

3rd Annual report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society

RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON, IN 1836 .

Let us make man in OUR IMAGE.

Whose image and superscription is THIS?—'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; but unto God the things which are God's.'— Jesus Christ.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; BEING A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE CASES OF THE SLAVE CHILD, MED, AND OF THE WOMEN DEMANDED AS SLAVES OF THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT OF MASS. WITH ALL THE OTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

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1836.

REPORT, &c.

As all that we have seen and experienced during the past year, has increased our attachment to the impartial principles of love and truth, and strengthened our conviction that the measures are effectual by which we have sought to promulgate them, it seems good to us to record our observation and our experience—not only for the benefit of those whom our example is to educate, but that we may ourselves be confirmed for the future, by a review of the past.

We would not willingly lose the remembrance of even the most minute particulars of the scenes in which we have been engaged, since we acknowledged the justice and necessity

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of immediate emancipation. Should our lives be spared a few years, to behold with the bodily eye the consummation of our glorious hopes, with what satisfaction shall we relate to our children, with the aid of 1* 6 these and similar annals, a multitude of incidents, which, unrecorded, would be driven from our minds by the rapid succession of like events, insignificant, it is true, in themselves, but mighty in their tendencies;—the unperceived hinges on which the massive prison doors must move open.

After the annual sale for the benefit of the treasury, which was undisturbed and productive, and after the quarterly meeting of Jan. 13th, held at 46, Washington-street, without molestation, we find nothing of particular interest upon our journals, until the memorable pleadings before the Legislature, in the month of March. A large number of our society were present on those occasions, listening to the proceedings with an intensity of feeling with which none can sympathise, who have not like as watched those dearest to them, the noble and true-hearted, rushing fearlessly between the pestilence and the people, that so the plague might be stayed. Those who thus presented themselves, as living sacrifices it might be, were our husbands, our brethen, and our friends. The Legislatures of five slave states, had united to demand that they, and we with them, should be made to suffer under laws 'highly penal,' lest slavery should be brought into discredit by our exposure of its spirit and tendencies. Our own chief 7 magistrate had also intimated in his inaugural address, that, as abolitionists, we might be indicted at common law. What wonder that we waited with indescribable anxiety, the result of these interviews. We had admitted into our minds the apprehension that resolutions of *censure* might be passed, and had endeavored to fortify ourselves for the dreadful and inevitable consequences. But we had not looked to see contempt poured upon any appeal to the legislature of Massachusetts, made 'in the strong names of God and liberty.' We were mistaken indeed. How meanly subservient may a freeman become, who for political considerations, yields the direction of his conduct to the masters of slaves? We saw amid the throng that stood listening round, the unfriendly faces of some who have both hated and believed; and our apprehensions gained the mastery of our hopes.

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We were styled by the newspapers on this occasion, 'an array of beauty and fashion;' but how little could the few ladies present, merely from motives of curiosity, (and by whose means we were thus exempted from the *customary* editorial notices,) comprehend the anxiety that filled our minds? How could they enter into the horrible reality of our apprehensions? *They* have never been obliged to send their infants from their houses 8 by night, under threats of popular fury. *They* had never been driven homeless by respectable persons, from 'the most religious city in the world,' for asserting that with God there is no respect of persons at all. To us, it was a question involving more than than the interests of this life only—to them, it was but the amusement of an idle hour.

Our *hopes* preponderated, while Messrs. May, Sewall, and Loring, so calmly and yet so forcibly presented some of the grounds of remonstrance against legislative proscription—and while Mr. Garrison dwelt on the aggressions of the slave states upon the lives and liberties of northern citizens. When Dr. Follen spoke of the inevitable results of legislative action, and, though interrupted and insulted at every step, persisted in illuminating the future by the experience of the past, our *fears* gained the ascendancy. It seemed for the moment, as if the last defence of freedom must give way, and the abolitionists be added to the list of the victims of oppression. But when William Goodell exposed the deep laid conspiracy against the rights of the laborer, and raised the all-prevailing cry, 'for God and the people!'—every heart thrilled to the sound. An irrepressible response went up from the assembly. We felt that liberty was safe; that many a righteous heart stood 9 between us and sentence of outlawry; and we could have cried in deep emotion, as Washington is once said to have done, when, as he vainly strove to rally his broken van, a northern division sprung forward at his voice—'God bless the yeomanry of Massachusetts.'^{*}

* This circumstance was related by a revolutionary officer, Lieut. Loring of Braintree, as having fallen under his observation during the war of the revolution.

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Our next meeting was rendered animating and interesting by the presence of ladies from New Hampshire and New York. One hundred and thirty dollars were subscribed to our funds, and a resolution unanimously adopted to sustain, both by purchase and contribution, the annual sale, proposed to be held this year in the month of December.

On the 25th of May, we met, with the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention in the Salemstreet church. As the Rev. Mr. Blagden, the pastor of that society, had so strenuously opposed the opening of the house to the Convention, it was generally supposed that some popular tumult might ensue.[†] The more experienced watchers

† 'All that is said about their urging the slaves to rise and cut their masters' throats must be true, or our minister would not be anxious to hinder them from having the meeting-house;' is the inference naturally drawn by multitudes of observers. We have heard it in innumerable instances. The clergy are not themselves aware, in some instances, at least, of the dreadfully pernicious influence they have exerted in rousing mobs and outrage.

10 of the signs of the times, did not, however, participate in this apprehension. The force of spiritual despotism, though it arouses and sets in motion the elements of misrule, needs the presence of actual slaveholders to combine and direct it. Till these leave their homes and come among us, the opposition seldom breaks, out in scenes of outrage and violence.

The Convention was a noble body. Clearheaded and steadfast-hearted, the men who composed it interchanged ideas and formed plans, and raised money to carry them into execution, with freedom, sagacity and liberality. Our southern brethren, who sneer at the 'cheap charity' of abolitionists, and demand that we should bargain with them for the rights of the bondman, as a proof of our disinterestedness, need but examine the accounts of the treasurers of Anti-Slavery Societies. It would appear from them, that abolitionists now pay far more than would be their probable proportion of a general assessment for compensation, supposing the public mind here ready for such a project. These, be it remembered, are for the most part, the *laborers* of the north, who give of 11 the fruit of

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their toil so freely, for the love they bear to liberty:—the working classes, whose condition is asserted to be less happy than that of the southern slave. Our Society was then pledged to pay \$1000 to the cause during the present year. Had our ability been equal to our wishes, we should not have named so small a sum. In other good causes in which we are engaged, men pour gifts into our treasuries with what may be termed the gallantry of almsgiving. But this, which demands the remembrance of what they so much wish to forget,—the wrongs done to their brother, before they offer their gift—this is a cause for the support of which we must learn self-denial, industry and economy. Twenty life-members were added to our association during the session of the Convention. Towards the close of its last meeting, the following resolution was presented to the consideration of all present:

Resolved, That regarding a surrender of our *right of Free Discussion* upon the altar of southern slavery, as involving, on our part, the commission of moral suicide—treachery to the cause of civil liberty and of humanity—and guilt before high Heaven; we hereby pledge ourselves to one another—to the oppressor and the oppressed—to our country and our God—that, undeterred by threats of ‘prosecution at common law,’ whether in the messages of our Governors, the pages of our theological reviews, or the reports of 12 Legislative Committees, come what may—gag law or lynch law—we will never cease from its exercise, full, free, and undiminished, until the last fetter shall be broken, and slavery and prejudice shall be buried in one common grave.

‘We know not,’ said he who sustained this resolution, ‘how soon it may be made lawful to assail and drag us, men and women, to prison, for speaking in the name of freedom. It is a deep responsibility we assume by this vote, taken in the presence of God and of one another. Are we prepared to suffer, even unto death, if it shall be necessary, to carry out this pledge? Do we duly regard its solemnity?’ The members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society who were present, with a multitude of women from all parts of New England, whose hearts are as the heart of one in the cause of Christian Freedom, rose with their husbands and friends in unanimous support of the resolution, with the deliberate solemnity of self-dedication to the God of truth and love and freedom. Often

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during the coming eventful years of struggle and danger, may our hearts be cheered and strengthened, and our courage and our hopes made high, by going up with such a multitude in lofty and invigorating communion!

Much interest was excited by this Convention in the minds of our enquiring friends, and after it was dissolved, so many expressed a wish to listen to an exposition of our principles from some eloquent and able advocate, that we resolved to meet in Congress Hall, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. H. B. Stanton, than whom few have been more devoted and successful. Our friends are attendants on the public services of every church in town, and we pursued our usual course, (the course of all benevolent societies,) of sending notices of the meeting they wished to attend, to be read from the pulpits.

It is necessary to glance backward on the History of Religious association, in order to understand how an action in itself so trifling, could be in reality of importance to the cause of Christian freedom.

In past years, the influential among that part of the community which may be called the religious public, aware of the increase of power derived from combination, have made efforts to extend and strengthen the denominational unions between the North and the South; Baptists with Baptists, Methodists with Methodists, Presbyterians with Presbyterians, according as their several sects' names were. This was a misnamed *Christian* union for it was effected by a compromise of Christian Truth;—a disregard of the plainest principles laid down by Christ;—an utter forgetfulness of the slave.

The distinguishing feature of every variety of Congregationalism, the independence of the churches, having become nearly effaced by extensive associations of the Congregational Clergy, *that* sect was no less entangled than others. *All* were doubly fettered by their connection with the Colonization Society, by whose protean doctrines they were deceived before the Anti-Slavery movement commenced.

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Any decided opposition to slavery being an infraction of the terms on which all these Associations existed, and no one being willing to incur the odium of interrupting their harmony, this subject came to be considered an interdicted one. The Northern members of Baptist triennial conventions, Presbyterian general assemblies, and Methodist general conferences, felt obliged, for consistency's sake, to keep silence even at the North; and naturally enough, undertook to suppress every voice whose earnest pleading for the slave, implied a condemnation of the course they had adopted: till at length, in conference, missionary and church meetings, the subject was *tabu*, and even prayer was expected to be 'strictly non-committal.' In this city in particular, the Ecclesiastical 15 domination had become so entire during the years 1835–6, that not only were the churches closed against the pleader for the oppressed, but orders were issued to the sextons of most of them that notices of anti-slavery meetings should be handed to some one, by whom they would be effectually suppressed.

Thus it was that the rights of the proprietors of pews, as well as that time-honored relic of the customs of the pilgrim fathers—the *free* old practice of giving notices from the pulpit, were sacrificed to the demands of the spirit of slavery. These notices derive an importance not their own, from the information which a watchful eye obtains from them. They serve as moral thermometers. They indicate unerringly the state of the atmosphere into which they are introduced. They show the different degrees in which free men and women merge their duties to 2,500,000 of their countrymen who are slaves, in their subserviency to 250,000 who are slaveholders.

There are but few Christians of the Unitarian denomination at the South and consequently there was less field for this sort of religious union among their societies.

Though their ministers are generally inimical to freedom of speech, yet their church government 16 is less *consolidated* than that of other sects. Their leading influences

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emanate less from 'Consociations' than from counting houses, and their opposition assumes the form of a mercantile and business transaction.

The following extracts from the columns of the Centinel & Gazette, will illustrate these remarks:

The congregation worshipping at Dr. Channing's church were again thrown into an unpleasant state of excitement, yesterday forenoon, by the trickery of a prominent member of the Abolition Society. We have received several communications on the subject, two of which we subjoin;—

Messrs. Editors —As a member of the Federal street Society, I was *shocked* yesterday, at the conclusion of the morning service, by the reading of an invitation of the Abolitionists to attend one of their meetings, to be held this week. The ordinance of the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated immediately after the reading of this shameful invitation. It was a firebrand thrown into a christian church; was intended as an offence to a large majority of the worshippers of that society, and calculated to arouse irritable feelings. A discourse had been delivered, of a most catholic spirit, by a stranger—a gentleman of fine talents and character; and advantage was taken of his being a stranger, to thrust the notice into his hands. This is the second time such an outrage has been attempted. *I should have thought, after the irritated feelings which have been excited by the late meeting at Mr. Blagden's church, that a sense of propriety and delicacy, to say nothing of christian principles, would have prevented this* INSULT TO THE CHURCH. (!!!!) A Member.

