PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

HELD IN BOSTON

ON THE

27TH, 28TH AND 29TH OF MAY, 1834.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1834.
LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

MAINE.

PORTLAND.
William C. Munroe, Nathan Winslow.
James Appleton, Hallowell.
Eweneser Dole, Augusta.
Joseph Southwick, Calais.
Aaron B. Church, Bangor.
S. L. Pomeroy, Wells.

DOVER.
Gibbon Williams, David Rost.

PLYMOUTH.
Jonathan Ward, George Kimball.
N. P. Rogers, Windham.

BOSTON.
David Cambell, Calvin Cutler.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.
Drury Fairbanks, Joshua Eaton.
Joseph Tillson, J. S. Wishington.
Amsa Walker, John Cutts Smith.
Truman R. Hawley, Ellis Gray Loring.
Nathaniel Southard, Thomas Cole.
J. V. Himes, Abner Forbes.
Benjamin C. Bacon, George Titcomb.
J. C. White, J. R. Cushing.
Nathaniel Budd, Isaac Knapp.
John Sullivan, Henry Safford.
S. G. Shipley, Daniel Gregg.
Henry Grew, Samuel Gooch.
Increase Gilbert, Henry C. Miner.
Increase S. Withington, Perez Gill.
John E. Fuller, James D. Yates.
Thomas Edwards, John T. Hilton.
Chandler Robbins, David L. Child.
David Cambell, E. M. P. Wells.
James G. Barbadoes, Amos A. Phelps.
Samuel E. Sewall, John R. Cambell.

LYNN.
William B. Oliver, Christopher Robinson.
John Berry, Edward S. Davis.
Isaac Perkins, Samuel Gale.

DANVERS.
Edward Southwick, Jesse Putsam.

IPSWICH.
David T. Kimball, William Oakes.

SALEM AND VICINITY.
William Treadwell, ——
E. B. Dearborn, ——
Benjamin A. Gray, ——
Daniel Potter, Avery Briggs.
Joshua Pope, William Williams.
Daniel Weed, Jr., William Chase.
Thomas Woodbridge, Richard M. Chipman, Jr.
Robert Cogswell, Richard H. Mood.
William Abbott, Benjamin H. Ives.
Joseph Hale, Simeon Cober.
Samuel P. Flint, John Holroyd.
Cyrus P. Grosvenor, ——
William B. Dodge, ——
Rufus Putnam, ——
Josiah Hayward, ——
Richard P. Water, ——
Parket Brown, ——

MANCHESTER.
Samuel M. Emerson.

NEWBURYPORT.
Philip C. Knapp, David J. Merrill.
William Ashby, Jr., Amos Pettingill.
Samuel Titcomb, Andrew Raymond.
Atkinson Stanwood.

HAYHILL.
John G. Whittier, Dudley Phelps.
Samuel H. Peckham, Nathan Webster.

SALEM.
Robert Scott.

AMHERST.
Samuel Fielding.

LOWELL.
Giles Pease, Aaron H. Safford.
William Twining, ——

CAMBRIDGE.
Dexter Fairbanks, Charles Follen.
Sidney Willard, Henry Ware, Jr.
Jonathan Aldrich, Francis J. Higginson.
Henry M. Chamberlain.

NEWTON.
George Waters, William G. Crocker.
Charles H. Peabody, Ebene Crabbe.

WALTON.
Sewall Harding, George A. Williams.
James D. White, Samuel G. Bemis.

READING.
Calvin Temple, Ambrose Kingman.
Horse P. Wakefield, Sumner W. Parker.
Jonas Parker, Enoch Peabody.
Aaron Pickett, James Nichols.

WILLIAM WAKEFIELD, JR.
**Members of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.**

**SOUTH READING.**
- Martin Stowell, Jacob Ide.
- Moses Sweetser, jr., Albert G. Sweetser, Medway.
- Harrison Pratt, Samuel Philbrick.

**DORCHESTER.**
- D. Sanford, A. Gray, Amherst.
- John P. Clapp, Richard Clapp, H. Morse.

**WRENTHAM.**
- William Harlow, T.Hervey, E. Pritchett.
- Moses Thatcher, S. Leach, William G. Howard.

**NORTH WRENTHAM.**
- Oliver Holden, Daniel Thomas.

**CHARLESTOWN.**
- Samuel Stratton, Silas Kenney.
- John P. Foster, George Trask.
- David Fish, Artemus Dryden, Elbridge G. Howe.

