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The Glasgow Emancipation Society 1833-76

**A Thesis presented for the degree of M. Litt
At the University of Glasgow
By Robert LeBaron Bingham 1973**

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The purpose of this introduction is first to give the social, political and economic setting in which the Glasgow Emancipation Society existed during its active phase from 1833 to 1853 and second, to give a brief outline of its history. The physical, social and moral climate of the period help to explain the existence and activities of the Society and conversely the activities of the Society form part of the many-sided picture of the development of Glasgow in this vital period. The Glasgow Emancipation Society was of major importance in the British antislavery movement after 1833.¹ This movement was similar to many other reform and philanthropic movements which swept over Britain during this period. Therefore by understanding the nature of the society which produced such a movement on the local scale it is possible to have a more complete comprehension of the nature of the movement on the national scale. This in turn leads to a clearer understanding of Glasgow specifically and Britain in general during the mid nineteenth century.

In 1833 Glasgow contained just under a tenth of the population of Scotland. Though urban growth had been rapid, especially in the Glasgow area, Scotland was still basically an agricultural country. The city was unique in Scotland when compared to other towns in that it was by a sizeable margin the largest and had by far the heaviest concentration of industry and commerce. Industrialization and rapid commercial development in Scotland had originated in the Glasgow region and economically

1 C. Duncan Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery 1830-1870." (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969) p. 44.

the city led the rest of the country. This economic importance was based upon the cotton industry which dominated Glasgow in much the same way as Glasgow dominated Scotland.

The cotton trade and its branches—spinning weaving and dyeing – was the economic cornerstone of the West of Scotland. In 1834 there were 137 cotton mills in the entire country and except for a few in Aberdeen and one near Perth they were all situated in and around Glasgow and all of them were connected with the Glasgow trade. In 1832 there were £40,000,000 worth of cotton goods manufactured in Britain, £6,000,000 worth or 15% of which was manufactured in Glasgow. By 1838 the number of handlooms in the West of Scotland used for cotton weaving was over 37,000. In 1850 there were 149 cotton mills in the Glasgow area and between them they had 1,410,054 spindles, 21,575 power looms and employed 31,710 people.² Hand in hand with technical and commercial development there occurred a rapid growth in the city's population which rose from 77,385 in 1801 to 202,426 in 1831 and to 347,001 by 1851. Thus it is evident that the trade and manufacture of cotton textiles, mostly for foreign markets, was of paramount importance to the city.³ Not surprisingly those who were the leaders in this trade were among the most important and wealthiest men in the city. Cotton merchants such as James Oswald, John Dennistoun, Alexander Johnston and William Mills were not only men of great wealth and economically very powerful

2 British Association for the Advancement of Science, Local Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland (Glasgow 1901) p. 176.
Bennets Glasgow Magazine 1832-3 (Glasgow 1833 2 vols.)
I, 165.

3 John Sinclair, Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh 1831 2 vols.) I, 333.
James Hooper Dawson, An Abridged Statistical History of Scotland (Edinburgh 1853) p. 674
James Cleland, Enumeration of The Inhabitants of The City of Glasgow and County Of Lanark For The Government Census of M.DCCC.XXXI (Glasgow 1832) p. 206

but were politically important. While those connected with the cotton industry were by no means the only influential men in society they did make up a sizeable portion of the community's leadership. For instance between the years 1832 and 1846 no less than sixteen of the city's fifty-one major political leaders were either cotton merchants or manufacturers. Of the sixteen twelve were Whigs, the dominant political faction in Glasgow during the period.⁴

Glasgow, as the commercial and industrial centre of Scotland, was not limited however to cotton alone. Iron works were also of major importance. In the years between 1830 and 1849 the number of blast furnaces around Glasgow grew from sixteen producing 40,000 tons per year to seventy-nine producing 475,000 tons per year. In ten years this production was nearly doubled and by 1865 the total production of iron had reached 1,164,000 tons per year. It is true that the major works were outside of the city concentrated in the vicinity of Wishaw, Airdrie and Coatbridge but Glasgow was the distributing centre and some of their great ironmasters played a considerable part in its public life. Further, Glasgow also had its distilleries, breweries, chemical works, tanneries, dye works, bleachfields, paper manufacturies and shipyards. Juxtaposed with the growth of these industries there was also a rapid development in the field of engineering. To all this must be added the commercial and trading relations which the city had with every part of the globe.

4 David Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency 1832-46" (B.Litt. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1963) p. 63. The major political leaders include not only the Lord Provosts and MP's but also Bailies and Town Councillors who through their wealth, influence, social and personal ties dominated the political development of the city during this period.

The importance of this trade can be determined by pointing to its sharp increase between 1830 and 1860. In 1830 75 foreign ships (8571 gross tonnage) arrived in the Harbour of Glasgow. This had risen to 203 ships (35,452 gross tonnage) in 1840 and to 470 ships (108,410 gross tonnage) in 1850. By 1860 533 foreign ships (120,305 gross tonnage) were coming in annually. In the same years the gross revenue of the Harbour increased from £20,296 in 1830 to £46,536 in 1840, £64,243 in 1850 and £97,983 in 1860. This trade was to all parts of the world but most importantly with North America and the West Indies, and the East India trade to India, Malaya and China.⁵

Some of the leading merchants in town such as Walter Buchanan, John Dennistoun and Alexander Johnston had branch offices all over the world and most of the other merchants and manufacturers depended upon foreign markets rather than merely domestic ones. The tremendous increase in the manufacture of cotton for foreign consumption and the resulting expansion of other industries was the root cause of this increase of trade and

5 Dawson, An Abridged Statistical History of Scotland pp. 667-70. Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" p. 69.
British Association for the Advancement of Science, Local Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland p. 287
 David Bremner, The Industries of Scotland, Their Rise, Progress and Present Condition (Edinburgh 1869) pp. 33, 35.
 Sinclair, Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland I, 320 Table II. See also pp. 349-53.
The Account Of The Trustees of River Clyde From 1st July, 1850 to 30th June, 1851 (Glasgow 1851) p. 23.
The Accounts Of The Trustees of the Clyde Navigation From 1st July, 1859 to 30th June, 1860 (Glasgow 1860) p. 32.
 Both Accounts are located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Customs Duties also rose rapidly but because of changes in the tariff, especially in 1846, they are less reliable for estimating the Trade. Nevertheless the changes are impressive. In 1830 £59,031 was collected and by 1850 this had grown to £640,568.

regional prosperity.⁶ It is not surprising therefore that these men took a lively interest in world events. Their business depended upon the world situation and they were, above all else interested in business. Everything else, religion, politics or philanthropic causes took second place to commerce. Moreover, their commercial philosophy was rooted deeply in Adam Smith's theory of laissez-faire. They were opposed to governmental interference of any kind where business was concerned. These men were highly competitive in outlook and it was scarcely possible to be a successful manufacturer or merchant without possessing a great deal of initiative and a constant willingness to use or adopt new methods. The world of this industrialization and commercial expansion was raw and crude in which no quarter was given to the weak who were only haltingly protected by governmental legislation.⁷

Society in Glasgow in the three decades prior to 1860 was composed generally of three broad groups with various gradations within each stratum. These groups were the wealthy commercial elite or "burgher gentry", the middle income entrepreneurs and the great mass of the labouring poor. Because

6 Sinclair, Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland I, 352.

7 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" p. 90. James Cleland in works like The Rise and progress of The City of Glasgow (Glasgow 1816) and the Glasgow Account, which he helped compile in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire (Edinburgh 1841) and Andrew Ure in his book The Philosophy of Manufacturers or An Exposition of the Scientific, Moral and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain (London 1835) were both propagandists for this idea that commercial success depended upon personal effort and ability and the need for improvement and innovation. See N. S. A. Ibid, pp. 101-241 and Ure Ibid Ch. I passim.

of the constant increase in the demand for labour resulting from the rapidly expanding industry and commerce of the area the labouring element made up by far the largest segment of the population of the city. After the Reform Bill of 1832 there were only approximately 7,000 electors in Glasgow, most of whom were small scale merchants such as shopkeepers, booksellers or clothiers, etc. The Abstract of the Census of 1831 lists the number of capitalists, bankers, professional and educated men at 2,723⁸ and if we exclude the professional and educated men the number of capitalists and bankers (often the same) was much smaller. This was the gentry often referred to as the "Burgher Aristocracy".

The "Burgher Aristocracy" was composed of men of great wealth and high social position obtained through several generations of political rule. Numbering only about two or three hundred it was small enough to be homogeneous in social and family relations though occasionally willing to accept an outsider. These men were educated, cultured, openminded and as a rule belonged to the Established Church putting a social ban on all Dissenters (Episcopalians excepted).⁹ This ban was eased after the Disruption of 1843 because a large portion of this group transferred their allegiance from the Established Church and joined the Free Church, taking a great deal of wealth and social prestige with them in the process.

8 Abstract of the Population Returns of Great Britain 1831 pp.1833 (149) xxxvi - xxxviii p.1001. For a further breakdown of the occupations of the population of the city see Cleland, Enumeration of The Inhabitants of The City Of Glasgow p.214

The Glasgow Voters Manual being A List Of All Those Entitled to Vote for members for the First Reformed Parliament Within The Boundaries Of the Borough, As Defined By The Reform Act (Glasgow 1832)

9 John Oswald Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (Glasgow 1905) pp.162-3.

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8 Population of Great Britain 1831 Enumeration Abstract (2 vols.) I, 1001. For a further breakdown of the occupations of the population of the city see Cleland, Enumeration of The Inhabitants of The City Of Glasgow p. 214.

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9 John Oswald Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (Glasgow 1905) pp. 162-3.

As has been inferred the wealth of this class reflected the economic situation of Glasgow in that cotton was the most important element. However, there were many others outside of the cotton industry who helped to make up this group. Men like William Dixon - ironmaster, John Fleming - East India Merchant, Hugh Tennent - brewer, Charles Tennent - chemical manufacturer, Andrew Bannatyne - writer, James Ewing - West Indian Merchant and many more were typical of this segment of society. According to Archibald Alison, the widely respected Sheriff of Lanarkshire and an acute observer of the period, this upper crust of society was split into divisions and coteries and there was a strong feeling of jealousy among the various elements. The West Indian merchants or the "Sugar Aristocracy" as they were called, while not as important economically as the cotton merchants, were at the top of the social scale. This was no doubt because of their "old" money as opposed to the relatively "new" money of the cotton industry. Next came the Cotton merchants. The calico printers were third and rarely mixed with the cotton or sugar classes. Finally, came the iron and coal masters, inferior in social prestige but still possessing much wealth. As a rule these groups rarely if ever mixed socially.¹⁰ Altogether they formed the most important political element in the city. Before the 1832 Reform Act they had ruled without opposition because they were generally the only ones able to influence the political structure then in existence. After 1832 they continued to rule because the newly enfranchised middle income groups had grown to accept their leadership in politics much as they had accepted it in commerce.

10 Sir Archibald Alison, Some Memoirs of My Life and Writings (Edinburgh and London 1883 2 vols.) I, 344-5.

Throughout this period it was men of wealth and high social standing who were time and again returned to Parliament or elected Lord Provost. Basically, however, they were businessmen and not politicians and those that held these offices were usually motivated by a desire to promote the interests of trade and industry or for the social prestige of being an MP or Lord Provost.¹¹ These men were used to providing the social, political and economic leadership in the city and whether they individually held high political office or not, they continued to control the life of the area. It must be said that they did this only at the sufferance of the newly elected members of the middle income social bracket who tended to channel their efforts in areas of somewhat secondary import to the development of the city.

The less wealthy and newly emerging entrepreneurs, as stated, numbered around 7,000. These included the smaller scale merchants, warehousemen, insurance agents, dyers etc. Politically they held the power to elect themselves into leadership but because of the financial insecurity of the period and the amount of time which high political office would have taken away from their business, few held high political ambitions. Of course not all their time was spent looking after their business interests. Many of them were socially active taking leading parts in the different philanthropic societies or even taking minor political posts such as Baillie or Town Councillor. Men like Robert Kettle, a merchant and the leader of the Scottish Temperance movement, James Couper, insurance broker and Bailie of Provan in 1850, George Gallie, bookseller and stationer and the Treasurer of the Scottish Temperance Union, and Archibald Watson, yarn merchant and dyer and committeeman of the Glasgow Emancipation Society were

11 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency"
p. 131

typical members of this social stratum. They were the link between the commercial elite and the mass of the working classes. Commercially if not socially they were in contact with the upper classes and owing to the nature and location of their businesses they were physically close to the workers.¹² This intimate and daily exposure to the wretched conditions of the labouring poor is no doubt to a large degree responsible for the widespread philanthropic and charitable activity that this group took part in. Again their contact with the gentry was undoubtedly one of the reasons for their constant struggle to be successful in business with the possibility of eventually being accepted into that status.

The labouring element in Glasgow of course made up the vast majority of the population but politically and socially they were impotent. The Reform Bill and the Municipal Reform Act had given the franchise to those occupying a premise with a valued rent of £10 or more per year. This excluded almost all the working classes who occupied much less expensive dwellings.¹³ It should be noted that while the physical environment and condition of the working element was in general very poor, there were gradations to these conditions as some workers were relatively better off than others. For instance the Factory Report found conditions among the cotton spinners better than those among

12 Because of the conditions of the inner urban area this middle income element gradually moved their homes to the surrounding suburbs from whence they commuted to the commercial area of the city and their businesses which were often bordering on the slums. See John R. Kellet, "Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow", Scottish Journal of Political Economy, vol. 8 (1961), 230-2

13 The Glasgow Voters Manual of 1832 lists the name and occupation of all the newly enfranchised voters after the 1832 Reform Bill. Those eligible were almost exclusively of the middling and upper classes who occupied dwellings of over £10 per year. In fact something like six sevenths of the houses had annual rents of less than £5 which is indicative of the economic gap separating these two segments of the society. See Kellet, Ibid, p. 230

the poorly paid handloom weavers.¹⁴ In general, however, the lives of the more "respectable" poor were always verging on tending toward slipping into the ugly morass which engulfed so many of Glasgow's working element.¹⁵ In fact the physical environment of the more poorly paid labourers was at best insanitary and at worst deplorable as evidenced by a report in 1840 by Robert Cowan M.D. He states, "The streets or rather the lanes and alleys in which the poor live are filthy beyond measure; excrementitious matter and filth of every description is allowed to lay upon the lanes or if collected it remains accumulating for months until the landlord, whose property it is, is pleased to remove it. The houses are ruinous, ill constructed and to an incredible extent destitute of furniture."¹⁶ J. C. Symon describes some of the cheap lodging-houses the poor lived in. "In the lower lodging-houses ten, twelve and sometimes twenty persons of both sexes and all ages sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. Those places are generally as regards dirt, damp and decay such as no person of common humanity to animals would stable a horse in."¹⁷ These conditions were due

14 Factory Inquiry Commission, Minutes of Evidence, P.P. 1833 (450) xx, pp. 69-104.

15 Laurance James Saunders in his book Scottish Democracy 1815-1840, The Social And Intellectual Background (Edinburgh 1950) discusses this constant struggle of the labouring element in the urban situation. See pp. 106-10 192-207.

16 Robert Cowan M.D. , Vital Statistics of Glasgow illustrating the Sanitary Conditions of the Population (read before the Statistical Section of the British Association 21 September 1840) p. 34.

17. J. C. Symon quoted in Assistant Hand Loom Weavers Commissioner Report, P.P. 1839-40 (159) XLII, p. 51
A very readable discussion of Scottish urban life during this period is to be found in Victorian Studies vol. 11 (1967-8) entitled "The Scottish Victorian City" p. 329-58 by Geoffrey Best. Best's intention is to raise questions and as he himself seems to imply it should not be taken as an authoritative study but as an attempt to assess the problems involved in this historical area. Nevertheless it is a stimulating essay which seeks to create a context for the discussion of Scottish urban history in the nineteenth century.

to a myriad of social, political and economic factors. Probably the most important of these was the enormous social upheaval and alienation caused by the industrial revolution, the economic and legal difficulties of dealing with large scale and urgent building developments, the problem of coping with mass immigration from the Highlands and Ireland, the neglect of the municipal authorities and the low wages received by the workers.¹⁸ However poor as the environmental conditions were they were probably an improvement on the Highland rural situation from where many of this group had emigrated because of the clearances and in order to find jobs and an improved standard of living. Many Irish had immigrated to the West of Scotland even before the great famine of the 1840's to escape the wretched conditions there and to find employment in the expanding cotton industry. The population of Glasgow had risen at an astounding rate between 1791 and 1831. In the intervening forty years it had grown from 66,578 to 202,426. This is in startling contrast to the previous thirty-six years when the population had increased by only about 43,000. Wages, while better than rural areas, were still very low.¹⁹ Frequent epidemics of virulent diseases and periodic unemployment caused by commercial depression could add to their distress and insecurity. All of these factors combined to make the situation of the labouring poor in

18 Kellett, "Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow" pp. 211-32.

James E. Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland (Cork University Press 1947) pp. 32-7, 145, 149-52.

19 The statistical increase in the population of Glasgow is given in Cleland's Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow pp. 206-7. According to Cleland there were 35,554 Irishmen in the city in 1831. See Ibid, p. 211. A good account of the conditions of the Irish immigrants to the Glasgow area before the Famine and indeed of the working element in general is given in James E. Handley, The Irish in Scotland 1789-1845 (Cork University Press 1943) pp. 97-118, 157-265. D.F. Macdonald's book Scotland's Shifting Population 1770-1850 (Glasgow 1937) gives an excellent description of the difficulties arising from mass emigration in the urban situation. See especially pp. 20, 34-45, 60, 64, 77-84, Ch. III passim. See also W.H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland (London 1936) pp. 131-4.

Glasgow amongst the worst in nineteenth century Britain.²⁰

When considering the problems which could arise locally in a period of rapid industrial and commercial development the question could be asked why should so much energy be poured into an emancipation society to alleviate the conditions of the negro slave rather than offsetting the distress on the local scale? In the first place there was some attempt, at least as far as charitable and political activity was concerned. Throughout Britain there were literally thousands of societies, organizations and associations composed of the middle and upper classes that attempted to effect some remedy. They existed it would seem for the alleviation of every conceivable form of distress ranging from The Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Poor to the Society for Reclaiming Prostitutes.²¹ It was the golden age of philanthropic activity and the societies with their countless auxiliaries sprang up in every part of the country. Between 1796 and 1834 Glasgow had its share of such societies with at least sixty-four religious and charitable institutions

20 William Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh 1969) p. 300.

Saunders, Scottish Democracy pp. 176-91.

Thomas Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare : a survey from medieval times to 1863 (London 1948) Ch. V passim, see especially pp. 118-37.

James Pagan, Sketches of the History of Glasgow (Glasgow 1847) pp. 104-5.

21 Ford K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, The Age of Wilberforce (Cambridge 1961) Ch. 9 passim. This chapter discusses and lists the incredibly wide variety of philanthropic, charitable and religious organizations which existed in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Some of the more unusual groups listed include "The Ladies Association for the Benefit of Gentlewomen of Good Family Reduced in Fortune Below the State of Comfort to Which they Have Been Accustomed", "The National Truss Society for the Relief Of The Ruptured Poor" and "The Society for Returning Young Women to their Friends in the Country".

exclusive of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.²² In 1834 alone subscriptions to thirty-three benevolent and charitable societies amounted to over £30,000 and another £17,281 was raised for relief of paupers. Generally, up to 1850, about £50,000 was raised annually for a wide variety of philanthropic causes.²³ These efforts were organized and supported by genuinely well-meaning people who earnestly wished to do something for the conditions of the working classes.²⁴

The mid nineteenth century was a period in which the doctrine of laissez-faire was held to be almost sacred. Bentham,

22 James Cleland, Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow (Glasgow 1837) p. 10

23 Dawson, Abridged Statistical History of Scotland p. 666 N. S. A. Lanarkshire pp. 185-6.

24 Illustrative of this concern for the condition of the condition of the poor and humanitarian programmes in general was the career of the great publisher William Collins. Both Collins and his son William Collins II vigorously supported the temperance movement and were concerned with the squalid living conditions of the working classes. See David Keir, The House of Collins. The Story of a Scottish Family of Publishers from 1789 to the Present Day (London 1952) pp. 54, 154-9. Another well known merchant and manufacturer, Kirkman Finlay, also took an interest in social reform most notably in the field of education. See Handley, The Irish in Scotland pp. 260-1. Evangelicals such as Revs. Dr. Stevenson Macgill and Thomas Chalmers did yeoman work in the field of social and humanitarian reform directly affecting the conditions in which the working man existed and which were to have a significant effect on future innovations in this work. See Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870 (London 1960) pp. 40-6 and J. W. Nesbit, "Thomas Chalmers And The Economic Order", Scottish Journal of Political Economy vol. 11 (1964) 151-7. For Chalmers stand on the condition and future of the working classes see ibid pp. 154-7.

Malthus and Ricardo, the leading economic and social guides of the era, while not wishing for the poor to be kept in their miserable state, were not at all optimistic about their capability of achieving a better lot. Any improvement in their condition they felt must be through self-help while at the same time allowing economic progress to take its course unfettered by governmental interference or restrictions.²⁵ Under this prevailing belief it is not at all surprising that the working classes could be very badly off indeed.²⁶ Consequently the Glasgow workers during periods of economic depression were the first and hardest hit and, until the 1845 Scottish Poor Law Amendment Act, had to rely on the generally inadequate voluntary poor relief of the Established Church and also the Poor Relief fund raised by assessment in Glasgow.²⁷ In the end there was some attempt to improve the lot of the labouring man but the economic belief of the day, supported by general popular opinion opposed any extensive or revolutionary steps to change their standard of living.

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- 25 J. R. Poynter, Society and Pauperism (London 1969) pp. xv, xvi. Sir John Sinclair the statistician was a firm believer in Malthus and many of his conclusions are based on Malthusian doctrines. For an example of this see his Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland II, Appendix II, 37-8. See also Alexander Llewellyn, The Decade of Reform, The 1830's (Devon 1972) pp. 7-8.
- 26 For a rather pessimistic view of the overall condition of the working classes see T. R. Gourvish, "The Cost of Living in Glasgow in the early Nineteenth Century" Economic History Review vol. 25 (1972) 65-80.
- 27 For a good contemporary discussion of the situation of the Scottish poor in relation to the poor in the rest of Britain and the comparative ineffectiveness of the Scottish Poor Law see W. P. Alison, Observations on The Management of The Poor In Scotland (Edinburgh and London 1840) passim.

Politically during the 1830's, 40's and 50's Glasgow was in a state of fundamental change. The "Burgher Aristocracy" which had controlled politics up to the Reform Act remained pretty much in control though their power was to gradually slip from them. This was caused by social and economic developments rather than change in the political leadership. The Reform Bill had given the franchise and consequently the elective power to the middle-classes though they preferred, at least for a while, to keep the old dominant group in positions of power. Political party distinctions in Glasgow were in general blurred by common economic interests.

The political leaders tended in reality to be very much alike being divided into liberal Tories and conservative Whigs.²⁸ It was said of John Dennistoun, one of the notable political leaders of the day, "In politics John Dennistoun was, like his father and his brother, a keen Liberal, according to the Liberalism of the day, which, however, was rather Whiggish, and hardly kept pace with the progressive Liberalism of the city . . ." ²⁹ Political reform to these leaders was chiefly the means of achieving the removal of restrictions on trade. Their moderation can be further illustrated by the fact that between 1832 and 1847 no Glasgow MP was a Radical. All were opposed to Household Suffrage and the Ballot while none showed any interest in changing the provisions of the 1832 Reform Act. The Whig and Tory aristocracy were united in their desire to retain political power. This necessitated the securing of the loyalty and respect of the middle-classes which in turn demanded a safe policy of moderation.³⁰

28 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency", Ch. 3, 7 passim.

29 Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men (Glasgow 1886 2 vols.) I, 102.

30 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency", p. 141

The 1830's and 40's were years of vast and continuous social, political and economic change. Nowhere is this so clearly reflected as in the change taking place in the religious thought and feeling of the day.³¹ It was a period that saw the Established Church come under strong attack by many Dissenting churches, principally the Relief and the United Secession Churches, for its connection with the State. Many Dissenting ministers based their attacks on the Church of Scotland on the principle of "Voluntaryism", the belief that religion was a personal matter and that the churches should be built, supported and the ministers sustained by voluntary contributions from the parishioners. Within the ranks of the Established Church the Evangelicals were clamouring against the State's interference in their affairs. The "Veto" Act and the "Chapel" Act of 1834 were essentially measures employed by The evangelical group within the Kirk in order to purify or modify the Church's relation with the State. The Evangelicals, led by the great Thomas Chalmers, were attempting to make the Established Church more efficient and effective in coping with the social changes and pressures of the day, without necessarily relinquishing the monetary support of the State. However the Auchterarder, Lethendy and Strathbogie cases raised in their minds the spectre of Erastianism to which they were diametrically opposed. The zeal with which these men attempted to effect reforms within the Church quite naturally led to disagreements with the more

31 For a concise but very good description of the changes occurring during this period and their relation to ecclesiastical affairs see Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present Ch. 10 passim, and especially pp. 306-17

moderate and conservative members who opposed any fundamental changes in its make-up. Eventually this led to the Disruption of 1843 and the organization of the Free Church of Scotland. The Dissenting churches were not free from internal disputes many of which were instigated by this same Evangelical spirit which was attempting to liberalize Scottish theology to conform more with a changing society. But while disagreements between the Evangelicals and the conservatives or moderates led to a fragmenting of some churches there was also a movement toward realignment and consolidation among the various sects. The most important of these junctures occurred in 1847 when the United Secession and Relief Churches merged to form the United Presbyterian Church.³²

Change then is the keynote to understanding the situation in Glasgow in the 1830's and 40's particularly as the Evangelical spirit was so marked in Glasgow, in both the Established and Dissenting churches, paralleling as it were the individualistic ethic of its commercial and industrial expansion. It was in this fluid environment that the Glasgow Emancipation Society was organized and in which it was to pursue its most vigorous efforts for worldwide emancipation of the slaves.

32 A discussion of the changes in the Scottish Church during this period can be found in a wide variety of Scottish church histories. J.H.S. Burleigh's A Church History of Scotland (Oxford University Press 1960) gives an especially clear account. A fold-out following page 456 is particularly helpful in understanding the various divisions and reunions that took place in the nineteenth century. See especially pp. 309-69. See also Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption Incorporating the Chalmers Lecturers for 1940-44 (Edinburgh etc. 1943). Also G.D. Henderson, Heritage, A Study of the Disruption (Edinburgh 1943) passim. Especially pp. 59-121

Putting the Emancipation Society into the framework of the Glasgow environment we can see a society very well fitted to its setting. The political leaders, while not radical, were generally of the liberal cult. Slavery violated the economic and social doctrine held by these leaders and indeed by the entire merchant class. The commercial leaders in what was one of the most commercially important of British centres were willing to go to great lengths to promote laissez-faire economics. In some cases this meant supporting movements or societies such as the Glasgow Emancipation Society whose aims could be commercially profitable. Their overriding concern with business has a good deal of importance when considering the membership of and interest in the Society. Avaricious as these men were it should be remembered that of the four great sugar ports (London, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow) only Glasgow refrained from taking part in the slave trade.¹ The desire on the part of the commercial leadership to "improve" or "progress" economically led them to realize and stress the need for a labour force able and willing to move and use its labour in the best markets.² In other words "free" labour was

1 The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry (Glasgow 1878 Second Edition) p. 211. Though the city abstained from the slave-trade the Glasgow West India Merchants were perfectly willing to exploit slave labour in order to protect and increase their high investment in the West Indies. For an indication of this investment see S.G. Checkland, "Two Scottish West Indian Liquidations After 1793" Scottish Journal of Political Economy vol. 4 (1957), 127-43. See especially pp. 128-35. See also S.G. Checkland "Finance For The West Indies 1780-1815" The Economic History Review vol. X (1957-1958), 461-9. See especially p. 465.

2 The pride in and the determination to improve and progress commercially and industrially is clearly illustrated in the statistical accounts of the period. See N. S. A. Lanarkshire pp. 101-241 and especially pp. 137, 140, 142, 147, 156. Ure, The Philosophy of Manufactures pp. 1-44, 430-66. James Cleland, The Rise and Progress of The City Of Glasgow. (Glasgow 1820) passim.

a necessary ingredient in securing their own economic development and success. Abolitionists had from the beginning of the movement based their opposition to slavery on moralistic grounds claiming that slavery was a sin against God and Humanity. They were, however, not above making political or economic capital out of the question when it could be done without compromising moral views.³ Adam Smith could be quoted as an authority as to the unprofitability of slavery. In his Wealth of Nations Smith was in essence espousing "enlightened self interest" when he stated "It appears accordingly from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by free men comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves." Referring to free tenants as compared to slaves he says "Such tenants, being free men, are capable of acquiring property and having certain proportions of the produce of the land, they have a plain interest that the whole produce should be as great as possible in order that their own proportion may be so. A slave on the contrary, who can acquire nothing but his maintenance, consults his own ease by making the land produce as little as possible over and above that maintenance."⁴ Using arguments such as these the abolitionists often stressed the benefits to be derived from freeing the slaves. Slavery was not only sinful, it was bad business. The slave merely produced raw material to be manufactured by industry without becoming a consumer of these goods. By freeing the slaves and paying them wages not only could they produce raw material for industry, but they would also become a consumer of its products thus opening up entirely new markets which in fact is what did happen in the case of the West Indies.⁵ With some 4,500,000

3 Sir George Stephen, Antislavery Recollections in a Series of Letters addressed to Mrs. Beecher Stowe (London 1854)p. 256

4 Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (London 1826) pp.82, 364.

5 Howard Temperley, British Antislavery 1833-1870 (London 1972) p. 14. Michael Moohr, "The Economic Impact of Slave Emancipation in British Guiana 1832-1852" Economic History Review vol. 25 (1972) 595.

slaves in the United States and Brazil not to mention the millions in British India and the East, this potential economic expansion posed a very tempting and desirable market indeed. An organization such as the Glasgow Emancipation Society⁶ which was actively working toward emancipation and the expected increase in consumer demand could expect and indeed did receive support not only from the very large scale merchants and manufacturers but also from the middling or lower level businessmen who were not unaware of the economic benefits that might accrue from this expanded business. For years the abolitionists had been preaching that free labour was cheaper than slave labour.⁷ To a businessman the claim of reduced labour

6 Except for circumstances that obviously demand that the name of the Society be spelled out in full it will henceforth be referred to by its initials G. E. S.

7 This idea that under any circumstances free labour is cheaper than slave labour is very questionable as the West Indian planters were to point out when they were fighting to retain their monopoly of the sugar trade in the 1840's. Under free labour the profits on many plantations were reduced drastically and many owners were forced into bankruptcy. See William Law Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation 1838-1849 (New York reprint 1967) Ch. VII passim, and Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution - Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York 1956) p. 418. See also Moohr, "The Economic Impact of Slave Emancipation in British Guiana", 598-600. W. L. Burn in his book Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies (London 1937) p. 367 demonstrates this by comparing the production of staple crops in the West Indies between 1831 and 1842 under slavery, apprenticeship and free labour.

	<u>1835-8 compared to 1831-4</u>	<u>1839-42 compared to 1831-34</u>
Barbados	+24%	-11
St. Kitts	-13	+5
Nervis	-40	-48
Montserrat	-50	-41
Jamaica	-15	-52
Dominica	-33	-26
Grenada	-20	-52
St. Lucia	-12	-12
St. Vincent	-5	-40
Tobago	-36	-47
Trinidad	-7	-15
British Guiana	+9	-62

costs meant lower operating expenses which in turn meant increased profits and as we have seen Glasgow businessmen were vitally interested in commercial prosperity.

But there was also a humanitarian and religious feeling in Glasgow that made slavery repugnant. The persecution, virtual enslavement and martyrdom of Scottish seventeenth century religious heroes the revered Covenanters was still well remembered and this abhorrence of persecution undoubtedly played a significant part in explaining the abstinence from the slave trade and the popular support in the city for the antislavery movement. The renewed interest in the lives and times of the Covenanters fed and was fed by contemporary interest in the rising tide of Evangelical feeling and in the issues raised by the Ten Years' Conflict. The appeal that slavery was a sin and a moral evil was particularly effective to the strict Scottish Presbyterian. Further, the growing interest of the Scottish Church in missionary activity from the 1790's onwards to free the pagan from the bondage of ignorance is an important factor as evidenced by the wide popularity of the accounts of Alexander Duff from India followed by William Knibb of Jamaica in the late 1820's and 30's and of course the great David Livingstone in the 1850's and 60's.⁸

Finally the G. E. S. reflected Glasgow in its independent spirit of action. Glasgow's industrial and commercial success was based on Scottish money. Glasgow was not controlled by London or external financing so its achievements were Scottish ones. This pride in their commercial success and independence was manifested in the G. E. S. in its obstinate refusal to come under

8 Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland p. 417
Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption p. 149
John Howard Hinton, Memoirs of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica (London 1847) pp. 144-8

the control of the London based British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This independent spirit on occasion led to clashes with the London society and their following an altogether different programme was by no means unusual. The G.E.S. suited Glasgow and the city returned the compliment. The Society provided the platform for men for whatever reason to campaign against slavery. The city provided the social, economic, political and religious environment that led men to take advantage of this platform.

The illegality of slavery was decided in Scotland in 1778 in the case of Joseph Knight, the Scottish Judges taking the ground that the master's right of domination was in general unsustained by law. This was after the 1772 Somersett Judgement in England stating that the state of slavery was so odious that nothing could be suffered to support it but positive law and there was no such law. The Knight decision took a broader stand and stated that the power claimed over the slave never was in use in Scotland nor acknowledged by Scottish law.⁹ The legal decisions abolishing slavery in Britain marked the beginning of the end of slavery throughout the Empire because behind the legal judgement lay the moral judgement, and behind the moral judgement lay the Evangelicals with their vigorous condemnation of moral imperfection.

9 R. Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement (London 1933) p. 55. It is interesting to note in passing that neither of these decisions bore much influence on the 1775 and 1779 Acts to abolish the serfdom of the Scottish colliers though the two institutions were in many respects similar. See Baron F. Duckham, A History Of The Scottish Coal Industry 1700-1815, A Social and Industrial History (Plymouth 1970) pp. 297-8.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society founded in 1833 grew out of the Glasgow Anti Slavery Society which dated from 1823 and with a few variations had essentially the same complement of members.¹⁰ The Anti Slavery Society had been organized to work for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies and through its agitation had had a distinctly disturbing effect upon the local West Indian merchants. According to the Minute Books of the West India Association of Glasgow as early as 1826 they had petitioned the House of Commons stating that they were alarmed at the current agitation for abolition and all the talk of total and immediate abolition without compensation.¹¹ This is interesting and indicative of its very liberal leadership because the belief in immediatism did not come into general acceptance throughout Great Britain until about 1830.¹² Again in 1830 the West Indian Society petitioned the King complaining of the efforts

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- 10 For a comparison of the membership of the two societies see Scots Times, 27 January 1833 and the Glasgow Emancipation Society Annual Report 1835(For Glasgow Emancipation Society Annual Reports, see below footnote 15).
- 11 Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Minutes of the West India Association of Glasgow vol. I, 6 May 1826.
- 12 David Brion Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought" Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 49, (1962-63), 209-30. Immediatism was a confusing and often contradictory slogan which often meant different things to different people. On the one hand the word implies instantaneous and complete freedom for the slaves. Conversely many abolitionists took it to mean that the process for the abolition of slavery should be initiated immediately even though the actual programme would be understood to take a number of years to complete. In other words gradual emancipation of the slaves began immediately. To complicate the matter the more zealous abolitionists took the meaning quite literally as did many advocates of slavery who confidently pointed out the utter impracticability of the scheme. See David Brion Davis, "Immediatism : A Product of American and British Anti Slavery Thought", in Richard O. Curry(ed.) The Abolitionists, reformers or fanatics (New York 1965) pp. 77-87.

of the Anti Slavery Society to deface the character of the West India Association members. They went on to state that the violent discussions which the society had provoked had brought about a deterioration in their property.¹³ Interestingly enough the secretaries of the Anti Slavery Society were the same as in the later Emancipation Society, John Murray and William Smeal. The significance of this in regard to the Anti Slavery Society's hostility to the West India Association before 1833 will later become apparent. After a series of public meetings in 1833 the society along with many similar societies throughout Britain achieved their goal with the passage of a bill in late August providing for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies as from August 1, 1834.¹⁴

The initial phase of the Glasgow Emancipation Society began with the founding of the Society on December 12, 1833¹⁵ by George Thompson a former Agency Committee¹⁶ Antislavery lecturer.

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- 13 Minutes of the West India Association of Glasgow, vol. I 25 October 1830. In his book A Retrospect (Glasgow n. d.) Sir James D. Marwick also comments on the strong feeling in Glasgow in favour of the emancipation of the slaves. See p. 3.
- 14 For accounts of antislavery public meetings in Glasgow in 1833 see Scots Times, 16 February 1833, 19 February 1833, 9 March 1833, and 12 March 1833. See also Hinton, Memoirs of William Knibb pp. 144-66.
- 15 Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Book I, 12 December 1833. The Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Books are included in the Smeal Collection located at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The Smeal Collection consists of four volumes of minutes of the Glasgow Emancipation Society's public and committee meetings as well as its two Cash Books and a number of miscellaneous papers pertaining to its activities. Also included in the collection are the Society's Annual Reports between the years 1834 and 1851, the Minute Book of the Glasgow Freedman's Aid Society and various other materials relating to the antislavery activity in Glasgow between 1833 and 1876.
- 16 The Agency Committee with which George Thompson was connected was itself a London based antislavery organization set up in 1831 to arouse public support for the abolition of West Indian Slavery. See Stephen, Antislavery Recollections pp. 126-35, 148-52.

The object of this new Glasgow society was nothing less than "the Abolition of Slavery throughout the World" but more particularly in the United States. Its more immediate aim was to give financial aid to Thompson who had been invited to lecture in America by William Lloyd Garrison, one of the leaders of the American abolition movement at that time.

The Society's early period between 1834 and 1840 was chiefly concerned with supporting Thompson, who was retained as its paid lecturer, and fighting against the Apprenticeship System.¹⁷ Not long after its formation the G.E.S. had come out strongly against apprenticeship and at the height of the agitation had petitioned both Parliament and the King for its abolition as well as holding a number of public meetings to stir up popular excitement and interest.¹⁸ The agitation which had become nation wide forced the planters in the West Indies either to

17 The Apprenticeship Act passed on August 29th, 1833, to become effective on August 1st, 1834, called for an outright gift of £20m to the slaveowners as compensation for the freedom of the slaves. The slaves were to serve a term of service called apprenticeship during which period they would work only a specific number of hours per week for their former owners with the rest of their time at their disposal. In the case of field hands this period was to last for six years and for all others four years.

18 G.E.S. Annual Report 1835. The public meetings of the Society in 1837-8 against Apprenticeship are extensively covered in the Glasgow Argus the most important liberal newspaper in the city between 1833 and 1847. Its editor, William Weir, was one of the leaders of the Free Trade movement in the West of Scotland until the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and a staunch supporter of the antislavery cause. The public meetings of the Society took place on 19 June 1837, 31 October 1837, 8 November 1837, 27 December 1837, 14 February 1838 and 16 April 1838.

abandon the system voluntarily or have Parliament abolish it for them. By August 1st 1838, all of the Colonial Assemblies of the West Indies had finally voted to end it. It was also during this period that the Society had become interested in the problem of slavery in India, the existence of slavery in the then independent Texas and the Amistad controversy all of which will be dealt with in more detail later on.

The year 1840 began a new phase in the development of the G.E.S. which resulted in some bitter internal squabbling and ultimately the resignation of some of its most influential members. It originated with the World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 to which the Society had sent a number of delegates. The controversy began over the question of whether or not to accept as delegates to the Convention a number of American women.¹⁹ Up to this time the question had not been raised in Britain as it was taken as a matter of course that women formed separate or auxiliary societies and would not consider attending the World Convention as delegates which was of course the work of men. The American women were excluded and the radical Garrison, arriving late, refused to take part in the proceedings and joined the ladies in the gallery to demonstrate his support for their right to be recognized as delegates. The real trouble began for the G.E.S. when a few months after the World Convention the American abolitionist John Collins arrived in Glasgow seeking money for the support of a new newspaper to be established by Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society.²⁰ Essentially the dispute was over whether or not to accept publicly

19 For an account of the debate at the Convention see Proceedings Of The General Anti-Slavery Convention, Called By The Committee Of The British And Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Held In London from Friday, June 12th to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840 (London 1841) pp. 23-46.

20 Walter M. Merrill, Against Wind and Tide. A Biography of William Lloyd Garrison (Cambridge Mass. 1963) p. 175.

the credentials of Collins at a public meeting thereby endorsing both him and the Garrison faction he represented . The difficulty lay in the fact that by associating the G. E. S. with the American Anti-Slavery Society it could be charged that the Society was supporting the cause of Woman's Rights, a position many of its members opposed. After some fast manoeuvring by two opposing factions within the Society, Collins was recognised and subsequently a good many of the members of the organization resigned in protest. The G. E. S. , now firmly under the control of its two secretaries William Smeal and John Murray, was from this point on to take a more radical line in its activities.

For the next two and a half years the Society busied itself in several non-controversial causes. Under the influence of George Thompson it became interested in and petitioned Parliament on behalf of the Rajah of Sattarah who the committee felt had been unjustly dethroned.²¹ It also actively opposed the Afghanistan War in 1842 and appointed delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1843. Other interests intended to facilitate the abolition of slavery included petitioning Parliament to remove all restrictions "on the Free Emigration of the Negro race from all parts of the coast of Africa to the British West India" and a rather vacillating stance in the Free Trade controversy.²² At the same time it was calling for churches to withdraw from communion with those slave holding churches in the American South. Activity of this kind had none of the ideological bitterness that had torn the Society apart in 1841 or that was to give it new unity and life during the Free Church Controversy.

21 G. E. S. Minute Book I, 3 August, 1841.

22 Ibid, 1 August 1843. See below Ch. V p. 163-7

The Free Church Controversy, which broke out in 1844, originated when a delegation of the newly formed Free Church of Scotland visited the Southern States of America in search of financial support for the building of new churches. In this they met with considerable success raising about £3,000.²³ Such activity so close to home by this new but very important segment of the Scottish religious community could not go unchallenged and the G. E. S. promptly started a "Send Back the Money" campaign which achieved amazing proportions. The G. E. S. organized a series of public protest meetings and at the height of the controversy invited Garrison to join three other American abolitionists James Buffum, Frederick Douglass and Henry C. Wright to work with it in an effort to put pressure on the Free Church to return the money. Despite the outcry of the G. E. S. and other antislavery groups the money was not returned and it is open to question whether or not its advocates ever really expected the effort to be successful.

The next programme the G. E. S. launched was initiated at a public meeting on November 16th, 1852. The publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin had caused a nationwide stir and her impending visit to Britain sponsored by a newly formed rival antislavery society gave rise to the Uncle Tom's Penny Offering whereby anyone who had read the book was asked to

23 George Shepperson, "Thomas Chalmers, The Free Church of Scotland and the South", Journal of Southern History vol. XVII (1951), 519. Other accounts of the controversy can be found in two other articles by Professor Shepperson viz "Frederick Douglass and Scotland", Journal of Negro History vol. XXXVIII (1953), 307-21 and "The Free Church and American Slavery", Scottish Historical Review vol. 30 (1951), 126-43.

donate one penny. So successful was this campaign that on Mrs. Stowe's departure from Britain she took with her over twenty thousand dollars.²⁴ The G. E. S. , which took over responsibility for the collection in the West of Scotland, sent these contributions to the Edinburgh Emancipation Society which on 19 April 1853 presented her with the sum of £1,000.²⁵ Ultimately Scotland's contribution to the Offering amounted to £1,330.

From this period onwards the G. E. S. declined rapidly in activity meeting only sporadically. Generally these meetings were called to receive a visiting abolitionist or as on one occasion to memorialize the members of the Wesleyen Conference in 1857 not to accept two ministers representing slave holding churches.²⁶ The outbreak of the American Civil War failed to revive the Society except for an occasional public meeting.

As the war in America began to enter its final stages and thousands of freed men, destitute and homeless came on the American scene many of the members of the G. E. S. formed a new society on November 7, 1864 called the Freedmen's Aid Society. Though strictly speaking it was a separate organization it was made up primarily of members from the G. E. S. and its activities help to fill in and explain a long period of antislavery inactivity between 1863 and 1873. Between 1864 and 1867 this society held thirteen committee and public meetings and remitted to the national society in London about £160. It is also significant that as early as June 1865 it had agreed to unite with the national society. Up to this

24 Forrest Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline, The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe (London 1942) p. 225

25 G. E. S. Miscellaneous Papers, Uncle Tom's Penny Offering, Statement of Committee, Abstract of Treasurer's Account.

26 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 27 July 1857

time the members of the G. E. S. had shown an almost passionate independence from London and consequently this decision to affiliate with the national movement shows a certain amount of mellowing over the years.²⁷

Between 1863 and 1873 the G. E. S. held no meetings, its efforts no doubt channelled into the activities of the Freedman's Aid Society. In 1873 one poorly attended public meeting was held which sent a resolution to the Prime Minister and Lord Granville proposing that the Government should take steps to halt the East Africa slave traffic. Their next and last public meeting was held in 1876 to protest against a Government circular which stated that fugitive slaves could not look for refuge on British war ships.²⁸

The existence of the G. E. S. can thus in retrospect be divided into three main periods during each of which several different objectives were sought. The first from 1833 to 1840 was a period of successful and unified agitation crowned by the abolition of the apprenticeship system. This was followed by a period between 1840 and 1847 of bitter controversy first directed inward and later focused on the Free Church of Scotland. Finally, the era between 1847 and 1876 during which the Society gradually lost momentum and ultimately ceased to exist as a potent special interest lobby. The G. E. S. was an organization that was shaped by events though it did take an active part in these events rather than sitting passively by the wayside. Its precise role and the reason it took the course it did will be dealt with later but suffice to say it was no ordinary group being far more vigorous than most British

27 Freedmen's Aid Society Minute Book, 6 June 1865. Hereafter referred to as F. A. S. Minute Book. The cash accounts are contained in the Minute Book. It should be understood that the Society agreed to unite with the London society only after it was made known that the purpose of the national society was to co-ordinate the efforts of the provincial societies and in no way interfere with their internal affairs.

28 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 3 November 1873, 2 February 1876. For extensive accounts of these meetings see Glasgow Herald, 4 November 1873 and the North British Daily Mail, 3 February 1876.

antislavery bodies and displaying an independence of mind that was most unusual in societies of this kind in Great Britain. For the immediate and long term development of British society in the nineteenth century the great questions of the day were, of course, political, economic and social. These issues polarized around the struggles over Chartism, Free Trade, the Poor Law, Disestablishment and educational reform. However, in the context of the general surge of reform enthusiasms and as one of the minor offshoots of that reforming impulse, and in particular as part of the overall British antislavery movement after 1833, the Glasgow Emancipation Society played a vital if sometimes secondary role. In this context the understanding of its existence and history is important.

On December 6, 1833 the first preliminary meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society met and arranged to formally organize a society that in future years came to have a significant influence on the course of the British anti slavery movement. One of the primary reasons for this influence is the members themselves. Many of the most influential men in society, politics and the church were at one time or another active in the movement. Through its membership the Society could count on being represented in Parliament, in the City Chambers and in some of the most prestigious congregations in the area. Between 1833 and 1851, during which time the membership was recorded, there were only one hundred and forty-one officers, committeemen, and honorary and corresponding members. Because of the prominence of its members and the hard work of its more active segment it was able to assert an influence disproportionate to its size. During periods of intense activity such as during 1838 and 1840-1 The Society was able to nominate and send to conventions in London notable and respected men to work toward furthering both its own policies and the antislavery cause in general. Even in the less spectacular committee meetings which helped decide direction and policy there were often men of a high calibre taking an active role. Men such as the venerable Robert Grahame and the Rev. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw found it possible to take time out to chair both committee and public meetings. Indeed Wardlaw was one of its leaders until he and others split off from the G.E.S. in 1841 due to ideological friction. Other members were less prominent and in a few cases little or nothing is known about them. Still others were members only briefly and took no significant part in the Society's activities. A sizeable portion, numbering approximately twenty-five percent,

were members in name only and rarely if ever took part in committee work. They did, however, lend their names to the Society and subsequently their implied endorsement of its policies. Thus some of the respect in which they were held locally was in turn bestowed upon the Society. Endowed with this mantle of respectability and the enthusiasm of its more active members, the Society was often able to attract large audiences for its public meetings and consequently apply a certain amount of public pressure on the government to grant its demands.¹

The recorded membership of the Society can conveniently be divided into five categories : (1) Officeholders (2) Clergy (3) Active Committeemen (4) Inactive Committeemen (5) Honorary and Corresponding Members. These in turn can be broken down in other ways such as occupations or religious affiliations. Of course a few members refuse to fit well into these categories, such as the Rev. James McTear who instead of involving himself in the ministry of the Relief Church, to which he was ordained, spent his life as a teacher of English². Nothing much is known of Rev. Peter McOwan who does not seem to have ever been a practising minister in Glasgow.

Others like Rev. George Jeffrey fit into three of the five groups as a minister, a vice president and an active committeeman. Generally speaking, however, the five groups are distinctive at least to the degree that one is able to get a clear idea as to their make-up and the make-up of the Society as a whole.

During the more active years of the G. E. S. , between 1833 and 1854, nineteen men held one of the four offices in the Society

1 A few of the more prominent public meetings to which a large number of people were reported to have attended took place on 23 September 1835, 19 June 1837, 14 February 1838, 15 October 1839, 5 May 1842, 17 August 1843, 21 April 1846, 28 October 1846, 16 November 1852. See G. E. S. Minute Books I-IV.

2 W. Innes Addison, Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858 (Glasgow 1913) p. 241. Hereafter referred to as M. A. U. G. McTear's obituary can be found in the Glasgow Courier, 29 October 1846.

i. e. President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary.

