

would justify them in saying, 'Slaveholders shall not be admitted.' (Loud cheers.) I am a great lover of music, but I never heard any music half so sweet to my ears as the voice of our president last night, at another meeting—the Temperance meeting at Exeter hall—where a motion was made to the following effect:—'That this meeting learns with pleasure the determination of the National Temperance Society to hold a world's convention in August next.' On that resolution, our worthy president said that the £50 he was to give to that society would be withheld if they admitted slaveholders to that convention. (Loud cheers.) The fact is out; it has gone careering across the Atlantic, and it will fall amidst slaveholders like a bomb-shell. I have to say to those who have spoken on the subject, that they have not only my gratitude, but the gratitude of the millions ready to perish. But I have to say to you further, although you have done much, there is much more to be done. If you have whispered truth, whisper no longer: speak as the tempest does—sterner and stronger. Let your voices be heard through the press, through the pulpit, in all directions. Let the atmosphere of Britain be such that a slaveholder may not be able to breathe it. Let him feel his lungs oppressed the moment he steps on British soil. (Loud cheers.) Why should the slaveholder breathe British atmosphere, when it is such as it is? (Hear, hear.) I had heard of Britain long before I got out of slavery. I had not heard of it in the eloquent strains and eloquent language of Curran; but I had heard of the great truth embodied in that eloquent sentence which proclaims that the moment a slave sets his foot on British soil, his body swells above the measure of his chains—they burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation. (Loud cheers.) One word about the Free Church of Scotland. (Cheers.) The facts ought to be stated. The Free Church of Scotland—do you know what church that is? I have been talking to a people who do not need any explanation on the subject; for I have been in Scotland recently. About two years ago, the Free Church of Scotland sent a deputation to the United States, composed of the Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Mr. Chalmers of this city, Mr. Lewis of Dundee, Mr. McNaughten of Paisley, and Mr. Burridge, for the purpose of explaining the disruption that occurred in Scotland to the people of America, and soliciting pecuniary aid to enable the Free Church to build churches, and to pay their ministers. On reaching the United States, the deputation were very early addressed by the Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, beseeching them in the most Christian and most powerful manner not to go into the slave States and solicit aid from slaveholders, not to take the price of blood to build free churches and pay free church ministers in Scotland. (Hear, hear.) The deputation did not heed this advice; they went at the invitation of a slaveholder, Dr. Smythe, into the slave States. They were admitted into the pulpits of slaveholders; they were welcomed to the houses of slaveholders; they enjoyed all the hospitalities and attentions that the slaveholders were capable of showering upon them; and they took the slaveholders' money, or rather the money of which the slaveholders had robbed the slaves. (Hear, hear.) They have returned to Scotland, and have deliberately attempted, and persevered in their attempts, to show that slavery in itself is not inconsistent with Christian fellowship. (Cries of 'Shame,' and hisses.) I hear a hiss—('Not at you')—I am not used to being hissed in Scotland on this proposition, (laughter,) and they do not like me to state the thing in my own language. They have undertaken to show that neither Christ nor his Apostles had any objection to slaveholders being admitted to church fellowship. They have attempted to show that the apostle Paul, in sending Onesimus back to Philemon, sanctioned the relation of master and slave. (Hear, hear.) Their arguments on this question are vain, being quoted in the United States by the slaveholding, pro-slavery papers against the abolitionists, and against those who are separating from the slaveholder. (Hear, hear.) Now I have to bring charges against that deputation. I charge them, in the first place, with having struck hands in Christian fellowship with men-stealers. (Cheers.) I charge them, in the next place, with having taken the produce of human blood to build free churches, and to pay free church ministers in Scotland. I charge them with having done this knowingly, [cheers,] they having been met by a remonstrance against such conduct by the executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I have to charge them with going among men-stealers with a perfect knowledge that they were such. (Cheers.) I have to charge them with taking money that not only was stolen, but which they knew to be stolen. I have to charge them, moreover, with going into a country where they saw three millions of people deprived of every right, stripped of every privilege, driven like brutes from time into eternity in the dark, robbed of all that makes life dear, the marriage institution destroyed, men herded together like beasts, deprived of the privilege of learning to read the name of the God who made them; and yet that deputation did not utter a word of denunciation against the man-stealer, or a word of sympathy for these poor, outraged, long-neglected people. (Loud cries of 'Shame!') What I want the brethren of England to do is this: to tell the Free Church of Scotland that they have done wrong. (Immense cheers.) Christians of England! we want you to say to the Free Church of Scotland, the words you have just heard: 'Send back the money.' (Cheers.) They can never remonstrate against the slaveholder while they hold on to the money; therefore they should send it back. I want you to aid my friend, my eloquent friend, the slave's friend, Mr. Geo. Thompson, and myself expect, to leave early to-morrow for Scotland. We are going there with few of the wealthy, few of the influential to second our efforts. We believe that it is the duty of the Free Church of Scotland to send back the money. I believe it is in our power, under God, to induce a state of feeling in Scotland which will demand the sending back of that money. We now want your aid; we want you to raise your voices and your sympathies. Let us have your sympathy, that you may write 'send back the money'; that you may preach 'send back the money.' (Immense cheering.) I believe that the sending back that money to the United States will do more to unripen the fetters, to break the chains of the bondsmen, and to hasten the day of emancipation, than years of lecturing by the most eloquent abolitionists that are to be found. It would produce such an effect that it would send slavery staggering to the grave, as if struck out of existence by the voice of Heaven. The truth is, the slaveholders have now scarcely any where to lean. They leaned against the Northern States—the abolitionists have removed them. They used to lean a good deal on their religious fellowship in England. It was once said to a person, 'You come from Maryland: are you a slaveholder?' 'Yes.' 'Then you cannot come in.' (Cheers.) The Christian people of England are beginning to see the inconsistency of holding fellowship with these men, and are breaking loose from them. The United Secession Synod has declared unanimously, that it will no longer strike hands in Christian fellowship with the man-stealers in America. (Cheers.) The Relief Synod, whose meeting is now in session in Edinburgh, has come to the same unanimous conclusion. The Evangelical Alliance has said, through Dr. Caudlish, one of the Free Church leaders, that the slaveholders ought not to be invited. I tell you slavery cannot live with all these stabs. 'Send back the money—send back the money.' (Loud cheers.) If it is not inconsistent with this meeting, allow me to do what I have done

