







VOLUNTARIES

Low and mortal be the strain,
Haughty though be far from me
Tones of penitence and pain
Meanings of the tropic sea
Low and tender in the eye
Where's a captive's in the chain
Creeping dillies of the well
From his Acheron's aerial plume
Sole mate his own breathless
His own soul to his own
Was the willing song he breathes
And his chain when life was done
What his fault, or what his crime?
Of what ill planet crossed his prime?
Heart so soft and will so weak
Dove beneath the vulture's beak
Will gleam the victim's neck
Dropt from his mother's arms and breast
Dispos'd, distinguished here,
His willing will to his his
Chied by a rival peer
Great men in the Senate saw
Sage and hero, side by side
Bullied for their own the Sime
Which they shall rule with pride
They forbore to break the chain
Which bound the dusky tribe
Cheated by the owners' sordid gains
Lured by "Union" as the bribe
Destiny met, and said,
"Paug for paug your seed shall pay,
Hido in false peace your covard head,
I bring round the harvest day."

Freedom all winged expands,
Nor perches in a narrow place,
Her broad wings seeks unexplored lands,
She loves a poor and virtuous race
Clinging to the colder zone
Whose dark sky sheds the snow-flake down,
The snow-flake is her banner's star,
Her stripes the boreal streamers are
Long she loved the Northman will;
Now the iron age is done,
She will not refuse to dwell
With the offspring of the Sun,
Founding the more distant fair,
Where palms plant and sirocco breeze,
He roves under the burning stars
In climates of the summer star
His form men of northern brain
For beholding, without cloud
What these with slowest steps attain
If once the generous spirit arrive
To lead him willing to be led,
For freedom he will strike and strive,
And drain his heart till he be dead.

In an age of boys and toys,
Wandering vision, void of right,
Which shall serve heroic boys
To hazard all in Freedom's fight,
To break sharply off their jolly games,
To forsake their comrades gay,
And quit proud homes and youthful dances,
For famine, toil, and fray?
Yet on the simple air benign
Speed nimble messages,
That waft the breath of grace divine
To hearts in sloth and ease.
So high is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can."

Oh, well for the fortunate soul,
Which Master's wings unfold,
Stealing away the memory
Of sorrows new and old!
Yet happier be whose inward right,
Stayed on his subtle thought,
Sheds his sense on toys of time,
To vacant beams brought,
But best befriended of the God
He who, in evil times,
Warned by an inward voice,
Heeds not the darkness and the dread,
Biding by his rule and choice,
Keeling only the fiery thread
Leading over heroic ground,
Walked with mortal armor round.

To the aim which his allures,
And the sweet heaven his head secured.
Stalwart soldier on the walls,
Knowing this, and knows no more,
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers wrongers.
And he who battles on her side,
God—though he were ten times slain—
Crown his victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain?
Belts around the breast his sword,
And heeds not the perilous art
And heeds not the mortal sword,
Who, the poor foe, whom again, fall,
Blind with pride, and fooled by hate,
Within within the dragon coil,
Resorted to a speechless fate.

Hooms the laurel which belongs
To the valiant soul who fights;
I see the wreath, I hear the songs
Leading on the right.
Tearing over daily wrongs
Avalanche of their misdeeds
Avalanche of their misdeeds
When they will destroy,
And their coming triumphs hide,
In our downfall, or our joy,
Speak it freely,—these are gods,
All are ghosts beside.

As a Scotch given a grateful recognition of his long and earnest services in the cause of Negro Emancipation, viz. of Westminster, Political and Social Reform, at the Old Chatterbox Club, London, Feb. 29th, 1850—the Right Hon. Lord TRENKLE in the chair.
A complimentary Address to Mr. Thompson (for which see our inside form) having been read, and unanimously adopted by the meeting—
The Noble Chairman rose, and said:—Mr. George Thompson.—Allow me to say, that no intelligent, patient labor is without its fruit. It always receives a blessing from on high. Ladies and Gentlemen,—the very records which are contained in this address testify to our friend and to ourselves, that the most blessed fruits of his labors at home and abroad have resulted from the seed which he has sown to sow. I have only now to say, in addition to what is expressed here, that we hope it may please you, Mr. Thompson, to accept this address at our hands, representing to us, as it does, the ripe fruits of friendship. No doubt, we have in your heart feelings which make you glad, and with God's blessing strengthening you, you hope that you may live to see the consummation of your fervent wishes for the emancipation of the negro.
Mr. Thompson rose, and delivered a prolonged address, which having finished, he spoke as follows:—
My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen; kind and partial friends.—On this occasion, I have to discharge a duty which of all others, I am most unfitted to fulfil. I have never yet learned how to utter, appropriately, the

