

THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECHES OF HENRY C. WRIGHT--FREDERICK DOUGLASS--JAMES N. BURNES--GEORGE THOMPSON.

From the Glasgow Argus, of April 27.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS' MONEY, AND A FEW MORE. A public meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was held in the City Hall on Tuesday evening, the 21st inst., for the purpose of passing a memorial to the General Assembly of the Free Church, imploring them to renounce their connection with American slaveholders, and to send back the money.

The Chairman, after expressing the high gratification which he felt at seeing so large an assemblage met for so important a purpose, and the pleasure which it afforded him to be called upon to preside on such an interesting occasion, then introduced Mr. HENRY C. WRIGHT of America, who was received with applause, and proceeded to say--

Mr. Chairman, I am happy once more to be permitted to address an assembly, over whose deliberations you are called to preside. Trained in the school of popular, peaceful agitation, you have long stood firm to the great principles of human freedom. When many have become faint of heart and pliant in disposition, even to the sacrifice of truth, you have for near half a century been the unfaltering advocate of the poor man's right, and the friend of the oppressed, wherever the tyrant's frown and the slaveholder's lash and chain have been seen and felt.

Mr. WRIGHT continued to speak, discussing the moral and religious sentiment of her people, and the decision of the people of Scotland, of all denominations, is being registered upon their doings in reference to American slave-traders. Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Aberdeen, Hawick, Galashiels, Berwick, Coldstream, Kelso, Melrose, Paisley, Kilmarlock, Greenock, Ayr, and many other of the towns and villages of Scotland, have been responsive to the remonstrance of the American slave agents against the Free Church alliance with their kidnappers.

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pay 'Free' ministers in Scotland. That delegation was composed of the Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. Mr. Lewis, Rev. Wm. Chalmers, and others. On their arrival in America, and the commencement of their efforts, they were met by a remonstrance from abolitionists, from which the following are extracts:--'It is with astonishment and grief that we have learned that you have commenced a tour through the slave States of this Union, with a view to solicit funds, as well of slaveholders as of other persons: Doubtless, you will be warmly greeted, especially by that portion of the people who hold their fellow-men and fellow-Christians in bondage. Will you now, as you are witnesses of that iniquity that filled you with deep disgust at a distance, make common cause with that religion, and clasp hands with its defenders, and accept their blood-stained offering? The fiend can well afford to pay you tens of thousands, for the name of his God, to purchase the silence of the successors of John Knox and Andrew Thomson, if he can number them among his allies, he may well think his victory complete. If you obtain the slaveholders' money, and if the Free Church accept it, it is certain that you will look with more tolerance than you would otherwise have done on the great iniquity of slavery; the lips of your Church will be sealed, and an alliance of sympathy and interests will be established between the Free Church and the slaveocracy of this Union. That tolerance, that sympathy, that alliance, will be the beginning of mischief. Who but God can trace its course and close? Sir, this covenant with man-stealers has done mischief to the heart-stricken slave--to his God-defying oppressor, to those who formed it--to the Free Assembly--to the Free Church, and to all Scotland. It has, in effect, put into the hands of Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, and of the Free Church over which they preside, the slave-driver's lash and fetter, and they are now using them, in conjunction with their allies, the slave-drivers and slave-breeders of America, upon the backs and limbs of the American slaves. It has worked mischief, by leading these said Doctors of Divinity to offer apologies for men 'guilty of the highest kind of theft, whom God classes with murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers,' which, if allowed to be valid, would entitle adulterers, pick-pockets and highway-robbers to be regarded as 'harmless' and 'evangelical' Christians, and serving God in the gospel of His Son,' as Dr. Cunningham says of slaveholders. The doctrine of 'circumstances' is brought forward by a Chalmers, a Cunningham, a Candlish, and a McFarlan, to justify them in according the name and honor of Christian to men 'polluted with every crime, leprous with sin.'

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entreaties of the abolitionists; and to do this, they adopted the puerile and barefaced expediency of a distinction without a difference between 'slaveholding' and 'holding men as property.' Their next great argument is, that they are no more to blame than merchants who deal in stolen goods, than slaveholders' cotton and sugar. But I look not at the money, but at the price paid for it: to get the money they gave the fellowship. Let them renounce the fellowship, and then go to the slave States and get all the money they can. My word for it, they would get no blood-stained dollars, but they would get blood-stained whips upon their bare backs, and blood-stained halts about their necks. The compact--the slave-driving and slave-breeding compact--let them annul this, and I ask no more. But, oh! exclaim the trio of Doctors, if we give up the fellowship, we must send back the money. In the name of all that is 'honest and of good report, and of Him who came to enthroned God in Heaven, and abolish slavery on earth, I say to them, send back the money.

Another favorite pillow for the consciences of the Free Church leaders is, slavery, as a system or institution, is a great sin, but not necessarily wrong in slaveholders. As it appears in an institution, slavery appears to Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, a fiend of darkness; but as it appears in the slaveholder, it is an angel of light. They hate and loathe it as they see it in the system; but as they see it in a Rev. Doctor of Divinity, in hand and gown, they love and admire it. As they see it in the bloody lash, they recoil from it with disgust; as they see it in the bloody cash, they cling to it as 'the one thing needful, and altogether lovely.' (Applause.) As they see it in the institution, they do not recoil from it, but they do recoil from the General Assembly--placed here in the criminal box, charge him with adultery, incest, blasphemy, theft, robbery and murder--to be consigned to prison and the galleys; but as they see him in the slaveholder's robes, they baptize, license, and ordain him, and receive him to their communion and pulpits. As slavery is seen in the institution, they say unto him 'Depart ye wicked into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels'; but as they see him in slaveholding Presbyterianism with pockets full of dollars, ready to be poured into their building fund, they say, 'Come ye blessed--enter into the kingdom prepared for you.' (Great and continued cheering.)