Throughout most of this period Robert Grahame held the position of President. Vice-Presidents included Revs. Hugh Heugh, Michael Willis, William Anderson, George Jeffrey, Ralph Wardlaw, William Kidston and John Dennistoun, James Oswald, Alexander Hastie, Thomas Grahame, William Paton and Anthony Wigham. James Johnston briefly held the office of Treasurer afterwards assumed by James Beith till his death in 1841. Dr. James Smeal for one year held the office of Foreign Secretary. The office of Secretary was held by John Murray, William Smeal and Andrew Paton.³

Robert Grahame, the first President of the G. E. S. was appointed in 1833 and held the office until his death in 1851. During this period Grahame was undoubtedly one of the most respected men in the city. Born in Glasgow on September 19, 1759, he was the second son of Thomas Grahame writer and an important citizen of Glasgow. Like his father Grahame became a writer and with the firm of Grahame and Mitchell became one of the most distinguished in the city. In 1833 he was unanimously elected Lord Provost thus becoming the first Lord Provost elected after the Reform Bill. Earlier in his career he had spoken out against the part played by the government during the American Revolution and in 1794 was one of the lawyers for the defence of Thomas Muir and other political prisoners. Along with James Oswald he belonged to the Fox Club which consisted of all the leading reformers of the day.⁴ He was also a member

3 G. E. S. Annual Reports 1835-51

4 Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1883, (Glasgow 1883) pp. 8, 15-9.
Robert Reid, Glasgow Past & Present (Glasgow 1884 3 vols.) II, 500. The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry p. 260

and President of the Glasgow Reform Association.⁵ Along with several other members of the G. E. S. he was a member of the "Clique" a liberal reform group that was composed mainly of old steady Whigs and politically very powerful.⁶ Not only was Grahame an active and zealous reformer but he was also a landholder with considerable wealth. He had been an original partner of Charles Tennant & Co., had extensive holdings of Forth and Clyde and Union Canal Stock, and promoted various lucrative mineral railways.⁷ Grahame, unlike the figurehead presidents of many other societies, actually took an active part in the running of the Society during the early years of its existence. It was only because of his advanced years and declining health that he ceased being an active member. Indeed he left Scotland altogether and retired to France and later to Hatton Hall, Northamptonshire where he died in 1851.

Robert Grahame's son Thomas was in many respects similar to his father. He too was a writer and had joined his father's firm and in fact had taken his father's place in the firm now called

5 Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Reform Association for the Year 1831 (Glasgow 1831) p.17. This report is located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Subsequent reference to membership in the association refers to this footnote. The Glasgow Argus of 19 June 1837 lists the following G. E. S. committeemen who were also members of the Glasgow Reform Association :

James Beith	James Oswald
Walter Buchanan	William Paton
Walter Craig	Robert Sanderson
John Fleming	Dr. James Smeal
John A. Fullerton	James Turner
Alexander Graham	John Ure
John Maxwell	

6 John Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (Glasgow 1864) p.452

7 Lord Provosts of Glasgow, p. 21

Mitchell Grahame & Mitchell. As his father before him he became a member of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow in 1817.⁸ In 1842 he was appointed a Vice-President of the G.E.S. though he never assumed an active role and seldom attended any meetings. In 1854 he was asked to be President of the Society though he never formally accepted the office.⁹

Among his other activities he took a decided interest in the total abstinence (teetotaler) movement. Thomas, who had married Hannah Finlay, daughter of Kirkman Finlay, was from the highest class of Glasgow society. He, like his father, was a liberal Whig though his interest and influence on the G.E.S. can at best be described as slight.

Rev. Dr. Hugh Heugh of the United Secession Church was appointed one of the original Vice-Presidents of the G.E.S. and remained so until the Society split in 1841. Born in 1782, he was both active and respected throughout the area. Besides taking a leading part in the public meetings of the G.E.S. he was an ardent worker for other philanthropic causes such as the Bible and missionary societies.¹⁰ and was Secretary of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society.¹¹ As a minister at Blackfriars on Regent St. from 1821 until his death in 1846 he was reputed to be one of the most effective speakers of his day.¹²

8 M. A. U. G. , p. 207

9 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 15 November 1854

10 Andrew Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow, (Glasgow 1894) pp. 295-8.

11 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" App. B.

12 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 295-8

Along with Heugh another United Secession Church minister was appointed Vice-President of the G.E.S. in 1836. Born in 1768 the Rev. Dr. William Kidston became one of the most prominent men in his church. From 1791 till 1851 he held the ministry at the Campbell St. Church during which time he was actively interested in many associations for the promotion of religion both at home and abroad.¹³ He was a member of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society as well as a Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society and Treasurer of the Andersonian University.¹⁴ He perhaps reached the pinnacle of his career when in May of 1847 he was elected Moderator of the First Synod of the United Presbyterian Church. Like Rev. Heugh he took little interest in the committee work of the G.E.S. but was quite active in its public meetings. Unlike Heugh, however, he remained on as a Vice-President until his death in 1852.

Undoubtedly the most eminent and widely known of the ministers who were appointed Vice-Presidents of the G.E.S. was the Rev. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw. Born in Dalkeith in 1779 Wardlaw became one of the most notable ministers in Glasgow while at the Independent George St. Chapel. He received an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Yale University in 1818 and was offered professorships and principalships all over

13 The Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition 1894 (Glasgow 1894) p. 84.

14 Glasgow Courier, 3 March 1835.
 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" App. B. The Andersonian University was a rather liberal school founded by Professor John Anderson in 1796 as a protest against the policies of the University of Glasgow.
 Reid, Glasgow Past & Present II, 257.
Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society Report 1820-1 (Glasgow 1821). These Reports are found in the University of Glasgow Library.

England.¹⁵ He wrote ably and extensively and between 1811 and 1853 he was Professor of Theology in the Congregational Divinity Hall. Among his many philanthropic activities in the Glasgow area he was a trustee of the Andersonian University, President of the Glasgow Religious Tract Society and President of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society.¹⁶ He was also the Secretary and the leader of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society during which period a controversy broke out over the policy of the London society of distributing Bibles containing the Apocrypha. Along with the entire Glasgow Society he strongly disapproved of this practice but unlike most of the others he favoured affiliation with the London Society. When the Glasgow Society voted to set up their own independent society Wardlaw along with the Revs. Dick, Mitchell, Kidston and Ewing left to form another society affiliated with London. Politically he was a steadfast Whig who took no action in politics unless the Whigs took the lead.¹⁷ Wardlaw was present at the start of the anti slavery movement in Glasgow in 1823 when the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society was founded. In 1833 when it was changed into the Glasgow Emancipation Society he was one of the original Vice-Presidents. He retained the office and was one of its most active members until he resigned in 1841 when the G.E.S. was torn apart by internal disputes brought

15 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 368-72
Joseph Irving, The Book of Eminent Scotsmen (Paisley 1881) pp. 540-1

16 M. A. U. G., p. 162
Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery", App. B.

17 William Lindsay Alexander, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw DD (Edinburgh 1856) pp. 252-8, 297.
Although during his life Wardlaw was very active in the antislavery movement in Glasgow there is little in this biography concerning his interest or activity in this field.

on by the Garrisonians. He later founded another more moderate anti slavery society and remained active in the movement until his death in 1853.¹⁸

Another important and active minister who served as Vice-President was the Rev. William Anderson. Anderson, a Relief Church minister, filled the pulpit of the John St. Church for fifty-two years. He took an active part in all the questions of the day both political and theological and contributed largely and effectively to the cause of reform. Some of his many activities include preaching for Catholic Emancipation, Voluntaryism, Repeal of the Corn Laws and the cause of the North in the American Civil War.¹⁹ Other interests of his were membership in the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society and the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society and serving as Vice-President of the Glasgow Religious Friendly Society while all the time being a leading member of the early temperance movement. In 1850 Glasgow University awarded him an honorary LL.D.²⁰ Anderson was interested and active in the G.E.S. and often served as chairman in both the public and committee meetings. In 1841 he was appointed one of its Vice-Presidents and held that office through 1851.

18 Ibid, p.298

George Shepperson, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland 1852-3", Scottish Historical Review, vol. 32 (1953), 43-4.

19 J. Logan Aikman, (ed.) Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow (Glasgow 1875) p. 58
Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men I, 12

20 Glasgow Courier, 3 March 1835.

Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" App. B.

Edward Morris, History of the Temperance & Teetotal Society (Glasgow 1855) p.15.

Aikman, Historical Notices of the U.P. Church p. 58

The Rev. Michael Willis held the office of Vice-President from 1844 through 1851. Born in 1799 he later matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1813, received his M. A. in 1817 and D. D. in 1839. He was a minister to the Renfield St. congregation under : 1) Original Burgher Church 1821-39, 2) Church of Scotland 1839-43, 3) Free Church of Scotland 1843-7. Willis served as Professor of Theology to the Burgher Synod from 1825 to 1839. In 1847 he emigrated to Canada where he was Principal of and Professor of Divinity at Knox College, Toronto from 1847 to 1871. He remained a staunch abolitionist after his move to Canada and while there he served as President of the Anti Slavery Society of Canada.²¹ During the controversy between the abolitionists and the Free Church of Scotland in the mid 1840's Willis was one of the area's most outspoken clergy in condemning the policy of the Free Church in its acceptance of contributions from Slaveholding churches of the American South even though he was a minister of that Kirk.

Although he was only appointed a Vice-President of the G. E. S. in 1851 the Rev. George Jeffrey of the United Secession Church, London Road had been a member of the committee since 1843 and had taken an aggressive part in the public and committee meetings in the campaign of the G. E. S. against the Free Church. He was also one of the stalwarts of the Society in its declining years after 1853 and was often seen on the platform at its public meetings.²² He was also noted for being outspoken on the social or semi-political questions of the day and came out strongly against the war in the Crimea.²³

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- 21 M. A. U. G. p. 271
Annie H. Able and Frank J. Klingberg, A Side-Light on
Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1857. Furnished by the
Correspondence of Lewis Tappan and Others with the
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (Lancaster, Pa.
1927) p. 261, n. 242
- 22 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 10 June 1846, 18 February 1851.
- 23 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United
Presbyterian Church From 1733 to 1900 (Edinburgh 1904
2 vols.) II, 71.

In 1841 John Dennistoun was appointed a Vice-President of the G.E.S. having been an honorary member since 1838. Son of James Dennistoun the wealthy Glasgow banker, he was associated throughout his life with his brother Alexander in J. & A. Dennistoun, Cotton Merchants, which had branch offices in Liverpool, New Orleans, Havre de Grace, New York, Melbourne and London. Added to this he had his own cotton spinning firm of John Dennistoun & Co. and was one of the founders of the large flax spinning concern of Alexander Fletcher & Co. at Rollox. In 1834-5 he was Baillie of Provan and in 1836-7 he was a director of the Chamber of Commerce.²⁴ Finally, he was elected to represent the city in Parliament between 1837 and 1847. It is not recorded that Dennistoun ever attended a committee meeting of the G.E.S. but he was appointed as a delegate to both the World Anti Slavery Conventions of 1840 and 1843 though he failed to attend either.²⁵ During public meetings he was occasionally on the platform and contributed his eminence if not his practical leadership to the Society.

24 Glasgow Post Office Directory 1834-7. Hereafter this directory will be referred to as G.P.O.D. Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" p. 64.

Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men I 100-2.

25 Rhodes House Library, British And Foreign Anti Slavery Society Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18.C9/30 John Murray to J.H. Tredgold, 3 June 1840, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18.C21/108, William Smeal to John Scoble, 7 June 1843. These papers along with the Minute Books of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society are located in the Rhodes House Library, Oxford and will hereafter be referred to as B.F.A.S.S. Papers and B.F.A.S.S. Minute Books.

Although he was twenty-four years older than Dennistoun, James Oswald was quite similar in many respects. He too was a cotton yarn merchant and associated with the firm of Oswald Stevenson & Co. Moreover he too was an MP for Glasgow and served from the first Reform Parliament in 1833 until 1837 and again from 1839 until 1841. He was a leader of the Whig or Reformer party and a member of the "Clique" and the Fox Club. On George IV's visit to Edinburgh, Oswald commanded the Glasgow Light Horse.²⁶ Coming from an old and respected Glasgow family, Oswald was well known and liked in the area. Peter Mackenzie states of him in his book Reminiscences of Glasgow "He was esteemed to be a man of the greatest probity and finest sense of honour. His very name was a passport to first rate society in Glasgow or out of it or indeed wherever he went."²⁷ After his death in 1853 some of his friends erected a statue of him which still stands in George Square. As with Dennistoun, Oswald never attended a committee meeting and rarely did he attend the public ones. His contribution to the Society was mainly in having his prominent name as one of the G.E.S. Vice-Presidents. He served in this capacity between 1841 and 1853 when he died.²⁸ However serving in his capacity as MP for Glasgow he did present a number of petitions to Parliament on behalf of the Society and willingly supported various causes proposed by it.

26 M.A.U.G. p.173
Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs p.452

27 Peter Mackenzie, Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland (Glasgow 1868 2 vols.) I, 636.

28 G.E.S. Annual Reports 1841-51
M.A.U.G. , p.173

Alexander Hastie was another of the politically powerful that served as Vice-Presidents of the G. E. S. albeit only briefly. Born in 1805 of Robert Hastie the founder of the well known mercantile house of Robert Hastie & Co. , he was at an early age required to take over the family business. He gradually became more and more politically and socially active. He served as a manager of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, a member of the committee for River Clyde & Harbour of Glasgow, a councillor for the 1st Ward between 1840 and 1846, a director of the Chamber of Commerce, director of the Towns Hospital, and director of Stirling's Library. In 1846 he was elected Lord Provost of the City thus becoming the first Dissenter to attain that office. Finally, in 1848 he was elected MP for the city, a position he held until 1857.²⁹ As a member of the United Presbyterian Church, Hastie was also the first Dissenter to sit in the House of Commons for Glasgow. Hastie was typical of the "new" Liberals who rose to power in the latter half of the 1840's. These "new" men had come to Glasgow and taken advantage of the enormous commercial and industrial success of the area and because of their ability and wealth had, by 1850, thrust aside the old "Burgher Aristocracy" and assumed the political leadership of the city.³⁰ Though his politics were liberal and he attained a position of prominence and power he was a member of neither the "Clique" nor the Glasgow Reform Association indicating that

29 G.P.O.D. 1840-6
Lord Provosts of Glasgow pp. 102-6

30 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" pp. 194-8.

by the latter part of the 1840's these two groups had lost much of their influence and importance. Unlike Dennistoun and Oswald, Hastie played an active role in the meetings of the G.E.S. and as early as 1843 served as chairman for the Ninth Annual Meeting. Again in 1844, 1851 and 1860 he took the chair at public meetings and actively participated.³¹

Anthony Wigham came from a Quaker family originally from the North Country that moved to Scotland in the eighteenth century. He was the cousin of John Wigham whose wife Jane (sister of William Smeal) and daughter were leaders of the radical Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society. Like many of the other members he was a member of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society. In 1835 he moved to Aberdeen where he became a leading member of the antislavery movement. Wigham was one of the original Vice-Presidents and remained as one until 1841 when he resigned in the dispute created by the American Garrisonian abolitionist John Collins. From his activity in Aberdeen it is most likely he was a wholesale ironmonger.³²

William Paton, who was well known in the city for his religious and philanthropic work, was a West India merchant. In the 1830's he was appointed a Director of the Chamber of Commerce as well as being a member of the Glasgow Reform Association. Later in the 40's he served as Clyde Commissioner, Bridge Commissioner and Commissioner for Assessed Taxes for Glasgow.³³

31 G.E.S. Annual Report 1843.
G.E.S. Minute Books III, IV, 14 March 1844, 1 August 1843, 6 January 1851, 8 March 1860.

32 Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society Reports 1813-21
 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" pp. 45-6, 64-5.
 C. Duncan Rice, "Abolitionists and abolitionism in Aberdeen: a test case for the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement" Northern Scotland vol. 1 (1972) 70-1.

33 G.P.O.D. 1833-49
Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Reform Association for the Year 1831 p. 17

Between 1836 and 1841 Paton was one of the most active members of the G. E. S. and was appointed Vice-President in 1840. This was only one year before he was to resign and become the leader of the anti Garrisonian abolitionists in Glasgow.³⁴

Little is known about William Smeal's rather obscure relative James Smeal except that he was a physician and like William, an active Quaker. His tenure with the G. E. S. as Foreign Secretary was short and he attended few meetings. Like the others in the Society his politics were liberal as evidenced by his membership in the Glasgow Reform Association.³⁵

James Johnston, who for three years served as treasurer for the G. E. S. , was a merchant associated with James Johnston & Son wholesale carpet and woollen commission warehousemen. Like others in the Society he was a committeeman of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society. In 1836 he moved to Upper Canada where he remained an honorary member of the Society and where he was responsible for the founding of an anti slavery society.³⁶ After August 1839 he emigrated to Auburn New York and later (1841-2) to Frammingham Massachusetts.

34 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 30 July 1841
Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands
(London 1854) 2 vols.) I, 52.

35 Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Reform Association
for the Year 1831 p. 17

36 G. P. O. D. 1834-5
Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American
Slavery" App. B.
G. E. S. Annual Report 1837 p. 48

Andrew Paton, a commission merchant, assumed the office of Secretary after the death of John Murray in 1849. Prior to that he had been very active in both the committee and public meetings. As a close friend of William Smeal, one of the other secretaries, he took a leading role in the G.E.S. from the time that he joined in 1841 until its final meeting in 1876.

Facts surrounding the life of John Murray, one of the secretaries of the G.E.S. and with William Smeal and George Thompson its most important figure, are very obscure. It is known that he spent ten years in the West Indies and upon his return spent a great deal of time working for the abolition of slavery.³⁷ His activity in the antislavery cause goes back as far as the founding of the Glasgow Anti Slavery Society in 1823 in which he served as one of the co-secretaries with William Smeal. Murray, a customs collector, from Bowling Bay, was a member of the Relief Church and the Secretary of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society. He rarely missed either a committee or public meeting of the G.E.S. and took a leading part in shaping the radical Garrisonian policies of the Society. He was by no means a wealthy man and upon his death in 1849 his belongings, valued at only £80, were empounded pending the settlement of a debt owed to the Canal Company.³⁸

37 Ibid. 1851, pp. 6-7

38 Scottish Record Office, Dumbarton Commissary Record VI 1849-52, SC65/34/6 pp. 424-5.
Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 45.

There is no doubt that the single most powerful force in the existence of the G. E. S. was its recording Secretary William Smeal. Smeal, who was a prosperous grocer and tea dealer, was also a zealous reformer and took an active part in the temperance and peace movements and the work toward the abolishment of capital punishment. He also supported the repeal of the Corn Laws and a national system of education. For more than fifty years he held the office of Clerk to the Preparative Meeting, the Two Month Meeting, and the General Meeting of the Society of Friends. In 1840 he was acknowledged as one of the ministers of the Society of Friends. As early as 1815 he was a member of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society. From 1864 to 1867 he was the Secretary and Treasurer of the Glasgow Freedman's Aid Society. With brother Robert he was the founder and co-editor of the Quaker monthly The British Friend. Smeal was deeply interested in politics and a life long member of the Liberal party.³⁹ With a man so busy in so many reform movements it is easy to understand why he was well known and respected in the East end of Glasgow.⁴⁰

As Recording Secretary of the G. E. S. from its inception until its final meeting in 1876, Smeal never missed any kind of meeting and was largely responsible for the radical Garrisonian policies that the Society followed. Through sheer force of energy, drive, and, as will be shown, some rather dubious practices, he

39 Biographical Catalogue - being an account of the lives of the Friends and others whose Portraits are in the London Friends Institute (London 1888). pp. 632-4. The Biographical Catalogue is located in the Friends House, London. For Smeal's obituary see Glasgow Herald, 22 August, 1877.

40 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 443-4.

and a small coterie of fellow radicals managed to impose policies on the Society which in 1841 led a significant portion to break away and form another more moderate society.

The Smeal's like the Wigham's, had come from the North Country. His father had been a member of the Church of Scotland as a youth but had left and joined the seceders and subsequently became connected with the Independents and Baptists. In 1801 he joined the Quakers in Edinburgh and from there came to Glasgow where he became a grocer and tea merchant.⁴¹

After the departure of James Johnston, James Beith held the office of Treasurer until his death in 1840.⁴² Beith was a manufacturer associated with the Company of Thorburn & Beith and was quite active in both civic and religious affairs. He was appointed a Director of the Towns Hospital in 1833 and served as a councillor for the Third District the same year.⁴³ Typically he was a member of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society and the Glasgow Reform Association.⁴⁴ He was also one of the more zealous members of the G. E. S. taking an active part in both the public and committee meetings.

Thus, nineteen men at one time or another held office in the G. E. S. Five of the six ministers were Dissenters and the sixth, Rev. Willis, as has been pointed out, eventually left the

41 The Annual Monitor and Memorandum Book No. 26 (York 1838) pp. 137-8. The Annual Monitor and Memorandum Books are located in the Friends House, London.

42 G. E. S. Annual Report 1841, p. 9

43 G. P. O. D. 1833-4

44 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" App. B.

Established Church and joined the Free Church. This is typical of the rest of the clergy in the Society in that there were but four of thirty-one ministers affiliated with the Church of Scotland. One of these, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, can hardly be said to have been representative of the Establishment as he was an out and out radical.⁴⁵ This lack of participation on the part of the Established Church is due to its conservative stance concerning matters of reform and as has been shown the leaders of the G.E.S. were zealous reformers. Wardlaw, Heugh, Kidston and Anderson were some of the most outstanding ministers in Glasgow and their principles of reform were undoubtedly well known. Couple this with the antagonism between the Dissenting and the Established Church and it is not difficult to understand the lack of participation by the Church of Scotland. Of equal importance it should be pointed out that the ministers of the Established Church had much more important and intimate matters concerning them such as the problem of Church Extension in the 30's and the Ten Years Conflict between 1834 and 1843.

Thirteen of the officeholders were laymen and among them some from the very 'upper crust' of Glasgow Society. Of the thirteen, six were merchants, two were manufacturers, two writers, one doctor, one customs officer and a tea dealer. Three of these men served in Parliament while two were Lord Provosts of Glasgow. Nine of the thirteen were definitely not members of the Church of Scotland.⁴⁶ However, owing to the powerful position

45 Harold Underwood Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches (London 1970) pp. 107-9
 Leslie C. Wright, Scottish Chartism (Edinburgh 1953) pp. 27, 46-7.

46 Those definitely not members of the Church of Scotland were William P. Paton, James Johnston, Anthony Wigham, James Beith, James Smeal, William Smeal, John Murray, Alexander Hastie, and Andrew Paton.

held by the Church of Scotland in the upper class society of Glasgow, men of the stature of Robert and Thomas Grahame, James Oswald and John Dennistoun were most certainly members of the Established Church.

Thus numbered among the officeholders there was the cream of both the religious and lay societies. This was by no means unusual as philanthropic societies all over Britain had almost an obsession with appointing the famous and important to at least nominally head their organizations. This was no doubt to lend a certain aura of respectability and stature and presumably more weight in seeking their ends.⁴⁷

Between 1834 and 1851 twenty-five members of the city's clergy were listed as committeemen. In fact any member of the clergy who subscribed to the Society was, at least in theory, automatically listed as being a member of the committee.⁴⁸ Counting the six ministers who were officeholders there were thirty-one clergymen who served at one time or another in the G.E.S. Some like the Revs. James McTear and William Anderson took very active roles while others such as John Edwards and James Paterson so far as is recorded, never attended a single meeting. Fifteen of these ministers could be said to have taken an active role during the period of their membership while sixteen rarely showed any interest.

The fifteen ministers who were actively involved in the committee meetings can be broken down into four categories.

47 Brown, Fathers of the Victorians pp. 343-60

48 G.E.S. Annual Report 1835, p. 3.

The first group was made up of those ministers of the United Secession and Relief Churches which later combined into the United Presbyterian Church. This group included Revs. Anderson, Heugh, Jeffrey and Kidston (see pp.36, 37, 39, 40) as well as Revs. Alexander, Harvey, David King and John Eadie. Of these last three perhaps Eadie was the most notable. From 1835 he was the pastor of the Cambridge St. Church and grew to be well liked and highly respected throughout the community. Socially his peers were of the highest rank.⁴⁹ His Biblical commentaries were well known and The Baillie goes so far as to say "Dr. Eadie has won lasting fame as a Biblical critic and commentator. His works have attained the dignity of 'standard' and won for their author a distinguished place among literary churchmen. His fame is not Scottish merely like that of so many of our noted ministers".⁵⁰ Rev. King, who ministered at the North Albion St. Church, was one of the founders of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. Along with Wardlaw, Heugh, Anderson, and Harvey, he took part in the Voluntary movement.⁵¹ Rev. Harvey of Calton was well known for his reform beliefs and only too willing to speak up in public concerning them. He spoke up in favour of Voluntaryism, Chartism, Universal Suffrage and opposed Socialism.⁵² Both King and Harvey were Committeemen of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society.⁵³

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- 49 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 282-5
 The Baillie, 20 May 1874
 Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men I, 113-4
- 50 The Baillie, 20 May 1874
- 51 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 306-11
- 52 Aikman, Historical Notices of the U.P. Church pp.89-90
 Alexander Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland
 (Manchester 1970) p.147.
- 53 Alexander, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph
 Wardlaw D.D. pp.252-8
 Glasgow Courier, 3 March 1835.

The second category, made up of ministers of the Independent Church, includes the Revs. Fergus Ferguson, Thomas Pullar, George Rose and of course, Ralph Wardlaw. Except for Wardlaw, Ferguson was the most important in this group. He took his B. A. and M. A. at the University of Glasgow in 1845 and 1858 respectively and received his D. D. from the University of Lebanon, Tennessee in 1875.⁵⁴ Both Ferguson and Pullar were active in the temperance movement. Little or nothing is known concerning the activities of Rose except that he was the minister of the Independent Primitive Methodist Church at the Waterloo Veteran Chapel, Suffolk Street.

There were three members of the Church of Scotland that can be considered active though for quite different reasons. Rev. John Duncan of the Duke St. Chapel of Ease was one of the more colourful ministers of the day. Duncan held the Sabbath Lectureship in Glasgow between 1831 and 1841 when he was appointed as a missionary to the Continental Jews in Hungary. Later, in 1843, he joined the Free Church and was immediately appointed as Professor of Hebrew at New College, Edinburgh. His brilliance, childlike simplicity and ludicrous absentmindedness made him one of the most lovable and respected ministers of the day. He was described as "half ancient mariner and half wandering Jew, and wholly a being of another sphere with his long beard and flowing skirts, his lifted finger and glittering eyes, his archaic language and supra-mundane thinking."⁵⁵ Duncan took an active interest in the work of the G. E. S. while he lived in Glasgow and was often in attendance at both the committee and public meetings.

54 M. A. U. G. p. 425

55 Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, H. Scott (ed), revised edition (Edinburgh 1915) vol. 3, 425-6

The Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley on the other hand never as far as is known attended a committee meeting. However, Brewster played a big part in several of the large public meetings. Brewster was one of the few men in the G. E. S. who openly espoused Chartism and indeed he was for a time one of the leaders of this movement in Scotland.⁵⁶ He was the most active minister in Scotland in the area of reform and it would seem that his entire public life was one continual succession of disputes. He loudly advocated free trade, teetotalism, repeal of the Corn Laws, a national system of education, Catholic Emancipation and of course the Charter.⁵⁷ Brewster's attitude regarding reform contrasted sharply with the great majority of his fellow Establishment ministers and he even found himself rebuked by the entire Presbytery of Paisley for his activities during the visit of Daniel O'Connell in 1835. The final member of this group, Rev. Michael Willis (see page 40.) is included in this group because he was a minister first of the Original Burgher and then the Established Church when those two churches merged in 1839. It must be remembered, however, that during the period that he was most active in the Society between 1844 and 1847 he was a member of the Free Church which had broken away from the Church of Scotland in 1843.

The final group is more of a classification than a group in that it consists of just one man, Rev. James McTear. McTear is a man who really doesn't fit into any group well. A native of Ireland and a minister of the Relief Church he spent his life as an English teacher. For over thirty years few men were more

56 Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches p. 18
Wright, Scottish Chartism pp. 46-7, 49.

57 Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches pp. 107-9

active on questions of national liberty and philanthropic causes. As an early agitator for the repeal of the Corn Laws he was put in jail for several days on a charge of sedition. He was one of only two even remotely political teachers of the day⁵⁸ and one of the most active members of the G. E. S. from its beginning until his death in 1846.

One thing can be said of the sixteen non-active ministers of the Society and that is that they were not only not active in the G. E. S. but generally they were not active in any other reform societies. This is not to say that they were not capable or active men. The Rev. William Lindsay, a Relief Minister at Dovehill, was a Professor of Divinity in the Theological Halls of the Relief Synod and later the United Presbyterian Synod and in 1851 became Moderator of the United Presbyterian Synod.⁵⁹ Another scholar was the Rev. James Paterson. Paterson taught both Logic and Rhetoric in the Glasgow Commercial College and Theology for the Baptist Union of Scotland. Both Paterson and Lindsay were religious leaders and scholars rather than reformers.⁶⁰ Of the rest, little can be said of their philanthropic activities. The Revs. John Edwards, William Auld and Grenville Ewing, were all committeemen of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society.⁶¹

58 M. A. U. G. p. 241
Glasgow Courier, 29 October 1846

59 M. A. U. G. p. 315

60 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow pp. 312-4, 337-40

61 Glasgow Courier, 3 March 1835.

Ewing was more exceptional than the others and was quite well known for his treatises on the missions and volumes to promote the cause of education besides working for a scheme to convert the natives of India.⁶² Little else is known about the others and indeed little else is really important as these were members in name only and had no bearing on the policy or activities of the G. E. S.

Of this group of sixteen inactive ministers five were in the Relief and United Secession Churches, five were Independent, two were from the Church of Scotland and one each from the Congregationalist Wesleyan Methodist and Baptist Churches. The Rev. Peter McOwan was not listed as ever having been a practising minister in Glasgow. The largest representation in this group, as in the active group, is the Relief and United Secession Churches followed by the Independents and indeed the two groups are quite similar.

When the clergy are taken as a whole, a few significant facts stand out. The clergy were overwhelmingly of Dissenting churches numbering twenty-six of thirty.⁶³ Of these, roughly half belonged to the United Secession and Relief Churches and another quarter to the Independent Church. This in some degree is responsible for the rather liberal outlook of the G. E. S. in its early years. This, however, can be very deceiving as it was many of these same men who in 1841 upon realising that they could neither take over the Society nor effectively restrain the adoption of some rather radical politics were to resign from the Society and form a new and more moderate anti slavery group. Their liberalism was much like that of the political leadership of Glasgow at this time.

62 Irving, The Book of Eminent Scotsmen p. 135

63 Rev. Peter McOwan is not included as nothing is known of him.

That is to say they were liberal but by no means radical and tended to be only moderately liberal as the conservatives tended to be only moderately conservative. But as Evangelicals they took a lively interest in the Foreign Missions which naturally lead to an interest in the slave trade and hence to the antislavery movement. However, antislavery and voluntarism was a long way from Woman's Rights. These clergymen, liberal as compared to the Established Church ministers, were rather conservative when compared with William Smeal, John Murray, George Thompson and above all, William Lloyd Garrison. Even so, throughout the period of the recorded membership of the G.E.S. there remained ministers of the highest calibre on its rolls as both committeemen and officeholders.

With the exception of the ministers between 1833 and 1851 there were listed seventy-eight different members of the committee. On the average there were approximately thirty-four members in any given year. During the early years between 1833 and 1840 the committee remained relatively stable with only the normal attrition due to death, emigration or individual loss of interest. During other periods as between 1840-1 with the Garrisonian controversy and later between 1847-51 when public interest in the movement began to wane there were quite drastic changes in its make-up.⁶⁴ Some members, such as Thomas Slater, a grocer and tea dealer, were committeemen for only brief periods and often never attended a meeting. Others such as Ebenezer Anderson remained active members for many years and faithfully attended both public and committee meetings.

Because of the great importance of the cotton industry and trade in the West of Scotland, a large proportion of the members listed as manufacturers, merchants and warehousemen were probably engaged in this trade. Warehousemen were agents

⁶⁴ A list of the committeemen is supplied in each of the G.E.S. Annual Reports following the abstract of the Annual Meeting.

or middlemen, some being wholesale dealers and others both wholesale and retail.⁶⁵ These three professions make up over half of all the businesses engaged in by the committee. Moreover, some of the men were both merchants and manufacturers like William Brodie or merchants and warehousemen like Robert Kaye and Andrew Young. The following is a breakdown of the different businesses or professions engaged in by the committee :⁶⁶

Merchant	27	Plasterer	1
Manufacturers	11	Printer	1
Clothier or Draper	6	Writer	1
Insurance Agents	4	Boot & Shoe Shopowner	1
Warehousemen	3	Shipbuilder	1
Teachers	3	Weaver	1
Stationers	3	Student	1
Publishers	2	Physician	1
Grocer and Tea Dealer	2	Baker	1
Insurance Broker	2	Bookbinder	1
Engraver	2	Hide & Leather Factor	1
Uncertain	2		

Forty-one of the seventy-eight committeemen were manufacturers, merchants or warehousemen which gives an idea as to the make-up of the committee as a whole. They were men of the middle or upper middle class prosperous but not necessarily rich. Coupled with the other professions they made up a typical example of the liberal element taking part in the philanthropic causes and activity of the day.

65 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" pp. 44-5.

66 This information is derived from the G.P.O.D. 1833-51

One of the more influential members of the committee and an active member of the Society was Walter Buchanan, a merchant connected with Buchanan Hamilton & Co. a firm in the East India trade. Some of his activities and offices included serving as a director of the Merchants House, Chamber of Commerce and the Glasgow Royal Infirmary and as a committeeman of the Glasgow Western Academy. From 1857 to 1865 he served as M.P. for Glasgow. Buchanan, unlike most of the other committeemen was from the highest class of Glasgow society and supported such liberal policies as Catholic Emancipation, Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Reform Bill and for a long time was a member of the "Clique" and the Glasgow Reform Association.⁶⁷

Another more typical of the members of the committee was William Craig of William Craig & Co. manufacturers. Just a few of his many activities include serving as Baillie for Glasgow and the River & Forth of Clyde between 1835 and 1838, Director of the Merchants House, Trade House and Towns Hospital.⁶⁸ Craig, like the other politically influential members of the G. E. S. was also a member of the "Clique" and the Glasgow Reform Association though he differed in one respect in that he was an active exponent of Chartism.⁶⁹

Very similar to Craig in his philanthropic activities was John Fleming a merchant from Claremont. A partial list of his activities reads as follows :⁷⁰

Director of the Chamber of Commerce 1833-4

Baillie for Glasgow 1835-8

67 Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men I, 57-8. Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs p. 452. G.P.O.D.

68 G.P.O.D. 1835-8

69 Glasgow Argus, 16 April 1831.
Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs p. 452
Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Reform Association for the Year 1831 p. 17

70 G.P.O.D. 1833-45. Strang, Ibid.

Councillor for District 5 1833-9
 Committeeman on the River Clyde & Harbour of Glasgow
 Director of the House of Refuge 1841-2
 Committeeman of the Glasgow Western Academy 1844-5
 Councillor for District 3 1847-50
 Master of Works 1833-4
 Pilot Board 1833-4
 Councillor for District 1 1839-40-45
 Member of the "Clique"
 Glasgow Reform Association

Thomas Muir was a merchant who served only briefly as a G. E. S. committeeman and like Craig was a very active man on committees as well as politically influential being a member of the "Clique".⁷¹ Another intensely active man was the retired tobacco merchant, James Turner of Thrushgrove. Born in 1768 Turner built up a very successful tobacco trade before his retirement in 1831. Besides being an active member of the G. E. S. Turner was well known in the political and philanthropic spheres as well. A list of his activities is very similar to that of several of the other committeemen.⁷²

Baillie of Provan 1835-6
 Councillor for District 1 1833-46
 Deputy Baillie of the River 1834-8, 1840
 Director of the Royal Infirmary 1843
 Director of Lock Hospital 1843
 Member of the Glasgow Reform Association

Turner was also an active Chartist, a trait decidedly atypical of most of the other members of the G. E. S. He also had

71 Ibid.

72 G.P.O.D. 1835-46
Glasgow Argus, 19 June 1837

a rather colourful past as Peter Mackenzie in his Old Reminiscences of Glasgow points out. In October of 1816 he offered his land in Thrushgrove for the use of a public rally "for the redress of grievances in the Commons House of Parliament" after the Lord Provost had denied the use of the Glasgow Green and the Magistrates had prevented the use of the Trades House. For this he had been imprisoned in the Bridewell of Glasgow for some time under the capital charge of High Treason. Later he became one of the most active Magistrates of the city.⁷³

John King, who served briefly on the G. E. S. committee, was a partner in the firm of George Macintosh & Co. a large chemical manufacturer. His activities and interests were much the same as Fleming's, Turner's, Buchanan's and many of the others. These were manufacturers and merchants intensely interested in the life of Glasgow and attempting to change it according to their liberal standards. It is not surprising that there were a few Chartists on the Committee for during the period in which the movement flourished in Scotland it tended to concentrate in the Glasgow area. However, as has been intimated, it was not a common characteristic among the committee. This will become important later on when the Chartists came into conflict with the G. E. S. in 1840-1.

Of those committeemen who were not merchants, manufacturers or warehousemen only a few were outstanding, among them Robert Simpson. Simpson was a draper, silk mercer and haberdasher. Between 1843 and 1845 he was a Commissioner for

73 Peter Mackenzie, Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland (Glasgow 1890 3 vols.) I, 101-5
 For a discussion of this meeting in Thrushgrove and its importance to the reform agitation in the area, see William M. Roach, "Radical Reform Movements In Scotland From 1815 To 1822 with particular reference to events in the West of Scotland".
(Ph. D. Thesis, University of Glasgow 1970) pp.41-7

Ward 9 and also served as Treasurer of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association (a temperance organization) and Vice-President of the Scottish Temperance League.⁷⁴ Robert Kettle, one of the more active committeemen, was also the leading temperance advocate in the area and served as President of both the Scottish Temperance League and the Glasgow Abstinence Society as well as editing the Scottish Temperance Journal. Both George Gallie and George Watson were booksellers and stationers and like Kettle they took an active role in the operation of the G. E. S. Gallie, prior to going into business for himself, had been associated with the firm of Young Gallie & Co. which was chiefly concerned with printing religious publications. From 1822 on he concerned himself mainly with bookselling, again of the religious nature and became one of the principal stationers in the city. Apart from being active in the antislavery movement he also took part in the temperance movement.⁷⁵ George Watson of George Watson & Son, booksellers, was prominent in several organizations other than the G. E. S. One of his interests included being honorary director of a group with the rather cumbersome title of The Calton, Mile-end and Bridgton Mechanics Institution for Improvement in Arts and Sciences. Watson also served as a Manager of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, Baillie of the Burgh of Calton, and a member of the House of Refuge.⁷⁶ James McCune Smith was the only student to be a committeeman. Smith, a negro, was the eldest son of Samuel Smith a New York merchant. From 1832 until 1837 he attended the University of Glasgow and received his B. A. in 1835 followed in 1836 by an M. A. and finally in 1837, by an M. D. In 1832-3 as a firstyear student, he was the first negro

74 Aird, Glimpses of Old Glasgow p. 217

75 Ibid, pp. 412-4

76 G.P.O.D. 1836-46

to receive the prize for General Eminence in Latin.⁷⁷ After returning home he became one of the most important black abolitionists and edited both the Coloured American and the Anglo African.⁷⁸ He was also made an honorary and corresponding member of the G. E. S. though none of his letters to the Society, if indeed he ever wrote any, have survived.

The entire listed committee between 1833 and 1851 can be divided along the same lines as the clergy, i. e. those who took an active part however briefly and those who rarely if ever took an interest and were members in name only. The accounts of those attending the committee meetings list forty-two members that could be called active in that they fairly frequently attended the meetings. The thirty-six inactive committeemen either stayed on the committee only briefly and/or were never recorded as having attended a meeting.

Occupationally the inactive committeemen formed a group quite similar to the active group and in this they reflected the clergy. Of its thirty-six members, no less than fifteen were merchants. It must be understood that the label "merchant" applies to merely the general classification of business and does not have any bearing on their individual wealth, social status or political influence. For instance, John Fleming and William Gunn could both be described as merchants. However, Fleming was a wealthy East India Merchant and politically quite important whereas Gunn could only be described as a middle income clothier with little political influence. Others in this group could be added to the number of merchants such as Patrick Thompson and Thomas

77 M. A. U. G. p. 392
Edward Dixon, "The American Negro in Nineteenth Century Scotland" (M. Litt. Thesis University of Edinburgh 1969) p. 158.

78 Peter M. Bergman, The Chronological History of The Negro in America (New York 1969) p. 99
James M. McPherson, The Struggle For Equality, Abolitionists and The Negro In the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton New Jersey 1964) p. 60.

Slater, tea dealers, David Smith, shoe shopowner, Robert Simpson, Colin McDougall, James Clark and Thomas Baird, clothiers and the total climbs to twenty-two or three fifths of the entire group. Except for the manufacturers the rest was composed of two publishers, three writers two of whom were insurance agents, a teacher, a printer and a plasterer. Finally, there were four manufacturers among whom Robert Barclay of the firm of Barclay & Curle shipbuilders was the most significant at least in the monetary and social senses.⁷⁹

The composition of the more active group of committeemen was much the same as the inactive group. In all, there were forty-two in this group, fifteen of whom were merchants. If we add the booksellers, clothiers and other small merchants otherwise listed the total is twenty-one or fifty percent. This somewhat lower percentage of merchants is offset by there being eight manufacturers as opposed to only four in the inactive group. The remainder of the group consisted of a varied assortment of occupations ranging from a physician to an insurance agent and from a student to a baker.⁸⁰

Thus it is evident that at least in composition these two groups are very similar. Socially and politically they took part in many of the same organizations. Men from each group were city councillors, baillies or on various boards of directors. In both groups we find men like William Brodie and Patrick Lethem, members of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society. There were several members of the politically powerful "Clique" in each group and both had men belonging to the Glasgow Reform

79 Barclay as a shipbuilder was the only representative from large scale heavy industry on the Committee. For convenience therefore, he has been included with the manufacturing category above.

80 Information concerning the committeemen has been culled from a wide variety of sources the most important of which are listed on page 255. For a further breakdown see Appendix I.

Association. Indeed, in almost every respect they were almost identical. There is one significant area, however, in which these two groups differ markedly. The inactive members, on the average, remained on the committee only three years whereas in the active group the average period was eight years. For rather obvious reasons this should not be surprising. Those who took an active interest remained active and on the committee while those who lacked interest soon dropped out. There are exceptions to this as in the case of Colin McDougall who was a steadfast, if not a very active member, from 1834 until 1851. William Brown and John Fleming were also members of long standing though like McDougall very inactive ones. This was far from the rule as in general the members of the inactive group tended to drop membership fairly quickly. The following chart gives a breakdown of the average length of membership of the merchants and similar occupations, the manufacturers and all the others :

	Merchant	Manufacturers	Others
Active Committeemen	9.6 years	6 years	8 years
Inactive Committeemen	5 years	1.4 years	2.7 years

It is significant that the merchants in both groups remained members for longer periods than either the manufacturers or the other various occupations. Also in both groups the manufacturers had the shortest tenure as members. Further, if we compare the political, social and philanthropic activity of the merchants and the manufacturers, it is evident that the merchants were the more active.

Bearing in mind the conflict between the Garrisonians and the more moderate factions in 1840-1 which tore the Society apart when many of the moderates resigned, we can compare the merchants and manufacturers in another way. After 1841 only three manufacturers are ever listed as being committeemen, two of whom

played no significant part in the Society's activities. Only George Thorburn, one of the early members played any role at all and even this was slight. After 1844 he seems to have withdrawn from active participation in the meetings. On the other hand the merchants were very much in evidence. Of the twenty-one merchants or similar occupations that had taken an active role in the G. E. S. seventeen were still members after 1841 while one of the other four, John McLeod of Argyll, had died in shipwreck. Included in the seventeen were such prominent merchants as Walter Buchanan, George Watson and James Turner. Due to their higher attrition rate the merchants and related occupations of the inactive group lost a proportionally larger amount than the active group. Of the twenty-two in this field, fourteen retained membership into the forties. Included were some very prominent men such as John Ure, Robert Simpson, John Fleming and William Brodie. What is significant here is the large number of merchants who either joined or retained their membership on the committee after 1841. Consequently since membership implies approval either implicitly or explicitly it is assumed that a great majority of the merchants condoned the exceedingly liberal and at times even radical policies which the secretaries embarked upon. The manufacturers on the other hand, can be said to have held more moderate views and were unwilling to give even implied approval. Even allowing for the fact that there were more merchants than manufacturers in Glasgow and thus a greater probability that they would have more committeemen both before and after the 1841 split it is nevertheless a fact that the merchants were proportionally more willing to support a society which the manufacturers held to be too liberal. After 1841 the G. E. S. can be said to fit this description because of its vigorous support of the radical William Lloyd Garrison.

The honorary and corresponding members compose the final segment of the G. E. S. membership. Included among them were some of the most widely known men in Britain and the most notorious American abolitionists. Others were much less prominent and indeed a few were rather obscure and known only in abolitionists circles. They came from a wide variety of backgrounds ranging from a Hindu Brahmin to a French nobleman and from a radical Church of Scotland minister to an ex fugitive American slave. Some had great influence on the Society and others were nothing more than names listed in the Annual Reports. In itself the variety is interesting but not necessarily important. However, a brief description of these men serves not just to illustrate this point but much more importantly it serves as a virtual panorama of the history of the G. E. S. It shows where the interests of the Society lay and it tracks the growth and development of the G. E. S. through its formative and active years. It can be divided up into three groups - British, American and Others.

The largest of these groups was that composed of British abolitionists with a total of ten honorary members. The most important of these, at least to the G. E. S. , was George Thompson. Indeed, it was Thompson who had founded the Society and through much of its history he was to have a profound influence over it. Just a few of his other reforming interests include the repeal of the Corn Laws, International Peace and British India.⁸¹ His influence upon the G. E. S. will be discussed in detail later on. Suffice is to say he was a very popular professional reformer with a wide range of interests and was able to involve the G. E. S. in many of them. Joseph Sturge was a wealthy Birmingham merchant and Chartist leader and a member of the Society of Friends. As a

81 George Wilson, Historical Notes of George Thompson's Labours (Manchester 1860) pp.1-4

vehement opponent of the policies of Garrison he resigned his membership of the G.E.S. in 1841. His work in the area of reform is too well known to make it necessary to go into it or his life in detail. Another honorary member was Patrick Brewster (see page 53.). Daniel O'Connell was of course the famous Irish M.P. and one of the most renowned men in Britain for his work for the reform of Parliament, Catholic Emancipation, anti-slavery as well as a host of other issues. Lord Brougham, who at one time served as Lord Chancellor in Grey's cabinet, was, along with Buxton, one of the most illustrious abolitionists of the day, though he is probably more noted as a proponent of the Great Reform Bill than for his antislavery activity. McGregor Laird was a well known leader of the Free Trade movement as well as his work for the cultivation of trade with Africa as a means to combat the slave trade.⁸² As well as being a Vice-President of the G.E.S., John Dennistoun was for a time an honorary member of the Society (see page 41.). The last three in this group were men of much less renown to the general public with interest in them mainly confined to abolitionist circles. Of these, James Johnston, the first treasurer of the G.E.S. has already been discussed (see page 45.). Rev. Dr. Robert Burns was originally a Church of Scotland minister in Paisley who had joined the Free Church in 1843 and had gone to America and Canada in 1843-4 to solicit funds for the new church. Upon his return he immediately regretted not having come out more strongly against slavery while on his mission and had taken part in a public meeting held by the G.E.S. to warn the Free Church about holding fellowship with slaveholding churches in the American South.

82 For a short sketch of the lives of Brougham, Laird, O'Connell, Brewster and Sturge see Dictionary of National Biography, Leslie Stephen (ed.) (London 1868 63 vols.) VI, 304, 449-58, XXXI 407-8, XLI 373-89, LV 130-1. There is also a discussion of Sturge in G.D.H. Cole's book Chartist Portraits (New York 1965) pp. 163-86

Later he emigrated to Toronto, Canada, where he became minister of Knox Church and later Professor of Christian Evidences and Church History at Knox College, Toronto.⁸³ The last member of this group was Rev. Thomas Roberts of the Bristol and Clifton Anti Slavery Society and an abolitionist of long standing.⁸⁴ Of the ten, four were at one time or another intimately bound up with the actual working of the Society and in some way influenced it. These were Johnston, Sturge, Brewster and Thompson. Another four, O'Connell, Laird, Dennistoun and Burns, took part in its affairs but only to a minor degree. Lord Brougham and Rev. Roberts had little or nothing to do with the Society.

The honorary and corresponding members from the United States made up the next largest group with nine members. By far the most important of these was William Lloyd Garrison, the extreme radical reformer from Boston, Massachusetts. It was Garrison who had been responsible for originating the abolitionist movement in America when he founded his newspaper The Liberator in 1830. It was also due to his insistence on bringing in extraneous issues into the antislavery crusade, ranging from anticlericalism to Woman's Rights, that was responsible for the eventual break up in the movement into two contending factions. Frederick Douglass of Lynn, Massachusetts was an ex fugitive slave who travelled to Britain in 1845-6 and again in 1859. At first a loyal supporter of Garrison, he was later to become a bitter antagonist over the issue of "No Union with Slaveholders". James N. Buffum, a Quaker and also of Lynn, Massachusetts, was another leading American abolitionist and accompanied

83 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 1 August 1844
Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae III, 176

84 G.E.S. Annual Report 1835, p. 39

Douglass to Britain in 1845-6 during the Free Church Controversy. Unlike Douglass, Buffum remained a strong supporter of Garrison. Henry C. Wright of Philadelphia was a fanatical abolitionist and anti war lecturer who came to Britain in 1841 and remained to work with Buffum, Douglass and Garrison during the Free Church Controversy. He also was a strong supporter of Garrison. James McCune Smith has been discussed (see pages 61-2) though it might be added that as a close friend of Douglass he also became estranged from Garrison. Rev. Nathaniel Paul of Wilberforce Settlement, Upper Canada was a black Baptist minister who came to Britain in 1833 seeking aid for a group of negro refugees in Ontario. As agent for the colony he spent four years in Britain and collected over \$8,000 all of which went toward paying his expenses and he returned empty handed.⁸⁵ James G. Birney from Kentucky was an ex slaveholder in Alabama who became an abolitionist in 1832. In 1840 and again in 1844 he ran for President of the United States under the standard of the Liberty Party. In 1840 he, along with other prominent abolitionists, seceded from the American Anti Slavery Society due to their opposition to Garrison and formed their own anti slavery society.⁸⁶ Arthur Tappan was a wealthy silk merchant from New York and one of the most important leaders of the American abolitionist movement. He also broke with Garrison in 1840 and like many others, became his bitter critic.⁸⁷ Finally, Rev. Hiram H. Kellogg of Galesville, Illinois was the head of Knox College, Illinois and of course an abolitionist. He was a friend of Arthur Tappan and visited Britain

85 Louis Ruchames (ed.) The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, A House Dividing Against Itself 1836-40 (Cambridge, Mass. 1971-) II, 53.