language of deep-seated gratitude. But, even if I had mastered that language, the obligations I am under to those now present, as well as to many others in this and foreign countries, for kindnesses received, for help afforded, and for consolation and encouragement in hours of darkness and perplexity, would overpower me at this moment, and render me unable to express, in suitable terms, the feelings of my heart. My Lord, the address which, on behalf of the ladies and gentlemen who compose this assembly, you have now presented to me in this truly elegant form, seems to have been intended to comprise an epitome of the chief labors of my public life; and it may, therefore, be my warrant for furnishing on this occasion some explanation of the motives by which I have been actuated throughout my career, as the exponent of various great questions. In common with other public men, the principles which have governed me have often been greatly misunderstood, or at least greatly misrepresented. Let me say, then, once for all, in the presence of him who reads all hearts, and for the satisfaction and assurance of those who may come after me, that I have never in a single act of my public life been decided in my course by any mercenary feeling, or any consideration of pecuniary reward. At the commencement of my public career, I was, if not without a purpose, certainly without a plan. My purpose, even from my boyhood, was to employ any ability with which God had endowed me, for the advancement of the happiness, and especially the freedom, of mankind. This purpose I was first enabled to carry out in connection with the cause so prominently placed at the heading of the address before me—that of Negro Emancipation. I cannot remember the time when my heart was not deeply penetrated with a sense of the injustice and wrong done to the negro race by the prosecution of the African slave trade, and the maintenance, in the British Colonies of the unchristian and inhuman institution of slavery. In my infancy, I had listened to the recital, by my father, of the horrible scenes common on board slave ships, during the "middle passage," and had conceived a rooted detestation to memory Cowper's beautiful vindication of the claims of the negro, commencing with the well-known lines:—
"Fore'd from home and all its pleasures,
Africa's coast I left forlorn;
To increase a stranger's treasures
O'er the raging billow's born."

As I grew up, I became familiar with the records of the labors of pious missionaries who had devoted themselves to the work of preaching the Gospel to the black population of the West Indies. I had read the writings of Wesley, Whitfield, and Coke, describing the degraded condition of the negroes on the plantations of America and in our Colonies; and still later, I had filled a situation in the Wesleyan Mission House, in London, where I had an opportunity of seeing the correspondence between the society's missionaries abroad and the committee at home. In the year 1823, when I was twenty-four years of age, I was associated with a number of young men, who met weekly at the house of a gentleman in the city, for the purpose of improving themselves by public discussion, in the way of debate, of questions of public interest. Slavery was one of these questions, the disputants advocating, respectively, measures of immediate or gradual emancipation. Our debate continued through eleven nights, and ended in the adoption of a motion, to Lord Bathurst, who was at that time the Secretary for the Colonies, praying for the introduction of a bill into Parliament for the abolition of Negro Slavery. At a period somewhat later, I introduced the subject, as one for discussion, into the debating class of the Literary and Scientific Institution in Aldersgate street, of which I was one of the earliest members. Our debates took place in the theatre, and were attended by the members generally, and their friends, and our audiences often numbered 600 or 700 persons of both sexes, and were of a highly intelligent character. The speakers were young men, several of them of remarkable talent, and a few have since distinguished themselves in public life. Then, as ever since, I maintained the duty, necessity, and safety of immediate emancipation. We had an animated discussion for three nights, at the close of which, after a speech of more than an hour in length, I obtained a decision in favor of the proposition I had laid down. The majority in my favor was very large, and I regarded the result as the first great triumph I had achieved in the cause of truth and justice. At this time I was a clerk in a mercantile house, and though fond of reading and of exercising my talents as a speaker, and often congratulated upon the victories I obtained in debate, I had not the most distant expectation of employing my gifts beyond the arena afforded within the walls of a popular institution. As for my almost invariable success at that period, I ascribe it less to the skill with which I was able to conduct an argument, than to the fact that upon every question I ever debated, I espoused, with earnestness and enthusiasm, that side only which I believed could be sustained by an appeal to the principles of justice, and was in accordance with the rights and liberties conferred by God upon the human race. Prior to the year 1830, even the best and most earnest advocates of the negro's cause had ventured to ask no more from the government and legislature than the enactment of measures for the mitigation of the evils of slavery, and the gradual abolition of the system, accompanied during the process by educational means of preparation. In that year, however, the cause received a powerful impulse from the speeches delivered by Henry Brougham, during his canvass of the electors of the great county of York. It was in the course of one of those speeches that he uttered the memorable words:—
"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, it pierces the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woe: such it is at this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, which man has discovered, fraud, and lust rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and giddy fantasy, that man can hold property in man."