in Scotland. I want to have all the children writing about the streets, 'Send back the money.' I want to have all the people saying 'Send back the money'; and in order to establish the sentence in the minds of the audience, I propose that they give three cheers, not hurrahs, but say, 'Send back the money.' (The vast assembly spontaneously complied with Mr. Douglass's request. The effect produced is indescribable. Mr. Douglass then sat down amid reiterated rounds of applause.)

Dr. CAMPBELL then stood forward, and was received with loud cheers, on the subsidence of which he said—the money—the money—the money—will be sent back. (Cheers.) The people of England—of whom I look upon this meeting as a fair specimen, will demand that the money be sent back. (Cheers.) The people of England will have no fellowship with slaveholders. No small sum of the entire contributions raised by the Free Church, was contributed by the people of this country; and if the Evangelical Alliance reject the slaveholder—we reject the slaveholder's money. This money and ours shall not clink in the same box. (Loud cheers.) The Free Church, at this moment, is 'an object of interest to the civilized world. Dr. Chalmers' name is of itself a power, a tower of strength. Dr. Chalmers has said some of the best things against slavery that mortal man ever uttered; and Dr. Caudlish has done, if possible, even more than he. I read a speech yesterday morning; a speech worthy of Cicero or Demosthenes; a more glorious speech British type never put together, and the British press never gave to mankind; it was the speech of George Thompson in Glasgow. (Cheers.) I declare that when it was read to me, my hair stood on end. (Hear, hear.) He has done many noble things; his is a noble name in connexion with the anti-slavery movement; and now Frederick Douglass, the 'beast of burden,' the portion of 'goods and chattels,' the representative of three millions of men, has been raised up! Shall I say the man? (Cheers.) If there is a man on earth, he is a man. (Cheers.) My blood boiled within me when I heard his address to-night, and thought that he had left behind him three millions of such men. The Free Church made a noble struggle for what they called liberty, and they, of all mankind, ought to be the last to patronize slavery. The Free Church will not do it; they do not mean to do it; but they have got into a false position, and would give a world, if they had one, to see a fair way to get out of it. The Free Church ministers are a body of noble men, and the Free Church people are every way worthy of their ministry. The sum in itself is a trifle. I believe they have received, after all, only just enough to pollute the glorious stream which, from honorable sources, has been poured into their treasury. To what does it amount? To the paltry sum of £3,000 out of an amount somewhere about £750,000 or £760,000. (Hear, hear.) Will they be losers by parting with this £3,000? If they could only just succeed in a manly effort to eat their own unwise words, to shift their position, they might soon extricate themselves. They will, they must give it up. (Cheers.) Your have given three cheers for the surrender of the money. In one of the Scotch papers, this man (Douglass,) this mighty man, is represented as going to the foot of Arthur's Seat with a spade, and two fair Quakeresses as his companions, where he began to carve out with the spade, on the green grass, very beautifully, 'Send back the money.' (Laughter, and loud cheers.) The paper goes on to say, that he was apprised in the midst of his philanthropic work, that it was a felony, and that he would be at the tender mercies of a Mr. Baillie Gray. I do not think a man who has braved the fury of a slaveholder, would be likely to tremble at the name of Baillie Gray. (Cheers.) But the matter must not end thus. We must see more of this man (cheers,) we must have more of this man. One would have taken a voyage round the globe some 40 years back—especially since the introduction of steam—to