86 Ibid, p. 35

87 Ibid, p. XXIX

in 1843 as a delegate to the Second World Anti Slavery Convention.⁸⁸ Of these nine men all, with the exception of Arthur Tappan, had taken an active part in one or more meetings of the Society and all had visited Britain for a period of months or even years as in the case of Wright and Paul. Taken together they illustrate rather pointedly the divisions that were to plague the American movement. Of the nine who had all supported Garrison at one time or another at least four – Smith, Douglass, Birney and Tappan – came to oppose him. Of the remaining four (excluding Garrison) Buffum, Paul and Wright remained loyal and it is assumed that Kellogg held a tolerant attitude toward him.

The final group of four consists of men quite remote from the activity of the G. E. S. and none of them played any role or influenced the Society to any degree. The first and undoubtedly the most famous of all the honorary members was the Marquis de Lafayette. Known throughout the Continent and Britain as one of France's leading liberals and revered in the United States for his participation in the American Revolution, he accepted appointment as an honorary member in a letter of John Murray just prior to his death in 1834.⁸⁹ His son, George Washington Lafayette and son-in-law, Victor de Tracey, both members of the highly aristocratic Societe pour L'Abolition de L'Esclavage were subsequently appointed to the roles of honorary and corresponding members. It might be added that de Tracey was also a member of the Chamber of Deputies at the time.⁹⁰ The final honorary member

88 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations p. 139, n. 107

89 G. E. S. Minute Book I, Lafayette to Murray, 1 May 1834

90 G. E. S. Annual Report. 1835, p. 14, 1837 p. 46.

was an Indian from Calcutta named Dwarkanauth Tagore. Tagore was one of the largest merchants in Calcutta as well as being one of India's leading reformers in both the social and commercial areas.⁹¹ His appointment as honorary member in 1842 was due solely to the instigation of George Thompson who was preparing to go to India at the invitation of Tagore. Unlike the other two groups which consisted mainly of men working, and working hard, for the end of slavery, this group was composed of men appointed to add a degree of prominence to the membership of the Society. The same of course could be said of Lord Brougham and Daniel O'Connell though at least they had taken an active part in the British abolitionist movement.

The honorary and corresponding members make up a picture of the history of the G. E. S. Some were men who greatly influenced the Society like George Thompson and William Lloyd Garrison. Others reflect particular crusades the G. E. S. was involved in such as Douglass, Buffum and Wright and the Free Church Controversy. Rev. Burns, Johnston and Smith had been involved in the running of the Society and when they left to America they were honoured for their work. The large number of honorary members from America reflect the over-riding concern of the G. E. S. with slavery in the United States. Sturge, Thompson, Brewster and Garrison were all closely involved with the discord which broke out in the Society in 1840-1. Brougham, Lafayette and O'Connell reflect the concern of the G. E. S. to achieve some measure of respectability by having well known names on its roles. The membership of Dwarkanauth Tagore illustrates the rather ephemeral interest the G. E. S. had in India as compared to America. They were a highly diversified group as were the activities of the G. E. S. but they were all linked together in their opposition to slavery.

91 Ibid, 1842 p. 19-20

Between the years 1833 and 1851 there were one hundred and forty-one officially listed members of the G. E. S. Taking into account those that were listed under more than one heading it breaks down thus :

Officers	19 (including 6 clergy)
Clergy	31
Honorary and	
Corresponding Members	23 (including 1 committeeman 1 clergy and 2 officeholders)
Sub-total	151
Minus 7 clergy,	
1 committeeman	
2 officeholders	141

Taken as a whole, the organization involved men of more than average ability with a high moral presence and social consciousness. In the main they were in fairly comfortable circumstances with time and desire enough to support a cause they felt deserved attention. As the Society developed changes took place both in the leadership and in the committee and these changes are the essence of the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

Development and Success of the Glasgow Emancipation Society

"That this meeting, convinced that Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of Christianity, and subversive of the best interests of mankind, - Resolves, that a Society be now formed to promote its Universal ~~extinction~~. "¹ Thus at a public meeting on December 12, 1833 in Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel the Glasgow Emancipation Society came into official existence. Three prior meetings had been held in order to set up this meeting and formulate a constitution under which it would operate. At the first such meeting held in the Christian and Philanthropic Agency House, An Appeal to the Friends of Negro Emancipation Throughout Great Britain by William Lloyd Garrison was read. In it Garrison pleaded for support from the British abolitionists on behalf of their American counterparts by way of supporting for three years the antislavery mission to the United States of George Thompson.² The meeting decided to set up a society for this purpose with the goal of working toward universal emancipation. A sub-committee was appointed which met the following day to draw up resolutions formulating such a society and on December 10 a full Committee met and approved their work.³ For over four decades this society worked for the universal abolition of slavery but it was between the years of 1833 and 1840 that it was to achieve its greatest successes.

The reasons for the formation of the G. E. S. can be traced back to two primary and several secondary causes. Garrison's

1 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, p. 3 "Resolutions adopted at the formation of the Society, 12th December 1833".

2 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, pp. 9-10

3 G. E. S. Minute Book I, 6 December 1833, 7 December 1833, 10 December 1833.

trip to Britain in 1833, ostensibly to raise funds for a negro vocational school, and in fact for combating the work of the American Colonization Society⁴ provided the catalyst for its formation. The American abolitionists of whom Garrison was only one of many, were deeply interested in the work of the British abolitionists not only to learn their techniques but to acquire an aura of respectability through affiliation and recognition. Garrison's trip should be viewed as an attempt to gather about himself this cloak of respectability provided by the successful British abolitionists. As far as the Glasgow organization was concerned he was eminently successful. His acquaintance and friendship with George Thompson provided the necessary link which led to the establishment of the G. E. S. Before his trip little attention had been paid by the British abolitionists concerned as they were getting rid of slavery in their own colonies, to the newly emerging American movement. Thompson's enthusiasm for the policies of Garrison stimulated his drive to establish antislavery societies throughout Britain for universal emancipation. Garrison had invited Thompson to visit America to work for this end. To avoid any criticism in the United States as to who was supporting this venture Garrison had requested that Thompson be totally subsidized by British organizations.⁵ In any event neither Garrison nor the New England Anti-slavery Society which he represented could afford to pay for the mission so necessarily the funds had to come from the British. Consequently Thompson set about organizing a number of societies with this

4 Merrill, Against Wind And Tide p. 66.
W.P. Garrison and F. J. Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879, The Story of His Life Told by his Children
(New York 1885 4 vols.) I, 352-79.

5 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, pp. 9-10

purpose in mind. On October 25th, 1833 he visited and organized such a society in Edinburgh. Later in Glasgow, using the framework of the Glasgow Anti Slavery Society (in existence since 1823) he organized the Emancipation Society purely for the purpose of supporting his trip to the United States.⁶ It must be remembered that Thompson had been an Agency Committee lecturer against West Indian slavery⁷ and that once this had been abolished he found himself out of a job. As a professional agitator, which in essence was exactly what he was, this put him in a difficult position. It should be made clear that although Thompson was a professional agitator he was not a mercenary as some of his detractors attempted to make him out to be. Nevertheless, his advocacy of many different causes, though always in the liberal sphere, exposed him to such criticism. A trip to the United States would enhance his reputation as a reformer and provide further fields for agitation and incidentally sustenance. Thus a society like the G.E.S. organized for his support could serve the purpose of enhancing his reputation and providing a basis for further agitation. Garrison's trip then can be said to be of paramount importance in the establishment of the G.E.S. as it brought together very important forces at work in the field of agitation and diverted their direction from imperial to universal attention. Further, the trip served to illustrate the accomplishments of Britain in the anti-slavery field and emphasize their leadership. Thus Garrison's journey to England served a dual purpose as it established him, at least in British eyes, as the leading American abolitionist and it founded a new movement within Britain, i.e. the movement for world wide emancipation. This had been his intention⁸ and with the help of men like Thompson he succeeded.

6 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 6 December 1833
Temperley, British Antislavery p.23

7 Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, xxx.
Stephen, Anti-Slavery Recollections p.148

8 See "Garrison to the Board of Managers of the New England
Anti-Slavery Society" in The Liberator, 7 September 1833.

Other forces were present, however, which added to the formation of the G. E. S. The struggle against colonial slavery, which in the case of Glasgow had officially commenced in 1823, had left a feeling of deep distrust towards the West Indian planters. Many bitter words had passed between the pro and anti-slavery factions and in the eyes of the local abolitionists the ex-slave-holders could not be trusted in the administration of the apprenticeship system.⁹ Parliament had placed the burden of establishing the necessary framework for the implementation of its Apprenticeship Act on the colonial legislatures rather than administering it direct from London. These legislatures, which Parliament had for years been attempting to pressure into ameliorating their slave laws, were of course absolutely dominated by the planters. Time and again these planters had complained about, ignored or failed to carry out directives from Parliament and the Colonial Office.¹⁰ So it was when they were given the responsibility of gradually emancipating the slaves many abolitionists considered it wise to keep a sharp eye on the planters' activities. This suspicion is borne out as early as June 1835 when the G. E. S. passed a

9 See Footnote 16 in part II of Chapter 1

10 Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship pp. 81-2
William Law Mathieson, British Slavery and its Abolition 1823-38 (London 1926) pp. 154-64, 172-4.
Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation p. 2
Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought" p. 219
Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies - A Review of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (London 1837) p. 7

resolution in support of Buxton's proposed inquiry into alleged violations of the Apprenticeship Act.¹¹ It is also symptomatic of the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation which dominated British anti-slavery thought after 1830.¹² Further, the abolitionists who had been responsible for the elimination of colonial slavery were, as we have seen, avid businessmen and felt that the enormous sum of £20m should not be handed over without a firm guarantee that the public would get its money's worth.¹³ It is significant that one of the first societies formed with this in mind was in the intensely commercial atmosphere of Glasgow. These men had no intention of allowing £20m to be squandered simply from neglecting to enforce the Apprenticeship Act or permitting the planters to reintroduce slavery through the arbitrary erection of discriminatory vagrancy laws. That this attitude prevailed throughout Britain as a whole is borne out by a resolution passed at an antislavery meeting held in London's Exeter Hall on 11th July, 1837. The resolution stated :

"That this meeting is convinced from the specimens already furnished, that unless the progress of that description of Colonial Legislation which is intended under general titles of law more peculiarly to affect the Negro population, be carefully and anxiously watched by the British public Slavery will be continued under new forms for many generations after the close of the term of the present Apprenticeship."¹⁴

Well before the passing of the Act British abolitionists had officially come out against Apprenticeship as a solution and were strongly in

11 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 9 June 1835

12 Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought" p. 209-30
See Footnote 12 in part II of Ch. I

13 Glasgow Argus, 24 September 1835. For the abolitionists' position regarding the proposed compensation of £20m to the slave owners see Scots Times, 6 August 1833.

14 Resolutions Passed at an Anti-Slavery Meeting at Exeter Hall, On the 11th of July, 1837. This circular is located at the Rhodes House Library, Oxford in 100.221 & 34.

favour of immediate and unconditional emancipation. However, as practical men they realized that it was the best of a bad deal knowing full well that they could hardly expect to have all their demands fulfilled.¹⁵ Nevertheless, their unwillingness to trust the West Indian planters was manifested in the organization of societies like the Edinburgh and Glasgow groups to keep a critical eye on their activities.

Finally, it should be recognized that there was a definite reluctance to disband any organization such as the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society which had proved so effective as a political pressure group just because it had succeeded in attaining its primary objective.¹⁶ After all in the relatively brief period between 1823 and 1833 it had, along with other such societies, successfully overcome the strong opposition of the West Indian interests in Parliament and accomplished at least partial emancipation of the slaves with final freedom only a few years away. The G. E. S. took the position that while there were many different interests represented in Parliament and while the West Indian interests were by no means unimportant when a question at issue touched neither a member's particular concerns, nor those of his party, they could expect to convince him to vote according to his conception of principle and of course the national good. Thus the humanitarian appeal of the abolitionists could be very effective even without major interests or large popular support

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- 15 Stephen, Anti-Slavery Recollections p. 121
 Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship p. 88
 Temperley, British Antislavery p. xi
 Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought" passim.
- 16 Rice, "The Scottish Factor in the Fight Against American Slavery" p. 12
 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. xi, xii.

on its side as long as they could prove that their goals would not injure Britain's overall position or in some way personally affect a majority of M.P.'s.¹⁷ The G.E.S. was to continue to petition and memorialize both Parliament and the sovereign from its inception till the very end in 1876 always to influence the state to take measure for its ends or to inform it of a situation it held to be a violation of the law or morality. It was because of this belief that its work was not yet completed and its ability to in some way further the cause of the slave in other parts of the world that the Glasgow Anti Slavery Society was unwilling to disband after it had accomplished its object, for as humanitarians the members of the G.E.S. knew about and were deeply concerned with both the universal slave trade and slavery. It would be foolish to dissolve an organization that had helped to do so much good when there was still so much more to do.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society was not merely a band of liberal humanitarians gathered together to fight slavery for lack of a better cause. It was formed through a combination of events, attitudes and personalities which sought a variety of goals all linked in some way with the word "slavery". Garrison's trip to Britain seeking support for the American movement fired the idea of international slavery and consequently universal emancipation. The Society's partial success in the cause of British slaves enabled them to turn its attention in this direction. Since the United States was intimately connected with Britain in so many ways, the United States was the logical focal point of its activity.¹⁸ Garrison's invitation to Thompson to crusade in America at British expense gave the Society a tangible programme whereby it might actually feel as though it were accomplishing this end. As

17 R. A. Austin and W.D. Smith, "Images of African and British slave trade Abolition : the transition to an Imperialist ideology 1787-1807" African Historical Studies vol. II no. 1 (1969)

18 Frank Thistlethwaite, The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century (Philadelphia 1959) Ch. 1 passim. and pp. 108-9

far as the American abolitionists were concerned, it had the desired effect of connecting the highly respectable British movement under the distinguished leadership of Clarkson, Buxton, Brougham and others with the new and as yet undistinguished American movement.¹⁹ This connection was initially undertaken by the Scottish societies and later by the British movement as a whole. At the same time the British abolitionists wanted to insure the absolute success of their own work in the West Indies, insecure as they were as to the Apprenticeship programme. Of course none of this would have been possible without the proper motivation which was, as we have seen, existant in Britain as a whole in this age of fervid Evangelical activity.²⁰ All these aspects were important at one phase or another in the development of the G. E. S.

The precise framework of the G. E. S. was set up by a series of resolutions passed in its first public meeting on December 12th, 1833. These resolutions, while not appreciably different from those that set up many philanthropic societies, do nevertheless give some indication as to the sort of men that went to make up its membership. The first resolution stated as we have seen that since slavery was inconsistent with Christianity and the best interests of mankind a society for universal emancipation be set up. Thus a new direction is set, that of world wide rather than merely colonial emancipation. It also shows a deep concern with Christian principles which was certainly not uncommon among the other philanthropic societies of the day.²¹ Resolution II

19 Ibid., p. 108

20 Christine Bolt, The Anti Slavery Movement and Reconstruction, A Study in Anglo-American Co-operation 1833-77 (Oxford University Press 1969) p. 5

21 Ibid.

merely states that the society shall be called the Glasgow Emancipation Society. The third resolves to give financial aid to George Thompson on his mission to America for three years or longer. The fourth resolution states firmly that the society is willing to work separately or in concert with other societies. This gives notice of the society's independence which is retained throughout its history and which it even went so far as to recommend to other societies such as it did in 1853 in an address to the Manchester Anti Slavery Union which was then in the process of forming.²² Resolution V. states that membership is open to all who are friendly toward their object and who contribute the sum of 5s per year. This subscription of 5s per year, while it would tend to keep out the working class was not nearly so high as some of the Bible societies asked for.²³ The final resolution appointed the officeholders and Committee of the society and gave them the power

22 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 20 December 1853

23 The Glasgow Bible Society and the Glasgow Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews asked for 10s 6d per annum as did the Glasgow Auxiliary Society in aid of the Baptist Mission and Translations in India. It should also be pointed out that the low and by no means secure wages of the factory workers, weavers, day labourers etc. made it almost impossible for them to join the Society even had they the desire to do so. Most of their earnings went toward consumption meaning food, clothes and shelter with little left over for amenities like membership in the G.E.S.

to add members to themselves; that a quorum of seven was necessary for a meeting to be held; and that any minister being a member or subscriber of the society would automatically be on the committee.²⁴ The requirement that seven be a quorum for a valid meeting was often broken during periods of slack interest or when action was desired quickly and there was insufficient time to gather together the required number. Also whether through oversight or intent, several ministers who were subscribers were never listed as committeemen. The basic structure of the society was simple in that it stated its object and set up the machinery to work toward it. The difficulty lay in achieving it.

The first and primary object of the G. E. S. was the support of George Thompson in America. It was not, however, blinded to the fact that his interference in the domestic affairs of any foreign state and especially those of the United States would be met with hostility. The interpretation Thompson and consequently the G. E. S. gave to the trip was that he was going merely to convince the Americans to bring pressure to bear on their own Government to get the slaves emancipated. Thompson was going to warn them that all liberty would soon be abolished in their country if they continued to tolerate slavery.²⁵

The danger of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries was further brought home to the members of the Society in a letter from Lord Suffield in reply to one from John Murray seeking his opinion as to the advisability of requesting the King to instruct the Minister of Foreign Affairs and ambassadors to enter

24 For Resolutions see G. E. S. Minutes Book I, 12 December 1833. See also Glasgow Argus, 16 December 1833.

25 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, pp. 7-9

into foreign correspondence with slave holding countries to prevail upon them to free their slaves. Lord Suffield stated that he would not advise attempting to get the United States to abolish slavery as the efforts would only retard its abolition due to their resentment of British interference in their internal affairs. Lord Suffield went on to say :

"I will confess my belief that exclusive attention to the final extinction of it (slavery) in our own Colonies, the peaceable, the safe and salutary and the prosperous termination of human bondage among our fellow subjects will do more to put an end to slavery in other parts of the World than at present can be done by other means." 26

and he went on to recommend the diffusion of religious knowledge to the newly emancipated British slaves as a more effective way to fight foreign slavery. Thomas Fowell Buxton, the other important anti-slavery leader in Parliament, wrote a similar letter to Murray recommending success of the British plan first as an example.²⁷

This was not at all the kind of reply the committee wanted who, flushed with the abolition of slavery in August and enthusiastic over the forthcoming Thompson mission, were keen to launch another campaign of memorials and petitions to London and public meetings and propaganda throughout the rest of the country.

Meanwhile the G. E. S. waited for the departure of Thompson on his mission. Thompson however, had been seeking additional support from the Agency Committee in London.²⁸ In a letter of February 18th, 1834, to the G. E. S. Committee he first asked them to collect signatures for a Memorial to be sent to the President and

26 G. E. S. Minute Book I, Letter from Lord Suffield to Murray, 25 February 1834.

27 Ibid, letter from Buxton to Murray, 24 February 1834

28 The Agency Committee had been the prime mover in the British effort to abolish colonial slavery and had previously employed both Thompson and Joseph Sturge, the founder of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society, as its lecturers, See footnote 16 Ch. I part II.

Congress of the United States. He went on to state the views of the Agency Anti-Slavery Society, which he was attempting to establish, as to the relationship between that society and the provincial societies including Glasgow and Edinburgh. The first point of highest importance was that there should be a national society with all efforts directed from London. This would allow any agent representing them in the United States to be more effective as he would then represent all the anti slavery societies in Great Britain. Secondly, that individual efforts by independent anti-slavery societies would only weaken the movement and should be discouraged as it would lead the public to believe there was jealousy or schism within the movement. Finally, The Agency Society felt that Thompson should be under their direction on his trip to America in order to unify the movement and prevent dissention. Thompson went on to recommend, no doubt with very little confidence as he was well aware of the independent attitude of the Scottish societies, that the G. E. S. should become an auxiliary to the London society though of course he would always feel himself peculiarly a representative of the Scottish societies.²⁹ Murray's reply that the G. E. S. would act in concert with but not as an auxiliary to the Agency Anti-Slavery Society was taken as a sign of distrust of that society by the G. E. S. The G. E. S.'s decision to postpone action on the Memorial to the United States President and Congress met with the criticism that this proposal had met with immediate acceptance with the Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and Bristol societies.³⁰

In a letter to Smeal, Thompson stated that he had been involved in organizing the British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade (known

29 G. E. S. Minute Book I, letter from Thompson to G. E. S. Committee, 18 February 1834.

30 Ibid, letter from John Crisp to Murray, 29 March 1834.

as the Agency Society) which had become necessary due to the inactivity of the Agency Committee after the Apprenticeship Act had been passed. He also claimed to have been establishing new anti slavery societies in Bath, Birmingham, Boston, Wisbeach, Bristol, Chelmsford, Staines, Exeter and Woburn. To the question as to why there were no prominent names on the rolls of the new Agency Society Thompson replied that he felt it was more important to set up the society immediately than to wait for notable people to join – they soon would.³¹ In this Thompson was merely being practical considering that his object was to organize support for his mission to the United States and that it really made little difference who was in the society so long as they were willing to help. This was in marked contrast to a response to a similar question to John Crisp, the interim Secretary of the London group, who stated simply that the old Agency Committee had been timid, inactive and without well-defined anti-slavery principles. The new Agency Society "preferred confining their numbers to those individuals who though less known to the public had proved themselves to be the most useful Allies and the most constant to Anti-Slavery principles."³² Typical of many anti-slavery leaders he failed to give justice to the efforts of others as it had been the Agency Committee that had been responsible for much of the popular agitation against West Indian slavery.

In August, Thompson was at last prepared to set sail from Liverpool. In the meantime General Lafayette, who the G.E.S. named as one of their Honorary and Corresponding Members, had died and it was decided to hold a public meeting on August 4th to

31 Ibid. letter from Thompson to Smeal, 18 February 1834

32 Ibid. letter from Crisp to G.E.S. Committee, 29 March 1834

testify the Society's great respect for him. The meeting had been postponed from August 1st out of regard for the Dissenting ministers who wished to observe that day as a Day of Thanksgiving for the Abolition of Colonial slavery which then came into effect.³³ Thompson, waiting in Liverpool for his departure, had already given one farewell address in Glasgow on January 24th, but he agreed to take part in this meeting thus putting off his departure for a few days. The August 4th meeting, held in Dr. Beattie's Chapel, was chaired by the Venerable Robert Grahame who had been a personal friend of Lafayette. It was also Grahame who had been in charge of writing up the resolutions with help from Johnston, Smeal, McLaren and Watson. The meeting approved a resolution of affectionate esteem for the General and sent an eulogistic address to his son, George Washington Lafayette who they were also to make an Honorary and Corresponding Member. Finally Thompson, over six months after his last farewell address, gave another in which he dutifully gave thanks and devout gratitude to God for the freedom to the slaves.³⁴ A few days later, on August 15th, he set sail for New York. He took with him a Resolution of Appreciation to Miss Prudence Crandell of Canterbury Connecticut for her conduct,^{an} and an engraving on plate from the women of the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society.³⁵

33 Ibid, 30 June 1834, 22 July 1834

34 Ibid, 4 August 1834
Glasgow Argus, 7 August 1834

35 Prudence Crandell, a thirty year old mannish looking fanatical spinster and an abolitionist, had attempted to set up a school for black ladies but the violent reaction of the people of Canterbury Connecticut and legal action ultimately prevented its founding.
 See Merrill, Against Wind and Tide p. 64
G.E. S. Annual Report 1835, Appendix p. 42

Thompson's visit to the United States has been discussed many times³⁶ and it is not the purpose of this thesis to go into it in any great detail. His coming had been well advertised by Garrison in his newspaper The Liberator. He was to have arrived on the United States which had left Liverpool on the 8th of August and had he done so, he probably would have met with a lively reception. Upon the arrival of the United States, the Captain of the vessel had been warned by the pilot that if Thompson were on board he should hide for his life as there was the possibility of a violent reception waiting for him in New York. Several days later when he finally did arrive he was almost immediately turned out of his hotel in order to gratify an indignant Southern guest.³⁷ In brief, his mission turned out to be anything but a howling success. Thompson was just the sort of man the proslavery and moderate press could lash into as a foreign instigator meddling in America's private internal affairs.³⁸ Thompson was an aggressive, antagonistic, challenging and often sarcastic stump speaker who often infuriated the public. In New

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- 36 For several good descriptions see :
 Samuel J. May, Some Recollections of our Antislavery Conflict (New York reprint 1968) pp. 115-25
 C. Duncan Rice, "The Anti Slavery Mission of George Thompson to the United States 1834-1835" Journal of American Studies vol. 2 (1968), 13-31
 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 27-9
 Thistlethwaite, The Anglo American Connection pp. 109-11
 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison I, 446-522, II 1-72
 John L. Thomas, The Liberator William Lloyd Garrison : a Biography (Boston 1963) pp. 194-203
- 37 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, p. 23
 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison I, 446, 451
- 38 Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction p. 23-4

Hampshire and Maine mobs broke windows in the halls where the abolitionists came to hear him. In Lowell Massachusetts he was nearly hit in the head by a large brickbat and indeed near the end of his mission in September 1835 he was hit in the face by a stone while delivering a lecture in Boston.³⁹ For fourteen months Thompson stayed in the United States lecturing, forming anti-slavery societies, stirring up antagonism and in general causing much excitement.

In Glasgow the G.E.S. , which, with the Edinburgh society, were to a large part financing Thompson's trip, called three committee meetings to read letters from him concerning his progress and in return sent for his support £202. 10s. all of which was sent to the Agency Society in London.⁴⁰ In April 1835 the G.E.S. received word from Thompson that he had drawn on their account the amount of £100 which the Treasurer announced the Society was unprepared for. It was decided to seek help from the Edinburgh group as well as to send out a call for subscriptions in order to honour the draft. At a meeting called on June 9th, it was learned that the Edinburgh society had meanwhile taken upon itself the whole amount and had since April remitted the money, thus getting the G.E.S. off the hook. This no doubt came as a relief to the members of the committee for as the Cash Book reveals the finances of the Society at that time were in a very poor condition. Because of this the Treasurer instructed Thompson to refrain in the future from drawing upon them directly but to draw upon the

39 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison I, 451-2
 Merrill, Against Wind and Tide, pp.100-1
 Russell B. Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian
 Reformers (Boston 1955) pp. 80-1
 Russel B. Nye, Fettered Freedom : Civil Liberties and the
 Slavery Controversy 1830-1860 (Michigan State University
 Press 1963) pp.201-3

40 G.E.S. Cash Book I, 21 April 1834, 11 August 1834
 10 March 1835, 10 December 1835
 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 22 October 1834, 18 March 1835,
 10 April 1835

Agency Society to which the G.E.S. were to remit funds for his support.⁴¹

In America Thompson was building up more and more hatred against himself. He directed his attacks not only at American slaveholders but also at two of his fellow countrymen. At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti Slavery Society he viciously attacked two British Baptist ministers, Rev. Dr. J. Hoby and Rev. Dr. F.A. Cox for sitting passively and not coming out against slavery at the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Church in Richmond, Virginia. Indeed, it can be said that there was some justification for his attacks as Cox was an active member of the Agency Society in London.⁴² In September 1835 a gallows was erected for Thompson and Garrison by an angry Boston mob.⁴³ During October and part of November he was forced to go from one hiding place to another to escape the hostile citizens. Finally, on 9th November, finding Boston much too hot and at the expense of Garrison's New England Anti Slavery Society, he secretly fled on a New Brunswick packet for St. John and hence back to Britain.⁴⁴ His mission's immediate effect upon the American antislavery movement served merely to polarize the pro and anti slavery factions.⁴⁵ This polarization had been initiated by Garrison's vicious attacks on slavery in The Liberator and the resentment caused by Thompson's visit nearly completed this process.

41 Ibid, 22 October 1834, 18 March 1835, 10 April 1835, 9 June 1835. G.E.S. Cash Book I, 4.

42 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison I, 480-1

43 Ibid. p. 519

44 Merrill, Against Wind and Tide p. 101
Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 49-50

45 Rice, "The Scottish Factor in the Fight Against American Slavery" p. 117

As far as Britain was concerned Thompson's visit was much more important. His close friendship and affinity with Garrison during his stay in America had a great deal of influence on the Scottish societies and especially upon the G. E. S. where the two radicals Murray and Smeal began to dominate its activities. They were, after all, its secretaries taking care of all of its correspondence and since the G. E. S.'s relationship with other societies and most of its policies were established only through such contact they came to direct the entire organization. The day to day work was carried out by these men and usually only ratified at the committee meetings which of course the secretaries called. Therefore since Thompson was their paid agent with the full support of the society, and since most of his correspondence was with the secretaries with them controlling the organization, it is not at all surprising that the society tended to be closely attuned to the Garrisonian point of view.⁴⁶ There was nothing particularly controversial about this at the time because Garrison seemed, at least to the British, to be the leader of the American movement.⁴⁷ It was only later at the World Anti Slavery Convention of 1840 when Garrison introduced Women's Rights into the movement, and later such radical reforms as anti-clericalism and anti Sabbatarianism, that friction arose in the Glasgow and other British societies. It was only when they realized that Thompson's close communion with Garrison and his Garrisonian philosophy originating from his trip to America that the more moderate members of the G. E. S. realized they had been manoeuvred out of the position of power. This was to cause dissent and a struggle for power within the ranks of the Society, but as the secretaries had for some seven years been controlling its direction, it was too late for the moderates to regain control.

46 Ibid. p. 452

47 Nye, William Lloyd Garrison. And The Humanitarian Reformers p. 67

On Thompson's return to Britain the G. E. S. first convened a committee meeting and later on a public meeting to welcome him back. The committee meeting was held on January 18th 1836 in the Friends Meeting House with Robert Grahame once more in the chair. After hearing of his adventures the meeting passed resolutions of confidence and congratulations on his return, thanksgiving for his safety and a pledge to continue the antislavery crusade. Two days later at a public meeting with nearly the entire committee in attendance, and a considerable number of the City's Dissenting clergy⁴⁸ Thompson described the American mobs and the heroism of the American abolitionists (not to mention his own) and claimed his mission a complete success.⁴⁹ This was somewhat removed from the real truth as his mission had been anything but a success given the interpretation he had given to the trip before he left. (See above page 82). But realistically Thompson could hardly have stood up in front of his Glasgow audience and admit his trip to have been a dismal flop. For one thing such an admission would have done no good and most certainly have hurt the movement. Secondly, Thompson no doubt felt he had succeeded as he was not the kind of man to admit to personal failure of any kind.

The end of Thompson's mission to America was not, however, the end of his connection with the G. E. S. He was to continue in its employment until the end of 1837 as its paid lecturer travelling throughout the country speaking against the apprenticeship system. In all, Thompson was to receive a total of £642.10s. from the G. E. S. for his work, £350 of which was remitted after his return from America.⁵⁰

48 Significantly no mention is made of any of the city's Established clergy and apparently the only minister from the Church of Scotland was the radical Patrick Brewster of Paisley.

49 Glasgow Argus, 21 January 1836
G. E. S. Minute Book I, 20 January 1836

50 G. E. S. Annual Reports 1835-8, see the abstract of the Treasurer's Account for each year.

On August 1st 1834 the apprenticeship system came into force on all of the British slave holding colonies, except for Bermuda and Antigua where the slaves were given their entire freedom. The members of the G.E.S. were by no means in favour of apprenticeship but were at least for a while content to give the system a chance. However, in just ten months, Murray was writing to John Scoble that the planters had already violated the Act and had lost the right to compensation.⁵¹ Increasingly, the British abolitionists were becoming aware of abuses in the system especially in regard to corporal punishment.⁵² The London society had requested the G.E.S. and others to use their influence with their M.P.'s to get them to back a motion in Parliament concerning the excesses and violations of the apprenticeship system and to set up a Parliamentary inquiry to determine if the planters had met the conditions under which compensation had been agreed upon. In a series of resolutions at a committee meeting of June 9th, 1835, which had inspired Murray's letter to Scoble, they 1) were of the opinion that Apprenticeship was being violated and that the negroes were cruelly treated; 2) since Britain was legally bound to compensate the slave owners, it is the Government's duty to see that all conditions of the Act be carried out before compensation be paid; 3) that they would request the two M.P's from Glasgow, James Oswald and Colin Dunlop to support Buxton's forthcoming

51 John Scoble had, along with Thompson, been a paid lecturer for the Agency Committee in the campaign to abolish colonial slavery. Later he became Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society during the 1840's.

B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/29
Murray to Scoble, 12 June 1835.

52 For details of such abuses see Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship Ch. V, VI passim, especially pp. 231-62. Mathieson, British Slavery and Its Abolition pp. 280-8

motion for a Parliamentary inquiry into the apprenticeship system.⁵³

Three months later another committee meeting was held to consider the propriety of holding a public meeting to present an address to Daniel O'Connell on the subject of Buxton's proposed motion to set up an inquiry into the apprenticeship system in the next Parliament. His previous one made on June 16th had been withdrawn almost immediately after a rather flimsy explanation of the Government's position by Lord Grey. This withdrawal of a motion for an inquiry on Buxton's part had caused members of the G.E.S. to have doubts about his moral courage in his fight against apprenticeship.⁵⁴ Thus by getting O'Connell to back the motion in the next Parliament it was felt that Buxton might press through for the inquiry.

The idea of presenting an address to O'Connell from the G.E.S. was not at all popular with at least three members of the Society; Rev. Duncan of the United Secession Church, David M'Laren a merchant and Baptist minister, and James Stewart. M'Laren protested for three reasons, the first being that he did not feel that O'Connell had done anything to deserve such a distinction. Secondly, he felt that O'Connell was coming to Glasgow in his Political character⁵⁵ and that to address him would be to identify the G.E.S. with him and his policies which would in turn injure the Society. Finally, the committee meeting which approved the address consisted of nine, three of whom had voted against it and six was less than a quorum.⁵⁶ The first

53 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 9 June 1835

54 Ibid. 19 September 1835

55 O'Connell was making a tour of the north drumming up enthusiasm for a Radical scheme to reform the House of Lords

56 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 19 September 1835

objection is debatable as he certainly voted for the end of slavery and had always been outspoken in his condemnation of it. The second objection is rather odd as one of the prime methods used by any antislavery group was precisely this, to promote their humanitarian goals by political methods. Thus what better way to promote these goals than by obtaining the support of a very popular political leader. As far as injuring the G.E.S. by identifying with O'Connell this was highly unlikely. Obviously the third objection is simply unreasonable. Robert Kettle, the Temperance leader, sent in a written protest along much the same lines though he added that he believed that the antislavery cause was chiefly indebted to the religious Protestant feeling for its success and therefore the address to O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, would be rank injustice.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, it was decided that the address should be presented to O'Connell. Conveniently Murray had already drawn up the address and it was resolved that the entire committee would present it in person.

On Wednesday mornign the 23rd of September at the Hope Street Baptist Chapel almost the entire committee presented the address to O'Connell and heard a damning speech on the apprenticeship system and American slavery. O'Connell pointed out that they had succeeded so far already and had, to be sure, bought the freedom of the slaves at the price of £20m. He insisted on getting full value for their money as a good principle in bargaining – not in human flesh but for twenty million pounds worth of human liberty. He also attacked American

⁵⁷ Ibid, letter from Robert Kettle to Smeal, 19 September 1835. As this clearly indicates abolitionists could be every bit as narrow-minded and prejudiced as anyone else. Reformist tendencies and movements were not for all reforms and were perfectly capable of bigotry themselves. Rev. George Bourne (see footnote 21 Ch.IV) was a strong Anti-Catholic. Another abolitionists, the Rev. Samuel H. Cox of New York, was a religious bigot who turned on the Quakers. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland 1969) p.114.

slavery as the aristocracy of the skin. Finally, he pledged to divide the House on the subject of any further compensation to the former slave owners if any such attempt should be made.⁵⁸

It was certainly an inspiring speech and no doubt the committee felt that O'Connell was sure to be a man to work diligently in Parliament for the prompt end to apprenticeship. In this they were to be disappointed. On March 22nd, 1836, Buxton moved for a committee of inquiry into the apprenticeship system and a few days later he was presented with a petition from the G. E. S. signed by 29,830 which supported his action.⁵⁹ The select committee, including Buxton and O'Connell, met sporadically from April 19 till August 5th and interviewed only seventeen witnesses including four planters, three Special Magistrates and four experts on colonial law. The result was less than gratifying and at the conclusion of their report they stated that there was "much reason to look forward with confident hope to the result of this great experiment" and further :

"... nothing could be more unfortunate than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class with regard to the fixed determination of the Imperial Parliament to preserve inviolate both parts of the engagement by which the services of the Apprenticed Labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period and under specific restrictions."⁶⁰

This was not even half a loaf and certainly far from what was expected given the tone of O'Connell's words in the Hope Street Baptist Church.

58 Glasgow Argus, 24 September 1835

59 G. E. S. Minute Book I, 28 March 1836

60 Mathieson, British Slavery and Its Abolition pp. 276-7

A few months following the address to O'Connell the G. E. S. received reports from the Agency Society of planters on the island of Mauritius illegally holding and importing slaves from Africa in order to take advantage of the compensatory payment of the Government. In a letter read during a committee meeting on December 28th 1835 the Agency Society informed the G. E. S. of this and went on to say that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, was planning on having the most important witness, Mr. John Jeremie ⁶¹ sent to Ceylon because the Colonial Office opposed any inquiry into the situation. ⁶² Jeremie, it seems, had conveniently been appointed to a judgeship in Ceylon in order to have him out of the country before Buxton's inquiry could be commenced. London had asked the G. E. S. to send a letter to Lord Glenelg opposing this action and the committee immediately did so. In it they not only asked the Colonial Secretary to refrain from sending Jeremie abroad but also stated that they felt that nearly all the slaves on Mauritius were entitled to their freedom as having been illegally imported after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Because of this they were naturally concerned with the proposed compensation of £2,099,000 to these planters. ⁶³ Subsequently Jeremie did remain to give testimony against the operation of the apprenticeship system before Buxton's inquiry ⁶⁴ but the result seems to have had

61 Sir John Jeremie, who went out to St. Lucia in 1825 as first President of the Royal Court, was to a great extent responsible for introducing much needed legal reforms to the island. His experiences on the island had caused him to be an able and outspoken opponent of slavery and subsequently of apprenticeship. See Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship pp. 68-9, 337-8

62 G. E. S. Minute Book I, 28 December 1835

63 Ibid.

64 Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship pp. 337-8
Stephen, Antislavery Recollections pp. 219-20

little effect on the outcome. However, it is doubtful, owing to the unsympathetic nature of the Colonial Office during this period that any letter from the G.E.S., or any other Society, to Lord Glenelg would have any bearing on whether or not Jeremie would be available to give testimony.

Following the rather disappointing results of Buxton's select committee John Scoble, Joseph Sturge and two other abolitionists determined to make their own private inquiry into the working of the apprenticeship system by going to the West Indies and observing it for themselves. On October 28th 1836 the G.E.S. committee met and passed a resolution of approval for the trip and sent a copy to Sturge.⁶⁵ The following March, at their Third Annual Meeting, they passed a resolution stating that owing to the natural rights of man, the revealed word of God and British common law, all subjects were entitled to immediate, unconditional and entire freedom. Once more they condemned apprenticeship and demanded immediate freedom for the negroes.⁶⁶ In June 1837 the G.E.S. committee met and decided that it would be highly desirable for Sturge, who had just returned from the West Indies, to be invited to address a public meeting on the results of his tour. Subsequently, on June 19, a public meeting was held (Sturge did not attend) to petition Parliament for an immediate end to apprenticeship. This time they condemned not only apprenticeship but also the compensation that went along with it and indeed every aspect of the system. It was moved by Thompson that a petition be drawn up against apprenticeship and sent to the Glasgow M.P.'s with a request that they support it in the Commons. Finally, Sturge was publically thanked for his mission.⁶⁷

65 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 28 October 1836

66 Ibid, 13 March 1837

67 Ibid, 5 June 1837, 19 June 1837

All of this was well and good but it was obviously not getting them anywhere in Parliament. Petitions and memorials had so far been ineffective due, no doubt, to the lack of any unity in the movement. The Select Committee of 1836 was re-appointed about the time of Sturge's return from the West Indies, but due to the dissolution of Parliament in June they settled for a recommendation for an immediate inquiry into the condition of West Indian prisons and "especially into the construction and use of the treadmills which are employed in them, and the nature of the coercion adopted to ensure labour among the prisoners."⁶⁸ It was clear that a concerted and unified effort on the part of the abolitionists' societies was going to be necessary if they were to have any chance at all of success.

Despite this, the G.E.S. remained inactive till the end of October 1837 at which time a committee meeting was called to consider the propriety of sending delegates to Exeter Hall in London for a proposed Anti Slavery Convention on November 14 for the purpose of bringing popular pressure to bear on Parliament to end apprenticeship.⁶⁹ This was just the sort of call that the G.E.S. needed to return to life. It was decided not only to appoint delegates to attend the convention but also to hold a public meeting to endorse the delegates thus lending the weight of public opinion to their support. The delegates appointed were, Revs. Heugh, Anderson, Harvey, King and the Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley, plus Thompson and Murray. Sturge, in a letter to the committee, had recommended that they write to as many Scottish

68 Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation p. 16

69 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 31 October 1837

M.P.'s as possible urging them to support a vote to end apprenticeship. This suggestion was taken up in part as they agreed only to write their own M.P.'s and leave it up to the discretion of the secretaries as to whether they wanted to write to other societies attempting to influence them to write to their own M.P.'s.⁷⁰

On November 8th at a crowded public meeting in Wardlaw's Chapel the feeling against apprenticeship had reached a high point. Rev. William Anderson, who was by no means a radical,⁷¹ went so far as to say that the planters had insulted the British Government and that their property should be confiscated. Whether he really meant this is very questionable as he was a highly respected member of a society which held personal property almost sacred. Certainly his audience would never have condoned this kind of action, but in the heat of the excitement it was obviously overlooked or discounted as mere rhetoric. The highpoint of the evening was, of course, the speech by Thompson and his presentation of a petition to Queen Victoria requiring two men to carry it to the platform.⁷² This could be pure theatrical reporting but it must be remembered that any petition of well over one hundred thousand names, as this one was, was bound to require a great deal of paper and consequently the fact that two men were needed to carry it is not really too incredible. Finally, after a number of speeches and resolutions for the nomination of the delegates and against apprenticeship, Smeal announced an anonymous donation of £50 to help defray the cost of the delegates. Obviously the feelings and hopes were running very high and the people no doubt were expecting tangible results.⁷³

70 Ibid.

71 In 1841 Anderson was to dissent quite vociferously from the position of the G.E.S. in their support of Garrison over the issue of "Woman's Rights". See G.E.S. Minute Book III, 2 August 1841 and G.E.S. Annual Report 1841, p. 29

72 This petition contained 135,083 signatures and breaks down in this manner. 22,161 from the women of Glasgow and a total of 65,000 from the West of Scotland. 69,000 from Edinburgh and the East of Scotland. The Petition itself was 2,650 ft. long. See Glasgow Argus, 13 November 1837

73 Ibid.

The Exeter Hall Convention of 1837, consisting of 140 delegates from throughout Britain, lasted from November 14th to the 23rd and resulted in the organization of the Central Negro Emancipation Committee. This was a resident committee set up to watch Parliament, represent their views and publish a newspaper The British Emancipator. The convention also drew up a memorial stating that "the Apprenticeship system, like all other modifications of crime, has demonstrated the absolute hopelessness of reconciling right and wrong".⁷⁴ John Murray, one of the Glasgow delegates, took a very active part in the proceedings and was on many of its committees.⁷⁵ One tangible result of the convention affecting the G. E. S. and one which they were not expecting was a letter from Thompson stating that if it were agreeable to them he should, for the next six months, be engaged as an agent for the Central Negro Emancipation Committee during which time they were to pay him rather than the G. E. S.⁷⁶ This was entirely reasonable for Thompson, as a national figure, wished to affiliate himself with a national organization through which the provincial societies were to exert their influence on Parliament. This effectively terminated Thompson's tenure as the Society's paid agent though he continued for many years afterwards to take a leading role in its activities. It was decided at the committee meeting at which this letter from Thompson was read that a public meeting should be held to hear from the convention delegates a report on their work.⁷⁷

At the Public meeting held on December 27th, the Rev. Patrick Brewster was the main speaker. His speech displayed a noticeable legalistic bent as he backed up his attacks on apprentice-

74 Mathieson, British Slavery and Its Abolition pp. 284-5
Temperley, British Antislavery p. 39

75 Glasgow Argus, 28 December 1837

76 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 7 December 1837

77 Ibid.

ship with evidence and logic rather than the inflamed sensationalism used by Thompson. The meeting ended with the approval of petitions to Parliament for the end of apprenticeship. One was to be sent to John Dennistoun, their local M.P. to be presented in the Commons and the other to be sent to Lord Brougham for presentation in the Lords.⁷⁸

The movement was fast gaining momentum all over Britain with local societies presenting petitions and memorials to Parliament. Another public meeting of the G.E.S. was called for February 14th to hear Thompson's report of his activities since the Exeter Convention. More important than the speech by Thompson was a proposal by Rev. Anderson that if the Melbourne Government then in power failed to back the motion by Sir Eardley Wilmot for the abolition of apprenticeship that action would form one of the main reasons which would go to alienate their minds from that Government. While admittedly this posed no immediate threat to the then tottering Melbourne Government, it did derive from the voting public and as similar dissatisfaction was being promulgated from like meetings all over the country, it served at least to put the Government on notice as to the feelings of a small, if vocal, segment of the population. The meeting also decided to apply by petition to **allow** Thompson to address both Houses of Parliament when the Wilmot proposal was introduced.⁷⁹

A few weeks following this meeting a committee meeting was held to appoint delegates to a second convention to be held in Exeter Hall on the 27th of March 1838 in order to again petition the Melbourne Government. John Murray and the Revs. Wardlaw, King,

78 Ibid, 27 December 1837

79 Ibid, 14 February 1838
Glasgow Argus, 19 February 1838

Heugh and Beattie agreed to attend as delegates. It was also decided at this meeting to circulate another petition for Parliament.⁸⁰

The Exeter Hall Convention of March 27th sent a delegation to meet with Russell and Melbourne, to request them to agree to end apprenticeship. The following day, after the text of Lord Brougham's Abolition Act became public, approximately 250 petitions in favour of the abolition of apprenticeship were presented to the Commons. This was in prelude to the introduction of Wilmot's resolution (in his absence it was presented by George Strickland) for the abolition of apprenticeship on August 1, 1838.⁸¹

The G.E.S. was now working at full speed. On April 6th, Heugh, Smeal and Anderson wrote a letter to one of the Glasgow M.P.'s Lord William Bentinck, expressing their deep regret that he had voted against Wilmot's resolution for immediate emancipation which had been defeated by a vote of 215 to 265. This opposition by Lord Bentinck must surely have come as a surprise to the members of the G.E.S. owing to his reputation as a true liberal stemming from his zealous reform work as Governor General of India between 1828 and 1835.⁸² Another letter was written to Dennistoun praising him for his conduct and expressing to him their full support. Four days later a suggestion by Thompson was agreed upon to raise two new petitions (one for women) to be sent to Parliament. These petitions, which were to take just a few days to complete, contained 102,100 signatures. Wardlaw had claimed 135,000 female signatures on the petition but then understatement was never a strong trait among abolitionists.⁸³ It was also decided that letters were to

80 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 19 March 1838

81 Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship p. 352

82 Ibid, p. 354

Alfred LeRoy Burt, The Evolution of The British Empire and Commonwealth from The American Revolution (Boston 1956) pp. 329-30.

83 G.E.S. Annual Report 1838, p.14
Glasgow Argus, 19 April 1838

be sent to other parliamentary constituencies urging them to procure, if possible, a promise from their M.P.'s of support for immediate emancipation. A week later on April 16th a public meeting was held in Heugh's chapel to protest the Government's decision to continue apprenticeship 'till 1840 and to pass the petitions to both Houses of Parliament. Anderson moved that a Memorial to the Queen for immediate emancipation be sent through the Duke of Sussex. Various other resolutions of thanks were passed, among them one of cordial approbation to the members of the Baptist and other churches of the West Indies for liberating their slaves and to Sir George Strickland and William Pease for their measure for complete emancipation presented to Parliament.⁸⁴

In May, Wilmot and Strickland were ready for another test of strength in the Commons and once more the G.E.S. was asked to send delegates for a convention at Exeter Hall to show popular support for the motion. This time the delegates were Robert Grahame and his son, Thomas, Thompson, Smeal, John Douglass, William White, David Boyd and John Boyle Gray.⁸⁵ The Wilmot Proposal of May 22nd for the cessation of apprenticeship actually met with success, briefly. In a sparsely attended House of Commons the motion passed 96 to 93. A few days later, however, the Government overturned this decision by a vote of 250 to 178.⁸⁶ The significance of all this agitation was not lost on the West Indian planters and it became evident to them that either they would have to bring an end to the system of their own accord or soon have it imposed on them by London. In June, St. Vincent and Tobago abolished the system followed by the Bahamas in July. Also in June, Jamaica passed an Act terminating the system on August 1. On receiving the news that Jamaica had decided to end apprenticeship it was decided at a committee meeting of July 18 to hold an

84 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 16 April 1838

85 Ibid, 17 May 1838

86 Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship p. 356.

evening of thanksgiving on August 1 in the churches and that a collection should be made in order to help the G.E.S. pay for some of the cost of its effort.⁸⁷ The campaign between March 1837 and August 1838 had cost the G.E.S. nearly £700 and they found themselves £220 in debt. On printing and advertising alone they spent over £250 and their petitions to Parliament had run to nearly £100.⁸⁸ This was a great deal of money to be spent by just one society and it gives some indication as to the extent of the movement and the excitement it aroused. At the 4th Annual Meeting of the G.E.S. with John Dennistoun, M.P. in the chair, the Society passed a resolution of thanks to God for the end of apprenticeship and resolved to continue their struggle for the universal abolition of slavery.⁸⁹ Thus the G.E.S. in conjunction with many other groups had successfully completed a campaign against one of its primary grievances. Universal emancipation, however, was as far away as it had always been but the G.E.S. could congratulate itself on having been actively engaged in hastening its arrival.