Messrs. Editors: —We have heard so much of late of the rights of persons lawfully to assemble for free discussion that I am led to inquire, whether those opposed to the Anti-Slavery Society have not rights also, but whether the house of God is to be meanly invaded; the absence of the regular clergyman taken advantage of, and the feelings of a congregation outraged, by the reading of notices for their meetings.

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For the second time this trick (for I can use no more proper term) was played in one of our churches yesterday, and it is high time that the standing committee, whose duty it is to supply the pulpit in the absence of the pastors, should take some notice of the subject. For one, I would not oppose this Society by force, but when some of its members are so lost to all sense of decency as to thrust notices of their meetings into the pulpit, and avail themselves of the presence of a stranger to have them read, it is proper that some measures should be taken to *save the feelings* of those who attend church for a *religious* purpose.

An Attendant of Dr. Channing's Church.

[From the Daily Advertiser.]

Mr. Editor .—Last evening I read in the Centinel and Gazette of Monday, two communications stated by the Editors to be part of several received, and purporting to be from members of the Federal Street Society, complaining of a notice read at the close of the morning service on Sunday, inviting all persons to attend a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society. I am also an attendant on the worship of that church, and was present when the notice was 2* 18 read, *and in common with, (I believe) most of those around me, greatly regretted the circumstance, as one which, though trivial and harmless in itself, was extremely indiscreet and uncourteous in those who caused it, in view of its relation to a subject on which so much puerile irritability has been exhibited by a community remarkable for liberal rationality on every other; and in recollection of a strong sensation produced in the same Society last year, by a similar measure.* But it appears to me, that the very worst possible method of redressing such an imagined grievance, is by bringing it before the public in the newspapers; because its natural tendency is to impress the public mind, that the Federal Street Society is composed of two opposing classes of persons, one of which is disposed to intrude abolition sentiments and notices on the attention of the other, in utter disregard of the sanctity of the time and place, and the feelings of their opponents, and the other, possessed of such childish irritability that they cannot hear

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a simple invitation to a Society meeting, without being 'shocked,' and considering it 'a firebrand thrown into a christian church,' intended as an offence to the worshippers, and even gravely crying out that their 'rights are invaded.' Now sir, I have a strong attachment to the Federal Street Society—personally to its members—and generally, as the field where my holiest and sweetest impressions have sprung up, and where they are most nurtured and sustained, and I have a pride (I hope an honest one) in it too, in the belief that it is second to none in christian liberality, and I humbly trust, in exalted piety, and I have a deep anxiety that it should not appear before the public in the degraded aspect in which it is represented. That there are a few persons in it, 19 of both the classes I have described, is now unhappily made too apparent to the public by these injudicious communications, to be longer denied; but I have the strongest reason for believing that both together, form a very small portion of the Society; and that by far the greatest part of its members, while they have no sympathy with the abolitionists, as such, and no desire to attend their meetings, are raised by their Christian tuition entirely above any pusillanimous irritation at an invitation to them; and would be ashamed of any interruption of good feeling towards their weaker brethren, who exhibit such a deficiency of Christian forbearance. I know not whether I shall be credited in this representation, but it may serve to prevent the hasty formation of injurious opinions, and any one who will take the trouble to investigate the character and sentiments of the Society, will I trust, find it substantiated. I leave my name with you, which is at the service of any member of the Society.

One of the Federal Street Society.

June 8th, 1836.

'They are at their last year's *tricks* again,'—exclaimed the field mice, when the field was about to be ploughed up for the reception of fresh seed—'see how they aim to irritate and insult US!'

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The gentlemen who penned these articles, followed out their suggestion of a censorship of notices; and thus, to borrow the expressive figure of an eloquent speaker, 'the cartwhip is thrust over Mason and Dixon's line,' and the scourge hangs conspicuous over northern pulpits.

20

We learn, from this portion of the history of the year how a word may sometimes be a deed; and how a single one, at the right time and place, may convey 'doctrine, reproof, correction and instruction in righteousness.' This dread of light on the part of some, is a proof that they perceive the hearts of others to be impressible. It is a proof that the hearts of many are pleading with them for the truth, for the bondman, for the abolitionist, for 'liberal rationality,' for pure religion and undefiled before God and the father.

The meeting took place according to notice and was very fully attended by those who wish to know for themselves, whether we are guilty of listening to orators who express opinions 'in favor of cruel vengeance on the part of the slaves.'^{*}

* This endorsement of the Andover charge against Mr. Thompson, quoted triumphantly by the pro-slavery party, has never been retracted by Dr. Channing. When convinced of its falsity he merely ceases to reiterate it.

Throughout the New Testament as much stress is laid on *confession* as on repentance. Whoever received the truth was commanded to do it *openly*. 'Believe and be *baptised*.' Dr. Channing believes, but he avoids the baptism.

That they were satisfied that the peaceful and forgiving principles of the Gospel of Christ, form the basis of our faith and practice, is proved by their becoming members of our association in large 21 numbers. We had no reporter present, and therefore can present no sketch of Mr. Stanton's eloquent and convincing address, or of the appropriate remarks of Mr. May.

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Rev. Mr. Snowden presented the case of Mary Smith, a destitute young person, recently delivered from slavery into which she had fallen from the circumstance of having been shipwrecked on the southern coast. Through the means of a representation obtained from the Governor of Massachusetts to the Governor of North Carolina, she was restored by the individual who claimed her. On her arrival, it appeared that, though originally from this city, and *shipwrecked* into slavery, she is not the Mary Smith specified in the Governor's letter. *That* Mary Smith yet remains in bondage.

Let us claim for our country no precedence, on this point, over Algerines or Arabs, while a young girl, innocent and unfortunate, a Bostonian and free born, is subjected, on the coast of chivalrous Carolina, to the usages respecting flotsam and jetsam. A subscription was immediately opened for her benefit.

The following letter from the Hon. Mrs. Erskine, in behalf of ladies of Edinburgh, was then read:

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Edinburgh, Feb. 22, 1836.

Dear Madam —

I am requested by my colleagues in 'The Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society,' to express the warm admiration and esteem we feel for the Ladies of Boston, who have so nobly, amidst dangers and contumely, united their efforts to effect the liberty of millions of their fellow creatures, and to open the way for them to become members of the Church of Christ and heirs of immortal glory. We, with all our hearts and minds, wish you God speed—we cheer you on by bidding you remember, that you are engaged in the cause of humanity, of justice, of religion, and of God:—We would tell you that we have fought the same battle, but how different was our situation t we had only to contend with a little ridicule and contempt, whilst you are surrounded with difficulty and danger. In this we truly

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sympathize with you. From our excellent friend, Mr. Thompson, we have heard of your heroic, your christian conduct in your hour of trial. Nothing but the firmest trust in the Arm of Omnipotence could have supported and strengthened you. Your Sisters in Edinburgh pray that our gracious and all powerful God may ever be your defence and your shield. We rejoiced most truly in the safe return of Mr. Thompson, although we feel that you have sustained an irreparable loss. A time, we servently trust, is coming when your Nation, profiting by the good seed he has sown, and enlightened by the 'little band' he has left behind, will not only solicit his return, but will hail it as a boon granted by that God whose Kingdom he has endeavored to set up.

Our Society has resolved to continue their labors, humble though they are, and to endeavor to keep 23 alive, in this country, the interest at present felt for yours. Mr. Thompson, whilst he has depicted, in its true colors, the sin of the United States in their cruel, oppressive, and unjust conduct to their darker brethren, has dwelt with peculiar pleasure, in many of his public Lectures on redeeming qualities, such as the Education of the *white* population and the noble and Christian stand made for the morality of the people in the support given to Temperance. Oh, that as nations we could mutually act as Monitors to each other.

At any time when opportunities occur, our Committee will feel honored in receiving any communication from you, and we shall be happy to know that our sympathy and good will are acceptable.

I remain, dear madam,

With respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant, MARY ANNE ERSKINE, Sec'y.

To this letter, our Secretary was instructed to give a speedy reply, which was done as follows:

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Boston, July 26, 1836.

Dear Madam,

Your kind and feeling expression of the sympathy and esteem of the Ladies of Edinburgh, is received by the Boston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society with grateful emotion. Our numbers are comparatively few; but though one labored single-handed, to make all men free and just, he would not be *alone*, for the God and Father of all men would be with him. This consideration only has sustained our weakness, and enabled us to obey the commands of immutable duty, while we reject the suggestions of what has been well called the disgusting doctrine of expediency.

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It is not now for the *slave* alone that the friends of Emancipation in the United States, are laboring. It is also for the menaced institutions of the free;—it is for Christianity and law, alike contemned and cast aside, as often as they command justice and forbid oppression. It is for a nation in peril—for their beloved country, humbled in the dust before the indignant gaze of Christendom, that they throw their whole spirit into the demand they make of Freedom for the human race.

Our Statesmen strive in vain to account for the anarchy into which the country is falling; in vain do our Clergy wander among the subtleties of theology, or lose themselves in Philosophical speculations; searching for the causes of the alarming declension of Morals throughout the land, and the strife and dissension which convulse the church. In vain do the casual observers, and half-thinkers, whom recent events have compelled to blush for their country, try to persuade themselves that the *nation* is not responsible,—that the church is not responsible,—that individuals are not responsible; all such endeavors are idle. The *real* state of the North American Republic is painfully apparent to all who love truth and justice. 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother!— *therefore* is this distress come upon us.'

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How earnestly do we hope that the abolitionists have not been too late in coming to the rescue! How fervently do we pray that this Gospel of Christ, (not a *new* commandment, but the old, that men love one another) may overcome hate and oppression. Our hearts are ready; though the sacrifice of our property, our reputation, our life, should be among the means ordained of God to this effect.

We rejoice that we are not called to sacrifice *all* 25 human approbation. Deeply and gratefully do we appreciate the strengthening sympathy of which your letter assures us. We knew it would be so. We felt that the Liberators of the British West Indies—the descendants of the assertors of religious freedom in days gone by, would be with us. From the conflict with falsehood and enmity, we look to Covenanted Scotland; and are strengthened and consoled by the thought that her daughters are watching with deep solicitude, and forwarding by prayer the ‘magnificent and awful cause,’ in which we are engaged.

It would afford us very great satisfaction to hear from you as often as opportunities offer. Valuable ideas will doubtless occur to you, being spectators, which might not so readily suggest themselves to us. The unparalleled success of Mr. Thompson's labors is a continual memento of the good which may be effected in one country by moral influence from another; his fearless but affectionate exposition of truth is even now working in the hearts of his enemies, and we confidently anticipate the time when those who so madly and so blindly heaped injuries on *him* because they hated the truth, will be anxious for his return, that they may express their penitence and their thanks.

I am, dear madam, with grateful regard,

Yours faithfully, MARIA W. CHAPMAN, Sec'y.

We select the following account of the meeting from the Boston Courier:

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To the Editor of the Courier:

Hearing yesterday, as I passe Congress Hall, the screams of one who appeared to be in distress, I 3 26 went up to see what could be the matter; when I found several hundred females of all occupations and colors, gazing and quivering at a spectacle of the most writhing agony. A miserable young man, expelled not long since, for disorderly conduct, from Lane Seminary,^{*} was endeavoring to avenge himself on *slaveholders*; declaring, in a foam of anger, that not only he, but the Almighty, would hurl at them *chain-lightning!* The women sat watching each agonistical twist and dying contortion, as if it were a luxury. Verily, if we must have gladiatorial exhibitions, let us have the *bull* and done with it, and not set a poor phrenzied wretch fighting with a phantom that exists on the other side of the Potomac. If the women, such as composed this motley assembly, cannot find sufficient to do in taking care of their ragged children, then let some employment be given them, in which they may at least be saved from disgracing their sex; or if they must have a spectacle, let them put the halter at once around the neck of this martyr to *revenge*, witness his swinging fidgets, and then go home. C. W.