have heard such an exposure of slavery from the lips of a slave. (Cheers.) It will be an era in the individual history of the present assembly. Our children—our boys and girls—I have to-night seen the delightful sympathy of their hearts evinced by their heaving breasts, while their eyes sparkled with wonder and admiration, that this black man—this slave, had so much logic—so much wit—so much fancy—so much eloquence. He was something more than a man, according to their little notions. (Cheers.) Then, I say, we must hear him again. We have got a purpose to accomplish. He has appealed to the pulpit of England. The English pulpit is with him. He has appealed to the press of England—the press of England is conducted by English hearts, and that press will do him justice. About ten days hence, and his second master, who may well prize 'such a piece of goods' (cheers,) will have the pleasure of reading his burning words, and his first master will bless himself that he has got quit of him. (Laughter and cheers.) We have to create public opinion, or rather, not to create it, for it is created already (cheers); but we have to foster it: and when to-night I heard those magnificent words—the words of Curran, by which my heart, from boyhood, has oft-times been deeply moved—I rejoice to think that they embody an instinct of an Englishman's nature. I heard with inexpressible delight, how they told on this mighty mass of the citizens of the metropolis. (Cheers.) Britain has now no slaves; we can, therefore, talk to other nations now as we could not have talked a dozen years ago. (Hear, hear.) I want the whole of the London ministry to meet Douglass. (Cheers.) For as his appeal is to England, and throughout England, I should rejoice in the idea of Churchmen and Dissenters merging all sectional distinctions in this cause. Let us have a public breakfast. (Cheers.) Let the ministers meet him; let them hear him; let them grasp his hand; and let him enlist their sympathies on behalf of the slave. (Cheers.) Let him inspire them with abhorrence of the man-stealer—the slaveholder! No slaveholding American shall ever cross my door. (Loud cheers.) No slaveholding or slavery-supporting minister shall ever pollute my pulpit. (Renewed cheers.) While I have a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, I will, to the utmost of my power, oppose these slaveholding men. (Cheers.) We must have Douglass amongst us to aid in fostering public opinion. The great conflict with slavery must now take place in America: and while they are adding other slave States to the Union, our business is to step forward and help the abolitionists there. (Cheers.) It is a pleasing circumstance that such a body of men has risen in America, and whilst we hurl our thunders against her slavers, let us make a distinction between those who advocate slavery and those who oppose it. (Hear, hear.) George Thompson has been there. (Cheers.) This man, Frederick Douglass, has been there, and has been compelled to flee. (Cheers.) I wish, when I first set foot on our shores, he had made a solemn vow, and said—'Now that I am free, and in the sanctuary of freedom, I will never return till I have seen the emancipation of my country completed.' [Cheers.] He wants to surround these men, the slaveholders, as by a wall of fire; and he himself may do much towards kindling it. Let him travel over the island, east, west, north, and south, everywhere diffus 2 knowledge and awakening principle, till the whole nation become a body of petitioners to America. [Cheers.] He will, he must do it. He must for a season make England his home. He must send for his wife. [Immense cheers.] He must send for his children. [Renewed cheers.] I want to see the sons and daughters of such a sire. [Loud cheers.] We, too, must do something for him and them, worthy of the English name. [Cheers.] I do not like the idea of a man of such mental dimensions, such moral courage, and all but incomparable talent, having his own small wants, and the wants of a dis-