During the campaign against apprenticeship the G.E.S. had used several methods to keep the issue of slavery in front of the public eye. Between June 13 and 17, 1836, it sponsored a series of debates between the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of the American Colonization Society and George Thompson on the subject of American slavery. For five consecutive nights with an average attendance of nearly nine hundred they met and debated in Wardlaw's Chapel for the purpose of eliciting facts surrounding American slavery. Previously it had been agreed not to propose any question for a formal decision and that there would be no decision as to the

87 This collection made by the churches in the city and surrounding country netted the G.E.S. £64. 19s. 4d.

88 G.E.S. Annual Report 1838, see abstract of the Treasurers Account

89 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 2 August 1838

winner or loser in the contest.⁹⁰ The second part of this agreement was broken almost immediately following the debates when in a committee meeting on the 21st of June the Society came out with glowing praise of Thompson for his skill in the debates and claiming that he had obviously come out on top.⁹¹ The debates make interesting reading if only because they illustrate the difference between the two men. Thompson, who was by all accounts a very effective, if inflammatory speaker, was continually forced to defend his recent trip to the United States and often he became the issue rather than American slavery. Breckinridge, who was shrewd enough to realize that his audience was anything but sympathetic to his stand, ignored accusations and personal attacks and gradually manoeuvred Thompson into a position of defending his work and policies rather than attacking slavery. In essence, Breckinridge claimed that slavery was purely a local matter for the states to decide upon and not a national institution. Hence any condemnation of America as a whole for its system of slavery was unwarranted and unjust.⁹² For its part, the G.E.S. decided to have the entire debate printed up in both cheap and expensive form.⁹³

90 Ibid, 8 June 1836

91 Ibid, 21 June 1836

92 For the text of the debate see Glasgow Argus, 16, 20 June 1836. See also Discussion on American Slavery In Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, between Mr. George Thompson and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of Baltimore, United States On the Evenings of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th June 1836 (Second Edition Glasgow 1836) located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

93 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 21 June 1836, 12 July 1836. 2000 copies of the debate were specially printed up at a cost to the Society of £76.7s. See G.E.S. Annual Report 1837, Abstract Account Of The Receipts And Expenditures Collected With The Discussion Betwix Mr. George Thompson and The Rev. R. J. Breckinridge p. 143

The purpose of the debates had of course been to keep the issue of American slavery in front of the public in order for the G. E. S. to gain its sympathy and support. It must be said that the Society was at least partially successful in attempting to educate the public as to the evils of slavery. Excluding those in attendance at the debates and thus exposed directly, the reading public was treated to almost verbatim coverage in both the Glasgow Argus and the Glasgow Chronicle which had a combined circulation of probably around eight hundred and fifty.⁹⁴ What effect this coverage had on the attitudes or opinions of the subscribers to these newspapers can only be guessed at but since both publications were adamantly opposed to American slavery, it is assumed that their readers held similar views and consequently the accounts of the debates would probably not have changed their stand on the issue one way or another. The debates served merely to reinforce this opposition to the system of slavery.

It cannot be said that the debates had any significant effect on the members of the Society for as loyal supporters of both Thompson and Garrison any position taken by a member of the American Colonization Society would have been complete anathema to them. One of Garrison's main objectives in coming to Britain in 1833 had been to counteract the fund raising efforts of Elliott Cresson, another emissary of the American Colonization Society.⁹⁵ Any organization as closely associated with Garrison, as was the G. E. S. through Thompson, could scarcely be expected to be affected by anything a member of the Colonization Society might say. If the newspaper reports are accurate, Breckinridge's words were received with far less enthusiasm than those of Thompson. This

94 R. M. W. Cowan, The Newspaper In Scotland, A Study Of Its First Expansion 1815-1860 (Glasgow 1946) p. 170

95 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison I, 352-79

enthusiasm is reflected in a well attended public meeting soon after the debates for the sole purpose of praising Thompson's efforts.⁹⁶

A society so firmly based on the precepts of morality as the G.E.S. was would find a natural ally in the local churches. In the case of the G.E.S. this alliance was almost exclusively with the Dissenting variety and it was through them that they attempted to remonstrate with the people in the United States. In March 1837 at a public meeting it was moved by Rev. Kidston and seconded by Rev. Andrew Somerville of Dumbarton, both of the United Secession Church, that the Society remonstrate with the people of America and especially with Christian professors against the evils of Slavery.⁹⁷ Many of the local churches were sympathetic to the aims of the G.E.S. and went so far as to hold public days of thanksgiving and prayer in 1834 when slavery was abolished and again in 1838 with the termination of apprenticeship. Indeed, it was the moral support given by the Dissenting ministers that provided the impetus for much of the Society's work. With the exception of Thompson and the secretaries, the most notable and active men in the public meetings were without doubt ministers such as Anderson, Heugh, Wardlaw and Kidston. This tendency of Dissenting churches to take an active interest in antislavery work and subsequently to communicate their condemnation of the system to their brethren in America was one of the main goals of the G.E.S.⁹⁸ American and British churches had established close ties on matters of doctrine and organization,⁹⁹ and it was through these that the G.E.S. expected to exert moral pressure for the end of slavery.

96 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 1 August 1836
Glasgow Argus, 4 August 1836

97 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 15 March 1837

98 G.E.S. Annual Report 1835, p. 23, 1836, p. 6

99 Thistlethwaite, The Anglo-American Connection pp. 80-1

As events unfolded across the Atlantic, such as the extension of slavery into Texas, the secretaries made sure that they received proper attention both in the press and at its public meetings. As early as March 1837 the G. E. S. condemned the revolution in Texas as nothing more than a war to extend the slave system and said it would be calamitous for the cause of emancipation if it were successful. Later in 1839 the G. E. S. sent a memorial to the Government opposing the recognition of Texas as an independent nation as long as slavery existed there. This memorial reflected the general view held by British abolitionists that the Government should use all available pressure to induce the government of Texas to give up slavery as a price for recognition and subsequently the right to make commercial treaties. Recognition would also be contrary to the British role as the leading advocate of freedom throughout the world.¹⁰⁰ Memorials such as this proved to be ineffective due to the Government's desire to see an independent Texas which would serve as a check to the rapidly growing might of the United States and a basis for an increase in British influence in America. There were also a number of strong economic reasons for the Government's desire to see Texas independent. For one thing, cotton from Texas would be in direct competition with cotton grown in the Southern States thus making Britain more independent of Southern cotton. It would also provide a market for British goods and a means of undermining the American tariff as well as an aid for stabilizing relations with Mexico.¹⁰¹ Thus it was in November 1840 when the Government signed a series of treaties with Texas with no mention of slavery that the G. E. S. realized how impotent they were in influencing the international policy of the Government when

100 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 13 March 1837, 15 October 1839
Temperley, British Antislavery p. 198

101 Louis B. Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery (London 1960)
p. 175.

important commercial and economic factors necessitated a policy contrary to humanitarian principles. The arguments of morality and freedom could induce the Government to action, but only so long as they did not inhibit the growth of commerce or the national good. In the case of Texas, the memorials of the antislavery societies ran contrary to what the Government felt was sound policy and were disregarded.

Another incident in which the G.E.S. involved itself shows that the Society was interested in more than just apprenticeship or the activities of George Thompson. In 1839, fifty-two illegally imported slaves were sold to two slave dealers in Havana, Cuba, there to be transshipped to another part of the island on the schooner Amistad. On the fourth day out the slaves mutinied, captured the ship and under the illusion that they were being returned to Africa, found themselves off the New England coast of Connecticut where they were taken into custody on charges of piracy and murder. The two slave dealers, Ruiz and Montes, sued to have their property restored. This, of course, drew the attention of American abolitionists who immediately contested the suit and started legal proceedings which eventually ended with freedom for the Africans some eighteen months later in the United States Supreme Court.¹⁰² Hardly had the case been brought to court but the G.E.S. held a public meeting to petition Melbourne and Palmerston to intercede with the United States Government on behalf of the Africans in order to secure their freedom and if necessary to provide a British ship for their transportation back to their homes.¹⁰³ In conjunction with similar petitions from other like societies this memorial had the desired effect, at least on the British Government. Palmerston instructed the British minister in Madrid to demand prosecution of the two slave dealers and to ask the Spanish Government to

102 Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Quincy Adams and The Union (New York 1956) pp. 384-415

103 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 15 October 1839

issue strict orders to the authorities in Cuba to grant the negroes freedom should they arrive there.¹⁰⁴ The Government also instructed their minister in Washington, Henry S. Fox, to use his good offices on behalf of the Amistad captives without interfering with the judicial proceedings. In a note to the American Secretary of State, Fox declared that under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent the United States and Britain were pledged to do their best to abolish the slave trade and consequently entitled the British Government to call serious attention to the Amistad victims now about ready to appear before the Supreme Court. Fox stated, "It is under these circumstances that Her Majesty's Government earnestly hope that the President of the United States will find himself empowered to take such measures on behalf of the afore-said Africans as shall secure them the possession of their liberty, to which, without doubt, they are by law entitled."¹⁰⁵ This expression of concern by the British Government could of course have little effect on a case before the Supreme Court but as it was released to the press before the trial it did serve notice to the judiciary of the diplomatic implications of the case. The G. E. S. could hardly claim any credit for the eventual freedom of the Amistad negroes but their interest does illustrate their concern for the conditions of the negro in areas far removed from the control of the British Government. Even as late as November 1841, after the freedom of the Amistad captives had been secured, the G. E. S. was petitioning the Government to provide a ship for their transportation back to Africa.¹⁰⁶

104 Ibid., letter from William Fox Strangeways to William Paton, 23 December 1839.

105 Bemis, John Quincy Adams and The Union p. 404

106 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 18 November 1841

The 1830's then, was a period of growth and co-operation as far as the development of the G.E.S. was concerned. Granted the Society clung to its independence and refused to be dominated by larger and wealthier London societies, but it is nevertheless a fact that at the height of the apprenticeship struggle they willingly co-operated with the London abolitionists by petitioning and memorializing the Government and by sending three separate slates of delegates to meetings in Exeter Hall. From 1833 to 1840 the G.E.S. sent five petitions to Parliament, four memorials to Government ministers, three delegations to meetings in London plus numerous addresses and letters to people not just in Britain but on the Continent and the United States as well. In all, there were sixty-six meetings of the G.E.S. during this period, seventeen of which were public. On the average this means that over a six year period the Society met about once a month and held nearly three public meetings a year. These figures are deceptive, however, as there were periods such as during the first six months of 1839 when the Society was quite inactive. Also, a number of meetings were called for purposes other than pursuing antislavery work. One such meeting was convened in June 1836 to express thanks to James Johnston, the treasurer, for his work before his emigration to Canada. A similar meeting a year later drew up a letter of appreciation to James McCune Smith who was returning to New York after having completed his education at the University of Glasgow.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless the Society showed a rather remarkable energy during the 1830's. This zeal can be traced to a number of causes or reasons. One of the more important of these was that the

107 Ibid., II, 16 June 1836, 5 June 1837

Society worked for specific and obtainable goals. Of course, most British philanthropic societies of the day had specific goals and some of them incredibly so. It would, however, be stretching credibility to believe that the goals of some of these societies such as The Society for Returning Young Women to their Friends in the Country or The Southampton Society for the Reformation of Gypsies, were either practical or obtainable.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the fight against slavery and subsequently against apprenticeship was a realistic effort with every chance of success. Certainly the support of Thompson's mission to the United States was feasible no matter how inadvisable. Further, the effort to suppress slavery throughout the rest of the world did have a strong appeal and was within the realm of possibility. Britain after all did wield immense international power and if this were applied in an effort to abolish slavery it would be reasonable to expect successful results. The problem lay in getting the Government to apply this power and to this end the G.E.S. constantly worked through memorials, petitions and correspondence. This brings up another reason for the vigorous activity of the G.E.S. in the decade of the 1830's. In their fight against apprenticeship they had every reason to expect success. It was through the effort of the abolitionists that the British slave trade had been eliminated in 1807 and later they had been responsible for the abolition of West Indian slavery in 1834. Relying on many of the same arguments they had called upon to abolish slavery, they could, with reasonable assurance, look forward to a successful campaign against apprenticeship. Another reason for this activity of the G.E.S. lay in the fact that there was a surprising amount of

108 Brown, Fathers of the Victorians pp. 329, 340

public interest and sympathy for its cause. There would be little reason to hold so many public meetings if the members of the public were apathetic toward the Society's aims. It is difficult to determine exactly how many were in attendance at the various public gatherings of the G.E.S. The newspaper accounts almost invariably report a "large and respectable audience" in attendance but exactly what this means is questionable. One indication of the attendance is the capacity of the meeting places. Over half of the public meetings took place in Dr. Wardlaw's George Street Chapel which held approximately twelve hundred people. Other meetings took place in Dr. Heugh's Regent Street Chapel and Rev. Anderson's John Street Chapel both of which were somewhat larger. Consequently it would not be unreasonable to assume that attendance figures would normally have been somewhere between eight hundred and one thousand for the average public meeting and significantly higher when men such as O'Connell or Thompson were on the platform. At the Annual Meeting of 1838, Wardlaw's church was filled and according to reports several hundred people had to be turned away.¹⁰⁹ Earlier it was reported that Wardlaw's Chapel was filled on the occasion of Thompson's return from America and that Heugh's Chapel was likewise filled later on that year at a meeting called to praise Thompson for his success in his debate against Rev. Breckinridge.¹¹⁰ This indicates a great deal of middle class support for their aims without which their efforts would have had little effect. It should also be taken into consideration that public meetings addressed by popular figures for whatever cause be it temperance, antislavery, free trade etc., were a source of mass entertainment much like the

109 Glasgow Argus, 6 August 1838

110 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 20 January 1836, 1 August 1836.

theatre or cinema are today. It must also be remembered that they were able to get a large number of people to sign petitions, in two cases well over 100,000. This widespread public sympathy and support gave their petitions and memorials popular backing and demanded at least that the Government take notice of them rather than having them utterly ignored as if presented by crackpots.

The final reason for the energy of the G.E.S. in the 1830's lay in its capable and energetic leadership. George Thompson, Smeal and Murray were, of course, the backbone of the Society. It was Murray's responsibility as corresponding secretary to keep in contact with other societies informing them of the policy of the G.E.S. and co-ordinating the Society's work with the other groups. In this he was helped by Smeal the recording secretary who was also responsible for the publication of the Annual Report and the various pamphlets the G.E.S. issued. But it was Thompson who was the real guiding light in the '30's. As the founder of the G.E.S. and its paid lecturer for four years, it was he who represented their views throughout Britain. His influence was such that up on his recommendation in 1838 the G.E.S. even changed its name to the Glasgow Emancipation and Aborigines Protection Society.¹¹¹ After the ending of apprenticeship Thompson became interested in India and the advocacy of the cause of the natives held in slavery there. For a brief period he was engaged by the Aborigines Protection Society to plead the cause of the Indian natives hence the junction with the G.E.S. Nine months later Thompson was back explaining why he had removed his connection with the Aborigines Protection Society and was now supporting the British India Society founded by Joseph

111 Ibid, 6 September 1838

Pease of Darlington.¹¹² Needless to say, the G.E.S. immediately agreed to unite in promoting the aims of that Society.¹¹³ Indeed, under Thompson's guidance, nearly the entire Annual Meeting in 1839 was given over to speeches concerning the poor in India. Thompson and Major General Briggs¹¹⁴ made an appeal to which the audience of Glasgow as one of the major cotton manufacturing centres of Britain were especially vulnerable. It was asserted that in India, Britain had a country capable of an almost boundless supply of raw cotton at a far lower price than they were paying for it to the slaveholding planters in America. At the same time, by encouraging the countries in India, Britain would open up an unlimited field for their manufacturers and give a certain death blow to slavery in the American South.¹¹⁵ This was just the kind of argument which appealed to the members of the G.E.S. and they voted approval of the aims of the British India Society. It was also the first public stand the G.E.S. was to take in the controversy over free trade though as yet they had not come out strongly one way or another. However, as Thompson was a strong advocate of free trade, it would not be too long before the G.E.S. were to join him in the struggle.¹¹⁶

Obviously then it was Thompson who led the Society in the decade of the 1830's and it was Smeal and Murray who carried out the day to day work and direction. There were others, however,

112 See British India, Proceedings at a Public Meeting in Darlington (Darlington 1839)

113 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 13 May 1839

114 Major General John Briggs was the author of The Cotton Trade of India (London 1840) and one of the leaders in the movement calling for commercial development of British India

115 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 1 August 1839

116 Thistlethwaite, The Anglo-American Connection pp. 161-2 In June and August of 1841 the G.E.S. came out strongly in support of free trade. See G.E.S. Minute Book III, 18 June 1841, 2 August 1841.

Wilson, Historical Notes of George Thompson's Labours p.2.

who took an interested and active role such as Revs. Heugh, Wardlaw and Anderson and James Johnston, James McCune Smith and William Paton. Even Robert Grahame, who by this time was well past his prime, was interested enough to chair thirteen of their meetings and consequently add a measure of prestige to the gatherings. It was undoubtedly due to the interest taken in the Society by men such as Grahame and the leading dissenting clergy of the city that the Society was able to attract attention and it was due to the efforts of Smeal and Murray that those interested were kept informed of the progress of their efforts.

These four factors : 1) specific and obtainable goals; 2) an expectation of success; 3) public interest and sympathy, and 4) energetic leadership – were interdependent and during the 1830's they worked harmoniously together and provided an atmosphere which made the G.E.S. one of the most effective antislavery groups in Britain.

It was during this decade of the 1830's that the G.E.S. received a great deal of support from the Ladies Auxiliary. This society grew out of the Glasgow Ladies Anti-Slavery Association which had been founded by Thompson in March 1833 during the height of the antislavery agitation.¹¹⁷ On January 8, 1834, Thompson founded the Glasgow Ladies Association in aid of the Glasgow Emancipation Society which became known as the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Emancipation Society.¹¹⁸ During the '30's with William Smeal's sister Jane as its secretary the Ladies Auxiliary donated to the G.E.S. £433.7s.10½d. and printed four thousand pamphlets. Included in the pamphlets were two thousand copies of The Wrongs of Africa by Miss M.B. Tuckey.¹¹⁹ This was a collection of truly

117 Scots Times, 12 March 1833

118 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 8 January 1834

119 M.B. Tuckey, The Wrongs of Africa (Glasgow 1837) located at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The work of Miss Tuckey brings to mind Mrs. Jellyby of Dicken's novel Bleak House. Mrs. Jellyby whose total preoccupation with Africa resulted in interminable tracks, letters and inconsequential bickering while remaining oblivious to the chaos surrounding her, can be taken as an example of the almost unbridgeable gulf then existing between the working classes and the philanthropic societies of the day.

execrable occasional poetry and an appeal to the women of Great Britain from Mrs. A. D. Miller and Miss Elizabeth Pease, secretaries of the Darlington Ladies Society, for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, to join the agitation against apprenticeship. In addition to holding antislavery bazaars in both Glasgow and Kilmarnock they also drew up, at considerable expense, a petition to the Queen against apprenticeship in the early part of 1838.¹²⁰

However, the main function of the Ladies Auxiliary was to raise money for the G. E. S. in support of their activities. Of the approximate £2,000 spent by the G. E. S. during this period, well over twenty percent was supplied by the Ladies Auxiliary. The financial backing given by the women became especially significant when it is realized that during the economically depressed years of 1837-8 they subsidized the G. E. S. to the amount of £307 out of the £693 they spent.¹²¹ As of August 2, 1838, the G. E. S. found itself £220 in debt. This meant that of the £473 of real money collected by the G. E. S. nearly two thirds came from its auxiliary, a fact the men were wise enough to remember and frequently thanked them for.

The activities of the G. E. S. during the 1830 's were marked by several characteristics which make the period distinctive from any other in its history. There was of course, their tendency to remain independent. This was matched as at almost no other time in their history by a willingness to co-operate with the other anti-slavery societies. This resulted in a concentration of effort when the need arose as during the apprenticeship campaign and a diversification of interest, reflected by their junction with the Aborigines Protection Society. The influence of religion in the

120 Second Report of the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Emancipation Society 1 August 1839 (Glasgow 1839). This and other Annual Reports of the Ladies societies are located at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

121 G. E. S. Annual Report 1838, See the abstract of the Treasurers Account.

antislavery struggle of the G.E.S. can scarcely be over emphasized. Slavery was a sin not just in the British Empire but all over the world. As they repeatedly stressed at their public meetings, the evils of slavery knew no national boundaries. This feeling, coupled with the religious fervour of the time, was of utmost importance in explaining the continued antislavery agitation of the period.¹²² Finally, there was a feeling of optimism caused by a very real expectation of success in the fight against apprenticeship. At this stage there was no real reason to assume that further efforts against slavery and the slave trade would not bear fruit. After all, the 30's had shown that the vigorous efforts of a vocal minority could, on occasion, induce the Government to take sympathetic action on their behalf. In the case of the West Indies this was due to the fact that the burden of the empire was beginning to weigh upon Britain. A new sense of responsibility to the colonies emerged and found expression in the successful struggle against slavery. In the argument between the pro and anti slavery factions the planters made vigorous appeals to imperial sentiment and interest believing this would embarrass the abolitionists by rallying public opinion against them.¹²³ The anti-slavery faction on the other hand did not hesitate to use anti imperial language to achieve their ends. True, Emancipation was accompanied through imperial power, but in this case the ends justified the means. Further, this end (the emancipation of the

122 This was a common feature in nineteenth century humanitarian movements. See Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction p. 5.

123 For an example of such an appeal in the Glasgow area, see Glasgow West India Society Minute Book I, 6 May 1826, Petition to the House of Commons. The petition stresses the harm which the abolition of slavery would cause the West Indies and to the colonists living there.

slaves), was the very opposite of imperialism in that Britain would free the slaves regardless of whether or not it destroyed the planters and even though it was at a heavy cost to the British treasury.¹²⁴ While it is a fact that it was the planters themselves who abolished the apprenticeship system, it is also true that sympathy in Parliament was undeniably building in support of the apprentices. The action taken by the planters was merely to forestall London's interference into the rights of the West Indian assemblies to legislate for themselves.¹²⁵ The G. E. S. could look back on a decade of success and forward into the next decade with realistic hopes that further inroads against slavery would be achieved. Unfortunately, it was due to a man so important to the creation of the G. E. S. , William Lloyd Garrison, that the Society was nearly destroyed.

124 Burt, The Evolution of The British Empire pp. 207-8

125 Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation pp. 18-20

CHAPTER IV

Discord Within The Glasgow Emancipation Society 1840-41

With the abolition of Colonial Apprenticeship in 1838, the anti-slavery movement in Great Britain found itself in effect out of a job. Most of the abolitionist societies had been formed for this purpose and with its termination there was some tendency to disband or simply to lose interest.¹ This tendency was to some extent reflected in the activity of the G.E.S. which, though it had shown itself to be quite catholic in its work during the 1830's, showed a definite slackening of interest in 1839. During this year the committee held only four meetings, two of which were concerned with purely procedural matters such as appointing a subcommittee to arrange for the Annual Meeting or to hear and approve the Annual Report. The two public meetings held that year show that the Society was searching for an issue which would capture the interest of the public and spark off another round of popular agitation - this time aimed directly at the American slaveholders.² In this it failed partly because the issues of the Amistad captives and the recognition of Texas were so remote and in any case would have had little effect on the people and partly because of this sense of apathy existing after the end of Apprenticeship. This gradual decline in interest was also reflected in the financing of the Society. The accounts show an expenditure of just over £176 exclusive of that money paid against its debt as opposed to almost £700 expended during the previous eighteen months. In a letter to one of the committeemen of the British and

1 Temperley, British Antislavery p. 63

2 G.E.S. Minute Book II. The committee meetings were held on 13 May 1839, 18 July 1839, 31 July 1839 and 9 October 1839. The two public meetings took place on 1 August 1839 and 15 October 1839.

Foreign Anti Slavery Society Smeal, who was about ready to make the annual collection of subscriptions, said :

"I am a good deal disappointed that more zeal in contributing to this praiseworthy object has not been manifested in this quarter, especially as I had it advertised in our most extensively read Liberal Journal, the Argus, and threw off from its types 300 Circulars and had them addressed to our most influential benevolent and religious characters in the City and neighbourhood." ³

There was no intention, however, at least on the part of the G. E. S. leadership, to give up the struggle for universal emancipation but a new direction and new issues were needed to convey to their following the necessity for continuing agitation. This new impetus was provided in a round about way by the founding of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society in London.

At a meeting called by Joseph Sturge and a group of leading London abolitionists in Exeter Hall on the 17th and 18th of April, 1839 delegates from all over Britain resolved to organize a society for the universal abolition of slavery. ⁴ This was a new direction as far as the London abolitionists were concerned as heretofore they had concerned themselves primarily with colonial slavery and apprenticeship. This new society called the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society soon took the initiative and leadership in the campaign against world slavery away from the Scottish societies where it had originated in 1833 with the Edinburgh and Glasgow groups. This was to be a source of some annoyance at least to the G. E. S. as evidenced by a letter

3 G. E. S. Annual Reports 1838-9. See abstract of the Treasurers Account

B. F. A. S. S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C105/60, Smeal to Henry Sterry, 22 January 1840.

4 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 65-6
Douglas H. Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840" Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 47, (1960-61) 453

A Chronological Summary Of The Work Of The British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society During the Nineteenth Century (1839-1900) (London n. d.) see Constitution of the Society

from Smeal to John Scoble in which he reminded Scoble of the part they had already played in the world fight against slavery. Smeal went on to say that the G. E. S. would willingly co-operate with the "lately instituted 'B. F. A. S. S.' in any measure calculated in our judgement to further our common object".⁵

The B. F. A. S. S. differed from the Scottish societies in that it was national in scope rather than merely provincial. Almost immediately it began organizing a campaign to free the Amistad negroes and opposing the British Government's recognition of Texas already referred to. The most significant undertaking of the new society, however, was to call for and organize a World Anti Slavery Convention to be held in London's Freemason's Hall in June 1840. The object would be to invite delegates from all over the world but chiefly from the United States, to meet in London and inaugurate an international campaign against slavery. As host they would be responsible for all its preparations including the agenda.⁶ This in turn would result in the B. F. A. S. S.'s taking a leading role in its operation and place it in a position of leadership in the world movement. This cannot have set too well with the leadership of the G. E. S. but the idea of a World Convention was in itself attractive in that it might renew enthusiasm for its efforts.

5 B. F. A. S. S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C21/107
Smeal to John Scoble, 1 January 1840.
Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 66-7

6 Gilbert H. Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844
(New York 1933) p. 171
Truman Nelson, (ed.) Documents of Upheaval, Selections
From William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator 1831-65
(New York 1966) p. 170
Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 85-91
Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention" pp. 453, 455-6

At a public meeting on January 9, 1840, called to hear John Scoble, who was on tour drumming up enthusiasm for the Convention as well as discussing the results of Negro Emancipation in the West Indies, the G.E.S. thanked Scoble for his information and expressed satisfaction at the formation of the B.F.A.S.S. though of course it was determined to remain independent. The following day at another public meeting the G.E.S. approved of the Convention and appointed a list of delegates to represent it. It was also decided that the Society would, before the Convention met, appoint as delegates anyone friendly to the cause that would be in London at the time as it felt it was very important to have as many delegates as possible in order to impress the other countries.⁷ Further, any measure such as a World Convention, which was calculated to revive interest in the then flagging British movement could only serve to benefit the Glasgow society. Thus by enthusiastically supporting the Convention the G.E.S. was in effect, promoting its own interests. Realising this the committee laid great emphasis on encouraging the appointment of as many delegates as possible to the Convention.

In America, the only other country to send a sizable delegation to the Convention, the proposed convention met with an enthusiastic response in abolitionist circles. However, the abolitionist movement in the United States had split into two quarrelling factions caused primarily by the insistence of Garrison that women be allowed to take an active public role in the proceedings of the American Anti Slavery Society. Those members

7 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 9 January 1840, 10 January 1840. The delegates appointed at the meeting of 10 January 1840 were Thompson, White, Smeal, Paton, Kettle, Langlands, Murray, and Revs. Heugh, Anderson, Puller, Graham. See B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C10/44-5, Smeal to Tredgold, 21 March 1840.

of the A. A. S. S. , led by Lewis Tappan , who disagreed with this view walked out of the A. A. S. S. Convention of 1840 when they realised that Garrison had packed the meeting with his supporters. Afterwards they formed a rival antislavery society called the American and Foreign Anti Slavery Society.⁸ The call for a World Convention in 1840 offered an opportunity for these rival factions to gain prestige by associating themselves with the British abolitionists. Indeed, the Convention offered the means of enhancing the general repute and influence of the American antislavery movement. However, it was through the insistence of Garrison that the A. A. S. S. which his supporters now controlled, appoint a number of women as delegates to the Convention, that caused dissension at the Convention and later split the British movement.⁹

There is no doubt that Garrison realised that by appointing women as convention delegates his faction was to cause trouble in London. In May of 1840 he had reprinted in his newspaper The Liberator a letter from Sturge to the official newspaper of the A. A. S. S. The Emancipator of March 12, 1840, which stated that there was strong feeling against the idea of women as delegates and recommending that they not come.¹⁰ But in a letter to one of the other delegates, Rev. George Bradburn , he wrote "... I

8 Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers pp. 126, 130.

Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery pp. 135-6

Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse pp. 155-8, 160, 169, 175.

Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery pp. 197-8. It should be noted that Tappan's faction had also tried to pack the A. A. S. S. Convention in its favour and consequently their later cry of "foul" must be taken with a grain of salt.

9 Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention", pp. 454, 456-7

10 Merrill, Against Wind and Tide p. 161
 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 353
 Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse pp. 171-2

beseech you, fail not to have women recognized as equal beings in it".¹¹ But while it is true that Garrison was well aware that his stand on the rights of women to participate in the Convention would be opposed in London and that at least some of the British abolitionist leaders were prepared to do so, it is not true that the British abolitionists as a whole were aware of the conflict. Some had never heard of the dispute and when they were confronted with it at the Convention they showed that they opposed any such procedure which was so radically at variance with established British practices in such matters.¹² All British antislavery societies were segregated according to sex and while they may have been affiliated with each other such as the G. E. S. and its Ladies Auxiliary, they none the less had a barrier between them. Women simply did not participate in the public or private gatherings of the men. This was not necessarily the case as far as the female meetings were concerned for as in the case of the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Society men frequently took an active role.¹³ None the less in the past, as in the entire history of the G. E. S., women were not to take an active role in its formal proceedings.¹⁴ Again there had been no women delegates at the various meetings in Exeter Hall during the apprenticeship agitation

11 Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, 587
Garrison to George Bradburn 24 April, 1840

12 Barnes, The Anti Slavery Impulse pp. 171-2

13 For examples of this participation of the men in the public meetings of the female societies see G. E. S. Minute Book I, 8 January 1834 and Second Annual Report of the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society (Glasgow 1843)

14 Report of the Discussion at the First Meeting of the Members of the Glasgow Emancipation Society 31 May, 1841 (Glasgow 1841) p. 5.

in 1837-8 and women were invariably excluded from participating in public meetings though they often made up a significant part of the audience. It was simply not done in Britain and when they were confronted with it at the Convention they reacted in a manner which one would well have expected. Rev. Charles Stovel representing the Baptist Union stated that the Question :

"however it may have been discussed in America, is totally new to me. I never heard a word of it before. I certainly never studied what is called the rights of women ... I appeal to you on all sides of the question, whether what you are pursuing is the great object for which we are met ... We ought not to be compelled to discuss this question, or to decide upon it now. If it tears your Societies to pieces in the United States why would you tear in pieces our convention?"¹⁵

Certainly the question had never risen in the Glasgow society and no mention is made on the subject whatsoever in either its Minute Books or in its Annual Reports up to 1840. Indeed, the G.E.S. seemed to be unaware that there was such a dispute in the United States. The reason for this is simple as this issue had only come to a head just one month before the World Convention at the Annual Convention of the A.A.S.S. in New York already referred to (See pages 123-4). Due to the comparatively slow communications of the day, there was little time for information of the A.A.S.S. Convention to be passed to the British societies much less cause anything like a controversy. Further, the G.E.S. had since its inception looked upon Garrison and the A.A.S.S. as the leaders of the movement in America and while the committeemen may have been aware of his stand on the rights of women, they certainly had not been viewed as a divisive issue up to the time of the World Convention. As early as 1832 he had insisted that women become full partners in the

15 Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society from Friday, June 12th to Tuesday, June 23rd 1840 (London 1841) p.43.

abolitionist crusade¹⁶ and although Garrison may have altered his stand on many issues on this he remained adamant. Of course there is a vast difference between awareness and compliance and certainly many members of the G.E.S. would have and eventually did dissent from his position. But up to this point there had been no reason for the G.E.S. either to condone or reject or even to discuss the issue. It simply had not concerned the Society.

Between January 10 and June 1, 1840 the G.E.S. held no official meetings though the secretaries, Murray and Smeal were obviously busy rounding up and appointing as G.E.S. delegates men who would be in London during the Convention. To the original twelve delegates appointed at the January meeting there were added another eleven and by the time the Convention assembled this had grown to twenty-six. Of the twenty-six delegates from Glasgow two were representatives of groups other than the G.E.S. Rev. Alexander Harvey represented the Relief Synod of Scotland and John A. Fullarton represented the Congregational Union of Scotland. Daniel O'Connell was appointed as a G.E.S. delegate owing to his connection with the Society as an honorary and corresponding member. Other prominent G.E.S. delegates included James Oswald and John Dennistoun, two local M.P.'s and George Thompson who also represented the Edinburgh Society.¹⁷

The World Convention was called to order on June 12, 1840 and commenced with an address by the ageing Thomas Clarkson. Immediately thereafter part of the American delegation, led by Wendell Phillips¹⁸ in the absence of Garrison, brought up the issue of recognising a group of American women as official delegates

16 Nelson, Documents of Upheaval The Liberator 14 July 1832 p. 54

17 Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention pp. 573-84 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 1 June 1840
See Appendix II.

18 Wendell Phillips was the son of the first Mayor of Boston and a graduate of Harvard College in 1831. He abandoned the profession of law to devote himself full time to antislavery work in which he became one of the most important American abolitionists and throughout much of his career he remained a close friend of Garrison.

by moving that a membership committee be appointed with instructions to issue credentials to all persons that had been properly accredited by their local organizations. This would necessarily have included the women appointed to the Convention by the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti Slavery Society and endorsed by the A. A. S. S. who had ignored Sturge's warning about representation at the Convention of their sex.¹⁹ Immediately this was opposed by not only most of the British delegates but by a large portion of the American delegates as well. The response of Rev. Alexander Harvey, a member of the G. E. S. and representing the Relief Synod of Scotland, was well representative of the general reaction of the delegates in that one fifth of them were ministers and between one third and one quarter of the remainder were Quakers plus representatives from some thirty nonconformist church groups. He professed great respect for women but only within their sphere. "He thought and conscientiously believed that if he gave his vote for admitting females to vote and speak in such an assembly as the present he should be acting in opposition to what he considered the word of God". Instead of adopting the motion by Phillips the Convention by an overwhelming majority adopted a substitute proposal barring women from taking any part in the proceedings.²⁰

Garrison, who had been detained by the May meeting of the A. A. S. S. arrived on June 17 and upon learning of the exclusion of the female delegates refused to take any part in the Conventions activities. He certainly must have been prepared for the Convention's decision and no doubt had contemplated just such a move.

19 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 353.
Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention", p. 456-7
Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, p. 23

20 Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers
p. 128
Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II 371-2
Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention pp. 38, 45.
Nelson, Documents of Upheaval The Liberator 28 August 1840 p. 170
Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 87-90
Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention" pp. 460, 467

In a letter to his wife in May, Garrison stated :

"Father Bourne who goes against 'woman's rights', is now sitting by my side; and he predicts, with all confidence, that no woman will be allowed a seat in the Convention. Such a thing, he says, was never heard or thought of in any part of Europe. It is, perhaps, quite probable, that we shall be foiled in our purpose; - but the subject cannot be agitated without doing good - and you and the dear friends of human rights may be assured, that we shall not easily allow ourselves to be intimidated or put down."²¹

But the question had been decided and all that there remained to do was to sit in the gallery with the ladies until the Convention adjourned on June 23. It was his contention that for the Convention to exclude any of the A. A. S. S. delegates, including the women, was tantamount to excluding them all and consequently he refused to take part in the Convention or indeed have himself listed as a delegate.²² Conversely most of his followers attending the Convention took the defeat in good grace and co-operated in the remainder of its proceedings.

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- 21 Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, 616 Garrison to Helen E. Garrison 19 May, 1840. The Rev. George Bourne was a Presbyterian minister originally from England and one of the founders of the A. A. S. S. He was also the author of The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable (Philadelphia 1816). His early work in the antislavery movement had great influence on Garrison and converted him to the policy of "immediateism". See Walter M. Merrill, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison : I Will Be Heard! 1822-35 (Cambridge Mass. 1971-) p. 172.
- 22 Ruchames, Ibid. p. 665 Garrison to Oliver Johnson, 3 July 1840 and p. 654.
Garrison to Helen E. Garrison 29 June, 1840.
Betty Fladeland, James Gillespie Birney Slaveholder to Abolitionist (New York 1955) p. 197
Nelson, Documents of Upheaval The Liberator 28 August 1841 pp. 170-1

The G.E.S. delegates, with the exception of Thompson, played little active role in the Convention's proceedings. Thompson was active trying to mediate between the disputing factions but little is heard of any of the other Glasgow delegates. John Murray had drawn up a paper concerning the mode in which Africa and its sons, the liberated Africans, might be effectively protected by placing them under the protection of the principal powers of Europe. This plan was referred to committee and later referred to the B.F.A.S.S. Committee where it was promptly forgotten or at least nothing was ever made of it.²³ This failure of the G.E.S. to take any kind of leadership at the Convention is attributable to a number of causes. For one thing of the twenty-six delegates it appointed, only ten attended.²⁴ We know from the reports of the proceedings that Smeal, Murray, Thompson and O'Connell attended and took part. Rev. Harvey a committeeman of the G.E.S. attended and took an active role, but as stated he was a delegate from the Relief Synod of Scotland. While it is true that Thompson and O'Connell did take leading parts in the Convention, it must be remembered that they were popular public figures and could hardly have been expected to represent the views of anyone other than themselves. It is not known who the other G.E.S. delegates in attendance were, but whoever they were, they took no leading roles. Secondly, there were slightly over 400 delegates in attendance at the Convention including many of the best known American and British abolitionists.²⁵

23 Proceedings of the General Anti Slavery Convention pp. 507, 550-1.

24 G.E.S. Annual Report 1840, p. 18

25 Proceedings of the General Anti Slavery Convention p. 573-84. Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention" pp. 457-8

With so many delegates it is understandable that a group as small as the one from the G.E.S. should fail to be important. Finally, and most important of all was the fact that the B.F.A.S.S. which had called the Convention, had been responsible for all its arrangements such as who would speak, when and what would be discussed. In other words, the Convention was organized, run and controlled by the newly formed B.F.A.S.S. no doubt much to the chagrin of the Glasgow delegates. If they had not expressed this before the Convention they certainly did afterward. In response to a Circular sent out by the B.F.A.S.S. in 1841 as to the propriety of holding another antislavery convention in 1842 or 1843 Murray wrote a letter saying that he doubted that the G.E.S. would countenance another convention unless it was first agreed **publicly in Public Notice** "... that no Committee - not even the Convention when met - shall have any power to decide as regards the delegates upon their qualifications as to Sect, Sex, colour or breed, but only upon the validity of their credentials". Later in 1843 Murray stated that before the G.E.S. would approve any delegates to another proposed anti slavery convention, it would like to know if the B.F.A.S.S. intended to make "all" the arrangements as to who would speak, when and what would be discussed and the recognition of delegates. In short he wanted it made clear that another convention would not be dominated completely by the B.F.A.S.S.²⁶

26 B.F.A.S.S. Minute Book I, Minute 368, 15 September 1841 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C9/32, Murray to Tredgold, 9 September 1841, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C20/30, Murray to Scoble, 16 February 1843. This contrasts somewhat with the attitude of the other secretary, William Smeal who wrote to the London group that he knew of nothing that would prevent the G.E.S. from sending a numerous and respected delegation to the proposed convention. See Ibid, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C104/89, Robert and William Smeal to G.W. Alexander, 9 May 1843.

Disregarding the controversy over the "Woman Question", it cannot be said that the World Convention had any significant effect on the policies or attitudes of the G. E. S. or its members. The most important discussions at the Convention centred around the role of the churches in the antislavery campaign and the endorsement of free labour as a means of combating slavery.²⁷ The G. E. S. had long stressed the importance of Church Participation in its efforts and its support of Thompson and the British India Society in 1839 had put the Society in a position of encouraging the use of free labour to fight slavery. Both issues were to recur later on in the activities of the Society but in neither case can it be said that the Convention had any direct effect upon its attitudes.

Following the row over the "Woman Question" the Convention proceeded relatively smoothly until its conclusion on June 23. The G. E. S. which had held only one meeting since January 10 prepared to receive at a public meeting, Garrison and a number of other American delegates who were making a short tour of Britain. Accompanying Garrison were three other men who had also refused to take seats at the Convention in opposition to the decision to exclude the women delegates, Nathaniel P. Rodgers, Charles L. Remond and William Adams.²⁸ They had been spending all of their time after the Convention in London from whence, with some time out for sightseeing, they proceeded to Scotland in the company of Thompson.²⁹ After stopping off in Edinburgh for a series of meetings on temperance and anti slavery they went to Glasgow for a public meeting held in Wardlaw's George Street Chapel.

27 Maynard, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention" pp. 461-2

28 G. E. S. Annual Report 1840, Appendix V pp. 28

29 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 394-5

The meeting in Wardlaw's Chapel proved to be the beginning of what was to be the most active period in the history of the G. E. S. The meeting had been called especially to receive Garrison and his fellow American abolitionists,³⁰ and its long term result was the alienation of a substantial portion of the leadership of the G. E. S. The G. E. S. up to this time had always supported Garrison and the A. A. S. S. for two reasons. First of all up till 1840 there had been only one national antislavery organization in the United States to which the G. E. S. could lend its support. Secondly, due to the close association of Thompson with Garrison and the leading role he had played in moulding the activities of the G. E. S. the Society had always viewed Garrison as the leading American abolitionist. This is perfectly understandable and as long as he stayed in America, his stand on other issues really made no difference to the members of the G. E. S. No mention of Garrison is made in any of the records of the G. E. S. other than in the context of the antislavery struggle. However, Garrison's reform horizons were not limited merely to antislavery work. He was also an advocate of pacifism, temperance, nongovernmentalism, anti clericalism, anti Sabbatarianism, womans rights (as we have seen) and he came out strongly against such things as cockfighting, tobacco and "infidelity". His ultimate aim was "the emancipation of our whole race from the dominion of man, from the thraldom of self, from the government of brute force, from the bondage of sin".³¹ The problem was, could the G. E. S. publically support a man as the leader of the American antislavery movement without being laid

30 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 27 July 1840

31 Larry Gara, "Who Was An Abolitionist" in Martin Duberman (ed.) The Anti Slavery Vanguard (Princeton University Press 1965) p. 37.

Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers pp. 21, 104, 106, 113, 124.

Merrill, Against Wind and Tide p. 243

open to the charge that they were in effect supporting his other reformist programmes. Was the support of Garrison to be as a man or as an abolitionist? This is important for while all the members of the G.E.S. rejected slavery and not a few were active in the temperance movement, womans rights, anti clericalism and anti Sabbatarianism were not likely to go down well with the likes of Wardlaw and Heugh or indeed very many of the Society's members. Up to this time the local Dissenting ministers had played a very active role in the Society and to alienate them by supporting Garrison as a man rather than purely as an abolitionist would most assuredly cause a rift in the Society. This as we will see, was exactly what eventually did happen.

For his part Garrison undoubtedly came North seeking support of the Scottish societies after his rejection in London. This is perfectly understandable owing to his close friendship with Thompson. Thompson's great influence over the Scottish societies provided the likelihood that such an attempt would be successful. Another important element conducive to an initial friendly reception of Garrison was the Society's staunch independence and the traditional Scottish distrust of centralization. Thus Garrison's rejection in London made him a more appealing figure for in receiving him at a public meeting the G.E.S. would demonstrate their independence and autonomy. It was only after his reception that trouble was to break out.

Garrison's speech at Wardlaw's Chapel on July 27 at least gave the members of his audience that had been unaware of his other views an inkling as to what kind of a reformer he actually was. In talking about the World Convention he referred to it as having excluded half the world's population (women) from being represented and condemned their exclusion from it. He went on to accuse the church in America as being the most deadly enemy of abolitionism.³²

32 Report of the Speeches and Reception of the American Delegates at the Great Public Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society 27 July 1840 (Glasgow 1840) pp. 9, 10, 14, 15.

On entering the chapel he had received a pamphlet signed "A White Slave" from a Chartist at the door and near the end of his speech he read it to the audience. This act was not intended to excite sympathy for the Chartists claim that the workingman of Great Britain was no better off than the slaves in America. Garrison disagreed on the principle that no matter what condition a free man was in he was better off than a slave. But Garrison went on, and this certainly would not have endeared him to many of the abolitionists in attendance, "But I said, although it is not true that England has any white slaves, either at home or abroad, ~~is it~~ not true that there are thousands of her population both at home and abroad, who are deprived of their just rights – who are grievously oppressed – who are dying even in the midst of abundance, of actual starvation? YES! And I expressly called upon British abolitionists to prove themselves the true friends of the suffering humanity abroad by showing that they are the best friends of suffering humanity at home".³³ By coming out in support of the Chartists even in so mild a way as this cannot be calculated as a way of gaining the support of his predominately middle class audience because at this period in Glasgow there was a great deal of resentment between the working class Chartists and the middle classes. This stemmed not only from their demands for the adoption of the Charter but also because the constant interference of the Chartists at various public meetings had developed into something of a controversy. The reason for this interference was that the Chartists in the West of Scotland followed a policy which dictated that anything which might tend to detract from the Charter, such as the anti slavery cause, was to be deplored. They felt that the Charter must come first and that all other reforms should be postponed until it was achieved.³⁴ Adding to Garrison's

33 Ibid. p. 23
Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 400.

34 Wilson, The Chartist Movement In Scotland, p.121. Wright, Scottish Chartism p.114

blunder near the close of the meeting one of the Chartists in the audience disrupted the proceedings by getting to the platform and attempting to make a speech. In the end the audience forced him to stop indicating not only their resentment at his conduct, but also knowing the probable content of his intended speech, their disagreement with what he would have to say. This was not the first time a public meeting of the G. E. S. had been disrupted over the issue of British "white slavery" but the issue was definitely not a popular one if the reaction of the audience on such occasions is to be taken as indicative.³⁵ Thus Garrison possibly inadvertently allied himself, at least in the eyes of many at the meeting, with a movement they were strongly opposed to. When a call went out for his support, as it soon did, this meeting grows in importance. Soon after this Glasgow meeting Garrison returned to America having gained little if anything in his visit to Britain.

The Annual Meeting of the G. E. S. in 1840 was undoubtedly the most unusual and important in its history. Actually it amounted to three separate meetings taking place on August 7th and 10th and September 14th. The first meeting in Wardlaw's Chapel resulted in an unusual but by no means unexpected motion by Wardlaw and Kettle to have the Annual Report recommitted to the committee for revision owing to their disapproval of a segment contained therein concerning the recent World Convention.³⁶ Earlier Wardlaw had indicated to

35 Report of the Speeches and Reception of the American Delegates at the Great Public Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society 27 July 1840 p. 23

Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison II, 400

At a public meeting on 13 March, 1837 an unidentified American man attempted to make this same point but owing to his complete lack of ability as a public speaker and a rather irritating mannerism in his speech he was laughed off the platform by the audience and for the remainder of the meeting he was ridiculed by the subsequent speakers, much to the delight of those in attendance. See Glasgow Argus, 16 March 1837.

36 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 7 August 1840

Smeal his decided opposition to women taking part in public meetings and especially those of the G. E. S. It was Smeal's intention to have a number of the rejected American women delegates to the World Convention sit on the platform and take part in the Annual Meeting and he was fully aware that this plan would be strongly opposed by many in the committee. In a letter to Garrison, Smeal stated :

"I suspected there would be some misgivings about our Female friends in certain quarters, and my suspicion is confirmed. For a note from Dr. Wardlaw is just to hand putting to me the question 'Is it intended that the female American Delegates to whom so repeated and pointed allusion was made on Monday evening last,³⁷ take any part in the proceedings of our Annual Meeting - Or that they appear on the platform in their capacity as delegates?' I have an apprehension that this is pre-paratory to opposition not only on Dr. W's part, but it may be on that of others in the Committee."

Smeal went on to place the blame on Wardlaw if the women were refused the platform or not allowed to speak.³⁸ In this Wardlaw was successful as no women took part in the meeting. However, he was also opposed to that part of the Annual Report which supported the rights of women to participate in the World Convention and consequently proposed that it should be sent back to committee to be revised. The text of the part objected to is not known as it was never printed but the revision drawn up by a subcommittee of Kettle, Thompson, McTear, Smeal and Murray can hardly have been what Wardlaw and Kettle had in mind when they sent it back. In any case it is evident that Smeal had no intention of changing the

37 This is in reference to Garrison's speech on July 27, 1840 already discussed.

38 Boston Public Library, Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 1. 2. vol. 9 (1840) no. 91, Smeal to Garrison, 1 August 1840. Microfilm copy from Boston Public Library hereafter referred to as Garrison Papers.

substance of that part of the Report. The amended segment, while not mentioning that the rejected delegates were women, nevertheless undeniably places the G.E. S. in opposition to the action taken at the Convention. Part of the revised Report read "... and the exclusion of certain of the Delegates from America may be mentioned as acts which in the opinion of these gentlemen were of an illiberal, unauthorised and overbearing character."³⁹ Added to this the secretaries made up an appendix consisting in part of a series of resolutions by various antislavery societies approving of Garrison's action at the Convention and a list of the women delegates refused admission. Smeal must have known that the revision would have been unsatisfactory to many on the committee knowing, as he obviously did, their views of the "Womens Rights" question. Smeal, however, was an ardent supporter of Womens Rights⁴⁰ and he explained his position on the revised Report in a letter to Sturge :

"The Report was remitted to the committee for 'revision' not 'to alter' for 'revision' does not necessarily imply alteration ...

"The whole affair about revising and altering, having ended in this, that on comparison of the original essay with what now appears in print, the difference is simply this, that the latter conveys the sentiments of the secretaries respecting the Convention in terms even more decided than the former, a result which, as thou may suppose, they were not a little gratified."⁴¹

39 G.E. S. Annual Report 1840. The amended section - "Your Committee" p.17 to paragraph three p.18 ending with the word "oppressed".

40 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light On Anglo-American Relations p.73 in n. 37.

41 Resolutions of Public Meetings of the Members and Friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society; Correspondence Of The Secretaries; and Minutes Of The Committee Of Said Society Since The Arrival In Glasgow, Of Mr. John A. Collins, the Representative Of The American Anti-Slavery Society in reference to The Divisions Among American Abolitionists (Glasgow 1841) pp.8-9 Smeal to Sturge 24 February 1841. Hereafter this pamphlet will be referred to as Resolutions and Correspondence Of The G.E. S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins. Murray wholeheartedly supported this position taken by Smeal. See Ibid pp.9-10, Murray to Sturge, 25 February 1841.

It is evident that the secretaries were trying to run things their own way in spite of any objections from the committee.