* The faculty of Lane Seminary would no doubt be 'ready to bear melancholy testimony to the talents and piety of this individual.'

At our quarterly meeting on the 14th of July, it was determined to present the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia,[†] to the consideration

† It has been objected in past years, that our power to effect any change was so *little*, that it was absurd to exercise it. We answered *then*, that it was much to have absolved *ourselves*, and maintained consistency, by so easy a process as the act of signature to a petition for the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is *now* objected that our power is so *great*, that it is dangerous to exercise it. That the slaveholders will be *angry!*—and where are we then?—disunion, division of the church, civil war, &c. &c. We reply, that there is something of more consequence than man's impotent wrath. The

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revealed command to 'come out on the Lord's side,' must be obeyed, and the civil war, disunion, and division of the churches, left at his Almighty disposal. Even the light of nature is sufficient to chase away the pestilential doctrine of expediency.

'If there be a God he *must* delight in virtue, And that which he delights in must be happy.' Happy in its consequences—most happy for the minds that receive it. If we are not enough grieved at the existence of slavery, to ask that it may be abolished in the ten miles square, over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction, we may rest assured that we are slaveholders in heart, and indeed under the endurance of the penalty which selfishness inflicts—the slow but certain death of the soul.

We sometimes, but not often, hear it said—'It is such an odd, *unladylike* thing to do.' We concede that *the human soul*, in the full exercise of its most God-like power of self-denial and exertion for the good of others, *is, emphatically, a very unladylike thing*. We have never heard this objection, but from that sort of a woman who is dead while she lives, or to be pitied as the victim of domestic tyranny. The woman who makes it, is generally one who has struggled from childhood up to womanhood, through a process of spiritual suffocation. Her infancy was passed in serving as a convenience for the display of elegant baby linen. Her youth, in training for a more public display of braiding the hair, and wearing of gold, and putting on of apparel; while 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, the hidden *man* of the *heart*,' is not deemed worthy the attainment. Her summers fly away in changes of air and water; her winters in changes of flimsy garments, in inhaling lamp-smoke, and drinking champagne at midnight with the most dissipated men in the community. This is the woman who tells us it is *unladylike* to ask that children may no longer be sold away from their parents, or wives from their husbands, in the District of Columbia, and adds, 'they ought to be mobbed who ask it.' We present her the only argument she can comprehend—the fact that 80,000 of the noblest among the matronage of England, have annually entreated of their government, to do all in its power for the extinctions of slavery, till *they prevailed*. The case of such a woman, is the case that makes us feel the powerlessness of mere human effort for the conversion of the sinner. Nothing but the spirit of God can elevate

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that debased mind, or give true life and joy to that ossified heart. Oh, how painful is the contemplation of the ruins of a nature, a little lower than the angels! let the reflection, that it is only by the grace of God that we differ, keep us humble, and fill our minds with continued supplication and forgiveness.

27 of the women of Massachusetts. Fourteen persons volunteered to perform this service, 28 by lodging a copy of a form of petition, with an earnest entreaty to circulate the same in the bands of at least one person in every town throughout the Commonwealth. Extracts were then read from letters of a lady in Alabama to one of our Society, which corroborate the testimony respecting slavery, given by those of our members who have resided at the south.

The following address and form of petition were adopted:

ADDRESS OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TO THE WOMEN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Sisters and Friends:

As *immortal souls*, created by God to know and love him with all our hearts, and our neighbor as 29 ourselves, we owe immediate obedience to his commands, respecting the sinful system of Slavery, beneath which 2,500,000 of our fellow-immortals, children of the same country, are crushed, soul and body, in the extremity of degradation and agony.

As *women*, it is incumbent upon us, instantly and always, to labor to increase the knowledge and the love of God, that such concentrated hatred of his character and laws may no longer be so intrenched in *men's* business and bosoms, that they dare not condemn and renounce it.

As *wives* and *mothers*, as *sisters* and *daughters*, we are deeply responsible for the influence we have on the human race. We are bound to exert it; we are bound to urge men

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to cease to do evil, and learn to do well. We are bound to urge them to regain, defend, and preserve inviolate the rights of all, especially those whom they have most deeply wronged. We are bound to the constant exercise of the only right we ourselves enjoy—the right which our physical weakness renders peculiarly appropriate—the right of petition. We are bound to try how much it can accomplish in the District of Columbia, or we are as verily guilty touching slavery as our brethren and sisters in the slaveholding States: for Congress possesses power ‘to exercise exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia in all cases whatsoever,’ by a provision of the Constitution; and by an *act* of the *First Congress*, the right of petition was secured to us.

By a *resolution* of the *Last Congress*, that no petition respecting slavery, shall be printed for the information of the members, and that no vote shall be taken on it, by which we may know whether the men we call our representatives are truly such, the 3* 30 whole nation is made to feel the slaveholder's scourge. The best and noblest of our countrymen, thus seeing, and thus feeling these things, have spoken and acted like freemen—Oh, let us aid them to rouse the slumbering manhood of the rest! Let us rise in the moral power of womanhood; and give utterance to the voice of outraged mercy, and insulted justice, and eternal truth, and mighty love, and holy freedom; in the name and for the sake of our Saviour; and in the mountain-moving faith, that we can do all things, Christ strengthening us.

Let us petition:—petition, till, even for our importunity, we cannot be denied. Let us know no rest till we have done our utmost to convince the mind, and to obtain the testimony of every woman, in every town, in every county of our Commonwealth, against the horrible slave-traffic, which makes the District of Columbia a disgrace to the earth, and exhibits in the centre of a Christian country, an unrebuked wickedness, for which, no other spot on earth affords a parallel.

To facilitate this, we annex a form of petition, and entreat the aid of every woman whose hand it reaches, to circulate it (or a better,) rapidly, faithfully and thoroughly, and to

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transmit the signatures, as soon as possible, to 46 Washington Street, Boston, addressed to the person whose name, as a member of our Executive Committee, shall be affixed to this address.

A detail of the mere physical particulars involved in the arrangements of a single slave-dealer, would show the abolition of Slavery in the ten miles square, to be 'a cause worth dying for:' but while our whole country, by deliberately sanctioning such atrocities, stands before God and the world, as the 31 strong hold of Slavery, while the institution of the free are daily breaking down under the operation of the Slave system; while in the best regulated parts of our country, the lives of the free are endangered by an avowal of the principles of the Declaration of Independence; and freedom itself embittered because honorable and dignifying industry is stigmatized as *slavish*—while these things are, we must devote ourselves to avert the fearful crisis to which these things are leading. Weak and wicked is the idea, that union in oppression is possible. Every nation that attempts it, 'God beholds, and drives asunder;' and has done from the foundation of the world.

Christian friends, again we conjure you, by all that woman holds dear and holy, to labor as woman has never yet done, in view of the unutterable destruction which waits visibly round about, to make our land a perpetual desolation, unless the people repent.

Leave no energy unemployed, no righteous means untried. Grudge no expense—yield to no opposition—forget fatigue—till, by the strength of prayer and sacrifice, the spirit of love shall have overcome sectional jealousy, political rivalry, prejudice against color, cowardly concession of principle, wicked compromise with sin, devotion to gain, and spiritual despotism, which now bear with a mountain's weight upon the Slave. Let but each *woman* in the land do a Christian woman's duty, and the result cannot fail to be his instant, peaceful, unconditional deliverance. Thus, and thus only can we hope to deliver our own souls. Only in thus doing, can we hope to hear the voice of Jesus, saying unto us, 'Come, ye blessed of 32 my Father!—Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me!'

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By order of the Boston Female A. S. Society,

Cor. Secretaries.

M. W. CHAPMAN,

M. AMMIDON,

July 13, 1836.

PETITION.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, women of deeply convinced of the sinfulness of Slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, do most earnestly petition your honorable body, immediately to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and to declare every human being free, who sets foot upon its soil.

We also respectfully announce our intention, to present the same petition, yearly, before your honorable body, that it may at least be a 'memorial of us,' that in the holy cause of Human Freedom, 'We have done what we could.'

We subjoin the following 'opinions of the press:'

[From the Boston Recorder, Aug. 19.]

RIGHTS! RIGHTS!! RIGHTS!!!

What is the moral tendency of thinking and talking and reading all the time about Rights? What kind of Christians shall we be, if our religious character is formed by perpetual lectures on Rights? What if the doctrine of giving to every one just what he has a Right

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to receive, were made the supreme law of the universe? Why, the whole human race 33 would be turned into hell at once and forever. If every intelligent being should act on the principle of exercising all his undoubted Rights, woe to the world of sinners! The 'Father's throne' would be only a 'seat of dreadful wrath,' and shoot 'devouring flame.' Is it proper or profitable for us to talk and act as if our characters were formed by the contemplation of such a God? The Bible, we are sure, invites us to contemplate a God who is 'merciful and gracious, slow unto anger, abundant in goodness, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin;' to catch his spirit and imitate his example; and not to form ourselves on the model of one who is evermore insisting upon all his Rights.

'Ah! But we are talking about the legal and constitutional rights of men, which are good, and should be held firmly, against the encroachments of men.'

Be it so. Did you get that spirit, of holding Rights firmly, by imitating God? In what part of his life did Christ set you such an example? In what part of his word has he left you such a precept?

What do you think of the man, who insists on all his legal and constitutional Rights? He has a legal and constitutional right to be a miser; to keep back every cent of his property from every generous purpose; to enforce the collection of principle and interest, to the uttermost farthing, from the unfortunate; to hear their tale of suffering unmoved, or to refuse to hear it at all.

Dea. Giles has a legal and a constitutional Right to work his distillery, and every body who can get a license has such a Right to make as many drunkards as he can: disregarding entirely the tears of broken-hearted 34 wives, and the starvation of abused children, warnings from the prison and the gallows, from the cell of the maniac, and the grave of the suicide.—Will not a universal clamor for Rights—Rights—Rights—strengthen their consciences to do it?

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Any impudent fellow has a legal and constitutional Right to 'discuss' any subject whatever, as impudently as he pleases. Those who are as impudent as himself have the same Right to hear him. He has a Right to call them blockheads, liars, hypocrites, knaves, and whatever else he pleases. Their Right to disgrace themselves by impudence is as undoubted as his; and as he teaches them, by example and precept both, to insist on Rights, they will probably use it; demanding and having their half of the 'free discussion,' and filling up their part of the time with hisses, howls, groans, interjections, and verbs in the imperative mood. There is no law against this,—unless indeed the orator bargained for the place, on the express condition that the 'discussion' should be 'free' on his side only.

'But certainly, he has no right to call them knaves, unless they are so.' Certainly, that is a great mistake. He has a legal and constitutional right to tell as many lies as he pleases; only taking care to avoid about five classes of 'words actionable in themselves,' and to tell no lie about any individual, which can be proved in court to work pecuniary injury. Liberty of speech, pushed as far as law and constitution will permit, includes the liberty of telling all other kinds of lies without restraint.

'Women have rights, too, and must not be browbeaten out of them by public opinion. They must use their rights, let people say what they will, or ere long men will deny that they have them.' Good. 35 One of their legal and constitutional rights is, to get married, if they can. If any unmarried woman can think of any man, whose duty it is to marry her, she has an undoubted legal and constitutional right to go to him and tell him so, and argue the case with him, if he will listen, and convince him, if she be able. Ought not some of them to be exercising this right, lest its very existence should be denied? Indeed, how can they innocently do otherwise? Is not the neglect of duty a sin? And may they 'suffer sin upon a brother,' without rebuking him? If they do, are they not partakers of his guilt? If they are afraid of blushing, a few lectures against 'false delicacy' may prepare them for the undertaking. As to refraining from the exercise of their rights out of respect to public sentiment, somebody says that some of them are 'made of sterner stuff,' than to do that.

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If any persons find fault with these remarks, so be it. They have an undoubted legal and constitutional right, to be as displeased as it pleases them to be, and to express all the displeasure they feel, and more too; and that, whether they are displeased for good reasons, or bad reasons, or without any reason at all.

