

**Volume 9**

**Anti-Slavery**

**217 pp., 6 p. index**

**8 ½ " x 13"**

Correspondence, lists of supporters for the Anti-Slavery cause in Chautauqua County, petitions, pamphlets and broadsides; all prior to the war years and primarily about activities in Chautauqua County.

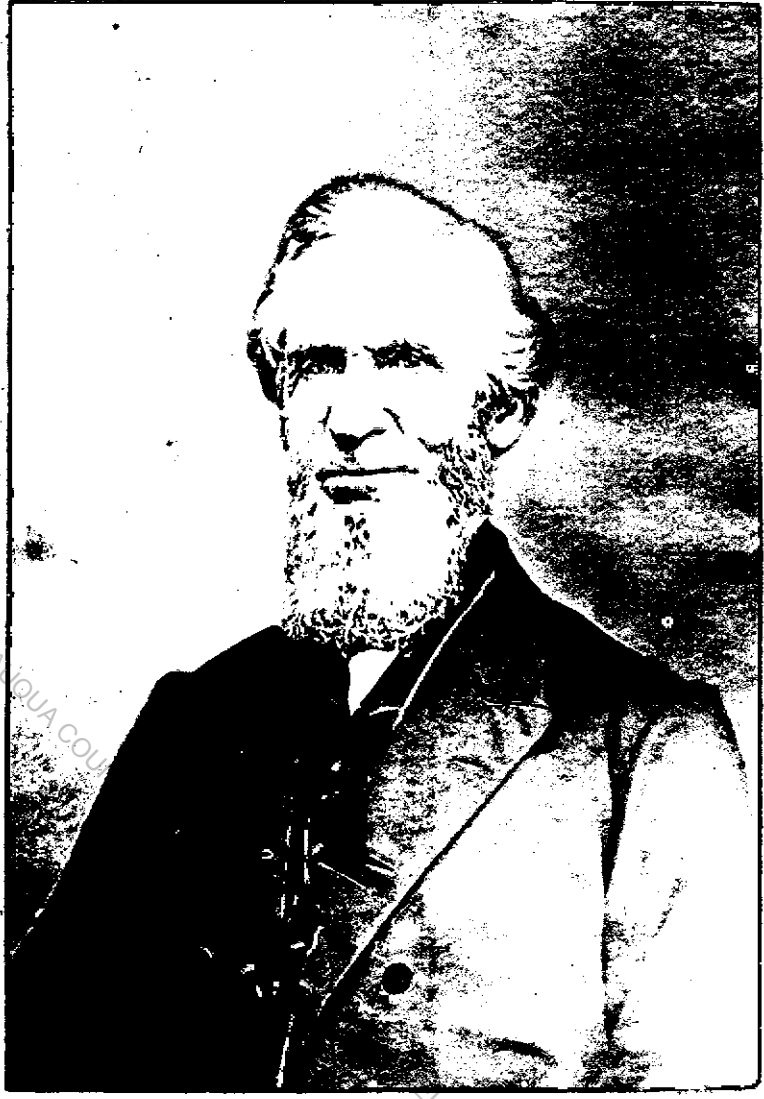
Judge Foote did have correspondence with other anti-slavery advocates in other geographic areas.

Index created by Horace A. Foote, 1893

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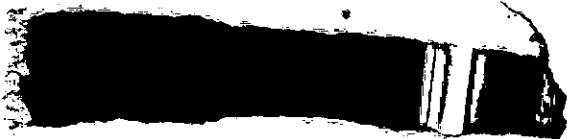
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E. L. Foster's Antislavery Scrapbook

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Ino letters  
with  
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D Woodwell Slavery  
M.C. from Jefferson Co NY

Washington Feb 20<sup>th</sup> 1837

My Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst by due course of mail. I should have answered it immediately had not my official & other engagements prevented me.

The subject of Slavery is one of the most exciting subjects which now agitates the people of the United States. As <sup>cool</sup> as I generally mean to be on almost every exciting topic I can hardly prevent myself from being carried away with the thought that in this free country there are two & half millions of my fellow beings in the most absolute bondage that ever existed in the most despotic governments on Earth. I abhor Slavery in its mildest form. I would wish almost any sacrifice to get rid of it. But what can we do in the question? I am sure that agitating the subject in Congress will do nothing but aggravate the evil.

The South will not submit to the interference of the North. They say & say most truly that we at the North, have nothing to do with their internal regulations. That they have as much right to interfere with our regulations concerning property. In any opinion, should Congress abolish slavery in the district of Columbia the Union would no longer exist. I have formed this opinion from what I have seen & from what I know. There are many men at the South who would rejoice at a dissolution of the Union. These men wish to have the subject of slavery agitated; because they know full well, that the South, to a man, would be united when they believe that their rights are invaded. We have the power, under the constitution no doubt, to abolish slavery in the district. So had the British Government the power to tax the colonies without our consent. But we considered the exercise of that power tyrannical because we had no representative in the British Parliament. Parliament if ~~they~~ <sup>it</sup> undertook to legislate for the Colonies, ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> bound to legislate according to the wishes of a majority

of the People in the Colonies. If ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> did not, its acts become tyrannical. A Legislature of a State is bound to pass acts as a majority of the People shall desire. If at any time, the Legislature of New York should undertake to pass laws contrary to the known wishes of the people it would, <sup>be</sup> contrary to the spirit of our free institutions. If the members would become the masters instead of being the servants of the People, who elect them to do their will & pleasure. It is so with this district. Congress is the Legislature for the People living in it. If it ought to act according to their wishes & is bound so to do, in the same manner as it would be bound to legislate if the People of the district elected <sup>it</sup> ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> members. Otherwise, members of Congress become tyrants & are not the true representatives of the People. The true policy which ought to govern the North is, not to interfere with the domestic concerns of the South. I am well aware that there is a disposition on the part of some at the North to connect their interests with

politics - should they be done I should regret it  
as the greatest evil that could happen to our country.  
No human being could foretell when it would end.  
I will be candid and I will say that I believe  
the church is the only place where <sup>Slavery</sup> ought to be  
disputed by the People of the north - I believe it  
to be a sin of the deepest dye. If it is a sin  
it ought not to exist in the church a single day.  
Look at the last Gen. Assembly of the Presbyterian  
Church - Its moderator a slave holder. Half the  
members slave holders. And yet hundreds of  
thousands of Presbyterians will petition congress to  
abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia because  
it is a sin & at the same time suffer it to exist  
in the very bosom of their own church & not lift  
a finger to remove it. They fear ~~the church~~ the church  
will be separated if strong measures are taken.  
Why ~~do~~ they not ~~fear~~ that the Union will  
be dissolved. I say to all such "Take  
the beam out of thine own eye" in the  
first place -  
I do not think myself that the epithets

used in the Petitions, not to congress  
amount to much - There were, it is true  
at the last session, some exceptionable words  
used, but generally the petitions are unob-  
jectionable in relation to <sup>their</sup> language - I do  
not think that truthless members can much  
about the words used - It is the all  
absorbing subject of Slavery that creates the  
north & the south - It is a conflict  
between conscience & self interest. A conflict  
created by a desire of gain on one side  
& the power of truth on the other - What will  
be the final result the Lord only knows.  
It behoves every friend to his country to  
keep cool, quiet & collected upon this great  
subject - The destinies of millions are concerned  
in its issue - Slavery cannot exist forever.  
This country will yet be free. That God  
who has so wonderfully preserved us &

and conducted this nation to such a  
height of prosperity & glory, will I most  
humbly hope & trust, save us from that  
destruction, which we so richly deserve  
as a nation. This is my hope - this is  
my consolation. - But how can that way  
we are to be so signally blessed, when this  
blighting & withering curse <sup>of Slavery</sup> is  
more than <sup>my</sup> poor intellect can fathom.

I see no reason why the churches of  
the north should be divided on this subject.  
There is no Slavery there. Therefore it need  
not be a personal matter. But I foresee  
I think, a convulsion, which must take place  
between the northern & southern churches -  
They will & must separate. If Slavery be  
a sin of the northern churches, no wonder  
their duty is to me very apparent. How  
a member of a church can who has this

opinion of Slavery, can fellowship with a  
member who he knows is guilty of it, without  
lifting a finger for its removal I know not.

I am aware that there are many  
calling themselves Christians, who believe  
Slavery not to be a sin - Ecclesiastical bodies  
of the north are taking this side of the  
question - Indeed they have no other ground  
on which to stand. It must come to this,

and when it does, how will the northern  
churches act? What is to prevent this  
question from agitating the Gen. Assembly  
of the Presbyterian Church at its next session -  
If it shall be discussed, I see not how  
there can be a compromise - They may  
give the subject the go by, for the present. They  
may put off a decision of the question for  
a year or two longer - But a decision  
must be made at last. What will be  
the consequence? I see no other alternative

but a separation unless the South shall  
abandon their ground — I have thus in  
your letter given you my opinion of this  
great question — It is in the hands of Him  
who rules & governs the Universe — The issue  
is only known to him — May my fears on this  
subject be not realized. ~~Let us~~ Keep cool  
& not be led into either extreme — This  
it appears to me is the dictate of true wisdom.

I have not forgotten those pleasant  
hours which we spent together in Albany <sup>(see below)</sup>  
I hope we shall meet again; If not  
in this life, we may meet in a purer  
& better world where the ~~have~~ will  
be free indeed —

I am truly yours

D Wendell

Dr E. G. Foose

E J F & D. Washburn  
were in Legislature  
together 2 years 1826 & 1827

2

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GERRIT SMITH.

The death of Gerrit Smith took place yesterday at the residence of his nephew, John Cochrane, No. 60 Clinton-place, in this city. His illness came suddenly, after many years of continued health. Last Thursday evening he came to this city from his residence in Peterboro, Oneida County, on a Christmas visit to his niece, and seemed to be in remarkably fine health and spirits. He continued to enjoy the festive time with his friends, after Christmas night remarking to his wife that he had had a refreshing night's sleep. On Saturday morning it was found that his mind was wandering, and he soon afterward lost consciousness. The attack was apoplectic in character, and Dr. Bayard, who was immediately called, prepared his patient's relatives for the most serious results. Mr. Smith never regained consciousness again sufficiently to express by sign or word any recognition of the anxious kinsmen and friends watching about his bedside. After Sunday morning he seemed to be in a peaceful slumber. His eyes were closed, and his breathing was easy and regular. Up to the moment of his death, which occurred at twenty minutes before one o'clock yesterday afternoon, there was no change in his condition, and when he suddenly ceased to breathe his face retained the expression of quiet repose which had overspread it at the beginning of his brief sickness, and it was evident that his last hours had been entirely without pain. Though many friends had visited his bedside during the two days previous, at the time of his death his sister, daughter, and Gen. Cochrane only were present.

There will be no funeral ceremonies in this city, and the remains will be removed on Wednesday night to Peterboro, where, on the afternoon of the following day, the last offices will be performed. They will be simple and unpretending, in accordance with his often expressed desire.

The ranks of those who were early engaged in our anti-slavery struggles are rapidly thinning. To the roll of those who have passed away and are fast becoming the majority, is now to be added a name for fifty years, associated with words and deeds of fervent, disinterested philanthropy. Gerrit Smith's ancestors came from Holland; they acquired property at Tappan Zee on the Hudson; on this farm of the Smith family, Major Andre was executed. Peter Smith, the father of Gerrit, while a young man, was for a while in partnership with John Jacob Astor in the fur business; but subsequently engaged in land speculations in the western part of this State, where he bought a tract of 80,000 acres of land from the Indians, and settled upon it in 1805, naming the township Smithfield, and the village Peterboro. Here he largely entered upon the business of buying property at tax sales, and at one time possessed more land than the State itself, being the owner of over 800,000 acres. As an evidence of the scale of his acquisitions of land, it may be mentioned that he gave his son Gerrit, on attaining his majority, a deed for the entire town of Florence, now in Oneida County. At his death, Peter Smith left three children, Peter, Gerrit, and Cornelia, the last named marrying Capt. Cochrane, the father of Gen. John Cochrane of this city. The property was divided between these three children. Gerrit Smith, as executor of the will, was brought into some business relations with his father's late partner, John Jacob Astor, and formed an acquaintance which subsequently became valuable.

Gerrit Smith was born at Utica, N. Y., March 6, 1797; he was educated at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., under the late President Azel Backus, and was graduated in 1818 with the highest honors at the age of 21. During his collegiate term he gained a high reputation as a student and orator. He has made two donations to the college of \$10,000 each. After graduation he married the daughter of President Backus, but before the year expired he lost both his wife and mother. Subsequently he married the daughter of Col. Fitzhugh of Maryland, who survives him, and by whom he has had two children, Greene Smith, now of Peterboro, and Mrs. Elizabeth Miller, the wife of Col. Miller of Geneva.

Gerrit Smith was brought up in the occupation of managing the landed estates of his father. He was placed in charge of the property at Peterboro very early in life, under the direction of his father, who was so satisfied with him that he surrendered the business entirely into his hands. He gave his attention largely to making investments in land while husbanding the original estate. A large portion of the property thus acquired has been parted with either by sale or gift. A purchase made at Oswego in 1823 is regarded as a remarkable evidence of his foresight; the portion known as the canal, water and dock property, which he bought for \$14,000, now brings in a gross income of not less than \$70,000 per annum. During the panic of 1837 the fluctuations in property and other causes led him into desperate straits, and he narrowly escaped bankruptcy. In his emergency he applied to John Jacob Astor. That careful merchant exhibited a confidence in Mr. Smith's integrity that is almost without parallel. Mr. Astor let him have \$250,000 on his more verbal promise to give mortgages on his homestead at Peterboro and the property at Oswego. Beyond Mr. Smith's word there was nothing to secure the return of the money. On returning home he executed the mortgages on the property and had them duly recorded; but through the delay of the County Clerk the papers were pigeon-holed, forgotten and not forwarded. About six months afterward Gerrit Smith received a letter from Mr. Astor, stating that he thought it was time that the mortgages were sent on, and for the first time Mr. Smith learned that for over six months Mr. Astor had not held even a scratch of the pen in the way of security. The loan enabled Mr. Smith to save his landed property, and was afterward fully repaid.

During 1824 Gerrit Smith attended a political convention of which Thurlow Weed was a member, and there made his first considerable public speech. For many years he and Thurlow Weed have been the only survivors of that convention. Mr. Smith was also present the same year, with Lafayette, Gov. Clinton and others at the opening of the Erie Canal, at which time his brother-in-law, Capt. Cochrane, commanded the fleet composed of all the available vessels in the northern waters. He was also present when the water from Lake Erie, brought by those vessels, was emptied into the ocean at Sandy Hook, on which occasion Dr. Mitchell, of scientific fame, made a speech.

The confidence which Mr. Astor so notably reposed in Gerrit Smith was doubtless based on a knowledge of the uncompromising honesty of the man. It was an aggressive honesty, equally combined with benevolence, and early in life urged its possessor to bring its doctrine and practice into play for the benefit of his fellow-men. Before his thirtieth year he became warmly interested in the American Colonization Society; and from that time forward his sympathies were profoundly enlisted in behalf of the colored race. At this period, he entered heartily into the Anti-Masonic movement which then formed an element in the politics of the State, and he lent the opposition great moral and social force. His hostility to secret societies was as permanent as his friendship for the colored man, and two or three years ago he addressed a meeting at Syracuse on this subject, proclaiming his conviction that their principles were injurious to public morals. In 1823 he was a member of the State Convention of the supporters of John Quincy Adams against Gen. Andrew Jackson, and prepared its address to the people, which supplied valuable ideas during the campaign to the mouthpieces of the Adams party. In 1830 the party rewarded him with a nomination for State Senator; he ran against Stebbins of Cazenovia, and was beaten. This dampened his ambition for politics, and almost ended his political career. The study of law became a necessity of his real estate business; and, although never followed as a profession, enabled him, in two or three instances, to act as counsel in court for the relief of the oppressed. His admission to the bar was originally obtained that he might plead in behalf of a poor German tried for murder. He gained the case. In 1835 he had begun to doubt the efficacy of the Colonization Society in promoting the welfare of the blacks, and sought the object in other quarters. When in October of that year 600 delegates assembled at Utica to form a State Anti-Slavery Society, Samuel Beardsley, a Democratic member of Congress, stirred up an opposition in the town, and he and Judge Charles Hayden headed a mob which broke up the meeting. Mr. Smith, who was present,

invited the delegates to meet at Peterboro. His father had been a slaveholder in earlier days, and was among the first to manumit his slaves. Accepting the invitation, the American Anti-Slavery Society completed its organization at Mr. Smith's homestead, and from that time his prominence dates as a leader of the opposition to Slavery. At that meeting he spoke in words of singular force, on the inherent right of free discussion. He declared that even then war had broken out between the North and South; its cause was Slavery, and the sword should never be sheathed till that was extinguished. In 1838 he urged that the Slavery question should be made a sole issue in selecting candidates at the polls. Mr. Smith differed from Garrison, Phillips, Burleigh, and many other Abolitionists in the views he took of the Constitution. He regarded it as an Anti-Slavery instrument, a shield to protect the slave, and capable of being so interpreted as, if followed, to put an end to Slavery.

His sense of justice impelled him to an act of extraordinary munificence. Although one of the largest landed proprietors in the United States, he was greatly opposed to landed monopoly, and in 1847, distributed property among worthy beneficiaries wherever his lands were situated, at that time in 42 out of the 60 counties of the State. He thus gave away 200,000 acres, mostly among poor white and black men, in parcels of about 50 acres, the remainder going to institutions of learning and charity. In distributing his lands he had a committee selected of those who resided in the neighborhood of his property. Among other institutions which benefited by his liberality was the Orphan Asylum at Oswego, which he founded and maintained. He established a farming region in Essex County for colored people, and here he presented a farm to John Brown on condition that he should teach the colored men how to till their lands in a northern climate. It is in this very region that John Brown's body lies buried. Mr. Smith's practical benevolence continued to be his distinguishing characteristic, even up to his last days, and he gave a large portion of his income from the Oswego property to corporate charities and to needy individuals. Providence blessed his liberality and enabled him to give the worth of his present personal estate four or five times over. He has declared that he intended to die poor in property, but rich in the memories of those who knew him. The demands made on his charity were enormous, those by a single mail often exceeding \$10,000; but he was never known to let a proper application pass unheeded. He read and answered all these applications, and no poor, deserving man ever failed to receive a response, inclosing a gift. But especially did his practical sympathies go out to the enfranchised or escaping slave, to the latter not less than the former. Most that he did to help runaways, must of course remain unknown. In June, 1848, the Liberty League and a split from the Liberty party held a convention at Buffalo and nominated Gerrit Smith as their candidate for the Presidency. It was at this convention that he uttered the remarkable sentiment, "There is not in all the world a more honorable tombstone than that on which the slaveholder would inscribe, 'Here lies a slave-stealer.'" Through his efforts in 1842, Col. Fitzhugh of Maryland, father of his second wife, was induced to liberate his slaves, and to purchase through agents those that had been formerly owned and were subsequently sold by Mrs. Fitzhugh. All these liberated slaves were taken to Peterboro and supplied with homes. Many of them and their descendants remain at present in that locality. In 1850 a slave-owner in Louisiana died, and by his will emancipated his slaves unconditionally. Gerrit Smith wrote to New-Orleans asking that they should be sent to him and he would provide for them. They were sent and landed in New-York, but some of them, under the impression that Mr. Smith would again reduce them to slavery, left the vessel and became outcasts in this city. The larger portion, however, went to Peterboro, where they settled, and where, with their descendants, they are still to be found in considerable numbers.

He took part in a meeting at which the "Jerry rescue" was devised and by means of which it was effected at Syracuse in October, 1851. The prisoner, Jerry McHenry, had resided in that city for several years, but was arrested under the Fugitive Slave law. In the afternoon, after the trial, the courtroom was surrounded, the officers were overpowered, and Jerry was carried off by his friends to a place of concealment, whence he was subsequently dispatched to Canada. Although not directly connected with the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, the melancholy termination of that affair

exercised a serious influence over Mr. Smith's mind, and subsequently for a brief period his reason was clouded.

When a young man, Gerrit Smith became connected with the Presbyterian Church, and in later years the church in Peterboro was greatly dependent upon him. About 25 years ago his views on religious subjects, as he himself phrased it, were "modified, enlarged, and changed." His new belief found form in the Religion of Nature, or what he called "Rationalism." During this change of mind he still, however, retained a reverence for the history and character of Jesus Christ and for a Supreme Deity. During the past two or three years he has remained somewhat silent on religious subjects, and many of his friends believe that he was gradually returning to his early belief. But questions and theories of this sort did not affect the character of the man. His neighbors in all the county, and especially in the township of Smithfield, trusted his warm heart and poured into his ear all their troubles, both domestic and pecuniary. He generally found the means of relieving them of their distress. It is said that he prevented several separations of families by his kindly and considerate advice, and more than one divorce suit has been stopped through his counsels. His voice and efforts led Madison and Oswego Counties in advancing movements of temperance and moral reform, and in making the abolition of Slavery a political issue. He did not seek their suffrages, they were forced upon him by the people who were willing to throw off allegiance to parties and resolved to have a representative of their moral and social views. They found in Gerrit Smith the man they sought, nominated him by acclamation, and almost unanimously elected him over Henry Ten Eyck, the Republican, and Mr. Hough, the Democratic candidate. His address to his constituents on this occasion embodies his entire political creed, and is not less remarkable for conciseness than candor. It gives a more accurate picture of his mind than any possible description.

*To the Voters of the Counties of Oswego and Madison:*  
You nominated me for a seat in Congress, notwithstanding I besought you not to do so. In vain was my resistance to your persevering and unrelenting purpose. I had reached old age. I had never held office. Nothing was more foreign to my wishes than the holding of office. My multiplied and extensive affairs gave me full employment. My habits, all formed in private life, all abstrah from public life. My plans of usefulness and happiness could be carried out only in the seclusion in which my years had been spent. My nomination, as I supposed it would, has resulted in my election, and that too by a very large majority. And now I wish that I could resign the office which your partiality has accorded to me. But I must not, I cannot. To resign it would be a most ungrateful and offensive requital of the rare generosity which broke through your strong attachments to party, and bestowed your votes on one the peculiarities of whose political creed leave him without a party. Very rare, indeed, is the generosity which was not to be repelled by a political creed, among the peculiarities of which are

*First:* That it acknowledges no law, and knows no law, for Slavery; that not only is Slavery not in the Federal Constitution, but that by no possibility could it be brought either into the Federal or into a State Constitution.

*Second:* That the right to the soil is as natural, absolute, and equal as the right to the light and air.

*Third:* That political rights are not conventional, but natural—inhering in all persons, the black as well as the white, the female as well as the male.

*Fourth:* That the doctrine of Free Trade is the necessary outgrowth of the doctrine of the human brotherhood, and that to impose restrictions on commerce is to build up unnatural and sinful barriers across that brotherhood.

*Fifth:* That national wars are as brutal, barbarous, and unnecessary as are the violence and bloodshed to

which misguided and frenzied individuals are prompted, and that our country should, by her own heaven-trusting and beautiful example, hasten the day when the nations of the earth "shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

*Sixth:* That the province of Government is but to protect, to protect persons and property; and that the building of railroads and canals and the care of schools and churches fall entirely outside of its limits, and exclusively within the range of "the voluntary principle." Narrow, however, as are these limits, every duty within them is to be promptly, faithfully performed; as well, for instance, the duty on the part of the Federal Government to put an end to the drumshop manufacture of paupers and madmen in the City of Washington, as the duty on the part of the State Government to put an end to it in the State.

*Seventh:* That so far as practicable, every officer, from the highest to the lowest, including especially the President and Postmaster, should be elected directly by the people.

I need not extend any further the enumeration of the features of my peculiar political creed, and I need not enlarge upon the reason, which I give, why I must not, and cannot, resign the office which you have conferred upon me. I will only add, that I accept it; that my whole heart is moved to gratitude by your bestowment of it; and that, God helping me, I will so discharge its duties as neither to dishonor myself nor you.

Peterboro, Nov. 5, 1852.

GERRIT SMITH.

In Congress, Mr. Smith drew around him in social intercourse both slaveholders, and Abolitionists—a fact which gave offense to the latter. His speeches in Congress were on his favorite topics, and he found in the Kozta case and the Nebraska bill opportunities to proclaim his love for liberty, and in speeches on war, homesteads, the Reciprocity Treaty, and the sale of liquors in the District, he upheld his well-known views by arguments that continually appealed to the higher motives and better nature of his hearers. He served only one session, the long one, and then resigned, anxious to devote himself more directly to the cause of human freedom by pen and deed. He was a voluminous writer on political and social questions, and published his speeches in Congress in book-form, though his works took principally the form of contributions to the newspapers; he also wrote several theological essays.

During the war Mr. Smith reiterated his opinions upon national questions at every favorable opportunity, and zealously aided the Republican party in this State by his pen, as well as by his personal influence. During the period of reconstruction he pleaded earnestly for reconciliation, but evinced distrust of the Southern politicians, and was uncompromising in his demands for the civil equality of the colored race. But for the people of the South he felt no hatred. His heart warmed with kindly feeling even for his late opponents, and he joined with Horace Greeley in signing Jefferson Davis's bail-bond. In the campaign of 1873 he opposed the Liberals, stating as his reason that the success of that party would place the Democrats in power, and imperil the results of the war. In the recent controversy regarding Bible reading in the public schools he sided to some extent with the Roman Catholics; his letters on the subject were largely published in their papers, and secured him some degree of popularity with the members of that denomination. But neither popular favor nor opposition ever influenced his sentiments in the smallest degree. An honest, sturdy thinker, he formed his own creed, abode by it, and sought to impress it on others with the zeal and something of the power of the early Reformers.

Mr. Smith's hospitality at Peterboro was literally baronial. A score of guests was not unusual at his table and every room in his house was filled for weeks at a time by persons not connected with him by blood or marriage, a majority of them self-invited. The black man and the white were equal guests at his board, and their visits were never shortened or hurried by the generous host. But the highest honors of hospitality which belong to the homestead at Peterboro, and will be forever associated with its generous owner, are its uses as an asylum and a hiding place for the frightened fugitive. When the escaping slave had reached Mr. Smith's mansion, his safety was secure, and kind friends and liberal assistance soon conveyed him beyond the St. Lawrence.

#### REMINISCENCES OF MR. THURLOW WEED.

Mr. Weed was much shocked to hear that his old friend was in a precarious condition. He said that he had received a letter from Mr. Smith only a few days ago, asking him to come up and pay him a visit. Mr. Weed gave the following facts from memory: He had known Gerrit Smith for sixty years. He had first made his acquaintance in 1814, when he was attending Hamilton College. He was then a fine, talented, handsome young fellow, attractive and enthusiastic—a son of Peter Smith of Peterboro', a very wealthy man, whose wealth consisted largely of land purchased at controllers' tax sales, at very low figures, and which increased largely in value in a few years after its purchase. Early in life Gerrit married the daughter of the Rev. Azel Backus, President of Hamilton College, at Clinton, Oneida County. He first appeared actively in political life as an anti-Mason during the campaign of 1827, and two years later ran for State Senator as the anti-Masonic candidate and was defeated. Soon afterward he entered with all the enthusiasm of his nature into the anti-Slavery movement, and several years afterward embarked with the same zeal in the temperance cause. For many years he was wholly absorbed by these two questions, holding the most advanced and ultra views. He not only abstained wholly and entirely from the use of wines and liquors, but for many years refused to allow sugar to be used in his household because it was the produce of slave labor. It was said that he carried these views so far as seriously to affect his health, and for a time fears were entertained for his sanity. He was elected to Congress as an Abolitionist from the District comprising the Counties of Madison and Oswego. While in Congress he generally acted with the Whigs, with whom he naturally affiliated, but he never compromised his anti-Slavery convictions. He took an active part in the Presidential campaign of 1844, supporting the Abolitionist candidate, James G. Birney, against Henry Clay. Birney and he were brothers-in-law, the wife of the former being a sister of Mr. Smith's second wife. It is not certain that Smith would have taken an active part in the Abolition canvass had it not been for Clay's letter

on the annexation of Texas that stirred up the Abolition element, and they went into the fight with spirit. He was accused of having contributed money toward the Harper's Ferry expedition of old John Brown, but the charge was never proved. He was a most warm-hearted, generous, and impulsive man, touched by every appeal made to him by any one in distress; entirely conscientious in all matters political and otherwise. He gave away large amounts of money for charitable purposes. He furnished a great deal of money toward what was known in the days before the war as the "Underground Railroad," which comprised the system for enabling escaped slaves to reach Canada, where they were free from pursuit. When the Constitutional Amendments were adopted, allowing each colored man possessing a freehold worth \$250 to vote, Mr. Smith presented a considerable number of colored men with freeholds to this amount, thus enabling them to vote. On all important political questions he could generally be counted on to act with the Whig party, and, after this organization had passed away, with the Republican party, because it was evident to him that these parties were more inclined to favor his hobbies of Temperance and anti-Slavery than the Democratic party. Nevertheless, there were times when he acted absurdly, regarded from a political point of view.

Although differing politically on many occasions, there was never any coldness between Mr. Smith and Mr. Weed. They entertained a sincere affection for each other, which was unbroken for the 60 years of their acquaintance. During the late civil war Mr. Smith contributed liberally toward raising regiments in his part of the State. Since the war he has been in poor health, and has lived as quietly as his active temperament would allow. He has nevertheless taken an interest in all the live questions of the day. Only a short time ago Mr. Weed received a letter from him inclosing a long letter which he had written to a newspaper on one of the important topics of the time.

## The Sun

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1875.

### GERRIT SMITH'S FUNERAL.

#### A SAD PROCESSION TO THE BLEAK CEMETERY OF PETERBORO'.

Villagers Paying their Last Tribute of Respect to a Beloved Patriarch—Men, Women, and Children Weeping—All Classes Represented at the Grave—Touching Incidents.

PETERBORO', Dec. 31.—One week ago this morning, at 6 o'clock, the Hon. Gerrit Smith left his home in this quiet little village and started on a Christmas trip to visit his sick wife in New York. This morning, at the same hour, a large box was taken from a baggage car at Canastota and driven through the snow and ice for ten miles to Peterboro'. That box enclosed all that remained of the great philanthropist, Gerrit Smith. The body left New York last night at 6 o'clock, accompanied by Gen. John Cochrane; James W. Cochrane of Chicago; Col. Charles D. Miller, Mr. Smith's son-in-law; Col. Chapman Biddle of Philadelphia, a nephew by marriage; Mr. Henry Barclay, a grand nephew, and Mrs. Barclay and Mrs. Koneys, nieces of the deceased.

As the case was removed from the baggage room an old negro stood on the platform. His moistened eyes rested steadily on the cedar box. He stood gazing thus until the casket was placed in the car, then without saying a word to anybody he turned around and walked sadly away. The picture of this solitary mourner is one which the relatives of Mr. Smith will not soon forget.

Nothing of interest transpired in the trip to Canastota. The funeral party talked sadly among themselves, relating reminiscences of the patriarch's life, and the weary hours were thus whittled away. The train arrived at Canastota at five minutes to six this morning. It was a dreary hour, and the scene which greeted the mourners was a dreary one. The air was biting cold, and the country was snow clad. The thermometer recorded thirty degrees below zero.

Some twenty or thirty citizens of Canastota were at the depot to receive the remains, and carriages were in waiting to convey the mourners to Peterboro'. In the chill of the morning over the snow and the ice the long ride up the mountains was accomplished. At half-past ten Mr. Smith's grand old family mansion was reached, and the sad preparations for the funeral began.

THE HOUSE OF MOURNING.

The decorations in the house were remarkably simple, in accordance with Mr. Smith's known desires. They were arranged by Mrs. Miller, and consisted simply of a few flowers and sentiments from the speeches and writings of the dead philanthropist. In the hallway hung the motto, "Equal rights to all." Over Mr. Smith's picture in the parlor the motto, "Human rights are above all laws and constitutions," was displayed in letters formed of evergreen twigs. On the north wall of this room were the famous words which endeared Gerrit Smith to all Cubans—"Rescue Cuba now!" In the library where he read and studied and devised ways and means to do good this sentiment was displayed, "That one is a man proves him to be entitled to all the rights of a man." The chair in which he always sat at his desk was tastefully entwined in ivy and flowers, and green leaves were scattered throughout the room.

The Cuban cross was placed upon the writing desk in the library by Mrs. Miller, who deemed this the highest compliment she could pay to the Cuban donors. It was at this desk she said that Mr. Smith sat and consulted with his Cuban visitors on the struggle for the liberation of their island-home.

The cross remained there until just before the ceremonies, when it was taken to the parlor and placed directly under the Cuban motto.

At eleven o'clock the undertaker, Mr. Thomas Dugan, sexton of Dr. Gallaudet's Church in New York, and his three assistants, had arranged the body for the funeral. The casket is of lead with a rich black walnut shell and lined with white satin. On each side are three massive solid silver handles. The lid opens entire and the full length of Mr. Smith was disclosed. He was dressed in a black suit, and lay in the same position in which he died with his right hand by his side and his left crossed on his breast. There was no change in his appearance, his face wearing the same look of calm, peaceful dignity which characterized him when alive.

THE CASKET

was placed directly under his picture, and festoons of ivy and evergreen depended from its sides. The plate, which is very heavy and of solid silver, bore this inscription: "Gerrit Smith; born in Utica, March 6, 1797; died in New York, Dec. 28, 1874." Inserted in one of the handles of the case was a modest bouquet of white roses and pinks, with this record: "Presented by a colored boy in behalf of the Colored Orphan Asylum in Brooklyn, N. Y."

By half past 11 the parlors, library, dining room, and hallway of the mansion were filled with the friends of the deceased, and his neighbors in Peterboro. To the poor men and women and children of that little village, Gerrit Smith was an idolized man. The whole village was transferred to his mansion. Old women with silver hair and young women with raven tresses stood by that coffin and raised bitter tears as they took a last farewell of their best earthly friend. Old men and young men stood by the coffin with moistened eyes.

The immediate relatives of Mr. Smith bore the ordeal calmly and quietly. Mrs. Kelly, his housekeeper, is an old lady of 83, and has lived in the house over sixty years. She stood calmly by, evidently suffering intensely, but seemingly unnoticed by the universal respect shown to the remains. Mrs. Smith, the widow, and Green Smith, her son, were unable to be present on account of sickness. All the other near relatives, including Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, took part in

THE LAST SAD RITES.

At a quarter to 12 the Rev. Mr. Bridges of Little Falls, formerly the pastor of the village church, entered the parlor where the body was exposed. He was followed by the pater of little feet, and thirty boys and girls, white and black, filed up to the casket. These were the especial wards of Gerrit Smith, the inmates of the orphan asylum which he founded and supported. One by one the little waifs peered sadly over the sides of the casket at their dead benefactor. Some were so small that they had to be lifted to obtain a last glance. One little fellow, a cripple, was borne in the arms of an attendant. When all had looked upon the still, pale features they ranced themselves in a semi-circle before the casket and sang the hymn which Mr. Smith loved best and which so aptly embodies the sentiments of his own kindly heart. Following are the first and last stanzas:

SCATTER SEEDS OF KINDNESS.

Let us gather up the sunbeams  
Lying all around our path;  
Let us keep the wheat and roses,  
Casting out the thorns and chaff.  
Let us find our sweetest comfort  
In the blessings of to-day,  
With a patient hand removing  
All the briars from the way.

Chorus.

Then scatter seeds of kindness,  
Then scatter seeds of kindness,  
Then scatter seeds of kindness,  
For our reaping by and by.  
Ah! those little ice-cold fingers,  
How they point our memories back  
To the hasty words and actions  
Strewn along our backward track;  
How those little hands remind us,  
As in saving grace they lie,  
Not to scatter thorns, but roses,  
For our reaping by and by.

At the conclusion of the hymn Mr. Bridges made a few remarks to the children, when they marched back to the home which the charity of Gerrit Smith has provided for them.

THE LAST LOOK.

After these ceremonies the time was spent until 1 o'clock in viewing the body. It seemed as though the villagers would never tire of looking on the beloved features of their departed friend. They crowded around the coffin, and when forced to make room for others, took position at the end of the line, and in due time were again at the casket.

At 1 o'clock, precisely Gen. John Cochrane read the following names of the pall-bearers: Gen. John J. Knox of Augusta, the Hon. Chas. B. Sedgwick of Syracuse, the Hon. Henry A. Foster of Oswego, the Hon. Dewitt C. Littlejohn of Oswego, Noah Brister (colored) of Peterboro, Gen. T. P. Petrie of Peterboro, the Hon. Caleb Collins of Peterboro, John Campbell, Esq. of Peterboro, Hamilton Littlefield of Oswego, Wm. Kinney (colored) of Geneva, Dr. Milton B. Jarvis of Canastota, Benjamin F. Chapman of Clocks-ville, and George Island (colored) of Geneva.

The Rev. Samuel Robert, Cathrop of Syracuse now stepped forward. He stood looking in the face of Gerrit Smith for a moment, and then said:

"Beloved friends, we will begin our services with the hymn which our departed friend loved better than any other."

Scatter seeds of kindness.

The hymn which had previously been sung by the orphans was then repeated by the Sunday School of the village church. Then in a clear, but sorrowfully modulated voice, Mr. Cathrop repeated the verses beginning:

"The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want."  
This was followed by another of Mr. Smith's favorite hymns:

Who is my neighbor?

Mr. Cathrop spoke of the

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF GERRIT SMITH.

Mr. Smith, he said, was loved, because he was himself a lover of men. He loved all things that were pure and noble. He hated all things that robbed man of his glory and power. He hated intemperance because he loved his fellow man. He supported the Cubans and fought slavery because he hated oppression. His was a noble life. Let us bid him a grand farewell, committing him to the hands of his Master, whom he strove to imitate on earth, confident that he is now face to face with the glory of that Master in the eternal kingdom.

A brief prayer and a hymn concluded the ceremonies, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour. Mrs. Miller, Gerrit Smith's favorite daughter, stepped to the casket and cut from the patriarch's head four locks of hair to be kept as mementoes. The leaden top was then soldered on, and human eyes had looked for the last time on Gerrit Smith. Tenderly the casket was raised by the pall-bearers and borne to the hearse.

The relatives and pall-bearers formed in procession in front of the body, and behind came five hundred men, women, and children. The village bell which he had presented to the church began to toll and the procession to move. The cemetery is three-quarters of a mile from the Smith mansion. At this time (2 o'clock) the thermometer stood at twenty degrees below zero, and the snow in many places was ankle deep, but not a woman or child of all the number turned back until the grave was reached.

THE LAST SAD RITES.

Slowly and solemnly they trudged through the snow, their hands and feet likely freezing, till they stood in the modest little grave-yard. There, on the western side, a large grave had been dug by the side of Mr. Smith's first wife, and almost directly opposite the grave of his father, Judge Peter Smith. The remains were then lowered by tender hands. Mrs. Miller stepped forward and threw in the flowers and ivy which had decorated the coffin. The bouquet from the colored asylum in Brooklyn was given to Noah Brister, and he deposited them on the casket of his dead master. Then the villagers, who crowded around the open grave, cast in twigs of evergreens. Noah Brister, colored, and Col. Miller, deposited the first earth upon the coffin. The Cuban cross was placed at the head and a basket of flowers at the foot of the grave. The Rev. Mr. Cathrop made a brief prayer and then the body was left in the charge of the grave digger. The relatives and villagers formed in procession and returned to the mansion as they had come, on foot. The last scene had been enacted and Gerrit Smith was reunited with his old friends and co-workers, John Brown, Horace Greeley, and Charles Sumner.

*To the Proslavery Voters of the County of Madison :*

You are, perhaps, indignant at this appellation. You do well to be indignant, if the appellation is unmerited. But, if it is merited, your indignation is but deception and bluster.

You say, that the slavery in the Southern States is none of your concern; and that those States must be left to abolish their own slavery. Very well: but that is no reason why you should not help abolish your own slavery—the national parts of slavery—the slavery which you and others have set up, and kept up, in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, and elsewhere. Besides, were the National parts of slavery abolished, the slavery in the Southern States would soon be nobody's concern:—for, deprived, as it then would be, of the countenance of our National example, and the protection of our National power, it would quickly die.

You say, that your object, in voting for slaveholders and proslavery men, is not to uphold slavery. Nor is blood the object of the highwayman, who commits murder. He is after the money—not the life—of his victim: and his excuse for his murder is quite as good as yours for casting proslavery votes—votes, which, in their effect, are as much worse than murder, as slavery is worse than death. If you may plead, that Banks, and Tariffs, and Independent Treasuries, and Free Trade, and other good things, will come from your voting against the slave; so too may he plead, that he also is tempted by the prospect of good things, when he resorts to his pistol or dagger.

You will say, that this is extraordinary language to address to respectable men: and I, in turn, will say, that it is an extraordinary crime of which these respectable men are guilty. Considering the light of civilization and christianity, under which it is committed, the crime of crushing millions of God's unoffending, helpless poor, in this land, is unmatched, the world over. And this crime, with all the cruelty and meanness which pre-eminently characterize it, your proslavery votes, at every returning Election, fully indorse, and make your own. Of all the iniquities, which cry for the vengeance of Heaven, this, in which you are voluntary partners, is the most diabolical.

You say, that your proslavery voting is your own, not the abolitionists' business. But they answer, that it is theirs, as well as yours; and that to deny it is as absurd as for the miscreants, who are scuttling one end of the ship, to tell the affrighted men and women at the other, that each party must see to its own end, and not concern itself with the doings at the other. There is an important sense in which antislavery and proslavery persons are in the same ship, and must sink or swim together. You say, that your proslavery voting is none of our concern. And is it, for instance, none of our concern, if Texas is annexed to this Nation, with the purpose of thereby eternizing American slavery? The probability is, that it will be so annexed, during the present session of Congress. But, had the Legislature of only our own State spoken out against the annexation, there would have been no such probability of this calamitous and guilty event, nor, indeed, any approach to it: and had a majority of the voters of only one of the Counties of this State refused to vote against the slave, last Fall; the present Legislature of our State, composed chiefly, as Legislatures are apt to be, of mere weather-cocks, would not have dared to countenance, as they have countenanced, this infamous project for bolstering up the tottering system of American slavery. If it may be said, as it never should be, that the effect of proslavery voting on the slave is none of our business; nevertheless, who is so brazen as to deny, that, in the light of its threatened destruction to our nation and to ourselves, it is, and most emphatically is, our business?

You have, suddenly, become great admirers of Cassius M. Clay: and, what is very amusing, you are boasting of your agreement with him; likening yourselves to him; and attempting to justify by his, your own, intended proslavery vote. But, an ugly man, whose face is covered with warts, has no right to claim resemblance to a handsome man, whose face wears only one of these blemishes. Another reason why you should not presume to claim resemblance to Mr. Clay, is the assurance you have from his own pen, that, at the close of the next Autumn, he will tear away, root and branch, his only wart. And still another reason, why you should not degrade Mr. Clay into a likeness to yourselves, is that he has but recently discovered, that his wart is not a beauty spot. He has but just now begun to see himself in the antislavery looking-glass, which the abolitionists have been holding up, these ten years; before your all-over-warty faces. Long ago, you had had time enough, and knowledge enough, to get your faces entirely smooth; and had you then set the good example, Cassius M. Clay would not now be wanting a six months', nor even a one month's, reprieve for his solitary wart: he would not now be prizing the privilege of voting, once more, against the bleeding slave.

But, I took up my pen to apprise you of my purpose to appoint a few meetings, in different parts of this County, and to invite you to attend them. They will all begin at half-past 10 A. M.; and will all be held on the first day of the week. I select this day for the two-fold reason, that my congregations will be larger, and that, on all the other days of the week, I am burdened with my private business. I am aware, that it suits Professor Eaton's purpose to represent me to be a man of leisure, and one of the class of "gentlemen at large." Nevertheless, it is probable, that I work as hard as any other man in the County from Monday morning 'till Saturday night.

The first in the proposed series of meetings will, Providence permitting, be held in the neighborhood of Ridgeville, the third Sunday in May (19th,) or the next succeeding Sunday (26th,) should the third prove to be quite rainy or cold. (I depend on the people of Ridgeville and its vicinity to fit up a grove for the meeting. There are thousands of men and women dwelling in the parts of Sullivan and Lenox between the Turnpike and the Lake. Shall I not have the happiness of seeing a large share of them in the Ridgeville meeting? Will the intervening Lake be suffered to prevent an attendance from the County of Oswego? That County and our own compose a Congressional District. I should prize very highly the opportunity of reminding the voters of both, how merciless and wicked would be their election, next Fall, of a proslavery member of Congress.)

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My object, in the contemplated meetings, will be what it was in my Sunday meetings, last Summer and Fall,—to convince my hearers, that proslavery voting is a deep sin against God and man—a horrid violation of the principles of humanity and religion.

I can anticipate some of your objections to your attending these meetings.

1st. *Your religion would be hurt by such a use of Sunday.*

A tender regard for one's religion is, certainly, commendable. But, I think you would be secured from the harm which you apprehend. You may feel well nigh certain, that a religion which permits you to cast proslavery votes, is made of such stuff that scarcely anything can hurt it.

2d. *Your attendance on these meetings would hinder your being in that serious and solemn frame of mind which you desire to be in on Sunday.*

In reply to this objection, I have but to say, that, if you do not find yourselves serious and solemn in these meetings, it will be, because you have so hardened yourselves in the great sin of proslavery voting, that the setting of it before you produces no disturbance—no guilt—in your debauched consciences.

3d. *Clergymen are the proper persons to tell the people of their sins.*

But if clergymen will not, laymen must: and since a large majority of the clergymen of Madison County have not the honesty and courage to rebuke your Heaven-daring sin of trampling on Heaven's poor, laymen must do it.

4th. *Why confine your Addresses to the sin of proslavery voting? There are many other sins.*

Among the many answers which might be given to this objection, is the sufficient one, that, if you will not repent of this sin, you will not repent of any other. If you will persevere in voting, from year to year, the renewal and perpetuity of the slave's bondage—in voting the bible out of his hands, and the lash upon his back, and the tearing asunder, by the traffic in human flesh, of husband and wife, parent and child—then it will be idle to talk to you of any other sin. In voting as you do, you as virtually take the ground that there is no sin, as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church does, in its refusal, from time to time, to say that slavery is sin. How disgusting the hypocrisy—how broad the face—of that exceedingly wicked Body, when, having refused to say that the system which forbids marriage and the reading of the bible, and markets men as beasts, and violates the whole decalogue, is sinful; it puts on again its sanctimonious face, and resolves, that moving the feet to music, drinking a glass of wine, or some other specification, is a heinous sin!

5th. *But the clergymen of the County are against Gerrit Smith: and, at a Convention of them, held last Winter, a Resolution was passed, which refers to his Sunday Addresses as mere "political harangues."*

I am well aware, that most of the clergymen of the County have no sympathy with my efforts for the deliverance of the enslaved: but, they, surely, would have, were their own children among the enslaved. There is not a clergyman—nay, not a man—in the whole County, who, were his own child wearing the yoke of slavery, would think my antislavery zeal excessive—who, were that the deep and ever bleeding wound of his heart, would think my Sunday meetings a profanation of holy time. In that case, he would esteem no day too holy to be used in pleading for the slave.

I have read the resolution referred to; and all I have now to say of it is, that I fully believe, that, when the Convention classed my Sunday Addresses with the selfish and unprincipled appeals which fall under the name of "political harangues," they committed a crime against the cause of liberty and truth and righteousness, which some, if not all of its members, will yet look back upon with penitence.

I cannot refrain from saying in this connection, that there are, here and there, in different parts of this County, faithful ministers of the true gospel, who, at whatever hazard to their reputation, or means of living, plead boldly in behalf of the Savior's trodden-down poor. May God bless them. He does bless them. Their faithfulness returns a rich blessing into their own bosoms. Would that there were the required number of such men! One of the smallest benefits to result from it would be, that I, who so greatly need the rest and instructions of the Sabbath, would not feel it to be my duty to repeat, the present season, the labors, which I found, the last season, so severe a tax on my strength and health.

6th. *Perhaps, Gerrit Smith will not tell us the truth; for Professor Eaton says (see the Professor's last Fall's famous communications) that Gerrit Smith is not "the man of truth."*

But, when Professor Eaton says this, you no more believe him, than he believes himself. You cannot, therefore, be allowed to frame, out of the silly and wicked attacks which the poor hard-pressed Professor has made on my veracity, an excuse for not attending my meetings.

7th. *Gerrit Smith wants to get us to vote for his party.*

I shall not ask you to vote for any party. I shall not ask you to be as good as the Samaritan. He helped his brother, who "fell among thieves." All I shall ask of you is but to be no worse than the Priest and Levite. If they did not help, neither did they harm, the wounded man. They left him, as they found him, and did not hurt a hair of his head. Refuse to vote for the poor slave, if you can find it in your hearts to refuse to vote for him. All I shall ask of you, is, that you do not vote against him. Lie in bed, if you will, the whole of Election-day. Only do not rise from it to vote against the slave. Indeed, you had better never rise from it than repeat that crime. If you will not help the slave; at all events do not harm him. If you will not help break his chains; at least forbear to help rivet them. Refuse, if you will, to join the Liberty Party. I shall ask you but to quit your proslavery parties.