**HOLLAND.**
- Jonathan E. Forbes, Silas Ripley.
- Charles Simmons, Edward Seagrave.

**WEST HOLLAND.**
- Effingham L. Capron, Silas Robinson.
- Ephraim Bassett, Merrimack.

**MIDDLETOWN.**
- John M. S. Perry, Edward Seagrave.
- David Wilson, Edward Seagrave.

**NOBOST.**
- Isaiah Cragin, Edward C. Mason.
- Ames Farnsworth, Henry E. Benson.

**BOSTON.**
- Asaph Rice, George W. Benson.
- Joseph Allen, Hosea Smith.

**SOUTH WINDSOR.**
- William H. Eddy, Benjamin W. Trask.
- Edward C. Mason, William P. Henry.

**BOSTON.**
- David T. Kimball, Joseph Healy.
- La Roy Sunderland, Rufus Bliss.

**BOSTON.**
- Elam Smalley, Anson Potter.
- Otis Converse, Henry E. Benson.

**ACTON.**
- James D. Woodbury, George W. Benson.
- Moses Gill Grosvenor, Hosea Smith.

**BARRE.**
- Erastus Andrews, Thomas W. Trask.
- Dudley, George W. Benson.

**DUDLEY.**
- Abiel Fisher, George W. Benson.
- MANTUCKET. New-Haven.

**SHARON.**
- Edward J. Pompey, Alanson Saunders.
- Jonathan Curtiss, New-Haven.

**NATICK.**
- Edward Palmer, Charles Grew.

**WEST BOYLSTON.**
- Otis Thompson, New-York City.

**SHARON.**
- Luther Wright, Ohio.
- New-Haven.

**MANSFIELD.**
- David Brigham, Ohio.

**HARTFORD.**

**NEW YORK.**
- Elijah Backwith, New York.

**KENTUCKY.**
- James A. Thome.

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**Note.** A very large proportion of the above persons were delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in various parts of New-England. It will be seen that every State in New-England was represented, except Vermont; that State, however, is second to none for zeal and interest in the anti-slavery cause.
Minutes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.

SPEECHES.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 28.
MR. STUART'S SPEECH.

Mr. Charles Stuart of England, addressed the audience. What, said he, is the cause that brings us here this evening, my friends? It is the cause of freedom in a land of boasted freedom—it is the cause of the colored man, for he is oppressed, and wherever man is oppressed, there the Scriptures teach us is our neighbor—it is the cause of the white man, for he is the criminal, and we are taught to care for those who are criminal as we would ourselves be cared for—it is the cause of liberty, of truth, of benevolence, of mercy, of justice, the cause of the great God himself.

But before I proceed to present some few reasons why this cause should engage the attention of every philanthropist and christian, permit me to say a few words, in giving my testimony to correct two errors which I find have been widely circulated in this country. One is that the blessed Wilberforce; once blessed on earth, as all are who love the Lord, now blessed in heaven as all shall be whom the Lord loveth; had signed the protest against the Colonization plan, while laboring under the debility of sickness, and not in the full possession of his judgment. I have heard this story since I left England, and I now wish to give it a denial, and proclaim it a falsehood. No, it was upon full, candid and prayerful investigation that he put his name to that document, in the full possession of his holy mind, before the brief sickness that terminated his life had seized him, and it rejoiced his spirit, when about to depart to receive its reward, that this was one of the last acts of his life to leave his testimony against a system adapted to strengthen unjust prejudices, and rivet the chains of slavery.

Another misrepresentation I wish to correct is in reference to the visit of Mr. Garrison to England. It has been stated that while in England he traduced his country. It is not true, dear friends. I lived with him a month in London. I do not believe him a hypocrite, and if he were, I had every possible opportunity of knowing his real sentiments, and if ever I knew a pure minded man, ardently devoted to a pure cause, that man is William Lloyd Garrison. He never slandered his country in private or public. I wish to give this denial, from personal observation.

I will now offer as a resolution the following:

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is the only right and efficient remedy for slavery.