N. B. We have *thought* very gravely on this subject; and perhaps we shall write gravely upon it at some other time. We exhibit it in this way now, just to gain attention to it;— which we suppose we have a legal and constitutional Right to do. Meanwhile, we think our readers would do well to think of it a great deal, and very soberly. The moral character of our country and the character of our religion is suffering severely from the error which we have endeavored to expose.

[From the Boston Commercial Gazette of Aug. 16.]

We are sorry to perceive that the Salem Register appears to be about to join the Abolition incendiaries. 36 We had a better opinion of so respectable a paper. The last Register contains a silly address of a parcel of sillier women, who style themselves ‘the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society,’ which address is a tissue of absurdities and falsehoods from beginning to end. For instance, in the first paragraph these petticoat politicians speak of ‘the sinful system of slavery, beneath which, 2,500,000 of our fellow immortals, children of the same country, are crushed, soul and body, in the *extremity of degradation and agony* .’ Now we should like to enquire if these simpletons who make such wholesale assertions, ever saw a slave in their lives, or know any thing of their character or condition, other than what they have gathered second or third handed from the jaundiced eyes of prejudiced individuals. We happen to know something of the condition of slaves both in this country and elsewhere, not from hearsay, but from personal observation, and we positively declare, from our own personal knowledge, that these assertions respecting the ‘degradation and agony’ of the slaves is utterly unfounded and false; and it gives us pain to see a paper edited with so much talent and ability as the Essex Register, aiding in the circulation of such an infamous address as that set forth by ‘the Boston Female

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Anti-Slavery Society,' whose main object seems to be to 'lead captive silly women,' who would be much more usefully and profitably employed at home attending to their household affairs, than prowling about stirring up discord and dissension, preaching upon a subject about which they know no more than the man in the moon. And to cap the climax of impudence, they have the *modesty* to talk of *Christian Charity*, as if it were an act of Christian Charity *to stir up sedition 37 and rebellion, and urge the blacks to commit murder by cutting their masters' throats*, and to solicit signatures to a foolish petition to Congress, which if ever sent on to Washington, will probably share the the fate of former ones on that subject. We are surprised that any sensible or considerate Editor, as we consider the Editor of the Essex Register to be, should give place to such an infamous and seditious address.

The following is the testimony of Angelina E. Grimke,^{*} on this subject, in her noble appeal to the Christian Women of the south:

* Sister of the Hon. Thos. S. Grimke, late of S. Carolina.

But I will now say a few words on the subject of Abolitionism. Doubtless you have all heard AntiSlavery Societies denounced as insurrectionary and mischievous, fanatical and dangerous. It has been said they publish the most abominable untruths, and that they are endeavoring to excite rebellions at the South. Have you believed these reports, my friends? have *you* also been deceived by these false assertions? Listen to me, then, whilst I endeavor to wipe from the fair character of Abolitionism such unfounded accusations. You know that *I* am a Southerner; you know that my dearest relatives are now in a slave State. Can you for a moment believe I would prove so recreant to the feelings of a daughter and a sister, as to join a society which was seeking to overthrow slavery by falsehood, bloodshed, and murder? I appeal to you who have known and loved me in days that are passed, can *you* believe it? No! my friends. As a Carolinian, I was peculiarly jealous of any movements on this subject; and before I would join an Anti-Slavery Society, I took the 4 38 precaution of becoming acquainted with some of the leading Abolitionists,

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of reading their publications and attending their meetings, at which I heard addresses both from colored and white men; and it was not until I was fully convinced that their principles were *entirely pacific*, and their efforts *only moral*, that I gave my name as a member to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia. Since that time, I have regularly taken the *Liberator*, and read many Anti-Slavery pamphlets and papers and books, and can assure you I *never* have seen a single insurrectionary paragraph, and never read any account of cruelty which I could not believe. Southerners may deny the truth of these accounts, but why do they not *prove* them to be false? Their violent expressions of horror at such accounts being believed, *may* deceive some, but they cannot deceive *me*, for I lived too long in the midst of slavery, not to know what slavery is. When *I* speak of this system, 'I speak that I do know,' and I am not at all afraid to assert, that Anti-Slavery publications have *not* overdrawn the monstrous features of slavery at all. And many a Southerner *knows* this as well as I do. A lady in North Carolina remarked to a friend of mine, about eighteen months since, 'Northerners know nothing at all about slavery, they think it is perpetual bondage only; but of the *depth of degradation* that word involves, they have no conception; if they had, *they would never cease* their efforts until so *horrible* a system was overthrown.' She did not know how faithfully some Northern men and Northern women had studied this subject; how diligently they had searched out the cause of 'him who had none to help him,' and how fearlessly they had told the story of the negro's wrongs. Yes; Northerners know *every* thing about slavery now. This monster 39 of iniquity has been unveiled to the world, her frightful features unmasked, and soon, very soon, will she be regarded with no more complacency by the American republic than is the idol of Juggernaut, rolling its bloody wheels over the crushed bodies of its prostrate victims.

* * * * *

We *know* that the papers of which the Charleston mail was robbed, were *not* insurrectionary, and that they were *not* sent to the colored people as was reported. We *know* that Amos Dresser was *no insurrectionist* though he was accused of being so, and on this false accusation was publicly whipped at Nashville, in the midst of a crowd

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of infuriated *slaveholders*. Was that young man disgraced by this infliction of corporal punishment? No more than was the great apostle of the Gentiles who five times received forty stripes, save one. Like him, he might have said, 'henceforth I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus,' for it was for the *truth's sake, he suffered*, as much as did the Apostle Paul. Are Nelson, and Garrett, and Williams, and other Abolitionists who have recently been banished from Missouri, insurrectionists? *We know they are not*, whatever slaveholders may choose to call them. The spirit which now asperses the character of the Abolitionists, is the *very same* which dressed up the Christians of Spain in the skins of wild beasts and pictures of devils when they were led to execution as heretics. Before we condemn individuals, it is necessary, even in a wicked community, to accuse them of some crime; hence, when Jezebel wished to compass the death of Naboth, men of Belial were suborned to bear *false* witness against him, and so it was with Stephen, and so it ever has been, and 40 ever will be, as long as there is any virtue to suffer on the rack, or on the gallows. *False* witnesses must appear against Abolitionists before they can be condemned.

The warm season had now arrived, and with it came as usual, the summer sojourners from the south. Year after year they have visited New-England, and found preachers and editors becoming more and more obsequious, all allusions to the condition of the wronged and insulted slave, studiously avoided in the domestic circle, and the northern conscience becoming familiarized with the crime of slaveholding. They have found nothing to quicken their moral sense, or enlighten their mental darkness. Their pictures of the excellencies of the system began to be looked on with favor, even by those whose boasted knowledge of the philosophy of mind and the laws of moral being, should have enabled them to detect the false coloring. The knowledge and reverence of righteousness,—the life giving spirit of a community, as well as the *soul* of an individual, was well nigh lost. From the moment we were aroused to the perception of all this, we resolved in our feeble measure, to make a direct application of the first principles of Christianity, to the cases of such slaves as were brought within the sphere of our observation by their masters. This year

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it seemed 41 to us that the numbers of such were greater than usual. At the Tremont, the Maverick, and the Norfolk houses, in the suburbs and throughout the city, we were continually reminded of duty by their presence. They came with every fresh arrival by the rail-roads and steamboats. No prejudice against color ever being exhibited by the north, though *free* women of color, of high moral and intellectual character and cultivation, and of those strong powers which no prejudice can entirely crush, have been refused the accommodation of public conveyances, out of deference to the prejudice of the south against freedom. Among those who have received our aid, the case of L. T. is peculiarly interesting and a few memoranda respecting it are subjoined. She possesses uncommon vigor of thought and power of expression and is of a temperament which would as ill brook the necessary and inseparable distresses of a slave, and has probably been as unprofitable as such, as the most aristocratic woman of the land.

After her escape from the Tremont house, she was visited by one of our number, who shook hands with her, cordially welcoming her to Freedom, and sketched a plan for her security and maintenance. Lucille distinctly declined this arrangement. 4* 42 She said, the persons who then sheltered her, were the first who had ever offered her a home, and from attachment and gratitude she should prefer remaining with them.

Question. Where have you resided?

Answer. I was born and lived some years in Virginia, where we were sold, my mother, myself, and her other children, and removed to Natches.

Q. Which place did you prefer?

A. Virginia; the slave is not treated so cruelly there as farther south.

Q. Can you read?

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A. Read!—no ma'am—it would have been as much as my life was worth to have been seen trying to learn to read.

Q. Should you like to learn?

A. Very much.

Q. Have you had religious instruction?

A. No.

Q. Have you not been allowed rest on the Sabbath?

A. The Planters pretend that the slaves shall have that day to themselves, but how do they have it? they are obliged, say, to empty all the baskets of cotton, and spread the cotton in the loft, and do many other things, and are seldom dismissed till late.

43

Q. Have you ever worked in the fields?

A. Never; I have been entirely devoted to sewing.

Q. If you never have received instruction, how have you acquired the power of expressing yourself so correctly?

A. I have always sat with my Mistress and her family and visitors, and learnt their language.

Q. Did you ever hear them talk about AntiSlavery Societies?

A. Never—they were too cunning for that; they thought we should understand what AntiSlavery meant—they talked a great deal about Abolition, we understood, but we did not let them know that we understood. They used to haw papers that told all about it—

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sometimes we were so eager to hear, that we would look off of our work, when Mistress would say—so my Madam, you are listening, are you—take that! and then would strike us.

Q. Did you and the other colored people talk about it when you were together?

A. Yes—for we always have thought it very hard, that we should do all the work, and earn all the money, for a parcel people to live idle, spend the money, and abuse us.

44

Q. You speak of abuse—were you ever treated cruelly?

A. The house servants are always treated better than the field hands. You must go into the field if you would know all about it. I always had enough to eat, had a good mattress, and good bed and curtains, was well dressed—my Mistress would have been ashamed, you know, not to have the house servants appear well.

Q. What had you then to complain of? were you ever beaten?

A. Ever beaten! [Lucille then showed the marks of the whip—and her breast had the deep scar of a wound received from the latch of a door, against which her Mistress forced her, when in anger.]

Q. Do you know Mrs. B. of Natches?

A. An old wretch! my Mistress is bad enough, but she is worse—much worse. She has a room with stocks all around it—she will order a slave that has troubled her, to be put in the stocks, and left there all night—not a wink of sleep can be had there, and the mosquitoes give them no rest. When it comes morning, Madam will say ‘John, see that such a one is taken from the stocks, and has thirty-nine well laid on, and then see that he goes to work.’

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Q. How are these blows given?

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A. The slave is put on the floor naked, his hands and feet fastened down, and the lash is then struck on his back and thighs. If you wish to see my body, I will show it to you, you will then see what I have suffered. [This was declined.]

Q. Have you ever known a slave put to death on the plantations?

A. I have known three since I have been at Natches, and the gang of slaves, and the house slaves were all obliged to be present.

Q. What had these slaves done?

A. Nothing. They were suspected of a design to rise and get their freedom.

Q. Should you not be willing to return?

A. Never! I should be put to death, as an example to the rest, as soon as they got me back. I will never go back alive.

Q. Do you think you can maintain yourself?

A. Maintain myself! why not? We can all of us maintain ourselves. Who maintains all the family in idleness but the slaves? it would be strange if we had not *them* to support, if we could not support ourselves.

Q. Did not your mistress ever work?

A. I will tell you it was not well for me when 46 she worked. Sometimes when perhaps there were a great many handkerchiefs to hem, she would hem one, and then she would taunt me that she had to help me do my work.

Q. How came your Mistress to bring you to a free state?

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A. My Master told her not to, for if she did, the Abolitionists would get her away. My Mistress then said, let Lucille look to it! if she dares to run away and I catch her, I will be the death of her. This she often repeated to me.

Q. How *could* you then tell the lady who asked you at the Tremont house if you were well treated, that your Mistress was very good?

A. I should have been whipped as soon as I was alone with her you may think. As it was, she struck me over the mouth, only because the lady asked the question.