As this speech was delivered in the month of July, another, equally distinguished by lofty eloquence, masterly reasoning, and irresistible power, was delivered in Edinburgh by a popular divine, the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Thompson. At a great meeting, at which the Lord Provost presided, a petition to parliament was proposed, praying for the abolition of slavery, at the "earliest practicable period." Dr. Thompson moved, as an amendment, that the word "immediately" should be substituted. The amendment was seconded; but because the speakers took by their motto, "Fiat justitia, ruat cælum," the Lord Provost rose and left the chair, declaring that he could not, as chief magistrate of Edinburgh, countenance a meeting where such sentiments were uttered and applauded. The meeting, however, was not dissolved before it was decided by acclamation that another meeting should be held in the same place to support an energetic petition to parliament for the total and immediate abolition of slavery. That meeting was held, and it was then that Dr. Thompson delivered the grand oration to which I have referred, in which he met every objection urged against immediate emancipation, and moved a petition to parliament, of which the following is a part, and which I quote as one of the most just and comprehensive, as well as eloquent expositions of the nature and evils of slavery:—
"Your voice of a disappointed and impatient nation now calls loudly for some prompt and comprehensive measure to redress the wrongs, and justly demands the full and complete satisfaction of their convictions, that man cannot hold property in man; that slavery is a violation of the principles of natural right and the laws of revealed religion; that it involves a crime of the most heinous nature, and that it is a source of the most pernicious and fatal evils to the slave, which no law can prevent;

that to keep up by taxation a system so essentially inhuman, ought to be felt as an intolerable burden, both by the legislature and the people; that all attempts at palliative and preparatory measures, while the unjust and immoral principle of the system remains, must be ineffectual, and have hitherto only increased the sufferings of the slave, riveted the prejudice and consolidated the opposition of the slaveholder, and left upon the nation the unmitigated guilt of these flagrant wrongs; and that the only just and satisfactory remedy, is the total and immediate termination of the evil."

Let me also quote the magnificent peroration of the Doctor's speech, in which he boldly confronts the danger of insurrection, in the event of immediate emancipation:—
"But if you push me, and still urge the argument of insurrection and bloodshed, for which you are more indebted to fancy than to fact, as I have shown you, then I say, Be it so. I repeat that maxim taken from a heathen book, but pervading the whole Book of God, 'If justice shall be done, the system will break down, and the universe fall into ruin and desolation.' But preserve it, and though the fair fabric may sustain partial dilapidations, it may be rebuilt and repaired, and restored to its primitive strength and magnificence and beauty. If it must be violence, let it come, for it will soon pass away—let it come and rage its little hour, since it is to be succeeded by lasting freedom and prosperity and happiness. Give me the hurricane, with its thunder and its lightning and its tempest; give me the hurricane, with its partial and temporary devastations, awful though they be—give me the hurricane, with its purifying, healthy, salutary effects—give me the hurricane, infinitely rather than the noxious pestilence, whose path is never crossed, whose silence is never disturbed, whose progress is never arrested by one sweeping blast from the heavens; which walks peacefully and silently through the length and breadth of the land, breathing poison into every heart, and carrying havoc into every home, enervating all that is strong, defacing all that is beautiful, and casting its blight over the fairest and happiest, and from year to year, with intolerant and interminable malignity, sends its thousands and its tens of thousands of hapless victims into the ever-widening and never-satisfied grave!"

These speeches, which I read at the time, produced a powerful effect upon my mind, and inspired me with a strong desire to render myself, if possible, useful in some way in promoting the great work of the abolition of a system so destructive of the happiness, and opposed to the rights of nearly a million of our fellow-subjects; at war, too, with the genius and maxims of British law, and with the principles and precepts of Christianity. In the summer of the year 1831, and when I had been about six months married, I offered myself to the Agency Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, and by that committee my services were accepted as a lecturer, and I went forth to advocate the abolition of Colonial slavery, upon the principle which I had myself adopted in the more humble efforts which I had made for the furtherance of the same object. The principle laid down for my guidance was one which I had already adopted and advocated, and which I could, therefore, with confidence promulgate and defend. It was this—"That the system of colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought to be immediately and forever abolished." The object of the Agency Committee was to prepare the way for a general expression of the public feeling, when the proper time should arrive, by widely disseminating an accurate knowledge of the nature and effects of colonial slavery. I shall never forget the fear and trembling with which I entered upon my new and important duties, nor how much I owe to the kindness and encouragement I received at the hands of those who cooperated with me at the commencement of my public labors. I continued in this way until the middle of 1833. While prosecuting it, I was called to encounter the opposition vent against me by the West India party, who engaged a gentleman of considerable oratorical power to follow me to the various places in which I held meetings, and there either lecture in reply to me, or meet me on the platform for public debate. My most memorable conflict with this champion of the pro-slavery cause was in my native town of Liverpool, where our discussion took place in the spacious amphitheatre, which was crowded for six nights by audiences made up alike of the friends and opponents of the abolition of slavery. A similar discussion afterwards took place in the city of Glasgow. Though both these places were, at the time when these discussions were held, the strongholds of the supporters of West India Slavery, the verdict, nevertheless, was in favor of the immediate extinction of the system. In the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, my successful advocacy of the claims of the oppressed were recognized by the presentation of valuable testimonials, which I hope will remain cherished heir-looms in my family.