What is slavery? By slavery we mean the bondage of persons innocent of any crime by which they can have forfeited their right to that liberty which God has given to every man who cometh into the world. It is the bondage of the innocent. It is such slavery as exists in one half of this glorious empire. It is a state in which those under it have no legal protection for their person, their property, or even for the chastity of their wives and daughters. Nay, more, they have no right to cultivate their immortal minds. This is the condition in which one sixth part of the innocent population of this great and free empire are placed by its laws.

Yes, Mr. President, one in every six of the people of this free Republic are slaves. They have no sufficient protection for their lives because they may be taken with impunity, or at most for the penalty of a fine. They have no right to acquire property for themselves, and can call nothing their own. They have no right to receive instruction, nor has any one the right to preach to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

But these slaves are so well off, say those who justify or excuse slavery; is it not a blessing for them to have been brought from their barbarous country to a land of light and liberty, where they are made so comfortable? As if we had a right to steal men and deprive them of liberty, in order to make them happy against their will. I will answer this as the clergyman did, in the North of Ireland. I will suppose, he said, that Nicholas, the emperor of Russia, should die, and the throne be left vacant. I will suppose that the nobles of that great empire had heard of me, a poor minister in the north of Ireland, and had sent a delegation to summon me to the vacant throne. Still, I should prefer my own coarse fare, my little parish, my homely fireside, my relations and friends, here in this obscure place, to all the pomp of the throne of Russia; must I be torn forcibly from them, because those who carry me
Speech of Mr. Stuart.

away insist that I should be happier as an emperor, than as I am? Would it be any compensation to me for the loss of liberty and all I loved, to give me a throne? This is the answer of the slave, when you attempt to justify the robbery of his freedom, because he may be, in your opinion, better off, than if he had not been stolen.

The remedy we propose for this great evil of slavery, is immediate emancipation, by which is meant the immediate substitution of right law for wrong law, of equitable law for unequitable law; in short, emancipation without expatriation. Who, in a land of freedom, can take pleasure in a law which authorizes one class of men to be as cruel and as selfish as they please, to another class equal before God, and alike entitled to their unalienable right of freedom, and yet without protection, from law?

The friends of anti-slavery seek to deliver these innocent people from tyranny and despotism, and restore them to liberty. Liberty! What man, woman or child is there here, who would not sooner lay down their life than lose their liberty by an unjust law? And shall we not do unto others who are in bondage, as we would they should do unto us, were we in their case, and they in ours? Immediate emancipation is the right remedy, because it is right that the slave should go free; every other measure, is merely preparing to do right, while we are still continuing to do wrong. Will you ever accomplish any good purpose in this way? You may prepare, and continue preparing, but so long as you do nothing but prepare, you continue to do wrong. The question is a simple one. Slavery is wrong. He who continues to hold his fellow man in bondage, or countenances others in so doing, does wrong or upholds wrong. The only right thing is that the slave should have his freedom. The slaveholder may say he is preparing to do right, but that is not doing right. The drunkard may be preparing to do right, and yet continue to resort to the intoxicating bowl. The robber may be preparing to do right, and still persist in his lawless depredations. There is no right so long as the wrong is practised. Half of right is not right. If I restore one half of what I have dishonestly taken from my neighbor, do I do right? If I wait to repair the wrong I have done, until I can do so without injury to myself, is that doing right? We owe to the slave his liberty, of which he has been unjustly deprived. Emancipation can alone pay the debt. We cannot stop short of our whole duty, for man has no license to stop short of that point.

Let us make the case of the slave our own, and bring it home to the community in which you live. Suppose a respected and beloved family in the city of Boston, should be kidnapped, and carried into slavery, a calamity which, thank God, cannot happen in this community of laws and good order; and yet white men have been stolen and carried into bondage, as well as colored men. Not long ago, travelling in the South part of Ireland, I was shown the ruins of a castle on the sea, where, in former years, a band of Algerine Corsairs had landed, had made prisoners or put to death every soul, and carried off three hundred people as slaves. Suppose that a similar outrage should happen here, and a father, a mother and their children should be kidnapped. What would satisfy you? Would any thing satisfy you short of the restoration of the whole to their freedom? Would the return of the father, while the wife and children were left in bondage, be a reparation of the wrong? Would the restoration of both the parents, while the children were retained, be all that you would ask? Would you be content to have one left behind? No, nothing would be sufficient to repair the wrong, but bringing back father, mother, children, all.