We will make no comments on the keen sense of injustice here manifested, or on the evident destitution of religious instruction, which, had it been afforded, would have softened her mind towards her oppressors, and have caused her to feel that however *they* might regard their relation to her, they were alike members of the great human family, children of God, heirs of the same salvation, and entitled to her full and perfect forgiveness.

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We will only add, that a heart more accessible to kindness, or a more grateful disposition, has seldom been exhibited to us. A reward was offered, and a vigorous search kept up for many days. She was in great terror at the idea of being taken, and was compelled to change her quarters frequently to avoid discovery. At length, her reason gave way under the dreadful excitement, and in this condition she was hunted from one part of the city to another. While we were listening to the report of the American Union for the relief and improvement of the colored race, on the evening of July—, and learning that it proposed to do something to arrest the *foreign* slave-hunter, the distressing intelligence was brought us, that a search was threatened in Belknap-street; and that the alarm and indignation of the inhabitants of that part of the town were extreme; as the ruffians who

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conducted it declared that they would seize and carry off any colored woman they could find.*

* Oh that our friends of the 'American Union,' ceasing 'to teach for doctrines the commandments of men,' would seek to remove the cause of distresses like these! They are like the pilgrim who feared to travel in the strait road to the celestial city, because of the lions. Would that some Great-heart would rise among them, and say to the 'backer' of the lions: 'these are going on pilgrimage—and this is the way they must go; and *go it they shall*, in spite of these and thy lions.'— *Pilgrim's Progress*.

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It was at that moment, while penetrated with sympathy for the sufferers, and with grief and shame at the supineness of the community generally in view of such occurrences, that we resolved to disinter the law of Massachusetts. How painfully we felt at that moment, that it was buried in oblivion, notwithstanding the public thanksgiving of the year, that 'our soil is unpressed by the footsteps of a slave.'^{*}

* Vide Armstrong's thanksgiving proclamation.

The next circumstances which particularly excited our attention, were those which filled the newspapers, not only in this city, but throughout this region of the country, during the month of August. The following is a faithful statement of them.

On Saturday, July 30th, a brig was observed to come to one of the wharves, and suddenly to put back, in consequence, it seemed, of something said to the captain by a man who was waiting his arrival. Some men of color, who observed these proceedings, took a boat with the intention of going on board. They were ordered off; but on rowing round the vessel, they discovered it to be 49 the Chickasaw, in the Baltimore trade,^{*} and on further examination, perceived two women making signals of distress to them from the cabin windows. They instantly obtained a writ of habeas corpus, by which the women were taken

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from the custody of the Captain, and conveyed to Leverett Street jail; where they were ministered unto by a few who had not forgotten to 'maintain the cause of the innocent,' nor shrunk from the visitation of prisoners, nor neglected the fatherless in their affliction:—and who felt the humiliating contrast between what men *do*, and what men ought to do:—between the reception they give those who come to them from the South, destitute and distressed, and those who come 'clothed in gay apparel, with gold rings,' standing in no need of their services. We will not sneeringly affirm of these garment fanciers, that 'there is *no* flesh in their obdurate hearts,'—we hope it would be more just, as it certainly would be less painful, to say that their views of life, and duty, and God, and humanity, and religion, and salvation, are partial, feeble and contracted. 5

* Consigned to the Messrs. Lombard—one of whom, Mr. E. K. Lombard, is the man who accompanied Mr. Adams of Baltimore, to Mr. Sewall's office, and stood by while Mr. Adams attacked Mr. Sewall with a *southern* weapon. 'What has the North to do with slavery?'

50

Would that by any sacrifice of ours, they might know the happiness of a more enlarged and just sphere of vision. At present, well may the man of color, and the abolitionist manacled with him, exclaim—

There are humane amongst them? *how* humane? Humane to free and happy—rich and powerful; Humane to such as *we*? believe it not. Their Excellencies, to do *each other* kindness, Would canter over acres of our bodies! And this is their humanity. And such Is man's humanity the wide world through. Men's hearts you'll find on one side, soft as silk, And hard as nether millstone on the other.

Knowing so many painful facts respecting the seizure of free persons of color as slaves, we felt great sympathy with these women, and determined to give them at the trial, whatever comfort our presence might afford, We recollected that the same hall had been

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thronged with ladies to listen to the pleadings of Mr. Wirt and Mr. Webster; and that many ladies had even travelled to Salem, to hear sentence of death pronounced upon the Knapps; and, therefore, we were under no temptation to omit any attention or kindness to these women, on the ground that the *manner* of it was unusual, or considered improper. Five members of our Society entered the Court Room about 9 o'clock on Monday morning, and found the prisoners already 51 there, in consultation with their counsel. After the entrance of Judge Shaw, the business commenced with a statement from the counsel for the claimant, that these women were the property(!) of John B. Morris, of Baltimore; that the Constitution contained a provision by which they must be returned to him, (!!!) and that he (the counsel) demanded a reasonable construction of the Constitution. (!!!!) Mr. Sewall, the prisoners' counsel, argued in opposition, that in the Bill of Rights it was laid down as the basis of the practice of courts of law in Massachusetts, that ALL are born FREE, and have the right of enjoying and defending their LIBERTIES. This elicited slight applause from the audience, who were principally persons of color, which they instantly suppressed on finding it was not in order. Judge Shaw arose to give his decision. He observed that he had, as courtesy demanded, listened to the arguments of both gentlemen, though he did not think them applicable to the present case—the question being simply this: Has the Captain of the brig Chickasaw a right to convert his vessel into a prison?—[Here a flurried consultation took place between the agent of the claimant and his counsel; and one of our members, who, from being also one of the Society of Friends, has had abundant opportunity 52 to observe the course taken by slave hunters, in cases like the present, beckoned to the person who sat nearest to the prisoners, and requested him to tell them to wait for nothing after they should be discharged;—to listen for their discharge, and depart as soon as they received it; as but an instant would intervene, before some other means would be resorted to, to detain them. *] All this occupied but a moment—the messenger walked quietly back to his seat by the prisoners; all parties listened breathlessly for the decision; the Judge still continuing his speech. Our blood stood still as he went on—and the time seemed interminable. 'Whence it appears,' he said, at length, 'that the prisoners must be discharged.' All rose at the word—the prisoners—the colored

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women who surrounded them—the counsel on both sides. The agent extended his hand to seize them. A spell seemed to hold them in the same position, one deeply exciting instant. The next, and the room was empty. A single voice among the crowd said, Go! Go! There was no other noise, but the sound of feet, and a slight shriek from one of the women who hinted in the lobby, and was carried down stairs.

* The usual course is to detain on charge of theft.

53

Most grateful were we for their safety, nor has our satisfaction ever been alloyed on retrospection. There can be no claim of sanctity for earthly place or presence, though it were 'ten-fold consecrate,' to check the retreat of an innocent woman, accused of no crime, when violent seizure of her person is threatened by a slave-hunter. We see no other course which it would have been right for us, or for these women to pursue. We think that 'had they been detained on another process, great reproach would have rested somewhere;' and that had we done otherwise than as we did, great reproach would have rested on us. Were all the circumstances again to occur, we should not, as Christian women, dare to do otherwise than have done.

We sat till the Judge and the officers of the Court had departed, leaving the hall almost empty, and then rose to go out. One of our number, deeply impressed with a sense of the duty of rebuke, which every inhabitant of the free States owes to every slaveholder, (and which is so entirely neglected, that Southern ministers and church members have declared, that if abolitionists really believed their traffic sinful, they would not be so backward in pungently reproving it,) addressed the 5* 54 agent, who was standing where we must necessarily pass him. We preserved the dialogue.

Friend. Thy prey hath escaped thee.

Mr. Turner. Madam, you are very rude to a stranger.

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Friend. What then art *thou*, who comest here to kidnap women?

Mr. Turner. I am a member of the Methodist Church, and presume I give much more to the Colonization Society, than all of you together.

Friend. Why art thou here then, hunting for those who have colonized themselves? I despise thy conduct and thy Colonization Society alike.

We left this man, whose life passes in the unchecked, nay, authorized commission of a crime, which, in another hemisphere, our laws punish with death, evidently greatly enraged and astonished, that woman should so deeply sympathize with wronged and suffering woman. May the reproof be fastened on his heart, till by the blessing of the God of the oppressed, he is mused to thought and repentance. He will then thank us for the painful awakening.

These oppressed and afflicted ones were treated by the members of our Society according to the commands of Christ. They were 'in prison and we visited them; naked, and we clothed them; strangers, and we took them in.'

55

Accept our imperfect obedience, blessed Savior, for we did it as unto thee!

The following minutes of a conversation with one of them are worth preserving. She said, (speaking of the Agent,) 'I was surprised to find they called him Turner, in court; for he told me on board the vessel, that his name was William Wilson; and William Wilson I knew was a Methodist Minister in Maryland, hut I had never seen him, and did not know but this man was he. He asked to see my free papers, and as soon as he got them he destroyed them. He said I ought to be ashamed to do as I had done. I told him *No; for I had done nothing wrong*. He said he knew that; but what could I want more than I had always had. Told me that it was but little we wanted here below, for life was short.'

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Question. Were you ever a slave?

Answer. Yes.

Q. Were you happy in slavery?

A. No.

Q. Had you a kind master?

A. Yes; I never was whipped since I was a woman grown.

Q. Why were you not happy then?

A. Could you live always in horror, and be happy! Master *used* to say he never would sell 56 us; but the price of us is rising every day—people got round him making offers. The Georgia houses were near—Master did'nt talk as he used to do about never selling us. Oh, there is nothing but horror to look forward to in slavery.

* * * * *

Q. Why did you come to the north?

A. I thought I should not be in danger of falling into slavery again, if I could but get to the free states. I did not expect to meet such troubles the moment I got here:—nor to meet such friends to care for me, either.

Q. Did you never hear of Abolitionists?

A. [As if the word was one she did not understand] Abolitionists? No.

Q. Did you ever hear of Colonizationists?

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A. Yes; they always come round us as soon as we get free and are doing well, to persuade us to go to Liberia. But they are found out now. They will not deceive many more so.

Q. Can you read?

A. A little.

Q. Were you ever on a plantation?

A. Oh my God, yes; but only on a visit. I never could tell you what they suffer. Most of the slaves that I know are pious. They often meet to pray. Two or three will sometimes get 57 together privately and pray all night for deliverance.

Q. But if they do not know that there are any at the north laboring and praying for them, how do they think it is to come?

A. They are waiting to see God do it for them in some wonderful manner, as he did for the Israelites. No human power can do it. We pray to him and have faith in him only: for the whole world seems to have forgotten us.

Q. Did you use to go to Church?

A. Yes. I am a member of the Methodist Church.

Q. Do you think that all slaves *ought* to be free?

A. (Much surprised) Yes; certainly.

Q. Would there not be danger of the bad tempered ones killing their masters for having kept them so long in slavery?

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A. (In extreme astonishment.) Why, no indeed ! Why should they ? All they want is to go free. They are willing to work; they don't want any thing wrong. Kill their masters, for doing right by them!

Q. But is this opinion that they ought to be free, a common one among the slaves?

A. (Very solemnly.) Yes. Of *course* they all know it is wrong to keep them in slavery.

58

Q. What *makes* them think so?

A. Of *course* they think so. *It stands to reason.*

Q. Did not it distress you to leave your friends?

A. Yes, it was a trying thing; but I had rather die than go back.

Q. Would not every thing go to wreck and ruin, if the slaves were all made free? Would they not be lazy and miserable?

A. Would not they work better if they had something to show for it? Just think how it would be with yourself:—except when people get very old—oh if you would only take it home to yourself and think what you should suffer to see your old mother obliged to work to the last minute! It does seem as if when people get quite worn out, they ought not work.

In many conversations we had an opportunity of witnessing the nice moral sense and the ardent piety of this woman. We showed her some of the Anti-Slavery publications, and she seemed surprised at the correctness of the description of the condition of slaves, 'Only,' she added 'it is impossible to put such dreadful sufferings properly into print.'