In the year 1832, my labors were increased by the efforts necessary to induce the newly enfranchised constituencies to pledge their candidates to the support of a measure for the total and immediate abolition of slavery. The success of the government measure for the abolition of British Colonial Slavery seemed to bring to a termination the labors of the friends of the negro, so far as his personal liberty was concerned, and my "occupation," as his humble champion, appeared to be "gone." The friends whom I had solicited during my anti-slavery labors were kindly anxious respecting my future welfare, and once lucrative enable me to embark in some career, at once lucrative and honorable. They chose for me that of the law, believing that as a barrister I might successfully vindicate the abilities I had already exhibited as the vindicator of the claims of the colonial bondsmen. They generously proposed, not only to provide me the means of acquiring the necessary qualifications for my new profession, but also of supporting my family in the meantime. An unexpected scene of labor, however, was about to open itself before me. During the discussion in Parliament of the Abolition Bill, there arose in this country the representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. That representative was William Lloyd Garrison, to whom I was introduced immediately after he reached this city, and with whom I have been on terms of the most intimate friendship ever since. I was able to render Mr. Garrison some service in the attainment of the object which brought him to our shores, which was the exposure of the true character of a society, largely organized by the slaveholders of America, for the colonization of the colored people of that country; a society which, through the plausible representations of its agent in England, had found favor in the eyes of some of our leading philanthropists. After holding meetings in London, I accompanied Mr. Garrison to Bath, to see the venerable William Wilberforce, who, a few weeks afterwards, was removed by death from the scene of his labors, but not before he had witnessed the achievement of the great work to which in early life he had consecrated his powers. In company with Mr. Garrison, too, I followed the remains of that good man to their final resting place in Westminster Abbey. In the course of my many conversations with Mr. Garrison, I acquired an intimate knowledge of the state of the anti-slavery cause in America, and felt an earnest desire to become a missionary to that country, for the promulgation of the same great truths which had wrought so salutary and decisive an effect upon the majority of my own countrymen. Mr. Garrison was urgent in his entreaties that I would become his coadjutor, and promised on his return home to send me an official invitation from the society he represented. Before his departure, I gave him a pledge that, if I could induce the Emancipation Society of Great Britain to make themselves chargeable with the expenses of my mission, I would follow him to the United States, and join him in the effort he was making to awaken the minds of his countrymen to a just conception of the nature and guilt attached to their toleration of the enslavement of one-sixth of their entire population. On making known to the committee in Edinburgh and Glasgow my wish to visit America, they generously undertook to support the expenses of my mission for a period of three years, or longer, if my labors should continue beyond that term. Amongst those who entered most warmly into my design was the late noble-minded and philanthropic Joseph Sturge,

who not only offered to contribute to the expense of the passage of myself and family to America, but rendered me important aid in the formation of a society in London, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. I need scarcely say, that my determination to enter upon this new field of exertion put an end to the project which had been formed for assisting me to become a member of the British bar.

In the autumn of 1833, I received a communication from the New England Anti-Slavery Society, seconding the request which Mr. Garrison had made, and I wrote in reply to say, that after occupying myself until the 1st of August, 1834, in lecturing upon American slavery, and in the formation of societies to aid its abolition, I would embark for the United States. This assurance I fulfilled, and after visiting the celebration of negro emancipation on the 1st of August, in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, I left Liverpool on my anti-slavery mission to the United States, carrying with me addresses to the President of the Republic, and to the people of America, from the London Society for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. My labors in the United States extended from the 22d September, 1834, when I landed at New York, to the 25th November, 1835, when, at the solicitation of those who were concerned for my personal safety, I consented to take passage from Boston in a brig bound to New Brunswick in the British Possessions.