tant wife and children, supplied by the poor profits of his publication, the sketch of his life. Let the pamphlet be bought by tens of thousands. But we will do something more for him, shall we not? [Loud cries of 'Yes, yes!'] I know you will. [Cheers.] He is going to Scotland, and George Thompson is going with him. [Cheers.] George Thompson's name in Scotland is mighty. [Hear, hear.] I am continually in the receipt of papers from Scotland, and I find that there is a preparation going on there for a glorious struggle. The Free Church is now met; and these men are on their way with the tongue of truth, and the torch of eloquence. [Cheers.] The Old Church, and the Bond Church, over which the Free Church obtained such a triumph, are Thompsonites to a man, and they join in the cry, 'Send back the money.' [Cheers.] The 'Residual Church,' the 'Bondsman,' the 'Erastians,' that it was said would 'do anything for bread and butter, have now had an opportunity afforded them for the recovery of their popularity, and they will not neglect it; and while they are doing their part admirably, the whole of the Dissenters are with George Thompson. [Cheers.] It only remains that we pass a resolution of thanks to Frederick Douglass, the slave that was, the man that is! He that was covered with chains, and that is now covered with glory, and whom we will send back a gentleman. [Cheers.] The resolution I have to move is this:—

'That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Frederick Douglass, the representative and advocate of three millions of American slaves, whose deplorable condition, both in law and in practice, whilst it reflects the deepest disgrace of the republican institutions and Christian professions of the United States, excites in the heart of every friend of humanity and freedom, the liveliest sympathy and commiseration. And further, that this meeting would encourage the noble band of abolitionists of every political party and religious denomination in the United States, to unite in one common, vigorous and persevering effort to promote the entire abolition of the system of slavery which unhappily prevails among them.

Such is the resolution I have the honor to move, and I esteem it one of the greatest felicities that has ever occurred to me in my public life. (Loud continued cheers.)

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said—I shall scarcely do more than express my cordial approval of the motion that has been made. I shall, however, venture to say that I entirely agree in the sentiment expressed by Joseph Sturge yesterday, that as a friend of the Temperance Society, I can have nothing to do with any conference to which a slaveholder shall be admitted. (Cheers.) I will give 50L towards that convention, but I will not sit with slaveholders and men-stealers. [Cheers.] The evils of slavery have been exposed so fully by the eloquent slave you have heard, that it would be vain to attempt to urge the subject further upon you. I will, however, recall one or two facts to your attention, to which he has not adverted, and which appear of considerable interest and importance. He has not alluded to the fact, that not merely is the slave liable to lose his life for attempting to escape, but the white man for assisting him in it is also liable to death. An individual was sentenced by a person making a high profession of religion for this alleged crime, and it was only by the sympathy expressed in resolutions sent from this country to America that that sentence was not executed. [Hear, hear.] I would also recall to your attention, that there is now suffering in the goal at Baltimore, a man who held the office of minister, and is dying in that goal for assisting slaves to escape. There are, however, many circumstances of a cheering character with regard to abolition in America, and I agree with Joseph Sturge that we may look to that land with some degree of hope. Within the last year or two, the Gag Bill—by which petitions in Columbia on behalf of the slaves were not admitted to be heard—has been repealed, and the majority in favor of their reception, it is expected, would be larger this year than in the former. The fact that slavery exists in Columbia is a proof that the whole of the United States are implicated in that system, because the Federal Government has power over it, and yet the slave market exists in the very capital of America. Not only is this the case, but in the capital not merely are the slaves forbidden to be taught to read, but even the free people of color. This has been stated by one of the deputation of the Free Church that went to America. The same member also states that it was his lot, on more than one occasion, to travel with slaves who were being taken to the far south, and were, in all human probability, separated for ever from their wives and children. [Hear, hear.] I entirely agree with what has been said about the better feeling in the religious bodies of America; and it is also a cheering circumstance that anti-slavery newspapers are published not only in the northern but in two of the southern states, and one of these by a person who a few years ago was the holder of a considerable number of slaves, Cassius M. Chy. [Cheers.] As in times past, the people of England have proved themselves so interested in this cause, so I trust we shall show the Americans that until the system be terminated, the same ardent zeal for the abolition of slavery will continue to be manifested. [Cheers.]