8th. Gerrit Smith is seeking for office at our hands.

And what, pray, would be more honorable both to yourselves and him, than that he should get it? There are many men, who get office from you, by flattering you in your wickedness; and, surely, office which is so obtained is honorable neither to the giver nor the getter. But if, notwithstanding my faithful reproofs of your wickedness—of your treason to God and the slave—to christianity and republicanism—I shall obtain office from you, both the giving and the getting, in that case, will assuredly be among the most honorable things which this corrupt world has ever seen. I must, however, beg you not to give me office, until I shall apply for it. When I shall make the application, is uncertain. It will be several years first, however. Yet awhile, if my life and health are spared, I must continue to tell you wholesome truths, which the demagogues and time-serving priests, whom you suffer to rule you, keep back from you; and, to tell you these, and simultaneously discharge the functions of the office you might give me, would be more than I should have time for.

Respectfully, yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

Westerly Aug 10 1844

Dear Sir,

Dear Sir,

I need not say that I received your letter in the most gratifying manner with joy. May God abundantly bless you for your open & decided stand on the side of the poor slave.

I have taken up my pen to ask you what course the new county in your County from the Democratic & Liberty Party will take. There are a number of prominent Democrats in this County, who, since the open schism of the Baltimore Convention of the Democratic Party & Liberty, have declared themselves for the Liberty Party. They think of holding a County Convention & inviting to it all the Democrats of the County. Would not this be well?

Among the recent converts in this County is one of your acquaintances of yours, John G. Carter Esq. formerly a merchant in New York - now a wealthy & respectable merchant in this Village. Mr. Carter was one Co. Clerk for six successive years. He is very actively with us. His change has had a great effect upon him.

With great regard  
your friend  
Gerrit Smith

P.S. I cannot get any that we shall among this County. How great will be the effect among us in your?

Yvonne Smith's  
Circular & letter to  
me Aug. 10<sup>th</sup> 1844

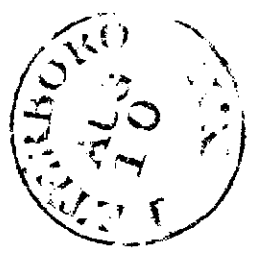
Liberty matters

PAID / 83

Mr. David T. Foote

Amherst

Chittaugus Co.



Am

78

King

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if you



PLAIN DEALER,

*Extra.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1—12 O'CLOCK, M.

The Steamboat *Constitution* has just arrived at our Dock, from Buffalo. Mr. *Birney* was on board and pronounces the following letter "a THOROUGH FORGERY!"

"SAGINAW, Sept. 26, 1844.

"Dear Sir—I have, for several days past, been seriously reflecting upon the proposition made me by you and your friends, at our private meeting on the evening of the 17th inst. To-morrow I start for the East, and shall not return until after the election. My journey is indispensable, and a DECEITFUL AND MURDERER will soon fill the seat of a Washington, a Jefferson, and a Jackson.

"After mature deliberation, I have concluded to accept the nomination of Representative of the State Legislature, provided your Convention see fit to nominate me. In case my abolition principles are assigned as a reason why I should not receive the nomination at the hands of the Democrats, you are hereby authorized to say to the Convention, that I am now and ever have been, a Democrat of the "Jeffersonian School." The Democracy of the country must be well satisfied that I am rendering them more effectual service by advocating Abolition Principles than if I were openly a Democrat. You are further authorized to say to the Convention, that in case I should be elected to the office of Representative from this county, I shall cheerfully and gratefully perform the duties assigned me, and hereby pledge myself to go for Democratic men and measures, and, (as you suggested in our recent conversation,) will forego the agitation of the Slavery question in our State Legislature.

"Commend me to your amiable lady, and believe me truly yours, &c.

JAS. G. BIRNEY.

To J. B. GARLAND, Saginaw City."

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1, 1844.

J. W. GRAY, Esq., DEAR SIR—

The letter purporting to be written by me to J. B. Garland, dated Sept. 26, is a *Forgery through-out!* I saw it for the first time in the Painesville Telegraph a few hours ago, at Fairport in this State. It is a **thorough Forgery!**

Yours, &c.

JAS. G. BIRNEY.

Mr. Shattuck Esq  
Anti Slavery Petition  
from Randolph 1844.

SOCIETY WESTFIELD N.Y 2012

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To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The undersigned inhabitants of Cattaraugus County, in the State of New-York, humbly beg leave to represent to your Honorable Body: That notwithstanding the Constitution of the United States provides, that, "The right of the people to be secure, in their persons, against unreasonable searches, and seizures, shall not be violated,—nor be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the People peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Yet many of the people of these United States, its Territories, and the District of Columbia, have been forcibly seized, without the accusation of any crime, and without due process of law, deprived of their liberty for life, and others sold for 99 years: And petitions in their behalf have been refused even a reception, by one, or both Houses of Congress, by a standing rule against the reception of such petitions—And should your memorialists be seized by their own, or any other Government, and sold as slaves, the rules of the house of representatives, as they have existed for the last few years, would exclude any petition in their behalf, from being received, by that Honorable Body. Your Memorialists, therefore, in view of their own Constitutional rights, as well as the unalienable rights of *all men*, petition your Honorable Body, to receive any, and every petition (if couched in respectful language) sent to either House of Congress, by any rational being of the United States, praying for a redress of any alledged grievance.

Your Memorialists further beg leave to represent, that in view of the objects for which our Fathers fought, bled, and achieved our independence, and afterwards in good faith established the Constitution of these United States, and in view also, of the large additions of slave territory, since added to the south-west borders, which have become part and parcel of this Union, thereby giving to the slave power, an undue influence over the councils of the nation, contrary to the spirit and just expectations of the illustrious founders of our republican Government; not to say contrary to the Constitution, as interpreted by Thomas Jefferson, and other eminent statesmen; and considering a still farther extension of our territory, especially a large slave territory in the same direction, would endanger our Union, and call down upon us, the reproaches of the civilized world, and the vengeance of *Jehovah*—

Your Memorialists do humbly remonstrate, against any, and every attempt, under any circumstances however plausible, to annex Texas to these United States. And your Memoreilists further beg leave to represent, that we can discover no power in the Federal Constitution, to authorise the General Government, to establish, much less to perpetuate slavery. But that it was reserved to the States, and consequently, cannot extend beyond State jurisdiction. We therefore respectfully remonstrate against the continuation of slavery in the Territories, and the District of Columbia, and respectfully request Congress to step to the very verge of their Constitutional powers, to prohibit the perpetuity of slavery in said District and Territories, and refuse to admit any new State into the Union, without a prohibition against Slavery, and also so to regulate Commerce between the several States, ~~as~~ to prohibit the International Slave trade, which we humbly conceive ought to be placed on the same footing as the African Slave trade. Your Memorialists, further beg leave to represent, that the African Slave trade, is still rigerously carried on by our citizens. That many thousands of Africans are annually smuggled into the United States, which help to swell the flood of our national disgrace and guilt. In vain do our laws prohibit this nefarious traffic.—In vain do they declare it PIRACY, so long as we insist that our *national colors*, shall protect all our vessels from being searched, or visited by vessels of any other nation, and prescribe the same scrupulous forbearance, as to our own vessels visiting vessels sailing under foreign colors. Notwithstanding all the civilized world, with the exception of the United States, have entered into treaty to search each other's vessels for African Slaves—yet your Memorialists would be disposed to hope for the honor of their Government, that some other motive, aside from the policy and extension of slavery was the cause of their Government declining to join the other civilized nations, in a mutual examination of each other's vessels for African slaves, had not our Government in 1824, when importuned by England on the subject, consented that vessels owned but not Chartered by our Citizens, might be searched on the coast of Africa. This proposal while it admitted the propriety of a mutual examination of vessels for slaves, indicated a disposition on our part, to provide means of escape to any slaver who chose to Charter instead of purchase a vessel. And now Slavers heaving in sight of a United States Ship of war, are safe by hoisting any other than American colors, and the American colors give a safe passport against any other national vessel except our own. Your Memorialists, in view of this monstrous national sin, curse and disgrace, respectfully memorialize Congress, to use their influence in the councils of the nation, to cause our Government to join the other nations in a mutual search for African Slaves:

## SLAVERY IS THE CREATURE OF POSITIVE LAW.

In the case of the slave *Sommersett*, the leading English case, it was decided, that,

"Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any, reasons moral or political, but only by positive law. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law."—20 *Howell State Trials*, 82.

Says Judge Holroyd, in the case of the slave *Forbs*, "According to the principles of the English law, such a right (to hold slaves) cannot be considered as warranted by the general law of nature. I do not mean to say that particular circumstances may not introduce a legal relation to that extent; but assuming that there may be such a relation, it can only have a local existence, where it is tolerated by the particular law of the place. The law of slavery is a law *in invitum*; and when a party gets out of the territory where it prevails, \* \* \* the right of the master, which is founded on the municipal law of the particular place only, does not exist."—*Barnwall and Creswell's Report*.

"Slavery is a local law. If a man wishes to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains; for the instant they get beyond the limits, where slavery is recognized by the local law, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from their prison, and are free. \* \* \* Whatever service the slave owed by the local law, is got rid of, the moment he got out of the local limits."—*Ibid*.

"The right of the master exists not by force of the law of nature or nations, but by virtue only of the positive law of the State."—*The State of Mississippi v. Jones*.—*Wheeler*, 253.

## A SLAVE IS, BY LAW, A THING.

In *Louisiana*. "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor;—he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master."—*Civil Code*, Art. 35.

"The slave is entirely subject to the will of his master, who may correct and chastise him, though not with unusual rigor, or so as to maim or mutilate him, or to expose him to the danger of loss of life, or to cause his death."—*Ibid*, Art. 173.

In *South Carolina*. "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed, and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal*, (i. e. personal property,) in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever."—2 *Brev. Dig.* 229; *Prince's Digest*, 446.

Says Judge Stroud, "The cardinal principle of slavery,—that the slave is not to be ranked among sentient beings, but among things,—is an article of property,—a chattel personal,—obtains as undoubted law in all of these (the slave) States."—pp. 22, 23.

## A SLAVE HAS NO RIGHTS—HE CANNOT BE A PARTY IN A SUIT AT LAW.

"A slave," says Stroud, "cannot be a party to a civil suit."—p. 76.

"A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury, which he has received from him."—p. 57.

"A slave cannot be a party to a suit, except in the single case where the negro is held as a slave, and he claims to be free. It would be an idle form and ceremony, to make a slave a party to a suit, by the instrumentality of which he could recover nothing; or, if a recovery could be had, the instant it was recovered, would belong to his master. The slave can possess nothing; he can hold nothing. He is, therefore, not a competent party to a suit. And the same rule prevails wherever slavery is tolerated, whether there be legislative enactments upon the subject, or not."—*Wheeler's Law of Slavery*, p. 197.

"A slave cannot stand in judgment for any other purpose than to assert his freedom—he cannot contest the title of the person claiming him as a slave."—*Ibid*, p. 197.

"Whilst in a state of slavery, it (marriage) cannot produce any civil effect, because slaves are deprived of all civil rights."—*Ibid*, p. 199.

## A SLAVE CANNOT BE A WITNESS AGAINST A WHITE PERSON.

In *Virginia*. "Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in Pleas of the Commonwealth, for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas, where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, and in no other cases whatever."—1 *R. V. C.*, 422.

This is the law in every slave State in this Union.

## SLAVES CANNOT HOLD PROPERTY.

"All that a slave possesses belongs to his master; he possesses nothing of his own except his *peculium*, that is to say, the sum of money or moveable estate, which his master chooses he should possess."—*Civ. Code of Louisiana*, Art. 175.

"Slaves are incapable of inheriting or transmitting property."—*Ibid*, Art. 945.

"Slaves cannot dispose of, or receive by donation, *intervivos* or *mortis causa*, unless they have been previously and expressly enfranchised conformably to law, or unless they are expressly enfranchised by the act by which the donation is made to them."—Art. 1462.

"These principles prevail in all the States, (slave States) and are taken from the civil law."—*Wheeler's Law of Slavery*, p. 7.

"Slaves are themselves considered as property, and can neither take, possess, or retain any, except for the use of their masters."

"The slave can possess nothing; he can hold nothing."—*Ibid*, p. 197.

"Our slaves can do nothing in their own right; can hold no property; can neither buy, sell, barter or dispose of any thing, without express permission from the master or overseer; so, that every thing they can possess or do is, in legal contemplation, on the authority of the master.

"A slave is in absolute bondage; he has no civil right, and can hold no property, except at the will and pleasure of his master; and all his rights and acquisitions and services are in the hands of his master.—A slave is a rational being, endowed with volition and understanding like the rest of mankind, and whatever he lawfully acquires, and gains possession of, by finding or otherwise, is the acquirement and possession of the master."—*Ibid*, p. 6.

## SLAVES CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES.

In *Georgia*. "If any slave shall presume to strike any white person, such slave, upon trial and conviction, before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, shall, for the first offence, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence, suffer DEATH."—*Prince's Dig.* 450.

"The law of *South Carolina*,—2 *Brevard's Dig.* 235, is in the same words, except that death is not made the punishment of the second, but of the third offence."—*Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws*, p. 97.

## SLAVES CAN MAKE NO CONTRACT.

Even the marriage contract between them is in law null and void. "A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband, being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder."—*Maryland Reports*, 561, 563.

"The Court held, that contracts made by negroes while in slavery, do not bind them after they are liberated."—*Monroe's Rep.* 45.

"A slave can make no contract." "One general principle predominates in all the slave States, and that is, that a slave cannot make a contract." "Not even a contract of matrimony."—*Wheeler's Law of Slavery*, p. 190.

## SLAVES CAN RECEIVE NO WAGES ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT.

"The earnings of slaves and the price of their services belong to their owners, who have their action to recover the amount from those who have employed them."—*Louisiana Code of Practice*, Art. 103.

"The slave cannot hire himself out in any of the States. The Statutes, of the States contain a prohibition, with a penalty against the slaves going at large, or hiring himself out."—*Wheeler's Law of Slavery*, p. 152.

## SLAVES MAY BE KILLED BY MODERATE CORRECTION.

In *North Carolina*. "If any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a freeman:—Provided, always, that this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of Assembly of this State, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION."—*Haywood's Manual*, 530.—*Laws of Tennessee*, of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso."—*Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws*, p. 37.

In *Georgia*. "Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on like proof:—except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless such death should happen by accident, in giving such SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION."—*Prince's Dig.* 559.

## SLAVES ARE NOT PROTECTED FROM ASSAULT AND BATTERY.

The protection afforded the slaves against cruel and brutal inflictions may be learned from the following decision.—In *State v. Hale*, 2 *Hawks's N. Car. Rep.* 532, (*Wheeler*, 239.) we are taught that battery committed on a slave, no justification being shown, is an indictable offence. From this principle the master is expressly excepted, and the reason assigned for the protection given against the assaults of others is, "If such offences may be committed with impunity, the public peace will not only be rendered extremely insecure, but the value of slave property must be much impaired, for the offenders can seldom make any reparation in damages."

*The State v. Mann* (1829) 2, *Devereaux's North Car. Rep.* 263, (*Wheeler*, 244.) teaches that a master is not liable to an indictment for a battery committed upon his slave, although he may be only master for the time being, by having hired the slave of another. The case was that of a woman. "On the trial it appeared, that the defendant had hired the slave for a year, that during the term the slave had committed some small offence, for which the defendant undertook to chastise her; that while in the act of so doing the slave ran off; whereupon the defendant called upon her to stop, which being refused, he shot at and wounded her."

*Ruffin, J.*, gave the law that "upon the general question, whether the owner is answerable *criminaliter*, for a battery upon his own slave, or other exercise of authority or force, not forbidden by statute, the court entertains but little doubt. That he is so liable has never been decided; nor, as far as is known, been hitherto contended. There has been no prosecution of the sort. The established habits and uniform practice of the country in this respect, is the best evidence of the portion of power deemed by the whole community requisite to the preservation of the master's dominion." The defendant was acquitted.

## SLAVES CAN HAVE NO SOCIETY.

"If a slave shall be out of the house, &c., or off the plantation, &c., of his master, &c., without some white person in company, &c., and shall refuse to submit to an examination of any white person, &c., such white person may apprehend and moderately correct him; and if he shall assault and strike such white person, he may be lawfully killed."—2 *Brev. Dig.* 231.—*Prince's Dig.* 447.

In *Virginia*, *Mississippi*, *Missouri*, *Kentucky*, and *Maryland*.—"If a slave shall presume to come upon the plantation of any person, without leave in writing from his master, employer, &c., not being sent on lawful business, the owner of the plantation may inflict ten lashes for every such offence."—1 *Virginia Rev. Code*, 422-3.—*Miss. R. C.* 371.—2 *Litt. & Swi. Dig.* 1150.—2 *Missouri Laws*, 741.—*Md. Laws*, act of 1723, cap. 15, § 1 & 5.

In *South Carolina* and *Georgia*. It shall be lawful for any person who shall see more than seven men slaves, without some white person with them, travelling or assembled together, in any high road, to apprehend such slaves, and to inflict a whipping on each of them, not exceeding twenty lashes a piece."—2 *Brev. Dig.* 243.—*Prince's Dig.* 454.

In *North Carolina* and *Tennessee*. "For travelling in the night without a pass, forty lashes; or being found in another person's negro quarters or kitchen, forty lashes; and every negro, in whose company such vagrant slave shall be found, incurs also twenty lashes."—*Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws*, p. 103.

Joseph Millock  
Mills, M.P.

**SLAVES ARE OVERWORKED.**

*In South Carolina.* "Whereas many owners of slaves, and others who have the care, management and overseeing of slaves, do confine them so closely to hard labor, that they have not time for natural rest. Be it therefore enacted, That if any owner of slaves, or other person who shall have the care, management or overseeing of any slaves, shall work, or put any such slave or slaves to labor more than FIFTEEN hours in twenty-four hours from the twenty-fifth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of September; or more than FOURTEEN hours in twenty-four hours from the twenty-fifth day of September to the twenty-fifth day of March, every such person shall forfeit any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, nor under five pounds, current money, for every time he, she or they, shall offend herein, at the discretion of the justice before whom the complaint shall be made."—2 *Brev. Dig.* 243.

*In Louisiana.* "The slaves shall be allowed half an hour for breakfast during the whole year; from the first day of May to the first day of November, they shall be allowed two hours for dinner; and from the first day of November to the first day of May, one hour and a half for dinner; provided, however, that the owners, who will themselves take the trouble of causing to be prepared the meals of their slaves, be, and they are hereby authorized to abridge, by half an hour per day, the time fixed for their rest."—1 *Martin's Digest*, 610, 612.

**SLAVES ARE ILL FED.**

*In Louisiana.* "Every owner shall be held to give his slaves the quantity of provisions hereafter specified, to wit, one barrel of Indian corn, (white flat corn, in the ear,) or the equivalent thereof in rice, beans or other grain, and a pint of salt, and to deliver the same to the said slaves in kind every month, and never in money, under a penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence."—*Martin's Dig.* 610, act of July 7, 1806.

*In North Carolina.* "In case any slave, or slaves, who shall not appear to have been clothed and fed according to the intent and meaning of this act, that is to say, to have been sufficiently clothed, and to have constantly received for the preceding year an allowance not less than a quart of corn per day, shall be convicted of stealing any corn, cattle, &c., from any person not the owner of such slave or slaves, such injured person shall and may maintain an action of trespass against the master, owner or possessor of such slave, &c., and shall recover his or her damages, &c."—*Haywood's Manual*, 524-5.

**SLAVES ARE NOT WELL CLOTHED.**

What is meant, in the above law, by being "sufficiently clothed," we are left to guess. The whole amount of the slave's food is 11 bushels and 13 quarts of corn per year, worth, perhaps, on the average, five dollars and sixty-five or seventy cents. If his clothing is graduated by the same scale, he cannot receive above the value of five dollars a year, scarcely enough to cover his nakedness, or to protect him from the scorching sun in summer, or piercing winds in winter. It is, perhaps, explained in what follows.

*In Louisiana.* "The slaves, who shall not have, on the property of their owners, a lot of ground to cultivate on their own account, shall be entitled to receive from such owner, one linen shirt and pantaloons, for the summer, and a linen shirt and woolen great coat and pantaloons for the winter."—1 *Martin's Dig.*, 610.

**SLAVES ARE TRIED FOR CAPITAL CRIMES WITHOUT A JURY, AND PUT TO DEATH BY TORTURES.**

*In South Carolina.* "All crimes and offences committed by slaves in this State, for which capital punishment may lawfully be inflicted, shall be heard, examined, tried and adjudged, and finally determined by any TWO JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, and any number of freeholders, not less than three, nor more than five, in the district where the offence shall be committed, and at a place where they can be most conveniently assembled; either of which justices, on complaint made or information received, of any such offence committed by a slave, shall

commit the offender to the safe custody of some constable of the district, and shall, without delay, by warrant under his hand and seal, call to his assistance, and request any one of the nearest justices of the peace to associate with him; and shall, by the same warrant, summon the number of free holders aforesaid from the neighborhood, to assemble and meet together with the said justices, at a certain day and place, not exceeding six days after the apprehending of such slave or slaves, &c.; and the justices and freeholders being so assembled, shall cause the slave accused or charged to be brought before them, and shall hear the accusation that shall be brought against such slave or slaves, and his, her or their defence," (pray who is to make the defence? The slave has no counsel, and is utterly ignorant of the law, and incapable of defending himself,) "and shall proceed to the examination of witnesses and other evidence, and finally hear and determine the matter brought before them, in the most summary and expeditious manner; and in case the accused shall be convicted of any crime, for which, by law, the punishment would be death, the said justices shall give judgment and award SUCH MANNER\* OF DEATH, as the said justices, with the consent of said freeholders, shall direct, and which they shall judge will be most EFFECTUAL to deter others from offending in the like manner."—*James's Dig.* 392-3.

*In Louisiana,* by an act of Assembly, passed June 7, 1806, this act of South Carolina was adopted, with no other change, than that a judge of the court, may, if present, act, instead of the two justices of the peace."—*Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws*, p. 124, from "*Martin's Dig.* 642."

"The law in Virginia is substantially the same, as to the constitution of the court,—the only difference being, that, instead of the two justices and three free holders, five justices, WITHOUT JURIES, says the act, shall be a competent tribunal for trying slaves charged with felony."—*Rev. Code*, 425—*Ibid.*, p. 124.

**INFLICTED PUNISHMENTS FOR SLIGHT OFFENCES.**

For travelling by himself from his master's land to any other place, unless by the most usual and accustomed road, the owner of the land on which such slave may be found, is authorized to inflict forty lashes upon him."—*Stroud's Sketch*, p. 103, from *Haywood's Manual*, 518.

"Any person who lawfully kill a slave who has been outlawed, for running away and lurking in swamps."—*Ibid.*, p. 103, from *Haywood's*

"A slave endeavoring to entice another slave to run away, if provisions, &c., be prepared for the purpose of aiding in such running away, shall be punished with death."—2 *Brevard's Dig.* 238, 244.

"And any slave who shall be aid and abet the slave so endeavoring to entice another slave to run away, shall also suffer death."—*Ibid.*—*Stroud's Sketch*, p. 104.

**SLAVES DENIED MENTAL INSTRUCTION.**

*In Virginia.* "All meetings or assemblages of slaves, &c., at any school or schools, for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly, and any justice of a county, &c., wherein such assembly shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c., may issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c., may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes."—*Rev. Code*, 424-5.

Kentucky, it is said, has interposed no legislative prohibitions, to prevent the education of slaves, though she has never made any provision for it. All the other slave states are fairly represented on this subject, by the above savage and inhuman law of Virginia. By these cruel enactments, more than two millions of the inhabitants of this free, ENLIGHTENED, CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC, are reduced to more than heathen ignorance and degradation.

**SLAVES ARE DENIED THE PRIVILEGES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND THE MEANS OF SALVATION.**

*In Georgia.* "No congregation or company of negroes, shall, under pretence of divine worship, assemble themselves contrary to the act regulating patrols."—*Prince's Dig.*, 342.

*In South Carolina.* "It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun, or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c., are hereby vested with power, &c., for dispersing such assemblies."—*Brevard's Dig.*, 254-5.

*In Virginia,* all evening meetings of slaves are absolutely prohibited. During the day, they must toil for their master. In this manner, the privileges of public worship, and means of salvation, are almost entirely taken from them. And the laws of this State, as well as those of Georgia and South Carolina, quoted above, are fair indices of those of the whole slave holding States, and not unjust exponents of the same frowd, which every where through that region pervades in relation to the spiritual and eternal welfare of the slaves.

**EVERY NEGRO IS PRESUMED IN LAW TO BE A SLAVE.**

"It shall always be presumed, that every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary be made to appear, the Indians in amity with this government, excepted."—*Brev. Digest*, 929, 80.

**SLAVERY IS, BY LAW, HEREDITARY AND PERPETUAL.**

*In South Carolina.* "All negroes, Indians, (Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes and mestizos, who are now free, excepted,) mulattoes or mestizos, who now are, or shall hereafter be in this Province, (now State,) and all their issue and offspring born, or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, and remain forever, hereafter, absolute slaves, and shall follow the condition of the mother."—*Act of 1740*, 2 *Brev. Dig.*, 446.

This is the law, in relation to the child following the condition of the mother, in all the slave States.

**EMANCIPATION OPPOSED BY LAW.**

It is a general principle of slave law, that emancipation cannot take effect except with the consent of creditors. Emancipated slaves are liable to be sold for debts of their former masters contracted before their emancipation. In South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emancipation can be effected only by authority of the Legislature specially granted. In Georgia any attempt to set a slave free, in the State, by any other mode, is made a penal offence. In North Carolina a slave can only be set free for "meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court. In Mississippi, emancipation can only be effected by special act of the Legislature, on proof meritorious services to the master or the State.

Courts have power to license emancipation when of opinion that it is consistent with the policy of the State. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia and Maryland, slaves may be emancipated by will or recorded instrument, and in Maryland, slaves may be emancipated by themselves.

St. L.  
Park Ave.  
Peck  
Pendleton  
Patt O'Brien  
North J. G.  
N  
Orange S  
Orwell  
McWhorter  
Lee Duff  
Kiddell  
Knight Post  
Middleburg  
Daily Market Lane

Courts have power to license emancipation when of opinion that it is consistent with the policy of the State. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia and Maryland, slaves may be emancipated by will or recorded deed, saving rights of creditors, and the master obligating himself that the emancipated shall not become a public charge. The law of Virginia requires the freedman to be sent out of the State within six months, and a recent law of Maryland contains a similar provision. By the code of Louisiana, "No one can emancipate his slave, unless the slave has attained the age of thirty years, and has behaved well at least for four years preceding his emancipation," Art. 195, except, "a slave, who has saved the life of his master, his master's wife or one of his children," for such a one "may be emancipated at any age," Art. 196. Emancipation, however, cannot take effect, unless, after the intention has been publicly notified for forty days, and no opposition has been made, the Court shall give its authority.—Art. 187.

"Under the authority here given to the justices and freeholders, to award such manner of death as they may think fit, horrid spectacles are some times exhibited to public gaze. An account of one of these, — i. e. the burning of a negro woman to death, may be found in the daily prints of 1820."  
—Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws, p. 124.

The good cause — Best  
Randolph hearts are  
seamed and case handed  
Yours in haste  
J. M. Featherstick

COPYRIGHT CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY WESTFIELD, NY 2012

16 Randolph 21<sup>st</sup> of Sept. 1844

De Sir

Elder Wiley informs me this morning that some of your old long friends in Leon who have lately set their faces towards Liberty wish to see you at their place - Can you make it convenient to be there next Thursday & meet the Rev. Mr. Ward who is to be there at 2 P.M. I calculate to meet Ward at Little valley & wait on him to this place if no farther - You will see by the Randolph Herald that the Libertarian men of Randolph are doing a little something in

Proprietors  
M. C. ...

Received Payment  
From July 15 1844 to Nov 15 1844 Mos.

For the Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle,

To LEAVITT & ALDEN,

Printers  
1844  
Boston July 15

Amount

Wm. L. ...

P.S. I have received nothing from ...

Joseph ...

... necessary

to secure human rights, & ...

with the hope that the ...

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in a ...

Our friend ...

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from ...

My Dear Sir

Yours very truly

Wm. L. ...

17

Emancipator  
Bill Liberty papers  
for Jonathan  
Campaign  
1844

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**NEW YORK HERALD.**  
New York, Wednesday, September 25, 1844.

**Position and Prospects of the Whigs—Sentiments of the New York Whig Press.**

We give in this day's paper, in another portion of our columns, some very curious extracts from the leading Whig journals of yesterday, relative to the prospects and position of the Whig party at the present crisis. The first extracts are taken from the *Times*, which has a large circulation throughout the interior of this State, amongst the Whigs, and is the special organ of a particular clique of Whigs in this city. The other extracts are taken from the *Courier & Enquirer*, which is considered as the representative of the financial class of the Whigs, as its contemporary is of the office-beggars, speculators, philosophers, Courtiers, and all that sort of thing.

It will be perceived from the spirit and tone of these remarks, that the Whig party, at the present moment, is precisely in that singular condition of panic and alarm, and in the very midst of that peculiar crisis which we have been describing for some time past, and to which we have called the attention of all parties throughout the country. We have always contended, from past facts in the history of our elections, that, generally speaking, the Whigs constitute the great mass of the people, who are opposed to the pure democratic policy, but that it was very seldom that they could be brought out to the polls in their full force, not in factly, but in a practical demonstration of their majority, unless at a period of unusual and universal political excitement. It is now very evident that the Whigs themselves—the Whig leaders, especially of every class—are beginning to understand their true position, and that what we have always represented to be the case is quite correct, to wit, that the organization of the abolition or 'liberty party,' which has been mainly produced by the agitation of the slave question by John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and others, has brought the Whigs into a very critical pass, so that the 'liberty' men may be said—as far as the Whigs are concerned—to hold the balance of power in the northern and middle States. The *Tribune* itself admits this in its platonic terms. It acknowledges in the most unequivocal manner the accuracy of our view of the present position of the Whig party, the causes which have reduced them to that position, its dangers, and the prospects of the future. The *Tribune* says, 'Should the abolition party increase in the like ratio this year as in former years, and should they be drawn as heretofore from the Whig ranks, such a fact might endanger the triumph of the Whig party next November.' This is precisely the position which the Whigs have occupied for some time past—here is the rock on which they are to split if they do not move hereafter with the greatest care and caution. They have been brought into this position by their own leaders and organs—by the bad policy of their principal leaders in Congress—by the folly of Seward and those who have followed in his wake in New York—and in some respects by the violent opposition made to the annexation of Texas by Mr. Webster and those who adhere to him in the northern and middle States.

There never was a greater mistake made by any party than that into which Mr. Webster and the leader of the Whigs have fallen in relation to the annexation of Texas. This was merely a question whether this country would enlarge its colonial fields in the South, so as to cheapen the prices of that article for the manufacturers in the East, extending at the same time our markets for many factories and products, to the exclusion of the British and European manufacturers and merchants from that wide field. But instead of regarding the question in that practical and popular light, it has been looked at with the eyes of a mere politician by Mr. Webster, and he has endeavored to make a political question, mixing it up, too, with the abstract questions of slavery and abolition, and other things with which it had little or nothing to do.

Mr. Clay himself has very properly remarked that the present state of things amongst Whigs will be abstracted from the democratic ranks as from those of the Whigs—but this is somewhat doubtful, and it is against all previous facts, all past experience. Heretofore it has been very clearly shown that the great mass of the abolitionists comes from the Whig party. With respect to our other columns, the *Times* and the *Courier* are quite correct, and is sustained by all the members of the New York Whig Press.

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**BY THE WHIG JOURNALS.**

**IN NEW YORK.**

**POSITION OF THE WHIG PARTY**

It is hardly possible, however, Philadelphia next week. It is hardly possible, however, that the Whigs will be drawn as heretofore from the Whig ranks, such a fact might endanger the triumph of the Whig party next November. This is precisely the position which the Whigs have occupied for some time past—here is the rock on which they are to split if they do not move hereafter with the greatest care and caution. They have been brought into this position by their own leaders and organs—by the bad policy of their principal leaders in Congress—by the folly of Seward and those who have followed in his wake in New York—and in some respects by the violent opposition made to the annexation of Texas by Mr. Webster and those who adhere to him in the northern and middle States.

There never was a greater mistake made by any party than that into which Mr. Webster and the leader of the Whigs have fallen in relation to the annexation of Texas. This was merely a question whether this country would enlarge its colonial fields in the South, so as to cheapen the prices of that article for the manufacturers in the East, extending at the same time our markets for many factories and products, to the exclusion of the British and European manufacturers and merchants from that wide field. But instead of regarding the question in that practical and popular light, it has been looked at with the eyes of a mere politician by Mr. Webster, and he has endeavored to make a political question, mixing it up, too, with the abstract questions of slavery and abolition, and other things with which it had little or nothing to do.

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*Becher's Copy*

*Caor*

*Debat*

*Elm St*

*Fairman*

*Heeds's E.R.*

*Hine*

THE RALLYING CRY OF NEW ENGLAND AGAINST THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS!

By a YANKEE.



Rouse up, New England! Buckle on your mail of proof sublime, Your stern old hate of tyranny, your deep contempt of crime; A traitor plot is hatching now, more full of woe and shame Than ever from the iron heart of bloodiest despot came!

Six slave States added at a breath! One flourish of a pen, And fetters shall be riveted on millions more of men! One drop of ink to sign a name, and slavery shall find For all her surplus flesh and blood, a market to her mind.

A market where good democrats their fellow-men may sell! O, what a grin of fiendish glee runs round and round through hell! How all the damned leap up for joy, and half forget their fire, To think men take such pains to claim the notice of God's ire!

Is't not enough that we have borne the sneer of all the world, And bent to those whose haughty lips in scorn of us are curl'd? Is't not enough that we must hunt their living chattels back, And cheer the hungry blood-hounds on that howl upon their track?

Is't not enough that we must bow to all that they decree— These cotton and tobacco lords, these pimps of slavery? That we must yield our conscience up to glut oppression's maw, And break our faith with God, to keep the letter of Man's law?

But must we sit in silence by, and see the chain and whip Made firmer in all time to come, in Slavery's bloody grip? Must we not only half the guilt and shame endure, But help to make our tyrant's throne of flesh and blood secure?

If hand and foot we must be bound by deeds our fathers signed, And must be cheated, gulled and scorn'd, because they too were blind, Why, let them have their pound of flesh—for that is in the bond— But woe to them if they but take a half hair's breadth beyond!

Is water running in our veins? Do we remember still Old Plymouth rock and Lexington, and glorious Bunker Hill? The debt we owe our fathers' graves? and to the yet unborn, Whose heritage ourselves must make a thing of pride or scorn?

Gray Plymouth rock hath yet a tongue, and Concord is not dumb, And voices from our fathers' graves, and from the future come: They call on us to stand our ground, they charge us still to be Not only free from chains ourselves, but foremost to make free!

The homespun mail by mothers wove, that erst so freely met The British steel, clothes hearts as warm with Pilgrim virtues yet: Come, brethren, up! Come, mothers, cheer your sons once more, to go Forth to a nobler battle-field than with our olden foe!

Come, grasp your ancient buckler, gird on your ancient sword; Let FREEDOM be your bastion, your armory God's WORD; Shout "God for our New England!" and smite them hip and thigh, The cursed race of Amaleck, whose armour is a lie!

They fight against the law of God, the sacred human heart: One charge from Massachusetts, and their counsils fall apart! Rock the old Cradle yet once more! let Faneuil Hall send forth The anger of true-hearted men, the lightning of the North!

Awake, New England! While you sleep the foes advance their lines; Already on your strong-hold's wall their bloody banner shines: Awake! and hurl them back again, in terror and despair; The time has come for earnest deeds—we've not a man to spare!

19  
The Vermont Election Returns demonstrate it. The movements in different parts of this State establish it. In Chautauque Co., Judge E. T. Foote always before one of the strongest Van Buren men in this section, is now actively canvassing for the Birney ticket. A well informed Loco Foco neighbor assures us that his efforts will tell. So in Rochester, where Messrs. J. D. Husbands, Geo. W. Pratt, and a number who have hitherto been ardent and most efficient Van Buren men, are now as active for Birney. In Madison, the open secession from the Van Buren ranks to Birney of men always and still the bitterest adversaries of the Whigs, is headed by a Member of our last Assembly, followed by several others who have filled responsible stations in the gift of that party. In short, the "Liberty party" organization in the State, which has always before borne wholly against the Whigs, and would have done this time if Mr. Van Buren had been re-nominated, will this year take votes from our opponents as well as from us—to what extent we cannot say, but at any rate considerably. If we had their Texas load to carry, we should get no votes at all.  
At one time we believed most of those Abolitionists, who are whigs in national politics, would vote with us this time to prevent the annexation of Texas, giving Mr. Clay a very large majority. At present, it seems as though the shameful perversion and garbling of Mr. Clay's Alabama letter, would repel a good part of them from doing so. The "Liberty party" press and organization are mainly in the hands of bitter, deadly enemies of the whigs, and especially of Mr. Clay, who mean to defeat us if they can. Many of them will stealthily vote the Polk ticket if they can do it in no other way. But there are a great many who vote abolition solely because they detest and abhor slavery, and they are strongly averse, on every ground, to the annexation of Texas to this country so long as Mexico shall be at war with, or slavery exist therein. These will vote with us still, if they can be made to see and understand the truth that the election of Polk ensures the success of annexation, while the triumph of the whigs in the election of Mr. Clay will as surely prevent annexation so long as Mexico shall persist in claiming that Territory, or a respectable portion of our own States object to the union. We believe they will yet be made to see this, in spite of the desperate efforts of the third party leaders, and that those who heartily prefer the ascendancy of the whigs to that of the locofocos, on Texas and other grounds, will yet vote with us. If they do, Mr. Clay will have a large majority. \* \* \* \* \*  
Such is our deliberate conviction. We may be mistaken, as we and others have been; but our sources of information are many and various, and we are sustained by the judgment of discreet, well-informed men in the several Counties. In this City we know there can be no majority for Polk unless obtained by fraudulent and double voting, and that the Whigs are determined to prevent, at whatever cost. We are quite aware that the aspect of the canvass here will be very much brightened or darkened by the result of the October elections, to which all are looking with such anxious interest. Should Pennsylvania declare for us, the play is over. Should the Whigs carry three of the five States then voting—Maryland, Georgia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio—(We don't count Arkansas,) we shall consider New York safe enough. But should we be tripped, either as cruelly as in 1839, when Maryland, Ohio and Pennsylvania went against us and New Jersey was induced left in dispute, New York, as they will sternly and proudly roll back the tide of adversity, and returning with gladness and confidence hope the countenances of the Whigs throughout the Union. She has resolved that Henry Clay shall be next President, and will not be swerved from her purpose.

Table with 5 columns and multiple rows of handwritten numbers and names. Names include: Post Office, Penniston, Beck H.E., State S., Salisbury, Steele & A.R., Selden D., Smith S., Soalle, Tomline, Townbridge, Temple St., Hobe N.H., Carr Beecher, Cherry St., Cedar St., Omsstead, and Cash.

I am often led to wonder and say within myself  
 when will this place be delivered from those those  
 things that are so directly calculated to destroy our pe  
 ce happiness and welfare But feel that we ought ev  
 to trust in him who is able to deliver. I should be p  
 use to hear from you occasionally & how the good cause  
 progresses. You will please excuse my liberty, my want  
 of a knowledge of language and definition of words.

I am dear Sir your friend and will wish in  
 this good cause

*J. P. Barber*

*Chas. S. Coote Esq.*

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5<sup>th</sup> 1848  
 Perry Creek March

Dear Sir

I take liberty to direct a few lines to you, informing you of our prospects as Liberty Men. We met on Saturday evening to nominate Town Officers: and found (by the number present and this part men acted) that, as I suggested to you (when on our way to Ellington) that you visit here had left a favourable impression on the mind. The three parties in making nominations went straight through from sup. to Town scale; with the exception of Superintendent on the Liberty ticket (viz. Esq. Mason) who was supposed was decidedly with us but found he was not. He was supported by the Whigs for the same office and consequently was elected. The Whig Collector was elected.

Otherwise the Democratic ticket succeeded throughout: But to see the spirit of opposition to Liberty & justice principles or rather to those who aim to carry them out would be discouraging to men who were not acting under a sense of duty to their God and Country.

When we take this view of the subject and realize that our feeble endeavours seem to be doing any service of you we are enabled to venture forward trusting in the activity of our cause and seeing that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. But oh my Brother how much wisdom & grace we need to enable us to be as wise as serpents & as harmless as doves. We were disappointed in the result of the election: The highest calculation made by any of our friends was <sup>votes</sup> it range from 40 to 50. We are perfectly satisfied with the result of the election as respects our own success: But to see the course that men pursue to sustain the scale of sin or contrary to it. To see a party neglect men of sound moral principle and elect those entirely destitute and to see the scenes of Drunkenness and Prophanity that men are sickening in the extreme and

6 to 11

- 1 They tell us that we do not feel  
For Pagans <sup>and</sup> the we care  
As if our hearts are turned to steel  
While bleeding for the slave!
- 2 They tell us that we cannot hear  
The cry from <sup>the</sup> idol lands;  
As if it stumped a brother's ear  
To loose a brother's bonds!
- 3 They tell us we forget to pray  
For the dark <sup>the</sup> heathen shore;  
As if it chilled our faith away,  
To kneel the bondman o'er
- 4 They tell us we will not pour  
Our offerings <sup>o'er</sup> the sea;  
As if it would stand <sup>our</sup> gifts the more  
To set the captive free!
- 5 But no! 'tis universal man  
We love, and toil to save:  
For 'tis a part of God's great plan,  
To disenfranchise the slave.

6 to 11

- 1 What mean ye that ye brave and bold  
My people <sup>and</sup> the Lord,  
And stain his name, <sup>and</sup> envenom brother's mind,  
Who wishes to be <sup>in</sup> my word?
- 2 What mean ye that ye make their tail,  
Through long <sup>and</sup> dreary years,  
And shed like rain upon your sail  
A <sup>black</sup> blood, and bitter tears?
- 3 What mean ye that ye dash to <sup>the</sup> land  
The tender mother's heart,  
Brothers from sisters, friends from friends,  
How dare ye bid them part?
- 4 What mean ye when God's banners bend,  
To give so much <sup>to</sup> his hand,  
That from the slave <sup>he</sup> tells your land,  
Ye keep both earth and heaven?
- 5 When at the judgment God shall call,  
Where is thy brother? Say,  
What mean ye to the judge of all  
To answer on that day?

Lull

- 1 Shepherd of souls, with pitying eye,  
The thunders of our Israhel see;  
To thee in their behalf we cry,  
Ourselves but newly found in thee.
- 2 Sea & shore & desert wastes they <sup>are</sup>  
And neither food nor food nor <sup>have</sup>;  
Nor food, nor place of refuge near;  
For no man cares their souls to save.
- 3 Wild as the untamed Indian's blood  
The Christian savages <sup>are</sup> in;  
Strangers, yea, enemies to God,  
They make their <sup>own</sup> blood in vain.
- 4 Thy people, Lord, are sold for nought;  
Nor know they their Redeemer's might;  
They perish whom thyself hast bought;  
Their souls for lack of knowledge die.

Lull

- 1 Eternal Father! Thou hast made  
A numerous family thy care!  
Nor sable hue, nor cast, nor grade  
Excludes the mearest from thy care.
- 2 Of kindred blood, and flesh the same,  
In thy pure sight of equals all;  
Thou why shouldst the scepter claim,  
And crush his brother to the earth?
- 3 Why shouldst the sighing bondman grope  
A cheerless journey to the tomb;  
No star to guide - no ray of hope,  
To shine upon the dusky gloom?
- 4 Wilt thou not hear, and set them free,  
The downcast slaves, for whom we plead;  
And make our land, as it should be,  
A free and happy land indeed.

1. This hour of freedom come it must  
Charter it with our eyes, & hearts;  
When all who grovel in the dust,  
Shall stand erect, their fathers' rights
2. Whim-glorious freedom shall be won  
By every caste, complexion, & lineage;  
When the warring shall be o'erthrown,  
And color cease to be a crime
3. Friend of the poor, long suffering & kind,  
Thy mercy rescue from their graves  
This guilty land from ruin & sin;  
Let justice sheath her glittering sword,  
And mercy rescue from the grave
4. And ye who are like the cattle sold,  
Ignobly trodden like the earth,  
And bartered constantly for gold -  
Your souls be saved from their high birth
5. Bear meekly still your cruel load,  
Light follows darkness - comfort pain;  
So soon shall give you sweet repose,  
And sever every hateful chain.

1. When Pharaoh dared to vex the saints,  
And thus provoked their God,  
Moses was sent at their complaints,  
Armed with his dreadful rod.
2. He called for darkness - darkness came,  
Like an o'ershining flood;  
He made each lake, and every stream  
A lake, a stream of blood.
3. He gave the sign - and noisome flies  
Through the whole country spread;  
And frogs in croaking armies  
About the monarchs bed.
4. Through fields, and towns, and palaces,  
The ten-fold locusts flew;  
Locusts in swarms devoured their trees,  
And hail their cattle slew.
5. Then by an angel's midnight stroke  
The flower of Egypt died;  
The strength of Egypt's house broke,  
Their glory and their pride.
6. O modern Pharaohs! God commands -  
Let all my people go!  
Break off their chains - unbind their hands,  
Or ye shall be laid low.

1. Blest Redeemer! how divine,  
How righteous is this rule of thine,  
To do to all men just the same,  
As we expect or wish from them.
2. This golden lesson short & plain,  
Gives not the mind or memory pain;  
And every conscience must approve  
This universal law of love.
3. How blest would every nation be,  
Thus ruled by love and equity!  
All would be friends without a foe,  
And form a paradise below.
4. Jesus! forgive us, that we keep  
Thy sacred law of love asleep;  
No voice let envy, wrath, and pride  
But thy blest maxims be our guide.

1. All men are equal in their births,  
Theirs of the earth and skies;  
All men are equal, save that earth  
Fades from their dying eyes.
2. All wait on him, whose power  
Upholds the life he gives;  
The sage within his starlit tower,  
The savage in his cave.
3. 'Tis man alone who difference sees,  
And speaks of high and low;  
Who worships those and tramples these,  
While the same path they go.
4. Ye great! renounce your caste and pride,  
Ye low! your shame and fear;  
Live, as ye worship, side by side,  
Your common claims severe.

1 Sons of noble sires,  
 Who brave proud oceans waves  
 For freedom's sake!  
 Say - will ye quench those fires,  
 Their faith and love inspired;  
 And, standing on their graves,  
 Their paths forsake?

2 Shall freedom find a grave  
 On this blood-roustom'd soil?  
 Must we be slaves?  
 our fleeting lives to save,  
 Must we no mercy crave,  
 But with the bondmen tail  
 Brand'd as we are

3 Shall despots <sup>bear sway</sup> here display  
 The iron sceptre <sup>display</sup> here  
 our lips to close?

Sons of pilgrims! - say -  
 Will ye these Lords obey,  
 And as <sup>to them</sup>, when you may  
 The truth disclose!

4 NO! NO! we answer NO!  
 The truth we'll face, let's show,  
 While breath remains;  
 Did not our saviors so?  
 Would he the truth forego?  
 Or shrink when bode the foe,  
 To 'scape from pains?

5 While there a slave is found,  
 While man by man is bound  
 Will speak and pray  
 Will bear the bondman's <sup>grip</sup>  
 Will bear the bondman's <sup>pains</sup>  
 Will hear when he complains,  
 We'll do and say.

1 Ye spirits of the free, say,  
 Will ye for ever see  
 Myriads of our kind,  
 In Egypt's land, and tortured slaves,  
 Scampt to an early grave,  
 And e'er no hand to save?

2 Shall tyrants from the soil,  
 That of that they in spirit may roll  
 our parents' Gods in age to age,  
 And call the wretches their own;  
 While from the eternal throne,  
 They shut the stifled groans  
 And bitter prayer?

3 Shall he a slave be bound,  
 Whom God hath doubly crown'd  
 Creation's sun Lord?

4 Shall men of Christian name,  
 Without a blush of shame  
 Profess their tyrants claim  
 From God's own word?

4 NO! <sup>the</sup> battle cry,  
 A host prepared to die,  
 Shall arm for <sup>right</sup> fight;  
 But not with martial steel,  
 Quaspid with a man's <sup>and</sup> steel;  
 Their foes no arms shall feel  
 But Love and light

5 Based on Jehovah's laws  
 Strong in this righteous cause,  
 They march to save;  
 Vain is the oppressor's <sup>mail</sup>  
 Against their battle hail,  
 Till cease the woe and wail  
 Of wretched slaves.

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Handwritten signatures and scribbles at the bottom of the page.

