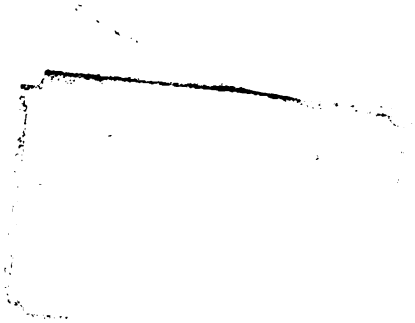
A STUDY OF ORANGE SCOTT AND THE TRUE WESLEYAN, 1843 - 1847, AS RELATED TO THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

CHARLES ALLEN LYONS

1974



ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF ORANGE SCOTT AND THE TRUE WESLEYAN, 1843-1847, AS RELATED TO THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

By

Charles Allen Lyons

The major thrust of this study is an examination of the True Wesleyan, a weekly newspaper of dissidents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to judge whether or not it qualified as a legitimate representative of abolitionist journalism in the nineteenth century. While the writer researched the paper through the Civil War, this study is limited to the years 1843 to 1847. In chapter one a perspective on the development of both the religious press and the abolitionist journalism in America during the early 1800's is provided. The True Wesleyan was rooted in both of these journalistic phenomena. The discussions of these two phenomena are helpful in gaining an overview, particularly of the religious press of which there is very little resource material available. The study moves in chapter two to a contemporary definition of abolitionism, clarifying its distinction within the antislavery movement. In chapter three the writer introduces a principle character of the study, Orange Scott. An overview of Scott's life, leading up to the point of his launching the True Wesleyan in 1843 is provided.

Scott is shown to be a true abolitionist who revolted against the proslavery forces of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a popular leader within the American Anti-Slavery Society. The fourth chapter focuses in part on Scott's role as an abolitionist journalist, and in great measure on the True Wesleyan as an abolitionist newspaper. Using the documentary and analytical methods of historical research, the study demonstrates the commitment of the True Wesleyan to abolitionism in the printing of large amounts of antislavery news, features, and opinion articles. The study reports the radical abolitionist opinions of Scott stated in the columns of the paper--opinions which did not make him popular as an abolitionist journalist, but which were consistent with his passionate belief in the cause of human freedom and equality.

A STUDY OF ORANGE SCOTT AND THE TRUE WESLEYAN, 1843-1847, AS RELATED TO THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

By

Charles Allen Lyons

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1974

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.

W. Cameron Meyer

Director of Thesis

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment is given to David R. Warriner, Ph.D. candidate (Indiana University), for his suggestions on establishing an accurate definition of an abolitionist; to P. W. Thomas, Director of Archives, The Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana, whose sensitivity to the importance of preserving historical documents has made available many valuable materials vital to the rich heritage of that church; and to [illegible] Meyers, Ph.D., associate professor, School of Journalism, Michigan State University, who not only has commendable ability to inspire, direct, and critique the student undertaking scholarly work, but who also possesses a genuine concern for the total life of the student.

Finally, no married graduate student completes a program without substantial sacrifices by his family. Special thanks to Lana (my wife) and Shani and Jodi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

An important part of the struggle by abolitionists to eliminate human slavery from American soil was abolitionist journalism. This unique form of the American press was born early in the nineteenth century and remained alive in some shape or form until the end of the Civil War. All kinds of publications espoused the cause of abolitionism. Among them was the True Wesleyan, a weekly religious newspaper founded in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1843. The True Wesleyan was not exclusively an abolitionist publication, since it also played a vital part in the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. But this study demonstrates that the antislavery cause was an overwhelming concern of the editors of the True Wesleyan and received much attention in the columns and pages of the newspaper.

Relying on documentary and analytical methods of historical research, this study endeavors to show the tone and degree of involvement of the True Wesleyan in the abolitionist movement, confined to the years 1843 to 1847, with the earlier date representing the founding of the True Wesleyan and the later date, the death of Orange Scott, the man who founded the paper and established its guiding principles.

A look at two journalistic phenomena of the early 1800's--abolitionist journalism and the religious press--gives a perspective of the broader heritage of the True Wesleyan. A careful discussion

of an abolitionist provides a definition essential to judging the abolitionist sentiment of the paper. And, a consideration of Orange Scott as a significant figure in the abolitionist movement, and an examination of some of the antislavery events of the Methodist Episcopal Church offers insight not only into the man who so greatly influenced the course of the True Wesleyan, but the circumstances which led to the founding of the paper.

The key part of the study is an analysis of the treatment of the issue of slavery during this period of 1840-1847 by the True Wesleyan. News coverage of the issue and the editorial attitude of the paper are examined. It is here the study attempts to uncover the degree to which the True Wesleyan was committed to the cause of abolitionism, and the tone and method it employed in fulfilling that commitment.

Finally, the study offers a discussion of the findings as they relate to the True Wesleyan in its role as an abolitionist paper.

CHAPTER I

ABOLITIONISM AND THE PRESS

During the early part of the nineteenth century, there grew out of the American version of humanitarianism a great movement that took as its purpose the abolition of human slavery from United States soil. Abolitionism was only one of many social reforms that sprang up during this period. But it was, perhaps, the most penetrating issue of the day; for it had a broad effect on American life and such established institutions as government, the church, higher education, and most of all, slavery.

Like many reforms in their beginnings, abolitionism met stern resistance. To be an abolitionist in the Short meant to accept public scorn and possible imprisonment.[1] In the North, during the 1830's and 1840's, identification with the movement brought social castigation.[2] Only in the years immediately prior to and during

[1] It was a prison offence in 1859 in some Southern states merely to subscribe to an abolitionist paper. See Clement Eaton, "The Freedom of the Press in the Upper South," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVIII (March, 1932), 479 and W. Sherman Savage, The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature, 1830-1860 (Jefferson City, Mo.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1938).

[2] For example, Hilary A. Herbert writes in The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences; Four Periods of American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 65, that at a meeting of a number of elite persons in Boston on August 3, 1835, a resolution was passed opposing abolitionism. These elite persons blamed abolitionists for the threat of slave rebellion in the South. Actually, Savage notes in Controvery over literature, p. xiii and p. 125 that the greater

the Civil War did popular support in the North swing behind the antislavery cause.

Despite this opposition, however, the number of antislavery supporters in the North swelled during the 1830's and 1840's. The movement was still years away from gaining the support of the masses in the nation. But, spurred by clergymen, poets, philosophers, zealots, crusaders and reformers, it gradually made inroads into the public conscience. By 1840 several hundred antislavery societies were formed with estimates of the number of members running upward from 200,000 persons.[3] Publications of these societies claimed nearly one million readers.[4]

One means the abolitionists had of gaining support was the press. Although the press in general was slow in warming up to the antislavery cause,[5] the antislavery leaders were quick to see the

---

part of the abolitionists were against such action, particularly in the 1830's when they were considered "mild." Even William Lloyd Garrison, one of the most uncompromising foes of slavery, condemned the paper Appeal, published by David Walker, which in 1829 urged the slaves to revolt.

[3]Savage estimates that in 1837 alone there were 403 societies formed for a total of 1,000 (p. 92). Herbert states that there were 200 societies formed by 1840, with a total of 200,000 members (p. 93). His is the most conservative report. Albert Bushnell Hart says in Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1966), p. 184, that there were 200 socieites in 1835 and 500 in 1836. While the statistics vary, evidence from these and other sources indicate that between the mid-1830's and 1850 the number of abolitionists grew substantially.

[4]Savage, Controversy over Literature, p. 13.

[5]Asa Earl Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II (March, 1916), 509.

print medium as a powerful tool for affecting public opinion.[6] A wide range of antislavery newspapers was assembled by various "societies" and beyond that, and perhaps most noteworthy, there developed a number of independent abolitionist publications whose personalities were primarily a reflection of their editors, who generally were their founders and owners. These papers ranged in scope from the fiery, belligerent blasts of William Lloyd Garrison in the Liberator to the more subdued, but nonetheless persuasive pleas of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, edited by a gentle Quaker, Benjamin Lundy.

One newspaper that had its beginning in this era and that was caught up in the fervor of abolitionist journalism was the True Wesleyan. Today, the True Wesleyan is a religious magazine named the Wesleyan Advocate, the main organ of the Wesleyan Church. The publication has a history that spans 130 years and is somewhat unusual in that it was founded (in 1843) at a time when two forms of American journalism--abolitionist journalism and the religious press--were developing into powerful and popular means of communication. The True Wesleyan was clearly a mixture of these two kinds of journalism.