The meeting of August 7 was adjourned until the 10th to finish up the Society's business which was mainly concerned with remonstrating with local churches to withdraw from fellowship with the slaveholding churches of the American South. The Chartists, who had been much in evidence at the meeting to receive Garrison, returned in force led by Lloyd Jones, a Socialist missionary and a Mr. Jack, a Chartist. This time instead of merely handing out circulars at the door they made an attempt to take over the meeting.⁴² The Chartists it must be said had nothing against the antislavery movement as such. In fact they condemned American slavery. However, as previously stated, they did feel that all other reform movements should subordinate themselves to their objectives.⁴³ By taking over the public meetings of the reform societies by sheer weight of numbers they felt they could redirect these efforts toward their objectives. Unfortunately for the Chartists this practice had the exact opposite effect of alienating the very organizations they attempted to control. In the case of the G. E. S. this resentment was immediate. Near the end of the Adjourned Meeting Lloyd Jones proposed an addition to the previous resolution with an amendment to their preamble stating "And that the owners of our large Manufacturing Establishment be particularly requested to immediately render their assistance in making such alterations in the Institutions of this Country so that Infant slavery may be at

42 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 10 August 1840
Glasgow Argus, 13 August 1840

43 John Collins and William Lovett, Chartism : A New Organization Of The People (London 1840, New Edition New York 1969) p. 8 Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland p. 245.

once abolished". This was followed immediately by a proposal by Mr. Jack stating :

"That while we take every opportunity of hastening the emancipation of the slaves of America and all other parts of the World, we direct the Committee to take every opportunity of urging the Government of Britain to take immediate steps for advancing the conditions of the people of this country morally, physically and politically by passing a law granting the right of Suffrage to every man of sane mind, unconvicted of crime who has attained the years of his majority. "⁴⁴

These additions were objected to by Thompson and against the strong opposition of the Chartists the meeting was immediately adjourned.⁴⁵ The G.E.S. obviously wanted no part of the Chartists as it considered them a disruptive element in its work to say nothing of society at large. This is made perfectly clear later when Smeal arbitrarily rejected an application for membership by Jones "on the grounds that he apprehended that he was desirous of becoming a member of the Society that he might have the opportunity of publically disturbing its proceedings."⁴⁶

For the third time on September 14 the G.E.S. met in public meeting to conclude its business started on August 7th. This time things went off smoothly concerned as it was with Thompson's speech concerning the poor in India.⁴⁷

In October another group of American delegates to the World Convention paid a visit to Glasgow and the G.E.S. received them at a public meeting. The Americans, James Birney and Henry Stanton, were accompanied by John Scoble of the B.F.A.S.S. all of whom

44 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 10 August 1840

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 20 October 1840

47 Ibid., 14 September 1840

strongly opposed Garrison.⁴⁸ This did not prevent them from receiving a warm reception⁴⁹ and afterwards Scoble went so far as to say, " ... that our visits to Edinburgh and Glasgow have produced an excellent moral effect; and I think I may now say we have nothing to fear from Garrisonism". A few days later he went on to state that from all he "could learn by enquiring and observation I am extremely happy to say that Garrisonism has made but little way in Scotland, and that even his warmest admirers are by no means prepared to advocate his extreme views - indeed I may say that they are more inclined to repudiate them".⁵⁰ This was a fundamental error on Scoble's part for it was the following day after a Public Breakfast for the three that the sub committee met to revise the Annual Report which turned out to be so blatantly pro-Garrison.

Meanwhile events were taking place in America that were to lead to a breakup in the G.E.S. Because of the split in the A.A.S.S. in May 1840 over "Woman's Rights" Garrison, on his return from Britain, was forced to reorganize the A.A.S.S. In order to retain the claim of being a national society the A.A.S.S. had to establish a newspaper which it called the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

48 Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, 528, 553-4.

49 This must have come as a welcome relief to Stanton to say nothing of the beneficial effect to his health for it is said he had been mobbed at least two hundred times in his own country. Stanton, a journalist and an antislavery leader, was for a time an agent for the A.A.S.S. Ibid p. 54
 Louis Ruchames, The Abolitionists : A Collection Of Their Writings (New York 1963) p. 21.

50 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light On Anglo-American Relations p. 75 in n. 37
B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18. C10/28, Scoble to Tredgold, 14 October 1840.

The Emancipator, along with nearly anything of any value had either been sold or given away by its Board of Directors before Garrison had captured the A. A. S. S. in the spring of 1840. Thus the need for reorganization and a new newspaper.⁵¹ For this money was needed and consequently John A. Collins was sent to Britain seeking financial support. Collins was a strange bird even in the abolitionist flock. A former student at Andover Theological Seminary, he had left to become a general agent of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society. After returning from Britain he became a utopian socialist and ultimately an anarchist.⁵² Some indication of his fanaticism can be gleaned from his description of Thompson after his return to America. Thompson he said was "in his nature timid and compromising".⁵³ If Thompson was timid and compromising one wonders what kind of man Collins would have found acceptable.

Collins's first stop in London seeking financial aid resulted in his being turned down flat by the B. F. A. S. S. with the remark that "the course recently pursued by the American Anti Slavery Society has alienated their confidence". The B. F. A. S. S. wanted

51 Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan And The Evangelical War Against Slavery pp. 194-6
Ruchames, The Abolitionists p. 22

52 John L. Thomas, "Antislavery and Utopia" in Duberman, The Antislavery Vanguard pp. 254-9

53 Quoted from Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 184.

nothing to do with either Garrison or his A. A. S. S. and had allied itself solidly behind the A. F. A. S. S.⁵⁴ Under the tutelage of Elizabeth Pease of Darlington,⁵⁵ with whom he spent some time after his visit to London, Collins proceeded to Glasgow undoubtedly because of the sympathetic reception given to Garrison on his earlier visit. It was felt that because of the friendship between Garrison and several members of the G. E. S. , notably Smeal, Murray, Thompson and McTear, that Glasgow should be the centre of Garrisonism in Britain and that Collins should concentrate his activities there to build support for Garrison's A. A. S. S.⁵⁶ Upon his arrival in Glasgow in February 1841 the G. E. S. held a committee meeting to receive him and to allow him to present his case as to the present state and prospects of the A. A. S. S. In other words, he asked for money. The committee decided to wait until they saw a pamphlet, which Collins was writing, concerning the differences between the

54 Barnes, The Anti Slavery Impulse p. 173
Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 209-10

55 Boston Public Library, Weston Papers M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 13 pt. 1 no. 25 Elizabeth Pease to ? n. d. Typescript copy in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, from Boston Public Library. Hereafter cited as Weston Papers.

Elizabeth Pease was the daughter of the Quaker Joseph Pease, founder of the British India Society. She became interested in the antislavery movement in the 1830's and was a life long friend and supporter of Garrison. In 1853 she married John Nichol, a professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow and for a brief period President of the G. E. S. in 1859.

56 Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 1. 2. vol. 11 p. 68, Elizabeth Pease to Smeal, 14 February 1841.
Garrisons friendship with McTear is cited in Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, p. 724, Garrison to John Collins, 1 December 1840.

Old Organization (A. A. S. S.) and the New Organization (A. F. A. S. S.) to decide upon whether or not to hold a Public Meeting for the purpose of welcoming him and deciding upon the claims of the A. A. S. S. to the sympathy and pecuniary support of the G. E. S.⁵⁷ In essence what Collins wanted (other than money) was for the G. E. S. to come out publically in support of the Garrisonian A. A. S. S. Given the overall history of the G. E. S. up to this time this would not seem to have been an unreasonable request. However, the attitude of several of the leading members had changed since the introduction of the "Woman Rights" question into the World Convention and the activity of the Chartists at their own meetings which Garrison had implicitly supported.

The feelings in the G. E. S. committee against Garrison became apparent shortly after the publication of the Annual Report and the arrival of Collins in the city. The first to voice his opposition to the course Smeal and Murray were directing the Society was one of its most prominent members, the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw. In a communication to the secretaries of 19 February 1841 Wardlaw stated in a letter of resignation :

"... I do not feel myself at liberty, by retaining my connection with a Society which has publically taken opposite ground, to appear to countenance what I hold to be an outrage upon all decorum, and an insult to that invaluable portion of this community, whose rights it professedly maintains."⁵⁸

57 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 11 February 1841
The pamphlet by Collins was entitled Right and Wrong Among The Abolitionists Of The United States or the Objects, Principles And Measures of the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, Unchanged : (Glasgow 1841) and was mainly concerned with a defence of Garrison and the A. A. S. S. Included was a personal defence by Collins of charges made against him by the B. F. A. S. S. and anti Garrisonian abolitionists in the United States.

58 Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G. E. S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p. 13 Wardlaw to Smeal and Murray, 19 February 1841.

His feeling was that the revised Report was too one-sided in its attitude toward the issue of "Womans Rights", which indeed it obviously was. One has but to glance at the relevant portions in the Report and the Appendix to realise that it gives full support to Garrison and was in favour of "Womans Rights".⁵⁹ Smeal and Murray of course denied that it was one-sided and regarding the Appendix they said "... and that in the present as in every former instance, we have been left to select and arrange the matter for that portion of the publication according to our own discretion".⁶⁰ In other words while the Report itself was subject to approval by the committee⁶¹ the secretaries were free to put anything they wanted in the Appendix. In this instance they had committed the Society to a position which they favoured but which was opposed by many of the members. Further, after the Report had been "revised"

59 See G. E. S. Annual Report 1840, pp. 17-8 and Appendix

60 Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G. E. S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p. 15, Smeal and Murray to Wardlaw, 23 February 1841, p. 6, Smeal to Sturge 4 February 1841.

61 The original Report had been approved by a committee of only four (seven being a quorum) consisting of Robert Connell, Murray, Smeal and William Gunn who technically was not even a committee member. The revised Report was approved by a subcommittee consisting of Thompson, McTear, Smeal Murray and Kettle all of whom, except for Kettle, were staunch supporters of Garrison. This Report was never submitted to a full committee meeting for approval but sent immediately to be published. Thus it is clear that the secretaries were violating even this procedure. See G. E. S. Minute Book II, 7 August 1840, 21 October 1840 and Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G. E. S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins pp. 14-5, Smeal and Murray to Wardlaw, 23 February 1841.

it had been sent immediately to the printer without being officially approved.⁶²

While Collins was in Glasgow waiting for the publication of his pamphlet and an opportunity to get a public hearing some members of the B.F.A.S.S. and especially Capt. Charles Stuart⁶³ had been spreading defamatory rumours about him and the A.A.S.S. Stuart, it seems, had sent a letter to Wardlaw containing charges against the A.A.S.S.⁶⁴ This was not at all pleasing to the secretaries and after a committee meeting on March 3 they sent a letter to Stuart inviting him to come to Glasgow and defend the charges he had made against Collins and the A.A.S.S. which he had printed and circulated all over the country. Stuart's response is interesting. In a letter refusing the invitation and referring to "Woman's Rights" question, Stuart said :

"I may add, my dear Smeal, with all candour and kindness that if I am to judge of the Glasgow Emancipation Committee, by the sentiments and positions advanced by you and dear John Murray, on this subject, when I last met you in Glasgow, I should be insane in submitting myself to you as judges, knowing the total and deplorable derangement of your views, in this matter, both as to facts and principles"⁶⁵

In a letter to the secretary of the B.F.A.S.S., J.H. Tredgold, Smeal demanded an explanation of the charges and threatened to cease all co-operation between the two societies unless they received a satisfactory response. Smeal and Murray were obviously put out about the entire situation and went so far as to accuse the B.F.A.S.S. of "mean and dastardly" action against Collins and the A.A.S.S.⁶⁶ Strong words indeed for a prominent Quaker like Smeal.

62 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 21 October 1840

63 Stuart was a retired naval officer on half pay who spent much of his time between the U. S. and Britain campaigning against slavery.

64 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 3 March 1841
Barnes, The Anti Slavery Impulse p.281 n.10

65 Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G.E.S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p.25, Smeal to Stuart 4 March 1841, Stuart to Smeal, 8 March 1841

66 Ibid, pp. 6-7 Smeal to Sturge, 4 February 1841, pp.9-10 Murray to Sturge, 25 February 1841, pp.25-6, Smeal to Tredgold, 5 March 1841, G.E.S. Minute Book III, 3 March 1841.

it had been sent immediately to the printer without being officially approved.⁶²

While Collins was in Glasgow waiting for the publication of his pamphlet and an opportunity to get a public hearing some members of the B.F.A.S.S. and especially Capt. Charles Stuart⁶³ had been spreading defamatory rumours about him and the A.A.S.S. Stuart, it seems, had sent a letter to Wardlaw containing charges against the A.A.S.S.⁶⁴ This was not at all pleasing to the secretaries and after a committee meeting on March 3 they sent a letter to Stuart inviting him to come to Glasgow and defend the charges he had made against Collins and the A.A.S.S. which he had printed and circulated all over the country. Stuart's response is interesting. In a letter refusing the invitation and referring to "Woman's Rights" question, Stuart said :

"I may add, my dear Smeal, with all candour and kindness that if I am to judge of the Glasgow Emancipation Committee, by the sentiments and positions advanced by you and dear John Murray, on this subject, when I last met you in Glasgow, I should be insane in submitting myself to you as judges, knowing the total and deplorable derangement of your views, in this matter, both as to facts and principles"⁶⁵

In a letter to the secretary of the B.F.A.S.S., J.H. Tredgold, Smeal demanded an explanation of the charges and threatened to cease all co-operation between the two societies unless they received a satisfactory response. Smeal and Murray were obviously put out about the entire situation and went so far as to accuse the B.F.A.S.S. of "mean and dastardly" action against Collins and the A.A.S.S.⁶⁶ Strong words indeed for a prominent Quaker like Smeal.

62 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 21 October 1840.

63 Stuart was a retired naval officer on half pay who spent much of his time between the U.S. and Britain campaigning against slavery.

64 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 3 March 1841
Barnes, The Anti Slavery Impulse p.281 n.10.

65 Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G.E.S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p.25, Smeal to Stuart 4 March 1841

66 Ibid, pp.6-7 Smeal to Sturge, 4 February 1841, pp.9-10
Murray to Sturge, 25 February 1841, pp.25-6, Smeal to Tredgold, 5 March 1841. G.E.S. Minute Book III, 3 March 1841.

On March 10 a committee meeting was held at the request of Revs. Heugh and King. They had requested the meeting because they received a Circular signed by Smeal and Murray as secretaries of the G. E. S. to which was attached a letter by Mrs. Harriet Martineau recommending in strong terms the pamphlet by Collins which was still in publication. Heugh and King wanted it to be made clear that they were neither individually nor as a society committed to either the letter by Martineau or Collins's pamphlet which in any case they had not even seen. Added to this they were dissatisfied with the revision in the Report saying that it committed the G. E. S. to supporting "Women's Rights", a position they most decidedly opposed. What they demanded was a public declaration disassociating the G. E. S. from both the proposed pamphlet and any stand on the woman question in order to stand right with the public. Smeal and Murray both denied the accusation that they were attempting to associate the G. E. S. with either the letter by Martineau, the Collins pamphlet or "Women's Rights" with the unlikely excuse that they had added their names as secretaries "merely with a view to insure the confidence of those who might transmit to them pecuniary assistance toward the printing etc. of Mr. Collins pamphlet" though they did agree to inform all those receiving the Circular that the committee was not implicated but only themselves as individuals.⁶⁷ At a subsequent meeting the next week Heugh proposed for adoption a resolution stating that the Annual Report of 1840 had been sent to a subcommittee for revising and had not been revised but printed and circulated along with an appendix supporting the stand of the "Womans Rights" faction and that the G. E. S. was not responsible for either that part of the Report or Appendix referred to. Further, that the G. E. S. would publish a declaratory resolution to this effect to the friends of the

67 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 10 March 1841.

Society and leave for further consideration the claims of the conflicting American societies. In effect this would have been a vote of no confidence in the secretaries and might have resulted in their resignation though this is doubtful. Murray however proposed an amendment stating :

"Whereas it is the opinion of certain members of this Committee, that the amended portion of our last Annual Report does still, as originally, convey sentiments which favour the opinion of that party among American Abolitionists who are said to advocate what is technically termed the "Woman Rights" question; and also that other passages in the Report passed by the Society at the Annual Meeting, convey similar sentiments - It is therefore Resolved as the Judgement of this Meeting that the Glasgow Emancipation Society has as yet made no declaration of its views either on this or other questions which divide American Abolitionists, but that it is still, as heretofore, connected with the original American Anti Slavery Society and that as an Anti Slavery body only. "68

One is forced to admire the shrewdness of Murray's proposal. The amendment was quite in line with Heugh's motion in that it did not commit the Society to the support of "Women's Rights". But then officially the Society never had come out one way or another on the question but had only implied support through the wording and contents of the Annual Report. Therefore if Murray's motion won he was sacrificing absolutely nothing. On the other hand, approval of the amendment would mean endorsement by the G. E. S. of the A. A. S. S. which was, after all, what the secretaries were after. Additionally it let the secretaries off the hook as the amendment provided an opportunity for those members of the committee who opposed "Woman's Rights" but who were friendly with Murray and Smeal to vote in favour of it. On a vote the amendment won and Heugh tendered his resignation. His position on the issue as far as the G. E. S. was concerned had been made quite

68 Ibid, 16 March 1841

clear earlier in a letter to the secretaries. He felt that as a society the G.E.S. had expressed itself in opposition to the rights of women taking part in the World Convention when the G.E.S. delegates had "with all but perfect unanimity, (no doubt this meant with the exception of Smeal and Murray) declared for the opinions of the Convention."⁶⁹ Since then the secretaries had changed the Society's stand and consequently he had decided to withdraw.

On the 25th of March 1841 another committee meeting was held to formally accept the credentials of Collins. It was also agreed for the secretaries to prepare a Circular to the American abolitionists on behalf of Collins and his mission. Both of these measures were opposed but it seems the secretaries had insured their passage by getting men favourable to their stand to attend the meeting.⁷⁰ This was obviously a game two could play and soon another meeting was held on April 13 with the more moderate faction in greater strength and a motion was passed stating 1) that the committee disclaimed giving any judgement on the "Woman's Rights" question and should not be understood to recognise such rights 2) the G.E.S. took a neutral position between the A.A.S.S. and the A.F.A.S.S. and 3) that the G.E.S. abstain from identifying with any agent or publication of either of those societies till the committee could investigate their differences. Whether this disturbed the secretaries is doubtful. It would appear that they

69 Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G.E.S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p. 21 Heugh to Murray and Smeal, 24 February 1841.

70 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 25 March 1841, 29 March 1841. It was at the March 25th meeting that a letter from Joseph Sturge was read demanding that his name be removed from the list of Honorary and Corresponding members of the Society due to the pro-Garrison stand which it seemed to him the G.E.S. had taken. See Resolutions And Correspondence Of The G.E.S. Since The Arrival Of John A. Collins p. 5 Sturge to Smeal, 25 January 1841.

expected something along these lines and were fully prepared for it. In any case they presented the meeting with a remonstrance from fifty-nine members and friends of the G. E. S. and a memorial signed by three hundred and eight Glasgow women in favour of giving Collins a public meeting to consider the conduct of the G. E. S. committee.⁷¹

The meeting was held in Rev. Nesbit's Albion Street Church which was crowded mostly with Chartists who constantly interrupted the proceedings. Collins, who was the main speaker, referred to the moderate members of the committee who had been responsible for the resolution passed at the April 13th committee meeting as "midway abolitionists" and "pro slavery men". He went on to call the Glasgow clergy no more worthy than the American clergy who, he said, were the bulwarks of slavery. These attacks must have seemed grossly unfair to the likes of Wardlaw who had been one of the leaders of the Glasgow anti slavery movement when Collins was still only thirteen years old.⁷² What could be gained by such attacks is incomprehensible and due to the important place that the local clergy held in the G. E. S. they were unforgivable. Certainly the secretaries were much to blame for not disassociating themselves from them if indeed they wanted to do so at all. The meeting however can hardly be said to have been made up of the members and friends of the G. E. S. for there were very few of those in attendance. The Chartists, who made up most of the audience, had repeatedly disrupted the meeting, and towards the end of it completely destroyed any semblance of order and the meeting broke up into near bedlam and had to be adjourned.⁷³ Because of the disintegration of the meeting before the secretaries were able to get it to condemn the actions of the committee another meeting had to be called. This

71 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 13 April 1841.

72 Alexander, Memoirs Of The Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. p. 298 Collins was born in 1810.

73 Glasgow Argus, 19 April 1841. Report of the Discussion at the First Meeting of the Members of the Glasgow Emancipation Society May 31, 1841. pp. 9, 18.

meeting shows all the signs of collusion between the secretaries and the Chartists. First the two main speakers, the Revs. Patrick Brewster and John Ritchie, were both leaders of the Chartists movement in Scotland. Second, the meeting was to be held in the Bazaar which held about four thousand people so obviously a very large gathering was expected. Third, at the meeting the Bazaar was filled to capacity mostly with Chartists and yet it passed off smoothly without disturbance.⁷⁴ Finally, both the secretaries and the Chartists had resolutions passed which they wanted. This meeting shows clearly to what lengths Murray and Smeal were willing to go in their desire to support Collins and the A. A. S. S. In a resolution by Rev. Ritchie it was proposed 1) that the G. E. S. would co-operate with other antislavery societies regardless of country, creed, party or sex, 2) that the G. E. S. placed full confidence and support in the A. A. S. S. , 3) that the meeting express disapprobation at the action of the G. E. S. committee for their action in regard to Collins, 4) that the B. F. A. S. S. , because of its actions toward Collins, had lost the confidence and support of the G. E. S. , 5) that the G. E. S. expresses its confidence in Collins and that a circular letter to British abolitionists be sent stating that the G. E. S. expresses support and sympathy to the A. A. S. S. , and 6)⁷⁵ that an additional seventeen new members be added to the committee. None of this is particularly revealing except for the addition of the seventeen new committeemen or about a forty percent increase. One asks who they were and why were they added. As far as why they were added it is perfectly obvious that they were hand picked by the secretaries to ensure they would no longer be out voted in the committee meetings. As regards who they were, on the whole little

74 Glasgow Argus, 29 April 1841

75 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 27 April 1841.

is known about them except for James Turner of Thrushgrove who was an active Chartist and John Ure. Of the others very little is known. This suggests that they were not of any real standing in the community. For the most part they were small merchants or tradesmen such as James Dunn a baker, or James Bruce an engraver. As such there is very little record of them.⁷⁶ The record of the meeting, however, suggests that they were all Chartists or Chartist sympathizers. Murray and Smeal had what they wanted and it was now the turn of the Chartists who passed a resolution stating :

"That in accordance with the sentiments contained in the address presented to Mr. Collins and now read, it is the opinion of this meeting that the people of this country are entitled to their right of suffrage for which they have been contending these last three years and that we pledge ourselves to use every moral and legal means to obtain our liberty and the liberty of all mankind."⁷⁷

The result of the meeting was that in return for accepting publically at least one plank of the Charter, and that the most important one, Smeal and Murray had once again succeeded in putting the G. E. S. in direct support of the Garrisonian American abolitionists. This clearly shows to what extent the secretaries were willing to go in order to obtain the support of the G. E. S. for the A. A. S. S. when it is remembered that only a few months previously Smeal had rejected an application by the Chartist Lloyd Jones for membership in the Society "on the grounds that he apprehended Mr. Jones was desirous of becoming a member of the Society that he might have an opportunity of publically disturbing its proceedings."⁷⁸ The secretaries were without qualms in using a heretofore disagreeable element in order to gain their objective if the circumstances required it. This does not mean the secretaries were without principles.

76 For a list of the proposed new committeemen and their occupations see Appendix III

77 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 27 April 1841

78 Ibid. II, 20 October 1840. See above page 140

On the contrary it was their rigid and unfailing support of the principles of Garrison that led them to take these extraordinary measures. Wardlaw and Heugh, though they had previously sent in letters of resignation still hoped to gain control of the Society. At a committee meeting of May 19 they succeeded in getting a sufficient number of their supporters to attend and carried a motion calling for a public meeting of the members of the G. E. S. to determine the validity of the membership of the seventeen new committeemen appointed at the Bazaar. At the subsequent meeting on May 31, the membership voted that indeed the seventeen new men had not been validly appointed. It was then moved and approved that those same men should be added to the committee. The motion was contested on the grounds that many had left the meeting which had had a very low attendance in any case. Nevertheless with just thirty-one members of the G. E. S. in attendance out of a possible two hundred and ninety-six subscribers the meeting decided to receive into the committee the new members.⁷⁹ The result was predictable. The moderate membership, knowing that the addition of these radical new committeemen would prevent them from exercising any control over the Society, immediately began to resign. During the next two months the resignations of twelve of the Society's most active members were accepted.⁸⁰ Among the most important were Revs. Wardlaw, Heugh, King and Robert Kettle and William Paton. They had been some of the most active and prominent members and their departure was a serious blow to the prestige and vitality of the Society. Others such as John Reid simply stopped actively participating in the movement.

79 Ibid III, 19 May 1841
Report of the Discussion at the First Meeting of the Members
of the Glasgow Emancipation Society May 31, 1841 pp. 25-6

80 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 16 June 1841, 20 July 1841, 30 July
1841, 2 August 1841.

Between January 1840 and August 1841 the G.E.S. was concerned with little else other than its internal squabbling. As far as actively pursuing a programme opposing slavery almost nothing had been done. For one thing its attention was diverted from slavery to the internal bickering and the struggle to control the Society. Secondly, even had the Society focused its attention on the issue of international slavery there was almost nothing it could have done.⁸¹ Whereas in America the public was intimately concerned with the antislavery cause, Britain was little affected in one way or another with the emancipation of foreign slaves. This was one of the primary reasons why the movement was losing public support. The Society was very active during this period but the indications are that at public meetings, except when the Chartists turned up, the attendance had fallen off considerably. Witness the turn out of only thirty-one at the public meeting of May 31, 1841. Thompson's trip to the United States in 1834-5 was intended to awaken the conscience of the Americans as to the evils of slavery and its potential danger to the freedom of the rest of the country. This had been accomplished due more to the efforts of the American abolitionists than the British but nevertheless it had been accomplished. What remained for the British abolitionists and more specifically the G.E.S. was indefinite. Direct action was out of the question and in this regard it was in much the same position as the American abolitionists owing to the semi-autonomous position of the States in the United States federal system of government. In the past as in the future the Society was forced to attack the system indirectly such as in the case of the

81 Howard Temperley, "The British and American Abolitionists Compared" in Duberman, The Antislavery Vanguard pp. 359-60.

Amistad captives or their opposition to the Government's recognition of Texas.⁸² While it is true that there was a great amount of respect for the British abolitionists by the Americans this meant little to the public at large and had no effect on the institution of slavery. But even this mutual admiration of the British and American abolitionists was interfered with owing to the fragmenting of the movement into pro and anti Garrison factions. In this the G.E.S. was now solidly behind Garrison but in order to accomplish this it had been forced to abandon any work against the institution itself. In the end it was a period of maximum, intensive activity and minimal constructive accomplishments. This was caused by the fundamental difference between the two radicals Smeal and Murray and the more moderate members. On the one hand there were the secretaries, who, because of their support for Garrison, were willing to destroy the Society in order to save it. On the other hand the moderates insisted that the society's activities be limited only to fighting slavery and any extraneous issues such as suffrage or "Womans Rights" should not be allowed to have any place either implicitly or explicitly in the group's work. Any support for Garrison on the part of the G.E.S. they felt implied support for the other reforms he continually dragged into the effort. This they could not condone and consequently after they were unable to gain control of the Society they withdrew.

The Ladies Auxiliary which had been so important financially to the G.E.S. in the earlier years remained in the hands of the moderates and it became necessary to form a new group called the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society which was very pro Garrison.⁸³

82 Temperley, British Antislavery p.197

83 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p.234. An Appeal to the Ladies of Great Britain on Behalf of the American Slaves (Glasgow 1841) p.14, located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
Annual Report of the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society 1842, pp. 5-7.

It was, however, much less successful in raising funds either for its own operation or to donate to the G.E.S. In fact it never donated any money at all to the G.E.S. but concentrated on raising contributions to send to the Boston Anti Slavery Bazaar held each year in Boston Massachusetts.⁸⁴ This was to prove unfortunate for the G.E.S. in the future controversy with the Free Church of Scotland concerning holding fellowship with slaveholding churches in the American South. It was due to lack of money that the G.E.S. nearly suspended operations between 1847 and 1851.⁸⁵

The separation of the two quarreling factions of the G.E.S. in 1841 therefore had long range effects. For one thing it alienated the Ladies Auxiliary Society as an important source of revenue and it lost for the G.E.S. a great number of Dissenting ministers who had up to then been the backbone of the Society. This is illustrated by comparing the subscription lists of 1841 and 1842. The results show about a fifty percent reduction and of the survivors few took any real interest in the Society. This disaffection of many of the clergy is further shown by the fact that for the remainder of the decade only four public meetings were held in churches and all four took place in Rev. Anderson's John Street Relief Church.⁸⁶ Finally, and most significant of all, the internal split separated the two most important elements in the Society. Smeal and Murray, regardless of their radical inclinations were the driving force behind the G.E.S. but without the active participation of the leading

84 See Annual Report of the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society 1841-51.

85 G.E.S. Annual Report 1851, p. 5

86 Ibid, 1841-2
G.E.S. Minute Book III, 2 August 1841, through 6 January 1851.

Dissenting clergy they found themselves mostly cut off from popular support. It was not until a controversy with the Free Church flared up and the Dissenting Clergy again joined the effort in 1844-7 that the Society showed any real sign of returning to life and then only until it became evident that its efforts were fruitless.

CHAPTER V

The Decade Of The 1840's And The Free Church Controversy

The effect of over one year of internal wrangling on the G.E.S. was both immediate and debilitating. Nothing had been gained by alienating the city's Dissenting clergy and a sizable portion of the Society's leadership. The price for backing Garrison and the A. A. S. S. in terms of manpower had been high and, as will be shown, over the next three years the returns were negligible. The difficult problem still remained of finding a viable programme or issue which would in some effective way come to grips with the problem of slavery in other parts of the World. It was at this point that George Thompson once more came to the fore. Thompson had stayed relatively clear of the internal dispute though as always he remained a staunch supporter of Garrison. But Thompson had branched out into other areas of reform after the end of apprenticeship and consequently he was not as intimately bound up with the inner workings of the G.E.S. although he still held powerful sway over it. As the dust was still settling after the schism he once more stepped in to attempt to lead what remained of the Society down an entirely new path.

With the ending of apprenticeship in 1838 Thompson had almost immediately joined the Aborigines Protection Society which had quickly resulted in the G.E.S. affiliating with that body.¹ Soon thereafter, because of his enthusiasm on the subject of India and at the instigation of Joseph Pease of Darlington² he became one of the founders of the British India Society organized in 1839. Not surprisingly, the G.E.S. obediently allied themselves with this

1 G.E.S. Minute Book II, 6 September 1838
Howitt's Journal vol. II, 23 October 1847.

2 Joseph Pease, the founder of the British India Society, was a wealthy Quaker manufacturer, railroad promoter, philanthropist and abolitionist. He was the father of Elizabeth Pease (Ch. IV fn. 55) and the first Quaker elected member of the House of Commons.

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group. Subsequently this body dissolved due to internal disputes but Thompson remained active in the work for reform in India. By considering the conditions and the claims of the poor in India it was felt that the Government could devise methods to carry out measures to better their circumstances. This was important, for slavery depended on the production of tropical products and these could be cultivated in India cheaper than in slave territories owing to the almost limitless supply of cheap labour. It was thought that if this could be accomplished slavery would be ended by market forces.⁴ It was under these circumstances that Thompson entered into the employment of the Raja of Sattara, who had been deposed by the East India Company, and began working for his restoration.⁵

The G. E. S. became involved with Thompson's efforts to reinstate the Raja of Sattara at its Annual Meeting in 1841. At the Adjourned Meeting on August 3rd, Thompson monopolised the proceedings by giving a long speech in which he explained the circumstances under which the Raja had been deposed and

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- 3 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 13 May 1839
 Howitt's Journal vol. II, 23 October 1847
 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 101-2
 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light On Anglo-American
 Relations p. 63 n. 18.
 British India - Proceedings at a Public Meeting in Darlington
 p. 4.
- 4 G. E. S. Minute Book II, 14 September 1840
 Temperley, British Antislavery p. 102
 See Ch. III p. 115
- 5 Howitt's Journal vol. II, 23 October 1847.

concluded by proposing a motion condemning the East India Company and its Board of Control for their treatment of the ex-ruler.⁶ He also proposed that the G.E.S. seek, through Parliamentary investigation and legislation, to procure the restoration of the Raja. This may seem to be, and indeed was, a far cry from the original purpose of the G.E.S. which after all had been set up to combat slavery of the masses rather than the restoration of individuals unlawfully deprived of their position. Rev. Patrick Brewster took just such a position when he objected to Thompson's remarks and suggested that the G.E.S. would be much better advised to show concern for the poor in Britain than for a Raja in India and he offered an amendment to Thompson's motion calling for the abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws and a speedy review of the Poor Laws. This led to a rather heated debate between the two and finally the chairman, John McLeod, cut Brewster off and called for a vote in which Thompson's motion was carried overwhelmingly.⁷ It was quite apparent that Brewster had lost much sympathy in the antislavery circle of Glasgow owing to the prominent part he had taken at previous public meetings when the Chartists had taken over full control of the proceedings. They no doubt felt that he, as one of the Chartist leaders, had been responsible for much of the bitterness that had so recently split up the Society. While such an amendment would have been happily agreed to at the Bazaar Meeting or the meeting immediately preceding it the members of this audience were not Chartists and obviously wanted nothing more to do with them or Brewster. Their recruitment by the secretaries had been

6 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 3 August 1841
For Thompson's position see Howitt's Journal
vol. I, p. 46-7

7 Glasgow Chronicle, 4 August 1841
G.E.S. Minute Book, III, 3 August 1841

a temporary measure to achieve a specific goal. Smeal and Murray were undoubtedly aware that if they were to permanently involve the Society with the Chartists the basic aims of the G.E.S. would have been engulfed and relegated to only secondary importance. Taking into account the almost passionate zeal of the secretaries for the abolition of the slaves it is hard to imagine that they would have been foolish enough to effect a permanent juncture with the Chartists at the risk of being overwhelmed by them. This was made clear at the meeting and Rev. Brewster for his part took the hint and never again took part in the affairs of the G.E.S.

However much Thompson pleaded the case of the Raja of Sattara, and it must be said he did his level best to arouse the enthusiasm of the G.E.S., this was not an issue that was capable of exciting the membership of the Society. Admittedly the G.E.S. did take some rather cursory action and at the Annual Meeting it had come out for the adoption of measures for the abolition of Indian slavery and had secured the support of the two Glasgow MP.'s, Oswald and Dennistoun, if any such measure should be proposed in Parliament.⁸ Soon after the Annual Meeting the committee agreed to petition Parliament for the Raja's restoration. This petition, however, had not been sent and was still in the hands of the G.E.S. as late as the end of October 1842. It seems that the Society was waiting for the case to be presented before the House of Commons and further action on this matter, if any, is not referred to in the Minute Books.⁹ In May of 1842 at a public meeting a resolution of support for the Raja was passed and at the instigation of Thompson it was forwarded to him.¹⁰ But this was little more than going through the motions at the behest of Thompson

8 Ibid.

9 G.E.S. Annual Report 1842, p. 8

10 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 5 May 1842

who was preparing to go to India later that year. Despite the fact that in 1839-40 the G.E.S. had printed and circulated 26,750 pamphlets and other printed material on the subject¹¹ and that the Reports of 1842 and 1843 were filled with information concerning Thompson and British India the G.E.S. never really involved itself deeply with the problems of India. It can only be said that the Society took at best a passing interest in the East Indies due solely to the efforts of Thompson. The issue of slavery in India was of even less concern to the Society and when reference was made to it, it was without any real enthusiasm and little concerted or organized action in the part of the G.E.S. was directed towards its abolition. The reason for this was that slavery in India was quite different from that in the West. In the West slavery was built on a policy of coercion in order to exploit a resource for the profit of a few. In India slavery was altogether a different matter. Indeed there were in India several varieties of slavery some of which were quite benign and even beneficial to the slaves.¹² Except for condemning Indian slavery in its Reports and Appendices¹³, the G.E.S. did little or nothing of a practical nature to effect its abolition.

11 G.E.S. Annual Report 1840, p.17

12 Slavery in India was of course no bed of roses and in some cases quite brutal but on the whole it differed quite radically from the Western form. See D.R. Banaji, Slavery in British India (Bombay 1933) pp. 1-2, 20, 30, 81, 84, 106-8, 132-46, Ch. II passim.

13 G.E.S. Annual Report and Appendix, 1842, 1843.

The duties levied on colonial and foreign grown sugar were of a more pertinent and intimate nature in their connection with the G.E.S. In the past Glasgow had been one of the most important centres in the West Indies sugar trade and the West India Merchants in the city were still powerful and important men. But during the campaign against slavery and apprenticeship there had been many harsh words between the merchants and the anti slavery zealots.¹⁴ All of these merchants were staunch Tories¹⁵ so it is no wonder given the past antagonisms and their present political beliefs that there would be little love lost between these two segments of the population. For these reasons it is not surprising that when the subject of the Sugar Duties was broached to the G.E.S. it came out strongly in favour of free trade. This is not entirely correct in that when it was first brought up at a meeting in May 1841 the Society decided to do nothing about it as the committee was divided in sentiment over it.¹⁶ But here it must be remembered that at this time the Society was still in the throes of the struggle between the pro and anti Garrison factions and any consideration or discussion of the matter would have been absurdly anachronistic to the issue then at hand. This indecision was shortly modified to all out support for the Government's measures for promoting Free Trade when a motion to that effect was passed at a committee meeting of 18 June 1841. Soon after this at their Annual Meeting the Society came out publically in their approval of the proposed reduction in the Sugar Duties.¹⁷ This was in direct opposition to the stand taken by the B.F.A.S.S. who held that the expansion of the sugar market by the opening up of the British market would only stimulate

14 James Cleland, Annals of Glasgow Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities and the Rise and Progress of the City (Glasgow 1816 2 vols.) II, 374-5
Hinton, Memoirs of William Knibb pp. 144-8, 156-63.
Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" pp. 82-3

15 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" p. 83

16 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 24 May 1841

17 Ibid, 18 June 1841, 2 August 1841.

production in other sugar producing countries, most of which permitted slavery. This rise in the demand for sugar would incur a rise in the demand for labour and in the case of the slaveholding countries this would directly stimulate the slave trade.¹⁸ To this the G.E.S. answered that it was their belief that all things being equal free labour was cheaper than slave labour. Therefore all the British West Indies needed was an abundant supply of free labour which could be obtained from Africa under strict Government supervision. They claimed that monopoly had always been the main support of slavery and therefore Free Trade would push slave labour out of the market for, as they reiterated, free labour was cheaper than slave labour. As far as free emigration from Africa to the West Indies they were again in direct opposition to the B.F.A.S.S. who held that the so called "free" emigration would soon develop into a new slave trade.¹⁹

The all out support which the G.E.S. had given Free Trade in the beginning was soon modified to a somewhat more equivocal stand. The Annual Report of 1842 hedges on the viewpoint it had previously taken when it stated "We by no means advocate the introduction of Slave grown Sugar, on the same terms with British free labour produce; but we believe that the British may produce it as cheap, and we would insist that they should be required to do so."²⁰ The Society changed this somewhat more the following year when it ignored the issue of Free Trade and merely called for free migration of Africans to the West Indies with return passage guaranteed.

18 Mathieson, British Slave Emancipation pp. 157-9

19 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/36
Murray to Scoble, 3 June 1843, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18.
C20/38, Murray to Scoble, 12 August 1843.

20 G.E.S. Annual Report 1842, p. 86

Finally on 12 April 1844 the Society completely reversed its former position and petitioned Parliament to admit foreign free grown sugar and other products from all parts of the world on the same terms as colonial produce and that Parliament should not agree to any measure (meaning equal duties on slave grown produce) that would tend to increase or extend the duration of slavery or the slave trade. The petition called for "the abolition of slavery by fiscal regulations based on moral and pacific means."²¹ Thus from a position of full support of Free Trade the G.E.S. had come full circle and was now seeking restrictive tariffs against slave grown products. In essence the Society supported the theory of free trade but this stand had to be modified in order to correspond to its humanitarian sentiments even at the risk of opposing the widespread popular support for the elimination of trade barriers. It is interesting to note here that the West India Association of Glasgow had, even before the G.E.S., been petitioning Parliament along identical lines. Whereas its stand before the abolition of slavery had been to demand protection against free grown sugar and to minimise the evils of slavery, it now demanded protection against slave grown sugar and exaggerated the evils of slavery.²² This led to the rather unusual alliance between the local West India merchants and the G.E.S. both of which sought the same ends though for quite different reasons. The G.E.S. for its part sought for the protection of West India sugar as an economic lever to facilitate the end of slavery or at the very least to inhibit its profitability. The West India merchants sought the same ends in order to retain their monopoly. Soon after the G.E.S. took its stand for protection of the West India interests the West India Association of Glasgow began encouraging its efforts by making

21 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 1 August 1843, 12 April 1844.
G.E.S. Annual Report 1844, pp. 11-2

22 Minutes of the West India Association of Glasgow I, 25 October 1830, 5 March 1816, 6 May 1826, 5 May 1841.
Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (University of North Carolina Press 1944) p. 141.

donations to enable the Society to carry out its agitation.²³

This gradual change in the position of the G. E. S. led to a rather muddleheaded and ill thought out proposal by Murray in regard to the renewal of a commercial treaty with Brazil which was due to expire in November 1844. His suggestion was that if Brazil wanted its sugar admitted on the same status as British free grown sugar, it notify the British Government of the names of their plantations, their extent, the number and description of the slaves on each and their sugar would be admitted forthwith provided they agreed to cultivate their plantations and raise their sugar with free labour. But in order to insure that it was free labour British officials were to be appointed and permitted to reside on each plantation as inspectors to see that the plantations were so cultivated. These inspectors were to certify that the sugar was the product of free labour. This would induce others to give up slavery and consequently slavery would gradually be abolished. This was in line with the Society's belief that the Government should apply fiscal pressure on foreign states for the abolition of slavery through commercial treaty negotiations.²⁴ Upon receiving this proposal in the form of a memorial Lord Aberdeen acknowledged receipt and thanked him for his communication, which was probably more than the proposal deserved.²⁵ Thomas Clarkson, to whom a copy of the memorial had been sent, was more kind as he pointed out the utter impracticability of having Government agents on every plantation saying that even the British Government could not afford such a scheme. He added in a letter the following day

23 Minutes of the West India Association of Glasgow I,
25 July 1844, 8 September 1846, 19 January 1848.

24 G. E. S. Annual Report 1843, p. 13
G. E. S. Minute Book III, 25 March 1844.
See Memorial to Lord Aberdeen.

25 Ibid, Reply of Lord Aberdeen, 11 April 1844.

"Be therefore so good as to devise some plan, by which the fewest inspectors could superintend the greatest number of contiguous estates."²⁶ He did, however, approve of the scheme as did Joseph Sturge.²⁷ Nothing is even mentioned of the possible attitude the Brazilians may have held concerning the possibility of having hundreds if not thousands of British inspectors scurrying about their country attempting to discern which was free and which was slave grown sugar. One is tempted to speculate as to how such a proposal would have been received had it been introduced into the negotiations for the new commercial treaty.

The importance of all this concern over free trade and free African emigration and free labour goods versus slave labour goods is not so much what was achieved (they achieved nothing) but the fact that it illustrates the kind of man who made up the membership of the G.E.S. and in this the G.E.S. was a microcosm of the general middle class reform societies of the day. By and large the cast of men constituting the G.E.S. placed every confidence in the ability of the Government to handle any situation or problem abroad as well as at home. They felt that the Government could or would undertake to correct abuses simply because it had been convinced that the situation or state was in some way morally wrong and under its guidance any plan could be undertaken, any wrong righted. This reflected the underlying philosophy of the caste, i.e. efficient rule based upon the committee procedure and effective government supervision. Given direction and enlightenment any powerful state such as Britain could achieve the type of society elsewhere that they felt to be in existence in their own country – a society which preached inevitable progress and the

26 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, Clarkson to Murray, 3 April 1844, 4 April 1844.

27 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 12 April 1844.

freedom to achieve success by personal drive and ambition. To attain this goal even foreign intervention into the institutions of other countries by the Government was not ruled out. Bearing witness to this is a memorial by the G. E. S. to Lord Aberdeen of 22 February, 1844, calling for the Government to insist upon an agreement with Brazil in the renewal of the forthcoming commercial treaty whereby Britain would be allowed to place permanent officials in Brazil at suitable places to prevent slave trading or encroachments on the liberty of free imported African labourers. For this purpose there was to be a full, exact and complete registry of all Brazilian slaves with a description at the time of concluding the treaty. Further it would be agreed that "no Emigrants (were to be) landed without due previous notice given to one of the officials so that the landing may take place under his inspection" and that the British officials would have free access to all the emigrants and the slave registry until Brazil abolished slavery.²⁸ The abolitionists wanted the British Government to use its economic, commercial and industrial might to force other countries to acquiesce in their stand regarding slavery and to insure success they were to back up that force with government functionaries.

The controversy surrounding free trade versus protective tariff against slave grown produce and free emigration versus restricted emigration continued well into 1848 even though in 1846 the Government had drastically reduced the sugar tariff. Once again the policy of the G. E. S. changed and once again the committee were unable to make up their minds as to which was the most effective means of fighting slavery.²⁹ However, by this time it really made no difference for the West Indian interests,

28 Ibid, 17 February 1844.

29 Ibid, 9 May 1848.

unable to compete with slave labour, were practically finished as a significant economic force.³⁰

Since the days of the controversy aroused by Garrison in 1840-1 the G.E.S. had been on bad terms with the B.F.A.S.S. The primary reason for this was of course the B.F.A.S.S.'s anti Garrison stand and their support for the equally anti Garrison A.F.A.S.S. This antagonism is nowhere so evident as in the correspondence between the two societies ranging from their disagreements concerning free trade and free emigration to the calling of a second World Convention in 1843. The correspondence concerning the proposed World Convention is especially illustrative of the ill feeling between the two groups. About one year after the first World Convention the B.F.A.S.S. resolved to look into the propriety of holding a second such convention in 1842 or 1843.³¹ In Glasgow this proposal met with a frosty reception and the committee passed a resolution stating it was inexpedient of the B.F.A.S.S. to come to any decision regarding another convention without first consulting the A.A.S.S.,³² something the B.F.A.S.S. was obviously not prepared to do. Soon afterwards the G.E.S. decided to postpone any consideration of such a convention until after it had heard from America, meaning of course the A.A.S.S.³³ The B.F.A.S.S. had meanwhile received an encouraging response from many of the British anti slavery societies with, as could be expected, the exception of the G.E.S.³⁴ Murray had written a letter stating that he doubted the G.E.S. would approve such a convention and demanded to know exactly who the B.F.A.S.S. had consulted in

30 Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" p.82
Williams, Capitalism and Slavery p.152

31 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C/45

32 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 18 June 1841

33 Ibid, 20 July 1841

34 B.F.A.S.S. Minute Book I, Minute 368, 15 September 1841

America when they were enquiring about another convention.³⁵ In other words, Murray was asking if the B.F.A.S.S. had secured the approval of the A.A.S.S. before calling for another World Convention. Later in the early part of 1843 after the invitations had been sent for the Second World Anti-Slavery Convention, Murray, who had enquired about whether or not women were to be allowed as delegates, wrote Scoble a letter which is typical of the exchange between the two societies. He wrote, "I was at length favoured with yours of the 20th in reply to mine of the 17th ult."³⁶ at least the only reply which it seems you can give without a decision of the Committee upon the matter." He went on to call the letter "unsatisfactory". Murray's letter implies that Scoble's reply to his first letter was merely a short note accompanied by a circular stating that the "Delegates are to be Gentlemen".³⁷ This would certainly have been more than unsatisfactory to the often irascible Murray especially in light of their earlier disagreements.

35 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C9/32, Murray to Tredgold, 9 September 1841

36 Murray's first letter stated that before the G.E.S. would approve any delegates to the forthcoming convention they would like to know if the B.F.A.S.S. intended making all the arrangements as to who would speak, when, what would be discussed and the recognition of delegates. In short, was the B.F.A.S.S. making all the arrangements beforehand or would they be left for the Convention to decide. See B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/30, Murray to Scoble, 16 February 1843.

37 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/33, Murray to Scoble, 24 March 1843. For further examples of the terse and often hostile correspondence between the two societies see Ibid, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C21/109, Smeal to Scoble, 14 February 1844. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C9/32, Murray to Tredgold, 9 September 1841. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/36, Murray to Scoble, 3 June 1843. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C112/1186, Murray to B.F.A.S.S. Committee, 6 April 1844. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/34, Murray to Scoble, 31 May 1843. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C9/33, Representative of Tredgold to Murray, 9 September 1841. M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C20/30, Murray to Scoble, 16 February 1843. See also Resolutions And Correspondence of the G.E.S. Since the Arrival of John A. Collins. passim.

Due mainly to the animosity existing between the G.E.S. and the B.F.A.S.S. the G.E.S. played very little role in the Second World Anti Slavery Convention which met in London on 13 June 1843. It will be remembered that at the first such convention the G.E.S. had appointed twenty-six delegates, ten of whom attended. This time the G.E.S. only appointed six delegates Robert Grahame, Thomas Grahame, John Dennistoun, James Oswald, McGregor Laird and John Murray. Of the six only two attended, Laird, who was an honorary member, and Murray.³⁸ For his part Laird played an active role in the inconclusive debate over free trade by proposing a motion which echoed the position of the G.E.S. exactly and in this he was seconded by Murray. However, since the issue was finally dropped, it was rather a fruitless effort.³⁹

At this stage it must be said that since the termination of apprenticeship in 1838 the G.E.S. had been unable to contribute anything of a positive nature to the fight against slavery. Nevertheless it did remain active and interest within the Society remained strong as evidenced by the fairly numerous attendance at the committee meetings. Committee meetings and correspondence, however, had little effect on the public at large and an issue or controversy was needed that would stir up popular enthusiasm and once again place slavery in front of the public eye. It was at this point that a purely Scottish incident rekindled popular enthusiasm against slavery.

In early 1843 a large segment of the Church of Scotland dissociated itself from the General Assembly and formed the Free Church of Scotland. This was caused by the long festering issue of patronage and the State's interference in the internal affairs of

38 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp.S18.C21/108, Smeal to Scoble, 7 June 1843. J.F. Johnson, Proceedings of the World Anti Slavery Convention (London 1844). See list of delegates.