30 Monthly meeting hymns

- 1 Oh, God! of strength and bliss this night,  
The steadfast hearts that toil as one,  
Till they have law of truth and right  
Alike in heaven and earth be done.
- 2 A piercing voice of grief and wrong,  
Goes upward from the groaning earth!  
Oh, tree and holy Lord! how long?  
In majesty and might come forth!
- 3 Yet Lord, remembering mercy too  
Behold the oppressor in his sin,  
Make all his actions just and true,  
Renew his wayward heart within.
- 4 From thee let righteous purposes flow,  
And find in every heart its home,  
Till truth and judgment reign below,  
And here, on earth, thy kingdom come

Handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including phrases like "I am a poor creature" and "I am a poor creature".

A Meeting for prayer, and for consultation, in behalf of the Enslaved, will be held at the Classical Hall Washington street, on Monday Evening, at 7 o'clock. All that hope to see American Slavery abolished, are invited to attend.

Brooklyn, Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1844

Extensive handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including a signature "Anti-Slavery" at the bottom.



Edlington 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept. 1844

My dear Sir,

I did not indeed intend to be at the Anniversary at all this year as my duties at home are exceedingly pressing next week. But since receiving your letter I have altered my mind; and if the Lord permits I will be with you on Tuesday. And although I could have wished that some one, more worthy & more able to do justice to the great subject had been selected; still I will come prepared to preach; and will do the best I can.

The Liberty papers now come regularly.

Love to all your family & believe me to.

Remain

Yours affectionately

William Wain

Double C. J. Foote

Ellington Aug 23/

N.Y.

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Hon'ble E. J. Foste

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will preach at anniversary

New York, Feb. 20/46.

My dear Sir,

I have not had time  
to reply to your letter before. I am  
grateful to hear from you. If you  
I shall be glad to publish it in the  
M. M. Let me have a copy as  
you send it. I take no copy,  
thinking you may wish to make  
some alterations.

Very truly yours

Lewis Tappan

Nov 19

DEAR FRIEND:—

You will read what we have written, will you not? You are a friend of human freedom, and a member of the Liberty Party, are you not? If so, you will cheerfully give us enough of time to say some few things to you in great frankness, upon a matter that concerns yourself, the Party to which you belong, the slave whose emancipation you seek, and the principles you desire to prevail. This matter is the permanent establishment of the ALBANY PATRIOT.

To the Patriot, if you are a subscriber, and also a Liberty voter, or friend of the Liberty Party, we infer you a friend; and would be pleased to see it take rank among the first papers in the country, in size, appearance, and ability. From its locality, and the prospects of the Liberty Party in the State, and Nation, it is justly entitled to take such rank. If you are not a subscriber, we hope to present you with motives to become one, as shall justify you even in submitting to sacrifices to become such.

The object of this Circular is not to *dun* you, or to portray *fancied* necessities in a whining manner. It is to make to you a statement of our condition, and our prospects, and with the openness and manliness which should mark the intercourse of freemen engaged together in a great cause, ask you what you will do *promptly*—to help it. Having decided, we earnestly solicit a prompt reply, affirmatively or negatively, so that we may understand exactly our position.

We need not dilate upon the causes which have brought the Patriot to the brink of ruin, and which have induced us at the suggestion of wise and judicious friends, to engage in efforts to save it from death. Our business with you, and the members of the Party is to find out how to get it *out* of its critical state, and make it flourish. The Patriot has about nine hundred subscribers. Its list has increased rapidly since we purchased. With its *dues*, save the advance payments, we have nothing to do, except to pass such moneys as may be entrusted to our care to its former owner, Mr. Crocker. The number of subscribers who have not paid in advance, is just sufficient to meet the expenses of paper and printing, but such subscription pays no expenses till it is paid to us. We are fully determined not to incur debt, after such time, as we are convinced that our subscribers by non-payment exhibit a determination that we shall. When such point arrives, the Patriot *dies*. That point we trust WILL NEVER ARRIVE. Liberty men will sustain us, we feel confident, if we do our duty.

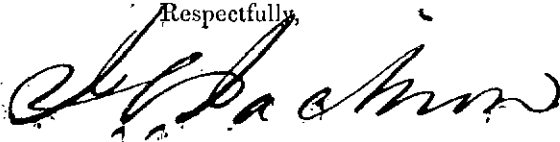
Now, my dear sir, our plan is to ask *you*, if *you* will not, without delay send us two dollars in advance from the time we took it for one year? If you and all our subscribers, and friends to whom this appeal is sent, will thus do, we can settle all our bills weekly, be out of debt, insure immediate confidence in our ability to carry on the establishment, add greatly to our list, and at the opening of the fourth volume, commence it on a larger sheet, with new type, and under circumstances that shall give credit to the Party and the cause. The difficulty in all such matters is, that, one man waits for another, and thus all wait. Send us your name, dear sir, and let us publish it. Such publication will stimulate some other one, and he another, and we are put up on high.

Now, what do you say? Do you blame us for writing you? On the other hand, do you not thank us for supposing that it is only necessary to appeal to you through a *private* way—keeping all such matter out of the Patriot—and show you that with the help of friends we can continue to publish it at Albany, to secure for us your immediate interest and effort. What! My dear sir! When Madison county Liberty Party men, are sanguine that they shall elect members of the Legislature this winter, is the Patriot to become extinct for want of patronage? Will Liberty men suffer it? We hope, we believe not. This matter is no more ours than yours, than the business of every man in the Party; and for the good reason that, the Party can not make much farther progress without an Albany Liberty paper, well sustained, more than an Albany paper can live without the confidence, co-operation and efficient aid of the Party. It is every thing with us as *proprietors* to commence *rightly*, and that way, is on the CASH IN ADVANCE principle. It saves us 33½ per cent. on the cost of every thing we purchase. It makes our accounts simple, it saves our subscribers from *duns*, it makes all things smooth with the out-of-door-world, it makes our sleep refreshing, and our days joyous. It above all enables us always to know just what we can do in the way of improvement without hazard. If you help us in our proposed way, we want it *quickly*. We ask for no delay. Delay is contagious. We are determined to *live or die*—and be not in that state where it may be affirmed of us that we are “NEITHER DEAD OR ALIVE.” If *you* remember us as though you were with us *bound* to sustain the Patriot, we will grow strong, and our acquaintance be pleasant.

We have secured the services of W. L. CHAPLIN, Esq., for our Washington Correspondent at the coming session of Congress. He will be *solely* our Correspondent. We engage him, and take the responsibility of paying him. We shall publish a **CONGRESSIONAL PATRIOT** for the session, to be sent to *one address*—very cheap—terms to be published, cash invariably in advance. We want 10,000 subscribers in the free States. All this depends upon the condition that our friends, and the friends of the cause generally, shall feel as deeply the importance of efficient action as we do ourselves. As you and others respond, so shall be our activity.

We shall publish *duly* our advertisement; in the *mean time* be thinking and talking of the number of the CONGRESSIONAL PATRIOT which you can get in your county, town, city, or neighborhood.

Respectfully,



My dear Sir

Albany Nov 19 1844 <sup>29</sup>

On Wednesday 4th & Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> of Dec., there is to be held in this City a Conference of Liberty Men of this and other States. Gerrit Smith thinks <sup>it</sup> of importance and himself has agreed to be present. I am addressing letters to all our friends and am requested to solicit your attendance most earnestly. The time has come when we must move & that rapidly or the disjoined Whig party will arm and again attack us to other forces than our own.

You will, I trust, Mr. Judge say, Mr. Stewart, Leavitt, Stanton, & others have been written to. Let us be your face.

Our paper at this City must be provided for or it must go down. Shall it die? Can you or other friends do any thing towards sending Chapman to Washington? We must have somebody there, who better than he?

I am yours most

truly & affectionately

J. B. Sachse

My regards to Mr. Fost, and the others of your family.

J. L. Jackson  
Circular for  
Albany Patriot

Letter urging me to attend  
convention at Albany.

Apr 19<sup>th</sup> 1845

*[Handwritten signature]*

James Town  
Chataugue Co  
N.Y.

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1. **Unchain the Laborer.**

- Strike from that laborer's limbs his chains!  
In the fierce sun the iron burns;  
By night it fills his dreams with pain;  
By day it galls him as he turns.
- Yes, and *your* dreams it visits too,  
When fear stands o'er your restless bed,  
And shakes it in your ears, till you  
Tremble as at an earthquake's tread.
- The chain that binds you to the slave,  
Binds you to him with links so strong,  
That you must wear it to your grave,  
If, all your days, you do him wrong.
- Then brake his chain, and let him go,  
And, with the spirit for his foe,  
Earn your own bread; and you shall know  
Peace, that you know not now, nor can  
Gain, from his body, and your soul,  
Throw off the load, while yet you may;  
Thus strive, in faith, for heaven's high goal,  
And wait, in hope, the Judgment Day.

2. **The Battle Field.**

- Once this soft turf, this rivulet's sands  
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,  
And fiery hearts and armed hands  
Encountered in the battle cloud.
- Soon rested those who fought—but thou,  
Who mingled in the harder strife  
For truth which men receive not now,  
Thy warfare only ends with life.
- A friendless warfare! lingering long,  
Through weary day and weary year,  
A wild and many weaponed throng  
Hang on thy front, and flank and rear.
- Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,  
And blench not at thy chosen lot,  
The timid good may stand aloof,  
The sage may frown—yet faint thou not.
- Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,  
The hissing, stinging bolt of scorn,  
For with thy side shall dwell, at last,  
The victory of endurance borne.
- Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;*  
*The eternal years of God are hers;*  
But error, wounded, writhes with pain,  
And lies among her worshippers.
- Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,  
When those who help'd thee flee in fear,  
Die full of hope and manly trust,  
Like those who fell in battle here.
- Another hand thy sword shall wield,  
Another hand thy standard wave,  
'Till from the trumpets mouth is peal'd  
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave.

3. **The Harbinger.**

- See yon glorious star ascending,  
Brightly o'er the Southern sea!  
Truth and peace to earth portending,  
Herald of a Jubilee!  
Hail it, Freemen!  
'Tis the star of Liberty.
- Dim at first—but widely spreading,  
Soon 'twill burst supremely bright,  
Life and health and comfort shedding  
O'er the shades of moral night;  
Hail it, Bondmen!  
Slavery cannot bear its light.
- Few its rays—'tis but the dawning  
Of the reign of truth and peace;  
Joy to slaves—yet sad forewarning,  
To the tyrants of our race;  
Tremble, Tyrants!  
Soon your cruel pow'r will cease.
- Earth is brighten'd by the glory  
Of its mild and peaceful rays;  
Ransom'd slaves shall tell the story,  
See its light, and sing its praise;  
Hail it, Christians!  
Harbinger of better days.

4. **Child's Anti-Slavery Hymn.**

- Oh! how can we forget the slave,  
Since Christ for him hath died?  
Yes, 'twas his captive soul to save,  
Our Lord was crucified.
- Oh! how can we forget the slave,  
Robbed of the Book of God?  
While brutal tyrants o'er him wave  
Oppression's bloody rod.
- Oh! how can we forget the slave,  
Dying in fettered toil,  
And sinking to a heathen grave,  
Beneath a christian soil!
- No, we will *not* forget the slave!  
*We'll free him if we can,*  
Though Power at him and us may rave,  
He yet shall be a MAN!

5. **Prayer for the Slave.**

- Almighty God, thou Giver,  
Of all our sunny plains,  
That stretch from sea to river,  
Hear'st thou thy children's chains?  
Seest thou the snapper'd lashes  
That daily sting, afresh?  
Seest thou the cow-skin's gashes,  
Cut through the quivering flesh?
- Seest thou the sores that rankle,  
Licked by no pitying dog?  
Where, round the bondman's ankle,  
They've rivited a clog?  
Hear'st thou the curse he mutters?  
Seest thou his flashing eye?  
Hear'st thou the prayer he utters,  
That thou would'st let him die?
- God of the poor and friendless,  
Shall this unequalled wrong,  
This agony, be endless?  
How long, O Lord, how long,  
Shall man set on his brother,  
The iron heel of sin;  
The Holy Ghost to smother—  
To crush the God within!
- Call out, O God, thy legions—  
The hosts of love and light!  
E'en in the blasted regions  
That Slavery wraps in night.  
Some of thine own anointed  
Shall catch the welcome call,  
And, at the hour appointed,  
Do battle for the thrall.
- Let press, let pulpit thunder,  
In all slaveholder's ears,  
Till they disgorge the plunder  
They've garnered up, for years;  
Till Mississippi's Valley,  
Till Carolina's coast,  
Round Freedom's standard rally,  
A vast, a ransomed host!

6. **What mean ye?**

- What mean ye that ye bruise and bind  
My people saith the Lord,  
And starve your craving brother's mind,  
That asks to hear my word?
- What mean ye that ye make them toil,  
Through long and dreary years,  
And shed like rain upon your soil  
Their blood and bitter tears?
- What mean ye, that ye dare to rend  
The tender mother's heart?  
Brothers from sisters, friend from friend,  
How dare you bid them part?
- What mean ye when God's bounteous hand  
To you so much has given,  
That from the slave who tills your land  
Ye keep both earth and heaven?
- When at the judgment  
Where is thy brother,  
What mean ye to the Judge  
To answer on that day?

ANTI-SLAVERY HYMNS.

81  
75  
127  
151  
192  
199  
78  
4  
86  
06  
19  
29  
451  
1581

Joseph Plumb Esq  
of Lodi Dec 30 1844  
relatives to church  
town or Slony etc

Non Breven letter  
no longer, and in...

South 1/2 the whole  
with...

Book of...

Book of...

Mr. E. J. Froot  
- at the Chautauque Co. A. S. Convention  
Salina & Roads  
By Rev. J. R. Ward

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Lodi Dec. 30th 1844

Mr. E. J. Hoote,

My Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 10th has been received. My views accord with yours in relation to the importance of Church action. I shall do what I can to secure it on the part of the Congregational and Presbyterian Ecclesiastical bodies. I regret that I cannot meet with you at Salem.

The Annual Meeting of the Erie Co. Antislavery Society is to be held at this place on the 15th & 16th of January. Can you not attend? We hope to have a good meeting.

Yours truly

Joseph Plumb

Daniel Webster

Joseph Plumb

[proach, taunt and scolding... silver, there can be no prosperity.]

[Mr. Webster then proceeded to give a his-... of ashamed of himself, need not be ashamed of his early condition.]

Gentlemen, it did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin; but my elder brothers and sisters were. born in a log-cabin, raised amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early, as that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney, and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it, to inspire like sentiments in them, and to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents, which mingle with all I know of this humble, primitive family abode. I weep to think that none of those who inhabited it are now among the living; and if ever I am ashamed of it, or if I ever fail in affectionate veneration for Him who reared it, and defended it against savage violence and destruction, cherished all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and, through the fire and blood of a seven years' Revolutionary War, shrunk from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice, to serve his country; and to raise his children to a condition better than his own, may my name, and the name of my posterity, be blotted forever from the memory of mankind.

[Mr. Webster next

OPRIGHT COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY WESTFIELD, NY 2012



Let it be a year or two next day.  
Measurements can be taken at an early  
stage of our Amusement Organ to  
tick off their expenses. I have no lac-  
but them. While in a good at-  
tendance. Do not know that all  
Autism. Now time has alike in  
Reflexes. Do all measures that may  
it's proper. But to train, inquire, &  
disburse. Can do more of us any train  
to see. Right and do right. Do to have  
My whole. You is set against it. Putting  
to. Nurse. Any. Admire. Contact  
for. For. Exclusion. Should. It be thought  
best. To refer. The. Matter. To the Cousin  
train. Whether. The. Antestromy. Cause. How  
he. After. Comes. in. For. Its. Place. At. an  
Amusement. Shall. be. Ready. To. Advise  
by. That. The. Cause. What. It. Is.  
Do. To. The. Attendance. At. An. Amuse-  
ment. Expecting. To. Be. Very. Good. On  
I. Thank. You. As. For. Upon. My. Ordinary  
Constitution. Being. Present. The. Whole. Of. The  
Audience. The. Families. Are. All. Said. To  
work. That. They. Will. Increase. May. Be  
part. Of. The. Way. I. Think. They. Will. Be  
a. Considerable. Part. Attendance. At  
The. Amusement. Probably. Minutes. For  
The. Last. And. I. Hope. A. Goodly. Rep.

68

resentation from various parts of the  
Co. will be in attendance. Much to be  
yourself and Mr. Mrs. Otton desires to  
be remembered to Mrs. J. Gaines in the best  
of love of bonds J. G. Otton

Dr. Foot

I have opened this after Maria it may  
I would main. It has been suggested by  
some whether it would not be better to  
appoint a meeting at Westfield on Friday  
the evening of our Anniversary at which  
all the friends of Antislavery in the Co. are  
requested to be present. This by some  
would be thought to be the better course  
I only make this suggestion in allusion  
to the Antislavery with whatever success  
Adopted

J. G. Otton  
17. 11. 1841

Rev. S. J. O'Brien

Aug. 5<sup>th</sup> 1846

relative to County Anniversaries

Ripley was  
Sept 4

Judge F. J. F. F.  
Amestown  
Chautauque Co. N.Y.

Dear Sir  
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. in relation to the County Anniversaries. I have the pleasure to inform you that the same have been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
S. J. O'Brien

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bnjs

1st

Is there at the present time any organization of  
- equal character with which the Ministers of the Gospel  
Christians in general may cooperate for the extirpation  
of slavery - If so what is it - - -

2nd! Are there any reasons for making the question  
friendship for the slave or opposition to slavery  
or turn on our union with the so called Liberty

bnjs  
7/11

Res. v. Hopkins Resolutions  
proposed at Ripley the day  
before the anniversary.

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Friend Foth

Yours came to hand on Friday and found  
 me at home for one week - To comply with your request  
 in full would require more time than it is in my  
 power to bestow on such a subject at the present time.  
 Our Presbytery have been taking action on the sub-  
 ject at all their meetings for ten years and  
 sometimes the resolutions have covered two pages  
 for myself I was satisfied with the first action  
 which was a full expression of sentiment in  
 relation to the abominable sin of Slavery - and  
 have regarded all action since as useless as  
 a paper formal vote that two thro are four  
 and just about as effective - Our resolutions  
 have all been printed in the Evangelist and  
 copies have been called for for other purposes.  
 I do not know as our abolition friends will be  
 satisfied with what we have done, and resolved  
 to do; but for one I am determined to resist  
 any further action until a wise providence  
 shall cast some light on the question and  
 teach us how to act with more efficiency:  
 but for the dictation of Stewart, Smith, Thayer  
 and the like I feel that their light is the  
 blackness of darkness in the Christian's path, I  
 that the more we attempt to follow <sup>them</sup> the more shall

we stumble - Until Alvan Steward - Gerrit Smith & others of like sentiment, who call "the ministry a brotherhood of thieves" are set aside, and men of a better spirit take the position they occupy in the ranks of Abolitionists - I cannot consent to take a position on the subject which will leave the impression on any mind that I am associated or identified with them in any respect -

I will copy for you the action of the Presbytery at Springville in January 1844, which perhaps contains the strongest action we have ever taken and which I presume is the action alluded to in your letter

This was published in the Evangelist in February last - I should think you the last page of the paper

Dunkirk Dec 23 1844  
 Yours Truly  
 Stillman

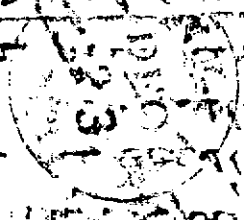
Extract from the records of Buffalo Presbytery at their Session in Springville January 31<sup>st</sup> 1844

"It appears from our records that there has been during a succession of years, decided, fearless, & unanimous Presbyterian action, in opposition to slavery, and that this action has been prosecuted till the present time, Your Committee however are of opinion that the present crisis of the Antislavery movement, demands of this Presbytery an advance upon former action, the Committee therefore concur in recommending the following resolutions.

1. Resolved that this Presbytery decidedly reaffirms its former declarations touching American Slavery, by which we mean the holding of men as property for the purpose of gain.
2. Resolved that the holding of slaves as an aggravated immorality should subject those involved in its guilt to the exemplary discipline, and in cases of incorrigible impenitence to the highest censures of the church.
3. Resolved that we believe it to be the duty of the Ministers & Licentiates of this body to open their mouths for the dumb, & defend their rights on all proper occasions.
4. Resolved that there is nothing in the constitution & present state of the Presbyterian Church, that justifies the reception of honest friends of the slave from her communion, and we earnestly warn the churches against all efforts from whatever quarter they may arise, tending to disorder, schism, & disorganization.

The report was accepted and adopted  
 a true extract  
 attest  
 Timothy Stillman  
 Stated clerk.





Miss  
Mrs  
Mr  
Dear Sir

James  
Clark & Co  
New York



Mr Stillman  
New York  
1844  
of the  
Presbyterian  
Church  
New York

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Salem Aug. 8th. - 46

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Dear Sir yours of the 5th inst is before me I have called on Dr. Petit and he showed me a letter from Mr. Plumb of Portland and by that I understood that he and Mr. Chaplin will be at Sincleville on Tuesday the 13 instead of Wednesday as stated in yours to me and further that they depended on you to make the appointment and arrangements for the meeting at Sincleville that all might be in readiness for the arrival of Mr. Chaplin we have made the arrangements for the lectures on this route say at Westfield Monday 2 o'clock P.M. Tuesday at Portland Wednesday at Hackett Thursday at Pompeet and we hope you will not use him up so close but we can get some side cuts in the evenings and are not without hope of prevailing on him to stay some longer with us than the present engagements but at all events we wish make the most of what we do get & if we can succeed in getting the political waters well troubled while he is with us we must stand ready to jump right into the wake and splash away with all our small craft till the whole body is in commotion. Dr. Petit informed me that he had written very explicitly to you & we hope there will be no misunderstanding in the arrangements our prospects here are rather flattering than otherwise I have obtained 30 copies of the Prising Advocate and we circulate them to the best advantage & hope to hear a good account of them in the end - I read a short extract in one of them to our friend Lake one evening this week and added a short lecture & asked for his objections he declared he saw none and the next morning declared himself converted & said he had made up his mind to vote the liberty ticket if he lived till election we shall some of us be at Sincleville & can there make the further necessary arrangements

Yours truly

Wm. L. Foote

My compliments to Mr. Sedges

J. Thompson

10

Salmon & Parson's  
Dry Goods

Hon. C. J. Hoote  
Jamestown Chautauque  
N.Y.

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Salmon & Parson's  
Aug. 8<sup>th</sup> - 1844

Liberty Friends & P Office address

Buxton Theron Plumb Esqr Deca Thos Danforth.

Vermont E P. Partridge, Roland Cobb

Ellington Rev Wm <sup>P. Shepardson</sup> Heath, Elders Mops Eld Baldwin

H B. Nysle Esqr - Dr. Patience

Clear brook Dr. Wm Wires, Martin Smith Esqr

Jamestown Dr. W S Hedges, John S Yates.

Cherry brook Rubin Bullock, Clark Losee

Wook C Beardslay

Vilenova Rufell O. Smith, Benjamin Vincent

Arkwright Aaron M, Durfee

Fluvarnae James Livingston, Warren Clark

Elder Goodenough

Salem & Roads Cal James Thompson

Westfield Wiseman C, Nichols

J. S. Nichols,

Carroll Milton Ford, Rodric Chapin

Waterboro Dr. S Fote, Sanford Holbrook

Baxter

Fredonia Dr. James Pettit

Mayville Freeman Cross

Shridan Kelly

Poland George C. Pitcher, Albert Rufell, E. Croil

Harmony Dr. Vine Elderkin, <sup>Saml Bliss</sup>

Cataraugus boys

Randolph Wm Shattuck N. L. Sec

H. H. Sotter; Col. S. Richards

Benj. Woodworth. Sig. Hill

Asa Hatfield

Ellicottville E. S. Colman

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list in Cataraugus  
= you too? ditto man

7 8 1/2

# Thompson & Strongy etc

1844			358.04	1844
		Miss B. Bradley		
July	12	1 load gravel 1/2	1.50	
		1 Cash Line	12	
		20 loads earth	2.50	
		6 " sand	1.50	
	25	5 " D o -	1.25	
		Moving bricks	25	
	27	2 Load sand	50	
August	1	2 D o	50	8.12 1/2
		Nathaniel Thompson	8.12 1/2	
		Henry Co Hagg		
July	22	7 Loads sand	1.75	1.75
		for lumber		
		8 Loads sand	2.00	
		Moving 2 Loads brick	25	2.25
			2.25	
		Octwin Marble		
July	23	part load Hagg	12	
		1 Load Ox flag	32	
		3 load Multish moved	60	
		3 load scaffolding moved	60	
		1000 bricks of H. Pt (60)	62	
		1 Load sand	25	
			262 1/2	
		Beriah Bradley		
July	30	3 load sand	75	
	31	1 D o	25	1.00
			1.00	
		Mr Fern		
July	10	1 Load Curk	25	25
		Miss Rodds (6)		
		at the New Market		
July	30	11 Loads sand	2.75	
		1 Stone from Attent	25	
		1 " Curk	12	
			3.12 1/2	

1844			375
		Wine & Church job	
July	27	12 Load sand	3.00
		2 D o	50
		3 " Curk	75
			4.25
		Ground street from the	
		to State streets	
		1 load Curk	
		400 bricks of Marble	
		Simon Marbled	
August	1	1 Load sand	
		Geo Grady for	
August	2	Mrs Horach (H)	
		2 load sand	
		1 lb l. Mortar & Curk	
		Thomas Howel	
August	3	3 load sand	
		Miss Cur	
May	22	Accounting to	
		up bill	
		Hamilton Street	
		John P. Adams Street	
		Allen & Collins	
		from August 27 to Sept 2	
		Depto	
		Marcus Morim	
August	19	12 Dirt & sand	37 1/2
	20	11 " sand	2.75
		10 " Dirt	1.17
		Mortar bed & r	12
		1 Cash line & Roll	25
		21 1/2 Bricks	25
		20 1 - sand	25

28 1/2  
117  
Journal

117  
Journal

59  
Journal

117  
Journal

122  
Journal

54

279 66 1/2

134

4

195	77	20	
18	10	14	Wetzel
6		1	Wilmers
1	1		Winton
3			Windsor
4			Winn
2			Wiley
39	10	1	Winters
28	24	3	Wright
	1		Woods
			Worland
1			Worship
12	5	3	Worship
			Worship
			Worship
			Worship
16	5	2	Worship
			Worship
3			Worship
2			Worship
			Worship
3	2		Worship
3	1		Worship
28	17	4	Worship
26		1	Worship

1840-1842  
 1843-1845  
 1846-1848  
 1849-1852  
 1853-1856  
 1857-1860  
 1861-1864  
 1865-1868  
 1869-1872  
 1873-1876  
 1877-1880  
 1881-1884  
 1885-1888  
 1889-1892  
 1893-1896  
 1897-1900

James  
 James  
 James

James

5781711-5000  
 (47)

Bros Foster.

Fredonia Nov 11<sup>th</sup> 46

Mr J Lester Esq P M at this place kindly excu<sup>se</sup> your letter sent to him, to be plac<sup>d</sup> in my hands, to which I reply as far as I am able. Till I saw your report of 5 Novem I was <sup>un</sup>able definitely to obtain the true report of the Liberty <sup>vote</sup> even in this. The whigs who have appear<sup>d</sup> to reign triumphant before election, are remarkably impressed since to review its results. They seem to care but little about its details. The whisrighty has sent a withering blast upon their efforts, & even will on any party who, to carry out a wicked purpose, perfidiously resort to the most reckless calumnies, prejudices & slanders of ever unchangeably consecrated to the cause of human rights, to sustain a corrupt cause. It is not to be doubted that their shrew fabrication of slanders of Binney the just, have lost them their idol. Their part great lie lost them 10,000 votes in the state. The mark of Cain was stamped upon it. It is scarcely worthy in our democratic friends, that altho we disagree in many things, they exercise countenance towards Liberty men. They know our principles & approve them, altho in their application we may differ.

A great national crisis is rapidly developing. The issue is made, & its result, ~~the~~ this great people will show whether for the establishing of inalienable rights <sup>to all men</sup> or the perpetuity of slavery.

Mr Coleroun of Richwood has see informed me the Lib vote in that Co is 500.

Respectfully Yours J Pettit

The following is all I have learnt

common pay was on 27	Pomfret	28	
	Ashfield	8	
	Hanover	12	
	Ashisright	48	
	Postponed		not heard
	Atchison	1	



At a meeting of the friends of the slave held in the village of Jamestown on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of August ult. it was unanimously resolved that we send two Delegates from the South part of Chautauque County to represent said part of the County in the Anti Slavery State Convention to be held in the City of Utica on the 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> days of September Inst And that Elisha J Fote & James Livingston be and are hereby duly authorized to represent the South part of said County in the State Convention with the power of substitution in case they cannot attend

Dated at Jamestown this 31<sup>st</sup> day of August 1844.

Wm Yates Secretary      Abram Jones Chairman

*[Handwritten flourish]*

composed by a ... by its ...  
 ... we as abolitionists have ...  
 ... in any ...  
 ... cannot and will not ...  
 ...  
 ... for the election of ...

...  
 ... grateful to God that ...  
 ... of the Campaign of 1844 and ...  
 ... to the shaking of the ...  
 ... a ...

...  
 ... the number ...  
 ... that ...  
 ...  
 ...

...  
 ... that the ...  
 ... because of ...  
 ... the ...  
 ...  
 ... continue to ...  
 ...

To be returned  
to the  
1880's and 1890's

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When American history is a matter of  
some kind of a...

(33)

Those who will accommodate delegates  
has and terms &c

+ January 22/45 Residing in Galveston  
(2 women)

+ Silas Sherman  
1 am & 3

+ A. A. Partridge (2 men)

+ Redmont 2 (mountain wife)

+ George B. Fox 2 +

+ H. Van Dusen 2 + +

+ In Hedges + 2 Thayer wife

+ J. S. Dinnin 2 +

Abner Jones 2 + +

+ S. Perkins horses + horses +  
George Chace 3

+ Russell Willson 2 + +

MINNOD 2 + +

+ J. S. Yates 2 Horses

+ Fivens Henney 2 +

+ Alfred H. K. L. 2 +

+ Deacon Bayard 2 +  
mi. Cobe to houses

+ + John L. Breed + +

+ H. D. Derby +

+ + + 4 +

+ Silas Doby 2 + +

+ Wm. B. Bred + +

+ Ebenezer Jones + 1

Resolutions at

At Conv<sup>n</sup> - Jamestown January 22 1845 55

(continued)

Resolved that we recommend to our friends in the several towns, to hold frequent <sup>Liberty</sup> meetings, in every school district, and ~~that~~ to nominate <sup>Liberty</sup> town tickets and sustain them.

Resolved that we repudiate the idea that the Federal Constitution ~~is~~ sanctioning the institution of slavery, and we recommend to our fellow citizens the reading of the American Constitutional Law, by Wm Goodell for such information as will entirely disabuse their minds ~~from~~ ~~any~~ ~~opinion~~ on this important subject.

Resolved When asked What the Liberty Party would do if clothed with the power? our answer is, We would abolish slavery in the District of Columbia - Abolish the inter state slave trade - Abolish the Law of 1793 - the Law of 1801, the Law of 1810 - the Law of 1790 prohibiting the naturalization of foreign negroes; we would appoint a Judicial Bench that would construe the constitution as it is - a ~~charter~~ charter of justice & liberty - appoint Diplomatic Agents to attend to the interests of the North, as well as those of the South. In a word we would withdraw the axis of the Governmental sanction from the institution of slavery - We would not as the other two parties always have done, pervert the Constitution and prostitute the Government to the base purpose of ~~slaveholding~~ <sup>Slaveholding</sup> and slavecatching.

Salina Roads March 22, 1845

Dear Brother Foot

Your letter & Draft  
is just recd, which shall be attended to in  
good season - as to your desired information  
in regard to the labors of Brother Ward -  
He came to this place from the meeting at Westfield  
& lectured to a full House on Friday evening. We  
took especial pains to get out some Democrats who  
had never heard him, they are nearly dumb ever  
since. It is hoped they will begin to speak Liberty  
before long. - Saturday eve & Sunday at the  
Free Will House in Chautauque, - Sunday eve  
at the Congregational House in Centreville -  
Monday eve Milford in Pomfret. - Tuesday  
eve at Van Buren Harbor. Wednesday eve at  
Laona. - Thursday eve at Delanti. -  
Friday eve at the School House in the neighborhood  
of Oliver Birch, about 3 miles from Westfield  
This eve (Saturday) & tomorrow He is to be on Nettle Hill  
In all those meetings (except that at Birch's in  
which there were some opposition, & a little disturbance)  
were a large attendance, good attention, & much  
encouragement that good was done - We think  
of sending an agent through those districts to soli-  
cit subscriptions for papers &c, Ward will  
be Monday evening at Fredonia, on his way  
home - A large gathering is expected -  
The roads were so bad over the Hills South  
and his calls so numerous & urgent elsewhere,  
that after consultation had among the friends,  
it was thought not best to go to Deerthville at  
this time, contrary to my own wishes however.  
I had a desire to surround Mayville, that her  
capture might be more readily accomplished  
by & by -

On the whole we have a good beginning in this part of the County, & by the blessing of God we hope the good cause will prosper, some seem to think we are overdoing, I do not think it is the case with us here yet, however I am not sure but such a thing might be as overtaking the attention, or making too heavy a draft upon their capacity for mature consideration. I believe there is a deep underground Antislavery current, that will some day break forth & water the tree of Liberty - An imperceptible seedling that will some day spring up & bear fruit, provided nothing repulsive shall occur in the ranks of the Liberty party.

I find the Constitution is very little read, & less understood among the people. Some of Ward's lectures <sup>have</sup> rise to much discussion in regard to the Constitution of the U.S. Good - I now stop writing until I shall have seen Ward on Monday. - Monday 1 O'clock P.M., Mr Ward is in the place, also Elder Rathbun, they will both be at Fredonia this evening - Ward is of the opinion, from what information he could get from the friends at Nettie Hill & elsewhere, that the month of May will be as good a time as any, for him to resume his labors in this County. It is important he should know in season, and it is also important that the people among whom he labors should have due notice, it should be talked of some time beforehand that every man, woman & child in every nook & corner perfectly understand the time and place & the object. Let every child be taught to hate Slavery with perfect hatred.

We see the need of a more perfect organization & method in transacting important business for the Nation. Our Liberty friends in this County are few & far between, but we hope for better days. Perhaps we should learn to be content in doing the best we can. — We have some Members, & influence in this place but the wealth of our population ~~is~~ not with us. I have rec<sup>d</sup> an answer to our communication to Garret Smith, from Mr Caleb Calkins, Mr Smiths Clerk — Smith is gone to Philadelphia to consult Occulists, in relation to his fast failing sight. Calkins cheerfully complies with your suggestion. Mr Ward put up at Mr B. Millers when at Delante — thinks he & his son will be with us &c. — perhaps it would be best for you, & what friends you can consult in your section to make out the appointments in <sup>the</sup> different places, have it published in the Westfield paper, and send Ward a paper that he may where to begin &c. write to him, or me as early as convenient, I should be happy, if I could subscribe the Cause, & my health to write till 12 o'clock every night, but I think it would not be prudent to publish that I was doing much in this line, it might stir up too much wrath at head quarters — I had almost forgot to state the Liberty ticket succeeded throughout in the town where Peterboro is situate by about 50 Majority over the Combined forces of Whigs & Locos.

Yours Truly  
Samuel Hall

(P.M. Oct 23 1840)



60

Salem X Roads }  
NY Mar 24 }

Salem X Roads  
March 1845

Wm Hill  
Wm Hill

E. J. Swift

James Brown

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61

G1

Penn  
Coudersport, Pa<sup>a</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> 1845

Dear Sir

At a meeting of the friends of liberty held in this place a few evenings since, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of holding a Liberty county convention, to effect a more thorough and efficient organization of our party. It was unanimously resolved that the Hon. E. T. Foste be earnestly invited to participate in the exercises of the day as one of its orators.

Having formed a partial acquaintance with you while at home last summer, I was requested to communicate to you the wishes of the meeting which I have done in brief. And farther let me state to you our condition as a party; our county; and the prospects of a full convention.

At the last presidential canvass we polled in this county fifty votes, at the state election our month previous forty, three years ago; six this was the first liberty vote polled in the county.

Our party is composed of the industrious, intelligent and thinking part of community, & are faithful & tried. Our county is new, hence many of those evils which are consequent upon the settlement of a new county, are retained upon us, or, rather remains among us. The worst of these is Intemperance, we hold the sentiments advanced by one of our speakers at the Buffalo convention to be good viz; that Intemperance paves the high way to Liberty.

62  
Ariston difficulty with us or our country, is that we have the full measure of this cutaneous Democracy palmed upon us, as the true principles of liberty and it is truly laughable (yet deeply to be regretted) to have these pretenses of liberty as they style themselves "spout" in their speeches & meetings, all pretence to carry out the principles of a Washington & Jefferson. But they can swallow down a Felt with his whole plantation of slaves; and then annex Texas as a Tunnure through which the slaves may run from our country, and thereby wipe the foul stain of slavery from our country. As benevolent as this may appear, it is nevertheless one of the principle things which they heap upon, we have passed through the fiery ordeal of political excitement & remain unworn and firm. The excitement is over, and we feel as though our cause could be advanced materially by a convention. The people want light & the few documents which we have circulated has diffused a light which cannot be easily extinguished. During the time which I have been propagandizing in these regions I have been out among the "natives" and from what I can learn I think we shall have a full convention.

We have but few speakers in the county indeed but one on whom we can rely, and he feels as though he had nearly expended his influence from the number of times he has spoken, he has peripatetic our county and held frequent meetings & has been very active. He says to me, "promise the Judge if he will come that I will return the visit to Chautauque at some of your meetings"

7/5/56 617  
63  
May we expect you? Now if consistent with your business we would help. Our convention is to be held on the first Friday of February next at 10 o'clock A.M.

If you should come please call upon P. S. Mann our Liberty Lawyer, or the subscription propagator of Concordia.

J. E. T. Foots

Yours in haste

F. A. Allen

Respects to your son Charles  
Inform us whether you can come on the receipt of this

Wm. Allen  
Conder's port la  
Jan 4 - 30/845.

Wants me to attend a  
Liberty meeting the

Conder's port la  
Jan 4 - 30/845.

Wm. D. W. Foorie  
Hamiston Cham. C. N. Y.

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75

# Market Filling

# Thompson & Strong

1844

Price Agreed with ~~Common~~ ~~the~~ ~~wood~~

April 11	James Copman	4 Dug	10 00
"	Peter Gilchrist	1	2 50
"	Patrick Tenon	4	4 00
"	Pat Brown	4	4 50
"	John Lee	4 1/2	1 50
"	P. Cunningham	1 1/2	3 25
"	Pat Duncan	1	1 00
"	Peter Hillbert	1	2 50
"	John Corbin	2	2 00
"	Lawrence Blann	3/4	2 00
June 1	8-00-Dirt		1 -
6	2 - 00		1 -
7	1 - 00		1 -
8	2 -		1 -
11	4 -		1 -
21	2 -		1 -
"	2 -		1 -
22	2 -		1 -
25	14		1 -
"	1 - old brick		2 00
July 1	7 -		1 -
"	3 -		1 -
"	7 -		1 -
22	2 -		1 -
"	3 -		1 -
"	5 -		1 -
3	12 -		1 -
"	2 -		1 -
"	2 -		1 -
"	22	gravel 10¢	9 50
			42 25

1844

August 13

1 3 Lead 8 1/2 75

1 1/2 Lead Stone 2 1/2

3 00 75

2 Do 50

2 Do 50

Paste 12 1/2

1 20 Stone 25

4 1 1 00

3 2 75

3 75

4 1 00

1844

August 1

1 Load gravel 1 1/2 25

8 6 Sand 1 50

3 00 75

4 1 00

5 1 25

10 2 50

10 3 75

12 2 50

12 2 50

William Allenstide - 8 88

Edwin Stewart 13 00

84 13

Green Street

the Carl from Orange - pasted

August 7 5 Lead Stone 1 25

8 3 75

12 Lead Stone 3 00

Thompson & Strong

1844

August 5

2 Lead 8 1/2 50

1 25

1 LD Stone 25

1 Cash Line 12 1/2

Paste 12 1/2

1 Load Sand 1 25

1 Do 1 25

1 Lead Stone 25

1 Mortar Sand 25

2 Sand 50

3 Do 1 75

3 Do 1 25

7 75

1844

August 15

1 Load Mortar 12 1/2

Oct 7 4 loads Gravel 50

17 3 Loads Carl Stone 75

1 3 1/2

William Sumner

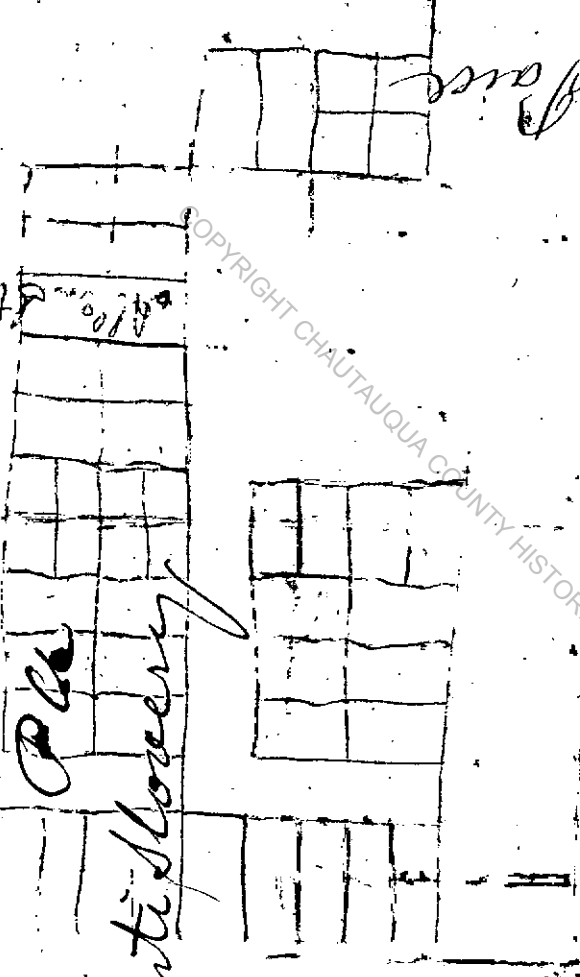
For 7 loads gravel to give

87 1/2

My dear Sir I address you at the  
 present time although personally an entire stranger  
 in the name of as the agent of the Free Country  
 Antislavery Society of its behalf extending to  
 you an urgent invitation to meet with of ally  
 the Society at its next Regular quarterly meeting  
 to be held at 10 o'clock on Friday 4th 10 Octob 1845  
 at 11 from the following considerations  
 First from the fact that we have had former  
 arrangements that you would meet us at  
 some time secondly that we are very much  
 in point of speaking for as well as  
 members of get ~~the~~ the first we have  
 abundant materials for good Antislavery  
 soldiers if they were but rightly & truly  
 committed to the principle of equal rights & equal  
 Liberty we want your assistance in the effort to  
 convert them & thereby we were as a reason  
 why we are anxious that you should come  
 over & help us in the great magnitude of  
 our enterprise 30000 of human beings  
 lying stretched beneath the iron hook of Slavery  
 in quest of manhood & all the rights belonging  
 thereto stretch out their hands for assistance  
 for help the blanking of the letters prepared  
 for our own limbs ~~by~~ <sup>of</sup> the whole  
 laboring class of community sounding in our  
 ears of <sup>the</sup> the whole weight of the vast influence  
 of the political & ecclesiastical parties in our  
 land exerted in direct opposition to equal  
 Liberty & pure Religion. We say again do  
 come over & help & remain yours for equal rights  
 at Liberties  
 Wm Lloyd Garrison June 16th 1845  
 Free Country A.S. Society  
 217 Broadway New York City  
 I have to inform you with out delay whether you  
 can come or not  
 Wm Lloyd Garrison  
 217 Broadway New York City  
 Free Country A.S. Society

Amrose Shelton  
Harbor Creek

Anti-Slavery  
Pla



It Base  
Sunday Foot

Camden  
Chautauque NY

Apple  
-1845-

33 / 240 (7 Pairs of feet)  
23 1/4

33 33 / 290 (9.18m)  
16 2/3 24 1/2  
4.9 1/2 3-

4  
48.  
8  
160 / 384 (2 25.6)  
320  
64

250/10  
97  
32

let a convention of the friends of equal rights  
universal liberty convened pursuant to public notice

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16/170 100  
100  
100  
100

Le Roy Village Dec 31 1844

Hon Judge Ford

My Dear Bro. I have not the happiness  
of a person acquainted with you but ~~learned~~ by com-  
mon fame that you are a brother in the Lord and  
in the Liberty cause - We are to hold a Liberty  
Convention in Poyay - Wyoming <sup>County</sup> on the 4th proximo  
I have a strong desire to meet you there - I will be  
collected at the convention Liberty men from - Erie,  
Niagara, Monroe, Wayne - Ontario - Livingston, Adley  
any - Genesee Wyoming - Catteraugus - and shall I  
not say? Whitmanque Counties - And matters of deep  
interest will come before the convention, (it will prob-  
ably continue for two days) The Leonty man Paper  
(the only <sup>Liberty</sup> one in Western New York) will be en-  
larged and placed on high ground - second to none  
in the State - cannot the Young Lion of the West arise  
I shake his mane a little this Paper or rather Paper  
must be located in the right place. And special  
measures taken to spread it all abroad - over all  
Western New York - to prepare for a rally for Liberty  
men for the congressional election in 1846. You Sir -  
as I understand have been a Democrat. I have  
been a Whig - But I bless God that we are now Liberty  
men of the sunny six school - I am over three  
score years of age - and have the satisfaction to re-  
spect that in voting fifty years I have never  
been left of God to vote for a Slave holder. I am  
very infirm - decrepid and fast losing my mem-  
ory - I am on the very verge of time, and intend  
to do all the good I can while I stay here, before  
I go to my heavenly home. I believe the higher we  
rise in benevolence here that we shall stand from  
that point - in our eternal ascent in heaven -  
I then why not get as high as we can on Earth?



Our Jesus tells us, to "ask, and receive, that our joy may be full" - And He tells us, He will never, no, never, no, never forsake us. What more does He want? Shall we distrust Him, who shed His blood to cleanse us from our sins? This would be base ~~in your interests!~~ No, we will never distrust Him - But we will let Him cleanse us from all sin, now! - That we may be prepared to serve Him & our generation with singleness of purpose - that when we go hence, the world may be better for our having labored in it. We will cast all our care upon Him.

And go forward - I do not know you, but you are full, you doubtless have done more good on the stage of life than I have - and have more time left, to do good in than I have. I desire to become personally acquainted with you, and I may never <sup>have</sup> so good an opportunity, as at the proposed convention - you can take your own time to be home for Buffalo - come to ~~Buffalo~~ Batavia & Fair Road - and thence to Perry, by stage, to leave Batavia Wednesday morning & lodge at Perry. And be rested ready for action on Thurs. the 9th at 10 AM. leave Perry Saturday morning in my buggy & return with me to Le Roy 1900. Spend the Sabbath with me - go to my meetings - here the pure Gospel of Jesus preached - Talk <sup>at</sup> Sabbath Evening, upon Liberty to a public house. I will <sup>invite</sup> you a house - and a full house - We have a large number of Democrats - men of intellect, but who abuse it, politically - and who's ditto, ditto. And when you wish to leave for Home - or visit Home - I will take you to Batavia in my <sup>10 mile</sup> Bu. And thence you can return as you came, <sup>on</sup> a little money for traveling expenses, and some ditto to set forward ~~forward~~ the ~~deputy~~

Prize affair - Now will you not come, I trust  
 you will - I shall expect to meet you at Perry  
 on Wednesday evening the 8th of January, if  
 God permit - And to have <sup>you</sup> follow and the track  
 I have sketched out, in all its particulars, and re-  
 turn home after 8 or 10 days absence, well pleased  
 with the numerous acquaintances you have  
 formed, And the good you have done, in a good  
 cause - And a healthy & stronger man to do good  
 Good, well tempered steel - always grows brighter  
 by good usage - "There is that scattereth, and  
 yet, increaseth, And there is, that withholdeth  
 more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty" - I  
 presume your experience & observation, will lead  
 you to say, this is truth -

But I will return to the Convention - We are  
annexed and lost at the Convention - And I trust  
 you will - if consistent with health and engagements,  
 you will say - "I will cast in my lot among them -  
 we will all have our share" - And I trust if Solomon  
 should know of your determination - he would not  
 upbraid you - I trust we shall have a "divine  
 Army" - And more than a Perry Victory -

Excuse my familiarity with a stranger, but  
 I do not feel as though we were strangers, altho'  
 we have <sup>not</sup> seen each other - But persevere until  
 we meet - I have written in haste - I have writ-  
 ten about ten circulars to day - but not each  
 as long as this - shall <sup>get it</sup> at the time & place as a  
 forerunner - I shall expect it -

Most Respectfully Yours Brod  
 Fellow Labourer for the South  
 For Liberty & the Right  
 Henry Brewster

P.S. Can you not get some  
 good men & take the  
 accompany you? -

Hon Henry Brewster  
Salem N.Y. Dec 1844

Anti Slavery wants me  
to attend a meeting at Perry.