The resolution was then put, and carried by loud acclamation.

J. T. PRICE, Esq., said—It would be desirable that such a meeting as this, after the information it has received from that talented slave, should express its opinion that the Free Church of Scotland, in order to have a fair claim to the title it has taken, should disentangle itself from the money it has received. It appears to me that this meeting is likely to act as an engine, and make them throw it up. [Laughter.] I have to move, 'That in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty of the Free Church of Scotland to send back the money they have received from the American slaveholders, in order to bear their upright and Christian testimony against the crime of American slavery.' As a member of the Society of Friends, it is almost unnecessary for me to say, that I do conscientiously hold the necessity of Christian churches being free; the Gospel ought to be free, and by that means the blessing of the great Head of the church would descend upon them. [Cheers.]

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., briefly seconded the resolution, which was put and carried amid long-continued cheers.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., being loudly called for, then rose and said—I did not anticipate so very satisfactory a termination, as I suppose I may regard this resolution to be, of the proceedings of to-night. I expected—what all who knew my friend Frederick Douglass expected, when attending a lecture delivered by him—a very high intellectual treat; but I did not expect there would emanate from this meeting, the resolution which you have so unanimously and so enthusiastically adopted. You have done well; you have done a good part in this vast meeting, by thus bearing your testimony against the error committed by the Free Church of Scotland, in receiving contributions from the slave States of America. A word on behalf of the people in connexion with that church. The facts of the case are these—The money being received by the deputation, brought home by them, and appointed by those who have the management of the affairs of the Free Church, there does exist in the minds of the deputation, and their intimate friends in the Free Church, a very strong disinclination to send the money back. They had committed themselves before the agitation of the question in Scotland to any great extent. When it was spoken of in the newspapers, a defence was set up of the course the

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN LONDON—ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION.

A large and most enthusiastic meeting was held in Finshbury Chapel, London, in May last, with special reference to Frederick Douglass, the Free Church of Scotland, and American Slavery. The proceedings, which were of a deeply thrilling character, occupy several columns of the London Universe of June 2, in small type. We regret that we cannot publish them entire, owing to the crowded state of our columns. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, presided on the occasion. Frederick Douglass, on taking the platform, was received with unbounded applause. He made a long and energetic speech, of which the following is the concluding portion:—

What would I have you to do? I would have the church, in the first place—Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, all persuasions—to declare, in their convention, association, synod, conference, or whatever be their ecclesiastical meeting, no Christian fellowship with slaveholders. (Loud cheers.) I want the slaveholder surrounded, as by a wall of anti-slavery fire, so that he may see the condemnation of himself and his system glaring down in letters of light. I want him to feel that he has no sympathy in England, Scotland, or Ireland, that he has none in Canada, none in Mexico, none among the poor wild Indians; that the voice of the civilized world is against him. (Cheers.) I would have condemnation blaze down upon him in every direction, till, stunned, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he is compelled to let go the grasp he holds upon the persons of his victims, and restore them to their long lost rights. (Loud cheers.) Here, then, is work for us all to do. Let me say to the churches that have spoken on the subject, I thank you with my whole heart. I thank the Evangelical Alliance, though I would rather they had taken stronger ground, and not only have said, 'Slaveholders shall not be invited,' but I think the case