Abolitionist journalism had a timely beginning in America for at least two reasons.

---

[6]Savage notes that "In the first annual report of the American Anti-Slavery Society (in 1834) the committee on publicity insisted that the press was one of the most powerful agencies of reform and said that the society has made as much use of it as possible."

First, it developed at a point in history when there was public interest in reform movements and when reform journalism was already established.

> Reform journalism . . . appeared at the culmination of several social developments which played significant roles in shaping its character. One of these was the wave of humanitarian reform, including peace, temperance, and women's rights, which, having already established a tradition of reform journalism and a public interest in reform movements, provided additional substance, moral support, cooperation, and journalistic example to those interested in crusading against slavery. Three other traditions which aided in shaping anti-slavery journalism concerned the development of the press in the eighteenth century. The first was the tradition of freedom of expression, a freedom established in the colonial period, guaranteed by the Constitution, and severely tested by the Alien and Sedition Acts. The second was the tradition of agressive, partisan journalistic practices which evolved from the bitter political controversies accompanying the growth of the new republic. An established tradition of propagandistic journalism was the third. Newspapers and magazines, rather than pamphlets, came to be recognized after the American Revolution as effective media for influencing public opinion.[7]

Secondly, American journalism in general was on the brink of experiencing tremendous growth and of becoming a well-accepted part of American life. For various reasons, the young nation lacked any real literary quality as the nineteenth century was ushered in: (1) the new nation was occupied with business, industry, and politics, (2) the nation had a defective system of college education and lacked competition in scholarship, (3) there was a paucity of rewards for authors; payment for articles was practically unknown in America

---

[7] Joseph A. Del Porto, "A Study of American Anti-Slavery Journals" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1954), p. 36.

until 1819, (4) books were scarce and difficult to procur, and (5) the new nation lacked a peculiar language.[8]

However, as America had thrown off the shackles of political subservience to England, it struggled likewise for literary independence. Magazines, known through the first two decades of the 1800's for their short lives, small circulations, and "large borrowings" from English and other sources, began to know greater acceptance in America because of the "insistent demand for a peculiarly American literature." Especially in the 1820's was there an increase in the number of magazines overall; and there also developed a number of class periodicals and weekly magazines. These publications numbered in the hundreds by the 1830's and steadily increased, particularly in the areas of religion and politics. By 1860, they totaled more than a thousand.[9]

Although magazines were experiencing increased popularity, the American reader's real literary interest in the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by his "fondness for newspapers." The first daily newspaper in America, the Pennsylvania Evening Post, was published in 1783 by Benjamin Towne. By 1800, most big ports and commercial centers were supporting daily papers.[10] The number of newspapers reached 1,200 by 1833 and by 1860 had

---

[8]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850, I (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), 13, 14, 17.

[9]Ibid., 210.

[10]Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of Journalism (2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 173.

mushroomed to 3,000, of which approximately 10 per cent were dailies.[11]

The increased population of the country--it had expanded about two and one-third times its size--contributed to the growth of both magazines and newspapers. Concurrent with this growth were the development of public education, which produced a nation of readers--including women who were a prime audience of some editors--and a greater interest in public affairs encouraged by the democratic political system.[12]

One of the most influential factors in the growth of American journalism at this time was a cheaper press. An epoch in American journalism began on September 3, 1833, when Benjamin H. Day printed the New York Sun, the successful pioneer of the penny press.[13] Spurred by mechanical improvements in presses and paper-making machinery in the Age of Steam, and aided by lower postal rates, newspaper publishers could now afford to make their newspaper available to a large portion of the population that hitherto could not afford them.[14] The penny press developed at a point

---

[11]Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 216.

[12]Ibid., pp. 303-04.

[13]These papers were called the penny press because one issue sold for one penny, says Emery, The Press and America, p. 217. There were other similar ventures, but none as successful as the Sun, which built up a circulation of 8,000 readers in six months.

[14]Del Porto, "Study of Anti-Slavery Journals," p. 37.

when the common man--the laboring class--had begun to rise politically and socially under Jacksonian democracy. The press recognized "the common man on the communications level. The working man had already won the right to vote. Now the penny papers could reach out to him as no other medium could."[15]

It was this direct line to the heart of the American masses--at a bearable cost--that made the print medium attractive to reform journalists. Abolitionists were among the reformers who capitalized on this opportune moment in history. They made great strides in establishing in the 1820's a press that flourished in the next decade when "antislavery papers appeared in rapid succession."[16]

Classified in the category of the abolitionist press were those newspapers and periodicals of limited, general circulation; produced by mechanical means (to distinguish them from handwritten "newes letters"); whose columns and pages appealed to a specific readership of ordinary literary skill and whose contents ranged from the rational to the emotional, usually relying on religious persuasion; whose periodicity frequently was erratic;[17] and whose editors were motivated by an abiding concern for abolition.

---

[15]Emery, The Press and America, p. 217.

[16]Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," p. 527.

[17]Eric W. Allen, "International Origins of the Newspapers: The Establishment of Periodicity in Print," Journalism Quarterly, VII (December, 1930), 314.

The beginning of abolitionist journalism is generally set at 1817. In that year in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, Charles Osburn, a Quaker minister who is regarded by most journalism historians as the first abolitionist editor of significance, launched the Philanthropist, a "weekly newspaper of religious tone intended . . . to aid in the campaign then being waged by the reformers against three national evils: war, slavery, and intemperance."[18] Osburn's associate editor and agent was Benjamin Lundy, who later became disenchanted with the Philanthropist when it changed ownership from Osburn to Elisha Bates in 1818, and who established his own Genius of Universal Emancipation in 1821 in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. Actually, Lundy had planned to settle his family in Illinois after Bates took control of the Philanthropist, but he was disenchanted with Bates because he "did not come up to his standard of anti-slavery."[19]

Lundy delayed starting the Genius partly because Elihu Embree, another Quaker minister who had a fervent zeal for abolitionism, had started, with the support of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, the Manumission Intelligence in Jonesborough, Tennessee, in 1819. In 1820, its name was changed to the Emancipator. Embree died suddenly on December 12, 1820. Lundy then felt it necessary to begin publishing the Genius of Universal Emancipation to give the abolitionist cause the kind of voice he believed it should have.

---

[18]Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," p. 511.

[19]Thomas Earle, Life of Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia, 1847), quoted in Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," p. 520.

Many of the early abolitionist papers that appeared prior to 1832 were located either in the southern or border states. They were mild in tone and philosophy, especially compared to the abrasive, confronting style of Garrison's Liberator, first published in 1831. Historians traditionally give Garrison primary consideration in any discussion of the abolitionist press. There were an estimated 100 other antislavery papers being published, however, by 1838 that attracted growing support for the antislavery cause.[20] Among these were eleven publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a movement most popular in New England, which issued more than one million copies from its presses throughout the North and South in 1836.[21] This was the time, the 1830's, when abolitionist journalism became of age. From this decade until the end of the Civil War, it sustained a steady influence in steering America away from a course of human slavery.

Very similar to the development of the abolitionist press was that of religious journalism, maturing during the first half of the nineteenth century when the awakened nation of readers looked

---

[20]There is no official record of the number of antislavery papers at this time. However, this estimate was made in 1838 in correspondence by James G. Birney, an active abolitionist and a secretary for the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York. It does not seem to be out of line with information provided by other sources. The estimate is cited in Martin's "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," p. 527.

[21]The publications were mailed to all parts of America, including the South, at no charge. This angered some southern leaders who protested the use of the federal postal system to deliver such "propaganda" notes Savage in Controversy over Literature, p. 13.

beyond making a living to building a civilization. Basically, many of the factors--previously mentioned in this chapter--that figured into the development of abolitionist journalism contributed to the shaping of the religious press. The development of the religious press was another example of coming to fruition at the right point in history.

Religious journalism in America grew out of an eighteenth century press that printed pamphlets, tracts, and books, stressing the "Christian message and movement as a whole rather than furthering any denominational interest." Many of these writings came from the pens of the early Puritan clergy of New England who discussed "heavy doctrinal subjects as original sin and eternal damnation with holy vehemence." There was no "distinctly religious periodical" published in the Colonies until 1743 when the Reverend Thomas Prince of Boston established Christian History, a weekly "that provided accounts of the Great Awakening of New England (1742-1743) and the propagation of religion in Great Britain and America."[22] Between 1743 and 1794 only four other religious periodicals were published.[23]

---

[22]Carl F. H. Henry, Successful Church Publicity, A Guidebook for Christian Publicists (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943), pp. 33-34, 36.