12/20



From Judge Hook

Marysville  
Christiansburg  
Va

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J.

Frederick Douglass

Dear Mrs Foster

Your of the 21<sup>st</sup> inst is gratefully recd. Our cause is big with hope when Unitarians come to it, & receive with great & willing hearts. - You will know how it stands. For the strength of the Lord only can it succeed. For our national sin is so deeply rooted in the national heart, & so firmly do in the cloth, "that but the Lord's power not sent but by miracle & mystery"

A severe injury on my leg confining me to my room ever since I was obliged to resist apologize for the paucity of this letter. I shall be out I hope in a few days. Elder Galambus is gone to Ohio, & as it is important that an able lecturer be procured for this Co will it not be well for us both to communicate the fact to C & O Messrs Esq at Stroud & request his aid in the premises to arrange with Mr Wood to spend some two weeks at least with us in the latter part of August (after Newark), & if so, we will notify A Co meeting at Ripley or Woodfield the day before & so after (as the case may be) the Bible in meetings. Matter to be made in all the papers. I will correspond with Mr S - to day.

I rejoice Dear Sir at the encouraging prospects before you. Success in the great work of our brethren's redemption from the bondage - we have impud. Paper tracts & must be scattered over the Co. The Spirit of enquiry is awake. It is to be satisfied the at various personal sacrifices. There ought to be 200 of the Binner and - some there in this Co, & even more of faithful Cooperators but go to work.

They begin to talk of Mr Binney's ~~mission~~ in Mass, in 44. A great revolution is evidently on its tapis, the kneeling prayer beginning to bow before the majesty of God, & the light of constitutional law. I do not despair of the republic, for there are in the masses yet left some reliable consciences. Party maneuvering had almost extinguished it, blinded & perverted it. A docerey hand transferred with, but not obliterated it. The wrong of his Maker with not on man. All that is needed is to clear away the <sup>path</sup> logs & chaff, & bring out into holy & social light the gold & the wheat, then we shall see men as trees walking with giant strides to the vindication of our exalted brother, & the suppression of that fiend-like spirit, generated in a corrupt, public spirit at the dictation of the slave power, written in the ink of Demagogues in Hall, & given occasion of its concert over the civil & military power of the city of brotherhood - Academy restriction of their religious & civil

What is your opinion of our in 'Pitt' -

P.S. I send you a package of A & P papers. are they worth the postage?



Char Creek Church - 20 Nov 1841

Wm C. Y. Felt

Dear Sir,

You have done me the favour of scrip-  
 ting me a cheering line occasionally for which I thank you. I  
 have long been entirely satisfied that our cause is the cause of God & human-  
 ity, and inexorably demands the help of every one who fears God  
 or loves his creatures, but when I have seen how, in the providence  
 of our kind Father above, the attention of the people was so extensively  
 and so favourably awakened to the subject, & especially now by this  
 effort of the lawful & peaceable ballot box, and what instruments and  
 labourers he is raising up, I am led to admire the goodness of God, —  
 what hath God wrought! — We may well thank God & take courage —  
 he taketh the wise in their own craftiness. Nothing probably could more  
 effectually hasten the triumph of truth & righteousness than the barefaced  
 baseness of its adversaries in resorting to such abominable forgeries &  
 falsehoods as must make every worthy citizen ashamed of the cause & of  
 the party who uses them, & hasten to show his abhorrence by his decided  
 and unflinching adherence to the cause of truth & righteousness. These things  
 may well lead us still more steadfastly to trust in a prayer-hearing  
 God & to seek of him that humble trust in him, & prayerfulness &  
 wisdom in all our labours, without which they will come to naught. I  
 was exceedingly gratified with your wisdom, so like that of excellent  
 fellow-labourer Gerrit Smith, in declining to have your influence im-  
 peded by accepting of a nomination to office. So the beloved & successful  
 apostle glories in not hindering the gospel by receiving a maintenance  
 by it. Far sweeter is poverty & usefulness than wealth without it.  
 Unblessed affluence is rarely procured upon in the word of God & we  
 often have occasion to remark its truth & goodness in these latter days.

But there is still very much land to be possessed — a great & arduous  
 work before us. We write against principalities & powers, the subtle  
 spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience. Our triumph  
 must be the triumph of the gospel, — of the Kingdom of our Lord. We  
 may well be encouraged to brace on the whole armor of God, but  
 not to relax as if we had no further occasion for special efforts.

Some of us have simultaneously felt the need of a local religious  
 & anti-slavery paper, but a great difficulty of properly sustaining  
 it, seems to be in the way. — Very many very worthy brethren

who both need & desire more information have no courage to exert in that manner. Narrowing debts, scarcely avoidable debts, & the insupportable wants of their families, debts paid with great care and pains-taking, have taught them not to incur the expense of a single cent which can be avoided. I know how to sympathize.

I told Dr. Nessel that I had written to a relation of mine lister of neat little books for children & others at Worcester to come & set up at Clear Brook and help me try a neat cheap - some discussion - religious - anti-slavery & business paper at Clear Brook, hoping we might receive some patronage throughout Congressional District, notwithstanding the multitude of printers in the region. He told me he had mentioned the want to you & me to write to you, and this is my particular business in regard to you with a view to enquire as to your opinion & advice. I have not yet received any answer & I know not sufficient encouragement would be given him to find it to remove, and while I would still leave all to the care of a wise Providence, I would make proper enquiry.

and now Dear Brother what do you think of it? It of course be very much of an echo or selection from various tracts & will edit religious anti-slavery papers & books & truths, saving truths, into every school-district and if possible into every poor cottage and the most accommodating & liberal terms - Perhaps you have a better plan made out I shall rely very much upon your opinion & views & the indication of the path of duty for myself. I have anxiety but to be where I should be in our dear Father's business.

Yours respectfully & affectionately  
William

Buxton August 5<sup>th</sup> 1845

Dear Sir I ran out Saturday & obtained subscribers through Frank settlement so that I may send for the Emancipator Bg. Pumb & another paper & will circulate it to day I hope & I hope be able to write you to night for the L. P. & I am not without hopes that we want no more of each kind  
Yours &c. Wm. Douglass  
Hon. C. J. Foot

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Judge Foot

Utica Nov 14 1844

Dear Sir

You are aware that we have published an Edition of Goodell's "View of American Constitutional Law," and we are exceedingly anxious to give it an extensive circulation, it is invaluable, as a work vindicating triumphantly the Constitution from the false constructions placed by Slaveholders and their abettors upon it, as speaking the language of Slavery, Mr Goodell has shown most conclusively that it speaks the language of freedom to all. Judge Brewster says "it ought to be scattered through community like the leaves of Autumn; and eventually, it ought to be used as a school book that the rising generation may understand it,"

Now my dear Sir we have no way of getting it into general circulation, but through the hands of our Anti Slavery friends, Will you please to see the friends in your section and send on for a good supply. Our price is 31 single Copy \$3 per Dozen \$20 per hundred. Chatanque ought to take 3 or 400. We have had a hard fight during the Election, but have come out of the struggle without our ranks being thinned; but O the Whigs, their wrath towards us is dreadful, never were we in better spirits, never was our righteous cause stronger than now

Yours truly for Jackson & Chaplin  
George Lawton



555

G. C. ARMS.

1 Copy, .....	\$2	15 Copies, .....	\$16
4 Copies, .....	6	20 do. ....	20
10 do. ....	19		

TO ALBANY PATRIOT, DR.

1845.

1846.

\$29.00

Received Payment,

Jas. C. Jackson  
Per direction

Mary Jan. 29, 1843

To Jan. 22

Top Paper from Jan. 22

29

Mr. E. J. Pratt

ALBANY PATRIOT.  
OFFICE NO. 38 DEAN STREET.

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Albany Patriot  
Receipt 29 papers

Jan'y - 22<sup>o</sup> 1845

1 year

Wm. W. Parker  
No. 10  
Parker  
29  
Parker  
29

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The Location of  
Entrance for Johnson  
reasoning  
views of the literature

7/6

Hon. the Judge of the  
Court



James Down

Chattanooga, Tenn.

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New York, 30 Nov. 1846.

Judge Foster  
New Haven

My dear Sir,

Will you take a share in the stock of the Plan unfolded in the annex'd Circular. You can take scrips for \$25 a year for 3 years or \$100 at your option.

Do not deny us. You will probably never have a better opportunity to aid the cause of freedom. Remember what the Boston ministers when exhorting his parishioners to give freely - "you will have enough to ruin all your children besides."

Can you procure some subscriptions to the new paper? I send you a Prospectus.

Respectfully  
Linn Tappan

"Natural Era" New-York, Nov. 30/46

79

DEAR SIR:—

The Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have determined on establishing a Weekly Anti-Slavery Newspaper in the City of Washington in January next. Several Members of Congress and inhabitants of Washington, enter into the project with spirit and hope. Influential and judicious friends of the cause, in different parts of the country, highly approve the measure, and promise to aid in its accomplishment.

A Committee at Chicago, Ill., issued a notice, some weeks since, recommending the establishment of a paper at Washington, appointing Agents, &c. This announcement has been extensively published. The Executive Committee regret this publication, which was made without a correspondence with them, as being premature, presenting but a part of the plan devised here, and having a tendency to divert people's ideas down to small subscriptions, and arouse the opposition of foes. But the Committee at Chicago are warm friends of the cause, were actuated by the best of motives, and will act, we doubt not, with the Executive Committee, in the greater plan contemplated.

In connection with the plan of establishing a paper, which is the primary object, the Executive Committee propose to have the Anti-Slavery Literature revised—to issue a series of ably-written Books and Tracts—to be stereotyped, and extensively sold at moderate prices—to have an Agent of talents and business qualifications in each of the Free States, and in some of the Slave States, to lecture, promote the circulation of the publications, and aid the Anti-Slavery cause with the Abolitionists in the State where he shall reside, as efficiently as possible.

For the accomplishment of this three-fold plan—one that recommends itself to every true friend of liberty in the country—it is believed that the sum of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR, for THREE YEARS, will not be too large a sum. The establishment of the paper will require a large sum, as it must be established in such a way as to ensure permanency; the expense of editors, reporters, correspondents, extras, &c. &c. will be considerable; and all the expenses will be much greater at Washington than in any other place.

The support of a competent Agent in each State, who will labor there without subjecting the friends of the cause in the State where he resides to the expense of his salary, will require a large sum. The utility of such an agency must be manifest to all. The preparation of the Books and Tracts will require a considerable outlay of money. This instrumentality is greatly needed, and will be hailed with much satisfaction.

Should the sum contributed be sufficient to carry out the whole plan, on the scale contemplated, the results would be vast indeed, and the Executive Committee intend to carry it out, (making the paper the first object), as extensively as the sums contributed will enable them.

The Committee at Chicago have been requested to employ Agents to canvass the Western States, and the Executive Committee have engaged the services of the Rev. J. N. Hobart, for Pennsylvania, Prof. T. B. Hudson for Ohio, and C. L. Knapp, Esq., for Vermont, to visit the principal friends of the cause in each of those States, to solicit their subscriptions for the general plan; to appoint sub-agents; and to adopt measures for procuring subscribers to the newspaper. Messrs. Hobart and Hudson have already made satisfactory reports, and are laboring efficiently to raise the sums apportioned to their respective States.

The Executive Committee are desirous of procuring the services of able and efficient Agents for the other States, and will pay their travelling expenses and a reasonable compensation. In some of the largest States it will be necessary to employ more than one Agent.

The whole sum could easily be raised, in a short time, if Abolitionists who are able would appreciate the plan, and subscribe according to their ability. For example—if 375 persons were to subscribe, according to the following scale, the work could be done up quickly.

1.	25 persons subscribed, pledged, or collected \$250 a year for three years,	•	\$5000
2.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	•	5000
3.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	•	5000
4.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	•	5000
4.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	•	200
-----			
			\$20,000

It is supposed that these individuals can be found in the following States, and that the annexed apportionment is about right:—

Carried up,	\$13,000
Maine,	1250
New Hampshire,	1100
Vermont,	1150
Massachusetts,	3000
Rhode Island,	500
Connecticut,	1500
New York,	4000
New Jersey,	500
-----	
Brought up,	13000
Pennsylvania,	2000
Ohio,	2500
Michigan,	500
Illinois,	800
Indiana,	500
Wisconsin,	350
Iowa,	350
-----	
	\$20,000

A few individuals in this city have commenced a subscription of \$250 each per annum for three years. Where individuals cannot afford to give the above sums, several of them might unite, and constitute one of them their agent to collect and transmit the money.

We send with this a form of subscription, which can be pasted into a Book—a copy of the Prospectus—and a printed Note. Will you furnish a list of Liberty men, in your State, who, in your judgment, are able and willing to subscribe \$25 or more, classed under different heads?

Can you devote any time to soliciting subscriptions, or otherwise promoting the accomplishment of the plan, and what? Will you name one or more devoted and capable friends of the cause, who would probably undertake, for a compensation or otherwise, to canvass any part of your State for subscriptions to the general plan, and also to promote subscriptions to the paper?

Very truly yours,

Leicester Jackson

For the Committee:

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No. 3051846

Homeys Oct 11  
Hon. J. P. Foster Esq. Washington

Dear Sir,  
I write you at the request of  
our friend Abel Brown who has made  
engagements for a series of Anti Slavery mee-  
tings in your region. Mr Brown was  
sick here last Tuesday & unable to proceed  
further at present. How soon he  
will be able is uncertain. The colored  
Mr Norton, however, has gone on to  
appointments and will be at your place  
at the time, viz. next Wednesday.

Mr Brown hopes you will be able  
to accompany Mr Norton to Panama & the  
other places and assist him in getting  
subscribers to the Confession of Faith.

Perhaps Mr Norton to remain in the  
County & labor till he sees or hears  
from him (Mr Brown) who will pro-  
ceed either as soon as he is able.

Mr Norton has Mr Brown's Memo-  
randa, books, papers & money, but is unable  
to read, and will want some assistance.  
He has some Liberty pamphlets to

Mr. Norton will please make  
his home & head quarters at Mr. Wm  
Brown's mother in law - Mrs  
Taylor, Fredonia, one mile & a half  
west of the village

I take the opportunity myself  
to say that in this place the Liberty  
men think it highly important to  
circulate the Congressional Patriot this  
season, among the people in general and  
Mr. Chaplain's services in Washington  
& Correspondence to the Patriot, will  
greatly enrich its columns - & be  
a very important Liberty Measure  
for the Country at large, especially  
our neighbor Mr. Leavitt, Mr. Wm  
Terry will be at the next of Govern-  
ment, to watch the movement of  
this critical & forming Crisis. - We  
subscribe for 35 copies of the Congressional Patriot  
here, although quite a number of the paper  
was taken before  
Very Respectfully Yours  
William Goodell



Mr Goodall 507  
Honeygoys with my  
" Oct 25/44

Witness for - Norton & Jays  
New York & New Jersey

87a

Paid B's

Chicago N.Y.  
October 25

Mr. E. J. Scott Esq  
Jameson Co  
Chattanooga N.Y.

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Handwritten notes, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including words like "Wheat", "Milk", "Sugar", and "Corn".

men - steal little of  
soul & body - steal little

Wasson - Mar 6 '75

My dear Sir

My father has been such a  
we parted at Weymouth that I have not been able  
to fulfill all my appointments. He needs an  
in such a state now that I can not move  
my family, and I have no claim upon the  
house I now occupy longer than the  
my share of annual repairs, and before that  
I promise to be at Weymouth. In case to  
do so I am obliged to part from my  
my share from your share. It seems  
necessary that I should attend the meeting  
meeting which takes in the course of 2 weeks,  
about the 20th, postponing an entire month  
with you paid over, unless you should see  
and my going back into the country,  
after a few days. You are at liberty to  
make the appointment for me and see  
my the convenience.

Looking to the fact of the  
in France, except one mistake  
having been of some Frank  
at a certain negro's strike  
Shaker

Wm. C. Lott's date

from New York

84

Mrs. Gordon



Mr. E. J. R. [unclear]  
Amherst  
Chaut. Co.  
N.Y.

1872

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Post  
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e

To the Ministers & Elders of the Presbytery of Buffalo  
in Presbytery, <sup>to be</sup> assembled at Buffalo January 1845.

Brother, As a member of a church connected with your  
body, I feel called by a sense of duty <sup>to</sup> ask of your ecclesiastical  
body to further action on the sin of slavery.

I believe it undeniable that your body is eccle-  
-siastically connected with ministers & churches who are openly  
slaveholders & cling to the sin unreluctantly by some of our churches  
& ecclesiastical bodies.

Your resolution making it the duty the ministers & li-  
-ceniates of your body to open their mouths for the dumb on all proper  
occasions is either neglected by some or is regarded under a plea  
that because <sup>some</sup> politicians feel it their duty to act politically in the  
question therefore their duty <sup>in this respect</sup> ceases, & they are absolved from raising  
their voices in the pulpit against this awful sin. Others flee to the  
excuse that because some politicians have been harsh & un-  
-caring of ministers for a neglect (if not they believed) duty, therefore  
they should remain silent relative to this abomination.

I am not of the number ~~and~~ that <sup>one</sup> of the churches or  
ministers to take political action against their own vices of duty,  
but I do humbly ask of the ministry & ecclesiastical bodies to  
openly & unequivocally condemn the sin <sup>as more guilty of it</sup> as a great moral question.

At the last meeting of the General Assembly I am informed  
that hady referred action in the premises & referred the question to  
the inferior judicatories for a decision; consequently your body  
will no doubt feel called on to act on this question.

I know I speak advisedly when I say that in common  
with many members of our Presbytery an <sup>more or less</sup> church consider slavery



Yale & Road Nov 18 45

Hon E. J. Fols

Sir

Capt. Hall showed me a line from you, which I received this morning or last evening. I like your suggestions, in the main. I am pleased to hear, and to weigh the suggestions and criticisms of experienced men. I always take it for granted that Anti Slavery men in their several localities know better what is adapted to their peculiar regions, than a stranger.

So far as the church is concerned, however, it may be that the different positions, you and I have occupied, and the different relations we have sustained for the last 9 years, operate as a ground of honest, and conscientious difference of views, feelings, and opinions, between us. I can see nothing but bald inconsistency in demanding of the Political Party, that they should be true to the claims of the down-trodden, and that their abominable guilt and turpitude, should be repented of, as honest men should abandon them, while the church may remain unrebuked, unexposed, and either partially, or fully apologized for, in her pro-slavery position, and character; obeying man, as she does more than God, in the matter of slavery. I feel as much called upon, as a Christian Minister, to demand Christianity of the Churches, as to demand Republicanism of the Party, as a Politician. I look upon pro-slavery as irreconcilable with both Republicanism & Christianity; - the one a substitute of the Law of Love, as the other is of the doctrines of '60: and if honest men can not sustain the one guiltless, I see not how the sustenance of the other, can be justified.

Nevertheless, the matter of secession

88 on the contrary, I leave for every man to judge  
of, in his own case. I neither urge it nor depre-  
cate it, I do not, even, advocate it, on the one hand,  
nor object to, it on the other, in my public exhibitions  
of truth. Unless, indeed, my own personal position,  
in regard to this matter, is taken into the account, and  
even here, Judge Foot will bear me witness, that when  
at Jamestown where he supposed I was to speak upon  
"the churches" I did ~~so~~ so little, as defining my own po-  
sition, as to leave a doubt on the mind of Rev. Mr.  
Forsyth, as to whether my ecclesiastical connexions were  
pro Slavery, or Anti Slavery.

From a careful review of the subject  
I am obliged to conclude, that the "severity" of which  
my gallant and kind hearts friend complains, is a simple  
recital of the facts, connected with, and forming  
the pro slavery history of the American church  
for the last 14 years, which facts, <sup>I freely admit</sup> are calculated to con-  
vey the same impressions of duty, in reference to  
the church, that similar facts do in reference to the  
pro slavery ~~history of the parties.~~

I beseech you, however, not to  
think your suggestion unkindly received. I am re-  
ceiving, continually, suggestions of the opposite char-  
acter, from Whig and brethren. I accept and dis-  
cuss all, but only adopt such as are accordant with  
my own convictions of duty. A course, the pro-  
prietor of which I doubt not, you will <sup>readily</sup> ap-  
prove.

Appointments are made up to the  
time for my return, next week. As I wrote you  
from Warsaw, I am obliged to leave my family the  
next week and must return, ~~to~~ to attend to  
that, and other, private business. I am much em-  
barrassed by not knowing certainly when I am to  
perform another month's labor in this county.  
Other counties make applications, I can give them  
no answer, and so time is lost. If Chautauque has my  
labor at all during the ensuing year, she must suggest  
it before, during what month she wants them or leave it  
to my own discretion. July and Aug. will be too

busy for meetings. We have then but 6 months of the po-  
litical year, and I want to dispose of them to the best ad-  
vantage to the cause.

Very sincerely

Your humble & Obedt

Saml P Ward

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Letter  
Salmon Woods  
March 18th  
1845

12

Wm. C. J. Apple  
James Town  
N. Y.

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Salmon Woods  
Miss Merrill

90  
90

# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

## PREAMBLE.

Whereas the Declaration of American Independence asserts that it is a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas this political axiom is based upon the Holy Scriptures, which declare that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth," and which require all mankind to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas nearly three millions of the people of this country are held in slavery by their fellow-countrymen; and whereas the practice of buying and selling human beings prevails to an alarming extent; and whereas every man, irrespective of color, is entitled to equality of rights on the soil of his birth and residence; and whereas the prejudice against color, which exists in this country, is sinful in the sight of God, and should be immediately repented of; and whereas no scheme of expatriation should be countenanced by any friend of man or God; and whereas we owe it to the oppressed, to oppressors, to our country, to the world, and to God, to do all that is right, and lawfully in our power, to bring about the extinction of slavery and the slave trade: we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the following Constitution.

## ARTICLE I.

The name of this Association shall be, the "AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

## ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society shall be the entire extinction of Slavery and the Slave-Trade; and the equal security, protection, and improvement of the people of color.

## ARTICLE III.

The following are the fundamental principles of this Society—That slave-holding and slave-trading are heinous sins in the sight of God, and violations of the rights of man, and ought to be immediately abandoned—that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings—that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade is to be attained by moral, religious, and pacific means—that while this Society exacts no specific pledge as a condition of membership, it will urge on all the duty of exercising their political franchises against the election of any slaveholder, and in behalf of the enslaved—that the legislative action of Governments should be invoked to abolish slavery and the slave-trade; for the enfranchisement of free people of color; and to restrain the lawless from invading the rights of others—and that no measures be resorted to by this society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

## ARTICLE IV.

The Society will employ the following means, among others, to effect the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade:

1. They will circulate accurate information on the enormities of slavery and the slave-trade—furnish evidence to the inhabitants of the slave-holding States, not only of the practicability and safety, but of the pecuniary advantage of free over slave labor—diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere—open a correspondence with Abolitionists throughout the world, and encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. They will recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown.

3. They will urge upon all, and especially upon the ministry and church of Christ, the duty of embracing every suitable opportunity for exhibiting to slave-holders and slave-traders, and their apologists, an abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

## ARTICLE V.

Any person who consents to the principles and objects of this Society, and contributes annually to its funds, shall be a member of the Society: and the payment of thirty dollars, at any one time, shall constitute an individual a member for life.

## ARTICLE VI.

The Society shall annually elect a President, two Vice Presidents, Secretaries, and a Treasurer: and in case of a vacancy occurring from any cause, the Executive Committee shall have the power to fill such vacancy.

## ARTICLE VII.

The Society shall annually elect an Executive Committee, of whom nine members, at least, shall reside in the City of New-York and vicinity, and five, regularly convened, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

This Committee shall have power to elect their own officers; to fill all vacancies which may occur in their number; to call an annual meeting of the Society at New-York, or elsewhere, at which a report of their doings shall be made; to transact all the business of the Society in the intervals of the annual meetings; to convene special meetings of the Society, when necessary; and to collect funds through their auxiliaries, or otherwise, according to their discretion.

## ARTICLE VIII.

The meetings of this Society, for the transaction of business, shall consist of its officers, and such other men as may be sent as delegates. Each State or Territory Society, auxiliary to this, shall be entitled to send two delegates; and every local association, (consisting of not less than fifty members,) whether auxiliary to the State or Territory Societies, or to this Society, shall be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members.

## ARTICLE IX.

This Society shall invite and encourage the formation of Women's Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, in furtherance of its objects, which Societies may be represented according to Article VIII.

## ARTICLE X.

This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the delegates present, provided the amendments proposed have been submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committees three months previously.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

### PRESIDENT,

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *New-York.*

### VICE PRESIDENTS,

F. J. LE MOYNE, M. D. *Pennsylvania.*

JAMES G. BIRNEY, *Michigan.*

### SECRETARIES,

A. A. PHELPS, *Cor. Sec. New-York.*

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Rec. Sec. New-York.*

### TREASURER,

WILLIAM SHOTWELL, 221 Henry street, *New-York.*

### ASSISTANT TREASURER,

WILLIAM E. WHITING, 122 Pearl street, *New-York.*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

ARTHUR TAPPAN,	ALVAN STEWART,
S. S. JOCELYN,	WILLIAM E. WHITING,
THEO. S. WRIGHT,	ORANGE SCOTT,
WM. JAY,	R. G. WILLIAMS,
LEWIS TAPPAN,	WILLIAM KIRKLAND,
S. E. CORNISH,	ARNOLD BUFFUM,
S. W. BENEDICT,	WILLIAM LILLIE,
A. A. PHELPS,	WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,	JAMES WARNER,
LEONARD GIBBS,	LUTHER LEE.

*For Cash Received for Society*

1842

*[Handwritten signatures and scribbles]*

1845

N. B. Please direct your reply to A. A. Phelps, 118 Nassau Street, New-York.

A. A. PHELPS, Cor. Secy.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Chairman.

The Committee believe that there has never been a period when such efforts as those indicated above, could be prosecuted with greater advantage and promise of success than at present. They wish to prosecute them with vigor. They will do so, so far as the friends of the slave in different parts of the country will furnish the means. They can do so no farther. They ask your serious consideration of the plans proposed; and they earnestly solicit such contributions in furtherance of them, as you feel able and willing to bestow. An early reply is respectfully solicited, stating what amount you will give, and when you will remit it to the Committee, or authorize the Committee to draw upon you for it.

1. The Society to concern itself mainly, and as far as possible exclusively, with those things which are of a general and not of a local character, and which cannot therefore be effectively and well attended to by local organizations—leaving to local organizations and effort what is properly local, and giving its attention to what is properly general and national.
2. The Society to employ permanent lecturing agencies to a very limited extent—and not at all, except men of the most superior qualifications can be secured.
3. The Society to employ, as means and men are found, individuals to act as local agents, and particularly as regular correspondents of the local, secular, and religious press, in different parts of the country.
4. The Secretary to attend the meetings of large ecclesiastical and other bodies, from time to time, as the interests of the cause may demand, and his duties as resident Secretary may allow; and in cases where he cannot attend, or where, for other reasons, it would be better to have the services of some one else, such individual to be secured, if possible.
5. The "Reporter" to be issued monthly, as a record of important official documents, and of the progress of the cause in all its departments, civil, secular, and religious—to be sold in parcels of five or more, as the general rule, and at such advance upon the cost of printing, as to make it sustain itself, and be no tax upon the funds of the Society, except for gratuitous circulation.
6. The Society to issue, from time to time, as occasions require and means allow, permanent documents of various kinds, cuts, handbills, tracts, pamphlets, books, &c.; these documents to be carefully and thoroughly prepared, stereotyped, and so far as sold, sold at a small advance on the cost of publication.
7. The Society to maintain the principles, in its publications, of the Liberty Party, and keep a record of its general movements and progress.
8. The Society to give its attention specially to the promotion of the cause, by its publications and otherwise, in the Slave States.
9. The Society, by its Secretary, to keep up a regular correspondence with the friends of the cause in Great Britain, France, and elsewhere—keeping them advised of the state of the cause here, from time to time, and of the ways in which they may aid us—among these to be reckoned American Missionaries abroad.
10. The Society to urge Anti-Slavery Reform in the Churches and Ecclesiastical bodies, in accordance with the genius and principles of their respective organizations.
11. The Committee to furnish, as far as means allow, all Theological, Collegiate, and Academical Libraries, with a complete set of the more important Anti-Slavery works.
12. To send the "Reporter" regularly to all missionaries that will receive it—Home and Foreign.
13. The Committee to maintain, as means allow and occasions demand, an efficient agency at Washington, during the sessions of Congress.
14. The Committee to give their attention, as cases occur demanding it, to the legal vindication of persons arrested as fugitive slaves in the free, or as abolitionists in the slave States; and to the issuing of the legal and constitutional questions growing out of them.

**OUTLINE OF EFFORT.**

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, having decided to revive and enlarge their operations, and to this end, having secured the services of the Rev. A. A. Phelps, as Editor of the "Reporter," and Secretary of the Society, desire to submit to your consideration the following

Dear Sir,

NEW-YORK,

1845.

90

# Gorman James

54

For Cash Recd for Carting

2	.50
9	1.50
20	.50
24	.74
21	1.00
25	.40
14	.57
16	.50
20	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	.60
18	1.00
30	.20
20	.50
31	.50
5	inquire about Peck's Bank .38
8	1.00
10	1.45
17	.25
27	.75
of John Peck	5.57
	<u>18.24</u>

15	Received	.25
		<u>1.25</u>
2		3.00
20		.25
4		.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
9		.25
10		.25
17		1.00
28		.25
17		2.00
10		.25
4		<u>1.50</u>
		10.62

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55 Yale College Library

1842

	For Carting	
June 17	De scaffolding	25
18	1. Scantling for Prescott	31
20	1. Boards for Chamberlain	31
	12 Loads Sand	3 00
21	8 - - - - -	2 00
	2 Limes Mowed	25
	3 Loads Sand to W. Bands	30
22	14 to the building	3 50
	Furniture to office	57 1/2
23	1 Load Sand	25
27	2 Do	50
	2 " Scaffolding	50
28	2 " Sand	50
30	2 " - - - - -	50
	1 Scaffolding	25
	1 Lime	12 1/2
July 1	1 - - - - -	12 1/2
2	2 Loads Plank	50
5	3 - - - - -	75
2	4 Sand	1 00
	1 Lime	12 1/2
6	1 Sand	25
7	1 Lime	12
8	2 Do	50
	5 Plank	1 25
9	5 " Do	1 50
12	1 Lime	12 1/2
	1 Cement	25
	1 Lime	12 1/2
15	2 " Lime	25
	1 " Sand	1 50
18	6 " Do	1 50
	1 Lime	12 1/2
20	6 " Sand	1 50
	1 " Scaffolding	25
	1 Lime	12 1/2
		2477

July 21	12 Loads Sand	3 00
22	7 - - - - -	1 00
	Carting stone 1 hour	2
	5 Loads Water table	1 25
	1 Lime	12
25	18 " Sand	4 50
	1 Water line for Giffings	2
	1/3 Cash from Renewals	1 1/3
	1 Do Lime	12
	1 Cut Stone	1 1/2
26	12 Do Sand	3 00
	1 " Lime	12
	3 Water table	1 50
27	8 " Sand	2 00
	4 Cut stone	6 00
	1 hour Carting Stone	3
	1 Load Lime	12
	1 Poles	2
28	17 " Sand	4 25
	1 Lime	12
	1 Stone	12
	1 " Poles	25
29	9 " Sand	2 25
	1 hour carting stone	3
	1 Do Lime	12
30	2 " Sand	50
August 1	4 - - - - -	1 00
	3 Cut stone	5 00
	1 Lime	12
2	8 Sand	2 00
	1 Lime	12
	1 Cut stone	1 1/2
	Derrick	25
3	13 Loads Sand	3 25
	1 Lime	12
	1 Stone	12
		58 1/4

Wm. H. Wood Merchants  
 1842  
 58 1/4

Westfield Monday 20<sup>th</sup> 1845

Wm E F Frothingham

Dear Sir I believe now is the time Liberty men may most effectually spread their principles while the other parties are still. I know of no way those principles can be so advantageously spread as by our Public Lectures & as every one ought to see that effectual means are employed in his immediate vicinity I am anxious that we <sup>have</sup> a competent man discuss ~~our~~ principles in this place I believe the people in the South part of our town are less under the influence of Political leaders than in the North and in the Village a Locus told me the other day they calculated to vote the Liberty ticket this Spring. As you gave some encouragement of speaking to us this winter it would be gratifying to me if you could make it convenient to do so our numbers are so few or so recently enlisted it would not be advisable to attempt to reward a speaker I therefore cannot urge your attendance. A friendly disposition is manifested from the Locus toward us in this place & as you were from this ranks probably no person could further the cause more in this place than yourself. If you come please come when we have a good Moon & give a notice of sufficient length that no other appointment interfere with yours & we will make an extra effort to get the people out. Mr Sturtevant wished me to say to you he should like to have you come & calculate to speak in the South part of Ripley. If you should fail to fulfil your appointment no person would be present to occupy the time.

We got 10 subscribers to the Congressional Patriot in this town ought to have had more

97 Who the Liberty candidate for the Presidency  
of 1848, in my mind is of great importance  
to the cause. We have run Mr Birney twice & has  
been told by our opposers until a short time  
before election your cause is good but you can do  
nothing & if the time ever arrives when you can  
Mr Birney will be set aside & some political  
demagogue will step in & take the office I believe  
Mr Birney has high claims for our support. he has  
suffered his name to run & withstood all the  
attacks the enemies of Liberty could make upon  
both his political & private character without the  
least expectation of being elected. Take any other  
man let the Whigs use half the ingenuity they  
did last fall I trust they will find some defect  
without forgoing it & I think it would leave  
an impression upon the publick that Liberty  
men endorsed some of these slanders & abandoned  
him. In my mind justice to Mr Birney requires  
our support for him.

When I compare the religious services of the present  
days with those before 1840 I perceive that the  
pulpit is muzzled & will not speak out against  
the great sin of our land, because they say  
it is political. If so infidels have found how  
they can shut the Ministers mouth & stop the  
progress of every religious enterprise only take  
it into Politicks

From reading the report of the proceedings of the  
Annual meeting of the board of Foreign Missions  
I see there too more reverence is payed to Slavery  
than Liberty. If any Mission has my support  
however small that may be it must be where  
Slavery has no connection with it, as I now think  
Yours respectfully  
C. F. Hoove  
J. G. Nichols  
Make your calculations to stay over night with me

Randolph Aug. 27<sup>th</sup> 1844

Ernestus Foot Esq

De Sir I was

from home when your favour  
to me was written and did not  
reach home untill after the  
meeting at Clearcreek took place  
I regret that I could not  
have been present - I was  
unhappy of seeing you at the  
mess meeting last Friday at  
Petersburgh but was disappointed  
I think a good meeting Mr  
Chaplin spoke more than two  
hours and shook the very bones  
of all parties - As I was  
going out I left a few written  
notices for an evening meeting  
on Saturday at Cherry Creek  
and had not withstanding the  
rain quite a full meeting  
Dr Wine from Ellington attended  
The participations of the  
political parties were some  
what laid open and probed  
to the bottom and the doctor  
asserted a pillar of Human  
kindness & philanthropy and the  
meeting closed with mutual  
good feeling - Your position  
and others from the Lost face party  
who have been driven from the  
party by the sacrifice of Mr Van  
buren to Slavery is one of our  
best arguments against Slavery



I take the ground that if the Liberty party stand firm there will be a large accession from the Loco-foco ranks by reason of the pledge of that party in favour of the annexation of Texas and then let which will get the Presidency there will be a formidable host in the north to oppose annexation. But if the Liberty men go into the ranks of their old parties, ~~it will be~~ whether Clay or Polk is elected we get Texas. In one case the Southern Whigs will join the Locos for Texas & in the other Nullification of the South will be compensated by the Great Compromise by purchasing Texas of Mexico &c. Or by some other scheme which he will glorify with a justice to "preserve the Union". I cordially reciprocate your proposal to unite our efforts in the good cause of God & Man. If you will by the return mail make an appointment when to be at our place & give us a lecture I will see that due notice is given to the citizens and then we will consult together on our further action.

Yours for the Slave

Wm. S. Jackson

W. B. Elder Wilbur expressed a desire to have the appointment either the first or the last of next week as he was obliged to be absent in the middle of the week - I shall be absent week after next

49

John Wright

1843

For 41 Loads Bar

81

10 25

1844

11 12

78 Days for Bar

William Mix Esq

April 29

for 106 Loads earth

29

May 2-13

129

30

16

11 by P. D. ...

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1844

May 15-16

Mr. Scupper

0

for 7 Loads Gravel

57

Stephen & Son

48

**SOTERMS**

21	3	Seeds from W. 20081	50
23	8		50
26	5		50
28	2	0.80	1.60
30	4	0.50	2.00
31	2	0.50	1.00
32	1	1.00	1.00
33	1	1.00	1.00
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98	1	1.00	1.00
99	1	1.00	1.00
100	1	1.00	1.00

Charles D. Stearns & Co. (continued)

19.98

24.02

48

97

Poland Jan 21<sup>st</sup> 1845.

Mr. E. J. Lott.

Sir

I have made some exertion in order to ascertain how many feel disposed to admit of an abolition paper in this town - but after a long and tedious delay the matter is still remains unsettled. Owing in some cases to the state of apathy which has seized upon the minds of the people, and others being unprepared with funds to advance.

Owing to this state of things I have been deprived of the most valuable information by not having access to the lights of liberty that is beaming from the press.

After all this ill success with which I have met I still feel disposed to urge the necessity of a speedy decision which is very much wanting on the part of some - and which has caused such a delay.

Under the existing circumstances, I have ~~come~~ arrived at the conclusion to forward five dollars which I advance out of my own pocket to accommodate some that are anxious to obtain a liberty publication but have not the funds.

I think there is no doubt but there are others that will contribute.

John Miller - 1  
 Mrs Smith - 1  
 Daniel Wallace - 1  
 G. L. Pitcher - 2

I wish you to bear in mind that there are some others that him since they would take, but it is attended with uncertainty.

There is one case I will mention one - Mr. ~~W~~ <sup>W</sup> ~~W~~ <sup>W</sup> Sheltus is a resident of this town but counts his paper sent to Felling.

Can you send one there in case there is no more to be left at that office.

Please write by the bearer of this and let me know what course to pursue.

Yours in haste

G. L. P.

Mr. Please send for one of the back numbers commencing at the session of Congress.

Mr. Pitcher father added one more therefore order leaf

877

Geo. L. Pitcher  
 Poland  
 with remittance for  
 papers - July - 1845

Janetown Chant Co NY Aug-30-45

My dear Sir your circular of 20th inst. has just come to hand  
 for the use of my library to attend our county anniversary &  
 among the rest our county fairs - my library. I have attended  
 to the matter & the result is herein enclosed for your inspec-  
 tion - Our meeting was full & the resolution unanimous.  
 I cannot see at the meeting of the board. My friends are now pushing  
 for a removal to Newbury & but to pass by about the 20th Sept  
 when I hope to see you - Both the Pres & Secy of our county so-  
 ciety are members of the Board

Janetown

- Rev E J Gillet Pastor Presb Ch } all profess abolitionist but
- "   O Street Cong Ch } their faith is without works
- "   Geo Clark M E Church } abolitionist
- "   Wilson Wesleyan Church } moderate abolitionist
- "   A Handy a Baptist Church } moderate abolitionist
- Richard F Fenton } Protestant
- Wm Hedges } Protestant
- Samuel S. Butler Congregational } Decided abolitionist
- Deacon J. Reed Baptist } Decided abolitionist

Carroll

- Rev O D Hibbard Congregational Ch profers much does little
- Dea J. Carey } abolitionist
- Wm Jones } Congregationalist
- Wm Chapman } Congregationalist

Prest

- Dea Thomas Donforth Cong. active abolitionist
- Elder Swain Baptist abolitionist
- Samuel Atkinson colored & prominent member Cong. Ch
- Elder Broadhead Wesleyan Ch decidedly abolitionist

Ellington

- Rev Wm North Pastor Presb Ch decided abolitionist
- J B Trefler Presb do
- Levi Rice do
- Dr Potwine do
- R W M Dale









135 Free  
98 Slaves  
47 majority  
Congrs

Dec Independence July 4<sup>th</sup> 1776  
Constitution Ratified <sup>1778</sup> 1787 & 1788.  
By N 61789 & 231740

States of the Union

Original Free States

Massachusetts	10
Connecticut	4
N. Hampshire	4
R. Island	2
N. York	34
Pennsylvania	24
N. Jersey	5

Original Slave States

Delaware	1
Maryland	6
Virginia	15
South Carolina	7
North Carolina	9
(6) Georgia	48

New Free States

Vermont 1791	4
Ohio 1803	21
Indiana 1816	10
Illinois 1818	7
Maine 1820	7
Michigan 1836	5
members	135

Speakers since 1800  
Sumner of Mass 3-7-94  
John W Taylor 1 year 1820

New Slave States

Kentucky 1792	10
Tennessee 1796	11
Louisiana 1812	4
Mississippi 1817	4
Alabama 1819	7
Missouri 1821	5
Arkansas 1836	1
members	84

(354,000 square miles)

New Slave States admitted by votes of members representing free men - Dough faces - Even now equal states but more rep<sup>s</sup> = representatives from north - 47 majority in Congress.

Presidents

President	Year	Term
Washington	1789	2 terms
Jefferson	1801	2
Madison	1809	2
Monroe	1817	2
Adams	1825	1
Jackson	1829	2
Van Buren	1837	1
Fox & Tyler	1841	1

North Pres<sup>ts</sup> 12 years  
South Pres<sup>ts</sup> 44 years  
32 years more  
Population of Free States more than double Slave States

21 to 25 to members represent Slaves

Secretary of State	South	North
Judges Court	10	4
attys general	17	10
Presidents Senate	20	9
Chief Justice	50	11 years
		50 years

present heads of department saved from Slave States  
Wilson fought slavery in opposition to acts of Parliament 40 yrs

Free Books 2276  
\$2900

Boston 2/- taken  
Boston 2/- Books \$32700  
Boston 2/- taken Bookstore  
Lucas H Reed - 3 - Utica NY  
Southough in their  
Slaves & fight their battles.

many, many and all  
wards, titles, Nelson's

1st and 13th St  
a on 1st St  
He says

White money  
was refused  
in the bank

Miss J. ...  
Miss J. ...  
Miss J. ...

Southough in their  
Slaves & fight their battles.

Political Science

Product Price  
Bimprovisors

Surge on Miss's ...  
May 21st ...

Free ... Congress  
Free ...

Letters to ...  
Give ...

Miss's ...  
at ... or ...

The ...  
them ...

Parties ...  
down in ...

to all ...  
ting for ...

Pledge 211 ...  
embrace 1800

Bank - ...  
at ...

Parties - ...  
but ...

Pledge of ...  
at ...



32	Sept 22. 87	November 24	2	Jan - 1667
4	20 " 8	10	11	2 June - 67
8	27 " 10	11	12	2 July - 107
9	28 " 4	12	14	1 Aug - 54
10	29 " 0	14	15	3 Sept - 75
11	30 " 5 132	15	10	4 Oct - 171
12	October 1 - 7	16	17	3 Nov - 218
13	3 " 10	17	18	5 " 2346
15	4 " 9	18	19	4 " 14021
16	5 " 1	19	21	2 " 1844
17	6 " 1	21	22	5 " 1844
18	7 " 23	22	23	2 March - 45
19	8 " 27	23	24	1 April - 68
20	10 " 4	24	25	5 May - 4
21	11 " 13	25	26	1 " 1
23	13 " 4	26	28	1 " 10 1
24	14 " 4	28	1	3 " 11 3
29	15 " 7	Dec 8	9	4 " 13 10
30	17 " 0	9	14	1 " 14 4
31	18 " 9	14	15	3 " 15 3
Jan 1	19 " 9	15	23	2 " 18 1
2	20 " 13	23	2	18 " 1 1
3	21 " 0	Nov 29	79	20 " 5
5	22 " 5	Dec 1	79	21 " 4
6	24 " 5	17842	51	22 " 5
7	26 " 3	To March -	109	25 " 1
8	27 " 9	In March -	152	27 " 1
9	28 " 4	April	176	30 " 7
10	29 " 7	May	145	June - 30
12	31 " 4	June	107	July - 120
13	November 1 " 0	July	158	August - 279 at 5
14	2 " 5	August	132	Sept - 106
15	3 " 3	Sept	194	Oct - 42
16	4 " 3	Oct	185	185 August - 86
17	5 " 3	174	210	185 - 441
18	7 " 3	174	1087	1087 - 441
19	9 " 1	174	35	1843 - 35
20	24	174	23	Feb - 23
21	87	174	116	March - 116
		174	109	April - 109
		174	50	May - 50
		174	*1067	

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Samuel A. Cole Esq  
Otholam T. Ross  
July 26<sup>th</sup> 1845.

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Wm G. Drake Esq

North East June 20. 1845

Dear Sir

Since my return from Mayville I have been pretty much confined to the house with a cold. I am under the necessity of going to Erie on business & probably shall not be able to get to Summerson to attend the Antislavery meeting which I very much regret. I have mentioned the meeting to some of the Brethren & hope they will be there -

If they should please drop a line by them, when you will be at home if not please send by mail. ---

& oblige Yours

Amos Kelley

Mr - Foot  
Summerson



188



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Judge

—  
J. Matthews

Shots

W. L. Smith

PAID

Asaon Kellogg  
North East Pa  
Jan'y 1845



My dear Judge Hoots  
Lindon Orleans County Aug 16<sup>th</sup> 1845  
I have just mailed for insertion in the Patriot,  
the following appointments in Chautauque County,

Saturday Evg Aug 23<sup>d</sup> at Freedom.  
Sunday all day any where between Freedom & Portland,  
where friends may provide  
Monday Evg August 25<sup>th</sup> at Portland  
Tuesday 26. County Meeting at Westfield to be held  
all days at which place I hope to see you  
Wednesday, Thursday, & Friday I will go with you  
when you wish in the County Closing up with  
another County Meeting at James town  
on Saturday the 30<sup>th</sup>.

It may seem that I am not the  
best judge of the places where to hold the meetings  
but I have made the appointments according  
with the advice of Mr Livingston who I saw  
at Peterboro some weeks since.

On receipt of this will you not write  
to Freedom and secure me a meeting on  
the Evg of the 23<sup>d</sup> and at some place  
on Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> at Portland Evg of the  
25<sup>th</sup> and visit me at Westfield on  
Thursday the 26<sup>th</sup>.

I shall spend the Sabbath at your house  
Aug 31<sup>st</sup> and if you choose to have  
a meeting adjacent God willing I am  
at your service on that day.

To get up all the meetings I must rely on  
you for so far as the notice in the Patriot  
may make it necessary.

Let the two County meetings be grand  
gatherings. Mrs Jackson is with me  
and conjunctly we wish to be remembered  
to Mr Hoots & yourself.

Things look well. I am having great meetings 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> of the month  
I am Yours truly J Jackson

110

July 9<sup>th</sup> 1848

PAID  
7 10

Notice of his lectures  
in Chaumont County

Wm. L. Chapin  
James Town

Blackman

Chaumont County  
N.Y.

5

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71

# Dr. Knevals House

33

1842

Feb  
Mar  
Apr  
May  
June  
July  
Aug  
Sept

Month	Day	Description	Amount	Amount	Description
Feb	21	6 Barks - Lime	25		Amount brot up
		1 Load Mortar & Plaster	25	Sept 14	500 Bricks
		1 - Cement	25		1 Load Stone
	22	1 Load scaffolding	25	29	800 Bricks for B.
	24	3 Loads Stone for Parsonage	12	1	Load Sand
	25	4 - Sand	1 25	1	do
		1 -	25		
	28	4 Barks lime for pliffing	25		
		1 - Cement for Est. etc.	25		
March	5	3 Loads sand	50		
Mar	7	2 - Stone for Parsonage	50		
Apr	16	500 Bricks for B. & Sand	27		

\$73.87

\*3.87

**EVILS OF SLAVERY,**  
 AND THE  
**CURE OF SLAVERY.**

THE FIRST PROVED BY THE OPINIONS OF SOUTHERNERS  
 THEMSELVES,  
 THE LAST SHOWN BY HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

**BY MRS. CHILD,**  
Author of "An Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans," "Anti-Slavery  
 Catechism," "Pungent Household," "History of the Condition of Women," "The  
 Orestes," "Moor's Book," "Hobomok," "The Gyron," &c.

Let us not betake ourselves to the common arts and stratagems of nations; but  
 fear God, and put away the evil which offends him; and trust no man, but in  
 the living God; and it shall go well for England! — William Penn.

NEWBURYPORT:  
 PUBLISHED BY CHARLES WHIPPLE.  
George B. Lister and sa.  
 the most poisonous passion  
 sponism on one part, and deg.

14

15

Copy 9/2 1845

111

submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and those into enemies; destroys the morals of one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other.

And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure, when we have refused the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I recollect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, ~~revolutions in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by a supernatural interference.~~ The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest! — *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, published 1789.*

In a letter, dated Monticello, 1814, Mr. Jefferson writes thus in his old age.