39 Ibid, see proceedings for 19 June 1843. Temperley, British Antislavery p.157

the Established Church. This new church which was led by Thomas Chalmers included some of the most respected ministers of the country. It was the intention of those ministers to set up the Free Church along identical lines as the Established Church had been organized with the exception of being connected with the State. For this a great deal of money was required for building new churches, paying the ministers and supporting its various missionary and domestic schemes. This money had to be obtained through voluntary contributions since having broke off their connection with the State the Free Kirk had to be self supporting. It was under these circumstances that the Free Church General Assembly despatched a deputation to the United States seeking financial aid. This mission would have been of no direct concern to the G. E. S. had not its members visited the Southern States and collected a substantial amount of money from the slave holding members of the Presbyterian churches. Of over £3,950 collected in America in 1843-4 it is estimated that approximately £3,000 came from the South, much of it from Charleston South Carolina.⁴⁰ When news of this broke it caused an immediate furore not only in Scotland but in America as well. Lewis Tappan, the leader of the A. F. A. S. S. , wrote to Sturge that Thomas Chalmers' defence of receiving the

40 Acts Of the Free Church Of Scotland 1843-1847 (Edinburgh 1847)
 See Abstract of the Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland for the period from May 18, 1843 to March 30, 1844 appended to the Acts of the Assembly, MDCCCXLV 27 May 1844. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held in Edinburgh, May 1847 (Edinburgh 1847) pp. 265-274. Both the Acts of the Free Church and the Proceedings of the General Assembly are to be found in the New College Library, Edinburgh under E12/63-65. George Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" p. 126.
Witness, 10 June 1846
Merrill, Against Wind and Tide pp. 186-7

money, "is to put down what we have been attempting for 10 years to build up - It is taking sides with religious professors who hold slaves, whose consciences have been reached by antislavery discussions. It is administering an opiate to Northern pro-slavery ministers who have been placed in an awkward position by Anti-Slavery arguments and entreaties."⁴¹ Garrison gave the controversy wide coverage in The Liberator. Indeed, at the height of the campaign in 1846 he gave it more coverage than the Mexican War in which the United States was then embroiled.⁴²

In Glasgow the G. E. S. immediately turned on the Free Church for accepting the "Blood Money". The very fact that the Kirk had sent a deputation to the South to solicit money must have been particularly galling to the committeemen and especially to Smeal and Murray. The whole idea of withholding fellowship with slaveholding churches had been one of the cornerstones upon which their society had been based.⁴³ For an important church in their own bailiwick to publicly accept contributions from such a source was obviously humiliating and intolerable. It was a sure indication that the Society had failed to indoctrinate an important sector of the local churchmen. This is understandable if not quite excusable when it is remembered that, with few exceptions, the Established Church up to 1843 had played almost no role publicly or privately in the activity of the G. E. S. and consequently had been far less exposed to its propaganda than the area's Dissenting clergy.

41 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations p. 197

42 Merrill, Against Wind and Tide p. 211

43 G. E. S. Annual Report 1835, p. 23, 1836 p. 6.

The most important factor was not so much the amount of money collected, because the Free Church was collecting money at an astonishing rate.⁴⁴ What particularly disturbed the abolitionists was that the Free Church defended its right to accept the money and enter into fellowship with the pro slavery churches of the South. Thomas Chalmers, the leader of the Free Church, stated the position of the Free Kirk regarding pro slavery Southern churches in a letter to the Witness in May 1845.⁴⁵ In essence the position was that while slavery as an institution was to be deplored, there were no Scriptural or ethical grounds to withdraw from fellowship with these churches. "Condemn the sin but love the sinner" was the basis of his argument. While this may have been a convenient position for the Free Church to take, it certainly made little impression among the Scottish abolitionists who repeatedly condemned both the sin and the sinner. The very idea of placating such zealots as Smeal and Murray and the other G.E.S. members with an argument such as this could hardly be said to have been enlightened. However, there is doubt whether or not the Free Church had any serious intention of justifying its stand to the abolitionists. As the Free Kirk fully realized the mere act of defending the holding of fellowship with slaveholding churches

44 Money was coming into the coffers of the Free Church at the rate of over £1,000 a week and at the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1844 it was reported that the church had collected £368,613.14s.8d. for its building fund and various schemes and had a balance in the bank of £33,129.6s.5d. See Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1844, p. 55.
Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1844, p. 244
J.M. Reid, Kirk and Nation, The Story of the Reformed Church of Scotland (London 1960) p. 143

45 William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers D.D. L.L.D. (London 1852 4 vols.) IV, 582-91.

implied, justly or unjustly, approval of the slave system⁴⁶ and consequently the less said on its part the better. It certainly had no intention of sending any of the money back.

The G. E. S. initiated its "Send Back The Money" campaign at a public meeting in Anderson's John Street Chapel on 14 March 1844. The meeting passed a resolution proposed by Rev. George Jeffrey of the United Secession Church which called for the Free Church :

"... to acquit themselves as becomes Christians and Scotsmen in regard to pecuniary contributions from American Slaveholders; and in particular, the contributions sent them from Charleston South Carolina and not to accept of such but to refuse and send them back to the donor, accompanied with a faithful and plain dealing testimony to the American Churches against Slavery."

The meeting also drew up and sent to the Glasgow Free Church Presbytery a resolution to that effect.⁴⁷ The Presbytery received it on April 3rd and immediately tabled it.⁴⁸ This is not, as it would seem, because it disagreed with the sentiments of the resolution. On the contrary they very much agreed with the resolution excluding of course the part concerning returning the money. However, the policy of the Free Church was to steadfastly refuse to act upon any petition, memorial or resolution transmitted to it by other than their own presbyteries, courts or people.⁴⁹ This could not have

46 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland May 1846. See "Free Church General Assembly to General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" in the proceedings of June 2, 1846 in Appendix pp. 50-2.

47 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 14 March 1844

48 Scottish Record Office, Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes, 1843-8 CH/146/34, 3 April 1844.

49 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland May 1847 p. 264

been known to the G. E. S. and following this public meeting the Society sent copies of the resolution to every Presbytery and Synod Clerk of the Free Church in Scotland and to the Moderator of its General Assembly. The Moderator, Rev. Henry Grey, bluntly refused to lay the matter before the Assembly claiming that it would come up by overture, which indeed is what happened though in a much watered down form.⁵⁰ The overture presented by the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale was felt by Grey to be attended by difficulties and, at the suggestion of Revs. Candlish and Cunningham, it had been sent to committee where it was virtually ignored. The report of the committee, of which Candlish was chairman, bears this out by ignoring the central issues of Christian Fellowship and the reception of funds. The report, which was brief and non-committal, states :

"The Committee cannot but consider it the duty of Christian Churches, as such, to set themselves against the manifold abuses of slavery, and to aim decidedly at its abolition; nor can they conceive of Christian Churches giving their sanction to this institution without painful apprehension of the responsibility which they must in that case incur in reference to the laws which regulate it and the calamities which flow from it."⁵¹

This seems to have mollified the G. E. S. temporarily for at its Annual Meeting in August 1844 it passed a resolution thankful that the Free Church had directed its attention to both the question of slavery and, somewhat optimistically, the reception of money from

50 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1844. See proceedings of 24 May 1844 pp. 163-4 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 25 March 1844, Henry Grey to Murray and Smeal 21 May 1844. New College Library, Edinburgh. Chalmers Collection, Candlish to Chalmers, 10 July 1844.

51 William Wilson D. D., Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish D. D. (Edinburgh 1880) p. 349 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 1 July 1844, Grey to Smeal and Murray, 21 June 1844. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1844, see the proceedings of 24 May 1844 pp. 163-4 for the position of Candlish and Cunningham.

slaveholding churches.⁵² This attitude changed abruptly due to a published letter from Chalmers to the Rev. Dr. Smyth of Charleston South Carolina of 25 September 1844 in which he defended accepting the money and stated :

"I do not need to assure you how little I sympathise with those who - because slavery happens to prevail in the Southern States of America - would unchristianise that whole region; and who even carry their extravagance so far as to affirm that, so long as it subsists, no fellowship or interchange of good offices should take place with its churches or its ministers."⁵³

This made it quite evident that the Free Church had no intention of doing anything at all or of even taking the issue seriously and consequently the G. E. S. called another public meeting to memorialise the Church. The Memorial, of which 1000 copies were printed and distributed to various churches and ministers, stated : -

"That this Society is deeply grieved at the indifference with which this important subject appears to be viewed by the Free Church and fears that religious Body is not sufficiently impressed with the pernicious effect which will undoubtedly result to the Anti Slavery cause from the mere presumption in the United States that such a large and influential section of the Christian Church in this Country is favourable to slavery, from the fact of their receiving the aforesaid Contributions from American Slaveholders."⁵⁴

This meeting is especially interesting because of those who took part in it. The main speakers, Revs. Ritchie, Ingram, Bates and Jeffrey were all ministers of denominations that had been attacked publically by Chalmers and it was now their turn to return

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- 52 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 1 August 1844
53 Hanna, Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers IV, 581-2
54 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 18 November 1844.

the honour which they did with gusto.⁵⁵ It should be stated here that this antagonism was not based solely on disagreements over slavery. Long before the Disruption in 1843 the Evangelicals among the Dissenting clergy had been highly critical of the Established Church because of their connection with the State.⁵⁶ This invariably led to ill feelings between the two factions which was still very much in evidence after the Disruption. So it was without any qualms that these men undertook to assail the Free Church. Up until the outbreak of the controversy three of these four ministers Ingram, Bates and Jeffrey had shown little interest in the antislavery movement so it is reasonable to assume that ulterior motives stemming from earlier quarrels and more lately by Chalmers attacks were the basis for their new found antislavery ardour.

As the time for the next General Assembly of the Free Church approached the G. E. S. set about printing up propaganda condemning the Free Church for accepting fellowship with slaveholding churches. In February of 1845 the Society had printed a large number of an address by Henry C. Wright⁵⁷ to the Free Church regarding this fellowship.⁵⁸ About a month later it had printed up another circular

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- 55 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p.286. Glasgow Argus, 21 November 1844. Both Jeffrey and Ritchie were of the United Secession Church. Rev. Bates was of the Reformed Presbyterian Church while Ingram was an Independent Congregational minister.
- 56 William Law Mathieson, Church and Reform In Scotland, A History From 1797 to 1843. (Glasgow 1916) pp. 279-81.
- 57 Wright was an American anti-war advocate who spent the years between 1841 and 1847 in Britain preaching non-resistance and abolitionism. Previous to coming to Britain he had been prominent in the antislavery struggle in America and had been one of the agents for the A. A. S. S. until 1837 when the A. A. S. S. committee refused to rehire him "because of his peculiar peace views, and because he declined giving a pledge to confine himself to the discussion of Abolitionism". See Ruchames, The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison II, xxx, xxxi.
- 58 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 10 February 1845.

of a letter from Wright to Rev. William Cunningham, one of the leaders of the Free Church, which appeared in the Glasgow Argus and in which Wright attacked the stand of the Free Church.⁵⁹ Both the attacks by the abolitionists and the defence by the Free Church remained generally the same. The goal now was to arouse the middle and upper classes against the Kirk and in this the campaign met with considerable success.⁶⁰ These attacks were supplemented by criticism within the Free Church. At the General Assembly of 1845 there were no less than six overtures against holding fellowship with pro slavery churches. The most critical of these was from the Presbytery of Glasgow which had been approved unanimously as early as December 4th, 1844. It stated :

"That this Presbytery overture the General Assembly to take into very serious consideration the question of Ecclesiastical fellowship with those churches in America which are known or shall be found to encourage slavery and that due care be taken to instruct deputations (if any) who may visit slaveholding states, to avoid such communications with avowed defenders of these practices as may commit our Church to any participation in other men's sins."⁶¹

These overtures had no effect on the General Assembly which refused to even take up the issue, repeating what it had done the previous year. For the moment there was little the G. E. S. could do though it refused to let the issue die. It was at this point that the A. A. S. S. once more involved itself in the affairs of the G. E. S. and Scotland.

59 Glasgow Argus, 24 March 1845. The Letter was printed under the caption "A Man-Stealing Church" and as can be imagined, was very bitter and inflammatory.

60 Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" pp. 128, 139.

61 Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes 1843-8 CH3/146/34, 4 December 1844. Free Church of Scotland Overtures May 1845. These are contained in Assembly Papers 1845 at the New College Library, Edinburgh under E12/63-65.

In America, where the Free Church Controversy had caused a great deal of excitement in abolitionist circles, the A. A. S. S. decided to take the cause directly to the source of the problem and despatched two veterans of the antislavery movement to join Wright in the struggle. James N. Buffum and Frederick Douglass arrived in Liverpool around the first of September 1845 and almost immediately set off for Ireland where they spent some four months getting involved in various reform movements such as temperance and advocating the repeal of the Act of Union.⁶² In January 1846 Douglass and Buffum joined Wright in Glasgow and the G. E. S. arranged a speaking tour for them which included Perth, Dundee, Ayr, Greenock, Paisley and elsewhere. The agitation was now at its height and charges and counter charges were thrown back and forth between the two factions though the abolitionists seemed to be getting the better of the struggle.⁶³ The G. E. S. was definitely the main force in this agitation as the Edinburgh society was by this time largely inactive and had declined to take part in the effort.⁶⁴ As the controversy raged in the press the G. E. S. prepared a public meeting for 21 April 1846. The Society had invited Thompson to join the Americans for the meeting which was to be the first public meeting of the G. E. S. in over seventeen months. The meeting, which took place in the City Hall, as expected roundly condemned the Free Church and was highlighted by Douglass's speech. Douglass, who had proven himself to be a remarkably effective

62 Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" pp. 126-7. Philip S. Foner, The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, Early Years 1817-1849 (New York 1950 5 vols.) I, 62-4.

63 Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery", pp. 129, 134-6. Shepperson, "Frederick Douglass and Scotland" pp. 313-7. G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 12 January 1846, 20 April 1846.

64 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 320 G. E. S. Minute Book, IV, 10 April 1846

speaker on his tour, skillfully refuted the arguments of Chalmers in favour of holding fellowship with pro slavery churches. An excerpt from his speech shows not only his ability as a public speaker but it also rather dramatically illustrates the type of oratory which caused such bitterness between the abolitionists and the Free Church and why so much public excitement was aroused.

"Now, what we want to do is to make slavery respectable. Whatever tends to make it respectable, tends to elevate the slaveholder; and whatever, therefore, proclaims the respectability of the slaveholder, or of slaveholding, tends to perpetuate the existence of this vile system. Now, I hold one of the most direct, one of the most powerful means of making him a respectable man, is to say that he is a Christian: for I hold that of all other men, a Christian is most entitled to my affection and regard. Well the Free Church is now proclaiming that these men - all blood-smearred as they are, with their stripes, gags and thumb-screws, and all the bloody paraphernalia of slaveholding, and who are depriving the slave of the right to learn to read and word of God - that these men are Christians and ought to be in fellowship as such."⁶⁵

Rhetoric such as this was guaranteed to please both the abolitionists in the audience and those who came to hear the Free Church denounced. It would also be certain to cause the Free Church apologists to return the insults in kind.⁶⁶ The meeting concluded with the G. E. S. extending an invitation for Garrison to visit Britain once more and join in the campaign.

65 Foner, The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass I, 178.

66 For a particularly good example see Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland May 1847 p. 272

Following this April meeting many of the members of the G.E.S. went to Edinburgh to organize a public meeting in the Rose Street Voluntary Secession Church. This was necessitated by the inactivity and apathy of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society which, as stated, declined to co-operate with the G.E.S. against the Free Church.⁶⁷ Soon a new anti-slavery committee was formed in Edinburgh which held fourteen public meetings in the Music Hall and some of the city's largest churches and which were addressed by Thompson, Wright, Buffum and Douglass.⁶⁸ The agitation, however, was not confined solely to oratorical mud-slinging. Red paint representing the blood of slaves was smeared on walls and doorsteps with or without accompanying legend and the campaign slogan "Send Back The Money" was plastered all over the city. Douglass succeeded in cutting the slogan into the ground on Arthurs Seat despite interference from the town constable.⁶⁹

All this took place just prior to the May General Assembly of the Free Church with the obvious intention of pressuring that church into returning the money. If for no other reason than sheer self respect the Free Church could hardly have been expected to return the money. Such a move would have been an open admission of guilt and a repudiation of a segment of the American Presbyterian Church that had generously assisted it in its hour of need. True, the Free Church quickly became quite wealthy and could easily have afforded to return the money but such a step would only have been an unnecessary affront to the American church without contributing in any way to the abolition of slavery. The only thing the General

67 Weston Papers, M. S. A. 9.2. vol. 20 (1844) no. 25, Mary Welsh to ? , 25 April 1844.
G.E.S. Annual Report 1847, p. 6.

68 G.E.S. Annual Report 1847, p. 7.
Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 322.

69 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison III, 153. Shepperson, "The Free Church And American Slavery" p. 128. William F. Miller, Memorials of Hope Park, comprising some particulars in the life of our dear father, William Miller, and notices of his more immediate ancestors; together with a list of his engravings (London 1886) p. 170

Assembly did was to write a letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The letter is indicative of the sentiments of the church toward the abolitionists and the agitation they were arousing. While the Free Church opposed slavery it realised that all the abolitionists clamourings in the United States had made the American church explain its position and this made it look as though it were apologising for the system. The letter went on to say "We suffer with you in this respect, and we have not been moved, nor will we allow ourselves to be moved by mere clamour, from what we believe to be Scriptural, as well as brotherly position in our relation towards you."⁷⁰ While this may have precluded action by the Free Church for 1846 the agitation was nowhere near ended. No sooner had the Assembly adjourned than the G.E.S. held a public meeting to condemn both the Free Kirk and its Assembly and once again Rev. George Jeffrey was prominent on the platform. It was he who moved congratulations to Thompson who, at the height of the agitation had received the Freedom of the city of Edinburgh for his services to the free trade and antislavery movements.⁷¹

The G.E.S. now waited for the arrival of Garrison whom it had invited at their April meeting. In July Garrison set off with a typical and less than self deprecatory remark "I do not go, to flatter England, or to disparage my native land, but to protest against the foul deed of the Free Church of Scotland, in putting into its treasury the price of blood, and giving for it the right hand of Christian fellowship to the American slaveholders;"⁷² After

70 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland May 1847. See "Free Church General Assembly to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" in the proceedings of June 2, 1846, pp. 50-2 in Appendix.

71 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 10 June 1846.
Glasgow Argus, 11 June 1846
 Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" p. 128.

72 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison III, 155.

spending some time in London with Thompson and Wright and helping to establish the short-lived Anti Slavery League he made his way up to Glasgow after having visited Bristol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle and Berwick.⁷³ The G. E. S. committee received Garrison on the 21st of September, two days after his arrival, and immediately arranged meetings for him in Greenock, Paisley, Edinburgh and Dundee. On September 30th he returned to Glasgow for a public meeting held in the City Hall.

At this stage the Free Church found itself under bitter attack by two of the most forceful antislavery agitators, Thompson and Douglass, its most famous American exponent Garrison and two other very capable Americans Wright and Buffum. Added to this was a formidable array of the Dissenting clergy whose denominations had come under attack by the Free Church through Chalmers. Even within its own ranks there were those who rose up to attack the church. Revs. Michael Willis and James McBeth, both G. E. S. committeemen, had from the start attempted to get the church to withdraw from fellowship with Southern churches. At the instigation of Willis the Glasgow Free Church Presbytery had no less than three times made overtures to the General Assembly against this fellowship.⁷⁴ Added to this when the small but vocal Free Church Anti Slavery Society was formed in early 1847 Willis and McBeth formed the nucleus around which it worked. Against these and others the Free Church brought to bear the not insignificant talents of Revs. Cunningham, Candlish and of course the ageing but still powerful figure of Thomas Chalmers.⁷⁵

73 Ibid, pp. 159-75

74 Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes 1843-8, CH3/146/34, 1 May 1844, 4 December 1844, 7 October 1846.

75 Though they opposed the abolitionists it can in no way be said that any of these men were pro slavery as the abolitionists attempted to make them out. In fact they all condemned slavery in some rather harsh terms. Their quarrel was solely with the fanaticism of the abolitionists and the demands they made.

It must be admitted that the mere fact that the abolitionists had "the bloody shirt" on their side gave them a distinct advantage in the conflict. The Free Church was forced into a position not of defending slavery but of defending a church which defended slavery. To the abolitionists this implied at least titular approval of the system even though the Church had repeatedly denounced it. This was a very unenviable position for any church to be put in much less one newly formed.

The agitation continued with the abolitionists attacking the Free Church as well as turning their fire on the lately instituted Evangelical Alliance. The Alliance, which was an association of evangelical christians of various denominations both in Britain and the United States, had as its purpose the strengthening of bonds between Protestant groups in different parts of the World.⁷⁶ As early as April 1846 the G. E. S. had passed a resolution calling for the Alliance to exclude from membership and to refrain from inviting any slaveholders to their proposed meeting in August of that year. To this the Alliance had agreed mostly at the instigation of J. H. Hinton a member of the Provisional Committee of the Alliance. However, at their August meeting the Alliance had reversed itself on this pledge and had allowed a section of slaveholding American delegates, led by Rev. Thomas Smyth of Charleston, to take part in their proceedings.⁷⁷ It was because of this that the G. E. S., at the September 30th meeting to receive Garrison, passed a resolution condemning the entire Evangelical Alliance in almost ritualistic terms. The resolution stated "Resolved that the burning rebuke and emphatic condemnation of the Christian world ought to fall on the so called Evangelical Alliance as a body proved treacherous

76 Temperley, British Antislavery p. 217
Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland p. 362

77 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 217-8
G. E. S. Minute Book III, 20 April 1846, 21 April 1846.

to the cause of bleeding humanity and consequently recreant to every principle of our compassionate Redeemer."⁷⁸

After a brief excursion to Ireland and Wales Garrison again returned to Scotland for a few parting shots at the Free Church. At a large public meeting in the Glasgow City Hall he heard Thompson attack Wardlaw, who was not present, for his defence of the Evangelical Alliance. Wardlaw's position was that he hoped the Alliance would refrain from putting a ban on individual slaveholders while strongly condemning the institution of slavery.⁷⁹ Just over six years previous to this Garrison had heaped praise on that respected minister when he had been received in Glasgow after the first World Anti Slavery Convention.⁸⁰ Now he was taking part with the G.E.S. in his public condemnation. For the G.E.S. it did not matter so much what one had done in the past for the antislavery crusade but what position one held at the moment. If one did nothing or deviated slightly from its views on important issues the G.E.S. would not hesitate to denounce almost any offender. In this it was a mirrorperfect reflection of Garrison.

Garrison left for the United States soon after the Glasgow meeting but the Free Church agitation remained very much alive. On the 1st of February 1847 at the Society's Annual Meeting, the speakers once again condemned both the Free Church and the Evangelical Alliance, yet they did praise the British branch for

78 Ibid, 30 September 1846. Though nowhere near as colourful or emphatic the wording of this resolution bears a striking resemblance to the formal Papal rite of excommunication which was still in use at the time. However, owing to the almost fanatical anti romanism of the Evangelicals we must assume this to be pure coincidence.

79 Able and Klingberg, A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations p. 224 n. 187
Glasgow Argus, 29 October 1846.
Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" p. 139.

80 Glasgow Argus, 30 July 1840.

excluding slaveholders from membership.⁸¹ This was a shrewd though meaningless sop tossed out by the British Alliance for the simple reason that there were no longer any British slaveholders.

Any possible hope that the Free Church might conceivably return the money or break off fellowship with pro slavery churches was dashed by the proceedings of the Free Church General Assembly of 1847. On May 29th petitions from the Deacon's Court of St. Bernard's and Presbyterians were read which called for withdrawing fellowship from churches allowing slaveholders membership. After attempting to evade the issue Candlish and Cunningham launched a diatribe against not only the Abolitionists who had been attacking the Free Church but also against the Free Church Anti Slavery Society.⁸² Regarding the abolitionists Garrison, Buffum, Douglass, Wright and Thompson, Cunningham said "These men disgusted the Christian peoples of this land - they made perfectly manifest their characters, their spirit and their principles; and thereby Satan's devise, to a large extent failed of Success."⁸³ As if to finally put an end to the entire controversy Cunningham made the position of the Free Church perfectly clear in these words, "We have said as much, and we have spoken as strongly against slavery - against the sinful nature, the degrading character, the injurious tendency of slavery, - as they could wish us to say; but we stop there because we do not believe that it is a principle that the word of God sanctions, that we are bound to deprive slaveholders, simply as such of Christian ordinances."⁸⁴ This was the final outburst of the Free Church on the question of Christian fellowship with slaveholding churches. As far as the G.E.S. was concerned it now became a dead issue.

81 G.E.S. Minute Book III, 1 February 1847

82 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland May 1847. See proceedings of 29 May 1847, pp.262-74

83 Ibid, p.272

84 Ibid, p.269.

For the purpose of this thesis the net yield of the "Send Back The Money" campaign can be evaluated from two different angles, i. e. the effect of the campaign on the Free Church and the struggle's effect on the G. E. S. It must be admitted that the campaign was an utter failure if goal achievement is the evaluating standard. The Free Kirk neither broke fellowship nor returned the money which were after all the prime objective of the exercise. Nevertheless, it did receive a great deal of very bad publicity during the affair and this no doubt was certainly most unwelcome. No sooner had it broken away from the Established Church on a matter of principle than it itself was being attacked on a matter of principle. It must also be said that the sensationalism of the "bloody shirt" held a certain amount of appeal for those who wished to assail the church for more private denominational reasons. The Revs. Bates, Jeffrey, Ritchie and Ingram had done just this. The campaign, however, must be put into another perspective in its effect on the church. In fact the campaign was of minor importance to the Free Church. It is true that there was a great outcry raised in the press and at the public meetings and that there were many rather bitter invectives passed between the two factions but this was hardly enough to have any fundamental influence on the church. In all, between 1844 and 1847 only eleven overtures on the subject were made to the Free Church General Assembly and many of these were unusually mild in their terms.⁸⁵ The Glasgow Synod, which presented three of these overtures and which one might presume to have been the most interested due to the zeal of McBeth and Willis, has nothing to say in its record books besides the wording of the overtures and the statement that they were passed unanimously.⁸⁶ All told, the Free

85 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1844-7

86 Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes 1843-48, CH3/146/34, 1 May 1844, 4 December 1844, 7 October 1846.

Church treated the entire issue as merely an embarrassing and irritating nuisance rather than a matter of basic Christian principle which the abolitionists felt it to be. The abolitionists may have disturbed the mental tranquility of the Free Church's leader Dr. Chalmers⁸⁷ but it is highly unlikely that this was his major concern in his last years concerned as he was with working for the success of the Free Kirk, voluntarism and establishing a national system of education.⁸⁸ At the time the church was seeking to parallel the Established Church in all aspects of ecclesiastical functions including missionary work, education and church construction and this effort took up almost all of its time, and interest. Any issue which would tend to sidetrack this effort had to be and indeed was relegated to the position of relatively minor importance. Consequently the significance of the "Send Back The Money" campaign launched by the G. E. S. had little impact on the Free Church.

On the other hand the effect of the campaign on the G. E. S. was of major importance. After the internal schism of the Society in 1840-1 public interest had begun to flag due largely to the lack of a unifying or stimulating cause. Because of Garrison the clergy had been alienated and for this reason the G. E. S. had lost much of its popular support. Coupled with this no issue of importance had come along to keep the spectre of slavery before the public eye. Publicity was of course fundamental to the effort and while there was plenty of information in the press concerning the Sugar Duties and British India these had nothing to do with American slavery which was after all the primary interest of the G. E. S. Acceptance of money from slaveholding American churches by an influential

87 Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery" p. 133

88 Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers IV, 486-96.

local church was another matter and was of major importance not only to the Scottish abolitionists but also to the entire movement on both sides of the Atlantic.⁸⁹ In Scotland, which was more thoroughly attuned to the antislavery movement than the rest of Britain,⁹⁰ the acceptance of such money was a serious setback. Thus when the G.E.S. unloosed the cry "Send Back The Money" the response in both the press and public was most encouraging. This brought new life to the G.E.S. and returned to it much of the importance it had lacked since the campaign to abolish West Indian apprenticeship. Therefore the "Send Back The Money" campaign was of itself important as it revived public interest and brought many of the clergy, at least temporarily, back into the movement. However important the campaign was, the necessity for the Free Church to actually return the money was absolutely vital for the future effectiveness of the Society. So long as there had been any hope whatsoever, the movement flourished. When it finally became evident that the Free Kirk would not return the money or withdraw from fellowship interest declined rapidly. Between May 1847 and January 1851 the G.E.S. held only six committee meetings and no public meetings.⁹¹ The effort which had cost the Society over £500

89 Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery pp. 315-6. George Shepperson, "Thomas Chalmers, The Free Church of Scotland and the South" Journal of Southern History 17, (1951) p. 520.

90 That the antislavery feeling in Scotland was more intense than in the rest of Britain is confirmed not just by the fact that the movement for world-wide abolition originated in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1833 but also by the observations of visiting abolitionists. See Samuel Ringgold Ward, Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro : His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada and England (London 1855) p. 337

91 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 12 May 1847 through 27 September 1850.

had simply burnt itself out and left the G. E. S. nearly £150 in debt. Between August 1845 and February 1847 they had spent £224 on public meetings alone and well over £260 on printing and advertising.⁹² It might have been worth the cost if they had succeeded but in fact they failed and as a result they nearly ceased to exist as a functioning society.

The reasons for the failure of the "Send Back The Money" campaign are not difficult to discern. The Free Church had perhaps unwittingly placed itself into an embarrassing position from which it could not easily extract itself without acute embarrassment both to itself and to the Southern churches which had given it rather generous support.⁹³ The abolitionists had shown their usual lack of moderation and had instantly and viciously assailed the church and placed it in a position from which there could be no graceful exit. The only possible stance the Free Church could take to avoid utter humiliation was that of defending its actions in the hope that the controversy would soon blow over. The more violent the criticism the more intractable became the church's position and consequently eliminated any possibility that the money would be returned or that the Kirk would break fellowship. Perhaps the position of the Free Church was best stated by Chalmers when, at the height of the agitation in 1846, he stated in a letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Adam Black :

"I would no more refuse to hold Christian communion with one man simply because a Slaveholder than I would refuse to hold Christian communion with another man simply because a soldier. This principle has been acted on in the Christian Church from the days of the Apostles, and for more than 1800 years, and I will not suffer my convictions to be overborne by a mere novelty unheard of till within a very recent period, however fierce or formidable the attempt may be to force it upon us by the clamour of agitators and demagogues - men who under the guise of humanity and the love of freedom have retarded the abolition of slavery by laying the servitude of their fantastic and irrational notion

92 G. E. S. Annual Report 1847, see abstract of the Treasurers Account.

93 Chalmers Papers, Thomas Smyth to Chalmers 24 May 1844.

on what is in itself a most righteous and clearly unquestionable cause."⁹⁴

Thus the abolitionists, by their own enthusiasm had snuffed out any hope of success.

Some indication of the deteriorating fortunes and energy of the G.E.S. is illustrated by its reaction to a circular sent out by the B.F.A.S.S. in 1848 calling for a conference to consider the state of the antislavery cause and especially the increase in the slave trade. The response to the B.F.A.S.S. was that no member of the Society would be able to attend the meeting. Smeal said he would be in London a few days after the planned May 20th meeting but not before.⁹⁵ This is in contrast to the reaction in 1840 when the G.E.S. had responded to the call for the World Convention enthusiastically. It is true that its response in 1843 was minimal but this was due more to the friction then existing between the two societies rather than any lack of interest. In 1848 no one cared to exert the effort or indeed had any real interest in such a meeting. It may not have been a call for a World Convention as the others had been but it would have been the next best thing. Even had it been a World Convention it is doubtful that it would have caused much of a stir in the then near dormant G.E.S.

The G.E.S. involved itself in a very minor way with the potato famine which swept over Ireland in the latter part of the 1840's. In Dublin the Relief Committee of the Society of Friends had solicited money, to help feed the starving Irish, from Baltimore Md. and Charleston South Carolina both of which had responded generously. This money, similar to the money collected by the Free Church, came from the slaveholding American South and as such the G.E.S. felt it should have been returned.⁹⁶ This may seem to have been an ironhearted if understandable attitude for the G.E.S. to take.

94 Ibid, Chalmers to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 23 May 1846

95 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 9 May 1848

96 Ibid, 6 April 1847

The Free Church had taken money to build churches and finance various schemes and in this case the reaction of the G.E.S. was reasonable at least on humanitarian grounds. On the other hand the Irish peasantry were starving to death by the tens of thousands while Westminster seemed to do almost nothing to help. It therefore became necessary for private philanthropy to supplement the meagre assistance rendered by the Government.⁹⁷ Support from any quarter including slaveholders was desperately needed. Nevertheless when word reached the G.E.S. about money obtained from the American South in the spring of 1847 the Society decided to protest and remonstrate with the Dublin Committee against receiving such sums. As might be expected the Dublin Committee refused to consider the protest as it could find no sufficient reason to return the money.⁹⁸ The incident, of itself wholly incidental to the history of the G.E.S., nevertheless points out some important features of the Society. For one thing the leadership was willing to judge an action even though they had little understanding of the motives which necessitated it. The mere act of receiving money from slaveholding areas was in and of itself wrong and could not be countenanced under any circumstances.⁹⁹ This position was even more hardlined than that held by Garrison who justified the reception

97 Giovanni Costigan, A History of Modern Ireland with a Sketch of Earlier Times (New York 1969) pp. 179-80.

98 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 13 April 1847, 12 May 1847.

99 This position was not new but under the circumstances it was somewhat more unrealistic. Earlier in 1844 the G.E.S. had expressed its opinion that the act alone determined the morality of a situation and not its underlying causation. See G.E.S. Minute Book III, 18 November 1844.

of such money for famine relief.¹⁰⁰ This rigid doctrinism demanded that any friendly communication with slaveholders was tantamount to holding proslavery sentiments and consequently was more serious if broken than the relief of several millions of Irishmen. These men were far more interested in the liberty of three million American slaves than they were in the lives of over eight million Irish just a few miles away. Taken in this context the label "humanitarian", when applied to the G.E.S. has a somewhat hollow ring. The "humanitarian" spirit seems to have been lost and replaced with inflexible ideology. Further, this ideology was highly selective in its objective and outlook. In other words world events were viewed through the narrow-minded perspective of antislavery principle and this led quite naturally to extremism. Consequently the Society's reaction to the collection of Southern money by the Dublin Quakers is simply a manifestation of this extremism. Chalmer's reaction to the abolitionist's attack on the Free Church (pp. 191-2) came straight to the point, i. e. fanaticism under the guise of humanitarianism could do more harm than good and in any case would retard the progress of an otherwise praiseworthy cause. Additionally, as has been pointed out, religion played a vital role in the antislavery movement but in this case the position of the G.E.S. was based solely on anti-slavery principles. The Dublin Quakers had not cared where the money came from for the famine relief and only wished to help the stricken population. Even though Quakers were very prominent in the abolitionist movement the rigid position expounded by Smeal through the G.E.S. was not a position many of that sect adhered to. This position of the G.E.S. clearly shows the radicalism of Smeal and his dominance over the Society.

The decade of the 1840's, after the internal dispute following the World Convention, was the last period in the history of the G.E.S.

100 Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison III, 155.n. 1.

in which the Society was able to mount a serious effort in the anti-slavery struggle. The effort itself was unsuccessful and its aggregate yield negligible but it was the work of a still active and vital organization.¹⁰¹ The Free Church controversy had proven that there was still substantial interest in the community in support of the anti slavery movement. The G.E.S. had shown that it still had the ability to arouse the people to bring social pressure to bear even against one of the two most influential churches in Scotland. In the end it had failed to achieve success and it was partly because of this failure that in the future it would no longer be of major importance as a pressure group. It was becoming more and more evident that no matter what the Society might do it could have no effect one way or the other on the outcome of the struggle to abolish slavery. The movement for political reform, which was closely tied up with the causes of Temperance, social and educational reform and Disestablishment, held a more realistic possibility of success as well as directly effecting the population. Consequently the reforming zeal of the people was channeled into areas which offered a tangible and visible return on the effort expended. This the G.E.S. could not offer. With the exception of two rather brief periods when public interest was again aroused in the early 1850's and 60's the Society played only a minor role in Britain's antislavery and reform efforts.

101 Between 16 June 1841 and 27 September 1850 the Society held a total of 49 committee meetings 23 of which took place during the Free Church Controversy between 14 March 1844 and 12 May 1847. The G.E.S. also held 18 public meetings exclusive of the meetings it organized in other parts of Scotland for visiting American abolitionists. See G.E.S. Minute Books III, IV 16 June 1841 to 27 September 1850.

CHAPTER VI

The Final Years of the Glasgow Emancipation Society 1852-1876

If there was ever a book which reflected the overall philosophy of the world abolition movement that book was Uncle Tom's Cabin. It was the answer to an abolitionist's prayer. It was almost perfect. Harriet Beecher Stowe had written a novel which vividly described in the most heart rending terms everything the British abolitionists had been preaching since the antislavery movement began in 1783. One passage, by no means atypical, illustrates the inhumanity of slavery, the dignity of the individual negro, and the humanity and christianity of his race.

"The February morning looked gray and drizzling through the windows of Uncle Tom's cabin. It looked on downcast faces, the images of mournful hearts. The little table stood out before the fire, covered with an ironing-cloth; a coarse but clean shirt or two, fresh from the iron, hung on the back of a chair by the fire, and Aunt Chloe had another spread out before her on the table. Carefully she rubbed and ironed every fold and every hem, with the most scrupulous exactness, every now and then raising her hand to her face to wipe off the tears that were coursing down her cheeks.

Tom sat by, with his testament open on his knee, and his head leaning upon his hand; but neither spoke. It was yet early, and the children lay all asleep together in their little rude trundle-bed.

Tom, who had to the full the gentle, domestic heart, which, woe for them! has been a peculiar characteristic of his unhappy race, got up and walked silently to look at his children.

"It's the last time," he said."¹

Here was Tom the loyal almost saintly servant, devoted husband and father humbly submitting to being taken from his home and family to satisfy the debt of his master. Nothing could be more

1 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin : or, Slave Life in America* (Edinburgh 1852) p. 59.

calculated to enlist the sympathies of the British people who had for decades been exposed to the propaganda of the abolitionists.

First published in 1852 Uncle Tom's Cabin was almost an instantaneous success. In less than eight months it reached a circulation of over one million in Britain alone. Shortly in all parts of the country it was being dramatised and set to music.² The book sold all over the world and was translated into at least twenty-six languages.³ Once again slavery was back as never before, in front of the public eye. Nothing could be more beneficial to the anti-slavery cause than to have hundreds of thousands of people pouring over the tribulation of Uncle Tom. It put fresh life into a badly failing British antislavery crusade. It can't be said to have revived the antislavery societies as a whole but it certainly sparked off new interest in the cause.⁴

The effect of Mrs. Stowe's book on the G. E. S. was startling. Since the controversy with the Free Church the Society had met infrequently and with little real purpose. It had contented itself with reviling the Fugitive Slave Law⁵ and criticizing two new rival Glasgow antislavery organizations, the Glasgow New Association for the Abolition of Slavery and the Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery, both of which were strong in their opposition to Garrisonism.⁶ The Female Association had

2 Frank J. Klingberg, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Social Reform in England" American Historical Review, vol. 43 (1937-38) 544-5

3 Ibid., p. 545 n. 11.

4 For a discussion on the deteriorating fortunes of the British Antislavery movement see Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 228-32

5 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 6 January 1851. G. E. S. Annual Report 1851. The Fugitive Slave Law, which was passed as part of the Great Compromise of 1850, required the return of all fugitive slaves to their owners from any other state including the "free" states of the North.

6 Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 25 no. 50, Smeal to William Wells Brown, 12 December 1850. B. F. A. S. S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C36/52, Smeal to L. A. Chamerovzow, 16 April 1853. A Defence of the Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery (Glasgow 1851) Letter I. Pamphlet located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 26 April 1852.

been formed at the instigation of Rev. J. W. C. Pennington,⁷ a negro abolitionist representing the New York Vigilance Committee, after he had been rebuffed by the G. E. S. due to his church's affiliation with slaveholding churches and his anti Garrison attitudes.⁸ It started with a group of nine ladies dissatisfied with the pro Garrison position of the "Old Organization" Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society which, it will be recalled, had broken off from the original Ladies Auxiliary Society which had by this time ceased to exist.⁹ The men's New Association for the abolition of Slavery was formed around the ~~city's~~ Dissenting clergy and the areas moderate abolitionists who had disassociated themselves during

7 Weston Papers, M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 25 (1850-51) no. 45, Andrew Paton to Anne Warren Weston, 15 November 1850. Rev. Dr. J. W. C. Pennington (1809-1870) was born a slave in Maryland. At the age of twenty-one he escaped and later became a minister in the African Congregational Church. He represented Connecticut at the London Anti-Slavery Convention in 1843 and was again in Britain at the time of the Fugitive Slave Act. Due to his status as a fugitive slave this Act placed him in some difficulties until friends raised sufficient money to pay for his purchase. He was then sold to a third party who liberated him. His later life was spent as a minister in various Negro Presbyterian Churches. He is also discussed in Dixon, "The American Negro in Nineteenth Century Scotland". p. 96.

8 Because of Pennington's affiliation with a church that received slaveholders into fellowship the G. E. S. felt that they must disassociate themselves from any antislavery activity he would be involved with in Glasgow because of the position the Society had taken regarding the Free Church and the Evangelical Alliance. See G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 31 January 1850. It was at this meeting that the G. E. S. sent a Resolution of condolence to the widow of John Murray who died on 26 March 1849. See B. F. A. S. S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C36/52, Smeal to L. A. Chamerovzow, 16 April 1853.

9 Edinburgh University Library Estlin Papers, Microfilm M 742 Anti Slavery Cause, *passim*.

the 1841 disruption.¹⁰ Concern with the byzantine complexities, manoeuvring and fruitless bickering is pointless as it would only serve as a repetitive discussion of philosophical battle lines long frozen and by now irreconcilable. It was merely a symptom of frustration common to many reform movements faced with an inability to achieve practical or significant results. The publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin awoke new interest in slavery and a possibility of meaningful action to further the abolitionist efforts. The G. E. S. which had met only at rather long intervals since 1847 and had held only one public meeting,¹¹ once again sprang vigorously back into life, if only briefly.

The Scottish abolitionists were not slow to realise the potential of the mass appeal of Uncle Tom's Cabin. If they could effectively channel the popular enthusiasm caused by Stowe's book there was a reasonable possibility of pressuring the Government into some overt action which would stimulate the American South either commercially or economically to abolish slavery. Along these lines the G. E. S. met in Committee on November 9, 1852 to consider a proposal by the Friends of Emancipation in Edinburgh for a Penny Offering from every reader of Uncle Tom's Cabin and perhaps a

10 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18.C36/52, Smeal to L. A. Chamerovzow, 16 April 1853.
A Defence of the Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery, see Appendix.
 Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands I, 58.

11 Between May 1847 and November 1852 the G. E. S. Committee met only ten times. The public meeting on 6 January 1851 was called to hear William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave from America. See G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 25 August 1847 to 9 November 1852.

National Remonstrance against American slavery.¹² To this the Society readily agreed and determined to engage the City Hall for a public meeting to spark off the drive. Subsequently a meeting was held on November 16 in the City Hall with Smeal in the chair. On a motion by Rev. William Scott, an Independent minister, and seconded by William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave from America, the G.E.S. hailed the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin and since it felt that the book would do so much good they agreed to unite with the Edinburgh Society in the Penny Offering then in progress.¹³ The Penny Offering was to be set up in this manner : 1) Public meetings were to be convened wherever success was thought to be possible for the sole purpose of creating interest; 2) In cases where public meetings were inexpedient, a few zealous people friendly to the cause of emancipation were to take charge and divide the town or district up and canvas appointed areas so that no street or even a single house would be missed; 3) Some work to be done congregationally by collections on the sabbath or by the church members soliciting subscriptions. A special circular on the subject had been addressed to Ministers of the Gospel of every denomination on the subject; 4) Owners and Managers of Public Works could aid by interesting those in their employment and appointing an employee to collect the Offering; 5) Even individuals could work at the scheme by going around and collecting for the Offering.¹⁴ The idea was to collect from every person who had read Uncle Tom's Cabin a contribution of at least one penny to be sent to Mrs. Stowe for her to use as she deemed fit in the fight against slavery.¹⁵ The meeting

12 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 9 November 1852.

13 Ibid, 16 November 1852

14 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, Uncle Tom's Penny Offering and National Remonstrance 16 November 1852.

15 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 16 November 1852.

also agreed to join in a National Remonstrance with the people of the United States against slavery as suggested by Edinburgh. Ten days later at a meeting of Committee a draft of the National Remonstrance was read and approved and the G.E.S. agreed to a Proposition by Edinburgh that it take care of the West of Scotland in the Penny Offering. The Society also proposed that it would issue its own circular regarding the Offering. However, the Committee did decide to write to the Edinburgh Society stating that instead of mass signatures of the Remonstrance merely the signatures of the Chairman of the various public meetings would suffice.¹⁶ This clearly indicates the declining fortunes and enthusiasm of the Society for as it implied the compiling of a large petition was completely beyond its financial capabilities. It is also indicative of a realistic attitude regarding the effectiveness of sending over to the United States of any huge petition. It would be, as the Committee stated, "regarded as mere wastepaper". No doubt true. The Society realistically believed that publication in the newspapers was the only way to get it in front of the American public.¹⁷

Emotion immediately began to run high regarding the Penny Offering. The abolitionists were on the crest of a huge emotional wave and a most welcome and unexpected wave at that. In an editorial in the British Friend Smeal claimed that "At no period in our remembrance - certainly not since the abolition of colonial slavery - has the feeling of the country been raised to such a pitch as at the present moment;"¹⁸ This does not seem to be an over-statement and subsequent events indicate that if anything Smeal was understating the case.

16 Ibid, 26 November 1852.

17 Ibid.

18 British Friend, December 1852. Also see Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 1. 2. vol. 22 (1852), Henry Wigham to Garrison, 17 November 1852. Weston Papers, M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 26 (1852) no. 71, Jane Wigham to Anne Warren Weston, 18 November 1852.

The excitement over the Penny Offering and the National Remonstrance in the West of Scotland had up to this time been the sole concern of the G.E.S. while the two "new" organizations merely looked on from the sidelines. This was soon remedied however when the Rev. Wardlaw, acting at the suggestion of William Paton and through the two rival societies issued an invitation to Mrs. Stowe to visit Britain at the expense of these committees.¹⁹ This could only have been mortifying to the G.E.S. for no matter how much enthusiasm it might drum up over the Penny Offering an actual visit to Scotland by the author would dwarf any excitement it might arouse. It must also have been a source of some compensation to Wardlaw who could look back to the bitterness of 1840-1 and the personal attacks on him by the G.E.S. in 1846.²⁰ Minor compensation could be gleaned for the G.E.S. from the opportunity to present the Offering in person to Stowe but it certainly must have been irritating for a rival antislavery group to be hosting the heroine it had been working so hard for. Nevertheless, the collection of subscriptions for the Offering proceeded at an impressive rate. In just three months the

19 Shepperson, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland 1852-53" pp.43-4. Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands I, 52. Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline pp.199-200 Garrison Papers, M. S. A.1.2. vol.22 (1853) no. 31, Smeal to Garrison, 4 March 1853. This letter also shows the deep concern which Smeal had over Mrs. Stowe's attitude concerning Garrison and the A. A. S. S. and his hope that she would come out in support of the Garrisonian abolitionists.

20 See Ch. IV passim and Ch. V p.186 Glasgow Argus, 29 October 1846

G. E. S. had addressed over one thousand circulars and copies of the Remonstrance to ministers of nearly every Christian Denomination in the City and West of Scotland. By February 1853 a number of the Remonstrances had already been returned accompanied with Offering remittances and with a considerable sum already collected the drive continued.²¹ At the same time the Society sent out two hundred Circulars, furnished to it by the Edinburgh Committee, to the upperclasses stating that the Testimonial would soon be wound up and inviting their contributions on a large scale.²²

Mrs. Stowe left Boston for Britain on March 30, 1853 and arrived in Liverpool on April 10. Three days later she arrived in Glasgow where she received nothing less than an overpowering reception. On her first day the Lord Provost personally escorted her on a tour of the city and the Cathedral where thousands queued up to look at her signature in the visitors book.²³ The following day she attended a soiree in her honour given by the two "new" organizations in City Hall attended by over two thousand members of the middle and upper classes. At a similar function the following day she received members of the working classes though this time the turnout was somewhat smaller. At neither soiree were any members of the G. E. S. in evidence thus rather pointedly depicting the extent of the enmity then existing between the two rival antislavery factions.²⁴

On the 18th of April Stowe travelled to Edinburgh where her reception if anything dwarfed that of Glasgow. Here the crowds lined the streets as the Lord Provost took her on a tour of the city. The reason for her trip to Edinburgh had of course been to receive the Penny Offering. At a soiree similar to the one given in Glasgow but this time held by the Garrisonian Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society she received one thousand gold sovereigns presented on a

21 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 15 February 1853.

22 Ibid.

23 Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline p. 213

24 Shepperson, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland" pp. 40-3
Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline pp. 214-5. Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands I, 57-60

silver salver.²⁵ The contribution from Glasgow of £79. 9s. 2½d. was second only to that of Edinburgh which collected £209. 4s. 9¼d. In all collections were received from two hundred and eighty-two different locations in varying amounts ranging from 1s. from Middlesbrough to the much larger amounts from Edinburgh and Glasgow. The list below covers the more generous receipts.²⁶

Edinburgh	£209. 4. 9¼d.
Glasgow	79. 9. 2½d.
Dunfermline	31. 6. 3d.
Berwick-on-Tweed	30. -. -d.
Falkirk	23. -. -d.
Montrose	22. -. -d.
Kirkwall	21. -. -d.
Arbroath	18. 9. -d.
Perth	17. 12. 6d.
Brechin	17. 10. 6d.
Duns	16. 1. 7d.
Galashiels	16. -. 5d.
Kilmarnock	15. 4. 6d.
Langholm	15. -. 6d.
Sunderland	14. 16. 10d.
West Linton	14. 10. -d.
Banff	14. 8. 9d.
Melrose	13. 13. 2d.
Leith	12. 15. 2d.
Alloa	10. 19. 1d.
Irvine	10. 2. -d.