Take the case of a slavemaster, and let us see if he is satisfied with any thing short of his whole right. He has a legal right to oppress his fellow men, and a heart to avail himself of this legal right. He has lost a slave, who has fled from bondage to a free state. The law allows him to reclaim the slave. Will he be satisfied with any thing short of the whole slave, or the whole of his value? He insists on immediate restoration, and though years may pass away, before he discovers the slave he has lost, still he claims him as his property.

A slave made his escape from a southern state, eight or nine years ago, and got to Philadelphia. This was no crime in the slave. It was right for him to have his freedom, and the law cannot make a right action wrong. The slave was guilty of no crime.
in taking what he had been robbed of, his liberty. He got employment in Philadelphia, was industrious and prosperous;—married, and was rearing a little family in love. A few months ago, the man who claimed him as his slave discovered him, and urged his claim, and it was allowed by the law. The owner of the slave was offered three hundred dollars if he would let him remain in freedom. Was this sufficient? Did it satisfy him? No. He said, 'I would not take a thousand dollars for him. I must carry him back to my plantation; I must punish him, in the sight of all my slaves, to strike terror into their minds, and teach them, that though they may go clear for years, they will finally be brought back and made to suffer, if they run away from their master. When I have punished him enough, then if you will come and offer me a thousand dollars, perhaps I will take it.'

Now if the slavemaster, under all these claims to his mercy and generosity, would not abate a jot of his price for his slave, shall the friends of emancipation—shall the injured slave himself, be satisfied with any thing short of a full restitution of all his rights to the slave? Shall we deem any thing sufficient but this? Yes, my friends, the slavemaster teaches us our duty. He insists upon all his rights, even to the tearing of the husband and father from the wife and children; and has not the unhappy slave a prior right, a higher and a holier right—the unalienable right of liberty?

I will not pursue this subject. I might draw a picture of this one instance of the effects of slavery that would make the heart weep, but I forbear, and will content myself with offering the resolution,—[which was then adopted.]

SPEECH OF REV. S. L. POMROY.

Mr. President,—The ground of the principles of anti-slavery are, that it is the duty of all men, every where, to do right. There is a right, and there is a wrong, in every act requiring moral agency. On which side are you, is the question—are you right or are you wrong? Now, as friends of emancipation, we say that if any one is doing wrong, he should leave off doing wrong; not next year, or next week, when he has done more wrong, but now, at this moment, before he can do any more wrong. Slavery is wrong. It never can be right. The longer it is persisted in the greater will the wrong accumulate. This is our principle—cease to do wrong! We proclaim it in peace and love. We want to emblazon it on the heavens, to blow it through a trumpet,—let the oppressed go free, until every ear is made to hear, and every heart to feel and believe—and as soon as men are convinced it must be done, we shall have no trouble about the means—there will be a way to effect it. It is in this belief, that our starting principle is placed on a foundation which cannot be moved, that I offer as a Resolution.

Resolved, That no valid objection can be urged against the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Ours is the golden rule, do unto others as you would that others should do unto you. Who, then, if he were a slave, would not wish to be free? Would you ask for colonization or for immediate emancipation? Every moment you keep the slave in bondage, you violate the law of love, and yet we are told, that if we knock off the fetters of the slave and let him go free, it would be very cruel to him indeed, and we ought to keep him in slavery some hundred years longer, until we can civilize Africa, and prepare a place to send him there, where he will trouble nobody but people of his own color! Is this the law of love? Is this the way you would wish to be done by, if you were slaves in a foreign land, or in the land where you were born?

This is the right test to settle this question by.—Come down at once to the condition of the slave, and make it your own. How long would a free man like to live in slavery? Suppose we were all slaves, assembled here to discuss our right to be free, how long should we propose to have the process go on, of making us freemen? Would we wait till our children or grand children should take our places? No. There would be but one voice, and that voice would be, immediate emancipation!

But it is said that we cannot elevate the people of color here, and we must send them to Africa, in order to elevate them; though they never can be elevated much anywhere, because their skins are so much darker than ours. And who are we, the pale faces, but a small portion of mankind, a new race, com-