Here was the testimony of what American Slavery is in its mildest form. When we speak of the two millions and a half, how apt are we to forget 59 that every one of them has a

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history which it would shock a christian to hear related; whether it were of the dancing, singing, degraded slave, degraded into contentment with his condition, whose greatest failure in duty appears, according to slaveholding morals, in running away, and whose highest virtue lies in reverencing as gods, the men who live by his unrequited toil;—the higher spirited and higher gifted being who is crushed or driven to frenzy by the attempts to make him like the first;—or the mild and intelligent slave, from whom education and the bible have not been entirely withheld, and whose suffering lies chiefly in apprehension.

These are painful details;—but it is either the sickly sentimentalist or the base denier of human brotherhood that would see only the fair-seeming garment with which slaveholders invest their system, nor look beneath to mark how ‘the iron enters into the soul,’ in order the better to devise the means to effect its removal.

The meeting of the Massachusetts Society to celebrate the 1st of August, was prevented by the dread of a mob, which took possession of the mind of Mr. Allen, of Congress Hall, at which place a meeting had been appointed; and our members, finding the door locked, finished their celebration at another place.

60

A few of the newspaper commentaries are subjoined, because they help to display more clearly the character of the opposition. They will be historically useful, as proofs of the existence of a spirit, in the pro-slavery party at the north in 1836, which, after the abolition shall have taken place, will be strenuously denied;—so incredible will it then seem.

Two or three of the members of the Female Anti-Slavery Society were in the Court room, giving their countenance to the blacks in their outrage upon the Court.— *Courier*.

Little doubt that the rescuers with their aiders and abettors, of both colors and sexes, will be properly punished.— *Courier*.

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That above all, our females should have come forth from their retirement—from the holiness of the fireside, the protection of their household goods—to mingle in scenes like this? We will not mention names, but there is one, who some time since called one of our *clergymen* to account (!!!!) for a sermon he delivered, and who on Monday was seen, 'aiding and abetting' the mischievous and the vile. I ask again, can it be? I was on Monday absent from our city. I left it with the feeling that, in this city, at least, there was yet protection for life and property; that the little which I possessed, worth guarding, was still safe. I have returned—and find myself in another state of being, our highest court giving way, defenceless and naked, to a mob; our ministers of justice obliged to quail before its force; females, who should be unsullied as 'the untrodden snow'—I cannot find words strong enough to finish the sentence.

61

It is, it must be, but a dream. Oh deliver me from its agony. (!!!!!!!)— *Courier*, Aug. 3.

We learn that, in the Court room, the disgusting spectacle was exhibited of white abolitionists, accompanied by females, white and black, giving aid and countenance to violence on the part of the negroes. They all merit the interposition of the prosecuting officer, and we trust that the outrage will be immediately presented to the Grand Jury. If the negroes of the city and their degraded abettors are to embody and subvert the tribunals of justice, it is high time the loyal citizens should come to the rescue.

Since the above was written, we learn that a meeting of professed abolitionists, of all colors and characters, which had been previously advertised to meet at Julien Hall, was prevented by the positive interdiction of the owners of that Hall. Among the principal actors in this attempt to disturb the peace, were a parcel of silly women, whose fondness for notoriety has repeatedly led them into scenes of commotion and riot, They deserve straight petticoats, as do their husbands, fathers and guardians, who allow them to excite commotion in the city.— *Centinel and Gazette*, Aug. 2.

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It is really surprising that men and women, who set themselves up as models of meekness, religion and morality, should have the hardihood, not only to trample on the Constitution and laws, and the public tribunals, but to run a Quixotick tilt against the well known public opinion. (!!!) As to consorting with negroes, it is altogether a matter of taste, and it may be as a general principle, that those who seek such associates aim at their proper element; nobody would object to their course, if they would only leave others to their own preferences, and avoid disturbing the public peace. As to the silly women who participate in these outrages, for the purpose of notoriety, they ought to be taught obedience to the laws by their husbands and guardians.— *Centinel & Gazette*.

The mortifying spectacle of seeing *women*, those who enjoy the reputation of being considered decent and respectable, and of possessing a modicum of that modesty and delicacy with which nature is supposed to endow their sex, in the midst of a *melee*, and participating in the affray, we hope, for the credit of Boston, will never again be witnessed here. * — *Morning Post*.

* The Morning Post also gave the names of two of our number, with the assertion that they declared to Mr. Turner that he 'ought to be killed.' Mr. Greene is not probably aware that he exposes to assassination any one to whom he attributes such a horrible sentiment. The assertion that the abolitionists 'advocate cruel vengeance on the part of the slaves,' is the circumstance that has put their lives and property in peril from the commencement of the cause. The following is a specimen of the communications for which Mr. Greene's charge was the signal: * * * * *

Madam—I write to inform you that personal violence is intended on you and your husband this evening.

Yours in haste, 'AN ABOLITIONIST.

Beware of 9 o'clock.

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Roxbury, Aug. 3d.

As to the indecency of the conduct of certain white women on this occasion, members of the A. S. Society, we forbear to enlarge. There is but one feeling of disgust in regard to it. The blacks, in our opinion, are far more excusable. The whole outrage ought probably, in reason, to be attributed to 63 these delicate adepts in the science of brawling.—

Transcript.

‘That respectable females should have played a part in such a scene of violence and disorder, is hardly credible.’— *Atlas.*

The African Repository, after noticing the destruction of Mr. Birney's printing press, and the attendant outrages in Cincinnati, observes that, anti-republican and repugnant as it is to any regular government, it is exceeded in atrocity by this. (!!!)

After the excitement produced by this affair had subsided, the Daily Advertiser* published an advertisement, for the apprehension of a slave, escaped from his master. We were forcibly reminded by it, of our former resolve to seize the first opportunity to test the validity of the Bill of Rights. It had always been our impression that the laws of Massachusetts would shelter the slave brought within their local limits by his master; but we found a different idea the prevailing one in the surrounding community, and the popular voice was confirmed to us, by nine members of the Boston bar. In Hilliard's ‘Elements of Law, a summary of American Civil Jurisprudence, for the use of Students, men of business and general readers,’ we found it laid down, that ‘a slave, bought in one state, *acquires NO RIGHTS as a freeman by*

* Nathan Hale, editor.

64 *being brought into another;*’ and our minds were more deeply than ever convinced of the necessity of immediately trying to counteract this general idea so dishonorable to Massachusetts.

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It was at a meeting of the Board, held August 11th that we were informed by the Vice President of our Society, that a family in the city, recently from the south, had a child in their keeping, presumed to be a slave: and knowing that it was their intention to return with it to the south, our unanimous opinion was, that it was the duty of those who had come to the knowledge of these facts, to prevent, if possible, such a violation of the rights of the child. We learned that the mother was alive, in New Orleans, and this circumstance admonished us to do nothing which should interfere with the paramount claims of maternal love. We are mothers, and felt their sacredness. But on consideration, it appeared that the grand difference of opinion between us and the slaveholder is, that he *denies* any such claim. He asserts that the child is *his*, and not the mother's; and sets up a claim of absolute ownership 'to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.' He contends for the right to sell the child away from the mother, whenever or wherever it shall please him so to do. He contends that the earnings of the child are his and not the mother's. That it is for him, and not for the mother, to punish her in case of misbehavior; that it is for him to decide what *is* misbehavior. Contends also for right to determine the manner and degree of punishment, whether by beating with a horse-whip, cowskin, switch of small stick, putting in irons or imprisonment. Contends that though this child should die under such inflictions, they shall be termed 'moderate correction.' Contends that neither the evidence of its mother, or any other person, shall be received against him. Claims the right of absolute disposal of her person. Claims that these conditions shall be perpetual; and that they shall extend to her unborn posterity forever.

This is slavery. For all this he contends, when he claims her as his slave. True, he may be in a sort humane: he may forbear to exercise all the power he claims. But he has *no* power in case his affairs become involved, to prevent her being sold into the hands of any notoriously barbarous man who may happen to be his creditor; and when he dies she is at the disposal of legatees. His power, while he upholds the system, is small to do her good. While he is the advocate of slavery, he has no power of himself to manumit her. 6* 66 He may *perhaps* obtain permission of the legal authorities, but even then, her instruction is

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prohibited under heavy penalties.* One power he has. He can at any time unite the mother and child, by sending the mother to Massachusetts. If he be humane, he will do it. If his feelings should not dictate such a course, it is a sufficient proof of unfitness to possess the tremendous power given by the slave codes.

Here were motives for exertion. If we should fail, the condition of the child would remain but where it was; while if we should succeed, a decision would be obtained of greater importance than any within the last half century.

We decided to claim for her the protection of the laws of Massachusetts, and applied to Ellis Grey Loring, Esq., for his professional aid, Levin Harris acting as promoter of the suit. The plea for the Commonwealth, was conducted at the first hearing, by Messrs. Loring and Sewall, and at the second, by Messrs. Loring and Choate. For their admirable arguments, we refer to 'the case of the slave child Med,'—a pamphlet containing the proceedings on both sides, and the decision of the court.

* The bondage of the slaveholder is not less pitiable than that of the slave: nor the less so because he hugs his chains.

67

At the request of one of our number, who was most active in bringing the case to notice, the little child is called Maria Sommersett. The time is at hand, when even the south, will honor the names of Ellis Gray Loring and Chief Justice Shaw, as they are now honored by all who reverence the worthy memories of Granville Sharpe and of Lord Mansfield.

[From the Boston Transcript.]

Who will answer for the 'deep damnation' of the sin which separated—nay stole, a child, ah infant in mind and in law, without the power of choosing between freedom and slavery under any circumstances, from its mother in the South, that she might be called free in the North? Who shall answer—not here only, but hereafter, for keeping the little affectionate

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girl—the little *slave* —brought here as a companion, rather than a servant, by Mrs. Slater —separate—at remote distance from her doating and distracted mother at New Orleans? Separate mother and child in the name of *Freedom*? What fanaticism is this!

[From the New York Courier and Enquirer.]

The wanton cruelty in the case of the little slave child, recently wrested from the protection of its mistress in Boston, is enough to curdle colder blood than ours towards those miserable—more than miserable—fanatics, the abolitionists. We have only to hope most fervently that the Supreme Court of the United States will yet take this child from the fangs of the rabid fanaticism that has clutched it, and that the abolitionists will yet be made to feel some portion of the retribution they deserve. They can never *fully* expiate their crimes, until offences such as theirs are punished by imprisonment at hard labor for life.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Boston, Aug. 30, 1836.

Ellis G. Loring, Esq.

Dear Sir—The successful termination of the slave case, in which you took a principal part, must delight all good hearts. Those who simply are moved with pity for the poor child, will rejoice that she is unfettered and may drink freely of the fountain of Life. A more enlarged philanthropy will see in this event the safety and freedom, of all colored persons, who may hereafter be brought hither by slaveholders, and their joy will be unspeakable. Slaves will not again, we presume, be retained in bondage, for years, in the midst of our city. They will not again be told, as they were recently, when claiming their liberty and wages, that they *belonged* to a master in Carolina. The Patriot should henceforth keep the 26th of August us a holiday. A law of mercy belonged to Massachusetts, and until that day, she was ignorant of it. It was dead, but is now alive. It was lost, but is now found. Eight years since,

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a lady, wishing 40 aid a colored girl, brought here by her mistress from Florida, and who was determined to have liberty or death, applied to six of the Boston Bar for advice in her behalf: five of the six returned the same answer. (Two of the five are now learned Judges.) The lady was assured, that whoever secreted the girl, would be fined five hundred dollars, if detected, and that the law would give up the girl to her cruel master. Mr. S. E. Sewall, your friend, was the honorable minority. His answer has been remembered for its learning and integrity. Mr. Sewall replied, that the girl had a right to her freedom by the law of the State.

69

The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society may be excused for their rejoicing at this event. They rejoice for the poor child, for their colored brethren and sisters, for Massachusetts, for themselves, and last but not least, for you Sir, who have won this victory for them, as their counsel, chosen from a knowledge of your character, of your heart, and of your zeal in the cause of immediate emancipation. Fearing God and fearing him only, you have gone forward bold and strong in the right; and the blessings of the poor, the approval of your own conscience, and the approbation of your great Master, must be your reward. The Board of Managers request you to accept their thanks for the time and talent that you have devoted to this important case, and will thank you to make their acknowledgments to Mr. Sewall and Mr. Choate, as due. You will confer an additional obligation upon the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, if you will allow them to assume as their own, any expenses you may have incurred.