[23]Mott writes in A History of American Magazine, 1741-1850, that these four periodicals were: Royal Spiritual Magazine, Arminian Magazine, Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine, and Free Universal Magazine. Of these, the Arminian Magazine was the first sectarian magazine, published for two years (1789-1790) in Philadelphia by Methodist Bishop Cokes and Asbury (pp. 13-35, passim).

Secular newspapers and magazines in the eighteenth century gave much space to Christianity and its implications. "Religion furnished an important part of magazine contents. Most of the early magazines published sermons occasionally in some guise or other, and a few were devoted largely to homiletical literature."[24] This secular avenue provided an outlet of expression for "many talented clergymen." Along with the substantial amount of religious literature (books and pamphlets) in circulation, there was little need for any expansion or modification of the religious press.

Like abolitionist journalism, timing was important in the sudden burst of religious publications in the nineteenth century. Having waged its own Revolutionary War and having felt in part the effects of the French Revolution, America entered the 1800's at a low point in the moral and religious life of the nation.[25] But early in the new century religious revivals began springing up throughout the nation, penetrating the American culture and lending influence to the spirit of social reform.[26] The church moved forward in America, but in a way different from that of the eighteenth century as "denominational trunk lines of organization spread across the continent to gather up loosely scattered congregations into more strictly sectarian movements."[27]

---

[24] Ibid., p. 56.

[25] William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 322.

[26] Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-19th Century America (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), passim.

[27] Henry Kalloch Rowe, The History of Religion in the United States, quoted in Henry, Successful Church Publicity, p. 43.

Church leaders, looking for an effective way to interpret the church to its constituency, turned to the press.[28] Religious leaders also saw nineteenth century journalism as a means of promoting a "spiritual awakening" in the nation.[29]

Religious magazines became successful ventures for several reasons, including: (1) the surge of interest in religion, (2) the economic feasability of producing a publication, (3) the "half-hearted" boost given magazines by the U.S. postal statute of 1794 that allowed them to be mailed under certain conditions, and (4) the general refining of the taste of Americans toward the reading of periodicals.[30]

Still another reason for the explosion of the religious press was the "proliferation of competitive groups which led to the radical increase in the number of religious periodicals, most of them protestant, because Catholicism was a negligible minority in the early part of the century, and Judaism was hardly represented." These periodicals were for the most part "polemic and proselytizing in character, tending to downgrade other Christian denominations" and to wage long battles over religious viewpoints.[31]

---

[28]Roland E. Wolseley, The Magazine World: An Introduction to Magazine Journalism (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), p. 100.

[29]Henry, Successful Church Publicity, p. 42.

[30]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 13-35 and Henry, Successful Church Publicity, 29-73, passim.

[31]Martin E. Marty, et al., "The Protestant Press: Limitations and Possibilities," The Religious Press in America (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 40.

By the middle of the century, the American reading public was being saturated by the religious press. "Every denomination had its publication and usually a full complement of theological quarterly, home monthly and regional weekly publications."[32] In 1840, "three quarters of the reading material of Americans was definitely religious."[33] By 1885, the number of religious magazines had risen to more than 650. This did not include another phenomenon of the religious press, the religious newspaper, of which there were 208 in circulation in 1870.[34]

Religious newspapers were similar in appearance to the secular weekly press in the early 1800's, and, in fact, competed with these newspapers.

> They [religious newspapers] gathered news regularly, maintained correspondents in other cities, and covered secular as well as sectarian happenings. They depended somewhat upon news and gossip of various church societies, well known religious leaders, and current ecclesiastical movements; but their chief points of difference from the secular papers were in political neutrality, in editorial discussions of church polity, in the use of more religious and denominational news, and in the employment of literary miscellany chiefly of a religious cast.[35]

The date of the establishment of the first religious newspaper has been a point of controversy in the history of the religious press. In 1872, the controversy appeared in the columns of the Boston

---

[32]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865, II, 60.

[33]Benjamin P. Browne, Christian Journalism for Today (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1962), p. 14.

[34]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885, III, 66.

[35]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 137.

Evening Post. The sons of Nathaniel Willis and Sidney Edwards Morse both gave evidence that each of their fathers was the "father of religious journalism" by virtue of Willis' role as publisher and Morse's role as editor of what was believed by many at the time to be the first religious newspaper, the Boston Recorder, first published in 1816 in Boston. Their discussions, however, brought a letter from "The Gymnasium and Library Association" of Chillicothe, Ohio, asserting that John Andrews had printed from 1814 to 1817 in that city the Recorder, the first religious newspaper ever published in "this country or the world."[36]

Actually, the research of the late Frank Luther Mott, distinguished journalism historian, unveiled even an earlier religious newspaper, the Herald of Gospel Liberty, founded in 1808 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by Elias Smith. Its opening address on September 1, 1808, observed. "A religious newspaper is almost a new thing under the sun; I know not but this is the first ever published to the world."[37]

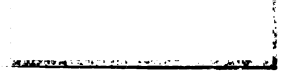
Regardless of who is credited for starting the religious newspapers, by 1823 the Methodist Magazine was complaining that they were "a phenomenon not many years since, but now the groaning press throws them out in almost every direction."[38] The sectarian nature of the religious press was a catalyst for "throwing out" the papers. By 1828, the Hopkinsian noted that sixty-seven weeklies were divided among

---

[36]Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873), pp. 289-95.

[37]Elias Smith, Herald Gospel of Liberty, quoted in Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 137.

[38]Methodist Magazine, quoted in Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 136.



at least twelve different religious groups that sought to declare their distinctions and to give "frequent emphasis" of the gospel, particularly in areas where there was no pulpit or preacher.[39]

Although different in appearance, the religious newspapers were similar to magazines in content because of the large amount of attention given to general articles and miscellany. A typical religious newspaper is described as printing "contributed articles and miscellaney on its first large page, editorials and correspondence from news centers on its third, and family reading, poetry, and sometimes advertising on its fourth."[40]

Even some of the abolitionist publications, no doubt, could have been accurately defined as magazines since the term in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "had to do with contents and not with format."[41] (Eventually, the definitions of a magazine and newspaper included both format and content.) A publication could take the form of a "proper newspaper" with no stapling, stitching or cover[42] and folio in size,[43] but carry a wide variety of content or a storehouse of material that classified it as a magazine.[44]

---

[39]These groups included the following: Presbyterian, Calvinistic Baptist, Universalist, Congregationalist, Christian Universal Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalians, Free Will Baptist, Unitarian, Friends, Anti-Missionary, and Roman Catholic, notes Henry in Successful Church Publicity, p. 48.

[40]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 137.

[41]Wolseley, The Magazine World, p. 8.

[42]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 8.

[43]Hudson, Journalism in the United States, p. 293.

[44]Wolseley, The Magazine World, p. 8.

This was the case with the publication under consideration in this study. At first glance, the True Wesleyan appears to be a newspaper, being loosely bound and folio in size. But its mixture of abolitionist and religious news with a heavy concentration of miscellany makes it difficult to define. Indeed, it was an example of both the religious and abolitionist newspapers of the 1840's. But the fact that over the years its format changed to a smaller, bound volume and now appears wholly as a magazine, makes it difficult to altogether exclude the label of magazine from its heritage.

During the course of this study, references to the True Wesleyan are limited to the following terms: (1) a "paper" because it was "a publication without stapling, stitching, or cover," (2) a "publication" because it was an "issue of the press," and (3) a "periodical" because it did possess periodicity.[45]

---

[45]Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1851, I, 5-8.

CHAPTER II

DEFINING AN ABOLITIONIST

Abolitionists have been viewed in many ways by historians of their own day, and by scholars of today whose interests, some believe, have been aroused by the civil rights movement of the 1960's.

