It was announced that all would resign, and this we have reason to believe was really their intention, but afterwards they changed their minds, in a body, and determined to stand. From this time, a course of policy was commenced by the Committee, eviand determined to stand. From this time, a course of policy was commenced by the Committee, evi-dently aiming to subvert every important decision made by the Society which they were appointed to represent. In pursuance of this policy, a conven-tion was called at Albauy in July, 1839, in terms unprecedented in the history of American abolition-ism. Up to that time, no abolitionist desirous of taking a seat in an anti-slavery convention, had ev-er been denied that favor, a favor not to himself or herself, but the reverse. The favor was to the op-pressed. ressed.

The apprehension seems to have been that unless our Abolition sisters were excluded by the form of the call, they could not be excluded at all. This the can, they could not be excluded at al. Imb betrays a consciousness in the minds of those who determined that form, that they were going contrary to the genius and disposition of the aboli-tion host. They evidently knew that they were taking it upon themselves to decide this vital point, because they felt their side to be unsafe in the hands of the solution body, however or wherever assembecause they felt their side to be unsafe in the hands of the abolition body, however or wherever assem-bled. The mere form of the call would not, in all probability, have restrained that convention, had it not been for the supplementary dogma that the con-vention had no power in its action, to transgress the terms of the call; a principle vastly convenient for its inventors, but wholly at variance with truth and experience. The Convention which formed the constitution of the United States was called merely threw them aside, and framed an entirely new form of government. The idea that half a dozen persons calling a convention have power to prescribe its ac-tion and determine the qualifications of its members, is a novelty. The dogma, however, prevailed, probaa novchy. The dogma, however, prevailed, proba-bly because it was a novelty which nobody was pre-pared for, and one half of the abolitionist; of the convention for the abolition of slavery. This deci-tion, though not on the merits of the case, but a such, though not on the merris of the case, but a matter of form, and though not made by the Ameri-can Society, was immediately blazoned as a reversal of the vote of that Society at its preceding annual meeting; and very recently it has been cited by Mr. Birney as of equal authority with that vote. In view of the operations of the Executive Com-pitted drived the very reas can constrained the biling

In view of the operations of the Executive Com-mittee during the year, we are constrained to believe that they retained their places for the very purpose of conducting the affairs of the Society on every contested point directly in opposition to the express will of the Society, with the hope, no doubt, to convert it by another year to their views. And the founders of the new organization in Massachusetts, as an apology for making their anti-woman's rights society auxiliary to one which was as much entitled to be called 'a woman's rights society 'as that of Massachusetts, allege that the vote of the American Society, which

they regret, will not, as they trust, 'be repeated.' These things effectually speak the confidence of abolitionists in the frankness and fidelity of their Ex-These things the franknesse and fide ity of their Ex-coutive Committee; their contributions fell off, and nearly all the lecturing agents of the national Soci-ety were dismissed. Application was made to State Societies to come to their aid. Pending this appli-cation, a bill for a small amount drawn by an agent, Arnold Buffum in Ohio, was presented at the Na-tional Anti-Slavery Treasury in New-York and dis-honored. It was protested before a notary, and the protest copied by the political and commercial press as an act of bankruptey on the part of this Society. The Emancipator, with much display of grief, can-didly acknowledged the fact that we usere bankrupts. Nevertheless there was at that moment a balance of money and effects belonging to the Society, of more than 10,000 dollars over and above their debts. The motive for permitting the Society's credit and its faith to its agent to be thus impaired and scoffed at by the pro-Slavery press, we think is apparent.

faith to its agent to be thus impaired and scoffed at by the pro-slavery press, we think is apparent. The transfer of the Emancipator to the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, conclude this eventful, though concealed portion of anti-slavery history. The reason assigned for this step was, that the Com-mittee had not funds to continue it even until the annual meeting of the Society, which was to take place in one month. Yet it is demonstrated that at that very moment the Executive Committee had at their disposal, clear of all debts, a property of eleven thousand dollars! Could not finds have been rais-ed upon this, at least to contince the paper until the of an establishment which had cost the maxe been rais-ed upon this, at least to continue the paper until the Society would be consulted as to the final disposal of an establishment which had cost them so much? When the faithful and pointed resolutions on the subject of this alienation of our property were brought forward at the annual meeting, Mr. Leavitt,