In behalf of the B. F. A. S. Society.

Committee.

Henrietta Sargent,

C. M. Sullivan,

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T. Southwick,

ANSWER.

Boston, Oct. 8, 1836.

My dear and esteemed friend:

It was my intention, on receiving the kind and affecting letter of the Committee of the Female AntiSlavery Society, to express to them fully by letter, how deeply I was gratified and touched by it. The cares and labors of business, which press on me too severely for recreation and I may say for health, have prevented my doing this; and I now wish, in an informal 70 manner, to apprise you and the ladies associated with you, that I have not been insensible to the great and unmerited kindness with which they have treated me. I have certainly done what I could for the good of the little girl and the advancement of our inspiring cause,—but I speak soberly and unaffectedly when I say that, had I no other cause for joy, in the result of the trial, I should feel myself much more than repaid by the affectionate sympathy expressed in your letter.

It is a very interesting consideration, that a decision not exceeded in interest or real moment by any decision made within the last half century, should be obtained through female agency. It ought to be a strong argument with the females of our land to unite in societies, gathering, as they may from union, a moral strength adequate to such important results. I have never doubted that the Female Anti-Slavery Societies were a very valuable addition of power to us,—but it is a very pleasant assurance to see, year after year, tangible proofs of it.

The promotor of Med's case, is not, to my knowledge an Abolitionist. I do not know that he was induced to petition, from any party bias whatever,—even the best: and I have so stated in my argument to the Court. Still, the less prominent, but more useful part of obtaining knowledge of the facts, and by communicating them in the right quarter, giving

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the first impulse to the matter, is a credit due to female courage and energy alone, fostered by abolition principles.

You have been kind enough to allude to the expenses incurred by me. I should decline receiving any reimbursement of any part of them, were I not satisfied that it would be a true gratification to you, 71 that the Counsel fee in *Med Sommersett's Case* should be paid by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. I do heartily sympathize in this honest satisfaction, and I therefore consent to receive what I paid our senior Counsel. His charge was much less than the sum now paid him;—but I thought his liberal feelings were doing him injustice, and I insisted upon enlarging his bill.

Believe me, with great esteem for yourself and my other friends of the Society, your and their friend and brother, ELLIS GRAY LORING.

Miss Henrietta Sargent.

The grounds of the decision are, that slavery having been abolished, by the adoption of the Bill of Rights, every person in Massachusetts must be free. The inhabitant of another country, coming to Massachusetts, is under the law of Massachusetts, for the laws of each nation are binding only within its own local limits and on the high seas, which are common to all nations.

The Constitution of the United States, takes from under this general rule of law, slaves *escaping* from other states.

To throw so much light on the public conscience, as to cause a cause of legislative and judicial proceedings, based on this construction of the constitution, to be considered as a proper subject of legal 72 and quiet change, is the future labor of abolitionists.

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The following letter in behalf of the Portage County Ladies Society, is from the daughter of the venerable Elizur Wright, sister of Elizur Wright, Jun., so well known and loved by abolitionists:

Tallmadge, Ohio, Aug. 11, 1836.

Beloved Sisters in the cause of Human Rights:

The knowledge of your glowing ardor in behalf of the oppressed, and patient endurance of outrages and insult, has excited in us feelings of admiration and respect; nay more, of gratitude to God, that his sustaining grace girded your souls with strength, and carried you with firmness through the conflict. We feel bound to you by the strongest ties; the bands of christian fellowship in a glorious cause.

May we not then be indulged in the interchange of kindred sentiments, and enjoy the consolation that mutual sympathy and counsel can impart. Our hopes, and fears, and aims, are one. What an object is ours! The deliverance of more than two million human beings from slavery. Those bodies from the inhuman lash, and those glorious minds, from degradation that had well nigh blotted them from existence, and left a blank in God's intelligent universe. Do not our hearts kindle within us, and glow continually with increasing zeal in the holy enterprize? Shall aught turn aside the current of our souls, and dry up those streams of christian love, that have begun to flow? *No.* For I am persuaded 'that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor power, nor things present, nor things to 73 come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' What was this love? Behold that Holy One, laying aside the dazzling glories of the Godhead, assuming a veil of feeble clay, to labor and to die, for beings infinitely more vile in his sight, than these poor slaves in ours. For these same *little ones* too he shed his precious blood. Let us take heed that we despise them not, We may well hide our heads with shame, that we have so long forgotten our brother in bonds. We are called upon as christian females, to engage in

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other benevolent enterprises of the day; yet here we are met by the sentiment, 'Out of your sphere.' Is not this a glaring inconsistency? When the sympathies have been awakened, and an impulse given to all the benevolent affections, shall they then be forbid to flow? If woman may not be known out of the circle of her intimate acquaintance, why were their names recorded in holy writ, as helpers in the Lord? No doubt this is a device of satan. That arch enemy knew full well the power of woman's pleadings, when he framed his subtle arts for man's destruction. He still wishes to keep her his tool, or at least prevent the enlargement of her *sphere* of opposition to his cause.

No wonder he comes out in great Wrath against the opposers of slavery, for, *that*, is his peculiar delight. While he looks on, and cheers human tyrants in their work, he makes fast his bands to drag them to his dark domains. Bat courage sisters, in this moral conflict. Though there be many against us, stronger is He that is on our side. Though tenacious self-interest, and cold, cruel prejudice lift their brazen front, yet shall they be melted away before 7 74 the blaze of Almighty Truth. The events of the past year clearly demonstrate that God is the friend of the oppressed. Though the enemy has raged, he has not triumphed. Freedom of speech and of the press has not yet been taken away, and the hope lingers, that our country may still be saved. Hope, that the 'ten righteous will yet be found to save the city.' Have we not our Garrison, Tappan, Weld and Birney, (God crown them with continual benediction,) who cry aloud and spare not, and are there not a host of others, rising with talents and devotion to plead the cause? Truly the Lord hath not cast off his people. Let us rejoice, and put our trust in him. How blessed, when the waves of popular fury beat around, to rise above in communion with the Mighty One that controls the storm. Oh, that the church, with one united voice, would testify against iniquity, and rid her skirts of the blood of souls. But what shall we say for our brethren who partake in this sin? May the God of mercy open their eyes, and grant his forgiving grace. Let us not suffer abhorrence of the sin, to shut out compassion for the sinner, but let us weep for them in secret places, and plead earnestly in their behalf, that so, wickedness may be put

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away from among us, and the church become indeed 'a living epistle, known and read of all men.'

You will doubtless be gratified to hear of the success of the cause in this region. We think we can safely say its course is steadily onward. It was greatly promoted through the agency of lecturers last winter, and the meeting of the State Society was a most solemn and interesting one. Again the heralds of liberty, and deliverance to the captives, like their blessed master, were 'cradled in a manger, and had 75 their dwelling with the beasts of the stall.'^{*} Arrangements are making to circulate among the ladies in the State, a petition to Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that so our united prayer may go up to the rulers of our nation.

* The meeting of the State Society was held in a barn; owing to the illiberality and cowardice of the proprietors of buildings.

Our County Society was organized in February last with 37, now increased to 390 members. We trust we shall be able to do something to advance the cause. Our first annual meeting is to be held the 7th of September. We should be much gratified, if a letter from you could reach us before that time, as we are so scattered that we cannot often be together. May the Lord help and strengthen you.

In behalf of the Portage Co. Female A. S. Society.

LUCY M. WRIGHT, *Secretary*.

In reviewing the history of the past year, as it relates to our cause, grateful astonishment at its progress, is the prevailing emotion. How many can bear witness, that its power extends even to the conversion of the heart. 'Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,'—give to his righteous character of love and truth, an undivided worship—Behold him manifest in the flesh, and instantly follow the perfect example of impartial love—most active where most needed, in behalf of the weak, oppressed by the strong:—these are the principles

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of the abolitionists. What wonder that 76 on adopting them, the character should be regenerated? How many mistakes in religion, in politics, in opinion on all subjects do they rectify! how many of feeble abilities and scanty opportunities, do they illuminate and strengthen, by their wisdom, which is from above. They teach us to do justly to all: to remember that a man is not the less our brother because he is our enemy: to hate nothing but sin, and to see in every apologist of slavery, one who may yet, in the good providence of God, be most dear to us as a defender of our lofty faith. They teach us, how to avoid that spurious charity, which would efface moral distinctions; and that our duty to the sinner is, not to palliate but to pardon;—not to excuse but to forgive;—freely—fully—as we hope to be forgiven.

It is with regret that we report the loss we must hereafter sustain, by the absence of one of our most efficient members;—one who has helped our counsels and our prayers, from the first organization of the Society. We are consoled by the thought that ‘the field is the world;’ and that while she is devoted to the promulgation of ‘glad tidings ’ in Greece, she has but changed the *scene*, without changing the *object* of her labors.

77

Among the gratifying circumstances of the present year, is Mr. Lundy's publication of the works of the lamented Elizabeth M. Chandler. We earnestly commend them to the perusal of all Ladies, to whom this cause seems a political one. By their union of power and tenderness, of firmness and gentleness, they are a fit memorial of their author. Would that this character might become the general one of American women, and not of American *women* only, but of American *men*, and of *all* men.

The plan of contracting and modifying the human soul in one sex, to gratify the perverted taste of the other, is akin to the Chinese treatment of the body, in compliance with similar views. It is happy that in both instances—as regards the feet of *their* women and the understandings of *ours*, the mischief is confined to the wealthy.

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Such harem notions, the relics of barbarous ages, will not be entirely extinguished while slavery exists, for they are only manifestations of its spirit. Meanwhile we call on all who would possess the love of good men, or be the mothers of a noble race,—to walk worthily in the sphere appointed them of God; and not to degenerate into the frivolous one, prescribed by the tyrannical voluptuaries of both sexes. 7A

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We rejoice at the heart-stirring appeal of Angelina E. Grimke. If we had never loved the south and its sons and daughters before, we should love them now, for her sake. It is written for southern women, but from South to North it will touch the heart of man and woman alike. Our quarterly distribution of tracts has always been productive of great good, and we may hope still more, from a wide circulation of this pamphlet, which is so admirably adapted to this crisis of the cause.

Our Secretaries and their Assistant Committee of Correspondence, have communicated with 20 Female Anti-Slavery Societies in Massachusetts, and with some friend of the cause in each town throughout the state. The letters they daily receive, are a constant source of joy. We find that in every village in Massachusetts, there are faithful hearts watching for opportunities to aid the cause, with continual supplication in its behalf. We have learned much with respect to modes of operation, from our correspondence with the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies in New York, Philadelphia, Providence, Concord, N. H., Pittsburgh, Pa., and the Ladies' County Societies in Ohio. The New York City Society have published an address to the Christian Women of America which should be in the hands of every one. The Philadelphia 79 Ladies' Society have re-published the work of Elizabeth Heyrick, who originated that idea of *immediate* emancipation, which was adopted by Wilberforce and the English Abolitionists, as the only effective one, and to which must be attributed the wonderful progress of the cause in the United States.* It has given a vigorous inspiration to the minds of the humblest individuals of the most obscure societies. It carries a sense of power with it, which is felt in the most remote region. ' Now —is the

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accepted time!' and ' *to-day* if ye will hear!' are awakening sounds; and when *they* ring through a land, a million voices cry 'the hour and the *men* are both come!' There is no power in gradualism to stir the depths of the spirit. Hope deferred makes even the true heart sick.

* 'The Kingdom of Heaven is like leaven, which a *woman* hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.'

To-morrow! Go to! I will not hear of it—to-morrow! No! stay the present instant— Like the good old patriarch upon record, Hold the fleet angel fast, until he bless thee.

In view of the events of the past year and of the encouraging results of our efforts, we resolve to be more and more faithful to the cause.

The course pursued towards us by its opposers, has placed us in a more conspicuous position than we ever dreamed of occupying, but this is only an 7B 80 additional motive to act worthily, with calmness of judgment and energy of will.