This time members of the G. E. S. were present owing to the conspicuous part they had played in the Offering. It is interesting to note Smeal's reaction to Stowe as it clearly points out what was foremost in his mind, regarding her influence and importance in the movement. Smeal stated :

"On the whole I'm of opinion that Harriet Stowe's visit will be of service, even to our views of Anti Slavery principle and action. At Edinburgh in particular, H. B. S. came out pretty strong about Garrison, and even the professor said, regarding

25 Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline pp. 215-6
 Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands I, 80-1, 84-6
 26 G. E. S. Miscellaneous Papers, see Subscriptions for the Uncle Tom's Penny Offering

Social Anti Slavery sentiment, that nothing better would be or had been written on the subject, than what W.L.G. had penned and recommended his writings to be read."²⁷

Smeal's concern with Stowe's antislavery stand was understandable because she was not just another visiting American abolitionist to be ignored if her ideas failed to harmonise with the party line. Stowe at this point was the American abolitionist more important than any society or particular abolitionist ideology. For the simple reason that she was lionized by society and the impact of what she said carried farther and had much greater import than all the British antislavery leaders or societies combined. If she had come out strongly against Garrison or condemned him it most certainly would have meant the end of the G.E.S. as a respectable society which would, no doubt, cause its immediate dissolution.

After the Edinburgh soiree Stowe went north where she was presented with an additional £180. In Aberdeen she was given £120 and the remainder came from the antislavery society of Dundee. Later she returned to Edinburgh while her husband Calvin and son, Charles stopped off in Glasgow once again to address a temperance rally and receive an address from the students of the University of Glasgow.²⁸ After a brief stay in Edinburgh she travelled south to England where she was presented with a further Offering of £1,800. In all she collected over \$20,000 in Britain from the Offering, well over a third of which came from Scotland. All this was accomplished in just over seven months and gives some indication of just how wide-

27 Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 9.2. vol. 27 (1853) no. 37, Smeal to Mary Estlin, 17 May 1853.
B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C36/52, Smeal to L. A. Chamerovzow, 16 April 1853.

28 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, Uncle Tom's Penny Offering Statement of Committee.
Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline pp. 217-8.

spread and intense was the enthusiasm for the book and the Offering. The money was collected and given to Stowe with no strings attached as to what she was to do with it though it was understood it was to be used in the antislavery cause. The Statement of Committee of the Uncle Tom's Penny Offering states :

"The Committee are not at present in possession of exact information respecting the instrumentalities through which Mrs. Stowe has resolved to expend the "Offering" but they have ever felt the utmost confidence that she will apply it in the most judicious manner, to aid the cause of the Slave; an opinion which Mrs. Stowe's anti Slavery proceedings, subsequent to her return to America has tended to greatly confirm." ²⁹

This is further borne out by a letter accompanying a further donation remitted to Stowe from Scotland of £150 in February 1854. William Duncan, secretary of the Penny Offering wrote "The Committee confide the disposal of the sum, now remitted, entirely to yourself, believing you will apply it in the way likely to do most good to the Anti Slavery Cause in America." ³⁰ Whatever eventually became of the money is unknown as Mrs. Stowe never rendered an account of what she did with it. It is probable that she appropriated it for her own private use. ³¹ She certainly had no qualms about taking it and seemed to accept it as her just due probably because she had received no royalties from the sales of her book owing to the lack of a copyright treaty between Britain and the United States. ³² This attitude is reflected in a letter from her to Duncan acknowledging receipt of the £150 he had sent along. The letter merely acknowledges that the money was received without rendering even a hint of gratitude or thanks. ³³

29 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, Uncle Tom's Penny Offering Statement of Committee. Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 1. 2. vol. 22 (1852), Henry Wigham to Garrison, 17 November 1852.

30 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, William Duncan to H. B. Stowe, 8 February 1854.

31 Wilson, Crusader in Crinoline p. 225

32 Ibid, pp. 225-6

33 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, H. B. Stowe to William Duncan, 16 March 1854.

The Penny Offering was a much needed if brief windfall for the G.E.S. as an organization. The public's attention was once again tuned in to the problem of slavery if not exactly the anti-slavery cause. The cause however could not help but benefit from this resurgence of interest as indicated by the renewed activity of the G.E.S. in late 1852 and 1853. During this period the Society met a total of seven times,³⁴ and while it must be admitted that this cannot be compared with earlier periods of excitement in the 30's and 40's it nevertheless illustrates the effect of Uncle Tom's Cabin on the movement. However, this renewal of interest was only achieved at the sacrifice of the assumptions of men like Smeal and the now deceased Murray that the Negro was in all ways the equal of the whites. It was their contention that it was the institution of slavery itself that inhibited the black from reaching his full potential and not any innate characteristic of his race.³⁵ Stowe had reinvigorated British abolitionism and made it fashionable once more due to her tremendous reception and her fraternisation with the upper crust of British society. Throughout her tour she had been received and idolized by such notables as Lord and Lady Gainsborough, Sir William Hamilton, Charles Dickens, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, Lord Russell, and innumerable others.³⁶ However, since she had now made abolitionism fashionable it was the brand of abolitionism as expounded by Harriet Beecher Stowe a la Uncle Tom's Cabin.³⁷ It cannot be said that the black in the "Cabin" is the social and biological equal

34 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 9 November 1852 to 20 December 1853.

35 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 518

36 Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands I, 172, 174, 258-67, 301-13.

37 Filler, Crusade Against Slavery pp. 208-10

of the white and this is precisely what the members of the G.E. S. had been preaching since their earliest days. At almost every public meeting this point had been driven home interminably by speaker after speaker. Likewise one of the novel's main characters, the fugitive slave George Harris, is gripped with a desire to return to Africa which he felt was his real home.³⁸ This, of course, implied approval of the colonization scheme which had, since the visit of Garrison in 1833 been a bogey to British abolitionists (See Chapter III pp. 74). It was now Stowe who was the personification of abolitionism and in order to retain respectability societies such as the G.E. S. were forced to accept or at least tolerate her stand. She had taken the movement out of the churches and public meeting halls and placed it in the drawing rooms of the upper classes. This was precisely what the G.E. S. had been trying to avoid by its numerous public meetings and petitions. Any success it had been able to achieve had been through popular support on the part of the middle classes. Now, however, the Society was in effect left high and dry. The working classes, who had always been outside the movement and had never lent it any real support, were further alienated by this new shift in the movement.³⁹ All this is rather dramatically illustrated by the almost immediate drop off in activity of the G.E. S. after the conclusion of the Penny Offering.

Stowe's return to America and the termination of the Penny Offering left a void in the movement in Glasgow. With no particular programme or controversy the Committee now began meeting only for specific reasons such as to greet a visiting American abolitionist or

38 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin pp. 271-3

39 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" p. 494.

Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 225-6

in response to a request by the B.F.A.S.S. for particular action. In September 1853 the Committee met to receive James Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, and one of the founders of American abolitionism, and agreed to hold a public meeting for him to talk on the history and present state of the American movement.⁴⁰ In December 1853 the Committee again met to draw up a memorial to the newly formed Manchester Anti Slavery Union as to their sentiments concerning such an organization. This unsolicited document is interesting for a number of reasons. The primary one is that the advice the G.E.S. gives to the Union states "... that the ground occupied by the Union be so broad, clear, and unmistakable that its future operation shall not be impeded by any of the causes of limitation, of dissension, and distraction, of which we have already had experience."⁴¹ This clearly indicates that the Society was fully aware of the harm caused to its organization by its incessant bickering both internally and with the B.F.A.S.S. This however did not stop it from going on to criticize the B.F.A.S.S. as having lost the confidence of the abolitionist movement. The G.E.S. had still not forgiven the London group nor forgotten their past differences. Finally the Society went on to recommend that

40 Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery p. 310.
G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 1 September 1853, 5 September 1853. Apparently the public meeting was held though there seems to be no account of it either in the Minute Book or in the contemporary newspapers. This is unusual for the public meetings of the G.E.S. were generally well reported in the liberal press of the day and the Minutes of 5 September 1853 specifically mention that accounts were to be found in the newspapers. The complete lack of coverage leads one to believe that the meeting was of so little consequence that the newspapers deemed it unworthy of coverage.

41 G.E.S. Miscellaneous Papers, Address to the Manchester Anti Slavery Union.

the Union retain its independence from the B.F.A.S.S. thus re-iterating their own determination to retain their independence even at the expense of national unity.

For nearly one year there were no meetings of the G.E.S. Finally, in November 1854 the Committee met to consider a circular by the B.F.A.S.S. calling for a conference of the friends of abolitionism to meet in London on the 29th and 30th of November. To this the Society readily agreed adding that it earnestly hoped that the forthcoming conference would avoid anything like a sectarian feeling or jealousy. As delegates to the conference, they appointed Thompson, Thomas Grahame, Rev. Jeffrey and John Nichol, Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow. None of these delegates, except for Thompson, was able to attend.⁴² Six months later in April 1855 the Society received Parker Pillsbury,⁴³ a fanatical American Garrisonian who was touring Britain preaching against the B.F.A.S.S. At this stage it should be added that the B.F.A.S.S. was now under the leadership of a new secretary Louis A. Chamerovzow who had been working hard for a reconciliation between the contending factions in the abolitionist movement with some measure of success.⁴⁴ It is indicative of the ill feeling which the

42 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C36/56.
G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 15 November 1854, 4 April 1855.

43 Parker Pillsbury seemed to have much in common with John Collins as regards to fanatical antislavery zeal. Even so radical an abolitionist as Wendell Phillips regarded him as a fanatic. He first became known in the antislavery movement when as a young theology student he specialized in the rather spectacular action of barging into church services and demanding to be heard from the pews. See Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers pp. 78-9 and Temperley, British Antislavery p. 244.

44 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 4 April 1855. It was at this meeting that the secretaries asked Pillsbury to address what they termed a moderate sized public meeting in the Merchants Hall on 10 April 1855. For a discussion of the work Chamerovzow was doing to attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the contending factions of the antislavery movement, see Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 242-4

Society still retained toward London at this time that the G. E. S. arranged for a public meeting for Pillsbury to vent his wrath against the B. F. A. S. S. In fact Pillsbury said nothing particularly startling or revealing to the few who turned up at the meeting but merely went over the oft covered grounds concerning the contending abolitionist factions. To the public the subject held no interest and they stayed away in droves. The excuse offered for this slim attendance was inclement weather though simple apathy comes nearer the truth.⁴⁵

Between 10 April 1855 and 10 March 1859 the G. E. S. met only one time in response to a circular by the Rev. Edward Matthews of America and representing the Free Baptist Missionary Society. The Circular requested the Society to memorialise the forthcoming August 1, 1857 Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists not to receive Rev. Bishop Simpson and Rev. Dr. McClintock as delegates as they represented slaveholding churches. This was agreed to and an address was drawn up and sent to the Rev. Robert Young, president of the conference.⁴⁶ 1859 was a year of relative activity compared to the recent past as the Committee met four times. The first such meeting was held to petition Parliament against the New Jamaica Immigration Bill which was duly forwarded to the two local M.P.'s Robert Dalglish and Walter Buchanan, a member of the G. E. S. since 1837. It was also at this meeting that it was resolved to ask Professor Nichol to accept the Presidency of the Society which had been vacant since the death of Robert Grahame in 1851. Nichol, who had been very active in the affairs of the Society, such as they were in the 1850's, gladly accepted.⁴⁷ Unfortunately his presidency lasted less than seven months as he was dead before October.

45 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 10 April 1855
Glasgow Examiner, 14 April 1855

46 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 27 July 1857.
G. E. S. Miscellaneous Papers, "Memorial of the G. E. S. to the Members of the Wesleyan Body in Conference Assembled on Behalf of the Anti Slavery Cause, 28 July 1857."

47 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 10 March 1859. G. E. S. Miscellaneous Papers, Nichol to G. E. S. Committee, 15 March 1859.

On 10 August 1859 the Committee met to receive William Robson of Warrington who had just returned from a trip to the United States. After giving an account of the antislavery movement Robson somewhat understated the case when he expressed his conviction that the time might come for more energetic action on the part of abolitionists in Britain in order to help their counterparts in America.⁴⁸ The abolition movement at least in Glasgow had nearly ceased to exist. Nevertheless Robson's words were prophetic for the American Civil War was less than two years away and it eventually would become necessary for the British abolitionists to help out their American counterparts.

In early 1843 the Garrison faction in the United States had been openly condemning the United States Constitution and calling for the dissolution of the American Union. To put it in their own words "That the compact which exists between the North and the South is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell' - involving both parties in atrocious criminality; and should be immediately annulled."⁴⁹ The following year the A. A. S. S. at its annual meeting adopted the slogan "No Union With Slaveholders" which was to be its rallying cry up until the time of the Civil War.⁵⁰ It is almost superfluous to say that this cry was almost immediately taken up by the G. E. S. and repeated both in public meetings and in its correspondence until 1861.⁵¹ However, events in the

48 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 10 August 1859

49 The Liberator, 3 February 1843. This has been quoted from Merrill, Against Wind And Tide p. 205

50 Nelson, Documents of Upheaval The Liberator 31 May 1844, pp. 202-5.

51 G. E. S. Minute Book III, 2 August 1844, 1 August 1845, IV, 6 January 1851. Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 24 no. 9, Smeal to Maria Chapman, 21 March 1848. Glasgow Daily Herald, 29 February 1860 Glasgow Examiner, 7 April 1860.

Garrisonian faction in America had not been tranquil and the one time staunch Garrisonian Frederick Douglass, who had made such a good impression in Scotland during the Free Church Controversy, had split with Garrison over this issue.⁵² This was of little immediate concern to the G. E. S. except that it put it in opposition to Douglass, a man they had formerly lionized. This was of no real importance in any event for the G. E. S. was mostly inactive and the controversy was centred in America. However, after John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 Douglass had fled from his home in Rochester N. Y. to Canada fearing he might be accused of conspiring in the raid. From Canada he sailed to Britain for a five month tour lecturing on the raid and his interpretation of the Constitution.⁵³ It was under these circumstances that the G. E. S. called a public meeting on February 27 and again on March 8 1860 to hear Thompson denounce Douglass and claim that the entire framework set up by the Constitution supported the upheld slavery. This attack, motivated no doubt by Thompson's devotion to Garrison, was wholly unnecessary for the controversy was purely academic and indeed of little consequence to the British anti slavery movement. It also seems as though Thompson gave a rather poor performance owing to his ill health. In reference to the meeting of 27 February

52 Foner, The Life And Writings of Frederick Douglass II, 52-7. Alistair Cameron Grant, "George Combe And His Circle: With Particular Reference To His Relations With The United States of America" (Ph.D. Thesis University of Edinburgh 1960). See Appendix p. 288

53 Foner, The Life And Writings Of Frederick Douglass II, 90-5.

1860 The Glasgow Examiner stated :

"The George Thompson of those days (referring to the height of the antislavery campaign) so far as oratorical power is concerned was scarcely the George Thompson of these days. Time and trouble and toil have all been dealing with him, and not very gently either as we should suppose from his personal appearance and vocal power. He is but a shade of what he was. He is comparatively shrunk and emaciated; his frame has lost much of its flexibility, and his voice has no longer that depth and fullness and resonate power which told with such an overpowering effect in his younger days."⁵⁴

This was unfortunate at least for Thompson as Douglass was at the height of his oratorical power and replied a month later skillfully and logically and with none of the bitter invectives that had so characterised Thompson's speech.⁵⁵ The public had now heard both sides of the debate but Thompson insisted on making a reply to Douglass's reply and the G. E. S. dutifully held another public meeting in the City Hall on April 5th. This was more than the public could stand especially since Thompson had made such a poor performance in his earlier speech. Thompson again made a very inadequate speech filled with dry facts read in an undertone. In any case it made little difference as few people turned up to hear him.⁵⁶ The G. E. S. was simply deluding itself when it proclaimed "The refutation given of the charges that F. Douglass had brought against the Lecturer, was at once able, lucid and triumphant."⁵⁷ The point of all this is to show to what extent the G. E. S. had gone in the support of Garrison in this policy of "No Union With Slaveholders". The G. E. S. was committed, irrevocably it would seem, to this policy. It had no idea that it would soon have to 'clarify' this stand somewhat and come out in full support of the Union.

54 Glasgow Examiner, 3 March 1860

55 "The Constitution of the United States : Is it Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery" in Foner, The Life And Writings Of Frederick Douglass II, 467-80.

56 Glasgow Examiner, 7 April 1860

57 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 5 April 1860

The firing on Fort ~~Sumter~~ and the advent of the American Civil War in 1861 resulted in an utterly unexpected change in policy by Garrison and his faction of abolitionists. From being strong if not rabid disunionists they changed with almost unbelievable rapidity to staunch supporters of the Union. This came as somewhat of a rude shock to the members of the G. E. S. as its last three public meetings had been called to hear Thompson denounce the Union. In response the Society temporarily adopted a policy of watchful waiting until it could see whether or not the Federal Government would take up a definite antislavery position.⁵⁸ At a committee meeting in October 1861 the G. E. S. resolved to delay sending an address to the American abolitionists "... on account of friends of the Abolition Cause in America having, to some extent, imbibed the popular spirit in favour of the Civil War, now waging in that country, and until it be manifest how the United States Government may act in reference to General Fremont's proclamation of liberty to the Slaves."⁵⁹ The Society held to this policy of watchful waiting for eighteen months. In April 1863 George Thompson returned to Glasgow and the G. E. S. held a public meeting. Thompson had from the start supported Garrison's about face on the Union issue and the G. E. S. now somewhat reluctantly followed his lead. At the public meeting a motion was passed expressing good will to the people of the Free States and a renewal of sympathy with them in their efforts to win the war.⁶⁰ This remarkable about face can only be

58 Thomas, The Liberator William Lloyd Garrison; A Biography p. 412. Merrill, Against Wind And Tide pp. 276-8
 Robert Botsford, "Scotland And The American Civil War" (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh 1955 2 vols.) I, 472, II pp. 551, 554-5.
G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 27 February 1860, 8 March 1860, 5 April 1860.

59 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 7 October 1861

60 Ibid, 28 April 1863.
 Botsford, "Scotland And The American Civil War" II, 556.

explained in terms of the state of the Society at the time. The Society was to all intents and purposes almost dead. Its undeviating support of Garrison and Thompson had virtually left it without a policy of its own in relation to America. Thus when its two leaders reversed their stand the Society was put into the position of either complying with the new policy or repudiating it. Repudiation of the policy of course meant repudiation of Thompson and Garrison. Because of its long and intimate association with these two men such a move was obviously impossible thus its acceptance of the new position.

During the period when the Society was patiently watching the events in America to determine its own course they had not been entirely inactive. After the Trent Affair the G. E. S. had taken the lead in Scotland for promoting peace with America. On 12 December 1861 it organized a public meeting in the City Hall to remonstrate with the Government to remain at peace with the United States.⁶¹ The Government's declaration of neutrality between the two belligerents and its subsequent hot indignation of the action of Capt. Wilkes of the San Jacinto toward its now neutral shipping had led to the possibility of war between the two countries.⁶² Westminster's indignation was countered about this time by the rather poignant blast from J. Randolph Clay ex-United States Charge d'Affaires in St. Petersburg and Vienna when he stated in a letter to the Times :

"It is novel to see the British Government appear as the staunch advocate of neutral rights after so many years of contrary policy; and it will be equally inconsistent after so many years of crusing and so great amount of treasure being spent in the suppression of the slave trade to see the standard of St. George wave side by side with the Palmetto flag for the protection and encouragement of this demoralizing institution."⁶³

61 Ibid, I, 469. G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 12 December 1861

62 Sir Llewellyn Woodward, The Age Of Reform 1815-1870 (Oxford 1962) p. 308.

63 Quoted in the Glasgow Daily Herald, 13 December 1861.

The shoe fitted, a bit tightly perhaps, but it did fit. Britain on the other hand could and did point out the fact that the United States had always jealously guarded the inviolability of its own neutral shipping and had once even gone to war with Britain over the issue. This shoe also fitted. The rancour between the United States and the British Government over the latter's neutrality built up especially over the blind eye Britain had turned to the building of war ships on her ports that were intended for the Southern States.⁶⁴ This area has been widely covered before by historians. Suffice to say

64 Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement And Reconstruction, p. 27-8 Between 1861 and 1865 no warships were built on the Clyde specifically for the Southern States. Of the five warships which were built on the Clyde for foreign countries in these years, three were for Turkey and two for Denmark. See Transactions of the Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders in Scotland (Incorporated), Fifty-Second Session, 1908-1909 (Glasgow 1909 104 vols.) LII Appendix II, p. 29. Undoubtedly Smeal and the G. E. S. would have sounded the tocsin both immediately and loudly if it were known that attempts were being made even indirectly, to supply vessels to the South. The absence of any such protest on the part of such sensitive local abolitionists at this period in the war demonstrates clearly their unawareness (and the weakened state of the Society at this time) because ships which could be converted into Blockade runners in fact did originate from the Clyde. They only reached this position, however, indirectly after first having been sold to British-based customers in bona-fide transactions. The circuitous nature of these dealings clearly hid this indirect link from even watchful members of the public like Smeal at this time. For example, the Sea King, built by Stephen of Linthouse for competing in the China trade eventually turned up as the armed raider Shenandoah in Confederate service in late October 1863. Two other vessels, the Fergus and The Dare, later employed as blockade runners were built, and went through a similar metamorphosis at the same time. Such transformations were obviously so drawn out as to make the local connections difficult to detect. For some details of these transactions and the accompanying public and even Governmental unawareness, see J. L. Carvel, Stephen of Linthouse, A Record of Two Hundred Years of Shipbuilding 1750-1950 (Glasgow n. d.) pp. 45, 184 and A Shipbuilding History 1750-1932 (London n. d.) pp. 31-9, 46-58. For the background to the information in this footnote I am indebted to Mr. A. Slaven, Department of Economic History, University of Glasgow, whose knowledge of the shipbuilding business records of this period is extensive.

the position of the G.E.S. was that the Government should not in any way aid the Confederacy. To this end at the public meeting in April 1863 the G.E.S. drew up a petition which included a protest against the Government's allowing British citizens to engage in illegally providing and furnishing war ships and capital to the South. This petition was eventually presented to the Commons by Walter Buchanan one of the M.P.'s for Glasgow and a long time member of the G.E.S.⁶⁵ The possibility of an outbreak of war between the two countries was uppermost in the minds of the members of the Society at this time. Britain's involvement, had it come about, would most certainly have been against the North and since the G.E.S. was now committed to the support of the Union any such outbreak of hostilities would have placed it, to put it mildly, in a delicate position. Opposition to the Government in time of war would have been most unpopular. On the other hand support for this Government would have meant repudiation of both Thompson and Garrison and this would have been unthinkable. Further, war could only result in the humiliation of the United States and no glory for Britain as she would be responsible for the preservation of slavery in the South.⁶⁶ The predicament, fortunately, resolved itself initially at Antietam and ultimately at Appomattox.

The wholehearted support the G.E.S. had given to the North resulted in its losing a good deal of the public support the Society had had before the outbreak of the Civil War. The most important immediate effect was the cutting off of the supplies of cotton by the Union blockade. This was of course a serious economic blow to the textile industry in the area. Although the cotton industry was no longer Scotland's leading industry it was still of considerable

65 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 28 April 1863
Glasgow Daily Herald, 29 April 1863

66 Ibid.

importance.⁶⁷ When imports of raw cotton to Scotland fell from 172,055 cwts. in 1861 to 7,216 cwts. in 1864 a great many people were put out of work and although the population was not as seriously affected as that in Lancashire there was widespread deprivation which was worsened by the restrictive stipulations inherent in the Scottish Poor Law.⁶⁸ What affect this distress had on the attitude of the people toward the anti slavery movement is impossible to say. Some indication of their feelings can be discerned as early as March 1862 when the Society attempted to arouse enthusiasm for a public meeting by posting a number of sensation placards and circulating a tract. Both means failed to arouse interest and the proposed meeting was called off.⁶⁹ Later in 1863 when the Society held a public meeting to receive the noted American minister, Henry Ward Beecher, a good portion of those in attendance were definitely Southern sympathizers and repeatedly disrupted the proceedings.⁷⁰ These were not pro slavery men by any means but merely those who hoped the South would win so that the factories would return to production. This was merely wishful thinking on the part of the populace because the Scottish cotton industry unlike that in England, never returned to anything like its pre war importance.⁷¹

67 W. O. Henderson, "The Cotton Famine in Scotland and the Relief of Distress 1862-1864" Scottish Historical Review vol. 30, (1951), 155. For statistics concerning the extent of the cotton industry in Scotland at the time of the Civil War see Bremner, The Industries of Scotland p. 287

68 Ibid, p. 290
Henderson, "The Cotton Famine in Scotland" pp. 157-62
Botsford, "Scotland And The American Civil War" Ch. IV
passim.

69 G. E. S. Minute Book IV, 4 March 1862, 14 July 1862

70 North British Daily Mail, 14 October 1863

71 Henderson, "The Cotton Famine in Scotland" pp. 163-4

Even before Lee's surrender many members of the G. E. S. were taking an interest in the thousands and hundreds of thousands of newly freed slaves or freed men as they were called. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which came into effect on January 1, 1863 had freed only those slaves still in rebel held territory which at that time meant most of the Southern states. However, as the Northern armies gained control over more and more areas of the South the slaves they liberated became freedmen. Free as they now were they were still in a terrible situation for the Federal Government had as yet established no organization for their relief. Interest in the plight of the freedmen had been aroused as early as April 1863 when a Freedmen's Aid Society was formed in London.⁷² As interest developed other societies began to organize with the specific intention of raising funds and materials for the relief of the newly freed slaves. On November 7, 1864 a Freedmen's Aid Society was formed in Glasgow around the nucleus of the G. E. S. Of the thirty-one original members twelve had been active at one time or another in the activities of the G. E. S.⁷³ At about the same time a Ladies Auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society was set up consisting mainly of the wives of the members in its male counterpart. As might be expected Smeal was the Secretary-Treasurer and the real leader of the group.

At the organizational meeting of this new society the Committee heard Levi Coffin the eminent American Quaker from Cincinnati who was touring Britain on behalf of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission.⁷⁴ It was decided at a committee meeting a few weeks later to attempt to solicit as much funds as possible to give to Coffin before he left and in this they succeeded

72 Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement And Reconstruction p. 59.

73 B. F. A. S. S. Papers, M. S. S. Br. Emp. S18. C120/36, Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 21 March 1866. F. A. S. Minute Book, 7 November 1864.

74 Ibid. Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction p. 58.

to the extent of £100.⁷⁵ It cannot be said, however, that there was anything like real enthusiasm generated for this effort in the Glasgow area. In its twenty-eight months existence from November 1864 to February 1867 the Society was able to raise just over £250 and made total contributions to the cause of only £164. During this period the committee met just thirteen times and only two public meetings were held. As it freely admitted the response to its efforts had been disappointing.⁷⁶ This was in marked contrast to the response elsewhere in Scotland especially among the churches. In 1867 for instance the Moderator of the Free Church wrote to Smeal that the Kirk in Dundee had collected subscriptions of money and clothes to the amount of £500. About the same time David Crawford, the General Secretary of the United Presbyterian Church of Edinburgh wrote that this Church had remitted to the American Missionary Association £641.18.6d. which had been donated at a collection designated especially for that purpose.⁷⁷ Even this was miniscule when compared with the approximately £125,000 raised throughout Britain between 1863 and 1868.⁷⁸ Interestingly the Established Church, while it expressed its sympathy with the freedmen, made no attempt to solicit funds and unlike its two rivals the Free Kirk and the United Presbyterians the Established Church advanced no money or clothes for the cause.⁷⁹ This failure to make any effort to aid the freedmen can probably be accounted for by reiterating that since the inception of the anti-slavery movement in Scotland the Established Church had always

75 F.A.S. Minute Book, 30 November 1864, 6 June 1865.

76 Ibid, 7 November 1864 to 27 February 1867. The cash accounts are included in the Minute Book.

77 Ibid, p. 46
B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C120/37,
 Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 4 July 1866.
 Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement And Reconstruction p. 90

78 Ibid, p. 113

79 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C120/37,
 Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 4 July 1866.

been outside the pale of its activities. Thus there was no motivation for it to take an active role in the campaign. On the other hand, the United Presbyterians had always taken an active role in the movement and could be expected to have shown a lively interest. Even the Free Church had been exposed, much to its embarrassment, to the crusade and it is not unreasonable to assume that by actively soliciting funds for the freedmen it was to some extent squaring the books for its earlier stand.

One episode in the campaign to aid the freemen illustrates how closely the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Societies resembled those of the Anti Slavery Societies. One would think that any effort for so benevolent a cause would be free of all rancour and disputes. After all it was only after the ending of apprenticeship and the frustration at the inability to achieve positive results that the petty bickering had broken out in the British Anti Slavery movement. The drive to end colonial slavery and apprenticeship had been conspicuous for its co-operation among the various organizations. If the past could be used as a precedent the Freedmen's Aid Campaign should have been free of internal disputes which had torn apart the abolition movement as there was a very real and obtainable set of objectives, namely the collection of clothes and money to aid the newly freed blacks. Unfortunately this was not to be the case. In October 1865 a negro uprising broke out on the island of Jamaica which was immediately and brutally suppressed. However, its impact on the British Freedmen's Aid Societies, which were at that time attempting to set up a National Union of all such societies, was to divide the movement into two contending factions. One faction proposed including the Jamaican freedmen in their philanthropy and the other opposed this insisting that all their efforts be concentrated for the relief of the American freedmen.⁸⁰ The Glasgow society supported

⁸⁰ Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement And Reconstruction
pp. 36-7, 46-53.

the latter position and Smeal writing in March 1866 stated, "It is to be regretted that differences of opinion should have arisen among the fold of the Freedmen. I allude to the proposal to unite our efforts on behalf of the sufferers in Jamaica with that being done for the liberated slaves in America; which union of effort we see is advocated in the pages of the 'Freedmen' and this has led to our ceasing to order it."⁸¹ However, the stand of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society by this time made little difference because for all intents and purposes it had ceased to function. Owing to a lack of enthusiasm of both its own members and the public at large they were unable to do anything of significance. After a brief period from October 1865 to July 1866, during which Smeal, now in his seventy-fourth year, relinquished his office of Secretary to James Sinclair, he was forced to resume it because of the apathy of the members of the Society.⁸² Also at about this time Smeal had to turn down a request for a public meeting to receive Rev. R. J. Parvin of the American Freedmen's Union Commission because of lack of public support. Two meetings in November 1866 had to be adjourned because even the small quorum of five could not be rounded up. Finally in February 1867 the Society accepted the fact that it had been unable to arouse any public sympathy and quietly went out of existence.⁸³

The failure of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society cannot be attributed to any conflict of ideology. We have seen in the past that on occasion the G.E.S. had been able to arouse a great deal of public sympathy and support in its anti slavery efforts and the

81 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C120/36, Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 21 March 1866, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C121/125, Smeal to Arthur Albright, 1 January 1866.

82 F.A.S. Minute Book, 24 October 1865, 2 July 1866. B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C120/37, Smeal to Aspinall Hampson, 4 July 1866.

83 F.A.S. Minute Book, 15 November 1866, 19 November 1866, 27 February 1867.

freedmen's aid movement was merely an extension of this effort. Economic considerations seem to be more fruitful grounds to explain its demise. The West of Scotland had been by far the most seriously hit area in Scotland during the cotton famine resulting from the North's blockade of Southern ports. If now the people were asked to give aid to the country responsible for their severe economic distress it is reasonable to assume that resentment to such a proposal in direct proportion to this distress would dominate their attitude toward such a philanthropy. This seems to be borne out in other parts of Britain such as in Lancashire where a similar failure in the campaign was reported. Other areas such as in Dundee, Edinburgh and elsewhere which had suffered far less were in proportion much more generous in their support.⁸⁴ It might be further added that the prevailing Scottish Poor Law refused help to able bodied men regardless of their plight. Why, therefore, should they be called upon to relieve the American freedmen who was every bit as ablebodied as the Scots working man? Since the suffering caused by the Scottish Poor Law had been the greatest in the Glasgow area it is not surprising that here the backlash against aid for the freedmen would be strongest. Finally, but still important, Smeal was now in his middle seventies and it was he, above all others, that was the motivating force behind the Glasgow movement. Except for Andrew Paton and Rev. George Jeffrey, Smeal was the only member who had survived from the earlier and much more dynamic efforts in the 30's and 40's. As he slowed down so necessarily did the G.E.S. and subsequently the Freedmen's Aid Society. The freedmen's aid drive in Glasgow simply lacked aggressive and forceful leadership.

While it seems evident that sympathy for the American slave and later the freedmen had soured this is not to say that slavery as

84 Bolt, The Anti-Slavery Movement And Reconstruction p. 105
Bremner, The Industries of Scotland pp. 287-90

an issue was dead. But, as in the case of Mrs. Stowe, this could not be attributed to the efforts of the G.E.S. or indeed any anti slavery society. Due largely to the popularity of the accounts of Dr. David Livingstone's two trips to Africa in 1852-6 and 1858-64 which depicted the enormous havoc caused by the East African slave trade the public had remained aware that slavery was still very much in existence in the world.⁸⁵ The G.E.S., because of its concern with American slavery, had failed to capitalise on this reservoir of anti slavery feeling. With the termination of American slavery and the collapse of the local freedmen's aid movement, there remained nothing more for the G.E.S. to do if it did not turn its attention to the African slave trade.

As a society the G.E.S. had not met for ten years when in 1873 Benjamin Millard, Secretary of the B.F.A.S.S. wrote enquiring about the possibility of holding a public meeting concerning the East African slave trade. Smeal's response was that at the present (June 1873) it was not advisable to hold such a meeting and recommended delaying until the autumn. Later in September he wrote again requesting printed material to use in stirring up public interest.⁸⁶ Both letters show that Smeal had mellowed a great deal in his old age as they show none of the old vindictiveness and in fact almost reek with offers of co-operation. By the end of September the printed materials had arrived and the G.E.S. set about distributing them especially to ministers "who should be requested to call the attention of their Congregations to the subject and as much ignorance on reference to the Slave question was

85 Woodward, The Age of Reform p. 370 n. 1.

86 B.F.A.S.S. Papers, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C46/26, Smeal to Benjamin Millard, 6 June 1873, M.S.S. Br. Emp. S18.C46/28, Smeal to Benjamin Millard, 3 September 1873.

believed to prevail among the Working Classes, the Secretaries were left to prepare a brief statement regarding it for circulation among that class."⁸⁷ The committee which met was but a shell of its earlier make-up in attendance. Of the fifty laymen and twenty-one ministers invited to the meeting, only nine besides Smeal showed up. After a ten year intermission it is remarkable that they were able to get any kind of a turnout at all. The subsequent public meeting in the Trades Hall on November 3 was a disappointment. Only a small audience turned out to hear the Rev. Charles New, a returned missionary from East Africa, discuss the arabic operated slave routes from Zanzibar to Persia, Egypt and Turkey. It was resolved that a copy of various resolutions be sent to the Prime Minister and Lord Grenville calling for the Government to remonstrate with the governments of countries to put an end to this trade and also that the Government should use its moral influence to induce Spain and Brazil to give up slavery.⁸⁸ It is to Smeal's credit that even at eighty-one years of age he had still not given up his fight against slavery, impotent as that fight had now become. With the exception of Rev. Jeffrey who was not in attendance only two veterans of the early years remained, Smeal and Andrew Paton.

In July of 1875 the Government issued a Circular concerning fugitive slaves stating that they could not look for sanctuary aboard British naval vessels within the three mile limit of slave-holding countries. When this met with a loud outcry of popular indignation the Government in December issued a new Circular which provided that :

"... when any person professing to be a slave seeks admission to Her Majesty's ships when on the high seas, claiming the protection of the British Flag, the commander must satisfy himself that there is in that particular case sufficient reason for their

87 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 29 September 1873

88 Ibid, 3 November 1873
North British Daily Mail, 4 November 1873.

receiving him, bearing in mind that while the British Government desires to mitigate the horrors of slavery Her Majesty's ships are not intended for the reception of other persons than their own officers and crews. If the fugitive has been thus received upon the high seas for adequate reasons, he should be retained until transferred to some other ship or landed in some country where his liberty will be respected. If Her Majesty's ships are within the territorial waters of a State where slavery exists, no person professing to be a fugitive slave shall be admitted on board, unless his life would be otherwise in manifest danger. If thus received on board, he must not, after danger is passed, be permitted to continue on board; but no demand for his surrender can be entertained, nor any examination of his status be made. If the slave claims protection on the grounds that he has been kept in slavery contrary to treaties existing between Great Britain and that territory on the waters of which the ship lies, he may be received and the truth of his statements enquired into, the Commander communicating with the nearest Consular authority, and in case of difficulty applying for instructions to his commander-in-chief, who will if necessary refer to the Admiralty. In every case of a fugitive slave seeking refuge on board, a special report is to be made."⁸⁹

As might be expected this too was greeted with widespread condemnation. All over Britain public meetings were held in protest. On two days alone, January 31 and February 1, 1876, meetings took place in London, Rochdale, Hull, Huddersfield, Tower Hamlets (London) and the Edinburgh Town Council condemned the Circular and memorialised the Government to withdraw it.⁹⁰ Smeal, who was now in his eighty-fifth year and ailing, set about arranging for what was to be the final public meeting of the G.E.S. On January 25 a committee meeting was held to make arrangements for this public meeting and to appoint a delegation to visit upon the local M.P.'s, George Anderson, Dr. Cameron and Mr. Whitelaw requesting them to take part in the meeting. It was further arranged for posters to be placed throughout town advertising the meeting

89 Glasgow Herald, 30 December 1875

90 Ibid, 1 February 1876, 2 February 1876.

and for the printing up of both of the Government Circulars to be handed out at the meeting.⁹¹ On February 2nd, City Hall was filled with what was reported to be an enthusiastic audience. Chief Magistrate Morrison held the chair and on the platform were no less than four M.P.'s, three Councillors and three Baillies. Smeal, due to ill health, was unable to be present but his son, William G. Smeal, was on the platform. Only two veterans of the 1840's remained, Andrew Paton and Rev. George Jeffrey.

The final meeting of the G.E.S., though unimportant in itself, was addressed by more local dignitaries than any of the society's former gatherings. Four M.P.'s, John Ramsay of Falkirk, William Holms of Paisley, George Anderson and Dr. Cameron took part and addressed the meeting and a resolution of protest against the Fugitive Slave Circular was passed and sent to Queen Victoria.⁹²

The importance of Smeal to the existence of the anti-slavery movement in Glasgow is best illustrated by the fact that throughout its fifty-three year existence first as the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society and later as the G.E.S., he had been its Secretary and driving force. Altogether the G.E.S. held two hundred and four meetings, fifty-eight of which were public. Except for the final public meeting Smeal was present at every one to record the minutes. If some blame can be thrown on him for his part in the bitterness of the 1840's he is also due a great deal of praise for keeping the effort alive. By the end of his life he was well known in Glasgow for his work both in the antislavery field and in other social reforms. The Glasgow Herald of August 22, 1877 testifies to this fact with a remarkably long account of his life and the respect

91 G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 25 January 1876

92 Glasgow Herald, 3 February 1876.
G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 2 February 1876.

with which he was held in the community. William Lloyd Garrison, who was touring Britain again in 1877 and visited Smeal not long before his death, summed up both the closeness of the two men and the regard with which he was held when he stated, "I was deeply affected by the sudden death of our dear friend William Smeal, but feel unspeakably thankful that we were permitted to see each other again in gladness of spirit before I left Glasgow. His life was as exemplary and serviceable to his race as it was long protracted."⁹³

The final years of the G. E. S. from 1852 to 1876 were in some respects similar to its first years. At the conclusion of both periods the Society could look back on success. In 1840 the success of the fight to end apprenticeship was still fresh in the minds of the committeemen as was their financing of Thompson's trip to the United States. In 1876 the Society could recount its work in the Penny Offering and its work in the Freedmen's Aid drive. True the Freedmen's Aid work in Glasgow had been something of a failure but throughout Britain it had been a resounding success. During both periods real tangible efforts were made against the institution of slavery as contrasted with the 1840's and its fratricidal bickering and the three year tirade against the Free Church. However, whereas in the 1830's there had been few signs that slavery as an institution was in the decline the period after 1850 found it losing ground almost everywhere. France, Sweden, Denmark and Holland all abolished it in their colonies. Emancipation in the United States was of course the greatest success and there even signs that progress toward abolition was being made in Brazil. With the decline in slavery came the decline in importance and need of antislavery societies. But for Smeal, the movement in Glasgow would most certainly have terminated long before it actually did. It was his dogged persistence in organizing the activities of the Society and encouraging those who

93 Garrison Papers, M. S. A. 1. 1. vol. 8 no. 32 (a-b),
Garrison to Elizabeth Pease Nichol, 25 August 1877.

sympathized with its objectives to take an active role that was the vital ingredient in the continuing existence of the G. E. S. after 1852. As he slowed down so too did the activities of the Society. After the final public meeting in February 1876 the G. E. S. ceased to exist because Smeal was too old and infirm to provide the needed leadership. It was only because of his determination that the Society had survived – albeit in a rather skeletal form. It was the churches, through their missionary work and the Government which in the final three decades of the nineteenth century was deeply involved in the affairs of Africa, that were now the basis of the struggle against slavery and the slave trade.

Since 1807 the British Government had been involved in an attempt to suppress the African slave trade. This had led eventually to the Government assuming direct control of territory on the West Coast of Africa and a series of wars with the Ashanti Kingdom. The successful conclusion of these wars in 1874 under the leadership of Sir Garnet Wolseley had led to British territorial acquisitions and a dominant position in the area.⁹⁴ Other European nations were also becoming interested in domination and exploitation the African continent and by the end of the century the take over was virtually complete south of the Sahara. In order to rule (and exploit) efficient government control was necessary. Obviously the anarchy of the slave trade could not be tolerated and direct action was taken against it not only by Britain but by the other European powers as well. Moreover the activity of various religious missionary groups led to increased British involvement on the African Continent and their reports concerning the slave trade led to the clamour of humanitarians for its suppression. As a consequence of this the desire to end the trade if not the institution the Antislavery crusade was lifted out of the hands of the abolitionist societies and became

94 Woodward, The Age of Reform p. 375
Oliver Ransford, The Slave Trade; The Story of Transatlantic Slavery (London 1971) pp. 264–5.

national policy.⁹⁵ As the abolition of West India slavery had inevitably followed the abolition of the British slave trade so too did the abolition of African slavery follow the suppression of the African slave trade. Thus the existence of antislavery societies like the G.E.S. became superfluous and all, with the exception of the B.F.A.S.S., vanished.

95 Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 263-7

There are a number of important aspects which, although they have been alluded to in the preceeding chapters, merit closer examination because of their influence on the policies, activities and complement of the Emancipation Society. The importance of these various factors altered from time to time and consequently in order to more fully understand their significance it is perhaps better to deal with them separately taking into consideration the entire history of the Society.

Of primary concern throughout the history of the Society was the problem of finance. Money was absolutely necessary to promote the aims of the organization and to inform and arouse the populace. During the period when the Society was most active between 1834 and 1847 its average yearly expenditure was about £255.¹ This

1 By way of comparison the annual budget of the B.F.A.S.S. was between two and three thousand pounds during the same period. See Temperley, British Antislavery pp. 83, 229. On the more local scene the finances of the G.E.S. can be compared with The Glasgow Bible Society which had receipts of well over £1,000 in 1833 and almost £5,700 in 1835. See Twentieth Annual Report of the Glasgow Bible Society (Glasgow 1833) p. 33 and Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Glasgow Bible Society (Glasgow 1835) p. 28. In 1830 the Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society reported an expenditure of over £515. See First Annual Report of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society (Glasgow 1830) p. 43. In 1858 another temperance society, The Glasgow Abstainers Union, reported collections of over £4,650 while the G.E.S. could only claim collections amounting to £57. 17s. 8d. over a two year period between 1858 and 1860. See G.E.S. Cash Book II, 4 April 1858 to 20 March 1860, and Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Abstainers Union (Glasgow 1858), Abstract of the Treasurers Account. The Annual Reports of both the Temperance Society and the Abstainers Union are located in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Also by way of comparison it is interesting to note that between 1835 and 1848 the London based British and Foreign Temperance Society was able to raise only between £500 and £1,000 a year and shows the strength of the temperance movement in Glasgow at a time when the antislavery movement was in a very weakened state. The expenses of other leading temperance societies before 1850 generally amounted to less than £2,000. See Brian Harrison, Drink And The Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872 (London 1971) pp. 21, 105, 108.

figure of £255 is at best misleading and in fact a distortion of the Society's financial capabilities. During periods of high excitement expenditures shot up out of all proportion to the normal yearly outflow. For instance expenditures in the years between the end of the apprenticeship system and the height of the Free Church Controversy (1838-1845) averaged only about £145 and directly reflect the relative absence of real popular enthusiasm. This was due primarily to the lack of any issue or programme capable of capturing the imagination of the public and the preoccupation of the Society and the movement as a whole with its internal difficulties (Ch. 4). On the other hand the years immediately preceding and following this period when important issues were at stake saw expenditures of £693 and £503 respectively.² Since a great deal of the money collected was by small subscriptions the relative income and expenditures are an indication of the popular support and enthusiasm the Society was able to excite. But although the Society attempted to arouse the sympathy of the mass of the population it never depended upon them for direct financial support. Subscriptions were generally received from the already converted element of the middle classes in proportion to the seriousness of the cause and the amount of effort expended. This is borne out by comparing the subscriptions for the years 1840 and 1847. In 1840, 235 subscribers donated just over £129. In 1847, 178 subscribers gave almost the same amount. At first glance the finances during the period of the campaign to end apprenticeship seem to contradict this principle. The list of subscribers for the year 1838 numbers 178 and they supplied only about £88 to the G.E.S. treasury. This, however, is very misleading because it was at this time that the Ladies

2 G.E.S. Annual Reports 1835-47, see abstracts of the Treasurers Account which are included at the end of each Report.

Auxiliary held two antislavery bazaars in Glasgow and Kilmarnock and out of the proceeds of £415.15s.6½d. it donated to the G.E.S. £227.12s.10½d.³ Thus instead of depending on subscriptions as such the Society tapped this same middle-class support indirectly but no less successfully. Nevertheless on the average between the years 1834 and 1847 the Society could depend on almost one hundred and sixty yearly contributors. It was on the basis of such subscriptions that the Society was forced to regulate its public activity and consequently its effectiveness.

Although subscription money was the foundation upon which the G.E.S. was forced to operate there were other sources of revenue, less reliable but occasionally quite beneficial. All through the 1830's the Ladies Auxiliary Society donated money to its treasury. In all between 1834 and 1840 they were to provide the Society with £433.7s.10½d. This was of great importance to the Society and enabled it to employ George Thompson and mount the anti apprenticeship campaign (Ch. 3) which with the exception of the Penny Offering in 1852 (Ch. VI pp. 199-208) were the only two successful projects of any consequence which the Society undertook. Had it not been for the contributions of £227.12s.10½d. from the Ladies Auxiliary in 1838 the G.E.S. would have found itself not £220.13s. in debt but £448.5s.10½d. in debt. This would have placed the organization in a very difficult position and no doubt would have stifled any activity at all for several years. Another less lucrative but still significant source of income was derived from the sale of tickets to public meetings and the collections made at the door at their conclusion. The amounts ranged from a rather pitiful £1.12s.3d. collected at a public meeting on January 10, 1840 to a

3 Ibid., 1838, see the abstract of the Treasurers Account. Annual Report of the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Emancipation Society July 31, 1839, see abstract of the Treasurers Account.

sizable £132.18s.3d. collected for tickets at the October 13, 1863 meeting to receive Henry Ward Beecher.⁴ Normally little was collected at the door or by the sale of tickets to the public meetings. However, the promise of a speech by Thompson, O'Connell, Douglass or Beecher always brought in more than enough money to meet expenses.⁵ Another form of revenue was derived occasionally from donations from smaller antislavery societies and other organizations. During the period between March 1, 1836 and March 13, 1837, £104.18s.6d. was received from seven different antislavery organizations, the largest being a donation of £50 from the Friends of Emancipation in Manchester.⁶ In other years sums were received from antislavery societies in Falkirk, Hamilton and the Friends of Free Emigration contributed £100 between the years 1844 and 1848.⁷ A small group known as the Society for Religious Purposes which met in Wardlaw's George St. Chapel was a regular contributor in the 1830's

4 G.E.S. Annual Report 1840, see the abstract of the Treasurers Account.
G.E.S. Cash Book II, 15 October 1863.

5 G.E.S. Annual Report 1834, 1835, 1837, 1847.
G.E.S. Cash Book I, 3 October 1846, 30 October 1846, II, 15 October 1863. It is interesting to note that of the £2.4s.7d. collected at the 1844 Adjourned Annual Meeting in Rev. Anderson's John St. Chapel 2s.6d. was "bad silver" or counterfeit money. However, instead of merely ignoring this sum it was duly entered into the scrupulously kept Cash Book and subtracted from the total collection of the meeting. See G.E.S. Cash Book I, 3 August 1844. G.E.S. Annual Report 1844, abstract of the Treasurers Account.

6 Ibid, 1837, abstract of the Treasurers Account. Antislavery societies from Newcastle, Paisley, North Shields, South Shields, Leicester and Stirling donated somewhat smaller sums.

7 Ibid, 1844, abstract of the Treasurers Account.
G.E.S. Cash Book I, 25 July 1844, 29 July 1844, 12 September 1846, 26 January 1848. The Friends of Free Emigration was the pseudonym under which the West India Association of Glasgow contributed funds to the G.E.S. See Minutes of the West India Association of Glasgow I, 25 July 1844, 8 September 1846, 19 January 1848.

though after the dispute in 1840-1 they ceased to give aid.⁸ Another source of income was gleaned from the sale of publications though this revenue tended to fluctuate wildly from year to year. In 1835-6 for example only £2.2s.4d. was received from the sale of written material whereas in 1845-7 during the Free Church Controversy £152.16s.7d. was received from the sale of pamphlets, most notably by Thomas Clarkson and W.C. Wright.⁹ In general however very little was brought in in this manner though during periods of popular interest significantly more money was received.¹⁰ After 1851 when the Society lost its drive and the movement was clearly losing support all of the afore mentioned sources of income nearly dried up. The most important element, that of subscriptions, dwindled to almost nothing with annual total collections amounting to generally less than £40 and often much less, thus reflecting the general apathy which had overtaken the movement.