> The national historians writing after the Civil War were inclined to view the abolitionists as moral heroes. But by the 1930's and 1940's a near reversal in attitude had taken place. The revisionists, focusing on Civil War causation, then portrayed them as having been destructive in their effect. Abolitionists were condemned in revisionist writings as fanatics whose agitations had brought about a needless war. By the 1960's historians for the most part had abandoned a methodical search for the causes of the Civil War, and along with it the effort to measure abolitionist responsibility for the events preceding it.[1]

This changing perspective of the abolitionists, with its focus shifting from their relationship to the Civil War to their concern with race, prejudice, and justice, gave the abolitionists new importance. Their parallel to the "New Abolitionists" of the modern civil rights movement made the programs, tactics, and frame of mind of the nineteenth century reformers more comprehensible. It is not surprising then that the largest part of the writings today--and, in fact, since 1959--"express sympathy for both the aims and the style of abolitionists."[2]

---

[1]Merton L. Dillon, "The Abolitionists: A Decade of Historiography, 1959-1969," Journal of Southern History, XXXV (November, 1969), 500.

[2]Ibid., 501.

Yet while abolitionists are being treated more favorably today and have become a popular subject for research, there remains a need for more intense study of their individual characteristics, motives, strategies and philosophies. The tendency has been to group a large number of nineteenth century figures under the label of "abolitionists" without careful analysis of who they were, what they did, what they believed, and to what degree they were willing to demonstrate their belief.

There is the stereotype that has emerged of the "abolitionist personality" to which many historians have assigned a group of "similar traits" which are said to characterize all abolitionists: "impractical," "self-righteous," "fanatical," "humorless," "vituperative," and--if they are very modern in their terminology--"disturbed."[3]

The distinctive characteristics of individual abolitionists have not been examined closely enough and "what too many historians have done is to take William Lloyd Garrison as a personality symbol for the entire movement," latched on to some of the undeniably "neurotic" aspects of his personality, and equated these with the personality structures of all the abolitionists.[4]

Likewise, the term "abolitionist" has been too loosely assigned to historical persons without due consideration given to their distinct viewpoints and their degree of commitment and involvement in the

---

[3]Martin B. Duberman, "The Abolitionists and Psychology," Journal of Negro History, XLVII (July, 1962), 184.

[4]Ibid., p. 185.

abolitionist movement. As history moved away from the pre-Civil War years of agitation, the ability to distinguish those who had actively participated in the abolitionist movement from those who had not, became increasingly difficult.[5] Complicating the problem of identifying the true supporters of the abolitionist cause has been a hazard that many scholars try to avoid, that of failure to distinguish between persons who were opposed to slavery in an abstract sort of way for a variety of reasons from those who were actually involved in the abolitionist movement.

> The abolition of slavery was only the most significant of a number of events that worked to modify the contemporary definition of an abolitionist. The term's meaning not only changed with the passage of time, but it was always highly subjective, carrying different connotations with different groups and even individuals.[6]

Indeed, among the men of the pre-Civil War period there was disagreement as to who was an abolitionist. The movement harbored "a great variety of abolitionist positions on nearly every question growing out of their concern for reform. . . . And the passage of time brought greater divisiveness. . . ."[7] There was conflict over immediatism and gradualism, equality of blacks and whites, women's

---

[5]James M. McPherson notes in The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. vii, that after the outbreak of the Civil War abolitionists were transformed almost overnight from despised fanatics to influential and respected spokesmen for the radical wing of the Republican party. Other sources also indicate that many persons who were far removed from the true abolitionist movements when it was socially unacceptable, identified themselves with it after the Civil War--even to the point of paying to have their names added to old record books.

[6]Larry Gara, "Who Was An Abolitionist?" The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists, ed. by Martin Duberman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 32.

[7]Ibid., p. 34.

rights, political action, active assistance to fugitive slaves, racial prejudice, and other issues. There arose "Garrisonian abolitionists and anti-Garrisonian abolitionists--but to the Garrisonians the anti-Garrisonians were not abolitionists at all."[8]

One definition of an abolitionist that has emerged today suggests that abolitionists should be judged by their commitment to and agitation for "immediate, unconditional, and universal abolition of slavery in the United States."[9] There is merit in this kind of definition because it boils away some of the extraneous issues that created division and confusion in the antislavery movement. It establishes definitive criteria according to an individual's view toward the abolition of slavery and his commitment to agitation for it. This definition, no doubt, would incorporate Louis Filler's "mark of the true antislavery reformer . . . with his compulsion to probe, to question, and to agitate."[10]

Because this writer believes that this definition, however, can become an umbrella for persons who may not reflect the spirit of true abolitionism, an additional criterion is introduced. This is the issue of racial equality.[11] Perhaps no other issue more clearly

---

[8]C. S. Griffin, The Ferment of Reform, 1830-1860 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), p. 85.

[9]McPherson, Struggle for Equality, p. 3.

[10]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 28.

[11]It should be noted that although McPherson does not include the issue of racial equality as part of his definition for an abolitionist, his work does give the proper attention to the issue.

distinguishes the real abolitionists from a multitude of persons with antislavery sentiment. The issue can stand as the ultimate yardstick in identifying genuine abolitionists because it measures antislavery figures on the basis of not whether they were against slavery, but if also they were for the equality of blacks. Surprisingly, this criterion whittles a large number of so-called "abolitionists" out of what has been labeled the "radical" segment of the antislavery movement. The criterion becomes especially significant in light of modern day research of primary sources that is demonstrating that a profusion of racial prejudice existed in the North among laborers, within the federal government, in political parties, in education, in business, and even among the abolitionists.

The issue of racial prejudice, its relationship to the abolitionist movement and northern society, is still unfolding. The origin of racial prejudice itself has not yet been firmly established. It has been most popular, and seemingly natural, to tie racial prejudice to slavery with sort of a cause-and-effect connection. Tocqueville did it more than a century ago and "more modern observers of the American past have also stressed this causal connection between the institution of slavery and the color prejudice of America."[12] There are those, however, who question this connection and consider the real possibility that blacks--who were introduced to the English colonies forty years before slavery--were actually never treated as an equal

---

[12]Carl Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," Comparative Studies in Society and History, II (October, 1959), 49.

of the white man, whether servant or free. Historian Carl Degler argues that

> . . . the status of the Negro in the English colonies was worked out within a framework of discrimination; that from the outset, as far as the available evidence tells us, the Negro was treated as an inferior to the white man, servant or free. If this be true, then it would follow that as slavery evolved as a legal status, it reflected and included as a part of its essence, this same discrimination which white men had practiced against the Negro all along and before any status decreed it.[13]

Whatever its origin, Leon F. Litwack and other contemporary historians have demonstrated that the abolitionist who was committed to fighting against slavery and for equality did so in a fermenting climate of racial prejudice in the North. "Discrimination against the Negro and a firmly held belief in the superiority of the white race were not restricted to one section but were shared by an overwhelming majority of white Americans in both the North and the South."[14] The Negro was expected by the "average white man to acquiesce in the racial status quo and act the clownish, childish, carefree, irresponsible Uncle Tom that whites had long presumed him to be."[15] Critics and defenders of the Southern slave system asked,

> How . . . could the North so glibly condemn slavery when it worked free Negroes severely in menial employments, excluded them from the polls, the juries, the churches, and the learned professions, snubbed them in social circles, and finally even

---

[13] Ibid., p. 52.

[14] Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. vii.

[15] Leon F. Litwack, "The Emancipation of the Negro Abolitionist," Antislavery Vanguard, ed. by Duberman, p. 139.

> barred them from entering some states? Did not northerners place the Negro in a much higher scale by their rhetoric than by their practice?[16]

The question was valid. And the abolitionists--that is, the kind of abolitionists that fit the criterion and description being set forth in this study--responded to it. By means of pulpit and pulp, they argued and propagandized against northern racism. They confronted the common laborer--many of them immigrants--who feared job competition.

> White laborers, both North and South, believed that emancipation would throw them into competition with an enormous supply of Negro labor. Unskilled labor was already conscious of the growing numbers of Negroes in the cities. Colonizationists played upon these fears constantly, not only intensifying race hatred among a poorly educated class, but increasing their unreasoned opposition to emancipation.[17]

Further entrenching the prejudice of the laborer in the South was the stigma attached to physical toil by slaves, which the laborer felt would inevitably cause a degrading reflection upon his position. The abolitionists worked within a federal governmental system that reflected the popular conception of the United States as a white man's country with early congressional legislation frequently excluding the blacks from federal rights and privileges.[18] They campaigned for schools, businesses, and churches to open their doors indiscriminately.

Perhaps the most strenuous campaign was the effort to shift the abolitionist cause into the political arena. For it was here that

---

[16]Litwack, North of Slavery, p. 39.

[17]Dwight L. Dumond, Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1960), p. 352.