I must be forgiven, if I say no more regarding my labors in America during my first visit, than that I was treated with the most abundant kindness by the friends of the abolition cause, and received their warm thanks for the services rendered by me to that cause while sojourning amongst them. As for any sacrifices I made, or perils I encountered, by my visit, I count them as less than dust in the balance, and thank God I had a share in sowing that precious seed which is now bearing such abundant fruits. From the time of my return from the United States until the autumn of 1837, I was unceasingly employed in visiting various parts of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of lecturing upon the subject of American Slavery, and promoting the transmission to America of memorials and protests on that subject. During that period, I maintained a discussion in Glasgow of five days' duration, with the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, in the course of which I vindicated the policy and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and exposed the hypocrisy and guilt of the American churches. This debate was published and widely circulated, and there is reason to believe that the facts it made known caused the character of American slavery to be better understood.

The system of negro apprenticeship, which had taken the place of slavery in the British Colonies, had been found to be, in its practical working, but a modified form of the system which it had superseded; and those who had always advocated the bestowment of absolute and unconditional freedom felt it their duty to demand an abridgement of the term of his apprenticeship. In the movement for this object, the late Mr. Sturge took a leading part, and was joined by me in the autumn of 1837. At a conference of friends of abolition, it was agreed to petition Parliament in favor of the termination of the apprenticeship on the 1st of the ensuing August. In the prosecution of this object we had no success, in the first instance, of the cooperation of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, or of any of the distinguished parliamentary supporters of negro emancipation. At a later stage, however, we had the aid of the all-powerful voice, both in the House of Lords and in public meetings, of Henry Lord Brougham, whose accession to our ranks communicated a mighty impetus to the cause, and greatly contributed to the victory which crowned our efforts. Though to the last opposed by the administration, and on every occasion but one outvoted in both Houses of Parliament, such was the overwhelming force of public opinion, that the government was compelled to address despatches to the Governors of the Colonies, directing them to issue measures for the abolition of the system on the 1st of August, 1838. These measures, the colored population of our dependencies were delivered two years earlier than the time fixed by the Abolition act, from the oppressions and cruelties which had been inflicted upon them during their transition state.

About the time that we were called upon to celebrate the abolition of the last remaining vestige of slavery within our own West Indian dominions, the attention of the public of this country was drawn to the sufferings and mortality occasioned by a drought prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the Northwest Provinces of British India. At the same time, also, I was solicited by the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and other members of the Aborigines' Protection Society, to present the claims of that benighted and excellent body to the notice of the people of this country. In the mean time, I had become acquainted with several gentlemen who had spent their official lives in India, and had returned to their native land with a sincere desire to improve the condition of the people amongst whom their public duties had been discharged. Sharing in the laudable wish cherished by these worthy persons, and anxious to serve both the general object of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and the cause of good government in India, I consented to act as a lecturer for the Society, on condition that I might give prominence to the claims of India, and the condition of the natives of that country.

I soon found, however, that the subject of India engaged all my thoughts, and was sufficient of itself to occupy all my time, and to command all the strength I was able to bestow upon it. I obtained leave, therefore, from the committee, to relinquish my engagement, and to devote myself exclusively to the work of disseminating information relating to the government of India, and the treatment of its native subjects. A provisional committee for the formation of a British India Society was soon after established in London, and on the 6th of July, 1839, that Society was inaugurated at a great meeting held in Freamon's Hall, under the presidency of Lord Brougham. Towards the close of the same year, I delivered a course of six lectures in Manchester, "On the Condition, Resources and Prospects of British India, and the Duties and Responsibilities of Great Britain to do justice to that vast Empire." In those lectures I endeavored to impress upon the minds of the people in the cotton manufacturing districts, the necessity of looking to India for a supply of the raw material essential to their prosperity. These lectures were attended by large and influential audiences, and were subsequently published in a volume, which contained also an able essay on "The Past and Present Condition of the Cotton Trade of India." By General Briggs, and a colored map, indicating the different soils upon which all the varieties of cotton brought into the British market had been successfully cultivated. I continued to lecture in connection with the British India Society until June, 1841, when, with the consent of the committee, I made an offer of my services, gratuitously, to the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, during their struggle for the abolition of all taxes upon the feet of the people. My offer was accepted, and the members of the Council, in return, pledged themselves, as far as competent to cooperate with the British India Society (upon the settlement of their own questions) for the attainment of the great object of the Society—Justice to India.