"Dear Sir—Your favor of July 31, was duly received, and read with pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole, do honor both to the head and heart of the writer. Mine on the subject of the slavery of the negroes, have long since been in the possession of the public; and time has only served to give them stronger root. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. *It will come*; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, \* if once stationed permanently within our

\* It will be recollected that we were then engaged in war.

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country, and offering an asylum and aims to the oppressed, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

"I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me; as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam buckle on the armor of Hector, *tremantibus, ævo laemert. et nutulo, ferrum. cingit.* No, I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors begat mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man."

*Sentiments of Governor Randolph.*

The deplorable error of our ancestors in counting a civil institution from savage Africa, has affixed upon their posterity a depressing burden, which nothing but the extraordinary hardships conferred by our happy climate, could have enabled us to support. We have been far outnumbered by States, to whom nature has been far less bountiful. It is painful to consider what might have been, under other circumstances, the amount of general wealth in Virginia, or the whole sum of comfortable subsistence and happiness possessed by all her inhabitants. — *Governor Randolph's Address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1820.*

Virginia is so impoverished by the system of slavery, that the tithes will sooner or later be taxed, and the slaves will advise for runaway masters. — *John Randolph of Roanoke.*

Handwritten notes on the right margin, including "John Randolph of Roanoke" and other illegible text.

*Sentiments of Mr. Read.* For us, it is  
 "Slavery is an unnatural state, a dark cloud, which  
 obscures half the lustre of our free institutions. I would  
 hail that day as the most glorious in its dawning, which  
 would behold, with safety to themselves and our citizens,  
 the black population of the United States placed upon  
 the high eminence of equal rights."—*Mr. Read, of Georgia, in the debate on the Missouri question.*

*Sentiments of Governor Giles.*

Free blacks, when convicted of certain crimes, are sold  
 as slaves. *Governor Giles, in his Address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1827,* alluding to this custom, says:  
 "Slavery must be admitted to be a punishment of the  
 highest order; and according to every just rule for the  
 apportionment of punishment to crimes, it would seem  
 that it ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest  
 order. It seems but an act of justice to this unfortunate  
 degraded class of persons, to state that the number of  
 convicts among free colored persons, compared with the  
 white population, is extremely small, and would serve to  
 show, that even this description of our population is less  
 demoralized than is generally supposed."

*Sentiments of Amos Weaver.*

"What! are thousands of our fellow-creatures within  
 our State, destitute of every real protection afforded them  
 by law, either in their persons or property—without any  
 law to guard their marriage rights, or without the law's  
 having any knowledge of marriage among them—(for  
 such is the fact with regard to the whole slave population  
 among us)—many of them under the control of cruel and  
 relentless masters, from whom they receive much inhu-  
 man abuse—and yet are we told that all this needs no  
 legislative interference? Monstrous, indeed, is the doc-  
 trine! But on this subject, we appeal to the virtue and

good sense of our countrymen."—*Oration by Amos Weaver, of Guilford County, North Carolina, delivered in 1829.*

*Sentiments of B. Swain.*

"Is it nothing to us, that seventeen hundred thousand  
 of the people of our country, are doomed illegally to the  
 most abject and vile slavery that was ever tolerated on the  
 face of the earth? Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing  
 cries of humanity? Are they insensible to the demands  
 of justice? Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a mo-  
 ment cast his thoughts over the land of slavery—think of  
 the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others,  
 the flowing tears and heaving sighs of parting relations,  
 the wailings of lamentation and woe, the bloody cut of the  
 keen lash, and the frightful scream that rends the very  
 skies,—and all this to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice,  
 vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart.  
 Too long has our country been unfortunately lulled to  
 sleep, feeding on the golden dreams of superficial politi-  
 cians, fanciful poets, and anniversary orations. The  
 worst is not generally known. Were all the miseries, the  
 horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of  
 sevenfold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm.  
 We cannot yet believe the condition of our country so  
 desperate as to forbid the judicious application of proper  
 remedies."—*Address of B. Swain, of North Carolina, in 1830.*

*Sentiments of Henry Clay.*

"In our attempt to adopt gradual emancipation in  
 Kentucky, we were overpowered by numbers, and sub-  
 mitted to the decision of the majority, with the grace  
 which the minority in a republic should ever yield to such  
 a decision. But I have never ceased, and never shall  
 cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been

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to place us in the rear of our neighbors, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society."—Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

Sentiments of Mr. Faulkner

Sentiments of Mr. Faulkner

Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil. It is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the state. It banishes free white labor—it exterminates the mechanic—the artisan—the manufacturer. It converts the energy of a community into indolence—its power into imbecility—its efficiency into weakness. Being thus injurious—have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall society suffer—that the slaveholder may continue to gather his vigintial crop of human flesh? What is his mere pecuniary claim, compared with the great interests of the common weal? Must the country languish and die—that the slaveholder may flourish? Shall all interests be subservient to one? Have not the middle classes their rights—rights incompatible with the existence of slavery? If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick in considering the character of this institution harmless, let me request him to compare the condition of the slave holding portion of this commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven—with the description which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery. To that vice, in the organization of society, by which one half its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half—to that condition of things, in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with society, in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but injustice."—Mr. Faulkner's Speech in the Legislature of Virginia, 1832.

Sentiments of Mr. Wirt.

Mr. Wirt, of Virginia, said that "slavery was contrary to the laws of nature and of nations; and that the law of South Carolina concerning seizing colored seamen was unconstitutional." In his life of Patrick Henry, speaking of the different classes in Virginia, he says: "last and lowest, a *feculum* of beings called overseers—the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race—always whip in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for their pride, insolence, and love of dominion."

Sentiments of Mr. Brodnax

"That slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew, which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries and other times might be instructive; but we have evidence nearer at hand, in the short histories of the different States of this great confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character."—Speech of Mr. Brodnax, in the Virginia Legislature, 1832.

Sentiments of Mr. Summers

"Sir, the evils of this system cannot be enumerated. It were unnecessary to attempt it. They glare upon us at every step. When the owner looks to his wasted estate, he knows and feels them. When the statesman examines the condition of his country, and finds her moral influence gone, her physical strength diminished, her political power waning, he sees and must confess them. Will gentlemen inform us when this subject will become less delicate—when it will be attended with fewer difficulties than at present—and at what period we shall be better enabled to meet them? Shall we be more adequate to the end proposed after the resources of the State have

been yet longer paralyzed by the withering, desolating influence of our present system? Sir, every year's delay but augments the difficulties of this great business, and weakens our ability to compass it. Like silly children, we endeavor to postpone the work which we know must be performed."—*Speech of Mr. Summers in the Legislature of Virginia, 1832.*

*Sentiments of Thomas Clay.*

"The present economy of the slave system is to get all you can from the slave, and give in return as little as will barely support him in a working condition. Even where there is not a direct intention to abridge his comforts, they are but little consulted; and seeing his master wholly engrossed by his own advantage, the slave naturally pursues the same selfish course, and when not restrained by higher principle, becomes deceitful and thievish. The master takes no pains to conceal that he takes it for granted the negro will steal and lie; and when the slave is tempted to either, he feels that he has no character to lose."—*Thomas Clay's Address before the Presbytery of Georgia.*

*Sentiments of Z. Kingsley.*

This writer informs his readers that he settled on a plantation in Florida, with about fifty negroes; many of whom he brought from the coast of Africa himself. He is one who wants to regulate the evil—not abolish it.

"As far as regards the free colored people of the south, the laws are dictated in a spirit of intolerant prejudice, and irresponsible autocracy; holding out to people they nickname free, no reward or premium whatever for being virtuous; nothing to stimulate to industry, or the acquisition of a good name, learning, or refinement; no kind of protection either for person or property. Even their punishments must be corporeal—not excepting the most del-

icate female, whom industry and virtue alone would place at the head of society in any other country. Liberty is merely nominal, without any constitutional protection. They may be sold to pay partial, exorbitant, and tyrannical taxes, or fines, all which are unconstitutional. Oppression is carried to its greatest extreme, when a mother, of most unexceptionable moral character, going out of her native State on account of ill health, is inexorably punished by perpetual banishment from husband, children, friends, country, and all that is dear to her. As for our laws to regulate slaves, they are all founded upon terror."

*Sentiments of President Monroe.*

"We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union; and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."—*James Monroe before the Virginia Convention.*

*Sentiments of Washington.*

General Washington, in a letter to Sir John Sinclair, speaks of the prices of land in Virginia, and particularly in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. The land there is described as exhausted and miserable—plantations not worth more than four or five dollars an acre, including buildings. He then alludes to the prices of land in Pennsylvania and the free States, which averaged more than twice as much; I think he stated it at sixteen dollars per acre. He assigns as reasons for this mighty difference, first, that foreign emigrants are more inclined to settle in the free States. The second reason I transcribe in his own words:

"Free colored people if they go out of the State, for any reason whatsoever, are never allowed to return, lest they should bring back opinions that would make the slaves uneasy."

"Because there are in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Maryland nor Virginia have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote."

*Sentiments of Mr. Custis, of Virginia.*

"Sir,—The prosperity and aggrandizement of a State, is to be seen in its increase of inhabitants, and consequent progress in industry and wealth. Of the vast tide of emigration, which now rushes like a cataract to the West, not even a trickling rill wends its way to the ancient dominion. Of the multitude of foreigners, who daily seek an asylum and home in the empire of liberty, how many turn their steps to the region of the slave? None, not one. There is a malaria in the atmosphere of those regions, which the new comer shuns, as being deleterious to his views and habits. See the wide spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government\* has produced in the south, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, and fields without culture.

"Strange to tell, even the wolf, which, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of an hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery."

\* Those who seek to get rid of the shame of slavery, by throwing the blame on our English ancestors, ought to remember that when this government was formed, the southern States insisted that no restriction should be put on the importation of slaves for twenty years to come!

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE EFFECTS OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

"Elisha said unto Naaman, Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean."  
 "But Naaman was wroth, and he turned and went away in a rage."  
 "And his servants said, My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldst thou not have done it? How much rather then, when he saith to thee, wash and be clean."  
 "Then he went down, and dipped himself seven times in Jordan, according to the saying of the man of God: and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he was clean."—2 Kings, chap. 5.

WHEN the question of immediate abolition was first started in England, the friends of slavery vociferated nothing more loudly, than the danger of universal insurrection and bloodshed; and nothing took stronger hold of the sympathies and conscientious fears of the people, than these repeated assertions. This is precisely the state of things in our own country, at the present time. We all know that it is not according to human nature for men to turn upon their benefactors, and do violence, at the very moment they receive what they have long desired; but we are so repeatedly told the slaves will murder their masters, if they give them freedom, that we can hardly help believing that, in this peculiar case, the laws of human nature must be reversed. Let us try to divest ourselves of the fierce excitement now abroad in the community, and calmly inquire what is the testimony of history on this important subject.

In June, 1793, a civil war occurred between the aristocrats and republicans of St. Domingo; and the planters called in the aid of Great Britain. The opposing party proclaimed freedom to all slaves, and armed them against the British. It is generally supposed that the abolition of



slavery in St. Domingo was in consequence of insurrections among the slaves; but this is not true. *It was entirely a measure of political expediency.* And what were the consequences of this sudden and universal emancipation? Whoever will take the pains to search the histories of that island, will find the whole colored population remained faithful to the republican party which had given them freedom. The British were defeated, and obliged to evacuate the island. The sea being at that time full of British cruisers, the French had no time to attend to St. Domingo, and the colonists were left to govern themselves. And what was the conduct of the emancipated slaves, under these circumstances? About 600,000 slaves had instantaneously ceased to be property, and were invested with the rights of men; yet there was a decrease of crime, and every thing went on quietly and prosperously. Col. Malenfant, who resided on the island, says, in his historical memoir: "After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Even upon those estates which had been abandoned by owners and managers, the negroes continued their labor where there were any agents to guide; and where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to planting provisions. The colony was flourishing. The whites lived happy and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them."

General Lacroix, in his memoirs, speaking of the same period, says: "The colony marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress."

This prosperous state of things lasted about eight years; and would probably have continued to this day, had not Buonaparte, at the instigation of the old aristocratic French planters, sent an army to deprive the blacks of the freedom which they had used so well. It was the attempts to restore slavery, that produced all the bloody horrors of St. Domingo. *Emancipation produced the most blessed effects.*

In June, 1794, Victor Hugo, a French republican general, retook the island of Guadalupe from the British, and immediately proclaimed freedom to all the slaves.

They were 85,000 in number, and the whites only 13,000. *No disasters whatever occurred in consequence of this step.* Seven years after, the supreme council of Guadalupe, in an official document, alluding to the tranquillity that reigned throughout the island, observed: "We shall have the satisfaction of giving an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes." In 1802, Buonaparte again reduced this island to slavery, at the cost of about 20,000 negro lives.

On the 10th of October, 1811, the congress of Chili decreed that every child born after that day should be free.

In 1821, the congress of Colombia emancipated all slaves who had borne arms in favor of the republic; and provided for the emancipation in eighteen years of the whole slave population, amounting to 900,000.

In September, 1829, the government of Mexico granted immediate and unqualified freedom to every slave. *In all these cases, not one instance of insurrection or bloodshed has ever been heard of, as the result of emancipation.*

In July, 1823, 30,000 Hottentots in Cape Colony, were emancipated from their long and cruel bondage, and admitted by law to all the rights and privileges of the white colonists. Outrages were predicted, as the inevitable consequence of freeing human creatures so completely brutalized as the poor Hottentots; but all went on peaceably; and as a gentleman facetiously remarked, "Hottentots as they were, they worked better for Mr. Cash, than they had ever done for Mr. Lash."

In the South African Commercial Advertiser of February, 1831, it is stated: "Three thousand prize negroes have received their freedom; four hundred in one day; but not the least difficulty or disaster occurred. *Servants found masters—masters hired servants—all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.*—To state that sudden emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason, but the plea of all men adverse to abolition."

On the 1st of August, 1834, the government of Great Britain emancipated the slaves in all her colonies, of which she had twenty; seventeen in the West Indies, and three

in the East Indies. The measure was not carried in a manner completely satisfactory to the English abolitionists. Historical evidence, and their own knowledge of human nature, led them to the conclusion that immediate and unqualified emancipation was the *safest* for the master, as well as the most just towards the slave. But the West India planters talked so loudly of the dangers of such a step, and of the necessity of time to fit the slaves for freedom, that the government resolved to conciliate them by a sort of compromise. The slaves were to continue to work six years longer without wages, under the name of apprentices; but during this period, they could be punished only by the express orders of magistrates.

The legislatures of the several colonies had a right to dispense with the system of apprenticeship; but Antigua and Bermuda were the only ones that adopted immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Public proclamation of freedom was made on the first of August, and was every where received in joy and peace. Mr. Cobbett, a missionary stationed at Montego Bay, Jamaica, writes thus: "The first of August was a memorable day! Our preaching place was crowded at an early hour. At the close of the services, I read the address of his excellency the governor to the negro population, made several remarks in reference to the change of their condition, and exhorted them to be obedient to their masters and to the powers that be. There was in every countenance an expression of satisfaction, and of gratitude to God and their benefactors. The conduct of the negroes during this eventful period has been such as will raise them, I should think, in the eyes of all their friends."

Mr. Wedlock, of the same place, writes thus on the 13th of August: "The first day of August, a day to which the attention of the wise, the good, and the philanthropic, of other countries besides our own, was directed, has arrived and passed by in the most peaceful and harmonious manner. Such congregations, such attention, such joys and grateful feelings as are depicted in every countenance, I never beheld!—Up to this time, peace and harmony prevail."

The marquis of Sligo, governor of Jamaica, in his speech to the assembly, after five months' trial of eman-

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cipation, declares: "Not the slightest idea of any interruption of tranquillity exists in any quarter; and those preparations which I have felt it my duty to make, might, without the slightest danger, have been dispensed with." In a recent address to the assembly, he states that the crops this year, (1835,) will fall short only about one sixteenth; and that this slight difference may be accounted for by the unfavorableness of the season.

The enemies of abolition predicted that the crops in Jamaica, would perish for want of being gathered; because the negroes could not possibly be induced to work an hour longer than the law or the whip compelled them. But as soon as the planters offered them *wages* for working extra hours, more work was offered than the planters were willing to pay for. Even the low price of a penny an hour, operated like magic upon them, and inspired them to diligence!

The numerical superiority of the negroes in the West Indies is great. In Jamaica there were 331,000 slaves, and only 37,000 whites. By the clumsy apprenticeship system, the old stimulus of the whip was taken away, while the new and better stimulus of wages was not applied. The negroes were aware that if they worked well they should not be paid for it, and that if they worked ill they could not be flogged, as they had formerly been. Yet even under these disadvantageous circumstances, no difficulties occurred except in three of the islands; and even there the difficulties were slight and temporary. Let us inquire candidly how these troubles originated. The act of parliament provided, that the apprentice should work for his master *forty and a half* hours per week, and have the remainder of the time for his own benefit; but it did not provide that while they were apprentices (and of course worked without wages) they should enjoy all the privileges to which they had been accustomed while slaves. The planters availed themselves of this circumstance to put obstructions in the way of abolition; with the hope likewise of coercing the apprentices to form individual contracts to work *fifty* hours in the week, instead of *forty and a half*. While the people had been slaves, they had always been allowed *cooks* to prepare their meals; *nurses* to take care of the little children; and a person to

bring water to the gang, during the hot hours; but when they became apprentices, these privileges were taken away. Each slave was obliged to quit his or her work to go to his own cabin (sometimes a great distance) to cook their meals, instead of having them served in the field; water was not allowed them; the aged and infirm, instead of being employed as formerly, to superintend the children in the shade, were driven to labor in the hot sun, and mothers were obliged to toil at the hoe with their infants strapped at their backs. In addition to this, the planters obtained from the governor a new proclamation, requiring the apprentices to labor extra hours for their masters, when they should deem it necessary *in the cultivation, gathering, or manufacture of the crop*, provided they repaid them an equal time "at a convenient season of the year." This was like taking from a New-England farmer the month of July to be repaid in January. Under these petty vexations, and unjust exactions, some of the apprentices stopt work in three of the colonies, out of seventeen. But even in these three, their resistance was merely passive. THE WORST ENEMIES OF ABOLITION HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SHOW THAT A SINGLE DROP OF BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED, OR A SINGLE PLANTATION FIRED, IN CONSEQUENCE OF EMANCIPATION, IN ALL THE BRITISH WEST INDIES!

In Jamaica they refused to work upon the terms which their masters endeavored to impose. A very small military force was sent into one parish, and but on one occasion. Not a drop of blood was shed on either side.

In Demarara they refused to work on the prescribed terms, and marched about with a flagstaff, as "the ten hour men" have done in many of our cities. But the worst thing they did was to strike a constable with their fists.

In St. Christopher's the resistance was likewise entirely passive. In two weeks the whole trouble was at an end; and it was ascertained that, out of twenty thousand apprentices, only *thirty* were absent from work; and some of these were supposed to be dead in the woods.

One apprentice, executed in Demarara for insubordination, is the only life that has yet been lost in this great experiment! and a few *fisty cuffs* with a constable, on

one single occasion, has been the only violence offered to persons or property, by eight hundred thousand emancipated slaves.

Antigua and Bermuda did not try the apprenticeship system; but *at once* gave the slaves the stimulus of wages. *In those islands not the slightest difficulties have occurred.* The journals of Antigua say: "The great doubt is solved; and the highest hopes of the negroes' friends are fulfilled. Thirty thousand men have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of a Sabbath!"

In Antigua there are 2,000 whites, 30,000 slaves and 4,500 free blacks.

Antigua and St. Christopher are within gunshot of each other; both are sugar growing colonies; and the proportion of blacks is less in St. Christopher than it is in Antigua: yet the former island has had some difficulty with the *gradual* system, while the quiet of the latter has not been disturbed for one hour by *immediate emancipation*. Do not these facts speak volumes?

There are, in the West Indies, many men, (planters, overseers, drivers, and book-keepers,) who, from pride, licentiousness, and other motives, do not like a change which takes away from them uncontrolled power over men and women. These individuals try to create difficulties, and exaggerate the report of them. It is much to be regretted that the American press has hitherto preferred their distorted stories, unsubstantiated by a particle of proof, to the well-authenticated evidence of magistrates and missionaries resident on the islands.

Why are the friends of slavery so desirous to make it appear that the British experiment does *not* work well? It is because they are conscious that if it *does* work well, America has no excuse left to screen her from the strong disapprobation of the civilized world.

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74			
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" 1	Do	25	
	1 Mortar to Parsons	25	
72	2 Do	50	
21	1 - Sand to C. Reed	25	
1	1 Do to your house	25	
9	5 Do	1 25	
11	1 to Mr. Thomas Cherry St.	25	
15	1 Corner Franklin & Green Sts.	25	
22	1 Do to your house	25	
13	Do. Parsons Stones	25	
3	415 bricks St. John St.	25	
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The cause of Temperance will receive our hearty support. Total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, being our motto, we shall firmly oppose the sale and use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage.

We shall duly regard other branches of the great cause of reform, so far as it may be consistent with the limits of our paper.

We shall advocate the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion, but our columns will not be the place to communicate the peculiar views and tenets of any sect or party. Believing the Bible to contain the revealed will of Heaven to man, and its rules of action to be one and the same with true democracy, it will be our great Text-book; and its doctrines the basis on which we found the cause of reform.

The interests of agriculture, and the mechanic arts will receive a portion of our attention; and the operative, in every laudable employment, will be honored and defended.

We shall endeavor to keep our readers advised of all important changes in the Commercial World, and shall give a Buffalo Price Current, corrected weekly, and occasionally of other markets.

We design to chronicle, faithfully, the passing events of the day; and especially to give full advices of the doings of Congress, and the State Legislature.

In short, we hope to make our paper such as every lover of intelligent virtue, and genuine democracy will delight to sustain. Our sheet will be necessarily small at first, but we shall enlarge it as soon as the subscription list will warrant.

We are encouraged to recommend it, from the expectation that its columns will be enriched by the productions of some of the ablest pens in the vicinity.

### TERMS.

Single subscribers, — payable in advance, or during the first quarter,	\$1,50
Six copies to one address, invariably in advance,	7,50
Twelve copies to one address, invariably in advance,	12,00

We now submit the question to the friends in Erie, and adjoining counties, whether such a paper shall be established in Buffalo. We send out this Prospectus, and wish the friends who may receive it to obtain what subscribers they can, and return it as near the first day of December next, as may be consistent.

The first number will be issued at our earliest convenience.

L. P. JUDSON.

Mr.

*E. Hoote*

Boston,

*Aug 13 1844*

To *LEAVITT & ALDEN,*

*Weekly Chronicle,*

For the Emancipator

From

*Aug 12 1844* to

*Aug 15 1844* 4 Mos.

sent to Bustle Mass

Received Payment.

*Leavitt & Alden*  
*Proprietors.*

Dr.

Proprietors.

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ALTO



Emancipator Repts  
papers to Barta  
\$24

59

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Elliottsville 21 July 1845

Dear Sir

A Liberty Convention is to be held at this place on the first Tuesday of July next at 10 o'clock A.M. & perhaps continue two days - Will you not meet with us & aid us in our deliberations against the common enemy - Bring as many with you from your County as you can - I have written to Ward McKay & Shepards to come & think they will attend

In haste

Yours  
in good will to mine

E. J. Fouts Esq

E. Johnson

P.S. We are exceedingly anxious that you should be present with us & hope you will oblige us - Please write me immediately in regard to it

E. Selman  
Ellicottville  
invitation to meeting  
21<sup>st</sup> July 1848

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47 Dr John Peck

1842

Feb	8	1 Load Lime to Barnstons	18 1/4
March	3	2 Loads to St. Johns	63
May	9	1 Load stuff to Burial Ground	50
	11	4	2 00
		<u>10 5</u>	<u>3 00</u>
		1 Do Turf	25
	13	7 " Much	50
		<u>Paid</u>	<u>7 01</u>

1843

March	10	1 Load to Fords	31
April	4	2 " Mortar to ye house	25
	26	1 " Franklin St	25
		4 " Turf	67
	27	5 " Do ye house	84
May	11	4 " Sand Mt. Tylers. H.	1 00
	12	3 " Do	75
	13	1 " "	25
	16	1 in Lime & Plaster	20

1844

July	19	1 Load Sand County house	18
	20	1/2 Cask Mortar to Temple	12
August	16	1 Load Sand @ Fords	25
	19	1 " "	25
	24	1 " English	25
Sept	12	1 Cask Bricks	25

35 1/2  
Do of 15 cent

1844  
John Peck

# Dr William Buckingham Esq

1842				
Jan	27	1 Load sand to Dist	31	
Feb	7	1 Do	31	
	10	1 " "	31	3.81
	11	3 " "	14	
	15	1 " "	31	
	18	1 load to sand to Shud A 31		
	2	2 Do to St John St	2.44	
	11	2 Do	1.25	
	28	2 Do to Broad by St	5.2	
	8	1 Load scaffolding to Halls	4.37	
		George Street	37.5	
	4	1 Sand	25	
	11	3 Do	75	
		1 Lime	25	
		1 Hoophead for Wadsworth	25	
	11	7 Loads Sand	75	
		1 blt Coal	25	
		1 Load Laths	25	
	20	1 Sand	25	
		1 Wadsworth	25	
		1 Mottin Meadows St	25	
	27	5 Do Sand to Wadsworth	150	
		1 Mottin barrels Do	25	
		1 scaffolding for house	25	
Apr	3	2 Lime to Wadsworth	50	
	10	2 Stone	50	

1842  
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E. Selman Esq  
Ellicottville N.Y.  
invitation to meet  
21<sup>st</sup> July 1848.

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1842	Feb 8	1 To Snow to Housatonic	18 3/4
	March 3	2 Snow to Housatonic	63
	May	1 Load Hay to Housatonic ground	20
			2 00
			3 00
			7 01
1842	March 10	1 To Snow to York	31
	April 4	2 - Market to York	25
	26	1 - Snow to Housatonic	25
		4 - Snow to York	67
	27	5 - Snow to York	84
	May 11	4 - Snow to York	1 00
	12	3 - Snow to York	75
	13	1 - Snow to York	25
	15	1 - Snow to York	20
	18	1 - Snow to York	18
	20	1 - Snow to York	12
	25	1 - Snow to York	25
	27	1 - Snow to York	25
	28	1 - Snow to York	25
	29	1 - Snow to York	25
	30	1 - Snow to York	25
	31	1 - Snow to York	25

Dr. John Beck

# Dr William Buckingham Esq

1842				
Jan	29	1 Load sand to West	31	
Feb	7	1 Do	31	
	10	1 Do	31	
	11	3 Do	14	
	15	1 Do	31	
	18	1 load to sand to Hud St	31	
	2	2 Do to St James St	2.49	
	11	2 Do of J. W.	6.25	
	28	2 Do of Bradley St	5.25	
			4.37	
	8	1 Load scaffolding to Hubbs		
		George Street	37.5	
	4	1 Sand	25	
	11	3 Do	75	
		1 Lime	25	
		1 Hoophead for Wadsworth	25	
	11	7 Loads Sand	75	
		1 blk Coal	25	
		1 Load Laths	25	
	20	1 Sand	25	
		1 Wadsworth	25	
		1 Motters Meadows St	25	
	27	5 Do Sand to Wadsworth	150	
		1 Motters Meadows St	25	
		1 scaffolding from house	25	
	3	2 Lime to Wadsworth	50	
	10	2 Stone	50	

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Dear brother

Chagrin Falls, Jan 16-49

Not having heard from any of my old friends for some time, I have taken up my pen to say a few things to you. I some time since saw your name registered among the liberty party in politics, and I naturally supposed that, by this time if pro-slavery politicians are as cruel in their opposition as I have found a pro-slavery church to be you would perhaps be able to appreciate some of the reasons that induced me to leave the M. E. Church. Since I did not go to work to organize a New Church as I believed we had denominations enough already I turned my attention to the Presbyterian Church. But the repeated delaying of the question of Slavery, & her staying off any decisive action, taught me to look farther in doing so I became acquainted with the congregation-ists and their republican form of government, suited my Democratic spirit, and I cast in my lot with them, and although as a body they are in correspondence with the Presbyterian Church yet they are not responsible for the acts of the General Assembly; and both Churches at least in the North are free from the sin of Slavery. The cause of Abolition is the principles of the liberty party throughout, the Western Reserve are constantly on the increase. And I have no doubt of their increase until Slavery finally falls and my soul is sickened at the thought that the Churches are generally even behind politicians on this subject.

will direct your letters to Rufel O. Smith  
 Villenau postoffice to Mr. Ginnman of Cherry-Creek  
 and Amos Duffee of Atternight  
 give it about a week's notice if you  
 can come. Your Obedient Servant  
 Judgeroot Rufel O. Smith  
 N.B. As soon as consistent we would give  
 the meeting on a sabbath

Do not think that the American Board of Foreign  
Missions, that noble institution, will not take  
rightly ground on that subject - but still keeps  
that slaveholder Wilson preaching as a Missionary  
in Africa while he holds slaves at home. Now  
I do hope nevertheless friends of that noble Board will  
speak to the Board in such language as will not  
be misunderstood and compel them to either dismiss  
him or make him free his slaves so you see  
my abolitionism is such as to sever both political &  
ecclesiastical ties, and I will oppose slavery every  
where and in every form. - My only daughter  
is married to the Rev. D. Chechester and is settled  
in Attica about 30 miles from Buffalo, N.Y.  
and I am inclined to go into that section of the  
State by Spring if I find an opening in the  
bounds of the Buffalo Presbytery, or the  
Congregational Association of Western N.Y.  
give my love to your family and all my  
old friends - I find my enjoyments more the  
less since I left the old Church, and I believe  
my labors have not been in vain in the  
Presbyterian Church on the Reserve - I want  
to hear from you about the prospects of the cause  
of Abolitionism in the community and Churches  
around - how are the Wesleyans prospering, what  
was the result of the discussion between Lee, Smith  
and their opponents - I have had calls from  
the Wesleyans even from New England but I

but I am too well pleased with my present ecclesi-  
astical connexion, to exchange it for Wesleyanism  
I thought when I left the old Church I would  
remain in the bounds of one Conference till  
I would convince them I had left from a  
sense of duty, and not with any wish to injure  
the old Church and I believe the most of  
them think I am honest and many of them  
think if they had followed my advice  
six years ago they would have saved the  
Church the troubles they now have to  
suffer - as you are somewhat extensively ac-  
quainted with Western N.Y. please inform of the  
prospects in your judgment, of doing good in  
Catarangus or Erie Counties - are the people  
loosing the emigrating spirit that prevailed so  
generally when I travelled in that region - If  
we should have good sleighing in February I  
think some of visiting Attica and shall try  
to spend a night with you - how does religion  
prosper in your region  
In this region the Presbyterians and Associations are not  
on terms of that friendly conference or correspondence  
they are East, and I believe it is the result of the  
rival jealousies of Handson and Oberlin Colleges the  
Faculty of the former belong to Presbytery and the latter  
to Oberlin and although both are doing great good  
I wish they were two hundred miles apart, I mean  
to go when there is more harmony among these bodies  
with soon yours in Love Joseph S. Harris



Dear Sir, There is a few Liberty men  
 in this town and we want a little help  
 from some man that can speak to the people  
 publicly on the subject of Universal Freedom  
 I consulted Mr. Chaplin when he was at  
 Leona on the probability of your coming here  
 If I should write you a letter, he thought  
 you would come and since Cassius M. Clay  
 has given the people his abolition views  
 together with his Whiggery it seems the  
 reasons are more urgent that some one  
 should deliver a Liberty address soon in this  
 town, Cherry Creek, and Arkwright.

The place to speak at Arkwright is at  
 the Center near Clintons, at Cherry creek  
 Corners. The proper course to come would  
 be to commence at Arkwright coming in  
 by the way of Sinclairville then at Villenau  
 in the little village of Omary, then to Cherry  
 Creek and you might go then to Ellington  
 and other places back to Jones-town  
 or you might come in by the way of Ellington  
 Cherry Creek, Villenau, Arkwright,  
 Sinclairville. It is about 9 miles from Simpsonville  
 to Arkwright, 6 or 7 to Villenau 7 or 8 to Cherry  
 Creek and less distance to Ellington

I suppose you have been to the Convention  
 at Utica we should very much like to hear  
 from it by a person that was there.  
 We should prefer having it in the day time  
 at this place an account of a place to hold  
 it  
 Your will direct your letter to Rufel O. Smith  
 Villenau postoffice to Mr. Ginnman of Cherry Creek  
 and Aaron Duffee of Arkwright  
 give us about a weeks notice if you  
 can come. Your obedient servant  
 Judah Foot Rufel O. Smith

N.B. As soon as consistent we would have  
 the meeting on account of the



Liberty papers for subscribers fall 1844 121

Poland

paid George C Pitcher - 1 Emancipator. 1 Free Press

paid Donie Storkwell 1 Emancipator.

Albert Russell

Elias Cole

Justus Sigwester (Worden) Liberty Press

Simon Sutton Liberty Press keeps in Janestown Po

Randolph Sept 7<sup>th</sup> 1844

paid Nathan L. Sears

Liberty Press

paid B. W. Taylor

Do

paid Donie P. Gardner

Do

paid Solomon Nichols

Do

} 4 Lib Press

paid Dr. H. Marsh

Emancipator

paid Lucius H. Reed

Do

paid Henry H. Suttle

Do

} 3 Emancipator

30

Scrap

11

12

Ignorant low swiss or irish have children here th  
are called street Americans but how with colored man

Ministers of the gospel in pulpit exhorting people to repent & rising  
voice against all crime while they are themselves main stealers &  
=bers upholding adultery, fornication withholding the word of God &c &c &c

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for Liberty papers &c  
for collection in  
Randolph & Poland  
June 1844  
3 did not bring his  
Grace, Republic & others

# James Winship

1842	Amount	Particulars	1842
August 23	2	Loads Cobbles corner Chapel	2 50
	1	Dogson Chapel St	25
24	1	Load Sand to Messimius State St	25
	1	" Cobbles from Broad St	1 25
	1	" Do Moved	12 1/2
26	4	" Sanders Chapel St	4 00
	1	" Mrs Graves	25
	2	" Lundy Chapel St	50
27	1	" Galpins	25
	1	" Cobbles Chapel St	25
29	3	" Sand	75
	1	" Cobbles	25
30	1	" Sand	25
	1	" Do for side walk	25
31	2	" Do	50
Sept 1	2	" Do	50
2	3	" Do	75
	2	" Cobbles for Canal	50
	4	" Dr. Bonicks Henry Phelps	1 00
	2	" Sand Chapel St	50
6	2	" Do	50
7	5	" Do	1 50
8	2	" Corner State	50
	1	" Cobbles	25
	1	" Bricks H. Phelps	25
10	3	" Cobbles C. State's Chapel	75
	4	" Sand	1 00
12	14	" Sand Custom H. one square	3 50
	1	" Cobbles Messim D.	25
	4	" from Burwells D.	5 00
13	8	" Custom H. square	2 00
	2	" Cobbles from Burwells	2 50
	7	" Moved	1 12 1/2
14	3	" Sand Custom H. square	75
	10	" Moved	1 25
	2	" Cobbles for Burwells	2 50
	1	" Heaton's	25
			75 64

1842	Amount	Particulars	1842
Sept 17	3	" Sand Custom H. square	21 75
19	2	" Do	14
20	2	" Do	50
	4	" Dirt Moved	
	3	" Cobbles for Heaton's	
21	1	" Do	
	2	" Sand	
	1	" Do Burl from Messim's	
22	5	" Sand Custom H. square	
24	4	" Do Gravel Ponto Corner	
25	1	" Wilcox Foundry	
	1	" H. Potters State St	
	2	" Stone from M'ney	
	8	" Load Dirt moved	
	1	" Do Cobbles to Ponto Corner	
27	1	" Sand Potters	
28	1	" Do Sand Elm St Potters	
	2	" Stone Potters State St	
	1	" Do Sand	
Oct 5	2	" " Abm Bishop	
	1	" Cobbles Moved elm St	
6	3	" Gravel Custom H. square	
	1	" for Ball St	
	1	" Prof. Woolsey	
7	1	" Abm Bishop	
27	2	" Do Medford	
	5	" for Ball	80
8	40	" " Do	7
	1	" Cash line Do	
	12	" Do Sand & Bishops	2
	1	" Abm Abm Bishops	
10	5	" S. Bishops	
	2	" Medford	
	1	" Custom H. square	
11	16	" Stephen Lovelady	2
	1	" Timothy Bishops	
12	4	" from Ball St to Stephen Lovelady	

for Liberty Papers be  
 for collection in  
 Bondolph & Poland  
 Dec 1844

24  
54  
#1



Bro Foot

Portland Feb 22. 1840

123

Dear Sir, permit me for the first time to  
address you on that subject that fills my heart —  
The Ellington meeting will soon be convened & I expect  
that I shall not be able to be there. The Portland church  
have commenced a meeting of days with some little prospect  
of Gods blessing & I must not leave — I should rejoice  
to be there & upon my mouth for the dumb, for Gods poor  
Bro Foot I have opened my mouth for the slave & can not  
go back. Go ahead Bro I will endeavour not to be far in  
the rear, I am resolved not to have my mouth part  
locked on the great question. ~~I~~ Some 12 or 14 years  
since I secured a resolution on ~~this~~ subject in our  
Association that read as follows: Res that we will pray  
God to spread light on the subject of American Slavery.  
Our moderator would <sup>not</sup> call for the vote. He would not suffer  
one word to be said in favor of it, but crushed it, or  
disposed of it as I thought very abruptly — & very much  
to my grief — I was confounded, I knew not what to say  
or do. <sup>felt</sup> that the Association had virtually said you shall  
not pray for your Bro in bonds. I was in distress of soul —  
I wept & prayed. I Res for God, & his poor. From that  
day I have <sup>been</sup> known as an Abolitionist, I have labored, to how  
much effect God knows. The Res in our last minutes, shows  
a great change, Publick opinion that scourge of the church  
& ministers of God is fast changing. I hope some of our  
ministers will soon dare to speak out on Slavery —  
Bro Foot it pains my soul to think that the church must  
be their length behind the men of the world in this benevolent  
cause. I tremble when I think of the blood guiltiness of the church.  
I feel that the days of Slavery are numbered — chains must soon  
fall. God hath so decreed. When other duties do not prevent  
I shall cry aloud — My pastoral relation to this church will prevent  
my doing what I otherwise would. — Every Abolitionist has  
pled his word & promise for his support. Go & be so with  
you — The consummation of our hopes draws nigh —  
The times are pregnant with great events — America must be  
redeemed, she must witness another revolution — The second  
will be a moral revolution, a struggle for higher principles.

The advent of liberty is at hand. The liberty of Sp  
& of the press - is yet to be enjoyed by all - Br L if it  
be slow - if we must crouch & crawl, let us first  
the stripes & extinguish the stars of our national banner  
& not have our rights & liberties flung to the same breeze  
floats our ~~national banner~~ flag of freedom, let our  
lips dare to breathe a word of condemnation against  
bulls of the Pope, or the edicts of Russia. should  
breathe one word of sympathy for the denationalized  
the outcast Greek. the wretched serf or any of the Poles  
redden or King redden victims of Europe, will not  
voice be heard - "Base hypocrites." let your charity beg  
time, go pour your balm of consolation into the broken  
hearts of 3,000,000 of your own countrymen, your own  
children - before you creep over the wrongs of Europe  
go wash the gore out of your national shambles -  
the mother rebe of her only child. restore to Joseph  
his bosom companion & child - & not stand forth before  
world steeped in infamy & rank with blood - but  
fasture of penitence & prayer - such truly are the  
reproaches born on every breeze - How long, I ask in  
name of outraged humanity - how long shall they be  
Echo answers, too long - Let our motto be onward -  
The Abolitionists of the world say onward - humanity  
onward, the sufferings of 3,000,000 of crushed countrymen  
onward - God & the Bible says onward - I on the avowal  
of Slavery, I intend to war against it till I die - or  
it dies first - we have grappled with the monster,  
never relinquish our hold until he falls in the grave of  
from which there is no resurrection, or we summoned for  
the conflict here - one more I say onward -

your fellow laborer for the Slave

Levanth Rathbun

(St. Baptist minister and devoted  
Christian very ready for every good  
and work & c.)

Ellington 9<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1844

Dr. Sir,

I rec<sup>d</sup>. your letter this morning, and am very glad that you have concluded to send Mr. Chapman here. I will use every exertion in my power to have a full house for him, both in the afternoon and evening. As for the discussion, we will arrange matters as for them for the best. Some of the friends here will forward C. to Char<sup>s</sup> & Chas<sup>s</sup> Oak (if he wishes to go there afterwards). I am happy to say that I think we are more strong-handed for the discussion than I had supposed. I hope you will remit no exertions to procure C. a full & frequent hearing in our County. The Liberty party is on the increase — the Ball is in motion, & it only needs a constant rolling to cause it to crush Slavery in our enlightened land.

Yours in haste.

W<sup>m</sup> Smith.

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Wilmington N.Y

Aug-9

Wm. S. J. White

Wm. S. J. White

Charleston N.Y

N.Y.

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Rev. Wm. White  
Aug 1844



Ellington 9th Nov 1844

J. Hoote Esq

Dear Sir

In haste I sit down to drop you a line having a favorable opportunity of sending it, the great battle has been fought and we are awaiting to hear the result, we cast in this town 23 for Liberty our men stood firm and I think they are all men that will stand firm they are men who have counted the cost and are intsted during the war against Slavery & oppression on thing worthy of Remark 6 ministers of the Gospel marched right up to the Pools and put in their testimony against the infernal system of American Slavery. They are men who act out their Principles they do not pray for oppression to cease and then vote for Rulers who will oppress the poor and then meedly they do not pray for God to send us Rulers who will Rule in the fear of God and then go and help a man to office by voting who is in the daily and hourly practice of Robbing his fellow Creators of their daily wages and Contemners of God and his holy Law. I think we have something to encourage us to persevere in this good cause, Eternal vigilance you know is the price of freedom, I hope we shall establish a Press in this County. I believe it can be sustained if Liberty men will look at the subject I think they will see the propriety of such a move, drop me a line by Mr. Gates (My son in law) who will probably then this to you, I have not heard from many of the towns those heard from are Berry 15

Poland 9

Cherry Creek 29

Leon 44

Randolph 42

Charlottesville 2

Yours &c  
in haste J. B. Hooper

J. B. Hooper  
Attorney at Law

Clary Cross NY March 7<sup>th</sup> 1843

Wm C. J. Cook

Sir, Your favors for myself & others came to hand yesterday and was very thankfully received. The Liberty party done well here last Tuesday. They polled 50 votes for Supervisors and more than that on some of the other Officers. Dr O. B. Quinn was elected Supervisor which you say as he is not a Temperance man and he also opposes the abolition of Slavery.

Respectfully Yours

C. D. Spencer

P.S. I think if Elder Stone can get ready, we shall go to Jamaica, the last of next week to see about that Currier.

NY

Sumner

Nov. 6. 1870

6. Adm. Gen. Albany County

for

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Wartford Frembull Co. Ohio, Oct. 23. 1845.

Dear Sir  
 In March last, I sent to you, by a man who  
 is my fellow passenger in the Stage from Buffalo to ~~London~~ <sup>London</sup>  
 copies of my Book, entitled 'Congregationalism & Church action'.  
 The man said he knew you, & would safely deliver the books.  
 Some weeks after this I rec'd a Paper, printed at Jamstown  
 that any name upon it was the advertisement of a meeting  
 consult upon church government, marked with a pen.  
 My conjecture was that this paper came from yourself,  
 & I returned that I should soon hear from you. I had intended  
 to visit Jamstown in some one of the summer months.  
 It I could not - no notice from you either written or  
 verbal has reached me - I know not that the books  
 have reached you - I was told you reside in W. Haven  
 I am desirous it should be that I address you there, on this  
 other.

With not a few others I did rejoice at your espousal of  
 Liberty Party action - & that you have so efficiently  
 engaged in the great, glorious, & ever to be remembered enterprise.

If your labors be abundant, & as more successful  
 to you, than Newfield you now occupy. Very great efforts,  
 trying labor, self-denial, & heavy expense are demanded  
 of genuine friends of Abolition. In such a cause they can  
 afford it. Let them all be of good cheer, & hold on their way.  
 I shall gain much by the news of it, & to many very unexpected  
 do attending views, recently put forth on the legality of Slavery.

S. C. Hollister

Prescott & Co

26	For 22. Lard earth 70	3 30
28	2 Do	50
30	16 Do	2 40
	6 Soil 20	1 20
	7 Do	1 35
	7 Soil 20	1 40
	7 Do	1 05
12	12	1 50
3	46	6 90
4	16	2 40
6	2	30
9	21	3 90
11	18	2 70
13	35	5 25
14	2	45
17	24	3 60
18	2	30
20	5	75
22	68 49 55	10 20
	326	

1844

3	1 Lard 90	17
4	1 Lard 90	17
5	2 Do to Pres	50
	1 kind of Wharf	17
7	1 - Pine	25
8	3 - -	50
9	2 - -	50
10	1 - -	25

34

Water Street

1	Lard 75	75
2	7 Do	1 75

*[Signature]*

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Genesee Nov. 15 1844

Dear Sir

Enclosed is a letter I had in the  
 name of the primary trustees with reference  
 to the property of this way & which has  
 since been in your hands to  
 please mention (the primary) this  
 land to consist of some 300  
 acres in the town of Genesee  
 which is shown in your maps of  
 the town of Genesee in the  
 year 1844. I think you will find  
 the same in the maps of the  
 town of Genesee in the year 1844.

Yours truly  
G. W. [Name]

at the office of the Rev. [Name] at the  
 corner of the [Name] street  
 Genesee Nov. 15 1844

13537  
 1844

Wayne Pa. Dec 13. 1844.

Now E. J. Foote.

Dear Sir,

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of Erie County Pa I address you, inviting you to attend its annual meeting and favor us with an address. It will be held at Erie, and we wish to hold it between Jan 1st and 15th, and would consult your convenience as to the exact day. The time is not fixed definite and if you can attend please address me a letter at Wattsburg Erie Co Pa, immediately fixing the day, so that information can be circulated. It is expected to hold the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the daytime and a Liberty Convention in the evening. There are some members of the society not Liberty party members and for that reason the two meetings will be considered distinct.

Yours very Resp  
 J. D. Foote  
 Not a relative of mine

3

17	1	100	2/40	11.90	50
50	5	200	50	2.00	28
17	4	100	3.30	22.00	7
17	3	150	1849		848

Wheeler & Co

J. D. Foote

Westfield April 17th 1844

Dear Sir,

The Rev. L. Lee delivered a lecture in this place last Monday evening and in his preface he offered as an apology for appearing before this people, a stranger as he was, that he had been twice challenged to come to this county to debate with Ministers of the M. C. Church and that he should come a third more if challenged, but as yet he had not received the third challenge thereby making the impression that he had fairly outdone them and they were not disposed to challenge the third time. His adherents in this place are all loud and long in their boasting of his having dressed out "the Episcopal boy" (as they express it) to their hearts content. I have seen some of our brethren who attended the debate and have heard their testimony on the subject. But this you know will not be received by our enemies as evidence. Now without knowing your opinion, but believing you will judge impartially on the subject, I have ventured to address you and ask you to give me in writing your judgment on the subject. If it be in our favor I may have occasion to use it sometimes to stop the boasting of our enemies who are using all means to break us in pieces in this and other places.

I trust that in view of the circumstances of the case you will not think I am asking too much of you. I remain dear Sir your humble and obliged servant.

Darius H. F. Foot

Albina Hall  
 here  
 Book Board  
 Book Board  
 a picture  
 de. de

Dear Sir

last



38 I ask you to name a crime practiced on week days to which to be referred on the Sabbath

**THE MENDIANS.**—Letters have lately been received from the Missionaries, bearing date Feb. 19. They were sent at Sierra Leone Jan. 15; met a very favorable reception from the government. Bro. STEELE proceeded (Feb. 29) on an exploring tour into the Mendi country—the Mendians and other Missionaries remaining at Free-town. It is thought that from 200 to 600 of the liberated Africans, (Mendians,) at Sierra Leone, will accompany the Abistad Africans, if desirable, when the Missionary Station shall have been determined upon. The war which had broken out in the region through which Bro. Steele was to pass had terminated. He is thought to be in no personal danger. The Mendians are represented as great slave dealers; and it is not thought to be safe to establish the mission in the interior of Mendi. Grand Cape Mount, on the borders of the country, is supposed to be the most eligible site. 'Should they settle at Cape Mount, they will be under the protection of the government of Sierra Leone.' The missionaries do not seem at all discouraged, but labor as men who expect to do great things.' T.