[18]Litwack, "Emancipation of Negro Abolitionist," p. 261.

the identity of abolitionists was blurred amidst a variety of anti-slavery figures and the abolitionist ideal became subject to compromise; the relation of principle to expediency--the chronic problem of all movements for change--came sharply into focus.[19]

The pre-Civil War political arena of the nineteenth century--particularly the 1840's and 1850's--engulfed the abolitionist cause in a compromising sort of way. Within the political system, there was growing resentment toward the institution of slavery and popular support was given in opposition to the extension of slavery into the new territories and states. Points of compromise arose because Northerners were opposing slavery for different reasons from those of abolitionists. And even if slavery was overcome for the wrong reasons, men such as William Lloyd Garrison believed that shifting the abolitionist battle into the political arena would do nothing to help the issue of racial prejudice. Garrison was convinced that the strategy of agitation employed in an effort to awaken the nation to the "evils of slavery" should be continued in an effort to likewise awaken the nation to another great injustice, racial prejudice. Apart from Garrison, however, were the emerging "political abolitionists" who appeared first in the Liberty party of 1844. There were reformers who believed that the agitation strategy had served its purpose, but the time was at hand when the abolitionist movement should be channeled into the political mainstream.

---

[19]Aileen S. Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism; Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 (New York: Vintage Books Division, Random House, 1967), p. 3.

There was minimal support politically for the antislavery cause within the two major parties, the Whigs and Democrats. On the contrary, it was not uncommon for a party to try to discredit the opposition by attaching an antislavery stigma to it--which generally aroused a vehement denial. The antislavery forces clearly emerged in political form as the Liberty party for the election of 1844. The Libertymen were basically uncompromising on the antislavery issues and the ballot box showed it.

> They emerged from the contest of 1844 with cruelly disappointed hopes. Not only was their total of 62,000 votes lower than they had expected, but also, as many recognized, their impractical activities during that campaign seemed to have put future success out of reach. The party's refusal to take a stand on the Texas issue had cost it votes which could never be recovered. Moreover, it had thoroughly alienated many Whigs.[20]

The party continued to become more isolated during the next few years and in 1847 its votes began to decrease. This opened the door for the political antislavery cause to find new lodging. The argument over slavery was shifting in the nation about this time "from a demand for abolition to a demand for limitation of its slavery expansion." Consequently, "free soil" became "the issue around which dissenting and discordant elements from the Democratic, Whig and Liberty parties united. . . ."[21]

While most "radicals" and two-party abolitionists, for different reasons, welcomed the Free Soil party, there were those

---

[20]Joseph G. Rayback, Free Soil; The Election of 1848 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), p. 99.

[21]Ibid., pp. vii, ix.

abolitionists who had strong reservations. "The Free Soilers were the first major antislavery group to avoid the question of Negro rights in their national platform." And on the slavery question, there were major differences between the Liberty platform of 1844 and the Free Soil platform of 1848, "the latter containing an explicit disclaimer of any intention to interfere with slavery in the states . . . and omitting the Libertymen's denunciation of the three-fifths and fugitive-slave clauses in the Constitution."[22]

No doubt some abolitionists who recognized the clearly defined issues of slavery and race were willing to sacrifice principle for the sake of expediency. They argued that "in a society characterized by an all but universal belief in white supremacy, no political party could function effectively which included a call for equal rights in its national platform."[23] So they sacrificed the issue of race to fight slavery politically, fully aware the party they supported was a coalition of nonextensionists and men of a variety of motives--many of whom embraced the idea of free soil for free "white" labor.

At the same time, some abolitionists continued to support a careful distinction of terms and issues. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for example, an organization that broke away from the American Anti-Slavery Society after a disagreement

---

[22]Eric Foner, "Politics and Prejudice: The Free Soil Party and the Negro, 1849-1852," Journal of Negro History, quoted in Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism, p. 180.

[23]Ibid., p. 185.

with Garrison, welcomed "citizens who have recently awakened to see the disastrous policy of slavery extension," but warned that "non-extension is not abolition, though included in it"[24] and advised Libertymen not to let themselves be swallowed up in "a coalition that demanded not abolition, but nonextension."[25]

Although stronger than the Liberty party, the Free Soil party survived but two national elections--those of 1848 and 1852--failing to elect a president. As with the Libertymen, the anti-slavery remnants of the Free Soil party cast about for a new lodging. They found it in the Republican party that was organized in 1854 in Jackson, Michigan, supposedly by a group of reformers professing to be the spiritual heirs of Thomas Jefferson. The new party appeared at a time of political realignment, which was motivated primarily by sectional issues growing out of the slavery question. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 opened the remaining territories of the United States to slavery, allowing the electorate of each state to decide if it would be free or slave. The political dissent to this piece of legislation was strong and sought to vent itself outside of older party lines through such political bodies as the Republican party.

The Republicans gained enough support to enter a candidate, John C. Freemont, in the 1856 presidential election. Freemont ran a

---

[24]Rayback, Free Soil, p. 213.

[25]Foner, quoted in Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism, p. 180.

close race, losing to James Buchanan, a Democrat. But, four years later the party--gathering support from the political cleavage in the nation--elected its first President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Interestingly enough, while the platform of the party strongly opposed slavery--even as a moral evil--the Republicans resembled the coalition of Free Soilers somewhat in that they stopped well short of endorsing the equality of blacks and whites. Even the Great Emancipator, Lincoln, commented clearly:

> I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races,--that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever bid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.[26]

Many Republicans labored strenuously to deny the "equality" label Democrats tried to pin on them in 1860. At the same time, abolitionists were torn over whether to support the Republican party whose declarations of white supremacy infuriated many of them who believed that the "elevation of free Negroes to civil and political equality was an essential corollary of the abolitionist belief in the right of all men to equal freedom."[27] In the end, many

---

[26]Abraham Lincoln, "Fourth Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Charleston, Illinois," in The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, ed. by Roy P. Basler, III (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 145.

[27]McPherson, Struggle for Equality, p. 24.

abolitionists did vote for Lincoln because at least there was some degree of antislavery sentiment embodied in the Republican party and because victory meant the nation would no longer be ruled by the slave power interest.

And when victory came, Wendell Phillips, a leading abolitionist of the day, remarked,

> . . . It is the moral effect of this victory, not anything which his administration can or will do, that gives value to this success. Not an abolitionist, hardly an antislavery man, Mr. Lincoln consents to represent an antislavery idea. A power on the political chessboard, his value is in his position; with fair effort, we may soon change him for knight, bishop, or queen, and sweep the board. . . . The Republican party have undertaken a problem, the solution of which will force them to our position. . . .[28]

It would not be fair to conclude this discussion of the defining of an abolitionist in the light of the issues of slavery and race prejudice without considering forms of racism that existed even among persons who were identified with the antislavery radicals. In their study, "Antislavery Ambivalence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race," William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease note:

> Yet, for all their exuberance, for all their belief in equality, for all their efforts to raise the Negro above the debilitating influences of adverse environment, the abolitionists were never wholly convincing. Much of what they said betrayed an implicit and at times explicit belief in racial inferiority. . . . Occasionally crude, more often hidden in underlying assumptions or in appeals to science, prejudice played a more pervasive role than the logic of consistency would admit.[29]

---

[28]Wendell Phillips, "Speeches, Lectures, and Letters," First Series, quoted in McPherson, Struggle for Equality, p. 27.

[29]William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, "Antislavery Ambivalence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race," American Quarterly, XVII (Winter, 1965), 686.

The "crude" examples outlined by the Peases would qualify as abolitionists according to the definition being set forth in this study. Some of the evidence of "hidden" prejudice is noteworthy, however, as well as the concerns over prejudice among the abolitionists expressed by themselves. One criticism of the abolitionists is that "they so abstracted both the Negro and the Crusade that they dealt not with people in a situation but only with intellectualizations in a vacuum."[30] In becoming preoccupied with the ideal of abolitionism, the abolitionist left himself vulnerable to depersonalizing blacks. There were even numerous exhortations by abolitionists themselves that they not watch "for Abolition as an Organization" but that they "watch for Humanity."[31] Many times in their arguments against slavery and for racial equality, abolitionists set forth unattractive, uncomplimentary, even discriminating viewpoints, although in an atmosphere of white supremacy their reasoning may have seemed acceptable to them and radical to current society. They praised the blacks' "susceptibility to control," argued for their equality from a scientific viewpoint, and laid out middle-class expectations in business and education. This was a different form of prejudice because it was often stated in defense of blacks and hard to discern. But it was present, and abolitionist leaders encouraged fellow reformers to recognize that once blacks had been freed from slavery, they should be allowed equal rights

---

[30] Ibid., 683.