On the termination of the labors in which I had been engaged for the extension of the system of Negro Apprenticeship, the friends of that object were pleased to recognize my services by the presentation of a testimonial in money, amounting to a very considerable sum.

not better apply the generous gift of my warm-hearted friends, than by purchasing with it a portion of East India stock, the holding of which would entitle me to a voice in the Court of Proprietors. On entering that Court, my first speech was in favor of the revision and amelioration of the Land-tax of Agriculture, and amelioration of the Land-tax of Agriculture, and the impoverishment of the cultivators of the soil. I next took a very active part in the debates relating to the detronement of a distinguished Hindoo Prince, the Rajah of Sattara, and in the exposure of the iniquitous means which had been employed to dispossess that virtuous sovereign of his dominions. In conjunction with the committee of the British India Society, I originated a periodical, entitled "Justice to India, Prosperity to England, Freedom to the Slave." This publication, which was in the form of a newspaper, was continued at intervals until the end of 1840.

In uniting myself to the Anti-corn-law movement, my principal object was to awaken the attention of the religious and philanthropic portions of the people of Great Britain to the vast social and moral evils generated by the laws restricting the supply of food. I therefore obtained permission to invite by circular ministers of religion, of all denominations, to meet in conference in Manchester, and pronounce a judgment upon the corn-law monopoly. Nearly seven hundred ministers assembled, and were occupied in deliberation for four days. The result was a unanimous condemnation of the Corn-law as unjust in principle, pernicious in its operation, and at war with the beneficent dispensations of Divine Providence. A similar meeting of the ministers and office-bearers of the various religious bodies in Scotland, was soon afterwards held in the city of Edinburgh, at the same time and place. The result was similar. During the latter part of the year 1841, and the greater part of 1842, my time was spent in attending public meetings in company with Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other eminent friends of free trade. I have not frequently been subjected to the imputation of having aided the movement for the abolition of the Corn-law, with a view to pecuniary advantage. Such was not the case, as the leaders of that movement who are now living can testify, and as the records of the Council of the League will show. My labors were as independent and free as those of any nobleman or gentleman who took part in the agitation. Let me on this occasion, however, say, what I have never publicly stated before, that previously to my offering of gratuitous assistance to the Anti-Corn-Law League, I had been proffered by the protectionist party of this country a handsome provision for life, and an elevated position, on the simple condition of declaring my adhesion to the principles maintained by that party. After considering the proposal made to me, I returned for my answer, that if I ever expressed any opinions on the subject of the corn-laws, they would be in condemnation of them; and in favor of their unconditional and absolute repeal. So much for the justice of the charge to which I have been exposed of having been away in my actions on the question of free trade by mercenary considerations. Let me add, that neither on the question of free trade, nor on any other question I have advocated, have I ever in my life stipulated for pecuniary compensation. There is not a document in existence that will show that I ever entered into a money bargain for my services.

Towards the close of 1842, an opportunity presented itself for my visiting India, and spending a year in that country in the investigation of the actual condition of the people, and the character and effects of the government under which they lived. That opportunity I gladly embraced, and landed in Calcutta, in January, 1843. Reports of my humble efforts in behalf of India had gone before me, and I was soon called upon to undertake the official representation in this country of his highness the Rajah of Sattara, and his majesty the King of Delhi. After visiting both those princes, and enjoying extensive means of acquiring a knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, I returned to this country in the spring of 1844, and forthwith devoted myself to the management of the important business committed to my hands—laboring at the same time, occasionally, to promote the Anti-Corn-Law movement and other objects in which I had been previously interested.

The year 1847 saw me returned to Parliament. My votes, during the time that I was a representative of the people, will show that I was not unfaithful to the principles for the sake of which I had been returned.

During the Parliamentary recess of the years 1848-9, I labored assiduously, in conjunction with Sir Joshua Watson, in seeking to establish the principles, and promote the objects of the National Parliamentary Reform Association. In pursuance of these ends, we travelled extensively, and addressed great public meetings in various parts of the kingdom. During the recess of 1850, I crossed the Atlantic a second time, for the purpose of witnessing the progress of anti-slavery principles during the fifteen years which had elapsed since my first visit. I soon found myself overwhelmed with invitations to deliver speeches on the all-engrossing question of slavery; and that I might, to some extent, comply with them, and thereby render some additional service to the cause for which I had labored when it was in its infancy, I protracted my stay beyond the period of the reassembling of Parliament, in 1851, and, for so doing, incurred the serious displeasure of some amongst my constituents who did not share my feelings of attachment to the great struggle for freedom in America. In 1852, as you all know, I was unsuccessful in my attempt to be a second time returned as representative of the great metropolitan borough of the Tower Hamlets; but I am glad that my place has been so well supplied by the election of my honorable friend, Mr. Ayrton, who sits beside me, and who, I trust, will long continue to deserve and receive the confidence and support of the vast constituency which I once had the honor to serve.