Recording Secretary, who seemed about to leave the house, was specially notified by the chairman of the Business Committee that the resolutions concerned him, and that the gave him this notice, thinking he might wish to remain. He did remain long enough to hear them read, and to hear one of the most discharacterize and judicious men in the community characterize the transaction as 'scuttling the ship,' and compare it to the Executive selling the navy to a nation with which we were on the point of war, and then, without offering any defence, he withdrew. A committee was appointed to wait on the Execu-ive Committee of the City Society, with instructions to negotiate for a restoration of our paper, and em-powered to indemnity against all loss. They did not succeed in this object, though it was plainly un-derstood all round, that the paper would be restored on condition that Mr. Leavitt went with it as its editor! Subsequently Mr. Leavitt came in and complain-ed that the Society had gone to the City Society for explanations, and had not invited him to give any! adding, in an aggrieved tone, that now he had no explanation to give. The chairman of the Business Committee reminded him of the special notice which he had given him in open meeting. Mr. Leavitt mude no reply, but again left the house. There-upon the Society voted to lay the subject on the ta-ble until the subsequent session, in order to give all persons concerned an opportunity to be present, and tor! ble until the subsequent session, in order to give all persons concerned an opportunity to be present, and to offer any remarks which they might deem proper; and the Secretary prolem. Mr. Bassett, was ordered to notify Joshua Leavitt and the Executive Commit-tee of this vots. They were notified accordingly, but none of them appeared. In fact the sale and transfer, under such circumstanes, of the newspaper of a benevolent Society, by their Executive Commit-tee is a messure obviously indeforcible and high tee, is a measure obviously indefensible and high-handed; and, based as the transaction was upon a fulse representation of pecuniary inability to sustain the publication, can only be regarded as a signal and unexampled instance of violated faith. Another proceeding of the late Executive Com-mittee, though not so clearly objectionable as the sale of the Emancipator, does yet betray an unrea-sonable and causeless distrast of the integrity and honor of the American A. S. Society. The books, stereotype plates, and in general all the stock, fur-niture, and books of account and other property of

approved by the faculty of that institu-

The burden of the 'clorical appeal' was the bad any count and measures of the existing societies the Star of Massachusetts. The appellants comand that 'many worthy nen were prevented' by less things 'from appearing in favor' of the cause. When to be prevented from doing their duty to a bitter to be prevented from doing their duty to a bitter sense by reason of their apprehension that hers were not doing their s in the wisest manner ! What and of defence will this be at the judgment att the device with this of a the propriety, attaine the clerical appellants, 'are not willing to a demined with such movements. Their hearts where the oppressed, but they are beaten off from the experiment of the probability of the oppressed of the oppressed interaction in their behalf by these unjustifiable interactions. They suppose that the great body of ab-insta approve of these things, because they suf-them in silence. It moreover is to be feared that, the in the oppression of the silence of the oppression of the oppre and in shence. It motion is to be ready who in assa different course is pursued, many who in as Post have labored much in this cause, will

Les pest have labored much in this cause, will studias in despair and weep in secret places.' Very soon the appellants had reason to know that between an inistake about the great body of aboli-"any approxing of these things,' for at a Conven-an of abolitionists from all parts of the State, held to Ware-ster, specially to consider and act on this steps the clerical appeal was nailed to the coun-tribut avde of 400 to 1. The Andore appeal was more frank and explicit

The Andover appeal was more frank and explicit The Andover appeal was more frank and explicit that the original one. It declared that the senti-tent on the subject of slavery had passed from the had to the heart of the nation. A spirit of stern statistics is pervading the community, kindling its strength in efforts for the speedy removal of this great and erving national he speedy removal of this great and crying national