**"IN PRISON AND YE CAME UNTO ME."**

Many of our readers live where they can visit those confined in prisons. And while Howard has greatly improved the condition of prisoners, yet they will find that much remains to be done. The prisoners need the bread of life. Few if any books are provided by those who furnish prisons. No religious instruction is provided. The prisoners have little else to do than to sit and brood silently over their troubles, or to converse together, the effect of which is to corrupt and harden each other. Still, they are human beings, and if the safety of society requires their incarceration, they are in many respects in favorable circumstances to receive religious instruction. To be cared for when in trouble cannot but affect the heart; and he who shows that he cares for the poor prisoner, philosophy and fact prove, can gain access to his heart. Such have found that he was famishing for something to read—that he was grateful for the visit—that he was accessible to the truth. The recent remarkable conversions in the State Prison at Charlestown, Ms., show that however deleterious the influence of a prison may be, there is encouragement to labor for the salvation of the inmates. At the very least, much may be done towards their reformation. Will those who can, see to the prisons in their own neighborhood?

**WORK, BURN, AND THOMPSON.**—We have received a pamphlet containing a 'Narrative of Facts,' respecting the arrest and imprisonment of these young men. It was prepared by a committee, of whom Rev. Wm. Beardsley was chairman. It more than sustains what has heretofore been said of the cruel abuse heaped upon them. They were fastened to a heavy chain, sixteen feet long, one end of which was attached to the wall. They were watched by a guard who were gamblers, profane, and licentious. Bail was refused them, though a man confined for murder was bailed out. Their friends were not allowed to see them, or send them any comforts. They were refused paper to communicate with them. In short, there seemed to be a settled determination to abuse and convict them. The jury who tried them frankly admitted that they were prejudiced against them, and instead of standing to guard the law on one hand, and the prisoners on the other, they but yielded to the popular sentiment and violated both law and the rights of the prisoners.

*[Handwritten notes and scribbles covering the right side of the page, including the date 'April 17th 1844' and various illegible signatures and markings.]*

Salem Roads Jan 25 1845  
Judge Foot

Dear Sir

I have just added a little to your communication (of yesterday) to me and mail it to Albany as directed

I have ordered one copy of the Patriot for myself - I take 2 of the Liberty press for free distribution - It is rather hard bringing this business up, but it is right. It is progressing, it must succeed. We ought to be encouraged - Cannot a stir be made at Mayville - What has become of Mr Green & others - I should have been extremely happy to have attended your meeting but my business & state of Health seem to deny me that pleasure - Col Thompson informs me that he saw & conversed with a number of the Citizens of Stockton, on his return from Ganestown & made arrangements for a meeting at that place on Wednesday evening of next week - There appeared to be little or no opposition but rather a desire to look into this matter, it being that which they had not much investigated - You are expected to be present - My means are very limited, but I hope I shall be disposed to obey all orders, that come within the limits of my ability to advance the good cause - I feel that it is practical religion - It is fearing God, Dealing justly, Loving mercy & I was going to say walking humbly, but this at first thought seems to be the most difficult part of it. Nevertheless I believe it essential to success in Gods work.

Respectfully yours  
Samuel Hall

from the original in the collection

<sup>Free</sup>  
Samuel Hall Pile

Salem Roads  
My Jan 20

Amos E. G. Post Esq  
Jamestown  
NY

11/10/45  
37  
\$296  
5

Amos E. G. Post  
Esq



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Samuel Hall Esq Pile  
Salem Roads  
Jan'y 25 - 1845

This circular was printed at Raleigh N.C. dated 141  
 written by "Leonidas" Dec 25 1837  
 Copies of this circular were evidently sent widely thro  
 the north to various postmasters as well as further  
 copies was mailed to Post-master at Jacobus N.Y.  
 H. A. Foote was then postmaster there

a mass of tedious senseless bombast - H. A. Foote

## CIRCULAR LETTER, TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The individual who now addresses you is a citizen of the North, having spent the last twenty years of his life, (excepting one) in the Northern States. He would not appear before the public as an advocate, or champion of slavery, but as a firm, unflinching, friend of Southern institutions, and Southern rights. Having not only been a witness of the first dissemination of those principles, which the great champions of immediate Emancipation strenuously and vigorously support, but having also been, but lately, one of their number; having mingled in their councils, and received the emoluments of office at their hands. I deem it but my duty solemnly to dissent from those principles, and to swear eternal separation. In so doing, I feel that I am discharging my duty, not only to my friends, but to my country and my God. In thus abandoning principles which I but lately advocated, justice indeed, would call loudly for my reasons. By thus giving them, I would not wish to cast any reflections, upon the more enlightened and intelligent citizens of the North, who have been so-unfortunate as to fall into these same errors. The great mass of Northern Abolitionists are by no means the most intelligent and virtuous! They have all embraced their principles from almost as various motives as there are classes and grades of society; some by a love of popularity and fame; others by a thirst of novelty and innovation; some by their ignorance have become the dupes of designing men, others have bowed like cringing slaves to the opinions of those more enlightened; but by far the greater proportion are the lower classes of society, the ignorant, the unenlightened.

These have been led on by partizans, both in politics and religion. The one seeking his own interests and fame; the other following a blind and bigoted zeal, and the wild and flashing fires of religious fanaticism. They have appealed to the passions of the people not only in all the mastery of their eloquence, but they have brought before them, slavery in all its loathsome and disgusting forms; they have pictured before them all the horrors of the rack, the torture, and the Spanish inquisition. They have brought before them the bleeding African, bound in chains, kneeling upon his mother earth, and with his eye upturned to Heaven exclaiming in agony, "am I not a friend and brother?" Then they have appealed to their sympathies as christians! they have urged them for the sake of humanity, bleeding humanity, to arouse, and do their duty. Think you they have failed to excite their sympathies? No! would to heaven it had been so! They have painted the African in all the sufferings and agonies of which human nature is capable, bleeding, dying, goaded on by the merciless lash of the task-master. They have placed him in all the horrors of starvation, in the dungeon, and on the scaffold, and even in the last agonies of death, unheeded, unpitied and unavenged. With such a picture, embellished by the masteries of eloquence, think you they have failed to excite the sympathies of the ignorant? I fear lest they have produced feelings more to be dreaded, than those of sympathy. As a last appeal, they have denounced slave-holders as tyrants, cruel relentless tyrants—who hold their slaves only as dependent on their will, and whose life or death was subject to their bidding. They have denounced them as destitute of the least feeling of sympathy or mercy. Aye, and more than once, I have, as these sentiments were uttered; seen their eyes gleam with vengeance, which told, too well, the consequences, had they the slave-holders in their power. I say not this to widen the breach already made, but rather to awaken the southern people to their interests. In thus saying that the great proportion of Northern Abolitionists, are of the ignorant and unenlightened, I will not deny that there are some of high and splendid acquirements, men of distinguished talents, distinguished alike for their powers of mind and rectitude of conduct. Among these, I might mention the names of Green, Smith, Garrison, and many others, whose transcendent talents might well have been engaged in some more glorious cause, than that of sowing the seeds of discord, which shall one day, unless blasted, light the funeral pile of this republic. I will not deny that there are some among them, whose motives are just and honorable; these have embraced their principles without a due examination; from false premises they could but arrive at false conclusions. Giving way to the sympathies of their nature, they have followed the impulses of animal feeling, rather than their better judgements. Led on by bigots, and the servile minions of fanaticism, they have at length persuaded themselves into the belief that they were but in the way of their duty; for such indeed, would be excited, feelings rather of pity than revenge.

Having spoken of the different characters which have embraced these sentiments, and of the various motives which have actuated each, I will mention as briefly as possible their opinions. They believe, or pretend to believe, slavery not only morally, but religiously an evil! This evil, they think themselves bound, by all the laws of humanity and religion to destroy! Their motto is, "Let us do our duty fearless of consequences, though the Heavens should fall!" They affirm that in thus doing their duty, they are but doing justice to the laws, their country, and their God. They assert that they have nothing to do with the issue of this conflict, they leave that event solely and entirely to the Supreme Ruler of the destinies of nations. If indeed it might result in the dissolution of our holy Union, they are not responsible for the consequences. If indeed the torch of internal dissensions, should light the funeral Pyre of America, and the iron hand of despotism sway his trident above the ruins of our liberties, they are not to be accountable. Though the life-blood of our citizens should flow in rivers from Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, their duty is paramount to all. Though the cries of widows and orphans should fall upon their ears, in all the notes of wo, beseeching them to pause in their career, they must pursue their duty and trust the event to Heaven. Though internal commotions should stop the rolling of the spheres, and hurl the Andes from their base, and this vast Universe roll back again to chaos, "let us do our duty fearless of consequences," is still their cry.

They do not indeed say that it is their duty to shoulder their musket and march into your Territory and demand an unconditional release of your Slaves, but I stake my reputation upon it, there are many who would do so, had they

the *physical courage*. They contend that paying a master for his slave is *wrong*, because forsooth, it is a virtual acknowledgement, that the master has a right to hold his *fellow-man* in bondage, hence they are opposed to any compromise which might afford a *fair compensation* to the *master* for the loss of his *slave*. Thus they hold it not only the duty of southern citizens to *give their slaves* immediate and unconditional freedom, but do so without any *remuneration* either from individuals or Government. These are a few of the leading principles by which they *profess to be actuated!*

Of those among Abolitionists called Amalgamationists I will say but few words, for I detest alike them and their principles. Suffice it to say that there are those who not only contend that the Africans should be admitted to a political equality, but that they should also be permitted to enter our households, to mingle in our *social circles*, and even *embrace* our sons and daughters in their arms as one of their own blood and kindred. But this subject is too loathing for human nature, and I leave it!

As one who has lately abandoned principles, most *destructive*, both to our country and liberty—I would say to the Abolitionists of the North, what can you expect to accomplish by *further pursuing your mad schemes*? Is not humanity, is not justice, is not the sacred Constitution of our common country firmly against you? Did not the first framers of the American Constitution grant to the South certain *rights*, which *rights* can never be surrendered but at the price of liberty? Is not each State of *itself, free, sovereign and independent*? What right has the parliament of Upper Canada to legislate for New York, or what right has New York to legislate for North Carolina? None surely! Did not the Southern People make the granting of these rights, the only conditions upon which they would consent to unite with the Northern States? Surely so! And but for these rights, they would have remained at this day a separate confederacy, guided by their own Rulers, and governed by their own Laws. What then can you effect in face of the sacred Constitution? Will you still persist? Go on then! Pursue your schemes! Light the torch of civil discord! Raise the hand of brother against brother, father against son, and friend against friend! Unfurl your banner of eternal hatred to mankind! Deluge the land in blood! Stop not! Urge on!! Heed not the cries of widows and orphans! But let the war of death roll on! Revere not the sacred name of WASHINGTON, and the long list of patriots slain! Now swear the dissolution of our holy Union, and let war, blood and carnage, sweep on its purple tide of death from icy Labrador to the Arctic Zone! Let *slaughtered millions be the sacrifice!!* Hark! hear ye that thundering clash! It was the Temple of our Liberties! Raise high! Raise high the sacrilegious arm, and fire its fading piles, and let its smoke ascend as incense to your God—and as its ashes shall scatter with the winds, sit down amidst its ruins, and with a demoniac smile, exclaim to Heaven "*we have but done our duty!!*" Oh! my country! is this thy destiny! Is it for an end thus ignominious that thou art doomed! Shall the foes of liberty thus soon sport upon thy ruins? Was it for this our mothers taught us to lisp the sacred name of Washington, and the long list of patriot's names, enrolled in Fame? Was it for this the plains of Monmouth; of Camden, and of Bunker Hill, were dyed in purple and in gore? An end thus ignominious? Is this the funeral Pyre of *American Liberty*?

Fellow-citizens of the South, let me beseech you, awake to your interests! Rouse for the conflict, and gird on your armor! You have a foe, ever vigilant, ever watchful! Will you suffer him to fall upon you sleeping on your post, and thus become an easy prey? The assassin of your Liberties is already on your threshold! Will you permit the dagger, already uplifted, to drink your hearts-blood, and fall *unavenged*? I do not ask you to gird on your swords or march to the battle field. No, yours is a conflict of words, of eloquence, more potent than the sword! Yours, must be a firm resolve to support your rights, even at the hazard of your lives, for Liberty is dearer than life—speak in a voice of thunder, and you must be heard. Tell these invaders of your rights, to pause, for the ground on which they tread is holy! Tell them, that neither the fear of threats, or the hope of rewards can ever induce you to relinquish the price of your Liberty! Tell them, you have rights, guaranteed by the sacred Constitution, which you never will yield, only at the forfeit of your life. In thus entreating you to awake from your slumbers, and *prepare for the conflict*, I would not indeed wish you to be hasty or rash in your actions—be governed by moderation, but with *firmness and decision*. Let your motto be—"the Union, it must and shall be preserved!!" Of nothing the Abolitionists may be assured, slavery never will, or never can be abolished, only by the consent of each State—by its own free and sovereign *Legislation*. Let me assure you, citizens of the South, that the pole star of hope around which Northern Abolitionists cling with fervor is that of the *Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia*—this is to be the key which unlocks their designs, and leads them to *triumph!*—'tis here they have cast their anchor, which if it safely moors them, will carry them to certain victory!—'tis here they have planted their battery, and with a resolve, to carry the Fortress by storm, or die in the last ditch!—'tis here they are to pour all the fires of their *artillery*, and roll on their engines of destruction, in one vast phalanx joined, for Death or Victory! This is the Yorktown of their hopes. If they fail here, their defeat must drive them to shame and contempt, and as the sheet anchor of their safety is sundered and they cut from their moorings, they must retire in defeat from the contest, covered with the *shame, the contempt, and the ignominy of mankind!* If they succeed, their next step will, and must be, to demand of you, an *immediate and unconditional* surrender of your slaves. If they succeed, they will not stop here—they will not be satisfied with so small a victory! No! but the next sound that will fall upon your ears, will be the imperative demand, the *immediate* emancipation from slavery—or the dissolution of our Union!

But they cannot succeed, if you will but do your duty, if you will but sound the note of alarm until its peals of thunder shall echo from the Atlantic waves to the Rocky Mountains, and from Hudson's Bay to Panama, they cannot succeed. Then rouse for the conflict, and meet the foe! the victory must be yours. Let the eloquence of your citizens in the Senate Halls, pour fourth against these invaders of your rights, these enemies of your Liberty! Tell them not to dare to place their impious hands upon the Constitution, sealed by the blood of Patriots. Tell them at least to revere the name of WASHINGTON! Entreat them by all the ties of consanguinity, by all the bonds that unite them to friends they love, by all that is sacred, for the sake of the Instrument of our Independence, for the sake of our Country, and our Liberty, to pause in their mad career! Beseech them to remember the crimsoned plains of Monmouth, of Camden, of Orleans, and of Bunker Hill! If they will yet persevere, let them suffer the consequences, and let the vengeance, be upon their own devoted Heads. Let the double infamy of him who fired the Ephesian Temple rest upon their memories, and the imprecations and curses of future generations fall upon them, and their posterity, and let their names enrolled, on the annals of undying infamy, stand out to future ages! Upon their ashes rear the eternal granite, and let the inscription be—"Here rests the destroyer of the American Constitution and Liberty, whose sacrilegious hands applied the torch

upon their smouldering piles." Rest assured, you have no reason to doubt the issue of this conflict; if you will but arouse from your slumbers, if you will but shake off that lethargy which seems to have bound you, if you will arouse then our glorious Country is yet saved! and we are free! You have with you the great mass of the enlightened, the intelligent, and the virtuous, of the North. You have her men of Science, her Philosophers, her Philanthropists and Statesmen! her good, her great, her learned! With such an array of assistance, can you refuse to act. Once more I appeal to you, for the sake of humanity, for the sake of our beloved country, for the sake of the Constitution, for the sake of yourselves, your children, and your posterity, for the sake Millions yet unborn; arise! arise! gird on your armor for the conflict, and go forth to meet the foe! You will then have the glorious reflection of having saved your country from the ruthless hand of its foes, and of rescuing the Constitution of our Liberties from the vile grasp of these treacherous enemies of mankind! How pleasing this reflection—countless millions, yet to be, shall rise to bless your names, and on the monumental marble which enshrines your ashes, burn incense of their gratitude. Yes, kneeling they will invoke Heaven's blessings forever upon your posterity! Your memories immortal as those of a Wolf, a Montgomery, a Warren, a Lafayette, and a Washington, shall stand engraven upon the archives of eternal Fame. Everdure through countless ages, forever cherished, honored, and revered! If indeed, I have failed in this my last appeal, in behalf of our beloved country, if you will not come to the rescue, then farewell Liberty! farewell the dearest hopes of Freemen! Farewell, all that we love, or fondly cherish! The genius of America, guided by the majestic Eagle, shall hover o'er the tomb of an immortal Washington, and snatching the Urn of his ashes from its deathless slumbers shall bear it Heavenward, and cast her last glance upon the smouldering piles of this Republic.

But methinks, through the deepening gloom, I see the dawning of a brighter day! Methinks I see you rising and exclaiming, to the rescue! joined as one band of brothers, rallying round the Constitution, and swearing by all that is sacred, to sustain it, and hand it down to future ages, as you have received it from your forefathers, or be buried, your selves amidst its ruins! Methinks I hear you exclaiming, in a voice, loud as the death blast of Gabriel—"Wo to the hand, and Palsied be the arm that dares to light the sacrilegious torch upon the Temple of American Liberty."

Methinks I hear your voice as it echoes loud as the seven thunders "The Union," it must and shall be "preserved." Then indeed shall we behold the foes of your rights defeated, crowned with shame and contempt, and covered with the everlasting reproach and infamy of mankind! Then indeed shall nations learn that we are capable of self-government, and that as freemen, we can and will sustain our liberties, whether attacked by tyrants and despots without, or endangered by foes or commotions within. Then the great experiment, whether mankind can be free, will not have failed. Then we shall behold our beloved country, rising in greatness and glory, the pride of nations, and the admiration of the world! Our flag shall float in triumph on every ocean; the protection of our rights, the pride of our citizens, and the last hope of the free! Every gale shall greet our spreading canvass from icy Labrador to the Torrid Zone, and from Arctic's dashing tides to Gambia's silver wave! At the mention of our names, despots shall tremble on their thrones, and tyrants quake! Ages shall circle away, and the memory of Washington and the long list of American worthies engraved on the battlements of freedom, shall shine in all the undying splendors of their fame. The majestic Eagle guided by the genius of patriotism, shall bear their names upon a car of clouds, above a flaming Universe, and wave our flag triumphant amid the "wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds."

LEONIDAS.

DECEMBER 25th, 1837.

T. LORING, PRINTER, STANDARD OFFICE, RALEIGH, N. C.

Chas. G. ...  
Miss ...

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B. M. ...  
Samberton  
Chautauque, Co  
N. Y.

Dear Sir  
to the ...  
of the ...  
signs ...  
Nec 25-1877

# Edward Thomson

J

1842

Month	Date	Description	Amount	Month	Date	Description	Amount
Sept	17	8 Loads burial ground	1 00			Amount for top	
	40	to the Green	4 00	Nov	25	Mortar bed to the lanes	2
	19	7 Do	70	"	16	Load Sand	3
	4	sidewalk in Church St.	40	28	Mortar to Orphan House	1	
	20	1 Crossing of Sherman Avenue	25	30	1 to Wood Capt Perry	2	
	4	Moved	1 50		1 Lime & Sand Orphan house	2	
	21	1 Stone from Church to York St	25		1 Stone	1	
	1	Wood to the house	25	Dec	8	1 Cook Range to R. H. & Miss	1
	20	1 Load stuff to Haddock	37 1/2		1 Judge Haddock	1	
		500 Brick to Knowles house B. B.	50	9	Brick Mortar bed R. H. & Miss	2	
		2 Load Sand	62	10	1 Sand	3	
Oct	1	1 Load Sand to Capt. Wickers	25	10	10 Dirt from		
	3	Carting hay from Meadow	25	12	12 Lime P. & King	3	
	4	7 Loads Gravel to the Green	70	13	12 - - Griffling	3	
	5	28 Do	2 80	14	8 - -	2	
	6	5 Do	50		2 brick to Hitchcock		
	6	6 Do Church St	50		1 Mortar bed		
		2 Do to Haddock in Elm St	25		1 Sand		
	22	9 Loads Gravel to the Green	90	15	4 Lime Griffling	1	
	20	1 " Wood to the house	25			12	
	29	1 Load Wood	25		Amount of Carting		
	1	Do Capt Perry	1 00		from Aug to 21 <sup>st</sup> July	3 116	
Nov	2	1 Load Sand to Capt. Wickers	50		Month of August	4 19	
		150 bricks & 600 Mortar Dicks					
	7	5 Loads Gravel to the Green	50				
	10	A. V. Skinner					
		2 Loads earth to the Burial ground					
	11	3 Do	38				
	12	1 Do	12				
	16	3 Do	38				
		1 Load Gravel to the Green	10				
		1 Load Stone chips at the pump					
		1 Do Capt Perry	27				
		1 Do Sand to the Green	25				
		1 Do to Charles Thompson	25				
			22 1/2				

Circular Letter

This Circular was printed at  
 with by Leonard  
 Copies of this Circular were  
 the north to various parts  
 ed by was made to  
 the 2<sup>d</sup> Gate was then  
 Amount of Carting  
 from Aug to 21<sup>st</sup> July 3 116  
 Month of August 4 19

1837  
 14

Randolph Dec 12<sup>th</sup> 1844 —

E. J. Foot Esq De Sir

143

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> Inst. was duly received and it did my heart good to discover the warmth of your generous heart for the oppressed of our guilty Land — God to God we in Randolph could feel & act as you recommend — You are right but see one flaw from convincing us to the standard you recommend — All the available means, at least all the pecuniary means is in the possession of our opponents could I make money out of Pennsylvania hills I would stand up to the cause second to no man — But my honest creditors do not get their pay and knaves and scoundrels oppress me — But enough of that — I intend to do what I can for the good cause and fall in the last ditch if necessary — I will meet you at any time on due notice at Cherry Creek if I am not on a journey — I expect to be absent soon for 2 or 3 weeks —

Now is the time to rebuke <sup>shame</sup> Whigs and Democrats — for their hypocrisy — I judge the whigs on their own coin who assure us of electing Polk by voting for the self devoted Breckinridge instead of a Slaveholder who thinks Texas would make 3 free States and 2 Slave States — and that annexation — ought not to be objected to on account of Slavery — That personally he has no objection to it but



would be glad to see it - I tell  
 them they by their hypocrisy, per-  
 suaded 50,000 men who otherwise  
 would have voted for Binney to  
 vote for Clay, and about an equal  
 portion of those who did vote  
 for Binney were from the Demo-  
 cratic ranks. Consequently had they  
 succeeded in capturing all the Lib-  
 erty men who came from the Whig  
~~off disaffected~~  
 they would have only ~~been drawn~~  
 those who were from the Democra-  
 tic ranks to have deserted their  
 party and gone back to their old  
 party to ~~image~~ uncompromising war  
 with the traitors who had deserted  
 them - Clay would have consequen-  
 ly lost his election and the Lib-  
 erty party would have been a  
 vote never again to organize.

We have gotten a number of  
 antislavery petitions printed &  
 I enclose you 6 - I think could  
 they be placed in proper hands  
 they would do some good in place  
 of a lecture at present and  
 at the same time be filled up  
 and sent to Washington.

I am in too great haste to  
 write all. I could wish  
 I have not seen Goodell's Consti-  
 tutional argument - Can you  
 spare me one? if so please  
 send me one

Yours truly for  
 the Slave  
 Wm. Hallack

HJ TC

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Versailles April 25 1845

Hon<sup>ble</sup> E. J. Goot

Very Dear Sir

Your favor of the 3<sup>d</sup> inst is just put into my hands, (9 O'Cl. P. M.) and as the mail leaves here tomorrow morning, I have but little time to write,

I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter, March 17, from brother Chaplin, saying that he, with Mary & the boy would be in Utica the 13<sup>th</sup>, & before I had finished reading it, Joseph <sup>Norton</sup> who had been on a trip into Erie, Wyoming & Guesen Co<sup>s</sup> arrived, having traveled on foot from Buffalo, he was overjoyed to hear the glad news, & as he had collected all he could in this country, it was that best boy, the friends here that he should go & meet his wife & try to obtain the bal<sup>y</sup> in Oneida & Madison Co<sup>s</sup>, he paid into my hands every cent of his money, I however handed him about \$10. to bear his expenses to Utica, leaving in my hands sufficient to cancel his debt for the loan, less \$37.55

Tired & foot-sore as he was, he started that evening for Buffalo on foot intending to take the cars the next day for Utica, where he arrived in safety & found his wife & boy well & happy, as you will see by the liberty press I send you, you will also see that he is at work, I have the fullest confidence in Joseph & shall expect to see him here as soon as he can obtain the bal<sup>y</sup> of the money his wife's expenses from Washington to Utica he will have to raise also,

I am happy to learn that our good cause is gaining ground in Chaut. which is true also of this Co<sup>y</sup>. & I believe generally thro<sup>ut</sup> the country, Goodell's Constitutional argument, is doing wonders, it upsets the strong men, The press as you justly observe is the great engine with which this great moral battle is

mostly to be fought, & I heartily wish all our friends took the same view of the matter that you do,

What a preposterous idea that the fathers of the Revolution should have made a compromise in the Constitution, with the intent to perpetuate the abominable system of Slavery, it is a base and nothing of the kind is to be found in that document, if it were so, instead of holding an annual jubilee & glorifying the heroes of the revolution, it were better to teach our children to trample on their ashes & spit upon their tombstones, No, No! The scorn & contempt of the world shall yet be felt by those would gladly shuffle off their own responsibility upon the heads of the Patriots of former days.

I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here before long, we can get up a meeting any time & you can do much good in this region by giving us a few lectures, present our kindest regards to your family

Very Respectfully

Your Brother in the Lord &  
the cause of truth

E. M. Pettit

E. M. Pettit  
Windsor  
Apr 1845

Forestville Sept 1<sup>st</sup> 1844

Dear Bro Foot

I recd a communication from you some time ago with a request that I should answer immediately - I shall owe you an apology for not having written you sooner - I rejoiced to hear from you that you had taken the stand you have against Slavery and Missions and in favour of Liberty and Equal Rights a stand which every honest man at the North ought to take if ever there was a political cause which demanded the attention of professed Christians it is the cause of Anti Slavery the cause of the Oppressed - I have been a professed Anti Slavery Man some 4 or 5 years but never vented the ticket until last fall - I became convinced that there was no other way to destroy that wicked Institution of Domestic Slavery but to go to the ballot box - I have taken this stand deliberately and intend to pursue it as long as I live or until the object is effected my conscience approving of the course

There is a great effort made here by the Whigs to induce Anti Slavery Men to go for Mr Clay they say to prevent the annexation of Texas has for they will succeed I am unable to say I think however not to any extent here I understand that they have

succeeded to a considerable extent at Forestville and that most of our friends there have promised to go for Clay - I have had no opportunity of seeing our friends at Forestville but intend to see them soon

I was at Freedom last week and heard C. M. Clay speak I was pleased with the fore part of his speech he took the right view of Slavery & told us the effect it had on the Southern people also what effect it had on the transactions of Government but the termination of his speech I did not like for he said Liberty must go for H Clay

There are but few Liberty Men in this town and there is but little done here in the cause we have had no one to address the people here since Mr Chaplin was here - a number of our friends have requested me to ask you if you could not come to Forestville and address the people some time soon I should be glad myself if you could consistently come - please write me and let me know at what time you can come here

Yours Truly  
N. Nixor

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Sept 21<sup>st</sup> 1874  
wants me to visit for  
Sterile

Danvers NY 10  
Sept 22

Hon. W. J. Hoate

Sanristown

Chester County  
N.Y.

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THE

# FINANCIAL POWER OF SLAVERY.

THE SUBSTANCE OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN OHIO, IN SEPTEMBER, 1840,

BY JOSHUA LEAVITT, OF NEW-YORK.

I come now to consider slavery as the chief source of the commercial and financial evils under which the country is groaning. I will not now dwell on the financial evils of a fluctuating policy, such as slavery is continually demanding. It must be evident to the slightest observation, that all the great changes of policy which have successively involved in disaster each and every northern interest, have been introduced by the dictation of the Slave Power.—And it is equally obvious that so long as slavery reigns, by fomenting the strife of party at the North, we never shall have a settled policy. The slaveholders are, at this moment, actually creating a new ferment at the North with regard to the tariff, that they may hold the balance of power, and keep the North in subjection, and above all, prevent our uniting by constitutional means to put down the grand evil that eats out our vitals.

*Slavery absorbs the available capital of the North, and thus creates periodical revulsions, each one more severe than the last.*

We are all aware that it is "hard times" at present.—Not an individual in the community who has not personal knowledge on this point.—What is "hard times?" Why, money is scarce. All agree in that. When money is scarce, and produce brings a low price, and a man cannot borrow of his neighbor to meet a pressing emergency, and every one feels embarrassed, and crippled, and poor, then it is "hard times." Well, it is "hard times" now, and money is scarce.—What has become of the money? It is well known that we have had a long career of industry, and enterprise, and peace. Our people have earned a vast amount of money in the last 15 years. And by the influence of advancing religion and morals, and the glorious temperance reformation, we were saving a great deal. The temperance society tended powerfully to the accumulation of wealth, by lessening the enormous waste of property which used to be occasioned by strong drink. We were really growing rich. The apparent prosperity of the years 1829-36, was very much of it real. It was a reliance on the vast savings of temperance more than any thing else, that deceived my mind with regard to the real state of the country. I overlooked the drain, which was silently and rapidly carrying these accumulations of industry and economy where they could never be recovered. Had the free States been subject to no losses but those of their own extravagance, (great and foolish and criminal as that was,) none, nor all of the alleged causes of our present depression could have produced this deep and protracted embarrassment.

*Our Available Capital has been lost.*

There is a nice question in political economy which I will not undertake to settle, for I do not profess to be learned in these matters. What becomes of lost capital, has puzzled wiser brains than mine. Some say it is sunk and annihilated; others, that it only has passed into other hands, where it may accumulate, or lie in a state of congestion for a while, but a change of times will set it all a going again without the annihilation of any portion. Let those decide who understand the cause and operation of Asiatic cholera. Whether annihilated or not, it is lost to us, and, as I shall show, will never come back to those who have honestly earned it, but have now been deprived of it through the effect of slavery.

The Boston Daily Advertiser, the leading commercial paper of that city, had an article on the 8th of July last, from an able writer, who furnished a series of essays on the finances and currency of the country. The writer states

that there has been a hundred millions of dollars of banking capital sunk in this country since the year 1836, estimating what remains at current prices; but he considers the actual loss much greater, because the stocks are in fact worth much less than they are now quoted.\* Then there is a loss to the country of fifteen or twenty millions in irredeemable bank notes. Then there are a hundred and fifty millions loaned to stockholders and directors, and spent in extravagance and speculation. Is it any wonder that we have hard times?

*\* This vast amount of Capital is lost at the South.*

I am not undertaking to give full and detailed information on this subject. Much of it is difficult to come at, and much of it lies out of my ordinary track of inquiry.—But ask any man of business in our cities where his capital is gone, and where his hopeless irrecoverable debts are, and he will point to the South. Go among the merchants or the manufacturers, and you will find one complaining of his ten thousand, and another of his hundred thousand, and another of his two or five hundred thousand dollars of southern debts. He would get along very well now, if it were not for that southern debt.—And behind every one of these stands another class, who have sold goods, or lent money, or given their endorsement to others that have trusted their all to the South, and now cannot pay. And behind these another class, and another, and another, until there is hardly a remote hamlet in the free States that has not been directly or indirectly drained of its available capital by the southern debt. The writer above referred to, says that the Banks of Philadelphia have twenty-five millions of dollars of failed notes. Probably, that is within the truth. But nearly every dollar of this is, directly or indirectly, southern debt. Look at Newark. I was told, three years ago, that the people of Newark had three millions of dollars at one time, of protested southern paper. I do not know that it is so, but I know that the place has been most dreadfully impoverished, and all in consequence of southern trade—that trade which they were so eager to preserve that they would trample on law and order to put down the discussion of slavery. Look at Philadelphia, her banks suspended, and her business, for a long time thrown into desolation, and all through the "southern debt." What keeps down the price of the United States Bank stock? Its southern debt. What makes it uncertain whether that bank will resume payment in January—or break? Its immense southern debt—debt, of whose amount and condition the public have little means of judging.

*What carried the Capital to be lost at the South?*

It is a great help towards believing a novel truth, when we are able to see clearly that there are causes in existence sufficient to account for the existence of the alleged fact.—Let us inquire whether there are causes enough to afford a rational and satisfactory explanation of this doctrine. I do not intend to show all the ways by which the available capital of the free States has been sunk in the slave States.—But if I can show that two or three of the prominent circumstances in the business of the country naturally led to such a result, and that there were no adequate counteracting causes, I shall sufficiently establish my position.

\* The immense depreciation of stocks since July, 1840, must have added many millions to the aggregate loss.—June, 1841.

† The bank has since resumed, and broken down under its Southern debt. June, 1841.

*Dr. J. W. Brown & Co. Interest*  
*1841*  
*1836*  
*6/10*  
*8/10*  
*12/10*  
*15/10*  
*18/10*  
*21/10*  
*24/10*  
*27/10*  
*30/10*  
*33/10*  
*36/10*  
*39/10*  
*42/10*  
*45/10*  
*48/10*  
*51/10*  
*54/10*  
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*72/10*  
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*78/10*  
*81/10*  
*84/10*  
*87/10*  
*90/10*  
*93/10*  
*96/10*  
*99/10*  
*100/10*

1. The capital of the North as naturally flows to the South as water runs down hill—i. e. to fill up a vacuum below it. Eighty years ago, a great statesman, in the British Parliament, laid it down as an axiom in political economy, that planters are always in debt. The system of society in a slave-holding community is such as to lead to the contraction of debt, which the system itself does not furnish the means of paying, and which must, therefore, be wiped off by periodical bankruptcies. The ill economy of slave labor is seen in a thousand particulars, the wastefulness of the slaves is exceeded only by the extravagance of the masters, while the social rank (!) which is generally conceded to him who exercises power over his fellow-men, is a passport to credit. So long as credit lasts and times are prosperous, the slaveholder is a very good paymaster, but the general indebtedness is all the while increasing until a commercial crisis comes, to disclose the true state of things. There is, then, this difference between a slaveholding and a free community. When a pressure comes upon a free people, they immediately begin to curtail their expenses and increase their products, they work harder and save more, wear the old coat, sell all they can, and buy nothing they can do without,—because they intend to pay their debts. The slaveholders, on the contrary, always drive their producers, (the slaves,) to the utmost, and the time of high prices is especially the time of high pressures, and this makes the poor slave pray that cotton may be cheap. Consequently, when hard times come, the slaveholder has no way to increase his products, and there is no way he can curtail the weekly peck of corn, and the yearly shirt and overalls which he expends upon his slaves. And as to his own expenses, it is of more importance to him to maintain his standing as a gentleman planter, than it is to pay the rascally shopkeepers, and, therefore, when a pressure comes, we do not see in the slaveholding States any such calculations and efforts to pay the old debt, as are found in the free States. The sense of obligation to pay debts is essentially different between people who always live on the earnings of the poor, and those who have nothing but what they have earned by their own industry. The effect is, that in our commercial revulsions, there is a general calculation that the bulk of indebtedness from the free States will be paid, and that the bulk of the slave debt will be lost. The free expect to pay their debts, if it takes years of toil and self-denial; the slaveholder likes to pay debts if it is convenient, but to work and save to pay an old debt enters not into his thoughts. And since slavery does not, in fact, support itself as it goes along, it is of course, impossible that it should furnish the means of paying the old debt. Here is a history of any and every one of our commercial revulsions, so far as slavery is concerned.

2. Now, look at the next commercial period. The industry and economy produced by hard times among a free and moral people, naturally leads to an accumulation of capital, and, then, to an extension of credit. The productive power of free industry, aided by orderly habits and light taxes, has never yet been properly appreciated. And credit is as natural a concomitant of such a state of society as vegetation is of summer heat. Were such a community left to its own resources, its prosperity would be constant, and without any assignable limits. But, here we again find ourselves subject to the exhausting operations of slavery—"Our glorious union" makes the slaveholder a fellow-countryman with us, and slavery one of the "institutions of the country." As soon, therefore, as capital begins to abound again, and credit grows easy, the slaveholding States naturally avail themselves of it to contract new debts, and again absorb the capital, and crush the credit of the free, and then produce another revulsion, leaving another batch of irrecoverable debts, and another set of bankrupt creditors, and another general collapse of the free States through the exhaustion of their capital. Who does not see that the repetition of this periodical process is as natural as the tides, and as well explained as the alternations of summer and winter?

The Union of the free and slave States under one government—having "one constitution, one country, and one destiny," as naturally gives to slavery the control of our financial interests, as water seeks its level. The impoverishing tendency of slavery makes it a drain upon the capital of the North, let the financial policy of the general government be what it may. But,

3. This tendency of Northern capital to the South is greatly increased by the existence of a "credit system."—Observe the distinction between credit and a "credit system." Credit is the natural growth of confidence, and when left to itself, is given to a man chiefly on the ground of his capital, talents for business, integrity, and facilities for doing business to advantage. Diminish or increase either of these, and you lessen or extend his credit in the same proportion.

A "credit system," on the other hand, is an artificial policy of the government; either through a bank or some other device, which shall either pledge the public revenues or give a special sanction of the government, so as to increase the general amount of credit beyond its natural and unassisted growth. I am not now called to consider the question in the abstract, whether the "credit system" is ever a wise policy to be adopted by a free government—it may be that there are inherent evils in that system, which will always make it cost more than it comes to, in the long run. Or it may be, that a system which, as Mr. Webster says, would give "a savor of nationality" to credit, might be permanently beneficial, in a country whose parts were governed by homogeneous institutions, and enriched throughout by the same kind of labor. Be that as it may, it is easy to show, that in a mixed country, part depending on free labor, and part on slave labor, a credit system answers the mere purpose of a sluice-way, to hasten the transfer of northern capital to fill up the emptiness of the South. The greater the general amount of credit in the community, the more easily and the more extensively will the slave sections obtain credit. And as it is a settled axiom that planters will always go in debt as far as they can, we easily see that the facilities of a "credit system" will be used to the utmost by them. And as they are not restricted, like the free, debt-paying States, by an old debt, nor governed at all by those strict ideas of mercantile honor that prevail among business men, the deductions of reason coincide with the results of experience, in regard to the disastrous effects that must always follow from a "credit system," so long as slavery remains. And when we add to this consideration, the fickleness of the Slave Power, and see how often it has changed the national policy, we can compare the attempt to build up a "credit system" in this country to nothing so much as a co-partnership between two beer-shops, one of which makes its own liquor and drinks none, and the other buys on credit of the first, and drinks beside. At length they grow tired of carrying the beer in buckets, and it is agreed to have a conducting pipe from one vat to the other, that shall keep them always on a level. This answers for a time, until, just about the time that the industrious man's stock is about to fail, the other gets drunk and knocks the bottom out. Seven times, at least, since the Federal Constitution was established, slavery has knocked the bottom out. The conclusion is, that a credit system must ever prove injurious to the country as long as slavery continues. Unite with us and put an end to slavery; and we shall be prepared to talk about a credit system, and then, if the wisdom of a united people shall approve of it, we can have it permanent. But till then, it can neither be good nor lasting.

4. The equalizing of the exchanges has furnished an illustration of the necessary effects of an artificial system of financial relations between the free and slave states. The late United States Bank had a capital of 35 millions of dollars, a very small proportion being the property of slaveholders. It also enjoyed the use of the national revenues as deposits, and received and disbursed all moneys of the United States. It had, moreover, branches in most of the principal commercial towns. With all these facilities, and a credit greatly enhanced by the financial reputation of its president, Mr. Biddle undertook to equalize the exchanges between the different sections of the country. Exchange is the price paid for the transfer of money from one place to another. It is a service rendered, and has a proper measure of price, as much as carrying wheat to market has.—The principal elements which enter into the calculation of the proper price of exchanges, are the distance and difficulty of transportation, the relation of supply and demand, and the risk arising among the parties drawing and drawn upon. Exchange, if left to itself, would ordinarily make some special allowance for this last consideration in the case of a slaveholding community, because all experience shows that there is a much greater risk in doing business with slave-

holders. But the Bank, in equalizing exchanges, entirely disregarded this consideration, which is a part of the real expenses of the business, as much as the canal tolls are a part of the expenses of forwarding wheat. It follows, that the Bank must either make up this item out of the community, by its extra profits on some other branch of business, or it must make up the deficit out of its capital. In which way the Bank has, in fact, made it, whether out of its capital or its other profits, the stock-holders will probably know—when they get their capital back!

The effect of the credit system in producing the level between the two pools more speedily than could be done through the natural channels, is one of the most instructive subjects of study for our financiers and political economists. One pool is fed by the perennial spring of free labor; the other is trying to fill by the slow and reluctant percolation, through its sands, of slave labor enforced by the lash, but the waste by evaporation and the daily consumption is greater than the flow at the fountain. Our Union as one country leads to a transfer of waters to produce a level, through the natural channels of trade, but the credit system cuts a wider and deeper sluice, and hastens the result; and then slavery knocks the bottom out, and the whole is lost.

5. One effect of this false advantage which the credit system and equalizing exchanges give to the slaveholders, is that the North is not only drained of its own circulating capital—such as is naturally put at the hazard of trade, but is deprived of a large portion of its fixed capital, and even involved in a most burdensome foreign debt, for resources which have been borrowed abroad to meet the deficiencies, occasioned by the irrecoverable Southern debt. So that a considerable time must elapse, before we begin to accumulate fresh capital from our own earnings, while we work hard and live close to pay the foreign debt in which slavery has involved us. Had the free States been caught by the late revulsion, subject to no difficulties but those resulting from their own speculation and extravagance, foolish and criminal as these were, we should ere this have had all our affairs settled, and business again in prosperous motion.—It is the Southern Debt which hangs like a mill-stone upon our banks and our individual merchants and manufacturers, and no man can as yet foresee the end.

6. The equalizing of exchanges is doubtless one of the principal causes of the delusion under which our men of business have labored in regard to the stability and real value of Southern trade. Men of business found that they could get their paper cashed, or collect, receive and transmit funds, at the South, in Alabama or Mississippi, at as low a rate as Maine or Ohio; and as such men are little accustomed to look deeply into the causes of things, it is not strange that they should conclude that a southern trade should be relied on, for the long run, as being as stable and secure as trade with northern customers. The great "regulator" assumed it to be so, and why should they not follow? But a southern trade, so long as it remains good, is always a great deal more profitable than the northern trade, because slaveholders are so liberal, they never stand about prices; they never haggle for the half cent; they have a great many other things to attend to when they come to the North, besides chaffering for prices like the mere Yankee; they must go to the theatres, and visit the Falls and the Springs, attend the races, &c.; and so they tell the jobber to make up a good bill to such an amount, at his discretion, for which the southerner used to give his note for nine or twelve months, and the United States Bank would cash it for a small per centage. This was such a delightful way to do business, that at one time it was almost impossible for a country trader from the North, to get any body to look at him. But the day of reckoning came, the northern notes at four and six months, are generally paid to the uttermost farthing, although with some delay, while the southern debt hangs between the bank and the merchants, a dead-weight that will probably sink them both.

7. Should it be objected, that the policy of the present [late] administration, which has been aimed at the subver-

\* The present and prospective value of the stock of the Bank, and the developments which have been made since September, 1840, when the above was delivered, shows the ground there was for the hint respecting the capital of the United States Bank.—June, 1841.

sion of the "credit system," has been taken up by men peculiarly subservient to the dictation of the slaveholders, I admit the fact. There cannot be a doubt that the anti-credit policy has been adopted at southern dictation, for the benefit of slavery. A Senator Walker, of Mississippi, has laboriously demonstrated the advantage which the planters would realize by reducing the price of northern labor, so that they could buy cheap, while they thought the price of cotton would keep up, because the mart was on the other side of the Atlantic. But, fortunately, sin is always unlucky, and just as this notable scheme was on the point of consummation, the price of cotton went down too, and fell lower, in proportion, than the price of labor, so that, instead of controlling the trade of the world, as they boasted they should, they are broken down, helpless, and obliged to beg a market at any rate. And, now, we see the whole South turning around, with one consent, with Harrison and the "credit system." The slaveholders find that they cannot get along but as they can obtain credit, and so they are in favor of some new policy of "getting-in-debt made easy."

But if, contrary to all present appearances, the Whigs should fail of obtaining power, there can be no doubt that the slaveholders will contrive some other way to gain an advantage. They will make the independent treasury serve their turn; and why should they not? Let it be remembered, that if the national treasures are placed in banks, slavery governs the banks; and if they are placed in government chests, slavery keeps the key! As a most enlightened and honest statesman once said, "Why should we dispute about the best way to prevent the union of purse and sword in the hands of the President, while slavery grasps both purse and sword and the president too?"

8. The great drain of northern capital to the South, to supply the ordinary defalcations of slavery, has been enhanced by the demands of the Domestic Slave Trade. The extent of this trade in human souls cannot be fully ascertained until Congress shall prepare to exercise its constitutional powers by instituting a legal inquiry and requiring a return. Some idea of the whole may be formed, however, from a statement made by a man of business purposes; in the United States Gazette, a leading commercial paper of Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1840. The writer declares that upwards of forty thousand slaves were imported from the North into the single State of Mississippi, during the year 1836 alone; that in three years the slaves in that State increased 100,000; and that the debt incurred by the planters in those three years for slaves alone was ninety millions of dollars, the greater part secured by mortgage on the plantations and negroes. This trade was carried on by the aid of northern capital. Northern banks and brokers were involved, the United States Bank was involved, numerous banks were started in the South-west on northern capital, the States themselves contracted loans to a vast amount to aid these banks; (of course, borrowing the money at the North,) the dividends were astonishingly large, every body wanted stocks in the Vicksburgh, Grand Gulf, Brandon and other South-west Banks, never was trade so vast and so profitable, until the bubble burst, and all that capital is gone, sunk, irrecoverable. The South has nothing to show for it. Whether the State stocks will ever be paid, will be known in a few years. The bank stock is gone.

9. If any person should still be incredulous as to the fact that slavery is the chief cause of our present commercial embarrassments, let him look at this domestic slave-trade in another light, and he will see that its demands are enormous, while its results present nothing but loss. Compare, for instance, two States in which there was a large section of country thrown open to settlement about the same time, by the removal of the Indians and other causes—Illinois and Mississippi. Each of these States received an accession to its laboring population, in the course of three or four years prior to 1837, of about 100,000 souls—all devoted to agriculture. The hundred thousand people that removed from the old States of the North to till the fat and virgin soil of Illinois, cost for removal not exceeding one hundred dollars on an average. And even this was paid, not by Illinois, but out of their own former earnings. I will leave out of view the circumstances that very many of them carried considerable sums of money to the State, and the other fact, that by the general understanding, one of these laborers is actually worth for productive industry, two such as are taken to the South.

Look now at Mississippi. Her hundred thousand laborers were brought from the slave-breeding States, at a cost of a *thousand dollars* a piece, or a total of one hundred millions of dollars. Now, observe, that for this expenditure, the State of Mississippi has nothing to show but a laboring population of a hundred thousand persons. The individuals who sold these persons as property may call themselves the richer. That question I will not now argue.—But it is plain on the face of it, that the addition to the wealth-producing power of the State is nothing but the strength of these laborers—the very same thing that Illinois got for nothing, with money in pocket to boot. Now, do you not see, that for any State to expend a hundred millions of dollars merely to remove her laborers to the soil must be ruinous? Suppose the State of New York were to do it, with all her surplus capital, she would stagger and reel into bankruptcy. But Mississippi was a new State, and had no available capital, no roads, no canals, no cities filled with surplus wealth, she raised no provision for all this swelling population, she manufactured no clothes, or tools, or carriages—all was to be bought and paid for, at the dearest rate, and all to be done with capital from abroad. And when it was all done, she had nothing to show for it, that was available in the world's market to raise the money from. The "union," the "compromisers of the constitution," the delusive dreams of "southern trade," and the maddening war cry of "amalgamation," blinded the men of the North to furnish first all their own surplus capital, and then, all they could borrow on either side of the ocean; but, all would not suffice to meet such a drain—to fill such a bottomless gulf, and *all broke together!*

10. To this result, the old United States Bank contributed all it could. The *pet-bank* system, and the encouragement given by Gen. Jackson and his friends to the formation of numerous State Banks, with vast capitals, (—all borrowed of course, from the North—) swelled the tide still wider and deeper. The distribution of the surplus revenue sent on another surge. In what way the sub-treasury system has helped, I do not exactly see, though from the eagerness of the South-West representatives in its favor, and the general servility of the administration party, I have no doubt it was largely calculated upon for that purpose.—Southern trade, politics, prejudice, every thing favored, and the wealth of the North was drained dry, and poured along these various channels, into the deep gulf which slavery has dug—and which has no bottom. It realized the prophetic description of those God-cursed fools who earned money to put into a bag with holes. That is where our northern capital went, and every remote hamlet in the free States is the poorer for it. It is gone—and gone forever. Mr. Van Buren's Independent Treasury with nothing in it, cannot bring it back. General Harrison, with his credit system, whatever it may be, cannot bring back that lost wealth, which slavery has squandered. Neither a northern man with southern principles, nor one with all sorts of principles, [on the subject of slavery] can restore our lost capital.—Free industry, enterprise, and economy, can go to work and produce it again, and they doubtless will do it. But as long as slavery governs the public policy, the slaveholders will again and again find means to transfer these accumulations of free labor to supply the constant deficiencies of their own miserable system.