Acting from a sincere conviction of duty, I felt it incumbent upon me to oppose, during the years 1853-54-55, the war between Great Britain, and her allies, and Russia. The advocacy of the views which I then entertained, and have seen no reason to alter, brought me neither profit nor popularity; but I can reflect with satisfaction upon the course which I was at that period led to pursue, and have since met with not a few persons, who, though they were amongst my most strenuous opponents, are now frank enough to admit that their sentiments have undergone a decided change.

During the years 1856-57-58, I was, as many of you are aware, a second time a resident on the plains of India, engaged during that time in investigations connected with the adaptation of certain native products to the manufacturing purposes of this country. While there, I witnessed the outbreak and culmination of the Sepoy Mutiny, respecting the causes of which I might say much, were this the time or the place. I returned home in the middle of 1858, but so prostrated by the effects of the climate, that it was not until the commencement of 1860, and then but very feebly, that I was sufficiently recovered to be able to stand once more before an audience of my countrymen. I then divided my time between the advocacy of the cause of Parliamentary Reform, based upon the principles of the Northern Political Reform Union, and the discussion by lectures and public addresses, of the American question; my object, as regarded America, being, to enable the people of England rightly to understand the issues involved in the struggle then going on in the United States between the Republican and Democratic parties. I deemed it, also, my duty, when occasion seemed to require it, to explain and vindicate the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society—a body which has been much misunderstood, and often wrongly misrepresented, in this country; and to the purity and fidelity of which I have at all times, and at any temporary sacrifice, borne my humble but sincere and unqualified testimony.

particulars respecting the career, especially through the later years of his life, of that heroic champion of the slave, and noble martyr in the cause of freedom and humanity—John Brown. I have delivered many lectures, in various parts of the Kingdom, describing the anti-slavery labors, the prison life, the salubrious death, and funeral honors of that illustrious man, who fell at last a victim to the guilty fears and fiendish revenge of the slaveholding tyrants of Virginia. When the second great political conflict between the Republican and Pro-slavery parties of America took place, I did what I could, by public addresses and otherwise, to give correct information in regard to the real merits of the question between the supporters of Mr. Lincoln and the political organizations with which they had to contend. During the years 1861 and 1862, I have been constantly lecturing upon the subject of the slaveholders' rebellion, the prospects of the war, and the bearing of events upon the question of emancipation. No man, more than myself, has either regretted or repented the course taken by the majority of the public journals of this country on the subject of the disruption in America; nor has any one rejoiced more than I have done in the recent manifestations of that I sound anti-slavery feeling for which this country was honorably conspicuous thirty years ago.

My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I have now, at the risk of exhausting your patience, gone through "The story of my life, from year to year,"—not so much with a view of imparting information to you, as, as I do, that many of you are familiar with the events in my history—of furnishing to those who may hereafter read the address you have presented to me, the facts which will enable them to fill up the outline which that address has so ably but faintly sketched. A few more words, and I have done. On every question which, in the course of my public life, I have brought before the attention of the people, I have always sought the support of some great principle which could not be successfully assailed, the justice and importance of which the people would perceive and appreciate. On the question of slavery, I early satisfied myself that it was impossible that man could rightfully become the proprietor of his fellow-man; and that all questions relating to mere treatment of few or many stripes—of such or that food—of this or that kind of clothing—were questions of secondary, and comparatively insignificant consideration. That the essence of slavery and its attendant guilt consisted in reducing a man to the level of a chattel—in invading his natural and divine right to be personally free. That no man could be a slave-owner without usurping the authority and prerogative of the Creator.

Who gave us only over beasts, fish, fowl, Dominion absolute; but over man, Made as not lord; such title to himself Reserving, humane left from human free.