We have cherished a belief that the time was not stant when a platform would be erected on which we England Christians would be constrained to

We desire to second the appeal of men whom we respect and love, and with whose feelings we sympathize; and to bear our humble testimony sgainst some of the measures which are obstructing the process and defermine the triumb of correct Esting to be the measures which are obstructing the progress, and defeating the triumph of correct poinciples ! ? lown Garrison.⁵

At the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Society, January, 1839, the struggle took place. The distilicated were detected by a majority about as de-cisive as at the Worcester meeting. A new paper was however commenced, called the Massachusetts Abolitionist. At the New England Convention in Abolitionist. At the New England Convention in May following, the disaffected finally seconded. The occasion which they selected was the admission of abolitionists to seats in the Convention, without disnumber of persons in a private apartment, which this number of persons in a private apartment, without any public and general notice of the time, place, or purpose. It has always been supposed that the founders were apprehensive, that if a meeting of *ab*others were called with a view to form a new or-ganization, they would the first thing vote by an im-mense majority that no new organization was needed. The principal justifications put for the separation

1. The allowing of women to have the rights of members in societies and convention, though they did not allege any objection to their paying their money and becoming members. 2. The refusal of the old society to pass resolu-

2. The refusal of the old society to pass resolu-tions that it was the bounden duty of every aboli-tionist to vote at the polis, 'if he would not prove that neither love to God nor man held any place in his heart.' The Rev. George Trask, an orthodox minister, having returned to the Convention after the separation had taken place, and obtained leave to speak in justification of it, delivered hinself in substance as follows: substance as follows :

substance as follows: 'I le did not held to the maxim, 'united we stand, divided we fail.' Both societies would do good. There were some things which the eld society could do, and some things which the new could do, all of which could be done by neither. 'Sir,' said he with increasing warmth, 'Sir, we want the men of influence in our ranks. It is in vain that you attempt to carry any cause in this country without them. We want the *Honorables*, the D. D's, the Rabbies of the land. Now, our 'new organization' will get them. They will join us, but they will never join you. Your society is too radical for them. They will come to us, and we shall give them offices : Sir, they won't come without we give them offices ' we give them offices

stroyed that confidence which was the bond of our

The Executive Committee put forth a circular, addressed it to abolitionists throughout the country, containing partial, exaggerated, and in some respects, erroneous statements of the case, This circular excited great surprise, and some sud-ten indignation against the Massachusetts Board, for an apparent want of good faith, or for criminal negligence of the cause of the slave. It declared the contract wholly 'null and void.' We have said this circular was addressed to abo-

itionists throughout the country. There were some to whom it was not addressed : these were the mem-pers of the Massachusetts Board. To them it was lever communicated by the Executive Committee either before or after its publication, and a commit-tee of that Board, who had proceeded to New-York, for the purpose of composing the difference by a personal and friendly explanation, failed in their ob-ject, the Committee being resolved to pursue their

course at all hazards. These facts need little commentary. It was ev-These facts need little commentary. It was ev-ident that an unfraternal feeling, and malign influ-ences existed in the Executive Committee, and the supposed financial delinquency of the Massachu-setts Board, with the coloring impartod to it of treachery 'to the pennyless slave,' to printers and mechanics employed in New-York, who were repre-sented as kept out of their hard earnings by the neg-ligence or parsimony of the Massachusetts Society, was seized upon and made the vehicle of a nursed and accumulated displeasure. The circular was signed by Leuis Tappan, S. E. Cornish, Joshua Leavitt, and Heary B. Stanton. Mr. Stanton was well aware of the causes of the delay in the Massa-chusetts Board. He was himself the principal cause, inasmuch as it was understood when the pledge was given, that he was to aid in collecting the money, and when he went to Massachusetts for that purpose he devoted himself to the management of the Middlesex election, in which the money of the Massachusetts Society was expended, but none collected for them. the Massuchusetts Society was expended, but none collected for them.