To the Free Church leaders I would say, with grief and plainness--In thus attempting to screen the slaveholder, and justify your compact with him, by taking the crimes and pollutions and horrors of slavery from his living, responsible perpetrators, and putting them upon an intangible nonentity--an irresponsible abstraction--you do but mock God, and heap up to yourselves and your church, wrath against the day of wrath, and of the righteous judgment of God--when He shall make bare His right arm, and unseal His sword, to right the wrongs of the American bondman. (Cheers.)

Then, again, you apologise for your aches, and seek to justify yourselves by representing slavery as a 'condition,' or 'predicament,' into which slaveholders 'are born,' 'happen to fall,' or 'are placed,' or 'unhappily find themselves.' Go, attend the Malacca for his polygamist, the thief for his theft, the drunkard for his drunkenness, the pirate for his piracy, or the cannibal for his cannibalism. The polygamist says, 'polygamy is a condition into which I was born'; the cannibal and pirate say, 'cannibalism and piracy are conditions into which we happened to be placed'; the drunkard says, 'as he lies in the gutter, I happened to fall into the condition of a drunkard'; the thief in his dungeon says, 'I find myself unhappily placed in the predicament of a thief.' (Great applause.) Would the Free Church leaders accept these apologies, and hasten to solicit a share of their gain, and to welcome them as Christians? They have extended their fellowship to men stained with nearly all these crimes. Why should they not to them? Helmsley--how tenderly they acted upon the Holy Scriptures, expended, as Dr. McFarlan says, by their delinquency. When slaveholders say of their delinquency, 'I was born to it,' when they rob them of their wives and children and of themselves--when they scourge, imprison, and hang them for teaching their children to read the gospel of Christ; this reverend trio of Free Church Doctors tell us they 'happen' to fall into these deeds--they did not do them themselves--they had no hand in them--they only 'find themselves' unhappily in the predicament of doing them. (Cheers.)

So might Judas say, when he sold his master for 30 pieces of silver, 'I did not do it--my will had no hand in it--it happened to fall into the net, and I was unhappily placed in it.' (Immensely cheering.) Would the Free Church accept it? No, it would not help him from being 'to his own place'; nor will it save the slaveholders from their own place--though ten thousand Doctors of Divinity should come to their rescue, by receiving them as Christians while they are impotent.

Doctor Cunningham went to America. Suppose one of these Presbyterian slave-traders had seized and sold him as a slave for a thousand pounds sterling, and sent the money to the Sustentation Fund. 'We are glad to get the dollars,' says the treasurer. 'Where did you get them?' 'I happened to seize and sell Doctor Cunningham, as a slave, and he, being a strong man and a Doctor to boot, brought a good price--(great applause)--and I, seeing your great need and desire for money, thought it would be a comfort to me, and acceptable to you, to give you a share of the proceeds.' (renewed applause.) 'Well,' says the treasurer, 'considering that you happened to do it, and only found yourself unhappily in the predicament of selling the Doctor, consider it right to take it, and receive it as a good thing.' (Immensely cheering.) Would the Free Church accept it? No, it would not build their churches and pay their ministers by the price of Doctor Cunningham, how dare they take the price of the heart-stricken slave? But, again, these leaders tell us the laws make slaveholders, and that they cannot help but hold slaves. But who make the laws? The very slaveholders whom they seek to screen. They steal men, women, and children, and then make laws to sanction the theft, and then Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish assure us that these laws are a sufficient vindication. The slaveholders make the laws, and the laws make the slaveholders! The Creator makes the creature, and then the creature makes the Creator. Here we have thieves and adulterers making laws to sanction their sins, and the Free Church leaders coming forward and pleading the existence of those laws in palliation of their own conduct in recognizing them as Christians to get a share of their gains. Perish every law that sanctions slaveholders! Burn them at the stake, as Luther did the Bull of the Pope.

wash-thieves and men stained with the blood of innocents, to justify your guilty compact with them, in order to share the fruits of their impety. (Cheers.) These 'Free leaders again talk of their regard for the 'honor,' the 'headship,' and 'crown rights' of our Redeemer, and tell us this led them out of the East. But did their concern for the 'crown rights' of the Redeemer lead them 4000 miles to form an alliance with slaveholders? They will find it no easy task to convince Free Church people and others, that this high and noble motive ever led to such an alliance. All will feel that the slaveholders' dollars had more influence with them than regard for the 'crown rights' of the Redeemer, unless they send back that money! 'Have we separated ourselves from our Moderate brethren to form an alliance with man-stealers?' exclaims the Rev. Henry Grey. 'To the members, elders, and ministers of the Free Church of Scotland I say, 'Cease your talk about your purity, the honor, glory, and crown-rights of the Redeemer, so long as you are in league with man-stealers, men polluted with incest and leprous with sin, and while you have the blood-stained dollars of your allies in your coffers; for while you continue this slaveholding fellowship, your hands must be said to yield the cowskin over the back, and clank the fetter around the limbs, of the slave.'