[31] Ibid.

with whites and be encouraged and assisted in becoming what they wanted to become. This was the central conviction of the real abolitionist, and the basis for defining this nineteenth century reformer in this study.

CHAPTER III

ORANGE SCOTT AND ABOLITIONISM

In his memoirs, Orange Scott confessed ashamedly that he had been "exceedingly ignorant on the question of slavery on up to July, 1833."[1] However, by the time of his early death in 1847 at the age of forty-seven, the "ignorance" of Scott had been redeemed so greatly by the accomplishments of his life that he now merits a place of prominence in the history of abolitionism. He had proved himself a persuasive and capable abolitionist journalist; he had led a secession of some 15,000 persons out of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest moral influence in America,[2] in rebellion against the pro-slavery sentiment of that body; he had won respect as an effective organizer and orator in his role as one of the "Seventy" agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and he had become a formidable debator of antislavery

---

[1]Orange Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled from His Correspondence, and Other Authentic Scources (Part I), compiled by Lucius C. Matlack (New York: Wesleyan Book Room, 1848), p. 31. This book is divided into two parts. The first part is the unabridged memoirs of Orange Scott. Part II is a collection of materials relating to the life of Scott, edited by Lucius C. Matlack.

[2]In 1844, the Methodists were the largest denomination of Protestant Christians in the United States with 1,200,000 members and 8,000 ministers. Aside from the Federal government and political parties, the Methodist Episcopal Church was the largest single national institution. Donald G. Mathews, "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary," The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists, ed. by Martin Dickerman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 100.

issues and strategies against the man who had first influenced Scott toward the abolitionist cause, William Lloyd Garrison.

Born in 1800, the son of a Vermont day laborer for farmers--a woodsman who had never owned land--Scott and his younger brothers were put to work as soon as they were old enough to labor for any profit. Educational opportunities were scarce and at the age of twenty-one Scott could total his school days to not more than thirteen months. Thus, Scott was forced to become a self-motivated learner. His source of knowledge was books, and he developed a discipline for reading that stayed with him even during the busiest days of his life. Self-education, readily identified with another antislavery figure of the period, Abraham Lincoln, was only one of Scott's distinctions; for he also had a rare ability for translating the knowledge he absorbed into powerful and persuasive oratory. Scott also possessed a penetrating and persistent mind that searched for truth and, from the time of his conversion to Christianity, a spiritual prism that analyzed all knowledge in the light of what he believed was the Ultimate Truth. His biographer, Lucius C. Matlack, wrote that education with Scott was spontaneous.

> He saw; he read; he knew. He sat down to books as the hungry man to a hearty meal. He fed and feasted there with an increasing appetite, devouring libraries. His exhaustless energy digested the whole, while the increased capacity of his mind evermore cried, "Give, give!" He thus acquired an extensive fund of information, and developed fully the power of discerning and judging correctly, or discriminating between

> the true use of his knowledge and discernment, by choosing the most laudable ends, and by using the means best adapted to accomplish them.[3]

Individualism in thought and action during his lifetime were further distinctions of Scott. One evidence of these characteristics is found in his quest for spiritual fulfillment. He wrote:

> I never in a formal manner knelt and offered prayer to God until in my twenty-first year. I was alone, at work in the field. The whole subject of religion presented itself to my mind. I reflected upon the object of my existence; upon God; upon eternity; upon my numerous sins; upon the uncertainty of life; and upon the awful consequences of being found unprepared when God should call me away. After reflecting fully and for several hours, I came to the decided resolution to seek God until I found him precious to my soul. It was not by human agency I made this commencement. I was awakened through no human instrumentality. I can call no man my spiritual father. The influence of the Holy Spirit was the great agent in my awakening and conviction.[4]

Up to this point, Scott had rarely attended public worship because he had no clothes to appear decently in the house of God. Not long after his reflection in the field, Scott's spiritual quest led him to a Methodist camp meeting in Barre, Vermont. confessed later that he was ignorant of what to do at the meetings. "If they said to me, go forward for prayers, I went. . . ," he wrote. Throughout the week of meetings he "embraced every opportunity to go forward for prayers" but it wasn't until the last evening that Scott felt "enabled to submit to God. . . ."[5]

---

[3] Ibid., p.

[4] Ibid., p. 57.

[5] Ibid., p. 58.

Following his conversion experience, Scott devoted his "untiring energy of action" to the Christian religion. In the subsequent months, he would walk five or six miles following a hard day of labor to meetings in surrounding communities. Although perceived to be "unlearned and ignorant," (an assessment with which Scott himself agreed), Scott's boldness, zeal, and accomplishments were well noted in that region of Vermont. The Reverend S. Chamberlain, who later became a presiding elder of the New Hampshire Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote:

> I saw Scott for the first time, in one of those meetings in the town where I resided. It was dull times with us. But he was all life and energy. Few of us knew him. Yet he seemed to be at home, and sung and talked and prayed with a zeal which contrasted strangely with the general coldness. I know I thought to myself "they must have warmer times where you live, my good brother, than we have here." But warm or cold it was the same to him. The word of God was as fire shut up in his bones, and he gave it vent, thereby warming and reviving all with whom he came in contact. . . .[6]

In November, 1821, Scott decided to devote himself wholly to the work of the Christian ministry even though he recognized that he had "little or no qualifications, except sincerity and the love of God." His first endeavors were on the Barnard circuit--some forty miles in distance--for which he set out on foot with "no books but the Bible and a hymn book; no clothing, but what was on his back, and in a small portmanteau; no companion or friend, and in debt $30."[7]

---

[6] Ibid., p. 58.

[7] Ibid., p. 59.

Scott was in great demand by churches in the conference to which he ministered. As evidence of his success, he was appointed three years successively to the same circuit at the beginning of his ministry--an unusual and significant fact of which there was no parallel in New England up through the 1840's. From Vermont he moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts, where during his two years of ministering he marked himself as a man of "piety, zeal and ability" who had "unusual powers of thought for (one) so young. . . ."[8] With his popularity ever increasing, among the bishops, the preachers, and the people, Scott next ministered to a Methodist Episcopal Church in Lancaster, New Hampshire, with great success in "building it up" in 1827-1828. An unprecedented revival the following year was the result of his next work in Springfield, Massachusetts, which, no doubt, contributed toward his appointment to the presidency of the Springfield District by the bishop in that same year. From there, Scott was advanced to the prominent position of presiding elder in the Springfield District. In this capacity, he would travel to churches throughout the district, meeting pastors and parishoners at camp and quarterly meetings. Scott's powerful preaching attracted large numbers of New Englanders, many of whom, no doubt, would be among those who would later follow Scott in 1843 in secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church. In describing Scott's dynamic, the Reverend C. Adams, a professor in the Biblical Institute at Concord, New Hampshire, wrote:

---

[8]Letter, Seth Sprogue, Jr., Duxbury, Massachusetts, December 5, 1843, quoted in Scott, Memoir of Orange Scott (Part II), p. 62.

> . . .he passed along these hills and vales in the true spirit of a Methodist Missionary. It was a beauteous trump with which he sounded forth the gospel of salvation. And when it was announced that he would speak, multitudes might be seen gathering to the place of assembly. . . . He spoke, and thousands listened with delight. And as along the street, or through the winding footpaths, they sought again their rural homes, it was to remember--long remember, the sacred instruction they had heard, and him whose lips had uttered it. Such was Orange Scott. . . .[9]

It was here in the Springfield District, which covered the western part of Massachusetts and part of Connecticut, that Scott first encountered the antislavery movement among "a race of hardy and independent sons of the Pilgrims who cannot be bound with fetters or chains, nor submit to the loss of their civil or religious liberty."[10] In a discussion with Hiram H. White, a pastor at Springfield, Scott listened to White's account of a Colonization Society meeting that he had attended on the Fourth of July of that year, 1833. White, rather incidentally, mentioned the Abolition Society, which he called a "Garrison-Society, or Party." Scott had read some of the writings of the colonizationists who campaigned for the return of blacks to colonies in Africa. But, even though he lived within a hundred miles of Boston, he had not heard of the Abolition Society or had ever seen the Liberator. He wrote:

> When I entered the ministry, I engaged in it not as a drone but as a laborer. And being wholly devoted to the one idea of saving souls, I omitted to examine, faithfully and critically as I should, the condition of the country in respect

---

[9] Ibid., p. 65.