It is proper to observe, that Messra, Stanton and Phelps had the whole control of that field. They put in nomination the Rev, James Woodbury as the abolition candidate, and circulated printed votes in

presume, indeed we know, that no peculiar pains is taken to bring in themmore than there is to bring in tuinisters, and probably not so much, and none whatever taken to keep out either. Such charges have been made by the Agents of the Massachusetts Ab-olition Society, but they have been abandoned whenever issue has been taken upon them. The door is wide open to every friend of humanity, and when it shall be jealously held ajar to be shut in the face of any such, be they of this or that sect, sex, country or color, we may date the decline and fall of the noblest, most purifying, most exalting of all the moral enterprises of modern times.

Can there now be a doubt as to the nature of that Can there now be a doubt as to the nature of that 'platform' which the Andover 'seconders of the ap-peal of men whom they respect and love,' foresaw, on which New-England *Christians* would be con-strained to meet? Referring, we must couclude, to the time when the 'unjustification' and 'unwarran-table measures,' and the men whom they do not re-spect and love, shall be 'got rid of,' and there shall re nain no longer this poor excuse for real aversion or in lifterence to the cause. Such a society as would then exist would be lively and potent indeed! In a late number of the Massachusetts Abolitionist, (June 3d) of which Mr. Phelps is said to be the editor, we find appended to a notice of an abolition meeting in which resolutions were passed consuring the new organization and the elergy, the following remark: '*Christians* we think will by and by get their eyes open to what is going on.' When it is considered that the word 'Christians' is understood by Mr Phelps in a restricted sense, a sense excluding all except what are called orthodox denominations, the appeal becomes extremely significant. In fact, such means have been for a long time, and are now con-stantly resorted to to excite sectarian hostility against the unjority of the abolitionists in the cour-ry. Yet those who do these things are the per-sons who accuse their brethren of pursuing their theories and practices at all events, even if their great moral enterprise in which they and we origin-ally embarked shall retrograde and become justly 'This was an error. It had been established two platform' which the Andover 'seconders of the ap-

* This was an error. It had been established two years when Mr. Phelps took the agency.

Society, leading members who took part in that transaction, have been heard, in a monthly concert of prayer for the slave, to allege as one justification of the new organization, that Garrison was bringing into the old Society infidels and Universalists. We as being foreign subjects, and encumbering the cause with a load which would retard its progress and give a new blow to 'the poor bleeding slave?' We will endeavor to expose it.

No man cai express an opinion on any subject, without having its reception by the world influenced more or less by the public confidence and respect which he has previously, and in any way or on any subject, acquired. The editor of the Liberator, then, in order to satisfy these uncasy and unreason-able brethren, must be condemned to absolute si-lence on every subject which *they* did not, or would not perceive to be immediately and obviously con-nected with the cause. He could not utter a thought on any subject without carrying in even decry on any subject without carrying, in some degree, the weight and influence justly attached to his cha-racter as an abolitionist. Must he, therefore, be silent on all things, except what others may imagine to be the demands of the cause? He might see a connexion which they did not, still he must forego the utterance of himself. Such pretensions are so arbirary and impertinent that they need only to be stated. Politicians and sectarians have under-taken to say to the editor of the Liberator, what the taken to say to the entry of the Linerator, what the slaveholders have stild to us all, that there are sub-jects which he shall not discuss ! 'Pass not the Ibe-rus. Touch not Saguntum.' Before dismissing the Emancipator, it is proper that we should advert for a moment to an article which ap-

be should all origin a monormation of a metric which appeared in its last number previous to the ampual meet-ing a year ago, signed by James G. Birney. This was a formal attack on certain abolitionists, in relation to subjects, from which the editor had affected to keep entirely aloof, such was his delicacy about encombering the cause with them, though in reality, encombering the cause with them, though in reality, he was carrying on, in regard to them, a war in dis-guise. On this occasion, the battery was permitted to be unmasked. The hope of influencing, deci-sively, the action of the approaching meeting was too tempting. No scruple was feit to present this exparte statement, at a period so late that the Soci-ety must (so far as the Emancipator was concerned,) come to a decision on the subjects of it, before the other side could be heard. Victory, victory was the object. Putting down and silencing was the or-der of the day. Thanks to the intelligence and in-dependence of the abolition spirit, the object of the