Again the Free Church leaders talk loudly of their persecutions. Go ask the Volunteers, who have been the real persecutors of Scotland? Who struggled to drive the Volunteers from house and home, and not leave them where to lay their heads? Who tried to wield the power of the State against them as 'infidels, Jacobins,' 'atheists,' and 'enemies to social order?' Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, the very men who led the 'Free Church' up, as they say, 'out of Egypt' to that Canaan of rest, the downy beds and soft cushions of American slaveholding. (Applause.) Who loudly denounce the persecutions and persecutions of the Volunteers? So eager was Cunningham to put them down, that he applauded and published to the world the very principle which he now condemns abolitionists, as 'fanatics, anarchists, and destitute of judgment, sense or sanity,' for embracing--i. e. that slaveholders should be instantly expelled from the Church. Why this change? Have slaveholders become more lovely in Dr. Cunningham's sight of late? He had a purpose to serve them, and he has one now. When slaveholders could be made to tell against Voluntarism, the Doctor affected to be horror-struck with their atrocities, and the idea of Christian fellowship with them. Now, when he would justify himself and colleagues in their alliance with slaveholders, and in sharing in spoils of their wealth, and share the worst of thieves' appear exceedingly pure and lovable. A slaveholder, as an argument against Voluntarism and republicanism, is the personification of all wickedness--as the donor of £3000 to the Free Church, he is 'a living epistle for Christ.' (Immensely applause.) Times change--so do men. Go ask the slaves, who are the persecutors in Scotland? They will point to Chalmers, Cunningham and Candlish, and say, 'you are the men--you, in conjunction with your allies--our oppressors--score our backs and fetter our limbs; you compel us to live in conebing; you crush our domestic affections; you tear from us our wives and children; you scourge, imprison, hunt us with blood-hounds and rifles, and bid them write up and publish in the newspapers, and read the words of eternal life. To exchange our ignorance for knowledge--our moral degradation for moral elevation--our slavery for liberty; you herd us with brutes, and seek to overcloud our souls with the night of moral death--to extinguish within us the desire of immortality, to assimilate our minds to our condition, and to rob us of our deathless inheritance.' (Great applause.) Such would be the reply of the slaves to the Free Church leaders when they talk about their persecutions. Let them send back the money, before they talk more of their persecutions. (Great laughter and applause.)

Again, they seek to ward off our arguments, and to allay excitement among them, by denouncing us as enemies of the Free Church. 'What have I done to show my enmity to the Free Church? I see her lending all her influence to associate the name of Christian with slaveholder, and receiving from them £3000 to give to the poor, as a reward for their writing up and publishing. In doing this, I believe they do wrong. I point out to them their sin, and urge them to repent, and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by sending back the money, and withdrawing from the alliance. Are these things true? They have not denied that they are. I say then to the Free Church, am I your enemy because I tell you the truth? The blasphemer says to the man who rebukes him, 'You are mine enemy.' The thief and robber say to the jury and the court, 'You are our enemies.' Is he who rebukes sin, the enemy of the sinner? If so, let the Free Church ministers give up their calling, for they are the enemies of mankind, if ever they rebuke sin. Then was Christ the greatest enemy of mankind, for he rebuked sin as he rebuked sin. No, the real enemy of the Free Church is he who cries to them; 'peace, peace,' in their guilty confederacy against God and man, which they have formed with slaveholders. Their best friends are those who say to them, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand, and they shall sweep away your refuge of lies, discover your hiding places, and stand upon your covenant with death.' (Applause.) Repent and flee from the wrath to come, for He is at the door of your Assembly--who is coming to bind up the wounds of those who have fallen among thieves. He is come with His sin in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge the floors of the Free Church Assembly and churches from the blood-spots of the slave, and he will gather his wheat into his garner, but he will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire. (Great sensation.)

The Free Church leaders have been unwearied in their endeavor to browbeat and dissuade us into silence, by affecting the efforts to unite, in bonds of loving union, Christ and slaveholders, and to hold up the latter as the living representatives of the former. Their efforts, with few exceptions, have proved abortive. Secession, Relief and Independent Chappels have been open to this question, and hundreds of local churches have adopted the principle of--No fellowship with slaveholders; and it is expected that the Relief and Secession Synods will give distinct utterance to this principle this spring. The Committee on Evangelical Alliance have adopted the rule, not to invite slaveholders to sit in the Convention in London, to be held in August, and to join the Alliance, then and there to be formed in Glasgow. The good sense of the people of Scotland cannot be silenced from expressions of sympathy for the slave by threats, by insolent words and looks, by logical or theological distinctions, nor by bland entreaties. The Dissenters as a body, will rebuke the oppressor, and all who may attempt to stand sponsor for his Christianity. (Great applause.) The spirit of slaveholding is one and the same, whether it speaks through Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham and Candlish, or through the Presbyterian kidnappers of America. It hates the light, and will not come to the light, lest its deeds be made manifest, but cries out against all who would cast it out. Why hasten they to come to torment us before we torment them? Away with him--crucify him, crucify him! (Great cheering.) So in effect say the Free Church leaders to all who rebuke them for this guilty league with slave-breeders.