[10] Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott (Part I), p. 30.

> to great moral evils. My eyes, however, were at length opened, and then I felt like pursuing the course to some degree and extent. . . .[11]

On his first trip to Boston following his discussion with White, Scott "subscribed for the Liberator, purchased Bourne's Picture of Slavery, Mrs. Child's Appeal, Amos Phelps on Slavery, Garrison on Colonization, and several other works on both sides of the question."[12] He then set about reading and investigating, choosing not to say anything on the subject for about one year. It was at a Methodist Conference in 1834 that Scott began to be pulled into the abolitionist movement. A resolution in support of colonization was introduced, and Scott immediately moved "to lay it on the table." This was done, after brief discussion. Scott made no attempt at this time to discuss slavery, but continued his study until he had made up his mind for effective action. Finally, convinced through logic and argument of the rightness of abolitionism, he reached a point of action in 1834. Having moved from Springfield to the Providence District, also in Massachusetts, continuing as a presiding elder, Scott won the support of several preachers at camp meetings for a resolution to open the Zion's Herald, a publication of the Methodists in the New England area, to a discussion of antislavery issues. Subsequently, the editor of Zion's Herald agreed to "a temperate discussion . . . by one of the leading brethren on each side."

---

[11] Ibid., p. 31.

[12] Ibid., p. 33.

Scott had concluded that it was his duty to call the attention of his countrymen to the wrongs and outrages suffered by the wretched slaves in the United States, to which he had been so long indifferent and a stranger.[13] There were three direct ways Scott chose to vent his antislavery feelings. The first was to preach the antislavery cause to Methodist parishoners and preachers to which he ministered in New England. A second course of action that would increase and, in fact, become a major battlefield in Scott's life, was to represent, perhaps better to defend, the antislavery position within the governmental structure of the church. His involvement went far beyond tabling the colonization issue mentioned previously. It eventaully brought him into direct conflict with the highest officials of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the bishops. The third course Scott chose as a means to awaken his countrymen--and one of primary concern in this study--was through written communication. He had decided in October, 1834, to write his first series of articles "to commence on my individual responsibility." He had dropped his first article into the post office at Springfield addressed to Zion's Herald and then discovered in his own mailbox the same day a letter from D. H. Ela, editor of Zion's Herald, telling him that the antislavery friends of the church desired that Scott represent their views in the "temperate disucssion" in the columns of the Herald. An ensuing debate with a Methodist spokesman launched Scott's career as an abolitionist writer.

---

[13] Ibid., p. 32.

Just as Scott was becoming more active in abolitionism, he was forced to step aside for a few months to comfort his wife during a "very distressing sickness of four or five months" before she died of consumption in April, 1835, leaving Scott a widower with five children, including an infant of only five months. He married again in October of the same year "after a short but agreeable acquaintance."[14]

From the time he encountered abolitionism in 1833 to mid-1835, much of Scott's efforts had been spent on establishing clearly in his own mind his position on the antislavery question. Once committed to abolitionism, however, Scott faced the question of what would be his point of action, his degree of involvement. His response was the same as reflected in his commitment to preaching the Gospel: he engaged the antislavery cause "not as a drone but as a laborer." It was during these years, 1833-1835, that Scott realized his rationale for agitation for abolitionism for the years ahead as an antislavery speaker, Methodist Episcopal Church revolutionary, and abolitionist journalist. He wrote:

> I felt that by having a torch light presented to the slumbering national mind, it would be roused to see the evil and defilement of the land, and throw off this great abomination.
>
> Powerful impressions are made upon the human mind either by presenting some striking feature of the mercy and love of God, or the corruption and ingratitude of man. Thus, from either source, we may draw forth, present to the eye of the mind, and apply to the heart and conscience, principles,

---

[14] Ibid., p. 35.

> which shall have upon the life a powerful reformatory influence. . . .[15]

Prior to the gathering of Methodist Episcopal Church delegates for the New England Conference in 1835, Scott subscribed for one hundred copies of the Liberator to be directed for three months to a hundred preachers within the conference. Scott wrote that the result was as he had anticipated. By the time of the conference meeting in Lynn, Massachusetts, many of the preachers had joined in support of abolitionism. Despite the resistance of a prominent church leader, Dr. Willbur Fish, the Methodist abolitionists had everything their own way at the Lynn meeting in the election of delegates for the national general conference of 1836. Scott received the largest number of votes, which offended Dr. Fisk, the only delegate elected on the anti-abolition side. Dr. Fisk refused to go as a delegate with all his collegues against him and was replaced by a person of the same sentiment.

Increasingly during the next months, Scott emerged as the abolitionist leader of the Methodists in New England. It was not an easy role to assume because it brought the threat of physical harm, endangered his standing within the church, and alienated him from friends.

His first threat of physical danger came shortly after the New England Conference of 1835. Scott had set out on a tour of New England states to deliver public lectures against slavery. One

---

[15] Ibid., p. 32.

of his first meetings was broken up by a mob, although Scott suffered no personal violence.

Scott's clerical friends feared for his standing in the church. One wrote in a letter to Scott:

> I hope God will direct your course in relation to Abolition. I see clearly that our superintendents [bishops], cannot encourage immediatism, and I am apprehensive that the time has come, when they may do more than disapprove of Abolition. Our appointments are in their hands, which they are bound to make for the peace and prosperity of the church. Let us look at our own usefulness and happiness in the church. The public are daily becoming more opposed to modern Abolition, as an impracticable, rash, political theme; and soon its clerical advocates must lose their influence to a great extent.[16]

Against the revisionists of history, many of whom treat the abolitionists not as reformers but as extremists motivated toward abnormal psychological behavior, Scott reflected carefully on his motives for declaring the abolitionist cause. He wrote:

> What I do is from conviction of duty. If the declaration and defence of these sentiments make me unpopular, then I am willing to be unpopular. I am not careful about this matter. My course is onward.[17]

Scott's life service to people and his commitment to the Christian teachings of "love your enemies" and unity within the church, left him in conflict with himself throughout his abolitionist days. In the aftermath of many of his verbal or written battles, Scott reflected a charitable attitude and sustained a hope that the dissection of issues would not mean the dissecting of people. In

---

[16] Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott (Part II), p. 79.

[17] Ibid., p. 80.

his first written debate, Scott responded to an unflattering and provoking description of himself by Dr. Fish with the words: ". . .there is nothing personal between Dr. Fish and myself, so far as I know; nothing averse to friendship and love. I have been intimately acquainted with that gentleman for a number of years; have been with him at eleven annual Conferences, and have never been conscious of any other feelings towards him, than that feeling of respect which approaches to veneration."[18] Ten years later he echoed the same spirit, writing in the True Wesleyan:

> . . . Let us extend to the ambassadors and followers of Christ, the courtesies which naturally emanate from a religion which makes all one in Christ Jesus. Let us, my dear brethren, take no cause which has a tendency to create or continue a bitterness of feeling between us and other Christian sects. . . . Not that the corruptions of church and state should not be fearlessly and faithfully exposed. . . . Provocations we have--opposition bitter and virulent is heaped upon us; and under such circumstances, to be always as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves, is perhaps too much to expect of any body of Christians; yet this should be our object and aim, as much as in us lies. The doctrine of retaliation is not found in the Gospel of Christ. . . . Let us speak and write freely, but kindly.[19]

But the issue of slavery was too emotional and the cause of abolitionism was as repulsive in its own way to the majority of the North as it was to the South; and, at times, Scott could not live apart from that emotion.

Scott's agitation within the Methodist Episcopal Church governmental system is best demonstrated in the general conferences

---

[18] Ibid., p. 75.

[19] True Wesleyan, Dec. 27, 1845, p. 204.

of 1836 and 1840. From the time of his decision to represent abolitionism in 1834 to the 1836 conference in Cincinnati, his antislavery activities were localized. The activities included stumping in New England Methodist churches, minor skirmishes in local conference business meetings, and written debates in the Zion's Herald. By the time he had returned from the general conference of 1836, he had been thrust into the symbolic leadership of Methodist abolitionism.

Although in the late eighteenth century and early 1800's the Methodist Episcopal Church had endorsed the antislavery position, the situation was completely reversed by 1836.