While we resolve to improve to the utmost, every future opportunity of promoting this cause of Christ, we feel humble confidence that our past sins in respect to it, of neglect, weakness, and omission, which are many, will be forgiven; for we have loved it much.'

Friends and sisters throughout New England! You, with whom we are bound to follow the truth whithersoever it leads, in full confidence of its saving power! Let us remember that deeds not words, are the test of our devotion to God's will; nor deem he will accept the cold acknowledgement that slavery is evil, while our hearts are devising pretences, to withhold our influence from the side of Freedom. To act in the love of our God and our neighbors—this is our great duty: and if we say to our neighbors, according as their several states need, be ye just and true, of be ye free and happy, and present not truth and justice for their consideration, and freedom and happiness for their acceptance, how dwelleth the love of God in us?

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In a narrower view of the subject, it is apparent to the most short-sighted, where our appropriate field of duty lies. There can be no doubt, while one million of our sex are held in American bondage, 81 and woman stands by to uphold and bless the deed!

Let us never cease to exercise for them to the utmost the right to do good. It is limited only by the boundaries of our power. Let us allow no opportunity to escape us, of doing and suffering the good pleasure of God. Nothing is more acceptable to him, than to see in his children, a 'joyful and ready agreement to profit by pain.' Let us not attempt to pass the cup from us by altering one feature of truth, lest it should offend, or be seized on as the occasion of injury to us and ours. There is an exceeding great reward in faithful obedience;—the clearer and deeper views of duty it gives;—the greater love of God and man—the deliverance from fear and constraint—the less apprehension of suffering—'the more freedom to die.' Enjoying these, may we never look for any reward less spiritual and enduring. We pray, for the sake of the oppressed, that God will aid us to banish from our hearts every vestige of selfishness; for in proportion to our disinterestedness, will be our moral power for their deliverance. Not until our mount of sacrifice overtops the mountain of southern transgression, should we dare to ask the slaveholder to give up his bondsman. We should not dare to bid him relinquish what he (however 82 erroneously) thinks his living, till we have first cast into the treasury our own. How dare we expect him to incur the displeasure of *his* friends and neighbors, till we have exhausted every form of representation and entreaty with *ours*; till we have finally said in the plainness of Christian reproof, to his stumbling block, the steady opposer of righteousness at the North,—'The slaveholder goes up to his house justified rather than thou!'

The experience of the past, not only shows that emancipation must come, but also the manner of its coming. Our national confederacy is but just beginning to unite, on the only true principle of union—to give and not to receive. If we of the North persevere, at every sacrifice to ourselves, in giving the truth, which alone can save the country from the alternations of anarchy, insurrection, and despotism, doubt not that there are multitudes

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at the South, who will receive it gladly, at a far nobler sacrifice. The sublime example of such as Birney, and Theme, and Nelson, and Allen, and Angelina E. Grimke, will not be given in vain. A few more years of danger and intense exertion, and the South and the North will unite in reading the Constitution by the light from above, thrown on it froth the Declaration of Independence, and not by the horrible glare of the slave-code. The 83 cause of Freedom will ere long become the popular one; and a voice of regret will be heard throughout the land, from those who will have forgotten these days of misrepresentation and danger—‘Why was not I among the early Abolitionists!’

Let us be deeply grateful that we are among the early-called. Let us pray God to forgive the men who would deface every feature of a Christian community, by making it personally dangerous to fulfil a Christian woman's duty.—To forgive the man who sneers at the sympathy for the oppressed, implanted by the spirit of God, in the heart of the mother that bore and cherished his infancy.—of the wife that helps his manhood—and of the daughter, whom that same quality of womanly devotedness, would lead to shield his grey head with her own bosom!

Let us never forget through these unquiet years, whereunto we are called.

‘The first in shame and agony, The meanest in the lowest task— *This* must we be!’— —the stepping stone by which the wealthy, the gifted, and the influential, are to pass unharmed, through the roar of waters, to the RIGHT side.

Let us remember the words of Jesus Christ; how he said of those who do not shrink from his 84 service of suffering, ‘they shall sit on my right hand and on my left in my kingdom.’

Then, though our property and even our means of life are taken away,—though our earthly friends forsake us,—though our blood be shed as water in the conflict with despotism, ‘Even though our blood make hut the thousandth part Of this great ransom, let us count it joy!’

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TREASURER'S REPORT.

Dr. The Boston Female A. S. Society in account with L. M. Ball, Treasurer. Cr. 1836 To Cash paid Massachusetts Society on account of their subscription to the general agency, \$ 150 00 " " " for making glass show case, " " " for eleven groce A. S. Hdkfs. 20 00 Jan. " " to Am. A. S. Soc. on account of our pledge, 55 00 " " " for two hundred and fifty A. S. 400 00 Almanacks, 7 50 " " " Mass Soc. to constitute Messis. Jackson and Chapman life members, 30 00 March " " " towards defraying the expenses of Mrs. Thompson previous to her departure for England, 39 19 " " " for a Bible presented to Mrs. Child, by the Society,

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4 50 April Donation to Wm. L. Garrison, for the loss he sustained by the hands of the mob, 50 00 “ “ “ I. Knapp for printing and various acts of kindness for the Society 20 00 “ “ “ for the use of Congress Hall for H. B. Stanton & others to address the Soc. 9 00 “ “ “ for Dickey's sold at the fair, 7 50 July “ “ “ I. Knapp for printing circulars, petitions and insertion of notices. 20 00 Sept. “ “ “ Mass. Soc. on acct. of our pledge of 1000 dollars at the Convention, 290 00 “ “ “ Counsel fec. in Med Sommersett's case. 50 00 Oct. “ “ “ for insertion of notices in daily papers. 7 50 “ “ “ for Books, Stationary, and postage of letters, 3 25 \$ 1169 44 By Balance in Treasury, \$ 115 69 “ Cash received of Managers of the Anti-Slavery Fair, 343 75 Jan. “ avails of articles sold in show case, 24 12 “ sale of Anti-Slavery Hdkfs. 62 33 Sept. “ “ of Right and Wrong 110 00 “ “ of Mr. Thompson's Portrait. 90 00 Oct. “ Cash for twenty-five life memberships, 125 00 “ “ toward the pledge, 200 00 “ Annual assessments, 107 50 “ Donations, 7 25 \$ 1185 64 86

[From the Liberator.]

TO THE MEMORY OF CHARLES B. STORRS, *Late President of Western Reserve College.*

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

‘He fell a martyr to the interests of his colored brethren. For many months did that mighty man of God apply his discriminating and gigantic mind to the subject of Slavery and its Remedy: and, when his soul could no longer contain his holy indignation against the upholders and apologists of this unrighteous system, he gave vent to his aching heart, and poured forth his clear thoughts and holy feelings in such deep and soul-entrancing eloquence, that other men, whom he would fain in his humble modesty acknowledge his superiors, sat at his feet and looked up as children to a parent.’— *Correspondent of the ‘Liberator,’ 16 th of 11 th Mo. 1833.*

Thou hast fallen in thine armor— Thou martyr of the Lord!— With thy last breath crying—
—‘Onward!’ And thy hand upon the sword. The haughty heart derideth, And the sinful lip reviles,
But the blessing of the perishing Around thy pillow smiles!

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When to oar cup of trembling The added drop is given— And the long-suspended thunder
Falls terribly from Heaven,— When a new and fearful freedom Is proffered of the Lord To
the slow-consuming famine— The Pestilence and Sword!—

When the refuges of Falsehood Shall be swept away in wrath, And the temple shall be
shaken With its idol to the earth,— Shall not thy words of warning Be all remembered
then?— And thy now unheeded message Burn in the hearts of men?—

87

Oppression's hand may scatter Its nettles on thy tomb, And even Christian bosoms Deny
thy memory room— For lying lips shall torture Thy mercy into crime, And the slanderer
shall flourish As the bay-tree for a time.

But, where the South-wind lingers On Carolina's pines— Or, falls the careless sunbeam
Down Georgia's golden mines— Where now beneath his burthen The toiling slave is
driven,— Where now a tyrant's mockery Is offered unto Heaven,—

Where Mammon hath its altars Wet o'er with human blood, And Pride and Lust debases
The workmanship of God— There shall thy praise be spoken, Redeemed from falsehood's
bans When the fetters shall be broken, And the *slave* shall be a *man!*

Joy to thy spirit, brother!— A thousand hearts are warm— A thousand kindred bosoms Are
baring to the storm. What though red-handed Violence With secret Fraud combine, The
wall of fire is round us— Out Present Help was thine!

Lo—the waking up of nations, From Slavery's fatal sleep 88 The murmur of a universe
— Deep calling unto deep!— Joy to thy spirit, brother!— On every wind of Heaven The
onward cheer and summons Of Freedom's soul is given!

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Glory to God forever!— Beyond the despot's will
The soul of Freedom liveth Imperishable
still, The words which thou hast uttered
Are of that soul a part And the good seed thou
hast scattered Is springing from the heart.

In the evil days before us, And the trials yet to come— In the shadow of the prison, Or the
cruel martyrdom— We will think of thee, O, Brother! And thy sainted name shall be In the
blessing of the captive, And the anthem of the free.

[From the Haverhill Gazette.]

CLERICAL OPPRESSORS.

In the Report of the celebrated Pro-Slavery Meeting in Charleston, S. C. on the 4th of the
9th month, 1835, published in the Courier of that city, it is stated, ' *The CLERGY of all
denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings; and adding
by their presence to the impressive character of the scene!*'

Just God!—and these are they Who minister at Thine altar, God of Right! Men who their
hands with prayer and blessing lay On Israel's Ark of light!

What! preach and kidnap men? Give thanks; and rob Thy own afflicted poor?— 89 Talk of
Thy glorious liberty, and then Bolt hard the captive's door?

What!—servants of Thy own Merciful Son, who came to seek and save The homeless and
the outcast, fettering down The tasked and plundered slave!

Pilate and Herod, friends! Chief priest and rulers as of old, combine! Just God and holy!—
is that Church which lends Strength to the spoiler, Thine?

Paid hypocrites, who turn Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book Of those high words of
truth which search and burn In warning and rebuke.

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Feed fat ye locusts, feed! And, in your tasselled pulpits thank the Lord That, from the toiling bondman's utter need Ye pile your own full board.

How long, oh Lord!—how long, Shall such a Priesthood barter Truth away, And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong At thy own altars pray!

Is not Thy hand stretched forth Visibly in the heavens to awe and smite!— Shall not the Living God of all the earth, And Heaven above, do right?

Wo, then, to all who grind Their brethren of a Common Father down! To all who plunder from the immortal mind Its bright and glorious crown!

Wo—to the Priesthood!—wo To those whose hire is with the price of blood—Perverting, darkening, changing as they go The searching truths of God!

90

Their glory and their might Shall perish; and their very names shall be Vile before all the people, in the light Of A WORLD'S LIBERTY.

Oh! speed the moment on When Wrong shall cease, and Liberty and Love And Troth and Right throughout the earth are known As in their home above.

TRUTH.

Oh Truth! immortal Truth! on what wild ground Still hast thou trod through this unspiritual sphere! The *strong*, the *brutish*, and the *vile* surround Thy presence, lest shy streaming glory cheer The *poor*, the *many*, without price or bound! Drowning thy voice, they fill the popular ear, In thy high name, with canons, creeds and laws, Feigning to save, that they may mar thy cause.

And the great multitude doth crouch, and bear The burden of the selfish. That emprise, That lofty spirit of virtue, which can dare To rend the bands of Error from all eyes; And

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from the freed soul pluck each sensual care, To them is but a fable. Therefore lies
Darkness upon the mental desert still; And wolves devour, and rubbers walk at will.

Yet ever and anon, from thy bright quiver, The flaming arrows of shy might are strown; And
rushing forth, thy dauntless children shiver The strength of fees who press too near thy
throne. Then, like the sun, or thy Almighty Giver, Thy light is through the startled nations
shown; And generous indignation tramples down The sophist's web and the oppressor's
crown.

William & Mary Howitt.