11. There are, therefore, two things essential to the deliverance of the free industry of the North from this intolerable burthen, of supporting slavery and enduring these perilous revolutions and bankruptcies. One is, to develop the true nature of slavery, as an element of our domestic fiscal economy, so that our merchants and manufacturers will understand the danger of carrying on a southern trade.—But the abolitionists have been doing for five years, and yet no one has heeded it. Notwithstanding the calamities of the last three years, the merchants and manufacturers of Philadelphia, of New York, of Newark, of Connecticut, of Rhode Island and Boston, are as blind and deaf on the subject of slavery, and as decidedly opposed to anti-slavery meetings and agitations, as they were in the palmy days of 1835.—You cannot get them to take any anti-slavery newspaper.—The commercial and political papers, which are at once the organ and index of public sentiment in the trading classes, are as dumb as ever on the subject of Southern Trade.—Which of them has developed, with any degree of fairness,

the prosperity of trade which has grown out of Emancipation in the West Indies? How few have even published the facts in regard to the indebtedness of the State of Mississippi for slaves. And where is one that has traced the irremediable bankruptcy of the South-West to its true cause?—The New York Whig, in the hands of one of the most talented editors in the Union, ventured to make a few comments on the Mississippi article last winter, [Feb., 1840,] and in a month the editor was driven from his post, and the paper crushed, by the party said so often to be "most favorable to liberty," and certainly embracing a large share of the commercial and manufacturing interest.

As I was passing through Newark last winter, on my return from the annual meeting of the New Jersey Anti-Slavery Society, at Trenton, I called on my friend, the editor of the Newark Daily Advertiser, a gentleman deserving of the high respect he enjoys, as a man, a scholar, and an editor—the organ of the trading interest of Newark. It happened that I had in my hand a resolution adopted by the Society, giving a brief summary of the Slave Power according to the Federal Ratio, which I showed him, and also a copy of the Philadelphia article respecting the slave debt of Mississippi. He was greatly struck with them both, begged a copy of the resolution, which I transcribed at considerable personal inconvenience, on his promise to print it, and said the other was a subject of great importance to the people of Newark, as they had immense debts in Mississippi, and he should copy it without delay. Well, the piece on the Federal Ratio was never published, and the Mississippi article not until a week or two had elapsed, and it had been first published in the Emancipator, thence copied into the Evangelist, and then published in the Commercial Advertiser and Journal of Commerce. This well illustrates the probability there is that more information respecting the commercial influences of slavery is likely to keep our commercial community from being again caught by the snare of southern trade.

One reason is, that both commerce and slavery are so intimately mixed up with politics, and hence the political influence tends to keep up the commercial delusion. We shall never get the commercial community to read or to think on the subject, until the question can be made to present itself at the ballot box, and the opposers of slavery become the arbiters of destiny to political aspirants. This is one reason why we must have—

In the second place, a direct resistance to the political domination of the Slave Power. Mere complaining of its injustice will not answer. The North has always complained of the slave representation which gives to the slavocracy this undue advantage—and always yielded implicitly to the demands arising from it. Senator Davis, years ago, complained that slavery dictated all national appointments; and then Senator Davis yields his support to a party and a Presidential ticket, as thoroughly devoted to slavery as any that was ever presented to the people. Mr. John Quincy Adams complained that, in speaking of slavery, he had to address a Speaker who was a slaveholder; and next time he was called to vote for Speaker, voted for John Bell, and then for Hunter, both slaveholders.\*

The resistance must come to the ballot box. There is where we have to meet slavery, face to face. Nearly twenty years ago, an intelligent friend from South Carolina, told me that the real secret of the southern movements in politics was to *keep off* the question of slavery. The slaveholders have succeeded so far—they will probably succeed once more at the present election; but let us take the regular means to bring our principles to the ballot box this year, and they never will stave it off again. Before another term comes round, the whole nation will see that the great question is, and long has been, whether the Federal Government shall be administered for the good of the whole and the preservation of liberty, or for the good of a handful of slaveholders and the strengthening of slavery.

#### FREEMEN OF THE NORTH—WHAT IS YOUR DECREE!

\* It is gratifying to find that, at the organization of the 27th Congress, May 31, 1841, Mr. Adams firmly refused to vote for a slaveholding Speaker, and was sustained by five others—Borden, Gales, Giddings, Matlocks and Slade. This may be regarded as the first determined resistance in Congress. June, 1841.



CHICAGO, 30TH MARCH, 1846.

To

DEAR SIR:—You will have seen by the newspapers the Call for a Convention in this city on the 24th of June, which will probably continue three or four days, to be composed of all persons who are anxious to do all they legally can for the immediate overthrow of American slavery.

The present year should undoubtedly call together the friends of Liberty in some place in a grand rally for consultation and mutual encouragement, and since the cause has had little foreign aid in this State, where lie the remains of Lovejoy, it is believed that as a matter of policy merely, no State would be more benefitted than Illinois, and no place is easier of access than Chicago, being accessible by Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan, by three or four hour's sail, and as approachable for the New England, Middle States and Ohio, as any point of the same distance.

May we hope for your attendance, and get your answer to lay the fact before the country at least two months before the Convention.

We are, dear Sir, yours,  
In the cause of our debased country,  
and it's wronged race.

CHARLES V. DYER,  
Z. EASTMAN,  
WM. H. TAYLOR,  
LUTHER ROSSITER,  
WILLIAM THIRDS,  
WM. H. KENNICOTT,  
SETH P. WARNER,  
DANIEL DAVIDSON,  
J. V. SMITH,  
ICHABOD CODDING,  
JOHN M. WILSON,  
OWEN LOVEJOY,  
Committee.

Receipt of...

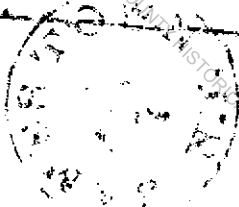
154

Anti Slavery Cont.  
Feb'y 1846

22/4

Chas. J. Post.

New Haven Conn  
M. W.



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Dear John I have been informed that you  
 will feel it a privilege to get the Evangelist & speak  
 the subject of human rights - I have sent an offer  
 to be there myself in speaking Sept 24 - at  
 7 - I speak with the expectation that you will be there  
 lecturing in the evening - day after - I am extremely  
 glad to hear that you are speaking there  
 and I hope that you will have a very successful  
 day of it. I have been very glad to hear  
 of you and that you are helping - God help you -  
 I attribute of the great eternal is philosophy is wisdom  
 that helps for the poor. And the more that does appear  
 the more we shall have the descending electricity of gods  
 power made to strike him - I have no more doubt  
 triumph of our principles than I have of my own  
 time - I that soon - I will not be there -  
 will do what we can - yours in love  
 John Leonard Dalton

The last evening of the month at 4 o'clock P.M. -  
 L.R.

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Dear Sir,

Salem <sup>Mass</sup> October 18<sup>th</sup> 1844

Allow me <sup>ask you</sup> to, in behalf of the Com<sup>tee</sup> of the Liberty Party of District No 2 to be present at our Convention at Lynn on Thursday next Oct 24<sup>th</sup> we should esteem it a favor if you could be present with us, all necessary expenses and something more desired will be paid, it is also the wish of our Liberty Party friends in Salem to hear an address from you on some Evening next week, except Thursday Evening if you will drop me a line, <sup>tomorrow</sup> in answer to the above you will much oblige us,

Yours truly for the Committee

To Judge Foster

Oliver A. Gray

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*[Faint, illegible handwritten notes or bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

I saw you last week that you would be  
 willing to spend two or three days with us,  
 when you come over. We then talked of your  
 coming on Thursday of this week. The friends  
 of the cause and on some that you would  
 come on Wednesday. Brother May has been  
 doing a good work & there is a desire to  
 feed on the subject. Please write me  
 back by the bearer & let me know whether  
 we may expect you on Wednesday and  
 then we will make preparations for a meeting  
 on that evening. I do not know ab  
 any of our friends will be in the stream to  
 bring you out & therefore will leave it to you  
 to come by the public carrier which of course  
 we will defray —

Yours truly  
 John Angus

You mentioned when  
 B. G. White Esq. Sr. in  
 Burlington March 23 1826

John Burger's Egg  
letter from Guilford.

arrived some day by  
mail on account of  
Mrs. F. Schump. Myatt's.

Learn advise -  
at Bishop's Hotel  
before 12 o'clock  
to buy

C. H. Hoole Egg  
63 George Street  
New Haven

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY WESTFIELD, NY 2012

Hartford, Nov. 9th 1848

Dear Sir:

At the Liberty Convention held in this city on the 27th & 28th ult, you were elected a member of the Liberty State Central Committee, for the year ensuing.

The State Central Committee will hold meeting on Thursday next, at 10 o'clock A.M., at the Anti-Slavery Room, (Charter Oak Office) in Hartford. You are urgently solicited to attend.

Respectfully yours

W. A. Burleigh

Judge Gooty  
Newtown, Ct

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# C I R C U L A R .

a meeting of the friends of the Slave held at the Anti-Slavery Office in Hartford, on the 20th of November, the condition and prospects of "THE CHARTER OAK" were taken into consideration, and, after mature deliberation, the following resolution, was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That a fund of \$400 per annum, for the space of three years, be raised by voluntary contributions of Ten Dollars each from forty individuals.—to be paid on or about the 1st of January of each year, to the Editor of the Charter Oak, to ensure the permanence and secure the enlargement of the paper.

Should this proposal be responded to in the spirit of liberality which should characterize those whose spirits have been deeply penetrated with the wrongs and outrages of slavery, the embarrassments under which the paper has struggled for years, will be removed, and its permanence secured. Nor is this all. The publisher pledges himself to enlarge it, at the beginning of a new volume (in January next) by the addition of a column to each page and a corresponding increase in the length of the columns, which will be equivalent to the addition of one column of the present size. The propriety of this enlargement was fully discussed at the meeting referred to, and the friends present unanimously concurred in the desirableness and importance of the proposed measure. It would secure to the paper the following advantages:

It would make it more nearly the size of the leading political papers in the State, and thus enable it to compete with them more successfully as a newspaper.

It would enable the editor to give a larger amount and a greater variety of reading matter than at present, rendering the paper more satisfactory to its patrons generally, and especially that portion of them who read no other paper. Fuller reports of the doings of Congress, the State Legislature, &c., together with the latest news of the day, choice literature, original and selected, &c., &c., might be given without abridging the amount of Anti-Slavery matter that it should contain, or at all diminishing its efficiency as a political journal.

The enlargement of the paper would tend strongly to promote its circulation, and thus to extend its influence.

These are among the advantages that would be secured by its enlargement. But aside from these, the support which the Editor demands some effort of this kind, on the part of the friends of the paper.

BURLEIGH took charge of the paper three years and a half since, by invitation of the Executive Committee of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society. The first year his salary (\$600,) was paid by the Executive Committee—the second year, it was assumed and paid by the Liberty State Central Committee. Since then he has received no salary for his services, but has been sustained principally by occasional donations, and by the small compensation received for lecturing upon slavery, temperance, &c. In the mean time he has taken the burden of the paper, which was a constant source of debt and embarrassment to the Committee, upon his own shoulders—though the expenses of publishing it (exclusive of the Editor's salary,) has exceeded its receipts by more than a thousand dollars.

These facts, briefly, are the facts, which induce this appeal. The prospects of the paper, (owing to the adoption of a more rigid system of economy in its publication,) are brightening. A little help now will secure its permanence, and strengthen the heart of its editor to labor more earnestly in the cause of trampled Humanity. Will you not, even if the effort involve a sacrifice on your part, be one of forty to raise the desired fund? We pledge, to which we solicit your name.

HOMER CURTIS,

JOHN HOOKER,

A. F. WILLIAMS,

WM. W. PATTON,

WATERMAN ROBERTS.

} Committee.

The undersigned, for the purpose of securing the enlargement of the "CHARTER OAK," and to insure its permanency, severally agree to pay to the Editor thereof, on or about the 1st of January of each year, for three years, the sum of Ten Dollars each, to create a fund of \$400 per annum, for the benefit of the aforesaid paper—provided that at least \$300 is pledged for this purpose, and unless some now unforeseen contingency occur rendering us unable to redeem our pledge.



Judge Weeks  
New Hartford

Wm. B. Weeks

Dear Mr. Weeks

before the 30th of the present month.

hope, and return the same to me on or  
your signature to the message on the other  
and will look to account with it, please give  
part into effect. If you approve of the plan,  
influence. We ask your aid to carry the  
to give an increased circulation, in fact, and  
think ought to be done for the Charter Park,  
show your interest in leading friends.  
The American Company Circular with  
Dear Sir:

New York, Dec. 21st 1846

164

From Hartford  
with a circular  
in relation to the  
Reharter Case

18

Judge - Coolidge

New Haven,  
Conn.

RECEIVED  
JUL 23 1884  
NEW HAVEN  
CONN.

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Dunkirk April 27<sup>th</sup>

Friend Fosta,

Your copy of Finney's Sermon  
 came on Saturday & your letter today. I  
 am much obliged to you for the favour.  
 It is too late now for me to add that 50¢  
 contribution for my returns this Spring, as  
 I sent off my money on Monday of last week.  
 I wish however you would keep it against  
 another time. Let it go in to make that  
 so much the larger.

I got nothing from Watfield - how it  
 looks!

In regard to the Evangelist in Fredonia  
 I spoke to Mr Bradley a year ago about  
 the importance of putting that paper  
 in the hands of the subjects of that revival.  
 I have supposed till now that there  
 was a good list there. I have known  
 however that a few who did take it, were  
 a little offended at the Abolitionism  
 in it. I expect Bradley here tomorrow  
 I will have a talk with him about it.

Yours  
 Timothy Hillman

Dr. William M. Carty

Cr.

1831	Apr 30	To Cash	3	5	10
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Utica 16<sup>th</sup> May 1844

Wm. L. G. T. F. Esq.

W. L. G.

I have been absent, with my family 6 weeks in N. Y. & Philadelphia until day before yesterday, having left home 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept. to restore my poor wife to Reason, she having been insane from a fever. Ever since 12<sup>th</sup> December 1843, & I have passed thro a ~~sea~~ of afflictions in the last 5 months, but thank God my wife has recovered her reason about 20 days ago, this absence will explain the want of an earlier reply to your very interesting & long communication. I saw Mr. James C. Jackson the permanent Treat Agent, who has this day packed up \$1000 worth of Tracts to go by the Pioneer Expresss & expense \$0.25 donated to the care of G. A. French Buffalo Forwarding Merchant, in a large sealed bundle for you. When you can get them. I do most sincerely rejoice that your eyes are opened to the overwhelming <sup>wholly</sup> ~~evil~~ <sup>evil</sup> Slavery is bringing down upon this country. I trust that you will be able to make Chataque understand, feel, honor & respect your just & self evident opinions, on this great question, & if you do not, it will not be for the want of a cultivated capacity on your own part, which

is capable of comprehending & manifest its conclusions to others, it is for the want of a mighty theme so serious, in its character, as to affect every spiritual & temporal interest every human being in this land whether bondsmen, or servants, <sup>number</sup> immense who are blinded, & therefore believe they occupy the position of neutrality, while they are made poor, by slavery & exacting long been so falsely & mistakenly called as not to discover ~~where~~ the difference between right & wrong.

As far as slavery has had the audacity to step up & clothe itself with the dignity of a <sup>peculiar</sup> legal institution will seem to coming generations strange; as the institutions of stealing, lying, robbery, or forgery.

I attended 4 Texas Meetings & 2 Anti-Slavery meetings in Philadelphia.

Whole point of discussion was narrowed down to the crime of <sup>The Baptist Free School Convention</sup> ~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> Methodist General Conference of U. S. which sets, once in <sup>sitting on</sup> now sitting in N. Y. have deposed a man who is a minister in the Land Conference, must renounce his slaves instantly, or be expelled the nation, & they are prepared to excommunicate Bishop Andrews of Georgia, who manumits his slaves, which manumitted last winter, with his wife. This I think will be

that mighty denunciation into two parts, & will be the cause of great accession to the Ranks of Liberty. The effect of this native American party, by which Philadelphia has been set on fire, will be to aid no sooner or later, to a great extent, it is making parties operate upon classes, & casts, which is the very thing that grinds the Slave in the dust. Van Buren will lose his election, after all his bowing & his friends to the South, & there must of necessity be a large number of democrats, who will see that no Northern President can be elected even if he have a Southern head & heart, unless his body is south of Mason's & Dixon's line, & will therefore take hold of overthrow Slavery, in self defense. There is no mode of overthrowing the old monster, better adapted to the end, than a system of tract distribution, thro' the agency of Men, & women & the school masters & Misses of the towns. Political action is the highest exercise of moral power, preaching & instructing is like ploughing & sowing, hoeing & manuring the crop, but voting is reaping & putting the crop into the barn, voting is the only evidence of the employment of moral suasion, & it is called successfully. As to my ability to visit Chalabogue Co. Miss. the next few months is a problem, I have not yet solved & should be much pleased to do so, & assure you but it must

be doubtful for some time to come. —  
 I hope you will not find it inconsis-  
 tent with your sense of duty, to  
 take the field in behalf of the poor crushed  
 Southern man, as well for the rights  
 of all men, which are spawnted thro the  
 State. I hope you will make your  
 County take a front rank in the Cause  
 of human Freedom. I shall be happy to hear  
 from you in coming days & years I believe me  
 your friend  
 Alvan Stewart

Alvan Stewart  
 James Stewart  
 Charles Stewart  
 Charles Stewart  
 S. P. R. Co.

Alvan Stewart  
 Utica, N.Y.  
 May 16 - 1844

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
 Your obedient servant,  
 J. M. Stewart



Petersen

Apr 10 1870

Hon. E. T. Fort,

My dear Friend  
I follow below,

I am glad, very glad, to get this warm hearted & good letter from you. I should have remembered it before had I not been from home when it came 5 or 6 days ago.

I am glad to be remembered by you, & so affectionately. However I forget the help & joy you afforded us when you identified yourself with our little Liberty Party. And I have not ceased to be thankful for your coming into our County, more than a quarter of a century ago, to plead the cause of the oppressed.

You speak of your eyes & infirm health - I do not know which is the older, you or I. I say I am in

When March 6 1797. I am in complete health considering my age & long laboring life.

Now that Spring is upon us, I am making better than ever to get me up to Denmark. I will send you some of my best flowers & ferns.

How glad I should be to take you by the hand again! Can you not spend a day or two with me sometime when you are passing between New Haven & Farmington.

God bless you! May we meet on Earth - or all my meetings in Heaven!

With your regard  
your friend  
Smith

To Hon. E. T. Fort  
The immortal Thomas  
Clarkson sent looks of his hair  
to me. Attached to this paper  
is a single hair from one of  
those locks.  
Smith

Petersen April 10 1870



28

1856

Dr Daphan

House

Cr

To Amount for Page 7.

" Botetford Mills 29 3084 61

" Mr Holmes " 5 80

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Dr. E. Darwin Note Cr. 27

1836				1836			
Apr 30	To Cash	2	244.56	Apr 30	By Cash	2	1,000.00
"	"	3	72.25	"	"	"	500.00
May 31	Co Brick	4	330.00	May 31	"	4	1,874.74
"	Expse	"	9.50	"	"	5	80.22
"	Cash-	5	129.00	June 14	Note	6	494.75
"	Linn	"	112.50	July 30	Cash-	8	2171.00
June 28	Granite	6	805.00	" 31	Am't		6140.71
July 26	" Cash	7	472.31	Aug 31	" Cash	9	600.00
"	"	9	239.22	Sept 30	"	12	1000.00
" 28	" Linn,	8	2.75	Oct 31	"	14	500.00
" 31	Am't		3217.09	Nov 30	"	17	700.00
Aug 31	To Cash	10	202.64		✓	2940.71	
"	"	"	28.00			2480.78	
"	"	"	13.38		✓	457.52	
"	" W Thom	11	189.68				
"	" Cash	12	68.40				
Sept 30	"	13	99.03				
Oct 31	"	15	3.75				
"	" Am't.		3872.00				
Nov 30	" Edmons		6.00				
"	" Cash-	17	1000.00				
Dec 31	"	22	100.00				
1837	"	24	2494.75				
Jan 30	"	"	1010.43				
March 9	" Am't	30	474.00				18,483.18

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Anti Slavery Office  
Utica Nov 17 1846

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Judge Foot

(Dear Sir)

The Executive Committee of the N.Y.S. Slavery Society, are doing a great work in thoroughly Organizing this State: so as to bring into efficient action the energies of every friend of the Slave. To accomplish this most desirable object the Committee call on the friends of the Slave for help. The Committee propose to raise the sum of \$2250 for this purpose. \$500 of which they hope to obtain from 100 persons, who have the means and who are well known for their love of this cause. Your name is put down as one of the 100: we hope we are not taking too great a liberty in asking you to be one of the 100, and that you will please to remit us the amount \$5. to aid us to ~~find~~ carry forward the good work we have begun. The Committee make no apology, for addressing a true friend with so much urgency.

by order of the Committee

Yours truly

George Lawson Co. Secy

P.S. Please to address the Treasurer A. H. Hunt or

166 66 myself  
30  
196 66

~~60~~ 35.  
166.66  
201.66

Anti Slavery Office  
Utica Feb 26 1845

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Judge Foot

Dear Sir

You will perceive by the Liberty  
press that we have sent Mr Lorenzo Moses into  
Chataaugue & Catteraugus Counties; whose special  
business is to circulate as extensively as possible  
Goodell's view of American Constitutional Law.  
The ~~purpose~~ of this Letter is to entreat on his behalf  
that you will use your influence to facilitate  
the object of his mission; we do hope that there will  
not be a Liberty Man in those two Counties but  
will furnish himself with a Copy of this invaluable  
work. I gave Mr Moses a list of the names in your  
County (Chataaugue) copied from a list you gave  
Mr Chaplin. If you could give him a good one  
for Catteraugus we shall feel obliged.

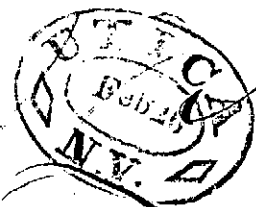
Yours most truly

Chaplin & Lawton

Chaplin & Larsson  
Utica. send agent  
for sale goods as billed

188

PAID  
The Hon Judge Root



paid

Lamestown  
Chataugue Co  
NY

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Fairport - Ohio Nov 1<sup>st</sup> 1844

Dear Sir

I have just touched here on my way home  
 I have been handed your letter with the Telegraph news-  
 paper containing a forged letter from me to Mr J B Garland  
 It is a forgery throughout. The day it is dated was the day  
 I came up to Saginaw City on my way east. The next day  
 I was to pass by Mr Garland's house, so that writing to him  
 would have been unnecessary. The names of Birdsall, Thayer  
 and Davis are the names of residents of Flint - but they are  
 all forgeries, as I do not think that these gentlemen ~~would~~  
~~commit~~ such an who are all known to me, would commit  
 such an act of forgery, bad as the times are.

Copies of this letter ought to be sent on immediately to our  
 friends in the East

Yours Truly  
 Jas C Birney

Gen Jas W Paine

Dear Sir.

This is a copy of a letter I have this moment  
 rec'd from Mr Birney. I wish it to go  
 in that you may counteract the bad  
 designs of the perpetrators of this forgery -  
 Yours for Liberty in haste

J. W. Paine



Gen J. W. Paine  
of Painesville enclosing  
copy of letter from J. B.  
on his way up lake at  
Fairport Oct. 1844

of James Paine at  
Fairport - but not  
sent - but not  
sent - but not  
sent - but not

L2

Judge J. W.  
James Paine  
Catherine Paine  
Fairport

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Brother Foot-sir, I intended to be at Jamestown 21<sup>st</sup> & 22<sup>nd</sup> to attend the Liberty meeting, but was prevented by sickness of ~~my~~ my family — Brother Ward, did great good here I trust — he has caused a tumult in some of the ~~dee~~ darkest corners of pre-slavery. He drove them from their hiding places — Alexander Montgomery closed the meeting by prayer, and he pled like a convicted sinner. I cannot meet a man in the street but says cant he Ward, be obtained in this County. He (say they) will do more than all that has gone before him — some of the things say he will ~~break~~ break their nankis which is the only true abolition party there is — I wish Brother Ward could be obtained here before Town meeting he would do good & we shall expect you here this winter to talk to us. I hope you will not disappoint us.

Yours Respectfully Chas Nichols

Testified Jan 22 1845

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PAID

Hon G T Foote  
Jamestown  
NY

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Dr.

Keble & Hullnick

Cr.

1836				1836			
Jan	31	To Cash	1 4/3 00	Apr	30	By Cash	2 4/807.84
Feb	20	" "	" 48 87	May	31	" "	4 95.28
Apr	30	" Co. 1. Brick	2 242 00	June	9	" "	6 ✓ 800
"	"	" Cash	" 820 57	July	7	" "	" ✓ 50 00
May	31	" Co. 1. Brick	4 141 34	"	18	" "	7 ✓ 494.75
"	"	" Cash -	" 45 92	"	20	" "	" ✓ 55 08
June	28	" "	6 ✓ 1 25	"	"	" "	" 6 80
July	7	" Baltimore B.	" ✓ 192 00	June	2	" "	8 ✓ 491 86
"	26	" Sundry	7.8 257 44	July	28	" "	" 50 "
"	28	" Cash	" 4 00	"	"	" "	" 17 50
"	"	" "	9 222 25	"	31	Am't	2,149.11
"	"	" "	8 0 00	August	31	" "	12 192.00
"	31	" Am't	1981 64	Oct	20	" Note	14 494.75
Aug	31	" Cash	10 1 "			✓ 2835.86	
Sept	30	" Mr. Mallory	14 87 "			✓ 2548.65	
Oct	31	" Cash -	15 313			✓ 237.21	
Nov	30	" Edmonson	" ✓ 510 00				
"	"	" "	" ✓ 12 88				
Feb	17	✓ 2 Co. 1. 65	29 1050 00				

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Catalogue of Anti Slavery books in our Junestown library  
 and cost. made by E. J. Rife

- 1 Enemies of the constitution: 2 3/4
- 1 Testimony of God 2/-
- 1 Rankins letters 2 1/2
- 1 Antislavery Manual (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.) 2/-
- 1 Whittiers Poems 3/-
- 1 Wilberforce 2/-
- 1 Right & Wrong No. 102: 2/-
- 1 Negro Pew 2 1/2
- 1 Edw Chandler 5/-
- 1 Granville Sharp 2/6
- 1 Thompson in Great Britain 3/-
- 1 do Lectures & Debates 4/-
- 1 do United States 3/-
- 1 Charles Ball 10/-
- 1 Matts Hatches 4/-
- 1 Songs of the Tree 4/-
- 1 Jays Enquiry 3/-
- 1 Mrs Childs appeal 3/-
- 1 Channing on Slavery 4/-
- 1 Fountain 4/6
- 1 Sett Slaves Friend 2 vols 2/-
- 1 James Williams 2/-
- 1 Godwin on Slavery 5/-
- 1 Sett Anti Slavery 3 vols 2/6
- 1 Gustavus Vassa 5/-
- 1 Emancipation in the West Indies 8/-
- 1 A S Quarterly 2 Vols in one 14/-
- 1 White Colours of Freedom 3 Vols 4/-
- 1 Burned Picture 4/-
- 1 Liberty 12 mo Edition 2/-
- 1 Apology for Abolitionists 1/5
- 1 Why work for the Slave 1/2
- 2 Bible against Slavery 1/8
- 1 Rural Code of Hayti 1/-

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- 1 Rights of colored men & women 1/9
- 1 Smith to Lyell - 1/9
- 1 Views of Slavery & Emancipation 1/
- 1 Adams Oration - 1/10
- 1 Martyr - 1/6
- 1 War in Texas - 1/
- 1 Debate on Modern Abolitionism 1/
- 1 My Com of Vigilance Report 1/10
- 2 Wesley's Thoughts - 2 1/2
- 1 Things for Southern men to do 1/6
- 1 Power of Congress - 1/10
- 1 Kentucky Address - 1/5
- 1 Abrogation of the 3rd Amendment 1/3
- 1 Channing to Clay - 1/9
- 1 Five Rights Discussion 3/
- 1 Ballou's Address - 1/
- 1 Gimke's Appeal - 1/5
- 1 " Epistle - 1/4
- 1 Stanton's Remarks - 1/7
- 1 Bapett's Letter - 1/8
- 1 Views of Calolization - 1/10
- 1 Thompson in Manchester 1/6
- 1 Val Document - 1/
- 1 Duffers Narrative - 1/5
- 1 Edits & Cure of Slavery 1/3
- 1 Authentic Anecdotes - 1/3
- 1 Remarks of Miss Beecher 1/6
- 1 Channing to Birney - 1/7
- 1 Cincinnati Riots - 1/
- 1 Twenty Millions Thrown away 1/6
- 1 Gimeson's Planter - 1/6
- 1 Stone's Discourse - 1/8
- 1 Birney's Second Letter - 1/2
- 1 Doc of Sentiments - 2 1/2
- 1 Anti Slavery Chateism - 7 1/2

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Jamestown Feb. 8<sup>th</sup> 1845.

Messrs

B Chamberlain, W. P. Byrde, A. Calman, E. M. Peltz  
 & E. S. Calman.

Gentlemen, Yours of the 6<sup>th</sup> inst in reference  
 to this ~~raising~~ fund for the purchase of Joseph Norton's  
 wife, to emancipate her out of slavery is before us  
 We will do the same for this County, as you  
 pledge yourself to do for your County in all res-  
 pects, and you are authorized to go forward with-  
 out delay and to arrange with Hon. A. Tyler according to  
 your proposition.

Very Respectfully  
 Yours  
 E. J. Foster  
 A. H. Young

1836	Jan 31	St. bank	1743.25	22	300	30	Jan 31	St. bank	1743.25
	Feb 20	"	1743.25	22	300	80	Feb 20	"	1743.25
	Mar 30	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Mar 30	"	1743.25
	Apr 30	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Apr 30	"	1743.25
	May 31	"	1743.25	22	300	25	May 31	"	1743.25
	Jun 30	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Jun 30	"	1743.25
	Jul 25	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Jul 25	"	1743.25
	Aug 31	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Aug 31	"	1743.25
	Sep 30	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Sep 30	"	1743.25
	Oct 31	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Oct 31	"	1743.25
	Nov 30	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Nov 30	"	1743.25
	Dec 31	"	1743.25	22	300	31	Dec 31	"	1743.25
	1836		1743.25	22	300	31	1836		1743.25

Dr. J. P. Foster  
 Dr. A. H. Young





Dear Sir

having recd another letter from Mr  
Chaplin stating that a written contract is made with  
the Master of Saxe's wife that he will take \$300,  
if paid by the 14<sup>th</sup> inst, we are making an extra  
effort & Saxe & myself will continue to  
labor to procure the necessary funds the same  
as tho this arrangement were not made  
& in fact without knowing that it is  
made, & I have no doubt the funds will  
be raised to meet the payt soon if not  
within the 30 ds

Yours truly

C. M. Pettit

Hon. E. J. Foot

Dear Sir, should I fail to collect all the  
money necessary to pay for Mary & her boy  
I will work it out at the end of my fingers  
& I shall feel much obliged if you can aid me  
at this time

Hon. E. J. Foot

Joseph Norton

Hon. E. J. Foot  
Jamaica

to W. Bellitt & others  
in relation to raising  
money to purchase  
the liberty of a  
Slave the wife  
Joseph Norton

1841/2

Paris Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> 1844

Hon. & Dear Sir,

For the recommendation of Friends I take the liberty to address you. We are about to publish a Liberty Paper at Buffalo. The importance of a Paper at such points you will at once perceive. Will you not render us what assistance you can in your vicinity? - Our staff must be necessarily small at first - but shall increase it as soon as consistently. We are ready to publish, & are only waiting for the returns from the Prospects. We should like to hear from you by the 20<sup>th</sup> or at least, the 25<sup>th</sup> inst. If you send us the names of subscribers - it will answer if the money of company subscribers is sent on naming the first no. Single subscribers have more leisure in making their payments. We hope to make the Paper such as the Friends of the cause will delight to sustain. The Annual meeting of the Erie Co. Soc<sup>y</sup> is to be held at Lodi - on the 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup>. next. Can you not make it your convenience to be present?

Hon. E. J. Foote  
Jonestown

Yours truly in behalf of us  
L. P. Judson

address me at Buffalo. I send you a paper as a sample of the size - we shall commence with "The Banner of Freedom".

1844  
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 1850

16 Cr.

Holmes

Cr.

1836

Aug 31 To Office H 11 1/2 6 50

By O. House 29

6 50

Dr.

Danke

1836

Aug 31 To Office House 11 1/2 110 50

Nov 12 By Cash 15 15

Dr.

Packets Harbour M Granite Co. NY 2012  
Samuel C Thompson

1830

Sept To Amt of Packet 16 1/2 183 00  
Nov 31 " " 7 00 00  
✓ 253 00

1830

Sept 30 By Cash 12

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# THE LAWLESSNESS OF SLAVERY!

**Behold 2,700,000 persons in the United States who have no legal protection!**

Merciful Heaven! Is it so? Yes, it is even so. The Revolutionary War brought them no defence. The Declaration of Independence was a word of promise to their ear, to be broken to their hope. In the death struggle with England in 1776, and again in 1812, many of them poured out their blood like water upon our soil, for the independence and freedom of the white man, but for their freedom their efforts availed naught. Peace came: It scattered the balm of healing from its wings upon the white man, but upon the colored man it poured pestilence and death. For 60 years has this government waged an unceasing war against all his rights. The Legislatures of the thirteen slave states meet annually, but the first law has not been passed authorizing a slave to defend one right, either of LIFE, liberty, or property. On the other hand laws have been passed and are still in full force, punishing a slave with death who shall lift his hand to defend his life, or that of his children, or their mother's life, from the base and brutal assaults of a white man. To substantiate these facts beyond the power of contradiction, let me state in brief, some propositions which an examination of the slave laws most clearly establish.

- 1st. A slave can not be a witness against a white person either in a civil or a criminal cause.
- 2d. He can not hold property.
- 3d. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.
- 4th. The penal codes of the slave states bear much more severely upon slaves than white persons.

Now for the proof. In one of the slave states the first proposition—the exclusion of the testimony of slaves in all cases, in all Courts of Justice, has the AUTHORITY OF LAW, through the force of custom: In Virginia, there is an Act of Assembly in these words, "Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of the commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, AND IN NO OTHER CASES WHATSOEVER." 1 Rev. Vir. Code, 422. Similar laws exist in the following States. Missouri, Missouri Laws, 600. Miss. Rev. Code, p. 372. Kentucky, Little & Swi, p. 1150, 2 vol.

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No  
1848

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVE POWER.

Reader, are you a lover of Liberty? Do you love it for yourself only? or for others as well as for yourself? You will doubtless say, you love it for others as well as for yourself. If so, you are prepared to adopt feasible and proper means for obtaining it for the slaves in the United States. There are over two and half millions of persons held as slaves in the United States, at this date. They are human beings, and as such are entitled to the liberty which you say you love. Whatever are their sufferings or comforts, their privileges or disabilities, these cannot strengthen or invalidate that title. Rights precede privileges, and are not weakened by ignorance. Our object in this little tract, is to show you that you can do something for the emancipation of the slaves, and to impress upon you, if possible, that what you can do, you ought to do. 1st. Then, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Florida, are under the control of the General Government. In them slavery exists. So far, then, slavery can be abolished by acts of Congress. To get that action, we must have Congressmen from the North, who are of the right principles. To obtain such men, we must nominate them, and vote for them. Your vote—if you are a man—is needed, and tells for as much power as any other man's. Will you give it? Should you, and every other Northern voter, give your votes for men who would be faithful to Liberty, and use their constitutional power for the abolition of slavery, you would elect men, who, at their first day's sitting, would strike the chains from the hands of more than thirty thousand captives in Florida and the District of Columbia alone. But this is not all.

2d. Congress can abolish the Internal Slave Trade. The horrors of this traffic in human beings, it is impossible to depict. Imagination in her wildest flights, can scarcely conceive of the suffering and horrible atrocities committed upon the victims of this trade. Think one moment of the sufferings of the 40,000 men, women and children of all ages, sold out of Virginia alone, in 1836, at an average price of \$600, making \$24,000,000 in one year, for her trade in blood. Scenes transpire under this system sufficient to make a man of human feelings, should he witness them, go mad. This foul wickedness Congress can stop. The effect of its abolition upon slavery can be seen, when it is remembered that one portion of the South grows slaves for sale, as Vermonters do sheep; while the other portion buys them, to exhaust them in their cane-fields, and rice swamps. By the abolition of the trade,

LIBERTY WESTFIELD, N.Y. 1848

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Ala., Toulmin's Digest, 627. Maryland, act of 1717, and act 1751. North Carolina and Tenn., act 1777. South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Louisiana, and in the free state of Ohio, Act of Assembly, Jan. 25, 1807. We give the authorities in this instance to silence the caviller, and shall omit to cite them in proof of the other propositions, as they are the same generally. As our limits are prescribed we can only furnish points of thought to the reader, which his good sense must carry out. Let us ask him what must be the condition of a slave, when he can not be a party nor a witness against a white person in a Court of Justice? What has a white person to do who wishes to inflict injury or even death upon a slave, but to watch his opportunity and commit his act when no white person sees him? No matter how many slaves witness it—he is safe. Is it not idle to talk of legal protection under such a provision. What white man would not deem himself an *outlaw* forthwith were his case such an one? No slavery but American and Negro Slavery ever was guilty of such barbarity. Slavery in Egypt, in Turkey, in Russia, in India, is good government compared to it. In all these countries, slaves are entitled to some mode of redress against wrong. In Rome, or under the Roman Government, "slaves might always induce an investigation by flying to the statues of the princes." They thus could not only appear in behalf of a third person, but could also appear against their own injurer. In Athens (Greece) the slave could flee to the Temple of Theseus, whence to force him was an act of sacrilege. In England, during the existence of villainage, the villain could sue his lord for injury done to his person.

#### 2d. SLAVES CAN HOLD NO PROPERTY.

How can they? Property can not hold property. The slave—*by the law*—is owned, and the owned can not be an owner. In this thing American Slavery exceeds that of ancient times. Among the Romans, Grecians, and ancient Germans, slaves were permitted to acquire and have *legal* possession of property. In Poland, slaves were not only allowed to acquire, but were actually and legally endowed with property by their lords. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the money which a slave earns during his hours of respite given him by his master is *legally* his, and can not be seized by his master or for his master's debts. See Stephens' Slavery, p. 59. Wrexall's Memoirs, 2 vol. letter 21. But look at the laws of the South. South Carolina, act of 1740. "No slave shall be allowed to keep any boat, canoe, or raise or breed for his benefit, any horses, mares, cattle, sheep, hogs, under pain of

one of them all, one half to go to the State, the other to complainant." In Georgia it is the same, with this addition that the master is prohibited from hiring the slave out for the slave's benefit under a weekly penalty of thirty dollars. Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee. See authorities quoted. In Virginia, the master can be fined twenty dollars and the slave arrested. In Missouri, the same. And in North Carolina the property thus seized goes to the support of the white poor. So throughout the South, the slave has no right to property. He can not take property by descent or inheritance.

Submission is required not to the will of his master but to that of all other white persons. Thus in Georgia, any slave shall presume to strike any white person, such upon conviction before a Justice, shall for the first offence suffer any punishment, not extending to life or limb, such as the master may see fit to inflict, and for the second offence suffer death. In South Carolina the law is in the same words exacted death is the punishment for the third offence, with proviso, "that a slave shall not strike by the command of any other person having charge over him, or in defence of his master's property, other than himself. In such case the slave shall be wholly excused." That is, if a female slave is assaulted she must submit, but if a white man assaults the slave's dog, she may knock him down.

It is the law of the State where modern Democracy emits such a brilliant light that the "great man of the age" (Mr. Calhoun) resides. In Maryland the Justice of the Peace may direct the offender's ears to be cut off; and in Kentucky where the great light of Whigism beams forth from the head of Mr. Clay, slaves and free blacks may be whipped thirty lashes on his or her bare back, WELL LAID ON, by order of said Justice for lifting their hands against white men.

*The penal codes of the slave states bear much more severity upon slaves than upon white persons.*

In Virginia and Mississippi there are 71 crimes for which slaves are punished with death, for which white persons are punished only with imprisonment in the Penitentiary. In Kentucky whites are capitally punished for 11 crimes only; slaves suffer death for eleven crimes. In South Carolina whites suffer death for 23 crimes only, slaves 36, without benefit of clergy. In Georgia whites are capitally punished for 3 crimes, slaves for 9 crimes. Let us do the catalogue throughout the South compare. To deprive a slave the power to learn the Alphabet, and of all other knowledge as far as possible—to sink him in the deepest ignorance, and then by statutory regulation make the measure of his ignorance the measure of his legal liability, justice which *law* in the slave states awards to its victims the slaves. We hope for Heaven any one of us, North or South, unless we do all we can by the polls and by other wise, righteous means to put away the greatest evil ever committed by one portion of the human race against another. A young and poor orphan white female at the North be assaulted by bru-



tal violence or lust, she can set in motion the whole government of a State or Nation. She can go before the Grand Jury and get the villain indicted, and the State is bound to pursue the wrong-doer and bring him to justice. Yes, no person is so high that the law can not reach him if he has wronged a white person. A newly arrived Englishman or Irishman can get the President of the United States indicted and punished, if such President causelessly injures him. But to uphold slavery we have forever closed the Grand Jury room and all Courts of Justice against 2,700,000 native born citizens. No matter what have been the offences committed against them—whether stealing, ravishing, stabbing, robbing, murder, arson, poisoning, which fifty or five hundred of them may have seen a white man do; the law of the slave states furnishes them no protection. To them it says,

"I can be only used for your injury, never for your benefit. To take away rights from you, but not to protect you in them am I only strong. I authorize you to do nothing and to hope for nothing. It is my duty to see that your minds are kept in profound ignorance and your bodies in chains. It is my duty to close against you the Temple of Justice, and although professedly I am bound to punish white men for committing murder upon you—unless by moderate correction, yet I have never executed a single white man for such a deed; although I am aware that the sun never goes down that does not set upon the corpse of a newly murdered slave in some one of the thirteen states. I forbid all marriage of slaves as legal. I create a general Bastardy Act throughout the South and stamp seventy thousand children annually with illegitimacy. To the master is given by me the power of uniting and divorcing men and women at pleasure. To him is the legal authority given to sport with human affections. For every tear that drops from the furrowed cheek of the mother as the child is torn from her arms, do I, THE LAW, empower the mother to repay in drops of blood from that mother's gashed back. The more cruelly the master rents her heart, the more cruelly do I, THE LAW, authorize him to lacerate her body. The Bible says: 'Children obey your parents,' but I, THE LAW, say, 'Children obey your MASTERS.' The Bible says, 'Search the Scriptures'; but I say, 'Search the Scriptures and I will put you to death.' The Bible says, 'Wives love your husbands and reverence them,' but I say, 'Love your masters, overseers, or whomsoever they may direct.' The Bible says, 'Train up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;' but I, THE LAW, say, 'Train them up FOR THE MARKET.' If a white stranger break your leg or gouge out your eye, you can not sue or indict him, for it was your master's eye or leg. The pain is yours, THE DAMAGES are his. Your distresses are your inalienable capital. You are an OUTLAW. You have committed no crime, but in this Republic that makes no difference. If you refuse to do your master's bidding, I authorize him to beat you; if you attempt to run away, I authorize him to shoot you down. For him I have a sleepless eye and a strong arm: for you, A SLAVE, I have suffering, toil, and sorrow." This is the language of Southern slave law.

Men of New York, I do say before the Great God, I have told you the solemn truth. I have spent part of my life in a slave state, and I have not over-stated the matter one jot. The most helpless human being on this earth is the American slave. Help him! you can do it: help him by your opinion, help him by your example set for others to follow, help him by your prayers, help him by your VOTE. Will you ever vote again for Whig or Democratic parties who bow down to slavery, and thus turn law into the deadliest weapon that can be wielded to crush the helpless? Will you not in the honesty of a good heart, give your influence to that rapidly rising party that sweeps the circle of the rights of man, and defends them from the least unto the greatest? Do so, and slavery shall be blotted out and the North as well as the South shall stand redeemed from the all-withering curse of the undone slave.

**TERRIBLE TRUTH.**

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVE POWER.

Reader, are you a lover of Liberty? Do you love it for yourself only? or for others as well as for yourself? You will doubtless say, you love it for others as well as for yourself. If so, you are prepared to adopt feasible and proper means for obtaining it for the slaves in the United States.

There are over two and half millions of persons held as slaves in the United States, at this date. They are human beings, and as *such* are entitled to the *liberty* which *you say you love*. Whatever are their sufferings or comforts, their privileges or disabilities, these cannot strengthen or invalidate that title.—Rights precede privileges, and are not weakened by ignorance. Our object in this little TRACT, is to show you that you can do something for the emancipation of the slaves, and to impress upon you, if possible, that what you *can* do, you *ought* to do.

1st., Then; the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Florida, are under the control of the General Government. In them slavery exists. So far, then, slavery can be abolished by acts of Congress. To get that action, we must have Congressmen from the North who are of the right principles. To obtain such men, we must nominate them, and vote for them. Your vote—if you are a man—is needed, and tells with as much power as any other man's. Will you give it? Should you, and every other Northern voter, give your votes for men who would be faithful to Liberty, and use their constitutional power for the abolition of slavery, you would *elect* men, who, at their first day's sitting, would strike the chains from the hands of more than thirty thousand captives, in Florida and the District of Columbia alone. But this is not all.

2d. Congress can *abolish the Internal Slave Trade*. The horrors of this traffic in human beings, it is impossible to depict. Imagination in her wildest flights, can scarcely conceive of the suffering and horrible atrocities committed upon the victims of this trade. Think one moment of the sufferings of the 40,000 men, women and children of all ages, sold out of Virginia alone, in 1836, at an average price of \$600, making \$24,000,000 in one year, for her trade in blood. Scenes transpire under this system sufficient to make a man of *human* feelings, should he witness them, go mad. This foul wickedness Congress can stop. The effect of its abolition upon slavery can be seen, when it is remembered that one portion of the South *grows* slaves for sale, as Vermonters do sheep; while the other portion buys them, to exhaust them in their cane-fields, and rice swamps. By the abolition of the trade,

# THE LAWLESSNESS OF SLAVERY!

**Behold 2,700,000 persons in the United States who have no legal protection!**

Merciful Heaven! Is it so? Yes, it is even so. The Revolutionary War brought them no defence. The Declaration of Independence was a word of promise to their ear, to be broken to their hope. In the death struggle with England in 1776, and again in 1812, many of them poured out their blood like water upon our soil, for the independence and freedom of

that portion which breeds slaves would find itself dying of surfeit from a surplus population, for which there would be no outlet but in emancipation. The purchasing or exhausting States would find themselves dying of starvation, for want of the laboring power which they had used heretofore, but which then there would be no means of obtaining, except through emancipation. Thus by your vote, and the votes of Northern men, can slavery be struck lifeless at both extremes.

Under the present appointment, the North has a majority of 47 members in the House of Representatives, and an equal number of Senators with the South. The North can elect a President and Vice President. So that whatever acts the House of Representatives might enact, could be passed into law, by the action of the Senate and the President. The whole matter of slavery in the District and Florida, and of the Internal Slave Trade, is within the constitutional scope of Northern politics. It is but just that each citizen should be asked to do his portion of that which ought to be done, and which is within the reach of the aggregate political power of the non-slaveholding States.

No one can abolish slavery, but all can, and of the act, you form a necessary part, and ought to be found in your place, that encouraging others. Listen to a statement of facts, showing how little above a state of vassalage Northern citizens are, yourself among the number. Toward should be wielded according to population, and the ratio of interests to be protected by the Government. In other words, the majority should rule, for, as a general thing, the interests of the majority are greater than the interests of the minority.

Now, the North had, in 1840, of free population, 9,752,240 and the South had, of free population, 4,682,788

Difference, 4,969,452  
To have had justice done her, the North should have had double the number of offices under the General Government which the South should have had—because her population, and her capital invested in domestic and foreign commerce, are double to those of the South. Below are the following table:

Presidents	4	6
Secretaries of State	4	6
Attorneys General	4	6
Vice Presidents	4	6
Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States	10	17
Attorney Generals	5	12
Speakers of the House of Representatives	9	20
Post Masters General	7	14
Differences	11	20

And again: No. of Ministers sent to the European, Mexican, and South American Courts from the United States, 120  
Of these the South has had, 71  
North, 49  
Difference, 49

We now ask your attention to the legislation of the General Government:—  
1st. By the Constitution, under the present rate of appointment, the South sends into the House of Representatives some twenty-four members of Congress, chosen by virtue of its slave population. What sympathy can such men have with freemen, or their welfare, it is not easy for us to decide. But so it is.