Whereas the revenue of the Society was attained from a variety of sources its expenditures were directed mainly towards the expenses of public meetings and more importantly towards the publication of antislavery propaganda. An exception to this was the money paid out to Thompson between 1834 and 1837 during his stint as the Society's paid lecturer. In all, he was paid £642.10s. by the G.E.S. and was the biggest single expenditure during the 1830's. However, between 1834 and 1840 the Society spent £691.6s.8d. on printing, advertising and newspapers. This does

8 G.E.S. Annual Report 1838, 1839, 1840. See abstract of the Treasurer Account

9 Ibid, 1847, abstract of the Treasurers Account
G.E.S. Minute Book IV, 17 October 1845, 5 November 1845.

10 For example in 1837 and 1838 £24.10s.3½d. and £28.8s.6½d. were derived by the sales of publications whereas in 1839 and 1843, £3.7s.3½d. and £0.4s.4d. were received in this manner. See G.E.S. Annual Report 1837, 1838, 1839, 1843, abstract of the Treasurers Account.

not include the expenses of the public meetings or the petitions sent to Parliament which ran to well over £200. Between 1840 and 1851 £899.2s.7½d. was spent on printing, advertising and newspapers the largest expenditure between 1845 and 1847 when £266.14s.6d. was used in this field. Expenses for public meetings amounted to well over £340 with the most being spent between 1845 and 1847 when £224.2s.0½d. was expended.¹¹ After 1851 with revenues at a vastly reduced state, expenditures were proportionally cut and generally less than £40. Therefore the expenditures of the Society illustrate what has already become apparent, i. e. that the Society depended on lectures, public meetings and the press to enlist the support of the people in order to further its objectives. In the 1850's when the movement moved out of the public meeting halls and into the drawing rooms of the upper class due to the influence of Harriet Beecher Stowe the G. E. S. as a society became less important and its support dwindled to the loyal hard core of local abolitionists. It is a moot point to consider what might have been its relative effectiveness had the Society been able to expend more money because although antislavery feeling had not died out in Glasgow, support for organizational antislavery had certainly declined. This was no doubt due to the Society's alienation from the Churches, the incessant internal bickering between the various antislavery societies and its inability to achieve even a modicum of success against the institution of slavery. Loss of public support meant loss of financial support with a consequent restriction on the Society's ability to inform the public and promote its cause. Since these were the two main reasons for the existence of the G. E. S. as such it is obvious that a failure in finances forecast a decline and eventual termination of its activities. But the failure in financing was merely a symptom and not

11 Ibid., 1834-47, abstract of the Treasurers Account

a cause of the decline of the Emancipation Society. Why it deteriorated and eventually went out of existence will be discussed (Below pp. 247 - 9.) but the failure to secure adequate financing was no more than reasonable when other factors are taken into consideration.

The role and participation of women in the Glasgow antislavery movement was at times vital to the G.E.S. and at other times relatively unimportant. The Ladies Auxiliary Emancipation Society had been founded by George Thompson on January 8, 1834 and throughout the 1830's this society had played an important role in helping to finance the operations of the G.E.S. There is a basic difference between this society and the two subsequent female antislavery societies in Glasgow. It was organized as the Glasgow Ladies Auxiliary Emancipation Society in aid of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.¹² Its purpose therefore was to give assistance and be subordinate to the G.E.S. and like the G.E.S. it was founded on a purely humanitarian basis. However, when the G.E.S. split in 1840-1 on ideological grounds this rift carried over into the female society but in this case it was the anti Garrison faction that retained control. Subsequently a new female society was formed called the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery which was founded on ideological rather than humanitarian grounds and which was very pro Garrison. The Ladies Auxiliary Society soon went out of existence and ceased to help the G.E.S. financially. From this point it was the new female society that was the important factor in Glasgow and this was a completely separate society from the G.E.S. though the two societies were in complete harmony ideologically. The purpose of this society was not to raise funds for the G.E.S. as had been the Ladies Auxiliary but to work totally independently for the abolition of slavery in the United States.¹³ To this end the

12 G.E.S. Minute Book I, 8 January 1834

13 Second Annual Report of The Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society (Glasgow 1843) p.4.

women concentrated their efforts in sending parcels of clothing, goods and some money to the Boston Anti Slavery Bazaar. Between 1843 and 1852 they collected and sent well over £1,000 worth of goods to the Bazaar and organized a petition to the free women of America of some 45,000 signatures to be put on display at the Bazaar. These contributions, along with similar contributions from many other British female antislavery societies were of major importance to the success of the Bazaar which in turn was the largest single source of income for Garrison's Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society.¹⁴ This new female society was made up mostly of the wives of the men in the G.E.S. and they were to follow the lead of the men's society in all matters of policy. This included the attack on the Free Church as well as the Garrisonian cry of "No Union With Slaveholders". However, in 1850 at the instigation of Rev. J.W.C. Pennington nine of the members of this society broke off, again on ideological grounds, and formed the Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery which, along with the New Association for the Abolition of Slavery, were responsible for inviting Harriet Beecher Stowe to Scotland in 1853 (Ch.VI pp.198-202).¹⁵ Thus the ladies or at least some of them had come full circle. The new women's organization opposed the policies of

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- 14 Ibid, p.11
Fourth Annual Report of The Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society (Glasgow 1845) pp. 3, 11.
Fifth Annual Report of the Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society (Glasgow 1846) pp. 3, 4, 11.
Sixth Annual Report of The Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society (Glasgow 1851) pp. 3, 4, 16, 28.
British Friend, November 1848, December 1852
Nineteenth Annual Report Presented To The Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society By Its Board of Managers, January 22 1851 (Boston 1851) pp. 67, 69.
- 15 Sixth Annual Report of The Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society p. 6.
Estlin Papers, Microfilm M 742, Anti Slavery Cause, p.1.

Garrison as had the original Ladies Auxiliary in 1841 but as in the case of the movement in general they were weak and essentially ineffective. For the most part and again at the instigation of Rev. Pennington they channelled their energies into providing boxes for the New York Vigilance Committee.¹⁶

At this point the female antislavery movement should be put into perspective as to its relative importance in the Glasgow anti-slavery movement as a whole. It is true that the women contributed badly needed funds in the 1830's and without their support the G. E. S. would most certainly have been in bad straits financially. Also in the 1840's and part of the 1850's they faithfully sent parcels to the various Bazaars held in America and kept up a constant liaison with co-agitators holding similar views. However, it was always the men's society that took the lead and kept the movement alive. The women held few public meetings and even these were dominated by the men. There can be no doubt whatsoever that even if the female societies had never been organized the men's society would have existed and would have undoubtedly followed the same policies it ultimately did. The women helped or followed. Both the Ladies Auxiliary and the Glasgow Female Association for the Abolition of Slavery were short lived organizations once they abandoned their connection with the G. E. S. Without being under the auspices of an active male organization the female antislavery societies in Glasgow quickly deteriorated into insignificance. This was not necessarily valid in other parts of Scotland as in Edinburgh where the pro Garrison female society was much more active in the early 1850's than its anti Garrison male counterpart.¹⁷ This can be linked to the zeal and almost fanatical support these societies gave to Garrison. The leaders of societies which supported Garrison necessarily had to be radical if not fanatics and as such they were

16 Estlin Papers, Ibid. Sixth Annual Report of The Glasgow Female Anti Slavery Society, p. 6.

17 Rice, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery", pp. 390-1.

willing to expend effort to keep the movement alive long after it had ceased to be effective. Finally, it was the G.E.S. , not the women's societies that was the heart of the antislavery struggle in the West of Scotland and as such the women were essentially of secondary importance. Nevertheless they did take part and were at times instrumental in helping the G.E.S. carry out its activities.

The Chartists in Glasgow took a short but very important role in the history of the G.E.S. In essence the two movements were poles apart but they did have superficial similarities. In an era of reform and radical agitation punctuated by years of social and industrial distress Chartism provided a vehicle for the expression of pent up grievances and aspirations of the working classes.¹⁸ Antislavery agitation was a similar vehicle for the middle and upper classes along with other "respectable" movements such as the Anti Corn Law League. In this way they could avoid acknowledging the truth behind the Chartist movement which would have been detrimental to their well being and the political power they held. Both movements sought social reform through political means. Further, the two movements were basically egalitarian in their ideals as well as their ultimate goals. But here the similarity ends for while the Chartists may have been politically incompetent they were a real and imminent threat to the power of the middle and upper classes. Their demand for universal suffrage went right to the heart of political power. This coupled with the huge rallies on Glasgow Green, the potential to violence and the harangues of Feargus O'Connor makes it no wonder that the middle classes gave them precious little support. On the other hand, the leadership and membership of the G.E.S. were not only politically astute but in several cases politically powerful. Few men could object to their goal no matter

18 Wilson, The Chartist Movement In Scotland, p. 266

how difficult or remote it appeared. The Chartists themselves condemned slavery (Ch. IV p.139) just as they would have condemned child beating or cannibalism had they been prominent issues of the day. The abolitionists had an in~~oc~~cu~~ous~~ issue which appealed to those with political power while the Chartists had a powerful issue appealing to the politically in~~oc~~cu~~ous~~. Chartism was a political answer to a multitude of intimate social and economic problems and it is no surprise that its following became frustrated because those with political power seemed to be more interested in the liberty of the black slave thousands of miles away while all around them gross inequality flourished. It is true that members of the G. E. S. also belonged to other benevolent organizations more locally orientated (For details see Appendix I) but to the Chartists the very existence of an antislavery society was absurdly anachronistic in the context of Glasgow society. Another important difference between the two organizations is that the workingmen who made up the Chartist movement had been alienated from the Churches and consequently were held up to the middle classes, which made up the G. E. S. , as infidels and blasphemers.¹⁹ Conversely the Emancipation Society was an intensely religious orientated organization even after many of the churches had ceased to support it. It is in this context that one must view the relationship between the Chartists and the G. E. S. in 1840-1.

The particulars of the Chartists involvement with the G. E. S. have been discussed (Ch. IV pp. 139-40, 150-3. Ch. V pp. 160-1) though its significance is better viewed in light of the entire history of the Society rather than restricting it to the period in which it occurred. It is obvious

19 Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches p. 16. The Chartists were not irreligious but simply disaffected with the churches in existence. To compensate for this they set up their own church first in Scotland and later in England. See J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Age Of The Chartists 1832-1854, A Study of Discontent (London 1930) pp. 217-8, 246-7, 251.

from the reactions of those in attendance at the various public meetings of the Society that they were not in sympathy with the goals of the Chartists. It is just as obvious that the two public meetings dominated by the Chartists²⁰ were only peripherally concerned with antislavery. The secretaries had used Chartist support to achieve a limited objective (G.E.S. endorsement of the A.A.S.S.) and had had no plans to recruit their permanent support. This had alienated a large segment of the moderate element in the Society which ultimately resulted in a loss of popular as well as financial support. This loss of financial support became especially important during the Free Church Controversy. This is vividly illustrated when it is remembered that in February of 1847 the Society found itself £147.15s.10d. in debt and was almost forced to suspend operations while trying to pay it off. In 1838 after the campaign to end apprenticeship it had been in debt more than £220 and yet had carried on despite the much larger debt. In 1838 the Society could depend upon a wider basis of financial support than they could in 1847. True it was the support for the radical policies of Garrison that had been the essence of the ideological dispute but the participation of the Chartists alienated those that could have simply ignored Garrison. In truth Garrison could have been dismissed by the rank and file of the Society because titular approval of a man in Boston was not an insurmountable obstacle to men of the caliber of Wardlaw, Heugh and Paton. However, by enlisting the support of the Chartists and associating them with the Society the secretaries had brought in a distasteful element which would have proved very difficult if not impossible to overcome. Once disaffected they turned into bitter critics of the Society and could hardly have been expected to return to the fold when other antislavery

20 The Chartists dominated the G.E.S. public meetings of 16 April 1841 and 27 April 1841. See Ch. IV pp. 151-3.

issues came to the fore. Catherine Paton, the wife of Andrew Paton, wrote of them in 1847 :

"The clergy who deserted in 1841 still retain their enmity, and now that they can no longer control the society in public, do all they can to injure us in private, their vocation giving them great scope in that way, leading captive silly women, not to mention silly men. You know from experience that deserters (clerical ones especially) are always the worst kind of enemies..."²¹

The Chartists were therefore to a degree responsible for the initial split in the Society and the later formation of the Glasgow New Association for the Abolition of Slavery in the early 1850's (Ch.VI pp. 197-9).

This thesis does not suppose to put the antislavery and Chartist movements in Glasgow on an equal footing. Neither does it seek to give the G.E.S. undue importance at the expense of the Chartists. Proportionally the Chartist movement was vastly larger and of much greater import to the area. It was the Chartists that influenced the G.E.S. and not the reverse. The Chartists were a real and positive threat to the existing balance of society whereas the G.E.S. was in essence a negative protest against a remote system. Had the Chartist movement flourished it is highly doubtful that it would have continued to actively influence the Emancipation Society simply because of the basic differences which separated the two movements. Protracted participation by the Chartists in the affairs of the G.E.S. would undoubtedly have led to an early dissolution of the Society. As has been said(Ch.V.pp.160-1)their recruitment had merely been a temporary measure which the secretaries had used to gain control of the direction and policies of the Society. After the Chartists had served their usefulness the power structure of the Society quickly made it obvious that any further participation on

21 Weston Papers, M. S. A. 9. 2. vol. 23 p. 19, Catherine Paton to ?, 1 April 1847.

their part would be unwelcome and the two groups ceased co-operation. It is clear that although Smeal used the Chartists he would not suffer to have them take over control of the Society and the bad reception given to one of their leaders, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, at the Annual Meeting in 1841 (Ch. V, pp. 160-1) certainly could not have displeased him. As it happened this was fortunate for the G.E.S. for had it continued to rely on or accept Chartist participation it undoubtably would have experienced a similar fate during the mid 1840's. Chartist enthusiasm was on the wane and it is likely that a close affiliation between the two groups would have prevented any active effort against the Free Church a few years later as by that time the Chartist movement was dormant. Thus by severing connections the Society had saved itself and was able to continue to participate in the antislavery movement.

As has been made clear antislavery sentiment flourished chiefly amongst the middling and smaller businessmen with only more or less nominal leadership from the liberal minded burgher aristocracy (Ch. 2). This is true not only in the field of antislavery societies but in countless other like organizations which when combined together show the great concern of that element which was trying to reform a world beset with seemingly unsolvable problems brought on by the industrial revolution. In an atmosphere which preached self-help as opposed to government interference the only way to achieve the needed reforms was through philanthropic and charitable organizations. As previously stated (Ch. I, p. 12) there were literally thousands of these groups of which the antislavery societies made up only a very small portion. Ford K. Brown points out in his book Fathers of the Victorians that there were societies

"... to improve, to enforce, to reform, to benefit, to prevent, to relieve, to educate, to reclaim, to encourage, to propagate, to maintain, to promote, to provide for, to support, to effect, to better, to instruct, to protect,

to supercede, to employ, to civilize, to visit, to preserve, to convert, to mitigate, to abolish, to investigate, to publish, to aid, to extinguish."²²

The men participating in these organizations desired to improve society in order to achieve a better world. This "world bettering" philosophy was probably carried to its ultimate conclusion with the founding of co-operative and Owenite socialist communities which had such an influence in the area of reform in the 1820's, 30's, and 40's. These groups were the logical extension of the middle and upper class belief that society could be changed and improved if individuals or groups of individuals would only help themselves through education, co-operation and determination.²³ One of the most important movements, temperance, was not only a goal but a vital ingredient in this entire reformist activity. Temperance or the abstinence from strong drink was the key to improving the whole of society, or at least so it was assumed. Leaders of this movement were involved in all sorts of other reformist work not the least of which was the antislavery movement.²⁴ Again, education was fundamental to this drive for improvement as it was felt that the enlightened and educated mind could not help but to seek for improvement in the condition of society.

Understandably members of Dissenting Churches played a large role in the British reform movement. Basically the Dissenters were dissatisfied with the Established Church and consequently the established order of society, the two going hand in hand. Of course dissatisfaction with the existing order is the essence of any reform

22 Brown, Fathers of the Victorians p. 328

23 R. G. Garnett, Co-operation and the Owenite socialist communities in Britain, 1825-45. (Manchester University Press 1971). pp.1-60, 130-59.

24 Harrison, Drink and the Victorians p. 174 See Table 4.

agitation and consequently it is not surprising to find members of these sects leading and dominating many reform organizations. However, there were Evangelicals both in the Church of England and the Church of Scotland who sought to accomplish change within the system the most notable being William Wilberforce and Hannah More in England and Stevenson MacGill, Thomas Chalmers and William Collins in Scotland. Nevertheless the preoccupation of the Church of Scotland with its own difficulties during the Ten Years Conflict even on the part of its great leader, Thomas Chalmers, who had been closely associated with social reform inevitably distracted the Establishment Evangelicals from social issues for a time. Thus it was generally the members of the Dissenting Churches, especially in Scotland, who took the most active roles in the area of social reform agitation.

In the whole field of reform it was the members of the middle classes who were the basis and the backbone of the effort. It was their belief in progress, inevitable progress, that caused them to take part in this reformist activity. The better world would be achieved but reform of institutions, civil, ecclesiastical and social would accelerate this process. These men could see the enormous changes taking place all around them and it was merely a matter of channelling this force in the proper direction and the result would be beneficial to all. This attempt to channel reformist enthusiasm was the sole reason for the existence of formal organizations.

Any effort which encompassed such a wide field of endeavour and which attempted to reshape the entire society was bound to be confronted with serious difficulties. The established order of the ruling class had every reason to oppose radical or fundamental changes and often confounded the reformers efforts by either a negative response as in their refusal to abolish the Corn Laws till 1846 or a positive response such as the substitution of apprenticeship

for slavery in the West Indies. This of course bred frustration which in turn provoked the more ardent reformers into extremism and fanaticism. In turn this led to disagreements and dissension between moderate and extreme reformers. Inevitably this resulted in the break-up of many of the movements into contending factions which were seemingly more interested in attacking each other than promoting their cause. Since the sole purpose for the existence of a reforming society was to channel enthusiasm toward attaining a specific goal these organizations became merely meaningless appendages once these goals had been lost sight of. The end result was no more than could be expected, i. e. the dissolution and collapse of the organization though not necessarily of the idea which had brought about its existence.

With all these factors in mind concerning reform organizations in general it is possible in the case of the Glasgow Emancipation Society to study a specific organization to see how it compares with the overall scope of reformist activity. First of all it undeniably fits the pattern as a "world bettering" organization. True its efforts were directed further afield than other more locally orientated groups but its purpose was identical in that it sought to improve the lot of humanity, albeit a very remote portion under peculiar circumstances. Its leadership and membership were with few exceptions solidly of the middle classes and religiously affiliated with the Dissenting churches. These men were convinced that the negro, given his freedom and an equal chance to succeed, could pull himself up by the bootstraps and successfully compete in society. This could be easily proved by pointing to blacks such as Frederick Douglass and James McCune Smith who had shown their exceptional worth and ability. It was a dramatic illustration of what could be achieved through education and self discipline. The G.E.S. wanted to reform not its own local society but the structure of society in other lands so that other

blacks might have the same opportunity of bettering themselves as Smith and Douglass had done. Further, slavery was a direct contradiction of the general reformist belief in progress and as such its abolition could only give beneficial results. Because of the Government's refusal and/or inability to take direct action against slavery in areas outside of its direct control, it was up to private societies like the G.E.S. to work independently in an attempt to channel popular revulsion against the system into a constructive programme which would in some material way effect its overthrow. Its efforts were unsuccessful and, true to form, the Society followed the path of other reform societies. First frustration at their continued inability to do anything of a tangible nature against American slavery. Second, extremism as illustrated by their support for the fanatical William Lloyd Garrison. Third, dissension between the moderates and the radicals which diverted the Society's attention from the institution of slavery to antislavery principles. Finally, fragmentation and the gradual process of decline. This decline was checked only by the Free Church Controversy, the Uncle Tom's Penny Offering and the hard work of its secretary, William Smeal.

The importance of the world antislavery movement after the abolition of British colonial slavery in 1834 should not be underestimated because of its relative unimportance to other reform movements in Britain. In America the movement was of vital importance and contributed significantly to the growing quarrel over "States Rights". In the South the proslavery agitators overreacted to the movement in the 1830's and consequently gave it importance out of all proportion to its influence. This contributed to the distrust and growing sectionalism which ultimately resulted in the Civil War. It is no overstatement to say that the issue of slavery was one of the primary contributing factors toward that war. The American abolitionists and especially Garrison must take direct responsibility for their part in adding to the sensationalism and hostility which

surrounded the issue of slavery. This responsibility they would not and did not accept but instead attempted to add fuel to the fire feeling that the sooner the issue reached the boiling point the sooner slavery would be abolished. To justify their agitation they pointed to Britain and the successful extinction of slavery in her colonies. To add to their respectability they attempted to associate themselves with the highly respected British abolitionists. This is why they had reacted so favourably to the two World Anti Slavery Conventions held in London in 1840 and 1843. The British abolitionists had what the American abolitionists lacked – respectability.

Despite the constant bickering the American and British abolitionists stayed in close communication with one another and there was a direct connection between their activities. This resulted in the two movements having a real effect on each other both as regards to policy and effort.²⁵ Consequently the particular stand taken by one of the more important British antislavery societies was of concern to the American abolitionists because it served as an indicator of the feelings and policies held by a significant portion of the British abolitionists. During the 1830's and 1840's the G. E. S. was probably second only to the London societies in importance both in regard to prestige and enthusiasm. Therefore its pro-Garrison stand did matter to the American abolitionists because it lent support and credence to one of their rivalling factions. Garrison, whose activities were directly stimulated by the aid of the British,²⁶ could point to the G. E. S. and rightfully claim to have at least the moral backing of one of Britain's strongest antislavery societies. However, in the end one is forced to ask what real difference did this make in

25 Arthur Young Lloyd, The Slavery Controversy 1831-1860 (University of North Carolina Press 1939) pp. 141-2

26 Ibid., p. 141

the movement. The answer is probably none and at best very little. It is unlikely that Garrison's following would have varied at all if the G.E.S. had taken a position in opposition to him. The movement was much more than societies or individuals. Antislavery societies were merely the formal institution of an ideology based on the Christian belief of ultimate human equality before God.²⁷ Therefore to the movement as a whole it was immaterial who or what the G.E.S. supported for it was the societies which depended upon the movement and not the movement upon the societies.

However, slavery as an institution had been in existence and had been condemned long before the emergence of the abolitionists societies.²⁸ But in the nineteenth century antislavery thought came into its own. For one thing the evangelical thought of the day would brook no compromise on basic Christian beliefs. All institutions, civil or ecclesiastical were judged by the law of God and slavery as practiced was judged by them as a clear transgression of this law. The Scottish Presbyterianism of the day was an intolerant theology in judging moral **turpitude**. The religious enthusiasm of the Evangelicals merely magnified this intolerance with the result that slavery, along with many other social evils, was bitterly denounced as inconsistent with Christian Principles. It is hardly surprising therefore that there should be some concerted effort on their part in opposition to slavery. The Glasgow Anti Slavery Society and subsequently the Glasgow Emancipation Society were merely manifestations of the Evangelical's condemnation of slavery. This does not, however, explain the exceptionally long existence of the Society and for that more human factors must be taken into account. In its initial phase between 1834 and 1847

27 For an exceptionally good contemporary example of this feeling see Ester Copley, A History of Slavery And Its Abolition (London 1836) passim. See especially pp. 625-34.

28 David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Cornell University Press 1966) passim.

the Society had public sympathy and support as well as an interested membership and an able leadership. In its declining phase its existence was due almost solely to its leadership and more specifically to William Smeal (Ch. VI pp. 228-9). After 1853 and the Penny Offering it could almost be said to have been his exclusive society. Were it not for him the Society would have ceased to exist but that is not to say that the popular revulsion against slavery would have been the less. Antislavery sentiment did not need a society in order to exist but in the case of Glasgow it had an exceptional one. As has been made clear the purpose of this society as with other reform societies was to channel a general feeling into specific programmes or activities with the intention of focusing pressure on the Government or other relevant bodies such as the Free Church or the Evangelical Alliance in order to facilitate the end of slavery. In 1876 the G.E.S. was unique in Britain in that it was the oldest of all antislavery societies including the B.F.A.S.S. Its history is the history of antislavery sentiment and activity in Glasgow for forty-two years and consequently of real importance in the study of nineteenth century British antislavery activity. But to say that the G.E.S. is important because it existed for forty-two years is absurd as the mere existence of a society or institution means nothing if that society accomplishes nothing of worth or importance. Therefore in order to justify the study of the G.E.S. it is necessary to show how and in what ways it was important within the context of the antislavery movement.

It is the contention of this thesis that there are six reasons why the G.E.S. merits importance in the British antislavery crusade after 1833. Of primary importance is the fact that the Society was the centre of the Garrison faction within the movement after 1840. This was not a chance occurrence but a deliberate intention of Garrison and his supporters.²⁹ The split between the

29 Garrison Papers, M.S. A.1.2. vol. II p. 68, Elizabeth Pease to Smeal, 14 February 1841.

pro and anti Garrison elements effectively crippled the British movement for it was only with unity of effort and co-operation that the abolitionists could hope to put pressure on the Government to implement its programmes. This had been done during the anti apprenticeship campaign with gratifying results if not by Westminster at least by the colonial legislatures. After 1838 and the end of apprenticeship the British antislavery movement could claim no significant successes on a national scale. One of the primary reasons for this was the incessant internal quarrelling and lack of co-operation between the two contending factions and the G.E.S. was the leader of one of these factions. Secondly, the Society was to a large degree responsible for Thompson's trip to the United States in 1834-5 which was ultimately to have such an important impact on the British movement because of Thompson's association with Garrison. His trip had also been responsible for influencing American public opinion against foreign (British) agitators interfering into their domestic affairs and was another wedge driven between the pro and anti slavery sympathizers in the then still burgeoning sectional conflict (Ch. III pp.87-9). Thirdly, the G.E.S. had led the unsuccessful fight against the Free Church for accepting contributions from American slaveholders. It was this society that had arranged public meetings for visiting American abolitionists and organized a loud and, if nothing else, an embarrassing campaign against this important Scottish kirk (Ch. V pp.171-92). Since this effort by the abolitionists was surpassed only by their campaign against colonial slavery and since the G.E.S. played a large role in the vigorous Scottish participation the Society can rightfully be credited with being one of the major contributors in this successful campaign. The fifth reason for the importance of the G.E.S. was that it was one of the few antislavery societies to remain independent of the B.F.A.S.S. throughout its history.

There were others of course such as the Hibernian Anti Slavery Society in Dublin, the Bristol society and the Edinburgh societies but none of these were as enduring nor as important as the G. E. S. Finally the Society is important for the completeness of its records which trace in detail its efforts from its first meeting in 1833 to its final public meeting in 1876. Because of the availability of these records and the comprehensive listing of its membership it serves not only as a unique guide to provincial nineteenth century British antislavery activity but also as a first class illustration of the rather complex period of reformist activity which flourished outside of the dominating influence of London. In itself the G. E. S. neither added to nor subtracted from the state of society in Glasgow. It was merely a product of existing conditions but as such the study of the Society facilitates a more complete understanding of Glasgow and the West of Scotland during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

After the second reading of the bill to end the British slave trade in 1807 Wilberforce asked Henry ~~Thornley~~ "Well Henry what shall we abolish next?"³⁰ In the years following British abolitionists by their efforts, good, bad and indifferent attempted to answer this question by working for nothing less than the end of slavery throughout the entire world. The movement varied greatly both in intensity and success but never in purpose. The activities of the abolitionists and their organizations tell a story of a long frustrating and at times bitter fight against the institution of slavery. In this fight the Glasgow Emancipation Society took an important and aggressive role and deserves a great deal of credit for its successes and discredit for its excesses. In sum it was a significant force to be reckoned with in mid nineteenth century British antislavery sentiment and activity.

30 Sir Reginald Coupland, Wilberforce (London 1945) p. 282

APPENDIX I

Social, Political and Philanthropic Activities of the Members of
The Glasgow Emancipation Society

The information concerning the various activities of the committeemen of the Glasgow Emancipation Society has been gleaned from a wide variety of sources. The most important of these sources include the Glasgow Post Office Directories 1833-51, the Glasgow Argus, Glasgow Herald, and Glasgow Courier, Glasgow and Its Clubs by John Strang, Glimpses of Old Glasgow by Andrew Aird, Glasgow Past and Present by Robert Reid (Senex), Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858 by W. Innes Addison, Lord Provosts of Glasgow, Old Country Houses of The Old Glasgow Gentry, The Book of Eminent Scotsmen by Joseph Irving, "The Scottish Factor In The Fight Against American Slavery" by C. Duncan Rice, The Memorial Catalogue of The Old Glasgow Exhibition 1894, Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow, Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency" by David Teviotdale, The Baillie, The Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw by William Alexander, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae by Hugh Scot (ed.), Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland by Peter Mackenzie and The Dictionary of National Biography by Leslie Stephen (ed.). Abbreviations in this appendix are as follows :

G. R. A.	Glasgow Reform Association
G. A. B. S.	Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society
G. V. C. S.	Glasgow Voluntary Church Society
C. M. B. I. I. A. S.	Calton, Mile-end and Bridgeton Mechanics Institute for Improvement in the Arts and Sciences.

Officeholders of G. E. S. 1834-51

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
ANDERSON, Rev. William	Relief Church Minister	1834-51	G. A. B. S. , Temperance Society, Vice Pres. Glasgow Religious Friendly Society, G. V. C. S.
BEITH, James	Manufacturer	1834-40	Councillor District 3, Director of Towns Hospital, G. R. A. , G. V. C. S. , Glasgow Political Union
DENNISTOUN, John	Merchant	1841-51	M. P. for Glasgow, 1837-47. Baillie of Provan, Director Chamber of Commerce, Director Asylum for Blind, C. M. B. M. I. I. A. S.
HASTIE, Alexander	Merchant	1851	M. P. for Glasgow, 1848-57 Lord Provost of Glasgow, Manager of Glasgow Royal Infirmary, Committeeman of River Clyde and Harbour of Glasgow, Councillor Ward 1, Baillie for Glasgow, Chamber of Commerce, Director of Towns Hospital, Director of Stirling Library
HEUGH, Rev. Hugh	United Secession Church Minister	1834-40	G. A. B. S. , G. V. C. S.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
GRAHAME, Robert	Writer	1834-51	Lord Provost of Glasgow, Fox Club, Pres. G. R. A., "Clique", G. A. B. S., Faculty of Procurators.
GRAHAME, Thomas	Writer	1835-40	Temperance Society, Faculty of Procurators, G. A. B. S.
JEFFRAY, Rev. George	United Secession Church Minister	1843-51	
JOHNSTON, James	Merchant and General Agent	1834-6	G. V. C. S.
KIDSTON, Rev. William	United Secession Church Minister	1834-51	G. A. B. S., Treasurer at Andersonian University, Sec. Glasgow Missionary Society, Moderator of U. P., Synod 1847
MURRAY, John	Collector of Canal dues Bowling Bay	1834-49	G. V. C. S.
OSWALD, James	Cotton Yarn Merchant	1841-51	M. P. for Glasgow, 1833-7, 1839-47 "Clique", Fox Club, Sec. Glasgow East India Association, G. R. A.
PATON, Andrew	Commission Merchant	1841-51	Police Commissioner
PATON, William P.	Commission Merchant	1836-40	Chamber of Commerce Commissioner for Assessed Taxes for Glasgow, Bridge Commissioner, Clyde Commissioner, G. R. A.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
SMEAL, James	Physician	1834	G. R. A.
SMEAL, William	Tea dealer and Grocer	1834-51	Co-editor of <u>British Friend</u> , Secretary of First Electoral District, Chairman of Third Ward Committee Secretary and Treasurer of Peace Committee, Minister in Quaker Church, G. A. B. S.
WARDLAW, Rev. Ralph	Independent Minister	1834-40	Sec. of G. A. B. S., Theology Professor in Congregational Divinity Hall, Trustee Andersonian University, Pres. Glasgow Religious Tract Society, Pres. G. V. C. S.
WIGHAM, Anthony	Wholesale Ironmonger	1834-40	Committeeman - Aberdeen Auxiliary Bible Society, G. A. B. S.
WILLIS, Rev. Michael	Original Burgher	1834-47	Professor of Theology to Burgher Synod, Pres. of Anti Slavery Society of Canada, Temperance Society

Ministers In G. E. S. 1834-51

<u>Name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
AULD, William	Relief	1835-51	G. V. C. S.
BRASH, William	United Seccession	1835-41	G. A. B. S.
BREWSTER, Patrick	Church of Scotland	1836	Chartist, Member of Complete Suffrage Convention and Chartist Temper- ance Movement
BROWN, Charles	Church of Scotland	1834	
CAMPBELL, Edward	Independent	1834-5	
DUNCAN, John	Church of Scotland	1834-40	Missionary to Hungary 1841-3, Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh
DUNCAN, Walter	United Secession	1834	
EADIE, John	United Secession	1837-44	Director - Cowcadden Mechanical Institute, Professor of Biblical Literature to United Secession Synod, Member New Testamen Revision Committee (1870), Moderator of United Presbyterian Synod 1857.
EDWARDS, John	Independent	1836-44	G. A. B. S. , G. V. C. S. Temperance Society
EWING, Greville	Independent	1834-40	G. A. B. S. , G. V. C. S.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
FERGUSON, Fergus	Congregational Independent	1844-51	Scottish Temperance Society
GRAHAM, John	Relief	1840-51	
HARVEY, Alexander	Relief	1834-42	G. A. B. S. , Chartist, G. V. C. S.
INGRAM, George S.	Independent	1847-51	
KING, David	United Seccession	1834-40	G. A. B. S. , Evangelical Alliance, G. V. C. S.
LINDSAY, William	Relief	1835-43	G. A. B. S. , Moderator United Presbyterian Synod 1851, Theological Professor.
MACBETH, James	Free Church of Scotland	1844-7	Official in Free Church Anti Slavery Society
MCKENZIE, John Morell	Congregational	1839	
MCOWAN, Peter	Unknown	1834	
MCTEAR, James	English Teacher Relief Church Minister	1834-47	Agitator for repeal of Corn Laws.
PATERSON, James	Baptist	1836-9	Temperance Society, Theology Professor to Baptist Union, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric to Glasgow Commercial College.
PULLAR, Thomas	Independent	1836-42	Temperance Society
ROSE, George	Independent Primitive Methodist	1841-7	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
SCOTT, William	Independent	1851	Glasgow Commercial Total Abstinence Society
THOMPSON, Robert	Wesleyn Methodist	1836	City Missionary.

Active Committeemen 1834-51

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
ANDERSON, Ebenezer	Provision Merchant	1841-51	Temperance Movement
BARR, John	Merchant (probably)	1841-51	G. A. B. S.
BLYTH, John	Muslin Manufacturer	1837-40	Temperance Society
BROWN, Hugh Jr.	Manufacturer	1834-40	G. A. B. S.
BRUCE, James	Engraver and Calico Printer	1841-4	
BUCHANAN, Walter	Merchant	1837-51	G. R. A. , "Clique", M.P. for Glasgow 1857-65, Director of Merchants House, Director of Chamber of Commerce, Commissioner for Assessed Taxes for Glasgow, Director of Glasgow Royal Infirmary, Committeeman of Glasgow Western Academy, Bridge Commissioner
CAIRNS, Walter	Paper Ruler and Book Binder	1844-51	
CONNELL, Robert	Teacher	1834-44	Sec. of Glasgow Public Library
CRAIG, William	Manufacturer	1834-9	G. R. A. , "Clique", Chartist, Councillor for District 1, Committee on River Clyde and Harbour of Glasgow, Baillie for Glasgow, Baillie of River and Firth of Clyde, Director of Merchants House, Director of Towns Hospital from Merchants House, Director of Trades House, Bridewell Commiss-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
DICK, George C.	Manufacturer	1834-40	G. V. C. S. , Deacon Convener of Trades House
DUNN, James	Baker	1841-51	
FERGUSON, William	Lithographic printer and engraver	1835-47	Governor of Wilson School
GALLIE, George	Bookseller and Stationer	1834-40	Glasgow Religious Tract Society, Treasurer of Executive Committee, Scottish Temperance Union.
GUNN, William Jr.	Clothier	1840-44	President of Glasgow Brown's Society 1833-4
KETTLE, Robert	Cotton Yarn Merchant	1834-40	Pres. Scottish Temper- ance League, Pres. Glasgow Abstinence Society, Editor <u>Scottish Temperance Journal</u> , Deacon in Baptist Church, Glasgow Religious Tract Society
KING, John	Manufacturer	1834	Director of Merchants House and Chamber of Commerce, Director of Clydesdale Bank, Forth and Clyde Navigation and Glasgow and South Western Railway
LANGLANDS, Henry	Warehouseman	1834-45	
LETHEM, Patrick	Muslin Manufacturer	1834-8	G. A. B. S. , Treasurer of Scottish Temperance Society, G. V. C. S.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
LOCHHEAD, William	Upholstery furnisher paper hanging, down feather and chair merchant.	1841-51	
MCGILP, Ninian	Insurance Agent	1836-40	G. A. B. S.
MCKEAND, Anthony	Warehouseman	1834-51	G. A. B. S.
MCLAREN, David	Accountant and Commission Agent	1834-40	G. V. C. S. , Sec. Glasgow Religious Tract Society, G. A. B. Baptist Pastor
MCLEOD, John (or Argyll)	Bookseller and Stationer	1834-7	
MCLEOD, John	Manufacturer	1834-41	Baillie of Gorbals, Director of Glasgow Annuity Society, G. V. C. S. , Temperance Society
MCLEOD, William	Weaver	1841-5	G. A. B. S.
MATHIE, Robert	Draper Agent and House Factor	1840-4	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
MAXWELL, John	Physician	1834-43	Fox Club, Professional Attendant Glasgow Lying-In Hospital, G. R. A.
MUIR, Hugh	Teacher	1841-7	
REID, John	Warehouseman	1834-44	G. A. B. S.
REID, Robert	Writer or Merchant	1843-51	Sec. of Scottish Temperance League
ROSS, John B.	Hide and leather factor	1841-51	
SANDERSON, Robert	Agent, Ship Insurance broker	1834-44	G. R. A. , "Clique"
SMITH, James McCune	Medical Student	1834-7	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
STEWART, James	Uncertain	1834-47	G. A. B. S. (possibly)
THORBURN, George	Manufacturer	1835-51	G. A. B. S.
TURNER, James	Landowner and Tobacco Merchant	1841-51	G. R. A. , Baillie of Provan, Chartist, Director of Royal Infirmary, Director of Lock Hospital, Councillor of 1st District 1833-46, V. P. of Glasgow Political Union, G. A. B. S.
WATSON, Archibald	Dyer and Yarn Merchant	1834-47	
WATSON, George	Stationer, Librarian and Bookseller	1834-47	Baillie of Calton, G. V. C. S. , G. A. B. S. , Manager of Royal Infirmary, House of Refuge, C. M. B. M. I. I. A. S.
WATSON, James	Accountant, Stockbroker and Insurance Agent	1836-51	Glasgow Political Union
WATSON, Thomas	Silk Merchant and Throwster	1840-51	G. A. B. S.
WRIGHT, Ronald	Grain and Provision Merchant	1841-7	Committeeman of Barony of Gorbals Branch of the Total Abstinence Society.
YOUNG, Andrew	Commission Merchant and Cotton Yarn Agent	1834-47	G. V. C. S.

Inactive Committeemen 1834-51

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
ANDERSON, David	Merchant	1833-40	G. V. C. S. , G. A. B. S.
BAIRD, Thomas	Clothier and Tailor	1851	G. A. B. S.
BARCLAY, Robert	Shipbuilder	1834	Councillor for Anderston
BRODIE, William	Manufacturer and Merchant	1840-51	Treasurer for Asylum for Blind, G. A. B. S. , Director of Royal Infirmary, Temperance Society, Councillor Ward 3, Court House Commissioner 1843, Founder of Sabbath, School Union.
BROWN, Thomas	Uncertain	1841-2	
BROWN, Thomas	Writer and Insurance Agent	1851	
BROWN, William	Oil and Colour Merchant	1834-47	Dean of Merchants House 1837-8, G. A. B. S. , Glasgow Assoc. for Promoting the Interest of the Church of Scotland, Committeeman Glasgow Public Library
BRUCE, Peter	Wholesale Paper and Rag Merchant	1841-51	
BUCHAN, David	Writer and Insurance Agent	1834	Faculty of Procurators.
CAIRD, William	Plasterer	1847-51	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
CLARK, James	Clothier and Tailor	1847-51	
COUPER, James	Insurance Broker	1851	Baillie of Provan
FLEMING, John	Merchant	1834-47	Chamber of Commerce, Baillie of Glasgow, Councillor District 5 & 3 Committee House of Refuge, Committee Glasgow Western Academy, Master of Works, Pilot Board, G.R.A., G.A.B.S. "Clîque", Committee of River Clyde and Harbour of Glasgow.
FULLERTON, Archibald	Publisher and Bookseller	1836	
FULLERTON, John A.	Publisher and Bookseller	1840-3	G.R.A.
GALT, Robert	Silk Mercer	1851	
GRAHAM, Alexander	Merchant	1851	Vice-President G.R.A.
GRIEG, George	Headmaster of English Dept. Western Academy	1844-7	Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Letters at Andersonian University
KAYE, Robert	Merchant and Warehouseman	1851	
KNOX, John	Tartan Cloth Manufacturer	1847-51	G.A.B.S.
LANG, William	Merchant	1841-5	Glasgow Political Union, "Clîque", G.A.B.S.
LETHEM, Matthew	Muslin Manufacturer	1839-40	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
MCDUGALL, Colin	Woollen and Linen Draper	1834-51	
MCGEORGE, Andrew	Writer	1834	Faculty of Procurators
MCNAIR, James	Merchant	1841	
MELVIN, William	Hat, Cap and Shirt Manufacturer	1851	Vice-President of Glasgow Abstainers Union
MUIR, Thomas	Merchant and Manufacturer	1834	Councillor District 5, Deputy Chairman of River Clyde & Harbour of Glasgow, "Clique", C.M.B., M.I.I.A.S., G.R.A.
RUSSELL, David	Printer and Stereotype Founder	1841-51	
SIMPSON, Robert	Draper, Silk-mercer and Haberdasher	1844-51	Commissioner Ward 9, Vice-President of Scottish Temperance League, Treasurer of Scottish Permissive Bill Association, Councillor
SLATER, Thomas H.	Grocer and Tea Dealer	1834	
SMITH, David	Boot and Shoe Shop owner	1835-7	G.A.B.S., Baptist pastor of George St. Church
TENNANT, Andrew	Merchant	1834	
THOMPSON, Patrick	Tea and coffee Fruiterer and Grocer	1834-6	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Active Years</u>	<u>Other Activities</u>
URE, John	Merchant	1841-7	Councillor District 2, Baillie of Provan, Director of Merchants House, Bridewell Commissioner, G. R. A.
WHITE, William	Cotton Yarn Merchant	1837-42	
WYLIE, Robert	Merchant	1851	

Honorary and Corresponding Members of G. E. S. 1836-51

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Membership Period</u>
BIRNEY, James	Cincinnati, Ohio	1838-47
BREWSTER, Rev. Patrick	Paisley	1837-51
LORD BROUGHAM	London	1838-51
BUFFUM, James N.	Lynn, Massachusetts Rochester, New York	1845
BURNS, Rev. Dr.	Toronto, Upper Canada	1851
DENNISTOUN, John	Glasgow	1838-40
DOUGLASS, Frederick	Lynn, Massachusetts Rochester, New York	1845-51
GARRISON, William Lloyd	Boston, Massachusetts	1836-51
JOHNSTON, James	Upper Canada, Auburn, New York, Frammingham, Massachusetts	1837-47
KELLOGG, Hiram H.	Knox College, Illinois	1844-7
LAIRD, Macgregor	London	1843-51
MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE	Paris	1834
LAFAYETTE, George Washington	Paris	1836-51
O'CONNELL, Daniel	Dublin	1836-51
PAUL, Rev. Nathaniel	Wilberforce Settlement, Upper Canada	1839-9
ROBERTS, Rev. Thomas	Bristol	1836-41

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Membership Period</u>
SMITH, James McCune	New York	1838-51
STURGE, Joseph	Birmingham	1836-40
DWARKANAATH, Tagore	Calcutta	1842-5
TAPPAN, Arthur	New York	1836-42
THOMPSON, George	Liverpool	1836-51
DE TRACY, Victor	Paris	1836-51
WRIGHT, Henry C.	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1843-51

APPENDIX II

Delegates Appointed by The Glasgow Emancipation Society to The World Anti Slavery Convention in 1840.

Rev. William Alexander	Mr. Robert Kettle
Mr. Francis C. Brown	Mr. Henry Langlands
Mr. Hugh Brown	Mr. Anthony McKeand
Mr. Walter Buchanan	Mr. Mark Moore
Mr. John Dennistoun	Mr. John Murray
Mr. Henry Dunlop	Mr. Daniel O'Connell (also a delegate for Dublin)
Mr. William Felkin	Mr. James Oswald
Rev. John Graham	Mr. William Paton
Mr. Robert Grahame	Rev. Thomas Pullar
Mr. Thomas Grahame	Mr. William Smeal (Also delegate for Paisley)
Rev. Hugh Heugh (resigned as delegate)	Mr. George Thompson (Also delegate for Edinburgh)
Rev. Alexander Harvey (represented Relief Synod of Scotland)	Mr. George Thorburn
Mr. James Hutcheson	Mr. William White
Mr. Alexander Johnstone	Mr. John A. Fullarton (representing the Congregational Union of Scotland)

APPENDIX III

List of men elected to the G. E. S. committee on 27 April 1841 at
a public meeting held in the Bazaar :

Ebenezer Anderson	Provision Merchant
John Barr	Merchant
Thomas Brown	Uncertain
James Bruce	Engraves and Calico Printer
Peter Bruce	Wholesale Paper and Rag Merchant
James Dunn	Baker
William Lang	Merchant
William Lochend Jr.	Upholstery furnisher, Down, Feather and Hair Merchant
William McLeod	Painter and Paperhanger
James McNair	Lath-splitter and Timber Merchant
Hugh Muir	Teacher
Andrew Paton	Commission Merchant
Rev. George Rose	Methodist Minister
David Russell	Printer and Stereotype Founder
James Turner	Politician
John Ure	Merchant
Ronald Wright	Grain and Provision Merchant

APPENDIX IV

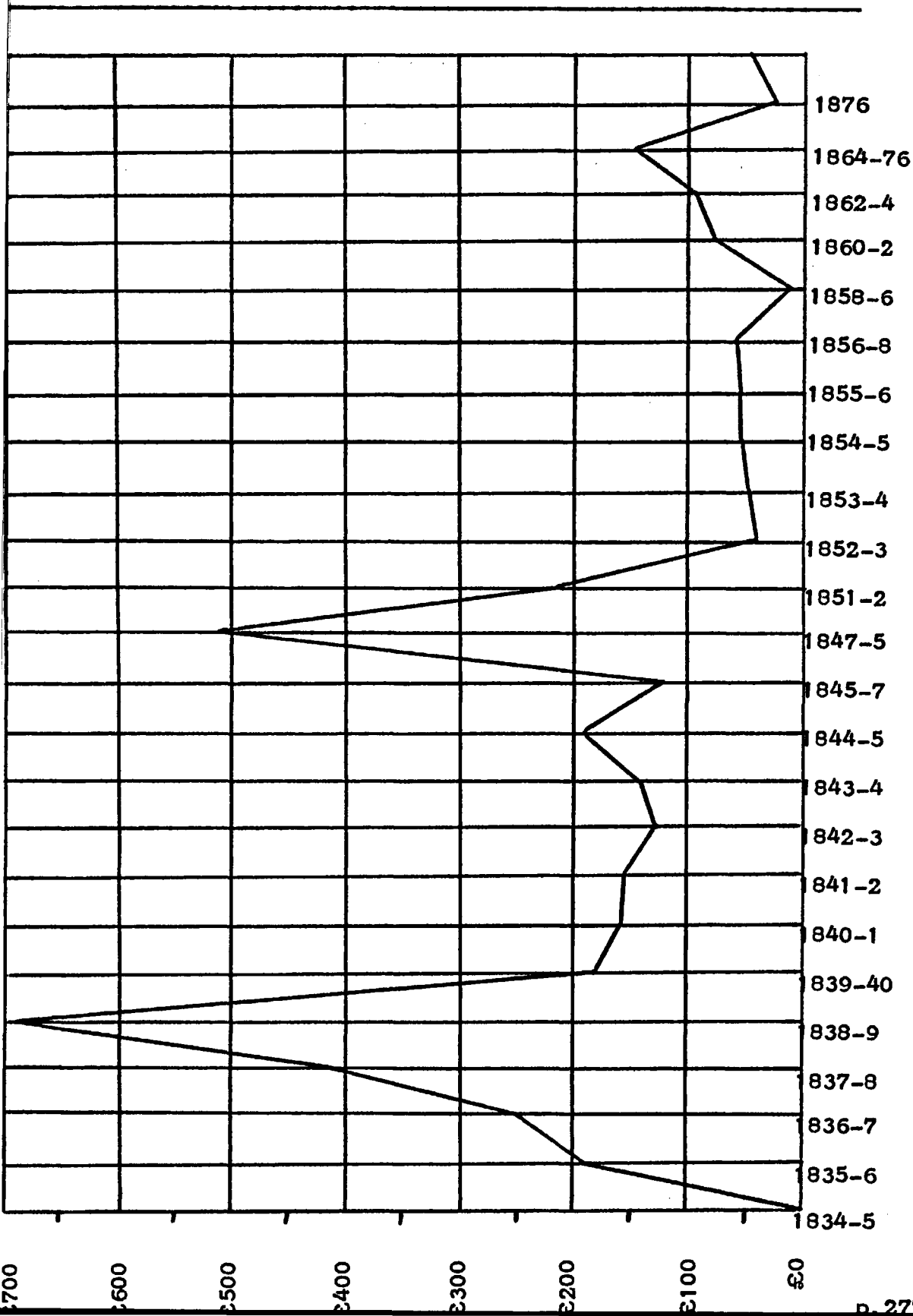
Committeemen of the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society

Councillor	James Moir (Chairman)	Wholesale and retail tea merchant
"	Edward Alexander Jr.	Nitrate and phosphate merchant
"	John Burt	Leather merchant
"	James Thompson	Flesher
Mr.	Archibald Crosbie	Tobacco pipe maker
"	William Forsyth	Baker
"	William Gray	Biscuit and bread manufacturer
"	James Hodge	Tobacco and snuff manufacturer
Rev.	David Johnston	Church of Scotland
Mr.	John Knox	Tartan cloth manufacturer
"	William Logan	City missionary
"	G. McCallum	Uncertain
"	James McFarlane	Fancy bread and biscuit baker
"	J. W. McGregor	Tobacco and snuff manufacturer
"	Peter McLeod	Clothier
"	James McNish	Mill manager - Somervill's works
"	John Nairn	Merchant and turkey red dyer
"	John Neilson	Builder
"	Robert Paterson	Uncertain
"	Andrew Paton	Commission merchant
Dr.	Alexander Robb	Physician
Mr.	Robert Simpson	Draper, silkmercer and haberdasher
"	James Sinclair	Provision merchant
"	William Smeal	Grocer and tea dealer
"	Thomas Smith	Wholesale stationer
"	Robert Stark	Ship and insurance broker

Cont'd/..

Mr.	John Stevenson	Uncertain
"	James W. Weir	Wholesale stationer
"	James Wilkinson	General merchant and warehouseman
"	Robert Woodside	Boot and shoe maker
Dr.	William Young	Physician

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