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the Society were found to have been assigned by the Executive Committee to Lewis Tappan and S. W. Benedict, to pay debts of the Society, and to in-demnify them against liabilities on account of a libel suit, and of the Amistad case. Under this amin demnity them against habilities on account of a hole suit, and of the Amistad case. Under this assign-ment a portion of the books had been sold at half the trade price, itself greatly below the retail price, (at which this Society would have sold them all.) to raise money to pay the arrears of Mr. Stanton's sal-ary and for other purposes. Thus we are at last taught how money can be raised on anti-slavery books !

books: The Anti-Slavery office had also been broken up, and all the Society's late property removed to the and all the Society's late property removed to the Anti-Slavery Depository, now the office of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We are therefore without such means for immediately prosecuting the anti-slavery enterprise. We look upon this transaction as hasty and unreasonable. Had the question heen submitted to the Society then about to assemble, can there be a doubt that they would have paid double the amount due to creditors, rather than have suffered their entire stock to be sacrificed? Can there be a doubt even, that they would have honorably discharged every just debt, stock or no stock? Have they ever done any thing to invalidate this presumption? It is true that at the instance of one member, a provision was insert-ed in the assignment that any surplus, after paying debts and indemnities, should be returned to the so-ciety.

debts and indemnities, should be returned to the so-ciety. To suppose that the Executive Committee really doubted that the American Anti-Slavery Society was able and would be willing to meet every just claim in an honorable manner, would be scarcely less than ludicrous. They might not do it with mer-cantile punctuality, but they knew that it would ul-timately be done; no benevolent society ever met its payments with strict legal exactness. It is im-possible in the nature of the case: hecause their repossible in the nature of the case; because their re-sources depend on so many contributors; but is it not a most obvious remark, and applicable to the case of the Massachusetts pledge, that the same be-nevolent disposition which induces the original innevolent disposition which induces the original in-curring of the obligation will induce its fulfilment, if fulfilment be possible? Have we not seen the A. B. C. F. M. shortening its remittances to all its stations? But was it negligence, or bad faith in them? By no means. We now dismiss the matters connected with the late defection from this Society. It remains to say a word of the effect of this event upon the anti-sla-very cause.

We have been pained by it, but we are not dis-couraged in the slightest degree. On the contrary, we feel that our moral force is augmented by our numerical loss. The alternative presented to us was to retain the disaffected, or to retain the distinct-ive principles of an Anti Slavery Society. That the body of abolitionists had virtue and firmness enough to adhere to principles rather than to men, however cause. A severer trial is scarcely to be expected. At the result we feel strengthened, animated, disembarrassed.

We have made the foregoing exposition, not for the purpose of reply to those who, professing to hope for peace and to hate crimination, attempt to hope for peace and to hate crimination, attempt to give a mortal wound in nearly every sentence they have put forth on the subjects of this address. 'And Joab snid unto Amasa, 'Art thou in health, my brother?' And Joab took Amasa by the beard, with his right hand, to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed to the sword in Joab's hand; so he smote him in the fifth rib.' We have made this de-velopement by order of the Society, to the end, that abolitionists of this and of coming time, may under-stand the true causes of the alienation which has been consummated by the art of forming a new or-ganization at New-York. We have made it princi-pally to answer that demand of the true-hearted pally to answer that domaid of the true-hearted host, 'Watchman, what of the night?' We re-joice to respond in cheerful tones, 'The morning cometh.'

JAMES S. GIBBONS, Chairman. J. C. JACKSON, Secretary.