On this rock I planted my feet when I commenced the discussion of the anti-slavery question, and I ascribe any measure of success which followed my labors to the fact of my uncompromising fidelity to the eternal and immutable truth, that man cannot hold property in man. When my attention was called to the nature and operation of the corn-law, I endeavored to discover some principle upon which I might found my opposition, and defy assault. I did not, in the first instance, enter upon a particular inquiry into the effects of those laws upon a special branch of British manufactures. My examination was directed to the principles by which the intercourse of nations and communities should be governed, in exchanging with each other the various fruits of the industry of their hands, the ingenuity of their heads, and the fertility of their soils. I read in that book which we reverence, that God had given for the benefit of man, "every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed;" and I came to the conclusion, that all laws tending to intercept the food which is necessary for the sustentation of man, or to raise it to an artificial value, for the benefit of a particular class, was a variance with the arrangements of Divine Providence, and ought to be immediately abolished. In seeking to obtain better government for India, and other dependencies of the British Crown, I have been guided by the principle, that sovereignty is a trust for which we are responsible, and that we can scarcely be guilty of a greater crime than to make the happiness of the millions we have conquered subservient to the interests of the conquerors. I have been guided by the principle, that to those from whom we expect allegiance, we should render protection—that we owe them just laws, together with every effort to ameliorate their condition. In my efforts to promote the enfranchisement of my countrymen, I have been guided, by what I believed to be the principle of the British Constitution, namely, the right of every man called to pay taxes to have a voice in the election of those who shall in the first place levy the taxes, and then dispose of the money raised by them. I have, therefore, advocated the doctrine of manhood suffrage, protected by the ballot. I have never had any serious apprehensions of the consequences that would flow from the largest extension of the franchise, if accompanied by proper safeguards. If I wanted any proof of the intelligence of the working-classes of this country, and their fitness for the political power I would confer upon them, I would point to the state of things in our manufacturing districts, and to the conduct of our unemployed operatives. I trust the admirable demeanor they have exhibited will not be forgotten when representative reform shall again be under consideration. As a proof of their clear-sightedness and understanding, I would refer to the course they have pursued in reference to the great struggle in America. As regards the press of this country, its sympathy generally has been decidedly on the side of the Southern slaveholding rebels; and, doubtless, our newspapers have represented, with tolerable accuracy, the feelings of the upper, middle, and mercantile classes of the community. But there has been no sympathy with the South, or very little, amongst the masses of the intelligent working-classes of Great Britain. Their hatred of slavery, and their desire for emancipation all over the world, have remained unchanged, and as strong as ever. All honor to the half-million operatives of the north of England, who have borne with such heroic fortitude their grievous privations. The fettered millions of America have no more sincere or hearty friends than the pale-faced working-men and women of our manufacturing districts, who are reconciled to their country fare and gloomy prospects by the thought that their sufferings are working out the deliverance of the oppressed. The sublime resignation and self-forgetfulness of these people—their scrupulous observance of law—their whole-souled attachment to the cause of human freedom—their quick and clear perception of the real merits of the contest between the North and the South—their superiority to the misad of those who have been sent amongst them to mislead and delude them—their appreciation of the labor and detests involved in the contest—these things should excite the admiration of all classes of the community, and teach a valuable lesson to our rulers and our people at large. I now only remain for me, before the close of this address, out of a full heart, my thanks to the friends who have been so kind as to send me a copy of the address which I have just delivered. I shall carry it with me to a source of as I shall live, with encouragement; and I hope to witness those who may come after me, to show a similar devotion to the cause of truth, justice, and human freedom, convinced by the results of my own human labors, that they will not labor in vain; and that, with the support and confidence of those who are so true and so generous, and for the triumph of some and domestic happiness, and for the triumph of every good cause in which you are engaged, I now bid you farewell.

Mr. Thompson resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

As a Scotch given a grateful recognition of his long and earnest services in the cause of Negro Emancipation, viz. of Westminster, Political and Social Reform, at the Old Chatterbox Club, London, Feb. 29th, 1850—the Right Hon. Lord TRENKLE in the chair.
A complimentary Address to Mr. Thompson (for which see our inside form) having been read, and unanimously adopted by the meeting—
The Noble Chairman rose, and said:—Mr. George Thompson.—Allow me to say, that no intelligent, patient labor is without its fruit. It always receives a blessing from on high. Ladies and Gentlemen,—the very records which are contained in this address testify to our friend and to ourselves, that the most blessed fruits of his labors at home and abroad have resulted from the seed which he has sown to sow. I have only now to say, in addition to what is expressed here, that we hope it may please you, Mr. Thompson, to accept this address at our hands, representing to us, as it does, the ripe fruits of friendship. No doubt, we have in your heart feelings which make you glad, and with God's blessing strengthening you, you hope that you may live to see the consummation of your fervent wishes for the emancipation of the negro.
Mr. Thompson rose, and delivered a prolonged address, which having finished, he spoke as follows:—
My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen; kind and partial friends.—On this occasion, I have to discharge a duty which of all others, I am most unfitted to fulfil. I have never yet learned how to utter, appropriately, the