deputation had pursued, and it became necessary as the opposition grew stronger, to utter this defence over and over again, till, unhappily, some of the most distinguished and illustrious men connected with that church were so deeply committed by the reiterated expression of their opinion, that I do not know that a more hopeless task could be imposed upon any individuals in the world than was imposed upon them to recant their opinions, and record the return of the money. The people of the Free Church are with you. I have received during the last month, multitudes of letters addressed to me by members of the Free Church of Scotland, stating that they are ready to make up the money over and over again. They are remonstrating with their ministers, and they are leaving their churches. (Cheers.) I was told that last Sunday week, 250 members of the congregation of Dr. Chalmers, perhaps the most popular man after Dr. Chalmers, vacated their seats in the Free Church, and left their empty pews to bear testimony against the conduct of the deputation. (Cheers.) The majority of the ministers of that church are with us; and I do believe that if Dr. Chalmers were to rise in the assembly of the Free Church, and propose the sending back the money, with tears of joy in the court below and in the gallery above, they would unanimously bless him for his act, and rejoice that the church was restored to the character she enjoyed ere that money was brought to their treasury. (Hear, hear.) But still I have seen no indication of any disposition on the part of these leading ministers to give way. They have argued upon the question, written upon it most subtly, and Dr. Chalmers, in a deliverance he prepared for the assembly, endeavored to argue that there is a distinction between the system and the men, and while he has denounced the system, he has preserved the men; I do not see how, without a frank acknowledgment of error, they can undo what they have done. (Hear, hear.) But they must return the money, or withdraw it from the church. (Cheers.) People come to us literally weeping over the error that had been committed by the deputation. They are singing in the streets of Scotland, 'Send back the money.' (Cheers.) They are writing on the walls of the Free Churches, 'Send back the money.' (Cheers.) And when a gentleman with a black and white neckerchief passes through the streets, a little child whispers, 'Send back the money.' (Loud cheers.) The money must go back, or it will take place to which I referred. There has been one wish expressed by Dr. Campbell, which I desire most earnestly to remember. I know that Dr. Campbell touched a tender chord when he referred to the fact of his separation from his wife and children. It was only the night before last that he expressed to me, and he knew not that I should mention it, his deep uneasiness, his restlessness, his inability to enjoy the kindness he everywhere experiences, while separated from those who to him are all the world; and his determination to pack up and be off, and endeavor, by some means or other, to return with them that he might, in freedom and happiness, have about him in this country those whom he loves. He has not got rich by making speeches; but this I know, and I say it to his credit, he has pursued a most independent course in this country. (Cheers.) He has shown anything but a desire to turn his great abilities for the advocacy of this cause to his own account. (Hear, hear.) He is willing to spend and to be spent, and I do trust that we shall be of opinion that he shall not be permitted to live alone in this land; and indeed, I do not know that his children are safe. You know the application of these remarks.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq. here rose, and announced a donation of 5*l.* towards sending for Mrs. Douglass and her children; which was followed by loud cheers.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. resumed—If he goes and fetches them, perhaps he will take the money back with him. (Laughter, and loud cheers.) I have witnessed many crowded meetings in Edinburgh, on the subject to which we have been alluding, but none so enthusiastic as this. I believe that all things are prepared to bring a mighty influence to bear on the assembly of the Free Church which will be held during the ensuing week. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN rose and said—It is a delicate question to our friend, but I thought it right, when George Thompson was speaking, to ascertain his feelings about it, as to whether he should go for his family, or they should be sent for at once. I find that he would prefer the latter. My friend G. W. Alexander and myself will have great pleasure in giving 20*l.* each towards defraying their expenses. (Loud cheers.)

Several other donations were then announced; and it was stated that special subscriptions for this object would be received by Mr. Alexander, in Lombard-street, and at the Anti-Slavery office.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. said that the course which had just been pursued would not only have the effect of making their friend happy in the society of those whom he loved, but they could scarcely furnish stronger demonstration of their efforts on behalf of the slave, than by making this kingdom the asylum of this man and his family by subscribing the means of bringing them amongst them.

The meeting then separated.