Another argument by which the Free Church leaders seek to justify themselves and silence rebuke is, that the General Assembly has settled the question, and that the inferior courts, and individuals have no business to disturb a question which the Assembly has settled. They ask me, 'what right have you to seek to reverse the decisions of the General Assembly?' My answer is, whether it be right to obey God rather than man, judge ye. General Assembly, forsooth! I am not accustomed to yield unreasoning submission to human authority, and the General Assembly of the Free Church by their deliverance of last spring, on slavery, have asserted that their decisions are especially unworthy of respect or confidence. Go see their apologies for slaveholders! The wretched huckster in human flesh in Carolina would be entitled to confidence. He never would seek to justify himself by pretending that he happened to fall into the condition of slaveholding, or that the providence of God made him a slaveholder--or by a distinction without a difference between 'slaveholding' and 'holding men as property.' No man can have any respect for the decisions of a body, when that body decides that slaveholding and Christianity are consistent one with the other, and that slaveholders are Christians. When the Free Church Assembly sanctions an alliance with man-stealers, by making a distinction between 'slaveholding' and 'holding men as chattels,' as they did last spring, and they show themselves too weak or too wicked to be entitled to confidence. (Cheers.) Let us have no Popes--not even a Pope General Assembly! (Great applause.)

The Free Church leaders, again, seek to screen themselves by attempting to cast odium upon abolitionists. Suppose I am all they represent me to be--a stranger, 'a foreigner,' 'a wandering declaimer,' 'a fanatic,' 'an ultra radical,' 'an infidel,' 'a heathen,' a Jew, or Mahometan, or all these combined in one--and suppose the abolitionists--as Dr. Cunningham says they are--'destitute of judgment, sense, or sanity'--what then? Does this prove that they are right in 'forming an alliance with man-stealers?' I have not asked them to receive me as a Christian, but as a man. I have not asked them to endorse my slave-trading and slave-driving as Christians. I do not ask them to endorse my character of a 'polluted with incest, and renouncers of marriage rights.' Let them apply whatever terms of opprobrium their consciences will allow them to apply to me, and to that self-forgetting, self-sacrificing, all-enduring, and all-forgiving band of abolitionists, with whom I am associated; but I entreat them not to apply the terms of honored, useful, devoted, evangelical Christian, to slaveholders. (Great applause.) Sir, I aspire to no higher honor than to be a Christian, and learn of him. If I may but win Christ, I may lay love as he loved, and forgive as He forgave, and be counted worthy to bear about in my body the dying of the Lord, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in me; if I may but live by faith in the Son of God, who hath loved me and died for me; if my life may but be an epistle for Christ, known and read of all; if I may but share in his sufferings and death, and in his rejoicing and his glory, it is all I ask on earth, and all I ask in eternity. I care not what men may say of me, if the spirit and life of Christ may be mine; but, in the name of my Almighty God and Savior, I protest against this effort of the Rev. Doctors Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, to associate the name of Christ, my Redeemer, with slaveholders. By seeking to promote this blasphemous alliance, their influence goes to crucify the Son of God afresh, and to make his holy and endured name the scorn and contempt of mankind. (Great sensation.)

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The Free Church leaders, again, seek to screen themselves by attempting to cast odium upon abolitionists. Suppose I am all they represent me to be--a stranger, 'a foreigner,' 'a wandering declaimer,' 'a fanatic,' 'an ultra radical,' 'an infidel,' 'a heathen,' a Jew, or Mahometan, or all these combined in one--and suppose the abolitionists--as Dr. Cunningham says they are--'destitute of judgment, sense, or sanity'--what then? Does this prove that they are right in 'forming an alliance with man-stealers?' I have not asked them to receive me as a Christian, but as a man. I have not asked them to endorse my slave-trading and slave-driving as Christians. I do not ask them to endorse my character of a 'polluted with incest, and renouncers of marriage rights.' Let them apply whatever terms of opprobrium their consciences will allow them to apply to me, and to that self-forgetting, self-sacrificing, all-enduring, and all-forgiving band of abolitionists, with whom I am associated; but I entreat them not to apply the terms of honored, useful, devoted, evangelical Christian, to slaveholders. (Great applause.) Sir, I aspire to no higher honor than to be a Christian, and learn of him. If I may but win Christ, I may lay love as he loved, and forgive as He forgave, and be counted worthy to bear about in my body the dying of the Lord, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in me; if I may but live by faith in the Son of God, who hath loved me and died for me; if my life may but be an epistle for Christ, known and read of all; if I may but share in his sufferings and death, and in his rejoicing and his glory, it is all I ask on earth, and all I ask in eternity. I care not what men may say of me, if the spirit and life of Christ may be mine; but, in the name of my Almighty God and Savior, I protest against this effort of the Rev. Doctors Chalmers, Cunningham, and Candlish, to associate the name of Christ, my Redeemer, with slaveholders. By seeking to promote this blasphemous alliance, their influence goes to crucify the Son of God afresh, and to make his holy and endured name the scorn and contempt of mankind. (Great sensation.)