2nd. In 1793, an act was passed by Congress, by which a slaveholder was authorized to enter any of the non-slaveholding States, and before a magistrate make oath that any person—defining him—was his slave, and such magistrate was empowered to issue a warrant for his arrest and safe delivery into the hands of said slaveholder, as his slave.

3d. Congress, in obedience to the demand of the South, established the Tariff policy, while yet the North were engaged in agriculture and commerce. When the North changed its capital to suit its new circumstances, and vested it in manufactures, then the South denounced a Tariff, and between John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, a compromise policy was introduced—under the operation of which the whole industrial interest has been written as with wax.

4th. Congress, in recognizing the right of the South to control the interests of the North, in 1836-7, passed a law called the Loan Bill, by which the surplus moneys in the treasury of the United States, then amounting to forty millions of dollars, were to be loaned to the several States. The principle of division, instead of being based upon the numbers of free population each, State possessed, was based upon the ratio of Representation; and as each slave State had its slave population counted—each slave three-fifths as much as each freeman—in the number of its representative population, so each State by this law drew money in proportion to the representative power of its slaves.

The effect of such a principle of division was to give the six States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, the aggregate of whose free population was some less than that of Pennsylvania, the sum of \$6,754,588, while Pennsylvania had but 3,833,383.

or to reduce it, the amount of money received by the non-slaveholding States when divided by their population, gave to each person about 18.8 cts. while the south received for each free person, about 27 cts. Now, surely, this is neither constitutional in spirit nor just in practice, but it is the way Northern Congressmen and Northern voters submit to be governed.

WESTFIELD, NY 2012

Dr.

Company 1 Drick

Cr. 9

1836				
Jan	31	To Cash	1	219 00
April	30	" "	2	208 50
"	"	" "	3	86
May	31	Col B. Warner	4	522 15
"	"	Cash	5	69 27
"	"	Col Warner	"	2353 04
July	31	Am't		3382 85
Dec	30	H. Linn	✓	110 00

1836				
Jan	31	By Cash	1	985 05
Feb	20	" "	1	715 47
Apr	30	" Houk & Co.	2	242 00
"	"	" Orphan Co.	2	460 74
"	"	" Cash	"	28 00
May	4	" Orphan Co.	3	300 97
"	31	" Sundries	4	471 34
"	"	" Cash	4	175 65
June	9	"	5	155 88
"	20	"	"	290 00
July	31	" Am't		3828 01

3828 01  
 3492 85  
 ✓ 335 16

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At the Democratic Convention which commenced at Middleburg for Pres. (1840) the Democratic Platform declared that a fair vote and admitted military peace with the South - when there was really drawn & a close

Compact with the

Dr. Buck Harbour Mountain Granite Co. Cr.

1835				
Nov	30	To Cash in Btl.	16	729 00
"	"	Cash	17	73 00
		✓		802 00

Nov 30				
By	Am't of Cont.	16	✓	983 00
				802 00
		✓		181 00

# PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND GENERAL GRANT ON PEACE AND WAR.

(1864)

## INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT.

### MR. LINCOLN'S VIEW OF DEMOCRATIC STRATEGY.

The Grand County (Wis.) Herald contains a very interesting letter from Hon. John T. Mills, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, giving an account of a recent interview with Mr. Lincoln, with a report of the remarks of the latter in regard to the consequences which would follow the adoption of the war policy urged by the friends of Gen. McClellan.

Judge Mills was accompanied by ex-Gov. Randall, of Wisconsin, who introduced him to the President, and whom he warmly thanks for his readiness to serve his friends from Wisconsin at the Capital. They found the President at the Soldiers' Retreat, a "building not imposing in size, half hidden in foliage, the grounds tastefully laid out."

The Governor asked of a man in waiting if the President had arrived. "Yes," was the reply. We entered a neat plainly furnished room. A marble table was in the centre. Directly appeared from an adjoining apartment, a tall, gaunt-looking figure, shoulders inclined forward, his gait astride, rapid and shuffling, ample understandings, with large slippers, and Briarian arms, with a face radiant with intelligence and humor.

The Governor addressed him: "Mr. President, this is my friend and your friend, Mr. Mills from Wisconsin."

"I am glad to see my friends from Wisconsin; they are the hearty friends of the Union."

"I could not leave the city, Mr. President, without hearing words of cheer from your own lips. Upon you, as the representative of the loyal people, depend as we believe, the existence of our government and the future of America." This introduced political topics.

"Mr. President," said Governor Randall, "why can't you seek seclusion, and say hermit for a fortnight? It would reinvigorate you."

"Aye," said the President, "two or three weeks would do me no good. I cannot fly from my thoughts — my solicitude for this great country follows me where ever I go. I don't think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from those infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November. There is no programme offered by any wing of the Democratic party but that must result in the permanent destruction of the Union."

"But Mr. President, General McClellan is in favor of crushing out the rebellion by force. He will be the Chicago Candidate."

"Sir," said the President, "the slightest knowledge of Arithmetic will prove to any man that the rebel armies cannot be destroyed with Democratic strategy. I would sacrifice all the white men of the North to do it. There are now in the service of the United States near 200,000 able-bodied colored men, most of them under arms, defending and acquiring, Union territory. The Democratic strategy demands that these forces be disbanded, and that the masters be conciliated by restoring them to slavery. The black men who now assist Union prisoners to escape, they are to be converted into our enemies in the vain hope of gaining the good will of their masters. We shall have to fight two nations instead of one."

"You cannot conciliate the South if you guarantee to them ultimate success; and the experience of the present war proves their success is inevitable if you find the compulsory labor of millions of black men into their side of the scale. Will you give our enemies such military advantages as insure success, and then depend on coaxing, flattery and concession to get them back into the Union? I abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men, take 200,000 men from our side and put them in the battle-field or corn-field against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

"We have to hold territory in inclement and sickly places; where are the Democrats to do this? It was a free fight, and the field was open to the War Democrats to put down this Rebellion by fighting against both master and slave, long before the present policy was inaugurated."

"There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am president, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this Rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the Rebellion."

"Freedom has given us 200,000 men raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much it has subtracted from the enemy, and instead of alienating the South, there are now evidences of a fraternal feeling growing up between our men and the rank and file of the Rebel soldiers. Let my enemies prove to the country that the destruction of slavery is not necessary to a restoration of the Union. I will abide the issue."

I saw that the President was not a mere joker, but a man of deep convictions, of abiding faith in justice, truth and Providence. His voice was pleasant, his manner earnest and emphatic. As he warmed with his theme his mind grew to the magnitude of his body. I felt I was in the presence of the great guiding intellect of the age, and that those "huge Atlantean shoulders were fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies." His transparent honesty, republican simplicity, his gushing sympathy for those who offered their lives for their country, his utter forgetfulness of self in his concern for its welfare, could not but inspire me with confidence that he was Heaven's instrument to conduct His people through this sea of blood to a Canaan of peace and freedom. J. T. MILLS.

## LETTER OF GENERAL GRANT.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,  
CITY POINT, VA., AUG. 18, 1864.

HON. E. B. WARREN.

DEAR SIR: I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to ensure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The Rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed alike the cradle and the grave to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is not far distant if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter revolution; they hope election of a Peace candidate, in fact, like Micawber, they hope for something to turn up. Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms," the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Yours truly,  
U. S. GRANT.

## ON THE CHICAGO SURRENDER.

What! hoist the white flag when our triumph is nigh?  
What! crouch before Treason? make Freedom a lie?  
What! spike all our guns when the foe is at bay  
And the rags of his black banner dropping away?  
Tear down the strong name that our nation has won,  
And strike her brave bird from his home in the sun!

He's a coward who shrinks from the lift of the sword.  
He's a traitor who mocks at the sacrifice poured;  
Nameless and homeless the doom that should blast  
The knave who stands idly till peril is past,  
But he who submits when the thunders have burst  
And victory dawns, is of cowards the worst!

Is the old spirit dead? Are we broken and weak,  
That cravens so shamelessly lift the white cheek  
To court the swift insult, nor blush at the blow,  
The tools of the Treason and friends of the foe!  
See! Anarchy smiles at the peace which they ask,  
And the eyes of Disunion flash out through the mask!

Give thanks, ye brave boys, who by vale and by crag  
Bear onward, unfaltering, our noble old flag!  
Strong arms of the Union, heroes living and dead,  
For the blood of your valor is uselessly shed!  
No soldier's green laurel is promised you here,  
But the white rag of "sympathy" softly shall cheer!

And you, ye war martyrs! who preach from your graves  
How captives are nursed by the masters of slaves,  
Or, living, still linger in shadows of Death,—  
Puff out the starved muscle, recall the faint breath,  
And shout, till those cowards rejoice at the cry:  
"By the hands of the Union we fought for, we die!"

By the God of our Fathers! this shame we must share,  
But it grows too debasing for freemen to bear,  
And Washington, Jackson, will turn in their graves  
When the Union shall rest on two races of slaves,  
Or, spurning the spirit which bound it of yore,  
And sundered, exist as a nation no more!

BAYARD TAYLOR.

"Everybody wondered what could be his plan, but still they did not question his ability; and even half-misgiving minds kept hurrahing for him to their neighbors, like the school-boy in the church-yard, to sustain their own waning faith. We, among the rest, suspecting all objection to him as disloyal, helped to dominate down the grumblers, and insisted, that, in due time, his intentions would be wisely developed to the nation. But we never once suspected (nor did the public who so faithfully supported him) that his plan was to let the insignificant forces of the enemy retire without harm, until, with a generous inversion of the art of war, he could seek him in his lair, and accept the odds against himself."



A Mrs. ...  
in ...  
1844

962

James Town  
Chattanooga Co.  
N. Y.

Judge, ...  
[Signature]

DEC 10  
[Circular Postmark]

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52  
125  
114  
40  
77

*Ordinary Line*

1835				
July 28	To Cash	9	58	85
Aug 31	" Cash	10	150	"
Sept 30	" "	13	500	"
Oct 31	" "	14	1329	18
Nov 30	" "	17	1278	00
Dec 31	" Cash	21	500	00
Jan 30 1837	" "		1600	00
Feb 10	" 5666.06	27	250	00
" 13	" "	28	12	26
March 4	" Cash	31	1828	75

1835				
July 28	By Bonds	7	49	50
" "	" "		250	
Sept 30	" "		0	00
Oct 31	" "	14	11200	00
Nov 30	Cash	17	1392	50
" "	" "	18	1652	00
Dec 31	" "	19	452	
" "	" "	21	700	
" "	" "		425	
Feb 10	" "	27	540	
Apr 14	" "	32	1477	

*Dr.*

*Mrs. (Widow) Foreman*

*Cr.*

1836				
Aug 31	To Alpha #	11	147	50
Sept 30	" Cash	13	50	00
" "	" Store		23	00
Oct 31	" Cash	14	62	00
Nov 30	" "		176	50
Dec 31	" L Foreman	20	16	00
" "	" Sundries	19	1581	42
" "	" A Ray	20	71	19
Feb 17	" D. K. Kraft	29	7	00
	2062.42			
	71.19			

1837				
June 30	By Alpha #	23	12062	

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# Dr.

# Cash

# Cr.

1836				1836					
June 31	To	Sundries	1	\$ 3,093.08	June 31	By	Sundries	1	\$ 2,507.08
July 20	"	"	1	879.23	July 20	"	"	1	549.25
April 30	"	"	2	6,100.90	April 30	"	"	2	6,605.95
"	"	M. H. Co.	3	5.71	"	"	"	3	77.03
May 31	"	Sundries	4	6,352.95	May 31	"	"	5	5763.82
June	"	"	5	80.22	July 31	By	Challock	6	42.00
July 28	"	"	6	593.30	"	"	"	7	192.00
"	"	"	"	50.00	"	"	"	7	000.00
"	"	"	8	12,612.52	"	By	E. D. Foster	"	1.50
" 18	"	Challock	7	494.75	"	"	"	"	51.68
" 31	"	"		30,265.66	"	"	Sundries	8	56.97
August 31	"	Sundries	9	3,203.97	"	"	"	9	13,404.54
"	"	"	10	5,932.05	"	"	Amount		29,446.82
"	"	J. Thomson		138.75	Aug 31	By	Sundries	9	4,453.14
"	"	"		192.00	"	"	J. Thomson	11	1,914.18
Sept 30	"	Sundries	12	4,800.00	"	"	Orphan House	"	175.00
Sept 31	"	"	14	8,065.80	"	"	"	12	7.50
"	"	Amount		52,598.23	"	"	"	"	272.30
Nov 30	"	"	15	300.00	"	"	"	"	88.43
" 30	"	D. O. Keefe		330.39	Sept 30	"	Sundries	13	6704.57
"	"	Sundries	17	5,220.72	"	"	"	"	1.25
"	"	"	"	1,774.47	Oct 31	"	"	15	7262.00
" 31	"	"	21	6,589.00	Sept 31	By	Sundries	13	330.39
Jan 30	"	G. Challock		296.40	Oct 31	"	Amount		50,967.58
"	"	"	24	137.10	Nov 30	"	"	18	17,003.83
"	"	"	25	397.85	Dec 31	"	Sundries	22	11,668.68
"	"	Mrs Hamilton	26	1,973.75	"	"	"	19	549.50
		73,199.33		73,199.33	Jan 30	"	"	24	1,000.00
		71,993.00			"	"	"	"	410.43
		1,205.33			"	"	"	"	87.10
					"	"	"	25	3261.78
					"	"	"	26	325.00
					"	"	G. Challock	"	513.80
					"	"	Sundries	"	883.75
					"	"	E. M. & S.	27	137.10
							71,994.00		71,994.00

Carried To Page

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An act respecting Crimes and punishments,  
Sec 30.

When any person or persons shall on Conviction of any Crime, or breach of any penal Law be sentenced to pay a fine or fines, with or without the Costs of prosecution, it shall and may be lawful for the Court before whom such Conviction shall be had, to order the Sheriff to sell or hire the person or persons so convicted, to service to any person or persons who will pay the said fine and Costs, for such term of time as the Court shall judge reasonable; and if such person or persons so sentenced and hired or sold shall abscond from the service of his or her master or mistress, before the term of such servitude shall <sup>be</sup> expired, he or she so absconding shall on Conviction before a Justice of the Peace, be whipped with thirty nine stripes and shall moreover serve two days for every one so lost.

J. P. Thomas,  
Speaker House of Reps,  
J. Chambers, Priest of  
the Council -

Approved Sept. 17<sup>th</sup> 1807

Wm<sup>th</sup> Henry Harrison

Indiana Govt

William J Brown Secretary of State for the State of Indiana, do certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the 30<sup>th</sup> section of an act relative to crimes and punishments approved by William Henry Harrison Governor of the Territory of

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Indiana on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1807;  
the original of which is now on file  
in manuscript in my office



In testimony whereof  
I have hereunto subscribed  
my name and affixed  
the seal of state at Indian-  
apolis, the seventh day of  
August 1840

Wm. H. Brown  
Secretary of State

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Lodi, Peria P.O. June 16. 1845.

Judge Foster, for Portrait of Mr Plumb, - see inside of cover  
in front of this one

My Dear Sir,

I had so little time when I saw you at Janesboro last week, that I did not say what I wished to in relation to your moving east. - Indeed I could not then realize that you were about leaving us. I cannot yet feel reconciled to your going. I suppose your arrangements are made, so that nothing which might now be said, would induce you to give the matter a reconsideration. But really I don't see how you can well be spared from this field at present. It may be for the best interests of your family that you make this move; and this consideration may justify the measure. But I regret exceedingly that it should be necessary for you to leave this region.

This is a field in which your influence is very much needed at the present crisis, <sup>in the Antislavery cause,</sup> and one in which you might accomplish much - Much more I think than in the region to which you are going.

I have seen the notice of the Mass meeting at Port Byron of which you spoke, and regret that I cannot attend it. Hope the friends present will see to it that the address proposed to be adopted upon the occasion, is, what it should be. Hope Mr Goodell will be there. Do you take the Christian Investigator, published by him? I have long had great confidence in Mr. Goodell as a far-seeing and safe adviser.

Another thing I ought to have spoken to you about, that is, Mr Kees Book. He sent you a copy, I believe, from this place in March. He depended upon your aid in getting the Book into the hands of Christians in Chautauque County. Will you have the goodness to inform me what number of

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copies can be disposed at Saratoga and other parts of the County; and what persons can be relied upon to aid in its circulation. I think the Book is well adapted to hasten on that reform in the Church, which is so much needed.

I saw Mr. Waite at Ellington last week. He can, you know, be relied upon.

I have not time this morning to say more. Shall expect to hear from you before you leave, and should be pleased to hear from you from time to time after you become settled in your new place of abode. It is possible you may see me at New Haven at some future time, as I have a son, a clerk in the Store of Messrs Collins & Brothers at Hartford, whom I hope to visit.

Your friend & fellow laborer

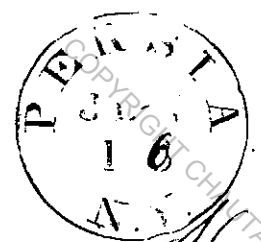
Joseph Plummer

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Joseph Plumb Esq  
Lodi NY June 16/45

28

Paid 10



Mr. E. J. Foote

Amsterdam  
Chautauque County  
N.Y.

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16  
22  
707

Per

Aid to Colonization

Last evening at the North church of Liberia, deliver an address on the national needs of that country. The services were conducted by President Wood. In introducing President Roberts, spoke of his efforts to establish a College in Liberia, and said that his administration of the government at the head of which he stood for eight years, and of the College, was such as to entitle him to the highest respect and confidence.

President Roberts, on being introduced, spoke first of the object for which the colony of Liberia was established by the American Colonization Society.

In 1822, the first colony arrived at Liberia, but met with great difficulties which were occasioned by the slave traders. Their supply of water was cut off, and they were only saved through the efforts of a friendly chief. Other troubles followed and they felt as if they must give up the project. There were only thirty-two effective colonists at this time. They did not give up their project and much credit was due to the agent of the Colonization Society for his efforts in their behalf. This man was Ashmun, whose remains now were buried in the cemetery of this city. At length the colony was established, and efforts were made to suppress the slave trade. In 1822, there were 10,000 slaves shipped annually, but in 1853, the whole of that part of the coast was rid of the trade. Liberia was a good place for this people to emigrate to, but his errand was not to urge people to go there. The prospects of the country were very fine, the commerce was large and was increasing, the agricultural interests were also increasing greatly. Attention was now being paid to the cultivation of sugar cane and coffee; the coffee trees grew wild, and when cultivated, yielded the best kind of coffee. Now, they raise large quantities of sugar. One man, a planter from Georgia, went there seventeen years ago with with not more than \$150, and he was now sending annually to New York 100 casks of sugar, and has not less than \$5,000 in bank in that city. Most of the men who had gone there were slaves, and the majority of them have done well. He thought the advantages there for the colored people were better than here. In 1847, Liberia changed its relations with the Colonization Society and assumed the control of its own affairs; the refusal of the British traders to pay the established tariff led to this change. The country had four counties extending over 600 miles of coast. There were thirteen American-Liberian settlements in the colony. The country had now treaty relations with thirteen foreign powers, and the affairs of the country, he believed, had been well managed. Efforts had been made there to educate the people. Thousands of the natives had been christianized, and now many of them held important posts. There was much more to be done. There were in the country 600,000 aborigines, large numbers of whom wished to receive some education; they learned the English language easily and they could be readily civilized.

After withdrawing from the public offices of the country, he had spent his time in raising funds for educational purposes, \$40,000 had been raised and a College built, and professors supplied, and the College had about fifty structures.

The speaker closed his remarks by appealing for aid which was greatly needed to meet the demand made upon the College.

Rev. Dr. Orcutt, the Secretary of the Colonization Society, then made a few remarks showing the importance of the work in Liberia, and the great need of more funds. He said since the war 1,244 colored persons had emigrated from this country to Liberia. At the close of his remarks a collection was taken and the meeting dismissed.

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# The Independent.

NOV. 6, 1870.]

## A MANIFOLD LIFE.

BY REV. WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

THE celebration of Dr. Leavitt's golden wedding gives the opportunity, which our readers will value, to review a life in which they are interested. Dr. Leavitt is the patriarch of THE INDEPENDENT, having been since its first establishment one of the editors, and having worked the laboring oar during most of that time.

I cannot undertake, inviting as the task is, to give his biography. It would be the history of the progress of the past half century in all its phases; for no man in the country has seized with surer prevision the various lines of national thought, or has exerted a wider, though often silent influence. I will only indicate some of these movements in which he has been a leader.

Dr. Leavitt had a manifold training for his public life. He was graduated at Yale, in 1814, at a time when the faculty of the college consisted of the president, three professors, and six tutors. After teaching a while, he studied law and opened an office in Putney, Vt. Soon after, he was convinced that it was his duty to preach, and returned to New Haven, and entered the Theological Seminary, which had been organized but a year. Dr. Taylor, who was but ten years his senior, was then blocking out his system of theology, and it was of great advantage to Mr. Leavitt to receive this system in the progress of its development. From the seminary he went as pastor to Stratford, Conn., where he enjoyed a successful ministry for four years. Ever since he has been in public life.

In 1819, Mr. Leavitt, then a student of law in Heath, organized one of the first Sabbath schools in Western Massachusetts. It embraced not only the children, but the entire congregation, all of whom were arranged in classes for religious study. This school resulted in a revival, and in the building up of what was then one of the strongest churches in the region. To just this style of Sunday schools we are now returning.

Scarcely had he settled in the practice of the law in Putney, Vt., when a very trying case of church discipline occurred, which directed his attention to the subject of church-polity, and led him to accept heartily of the Congregational theory. Here he was elected deacon of the church, at the age of twenty-eight. When he went to New Haven Seminary, he found that Dr. Taylor—like Dwight, Wood, Strong, and other leading Congregationalists of New England—was strongly inclined to prefer the Presbyterian system. The plan of union, which had been adopted twenty years before, was not so much the sign of an extreme complaisance to Western Presbyterians as it was an actual preference by the Connecticut clergy of the Scotch form of government, Dr. Taylor brought out these views in his lectures. They were met and discussed before him for two weeks by Mr. Leavitt; and never after did Dr. Taylor promulgate them.

The question of the improvement of the public schools early attracted his attention. Before he went to the seminary, he prepared a new reading-book, called "Easy Lessons in Reading," which had a large sale. His object was to give children such a book as they then did not have; and in

which they would be interested, and which it would be easy to read in a natural tone. It is an interesting fact that John Prentiss, the publisher of this book, is still living in Keene, New Hampshire, and at the age of 93 had the pleasure of sending his congratulations on the occasion of the Doctor's golden wedding. While at Stratford, Mr. Leavitt continued, by writing for the press and in other ways, to raise the character of the schools of the town and state.

Those were the early days of the temperance movement. Among the very first to see the evils of intemperance was the young pastor of Stratford. With much pains he gathered the statistics of the consumption of liquor in that town, making a statement which astonished every one, and which he embodied in a fast-day sermon. When the American Temperance Society was organized, with Dr. Hewitt as secretary, he was selected as the first of its traveling agents, and spent several months in lecturing in New Haven, Northampton, and the towns in that vicinity, in most of which his was the first temperance lecture the town had ever heard.

In 1828 he came to New York as secretary of the American Seaman's Friend Society, and editor of the *Sailor's Magazine*. During the 42 years which have since elapsed he has always been in editorial work. Under his management the society (then just commencing operations) became popular and useful. He established the chapels in Canton, the Sandwich Islands, Havre, New Orleans, and other American and foreign ports. At this time he aided in organizing the first city temperance society, and was its first secretary.

Another curious instance of his quickness to perceive the popular wants is the fact that, though no musician himself, he discovered thus early the necessity of providing convenient singing-books for revival and social meetings. A combined hymn and tune-book was not then in existence. Securing the aid of an excellent young musician, he published "The Christian Lyre," the first, and I remember it as one of the best of its kind. It combined two novelties. It contained the music, and it was a small collection, designed for something less stately than the service of Sabbath song. But this book, intended partly for the use of revival meetings, brings us to one of the two main objects to which Dr. Leavitt has devoted his life.

While he was in Stratford a new interest was awakening in revivals of religion. It was the time when Dr. Nettleton was arousing the churches, and when Finney was beginning his career as an evangelist. At this time was held the famous New Lebanon convention, in which Beman and Finney, in opposition to Beecher and Nettleton, defended greater freedom of action in revivals, and such practices as the praying of women, the anxious-seat, and protracted meetings. Mr. Leavitt took the side of the innovators, and was deeply interested in their labors. After he had been for three years in the service of the Seaman's Friend Society, he became, in 1831, proprietor and editor of the *Evangelist*, a paper which had been started a year before, and to whose editorial work he had from the beginning given frequent aid. As its name implies, the *Evangelist* was started for the express purpose of advocating revivals, and the employment in them of evangelists and other special means, the *Observer* being too conservative on these points. Mr. Leavitt threw all his energy into this paper, and soon made it a power in the land. It became the organ of the more liberal religious movements; was outspoken on temperance and slavery; and, though not

definitely Presbyterian, soon became the organ of the New School movement, and continued such until the disruption. No influence was more potent in that discussion than the *Evangelist*. Its editor had a very keen, argumentative mind; loved controversy only less than he loved the truth; was thoroughly acquainted with all the theological intricacies of the conflict, and made his paper noted for its doctrinal discussions. The New School Presbyterians owe a debt to him second to that to no other man. He published the first report of the debates of the General Assembly—considered in those days a marvel of newspaper enterprise—and himself made out these reports, until the disruption in 1837. During this editorship occurred the fearful excitement of the first anti-slavery societies and the robbery of the mails at Charleston. The prominent part which Dr. Leavitt took at this time, and the denunciations of slavery in the *Evangelist*, lost it its entire circulation in the South and a large portion of that in the North. It seemed as if the paper would be forced to suspend; and the desire to bring up the circulation led him to the effort to report Finney's Revival Lectures, which, in addition to his other editorial duties, gave a severe strain to his health. The reporting of these lectures in full was regarded as a remarkable feat of journalism. Mr. Leavitt, not being a short-hand reporter, set down the ideas and catch words, and then actually recomposed from them the entire lectures. This would have been possible only for a man thoroughly trained in theology and as completely saturated as Mr. Finney himself with the spirit of the subject. These reports brought back the subscribers by hundreds. The lectures were reprinted here in book form, and, at the suggestion of Dr. Patton, in England, where the circulation of over a hundred thousand copies, for which Mr. Leavitt received not a cent, never tempted him to swerve from his principle that the highest comity and advantage of nations requires a free trade in literary as well as commercial productions. The financial crash of 1837, coming at the time when he was putting up a building for the *Evangelist*, compelled him to sell it to the Presbyterians, after having raised its circulation in six years from 3,000 to 12,000 copies. The paper now became definitely Presbyterian, as well as New School, in its theology; but nearly dropped the strong anti-slavery character which Dr. Leavitt had given it.

It has been Dr. Leavitt's way to take hold of reforms, one after another, in their earliest stages; to push them to success; and then to leave other men to reap the honors and the fruits, while he pushed forward to new frontiers of reform. He did not identify himself with the successful progress of the New School body, which he had done so much to organize; but now threw his entire strength into the unpopular anti-slavery movement. As far back as his pastorate in Stratford, before Garrison was imprisoned in Baltimore, he had taken anti-slavery ground, and had in 1827 secured a lecture on the subject from Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, of New Haven; and two years before this he began writing on the subject in the *Christian Spectator* and other periodicals. In 1833 he was one of those who organized the New York Anti-Slavery Society, of which Arthur Tappan was president, and was one of the most active members of its executive committee. Those were fearful times for the abolitionists, when they were mobbed and their lives were in danger. The excitement against them was terrible. At this time the *Evangelist* became an oracle of the anti-slavery men. When the convention in Philadelphia formed the National Anti-

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Slavery Society, the New York Society found so much favor in the convention that its constitution and its executive committee were assumed for the National Society. Into this movement Mr. Leavitt put all the strength he could spare from other duties, and was not sorry in 1837 to devote his whole time to it, as editor of the New York *Emancipator*, the organ of the National Anti-Slavery Society. He gave it new character, and John C. Calhoun said it was more dangerous to Southern interests than anything else in the country.

The executive committee and the editor of *The Emancipator* refused to entangle themselves in questions not immediately connected with slavery. They were religious men, and in sympathy with the religion of the country. At this time there was an unfortunate difference in the anti-slavery ranks. Mr. Garrison's course had led him into a variety of local controversies with the clergy about Boston, on matters not connected with slavery, such as the woman question, the Bible, and the Sabbath—which disaffected from him many of the best anti-slavery men. He demanded that the National Society should support him in his local quarrels, and denounce his opponents. When the committee refused to do this, his friends collected together at the next anniversary of the society, turned out the old committee and elected new officers. But the new management was greatly incensed to find that their intention to turn Mr. Leavitt out of *The Emancipator* had been checkmated by the transfer of the paper to the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, of whose executive committee Mr. Henry C. Bowen and Mr. Theodore McName were members. The paper had never paid its expenses, and this society agreed to support it for a year. At the end of this time it was transferred to Dr. Leavitt, and moved by him to Boston.

Dr. Leavitt very early saw what most anti-slavery leaders were very slow to see, that, as slavery was already a political power, anti-slavery must be the same. The Boston Abolitionists, under the leadership of Mr. Garrison, and partly influenced by the non-resistance principles which rejected all government by force, were charged with having for their object the dissolution of the Union, the overthrow of the Government, and the destruction of the churches. They believed that our Constitution was a guarantee of slavery; and, therefore, so infamous as to be "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Voting under such a government was a crime. Even a majority of the officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, led by Lewis Tappan, at first believed it inexpedient to organize an anti-slavery party. But Mr. Leavitt had a clearer insight and foresight. The majority of anti-slavery men were Whigs; but the Whig party, he said, was as hopelessly pro-slavery as the Democratic. Clay's great speech, in 1839, in which he argued that Northerners who could not legislate on slavery therefore could not lawfully discuss it, was called by Calhoun the death-blow of Abolitionism; but it killed Clay with the Abolitionists, and destroyed his chance for the presidency. Many Abolitionists thought that the only chance for anti-slavery men was to keep outside of either party, and to throw their strength on one side or the other as was necessary. But it was soon found that the policy of questioning candidates, so successful in England on the single matter of West India emancipation, would never do here. The Harrison campaign proved that men would not thus be kept from voting for the candidates of their party. A distinctively anti-slavery party must be formed.

By this new movement Mr. Leavitt and his friends were more completely separated from the Garrison Abolitionists. When he went to Boston, he said he should kill the Garrisonians by letting them alone. He had other and larger work to do—the organization of political anti-slavery. He took his track, and they theirs; and the result has proved which was the wiser. After 1840 the Garrison party did not sensibly increase. They had not the sympathy of the American people, and the great anti-slavery movement swelled on, quite outside of them, and constantly attacked by them as false in its principles. But the public mind endorsed it; newspapers in its defense sprung up on every side; and, while they staid persistently from the polls, the party of freedom increased at every election, until liberty took possession of the Government. They had done their work, and a good one, before 1840.

The Liberty party was organized in 1840 by a convention at Albany. In calling and organizing this convention Joshua Leavitt took the leading part, as he did through the *Emancipator* in supporting its policy. From 1844 to 1847 he was chairman of its national committee. In 1847 he saw that the distractions within the party, especially in New York, required, above all things, the selection of a strong man as its candidate. He, therefore, corresponded with John P. Hale, who had just been elected U. S. senator from New Hampshire, and secured his adhesion to the party, and his nomination as president at the Buffalo Convention. The next year a dissatisfaction among both the Whigs and the Democrats with their candidates led to the call of a second convention, at Buffalo, which was composed of three parties—Whigs, Democrats, and the old Liberty men. By this coalition the Free Soil party was organized, and received such recruits as Wilson, Giddings, Sumner, C. F. Adams, and B. F. Butler of New York. Van Buren was nominated for president, Mr. Leavitt making the motion that the nomination be made unanimous.

In 1848 *THE INDEPENDENT* was started by three Congregational merchants, and Dr. Leavitt became its office editor. Since then his history has been the history of that paper. To it he has given all his strength; and it has been indebted to him more than the world will ever know. The position of office editor he held till he was seventy years old, when the growth of the paper and his own declining strength compelled younger men to relieve him of his duties. But he has never ceased to take an active share in it, and still does his regular day's work.

With this very meager account of his connection with this paper an account of his life must close. Space forbids us to speak at length of other points that deserve notice. His correspondence with Cobden and his "Memoir on Wheat" came most opportunely at a time when Cobden's friends were almost discouraged in their search for lands from which wheat could be imported if the corn-laws were abolished. It was on the strength of statements which Joshua Leavitt first brought out, to the effect that our Western territory would soon be ready to export wheat to an unlimited extent, that the corn-laws were repealed. During Dr. Leavitt's visit to England he was deeply interested in Sir Rowland Hill's system of cheap postage. This he advocated in the newspapers, and before the congressional committee, taking part in the first reform of 1845. In 1847 he founded the Cheap Postage Society of Boston, and devoted part of the winter of 1848-9 to labor in Washington in behalf of the Boston society. He thought that he had succeeded in securing a two-cent system; but Mr.

Barnabas Bates presented the plan of the New York society in favor of three cents, and it was adopted. A fund of \$30,000 was raised for Mr. Bates as a testimonial of his labors for cheap postage. During the past few years Dr. Leavitt has devoted much of his study to the subject of free trade, of which he is a strong advocate. Last year he received from the Cobden Society of England the prize of a gold medal for an essay on the subject of our Commercial Relations with Great Britain, in which he took an advanced free-trade position.

This notice of Dr. Leavitt's labors has been exceedingly condensed. His life has taken hold of so many questions that one article will not do justice to them all. It has been a brilliant which deserves its golden setting. It glistens from every facet. The least ambitious of men, he was never a candidate for any public office, except as school committee in Stratford; and then he was beaten. But his influence has been felt for every good cause, and those who know him best honor him most highly. He believes that age retains its powers by hard work, and is now engaged on a history of the anti-slavery movement. May his years of usefulness be lengthened far beyond the time when he shall have finished that work!

## New York and Vicinity.

### DR. LEAVITT'S GOLDEN WEDDING.

We cannot resist the pleasure of devoting our local column this week to a memorial record of the celebration of the golden wedding of our beloved and venerated associate, the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, D.D., and his honored wife, Mrs. Sarah Williams Leavitt. The happy event occurred at their residence in Brooklyn, on Tuesday evening, November 1st, and was made the occasion of such a throng of visitors, old and young, that the house could not hold up till a late hour of the night—presenting the spectacle of a constant stream of callers making entrance and exit, like a flowing and ebbing tide. The bridegroom and his bride—youngeer looking than their years—stood under a canopy of flowers skillfully fashioned to represent a huge marriage-bell. The exercises of the evening were very simple, consisting mainly of hand-shaking and well-wishing. The happy couple were surrounded by their children and their children's children, and many members of the Leavitt family more distantly related to the golden-wedded pair were present, both from the East and from the West. Numerous clergymen, lawyers, merchants, and other eminent citizens of Brooklyn, together with members of the press from New York, took advantage of the occasion to pay their respects to one of the youngest of old and one of the best of good men. But of all the company, excepting only the members of his own family, he received the warmest tribute of friendship and affection from his editorial associates. In the office of *THE INDEPENDENT*, among whom his presence is a perpetual pleasure, and by whom his patriarchal age, wisdom, and experience have long been looked up to with a more than common reverence. We publish below a few of the many congratulatory letters



THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1870.

ALL-MEN FREE AND EQUAL.

THE XVTH AMENDMENT PROCLAIMED.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS—PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT—TEXT OF THE NEW ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto the inhabitants thereof.

May'st thou, O Freedom! close thy lids,  
In slumber; for thine enemy never sleeps,  
And thou must watch and combat, till the day  
Of the new earth and heaven.

To all to whom these presents come—Greeting:

Know ye that the Congress of the United States on or about the 27th day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

A resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE 15, SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

And further, That it appears from the official documents on file in this Department, that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of—

- NORTH CAROLINA, CONNECTICUT, MISSOURI, WEST VIRGINIA, FLORIDA, MISSISSIPPI, MASSACHUSETTS, ILLINOIS, OHIO, WISCONSIN, INDIANA, IOWA, MAINE, NEW-YORK, KANSAS, LOUISIANA, NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MINNESOTA, MICHIGAN, NEVADA, RHODE ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA, VERMONT, NEBRASKA, PENNSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA, TEXAS, ARKANSAS, ALABAMA.

And further, That the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

And further, That it appears from an official document, on file in this Department, that the Legislature of the State of New-York has since passed resolutions claiming to withdraw the said ratification of the said amendment which had been made by the Legislature of that State, and of which official notice had been filed in this Department.

And further, That it appears from an official document, on file in this Department, that the Legislature of Georgia has by resolution ratified the said proposed amendment.

Now, therefore, be it known, That I, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the Act of Congress, approved the 20th day of April, in the year 1818, entitled "An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the Amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and of the independence of the United States the ninety-fourth.

HAMILTON FISH.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It is unusual to notify the two Houses of Congress by message of the promulgation, by proclamation of the Secretary of State, of the ratification of a Constitutional Amendment. In view, however, of the vast importance of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, this day declared a part of that revered instrument, I deem a departure from the usual custom justifiable. A measure which makes at once four millions of people voters, who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so, with the assertion that at the time of the Declaration of Independence the opinion was fixed and universal—in the civilized portion of the white race, regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics—that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect, is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free Government to the present time. Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly-enfranchised race to the importance of their striving, in every honorable manner, to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race more favored heretofore by our laws, I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen. The framers of our Constitution firmly believed that a republican form of government could not endure without intelligence and education generally diffused among the people. The Father of his Country in his Farewell Address, uses this language: "Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of the Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." In his first annual Message to Congress the same views were forcibly presented, and are again urged in his eighth Message.

I repeat that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendations of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now, with a population of forty millions, and increasing in a rapid ratio! I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional power to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country, and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the Government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured.

U. S. GRANT.

Executive Mansion, March 30, 1870.  
HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State of the United States.

In all of the States engaged in the Rebellion negroes are already recognized as voters by virtue of the terms of the Reconstruction acts, and the acceptance of these by the States in question. In most of the other States, however, their exercise of the franchise has either been denied or limited by property or other qualifications. The following table shows approximately the number of voters thus added to the voting population in each of these States:

State	Negro population, 1850	New voters, 1870
California	4,088	2,681
Connecticut	8,627	1,438
Delaware	21,627	18,004
Illinois	7,628	1,271
Indiana	11,428	1,665
Iowa	1,669	178
Kentucky	236,167	9,361
Maine	1,327	221
Maryland	171,131	28,622
Massachusetts	9,662	1,600
Michigan	6,789	1,333
Minnesota	253	53
New-Hampshire	494	82
New-Jersey	25,336	4,226
New-York	49,005	6,167
Ohio	36,673	6,112
Oregon	128	21
Pennsylvania	56,849	9,475
Rhode Island	8,952	669
Vermont	709	118
Wisconsin	1,171	195

From this day forth, the Republic practices

on the sublime faith which her forefathers proclaimed nearly a century ago. All her citizens are at last equal before the law;—not Delaware or Kentucky perversity can prevent it. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It is the last act of the great struggle; the victory of the war for Liberty begun by Benjamin Lundy, and John Quincy Adams, and Elijah Lovejoy, the entry upon the Promised Land, which they were only permitted to see in vision. But the success has been anticipated; and even in this hour of its proclamation we prefer to dwell rather upon the duties of to-morrow than the struggles of yesterday or the triumph of to-day. The rights now conferred have been wrested from unwilling prejudice; their exercise will be jealously watched; and our newly enfranchised fellow citizens must remember that neither institutions nor good-will can permanently ensure Freedom to those who neglect to make themselves worthy of it. The President recalls the words of Washington; our core voters can, in the light of their exultation, receive no wiser counsel: "Promote, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of the Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

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# The New York Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1870.

## WASHINGTON.

**Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment—The President's Proclamation—The Colored Voters in Connecticut—The Funding Bill—Prospects of the San Domingo Treaty.**

Special Dispatch to the New-York Times.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, March 30.

The event of the day, and probably of the year, was the promulgation of the official certificate of the Secretary of State of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Texas bill came back from the House Reconstruction Committee today, and after a few moments debate the House concurred in the Senate amendment striking out the non-essential proviso about slavery. The bill was at once enrolled, signed and taken to the President for signature, which it promptly received. In less than an hour afterward a special message was received in each House announcing the gratifying intelligence, enclosing the official notice, and congratulating the House and the country upon the auspicious event. The President must have done some quick work to get these messages to Congress ready so speedily. The certificate of the Secretary of State has been prepared for some time, but the message of the President was written this morning. The reading of the message was received in the House with a burst of applause, though the Democrats looked blue, and FERNANDO WOOD and Mr. NIBLACK filed a bill of exceptions with regard to the validity of the ratifications by the Legislatures of New-York and Indiana. But, as will be seen by the certificate, all contingencies of that character have been amply provided for. Including Georgia, there are two States more than sufficient, and so New-York and Indiana can be counted out without danger, if it ever should be necessary, for Georgia will be in the Union, in fact and in law, long before any such issue can ever be raised. The declaration of this measure as an accomplished fact is very opportune to the Republicans in the local elections in Ohio and Missouri, and the people of Connecticut will be glad to learn that the colored voters of that State are not to be debarred from voting next Monday, after all. Their right to vote accrued today under this proclamation. They have been provisionally registered; that is, made application to become voters as prescribed by the laws of Connecticut, and the selectmen in each town meet for three hours on Monday morning next to hear the applications of those whose right to vote has accrued within the week prior to the election. In all the Republican towns the votes will be received, of course, and if the Democratic selectmen reject them the record will show the fact, and the question will be settled in the Legislature. The feeling in Republican circles here tonight is one of much joy. Large numbers of public men have called at the White House to extend their congratulations to the President.

### Crowning the Edifice.

At last the goal is reached, and the political struggle of a century is happily ended. With the official announcement by President GRANT of the formal ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, American Civilization is regenerated and disenthralled; and American republicanism purged of its ancient anomaly. The nation no longer stands before the world in an attitude of stultification. Ten years ago the bondage of four millions of blacks was a silent but overwhelming protest to the world and to God against the bitter mockery of our boasted freedom; today all are free and equal before the law, and citizens alike. Nearly a century has elapsed since the great struggle for civil and religious liberty on this continent was inaugurated with the blood of the negro ARTRUCKS in the streets of Boston, and it has not finally ended till now.

Standing today confronted with the proclamation of the nation's tardy concession of justice, we look back with wonder and amazement upon the desperate resistance

and at the wicked infatuation which has so long postponed the victory. Standing in the bright light of accomplishment, and looking back upon the pathway of the nation, we can scarcely realize the difficulties encountered by the founders of the Government, the fierce animosities engendered by the Missouri compromise, the bitter strifes over the Fugitive Slave law, the sectional contest which attended the admission of Kansas, and the political convulsions which marked the Administrations of PIERCE and BUCHANAN.

Yet all these were but the preludes of our national regeneration—the preparation for the fearful ordeal of fire and blood through which we were to pass. Whether that ordeal of war was a national discipline or a national atonement, we will not now presume to say; but the very suggestion involuntarily brings to mind the solemn and prophetic words of LINCOLN: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword," as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The announcement now made that by our organic law "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," is the final crowning of the edifice of American republicanism, and the perfect fruit of our great national labor. Long expectation, and the gradual dawning of success, as State after State put the seal of its approval upon the proposed amendment, may have dulled the edge of our appreciation, and possibly cooled the ardor of our enthusiasm over the final accomplishment; but still the realization has lost none of its grandeur, or of its substantial fruit. In the annals of our time, as they will be read hereafter, it will stand out boldly as the most prominent monument of our progress.

We regard it as an assertion of principle which perfects our political fabric, which italicizes every word of the Declaration of Independence, and which harmonizes our Constitution with the highest civilization to which we may aspire. As such it should be accepted by every true citizen, and leaving the past behind us, with all its sad memories, its animosities, and its tribulations, we should press forward to the future, and grapple with its requirements with a spirit as exalted as the assured destiny which lies behind it, harmoniously greeting each other and the world by the "All hail, hereafter."

The able...

*Gods Justice*

The Commercial Advertiser draws an impressive lesson from Gen. Walker's latest census publication, relating to the comparative wealth of the States before and after the war. The true value of the country in 1850 was \$7,000,000,000; in 1860, \$16,000,000,000; in 1870, \$30,000,000,000. Of these amounts the eleven States that went into the rebellion are credited with \$2,286,000,000 in 1850; \$5,200,000,000 in 1860; and \$2,737,000,000 in 1870. Thus we see that at the two earlier dates the rebellious States had nearly a third of the entire wealth of the Union, while in 1870 they had but one-eleventh. The Commercial recalls, in this connection the solemn words of Lincoln in his second inaugural:

"Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid for by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and just altogether.'"

*The foregoing extract from President Lincoln's 2nd Inaugural are worthy of being preserved in letters of gold.*

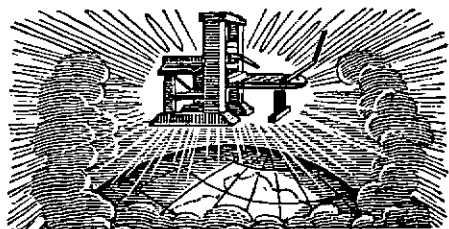
WESTFIELD, N.Y. 2012

**VII. All against the Right.**



Every hand is ready to point him out to his enemies; the blood-hounds are let loose to trace his footsteps; and even the American Eagle, the protector of the oppressed of all nations, hovers over him, proclaiming "*e pluribus unum*" that our glorious union is pledged to perpetuate his wrongs.

**VIII. A Prostituted Press.**



The printing press, every where the terror of tyrants and the palladium of liberty, basely lends its light to help the oppressor, by the innumerable hand bills and advertisements it throws over the country to insure the capture of

**III. The Black Man for Sale.**



Our type-founder's ingenuity has not been employed in representing the return made by the *grateful* white for the favors he received, nor the various steps by which the black man was transferred to the shores of this Christian nation: Passing over all this, we find him dressed in the usual manner, to set forth his "good conditions" for the human shambles, so often seen beneath the boasted "stripes and stars."

**IV. Pursuit of Happiness.**



Tired of the simplicity of the patriarchal system, we see him now determined on exercising once more those "inalienable rights" with which he had so often heard his master say that all men are "endowed by their Creator."

**V. The Indissoluble Tie.**

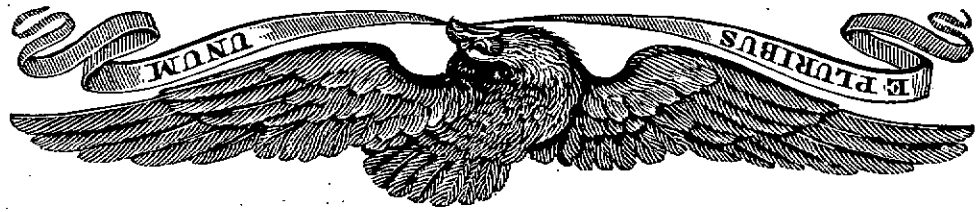


His faithful wife, taking heed of the scriptural doctrine, that "they twain shall be one flesh," and obedient to the Divine injunction, "whom God hath joined," &c., is preparing to fulfil her nuptial vow, and follow her husband, "for better or worse."

**VI. Insult added to Injury.**



Various devices are employed to heap contumely upon this exercise of his inalienable rights.



**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

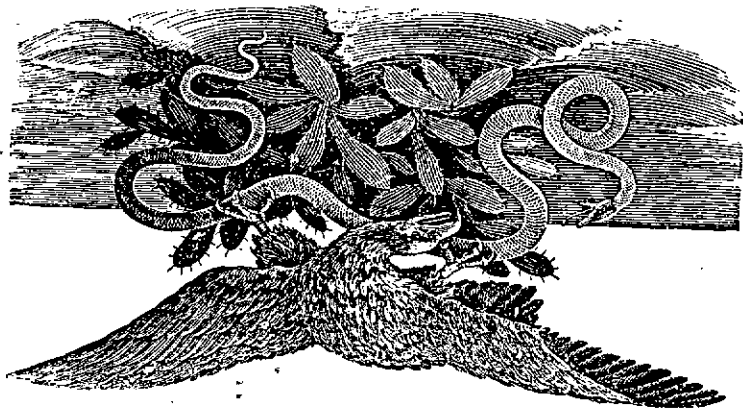
OF THE

**MEMORIAL.**

Having accomplished its work, the association which, by Heaven's blessing, will have achieved these wonders, will be dissolved by its own limitation; and then the long and happy reign of LIBERTY, JOY and PLENTY, shedding blessings innumerable over the whole population of our extended territory, and binding all in bonds of peaceful brotherhood, shall go down to the latest ages as the glorious



The Eagle of Liberty lighted down upon the Serpent of Slavery, when the first Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Boston, January, 1831.



I. "He's down upon him!" 1831.

A picturesque view of the history, prospects and results of the American Anti-Slavery Societies.

**CONFLICT OF LIBERTY WITH SLAVERY.**

**Temperance Missions.**