Henceforth, when the Free Church leaders talk of their purity and regard for Christ's crown--my answer shall be, 'Send back that money.' When they talk of domestic servants--slavery as an institution--I will say, 'Send back that money.' When they talk of happening to fall into the condition, or of unhappily finding themselves in the predicament of slaveholders--'Send back the money,' shall answer the stale apology. (Great applause.) And when they say, 'the providence of God' led them into this alliance with slaveholders, as they unblushingly do, my answer to the impious assertion shall be--'Send back the money.' Be this our cry--ill it sounds through every ear, and echoes from the summit of every hill in Scotland. To the Free Church, God says--'Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil--who justify the wicked for a reward! Ye have wearied the Lord by saying, those who do evil are good in His sight. Woe to them who build their churches with blood, and their manes with iniquity; for the slave-stone shall cry out of the wall, and the slave-beam shall answer it from the pulpit; and say, 'Send back the money!' Shall not all Scotland take up a parable against them, and say, 'Woe to those who fill their treasury with that which is not their own! Bring no more with oblations; your sabbaths and your solemn meetings are an abomination unto me. When ye make many prayers, I will not hear you--your hands are full of blood--wash you--make you clean--put away the evil of your doings--'Send back the money'--cease to do evil--learn to do well--relieve the oppressed--then shall your light break forth, and your name shall be blessed.' But if they refuse to obey, and persevere in the covenant with death and their league with hell, they and their allies must be overwhelmed in indistinguishable ruin. (Cheers.) Mr. Wright concluded by proposing several resolutions, amidst great applause.

Mr. JOHN MURRAY, of Bowling, seconded the resolutions. Mr. JAMES PINKERTON here ascended the platform from the side of the hall, and upon stating that he could not sit still, and hear the venerable men, alluded to by the last speaker, characterised by such names as he had been pleased to apply to them, was received with a storm of disapprobation. Through the intervention of the Chairman and Mr. George Thompson, however, he was allowed to proceed. He said, the gentleman who had sat down had drawn a picture, but it is one of his own imagining. He proceeded to state the object for which the deputation had proceeded to America. They had gone there purely through invitation, and partly to make known the great principles which had led to the disruption; and also to seek pecuniary means, in order to support the gospel throughout the land. He defended Dr. Cunningham and the other members of the deputation from the charge of treating the abolitionists, technically so called, with disrespect. They did refuse to connect themselves with the abolitionists; they made known their principles, they preached to congregations, and they received contributions, as Mr. Lewis says, whose character would stand as high as that of Mr. Wright (hisses and applause)--they received £3000, partly from emancipated negroes, and partly from Scottish settlers, whose hearts beat with fond regard for the anti-slavery cause. He then said that they were called upon to inquire from whence money came that was cast into the treasury for the support of the gospel--they were not warranted in doing so by any principle in the Word of God. It was a principle not acted upon by any Church he knew in this country. He detested slavery as much as any man among them. Was it not a fact, that every Church in Scotland is as much identified with slavery as the Free Church, if they excepted the Reformed Presbyterians? He asked, when the Secession or Relief Churches in Scotland cut off the name of Voluntarism, the Churches in America were pointed at as the pick of perfection; but no sooner did the Free Church of Scotland venture, contending for Christ's rights and the people's liberties, to go to that country, than there was a hue and cry set up to 'send back the money.' (Cheers and laughter.) But Mr. Wright set up men of straw, and then he knocked them down again; and was either ignorant of what Drs. Chalmers and Cunningham meant in their reference to the American law, or willfully misrepresented them,

when a man in America was left property by his father, the law prevented him from emancipating his slaves; and he condemned the Free Church, not for taking the money, but for holding any ecclesiastical fellowship with those Churches until that law was altered. (Cheers.) He was speaking his honest convictions, but they were to recollect that there was a difference between Christian fellowship and ecclesiastical fellowship. (Laughter.) Mr. Wright's statement as to the refusal of ministers of the Free Church to sit on School, Tract, or Bible Society Committees with Erastians, was not consistent with fact. Mr. Pinkerton concluded by moving an amendment to the resolutions, that it was inexpedient to memorialise the Free Church Assembly, inasmuch as they have already given a full and unambiguous decision on the subject, and that they are not warranted, either by the Word of God, apostolic example, or the practice of the Christian Church, to send back the money.

Mr. WRIGHT said he did not mean to occupy the time of the meeting but for a moment, as all the gentlemen had said could be answered in a very few words--a very few words. What is the question at issue? Dr. Candlish says, indignantly, that the question of receiving pecuniary aid from the Churches in America turns solely on the question of holding fellowship with them. Now, they cannot send back the money, while they hold fellowship with these slaveholders. They cannot send back the money, without the understanding that they were to be received into Christian fellowship; for the Free Church would never have received one farthing from the American slaveholders, had they told them that they were opposed to the system of slavery. Had the delegates gone to the South, and preached abolition there--had they spoken out against slavery--did they think they would have obtained any money? (No. no.) They would have got a halter about their necks, but no money. (Cheers.) But it was not the money he cared any thing about--it was the fellowship, which was given in return. [Hear, and loud cheers.] He put it to the meeting, if the members of the Free Church in this Hall,--talk about the money, but the price paid for the money; for, he is understood, they never would have received one penny, if they had not put the price of Christian fellowship. [Applause.] They themselves know this, and Doctors Cunningham and Candlish cannot agree to give up the fellowship, because, if they renounce the fellowship, they must send back the money. [Cheers.]

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Mr. DOUGLASS next addressed the meeting, nearly as follows:--

The abolitionists of the United States have been laboring, during the last fifteen years, to establish the conviction throughout that country, that slavery is a sin, and ought to be treated as such by all professing Christians. This conviction they have written about, they have spoken about, they have published about--they have used all the ordinary facilities for forwarding this view of the question of slavery. Previous to that operation, slavery was not regarded as a sin. It was spoken of as an evil in some cases it was, it was spoken of as a wrong--in some cases it was, it was spoken of as an excellent institution--and it was nowhere or scarcely anywhere, counted as a sin, or treated as a sin, except by the Society of Friends, and by the Reformed Presbyterians, two small bodies of Christians in the United States. The abolitionists for advocating or attempting to show that slaveholding is a sin, have been called incendiaries and madmen, and they have been treated as such--only much worse, in many instances; for they were mobbed, beaten, pelted, and defamed in every possible way, because they disclaimed the idea that slavery is not a sin--a sin against God, a violation of the rights of man, a sin demanding immediate repentance on the part of the slaveholders, and demanding the immediate emancipation of the trampled and down-trodden slave. (Cheers.) They had made considerable progress in establishing this view of the case in the United States. They had succeeded in establishing, to a considerable extent, in the northern part of the United States, a deep conviction that to hold human beings in the condition of slavery is a sin, and ought to be treated as such, and that the slaveholder ought to be treated as a sinner. (Hear and applause.) They had called upon the religious organizations of the land to treat slaveholding as sin. They had recommended that the slaveholder should receive the same treatment from the church that is meted out to the ordinary thief. They had demanded his exclusion from the churches, and some of the largest denominations in the land had separated at Massou, and Dixon's line, dividing the free States from the slave States, solely on account of slaveholding, as those who hold anti-slavery views felt that they could not stand in fellowship with men who trade in the bodies and souls of their fellow-men. (Applause.) Indeed, the anti-slavery sentiment not to sit in communion with these men, and to warn the slaveholder not to come near nor partake of the emblems of Christ's body and blood, lest they eat and drink damnation to themselves, is become very prevalent in the free States. They demand of the slaveholder, first, to put away this evil--first, to wash his hands in innocence--first, to abandon his grasp on the throat of the slave; and until he is ready to do that, they can have nothing to do with him. All was going on gloriously, triumphantly; the moral and religious sentiment of the country was becoming concentrated against slavery, slaveholders, and the abettors of slaveholders, when, at this period, the Free Church of Scotland sent a deputation to the United States, with a doctrine diametrically opposed to the abolitionists, taking up the ground that, instead of no fellowship, they should fellowship the slaveholders. According to them, the slaveholding system is a sin, but not the slaveholder a sinner. They taught the doctrine, that it was right for Christians to unite in Christian fellowship with slaveholders, and that the anti-slavery cause is a highly determined, and the anti-slavery cause in the United States. (Hear, hear.) All their reasonings and arguments, instead of being quoted on behalf of the abolition cause, are quoted on behalf of slavery. (Disapprobation.) The newspapers which came from the United States came laden with eulogies of Drs. Candlish and Cunningham, and of the Free Church in general. While the slaveholders have long disconnected themselves with the Secession Church in this country, I do not say that the Secession Church has formally repudiated all alliance with them; but by the faithfulness of their remonstrances, by their denunciations of slavery, from time to time, and by their anti-slavery arguments being known of all men, the slaveholders have disconnected themselves with them. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Now, we want to have the matter of the Free Church thoroughly sifted here to-night. We want to call attention to the deputation particularly which admitted the principle of holding fellowship with slaveholders--to fellowship slaveholders as the type and representatives of Jesus Christ on earth, and not only that, but to take their money to build churches, and pay their ministers. The Free Church sent a deputation to America, the deputation was met by the abolitionists of New-York, and remonstrated with, and begged not to stain their cause by striking hands with man-stealers, and not to take the polluted gains of slavery to pay their ministers; but, by no means, to take the side of the oppressed. The deputation had an excellent opportunity of aiming an effectual blow at slavery; but they turned a deaf ear, and refused to listen to the friends of freedom. They turned a deaf ear to the groans of the oppressed slave--they neglected the entreaties of his friends--and they went into the slave States, not for the purpose of imparting knowledge to the slave, but to strike hands with the

Hosannah. I have conversed with him on matters of deepest importance relating both to time and eternity, and have enjoyed, I believe, his unlimited confidence. I have heard the accusations of his enemies, and have investigated both them and the motives in which they originated. I may therefore ask to be admitted a witness, and my solemn, unhesitating conviction and unbiased testimony is that there breathes not a man more worthy than this, the trust, and the esteem of the friends of God here, and more than William Lloyd Garrison. (Loud cheers.) In the event of Providence permitting us to meet together some time hence, I desire to see you in our midst, that we may be aided by his counsel and cheered by his presence. And oh, I want those who have harbored a hard thought towards this my beloved brother, to know him, to prove this, and then to take him to their hearts, and then to repent that they ever allowed the breath of slander to dim for a moment the lustre of his character in their eyes. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Thompson presented the following resolution:—

That this meeting cordially sympathize with William Lloyd Garrison and his co-adjutors, in their efforts to promote the abolition of slavery in America; and that we extend to Mr. Garrison an invitation to visit this kingdom, to cheer us by his presence, and to encourage us by his counsels.

A vote of thanks having been given to the chairman, the meeting separated.

The following Resolutions were moved, seconded and unanimously adopted:—

I. Moved by HENRY C. WRIGHT, of Philadelphia seconded by JOHN MURRAY, and supported by F. DEGLASS and J. N. BRYAN, from the United States:—

Resolved—1. That Slaveholding, and holding men as property—according to the universal Law of Nature, which declares 'Slaves to be chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever'—are the same thing; that Slavery, as respects its perpetrators, is not 'a predicament,' 'a condition,' 'a state,' or 'an institution,' into which they are 'happened to fall,' or 'find themselves unhappy,' but a personal act, deliberately and intentionally committed, and for which each individually is responsible; and who does it, or consives at it, is responsible; and every man who is 'concerned in bringing any of the human race into Slavery, or continuing them in it—and all who keep, sell, or buy Slaves—are Slaveholders, guilty of the highest kind of theft, and sinners of the first rank.'

2. That American Slaveholders are induced to persevere in their wickedness, (or in the crime of perpetrating immortal sin) into an article of merchandizing, by the countenance and encouragement extended to them, by the social standing conferred by their reception among them, notwithstanding their crimes and pollutions, as respectable and honorable men and Christians: That there is no reason to expect they will cease their inhuman Slave-breeding and Slave-trading, until they are made to feel the effects of the scorn and indignation with which men profess to regard Slavery, by a practical exclusion of all Slaveholders from domestic and social circles, and religious bodies, as thieves and robbers of the human race, and therefore, it is the duty of all Churches and Ecclesiastical Courts, and of all social circles, to exclude them as felons against the human race, and to leave them to stagger alone and unsupported, under the load of their guilt and infamy.

3. That this Meeting concur with the General Assembly of the Free Church, in denouncing the act of man-stealing men, as one that 'is condemned by natural reason—by sound policy—by a sense of justice between man and man,—by the whole tenor and spirit of the Gospel;' and that, in the opinion of this Meeting, on the said General Assembly must rest a full measure of the guilt and reproach of this unnatural, unjust, and Heaven-daring crime; since they declare, in the same deliverance, that 'all opportunities of drawing closer the bonds of fellowship with them—that is, Slaveholders—ought to be embraced and improved.'

4. That the leaders of the Free Church, in forming Christian alliance with Slaveholders, and engaging to receive them to their fellowship as Christians, in order to get their money to build churches and pay their ministers, are lending their influence to associate Christianity with men who, in the language of Henry Grey, their late moderator, 'are polluted with incest, renouncers of marriage rights, man-stealers, sellers of their own offspring, stained with the blood of innocents, leprous with sin; and by so doing, they implicate themselves and the Free Church over which they preside, in the crime of slaveholding, and all its essential injustice and pollutions.'

5. That while the Free Church persists in an alliance with 'traders in human flesh,' she cannot reasonably expect that the religious world will allow her the need of being governed by principle in her secession from the Establishment; and that, however she may profess to have been actuated by a regard for the 'Headship,' the 'Glory,' and 'Crown Rights' of the Redeemer, unless she 'cease to join hands with thieves,' and to 'become partaker with adulterers,' she must, ere long, as a Church, be identified with 'Man-stealers,' and, having been partaker in their sins, so must she share in their infamy.

6. That, in behalf of the people of Scotland, we ask in the words of Dr. Duncan—'Is every Free Church to have a Slave-stone?' and that, since we are assured by Dr. Candlish, that the keeping of the slaveholders' money depends solely on continuing the fellowship with them—therefore this Meeting earnestly recommends to the Free Church to

SEND BACK THE MONEY.

and thus to carry conviction and terror to the hearts of Slaveholders, by assuring them that they can find no pillow for their consciences in the bosom of this Church, and that should they ever set foot in this Kingdom, they will be obliged to wander about as 'vagabonds and vagabonds in the earth,' outcasts alike from Christian fellowship and social respectability.

II. Moved by GEORGE THOMPSON, and seconded by ROBERT REID:—

Resolved—That a Memorial, founded on these Resolutions, and signed by the Chairman, on behalf of this Meeting, be transmitted to the ensuing General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

III. Moved by HENRY C. WRIGHT, and carried by acclamation:—

Resolved—That this Meeting gratefully acknowledge the act of the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance at their recent meeting in Birmingham, by which slaveholders are not to be invited to the Convention to be held in London in August next, nor to the Evangelical Alliance then and there to be formed; and this Meeting earnestly recommend to all Associations, whose object is the spread of the Redeemer's Kingdom and the promotion of human welfare, to adopt and carry out the righteous principle.

IV. Moved by GEORGE THOMPSON, and carried by acclamation:—

Resolved—That this Meeting cordially sympathize with Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors, in their efforts to promote the Abolition of Slavery in America; and that we extend to him an invitation to visit this kingdom, to cheer us by his presence and to encourage us by his counsels.

JAMES TURNER, Chairman.

MEMORIAL from the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in public meeting assembled, to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, regarding Christian Fellowship with Slaveholders, and imploring them to SEND BACK THE MONEY, a large number of those comprising said meeting being members of the Free Church.

REVEREND SIRS:—

The object of our Society is the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery throughout the world. By slavery, we mean the act of holding and using MAN as a 'chattel personal,' as it is defined by the following law:—'Slaves shall be deemed, held, and reputed to be chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever.' Under the liabilities of this law, is every slave in America held.

To accomplish our humane and Christian object, we rely solely, under the blessing of God, on peaceful Christian means. We believe that Christ is 'the power of God, and the wisdom of God' to take away this sin of slaveholding from the world—as well as all other sins—but we have no hope that Christianity can ever fulfil its mission, in reference to this monstrous

sin, while slaveholders are received in society, as 'respectable, honored, evangelical Christians.'

While we disclaim the intention or wish to dictate to you, or to interfere with your doctrine or discipline, we do claim it as our right, and feel it to be our duty, to memorialise your Reverend Court, touching your position in reference to American slaveholders.

As men and Christians, we come before you to plead the cause of THREE MILLIONS of our fellow-beings in the United States of America, respecting whose condition the following facts are attested by express statute laws—by the decisions of courts—by the Executive proceedings of the State and National Governments—by the testimony of ecclesiastical bodies, of different denominations—and by public sentiment of the whole nation—i. e.

To all intents and purposes, they are held and used as property.

They are denied the rights of marriage, and are compelled to live in universal concubinage:

They have no protection in their domestic relations and endearments:

All control of parents over their offspring is annihilated; and they must yield them up, as soon as born, to be branded as property, and to be reared for the market as mere articles of merchandize:

Children must follow the condition of the MOTHER and the father of a slave is never inquired after, or recognized, in ecclesiastical or civil courts:

They are punished with stripes, imprisonment, or death, for teaching their children to read the law of their God:

They are scourged, hung, hunted with bloodhounds, and shot, if they attempt to exchange their ignorance for knowledge; their intellectual, social, and moral degradation for literature, science, and moral elevation; their slavery for freedom; their heathenism for Christianity and civilization:

They are never allowed to bear witness against their oppressors, in civil or ecclesiastical courts, whatever outrages they may have committed upon them:

They are fed, clothed, reared and disciplined, solely with a view to their value in the market:

They have no being, aside from the pecuniary interests of their masters—they are worked as creatures of profit, and profit only—and have no value in the estimation of their owners, except as they add to their wealth:

While conscious of their alliance to God and eternity, and of their 'right'—in the language of the late Rev. Dr. ANDREW THOMPSON—to call God their Father, and to tread the soil of freedom, because they hope to tread the soil of immortality, they are compelled to grope about amid the dark horrors of chattelism, feeling after God and eternal life among beasts, and creeping things:

Such is the present condition of every American slave, such are the deeds daily perpetrated by every American slaveholder.

In 1794, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America adopted, as a part of their discipline, that 'all who keep, sell, or buy slaves, are man-stealers, guilty of the highest kind of theft, and sinners of the first rank.' In 1846, the General Assembly expunged this testimony against slaveholders.

Why? Because, as a member of that body said to it, in 1835—'In the Presbyterian Church, members, elders, ministers, and Doctors of Divinity, are, with both hands, engaged in the unholy traffic in slaves.' And because, as another member declared, no one contradicting, that 'three-fourths of all the Presbyterians in the slave States hold, buy, and sell slaves, for the sake of gain.' During the past year, the Synod of South Carolina, through the agency of their Theological Seminary, seized and sold eight human beings, to get money to educate Presbyterian ministers.

Last spring, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America decided that American Slavery was in accordance with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. The Presbyterian Church in the slave States denies to the enslaved portion of its members the right to 'search the Scriptures'—the right to worship their God—the right to teach their children the record of the life and death of Christ. Slave-breeders, slave-traders, and slaveholders, as members, elders, and ministers, are admitted to the pulpits and communion of that Church, and to the seats of honor in her church courts. These are horrible, but well-known and undenied facts, in relation to that church and her General Assembly.

To that body, thus composed in part of 'man-stealers and sinners of the first rank,' who 'trade in slaves and souls of men,' to get money to educate their ministers, you sent delegates, who, though warned and entreated not to do so, and acting in your name, formed an alliance with them, and took their money to build your churches—and you have declared, in the deliverance of your commission, in 1844, that 'all opportunities of drawing closer the bonds of fellowship with them ought to be embraced and improved.'

In doing these things, you have lent whatever influence you may possess to connect the endeared and venerated name of CHRISTIAN with man-stealers, whom the apostle classes with 'murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers.'

We come to you in the name of our common God, and in the name of our common Humanity, to ask you, to entreat, to implore you, to 'annul this covenant with death, and this agreement with hell.' Do not, we beseech you, despise and reject our suit—for it is the voice of our Saviour, bought and sold in the persons of his 'little ones,' calling unto you in the language of mourning and entreaty. By one act, you can exert an influence over the destinies of a great nation, and over the destinies of three millions of slaves in its bosom—victims of its thirst for gold and its lust for power; and earn to yourselves the blessings of those who are ready to perish, the kindly sympathies and respect of all good men, and the approbation of your God.

As your leading men have declared that you cannot give up your fellowship with slaveholders, while you keep their money in your coffers,—money which they gave, with the understanding that you were to receive them to your pulpits and communion, as honest men and Christians; therefore, by the tears and sorrows of three millions of slaves, by the claims of humanity to your love and sympathy, as you value the teachings, the sufferings and death of Christ, by your oft-expressed solicitude for the 'Glory,' the 'Headship,' and 'Crown Rights' of your Redeemer; by your Veneration for the God of the Oppressed, we entreat you, Reverend Sirs,

SEND BACK THAT MONEY.

Signed, in name and by appointment of the meeting, this 21st day of April, 1846,

JAMES TURNER, Chairman.

* Extract from the Savannah Republican, a paper published in Savannah, in the State of Georgia, dated March 3, 1845—

'Will be sold, on the first Thursday in March, in front of the Court House, in the City of Darien, Georgia, between the legal hours of sale, the following Negro slaves—i. e. Charles, Peggy, Antonnelt, Davy, September, Maria, Jenny, and Isaac, levied on as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage issued out of the M'Intosh Superior Court, in favor of the Board of Directors of the THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, against said Henry T. Hall. Conditions, cash. C. O'NEAL, Deputy Sheriff, M. C.'