> The anti-abolitionist position was deeply entrenched among the powerful men in the Church. The official Methodist weekly, the Christian Advocate and Journal, refused to allow a discussion of slavery in its columns. . . . Bishop Elijah Hedding joined his colleague, Bishop John Emery, in admonishing New England abolitionists for their irresponsible and "arbitrary denunciations." Annual conferences as diverse as those in Maine and Missouri responded to Scott's antislavery triumph in New England with resolutions denouncing abolitionism and reaffirming Methodists' faith in the American Colonization Society, in religious instruction of the slaves in states' rights. Even more extreme was the reaction of the South Carolina Conference which claimed that the abolitionists were heretics, denied that the church had a right to discuss the "civil" question of slavery, and then added that the relationship of master and slave was not immoral.[20]

The climate of the general conference of 1836 accurately reflected the anti-abolitionist positions held in the Methodist

---

[20] Christian Advocate and Journal, Sept. 25, 1835, p. 17; "Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1836," (Charleston, 1836), p. 3; Western Christian Advocate, Sept. 11, Oct. 16, Oct. 23, Dec. 4, 1835, pp. 97, 99, 103, 126; quoted in Mathews, "Orange Scott: Revolutionary," p. 84.

Episcopal Church districts throughout most of the nation. When the fraternal address of the Methodist of England, the homeland of Methodist founder John Wesley, was read, the conference refused a motion by Scott to print the British address in Methodist periodicals and ignored the advice of the British to lead public opinion by rejecting slavery.[21] This action served to open the discussion on slavery and abolition. Numerous memorials or resolutions were received on slavery, including one by the Reverent Joseph A. Merrill, signed by 200 ministers, asking for the restoration of the original rule of the church against slavery. All of the resolutions were referred to the church committee on slavery, which gave a report unfavorable to action.[22]

Scott was pulled deeper into the conflict as the conference progressed. A delegate from the Baltimore, Maryland, conference offered two resolutions--one which condemned the conduct of two New England delegates who had lectured at a recent abolition meeting in Cincinnati, and another that disclaimed any right, wish, or intention of the Methodist Episcopal Church to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it existed in the slave-holding states. The conference members voted down an amendment to the first resolution to insert the names of the two delegates, as some feared that the two delegates might by lynched if their names were generally known. This action was not wholly

---

[21]The Methodist of England were active in working for the abolition of slavery in England and the West Indies, which had been accomplished by this time.

[22]"Proceedings of the General Conference," Christian Advocate, July 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, August 5, 12, 19, 1836, passim.

out of charity, if the words of the Reverend William Smith, a delegate from Richmond, Virginia, had any support: "Let them be brought forth in all the length and breadth of their damning iniquity."[23]

Amidst the heated climate, Orange Scott stepped forward to fight the resolutions. Following an uproar by the conference when he first rose, he was given the floor and commenced to give an address that was reported in the Philanthropist of Cincinnati by noted abolitionist and journalist, James G. Birney. He wrote:

> Mr. Scott of Massachusetts obtained the floor, and commenced a calm and dispassionate examination of the resolutions. He began by asking the patience of members, as he would probably do the principal part of the speaking on behalf of the abolitionists who were in the conference. It was a noble and lofty effort; calm, dignified, generous, Christian. He showed no waspishness, nor petulance against those who differed with him, and who had been so prodigal in their reprobation of abolitionists. He was several times interrupted by his impatient adversaries--yet his calmness and self-possession were in no measure disturbed, even for a moment.[24]

In his speech Scott attacked slavery as a moral evil. He quoted church fathers, including John Wesley, who had labeled slavery as "the sum of all villainies" and slaveholders as on a level with "men-stealers." Scott discounted the term "modern abolitionism" and reminded the church of its condemnation of slavery, which was written into the Methodist Episcopal Church

---

[23]Ira F. McLeister, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, Rev. by Roy S. Nicholson (Syracuse: Wesley Press, 1941), p. 19.

[24]Philanthropist, June 3, 1836, p. 2.

Discipline. Scott moved to attach to the inevitable censure resolution the traditional Methodist statement of opposition to "the great evil of slavery." The amendment was voted down and the resolutions passed. But there was more to come. Scott quickly prepared and distributed to the conference an anonymous pamphlet, "An Address to the Members of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (by a member of that body)," which accused the speakers in the debate of failing to take cognizance of his arguments and clearly and forcefully indicted slavery and its defenders.[25]

Both Scott's written address and Birney's account of the conference became widely read following the conference. The conference body, particularly a Mississippi delegate, William Winans, was enraged and labeled the pamphlet as "palpably false" and "an outrage on the dignity of this body and meriting unqualified reprehension" and the author as a "reckless incendiary or a non compos mentis."[26] After Winans offered his resolution on the pamphlet, Scott arose and stated he was the author. The debate that followed the next day turned into a long attack upon abolitionism and Scott, ending in passage of Winans' resolution by a vote of 97-19.

One more time before the conference expired, Scott rose to repudiate an attempt by a Methodist delegate from Virginia to put the Methodist on record in support of the notion that the

---

[25]"An Address to the Members of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," printed in Zion's Watchman, June 8, 1836, pp. 87-91.

[26]McLeister, History of Wesleyan Methodist, p. 21.

Congress had no authority over slavery in the District of Columbia, territories, or states. Scott was rebuked again.

The only victories on the question of slavery during the conference were those lodged decisively by the ecclesiastical defenders of the status quo. They successfully passed anti-abolitionists resolutions and sustained pro-slavery sentiment. The bishops, of which one was a slaveholder, successfully put forth a resolution which stated, "we have come to the solemn conviction that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people to take is, wholly to refrain from this agitating subject of abolitionism ."[27] The adoption of this resolution gave the bishops the support they needed to come down on abolitionists in the church with a strong hand--an action that sowed the seeds of Scott's personal distaste of episcopacy, the adjoining reason, along with abolitionism, for his secession later.

At the general conference of 1840, Scott was again a delegate. Still the leading spokesman for abolitionism within the Methodist Episcopal Church, Scott presented more than thirty resolutions, each being rejected by the committee on slavery. One of the resolutions from New York City was handed to him for presentation with the claim that it was signed by 1,154 members of the church in that city. The signatures were challenged by members of the conference who, after an investigation, charged the resolution as being "an imposter and a libel." The action reflected on Scott

---

[27] Ibid., p. 22.

who stated that he had no personal knowledge of the signatures, but had delivered the resolution for a "brother whom he believed to be trustworthy."[28] The conference chambers were filled to hear Scott defend himself and explain his actions. The conference gave him an attentive reception as evidenced by the account of the official reporter of the conference in the Christian Advocate:

> The speaker's manner throughout was dispassionate and conciliatory, and his whole address was free from offensive or inflammatory epithets. He was heard with the greatest respect and attention by the body, and by a very large audience, which had convened to listen to the debate on this theme.[29]

Scott was not encouraged by the outcome of the 1840 conference, as again no resolutions were passed in support of abolitionism. However, it is significant that the cause of antislavery had gained a measure of support as "the issues which could have been interpreted as dividing strictly between 'antislavery' and 'proslavery' gave the former 35 per cent of the tally, almost threefold increase over 1836."[30]

In the winter of 1840, Scott's health failed and he resigned his pastorate at Lowell, Massachusetts, and moved to Newbury, Vermont, where he worked and wrote articles at his leisure. Scott was weary from the activities of the past few years, not only by his involvement prior to and during the conferences of 1836 and

---

[28]"Proceedings of the General Conference," Christian Advocate, May 22, 29, June 5, 12, 19, 1840, passim.

[29]Ibid., p. 166.

[30]Mathews, "Orange Scott, Revolutionary," p. 92.

1840, but also by the active abolitionist role that he had played between those sessions.

After the general conference of 1836, the presiding bishop of the local conference meeting the same year at Springfield instructed Scott that unless he would pledge himself to refrain from writing and lecturing on slavery and abolition that he (the bishop) could not reappoint Scott as presiding elder. Scott responded that he could not pledge where conscience was concerned.

After his rejection, Scott decided to take an appointment as a preacher and was stationed at Lowell, Massachusetts. He labored for a year, preaching both the gospel of Christ and of abolitionism. Although the church membership was only one-tenth abolitionist when Scott arrived, during the ensuing months he won the support of the congregation to the antislavery cause; and he also saw the church add about two hundred members to its congregation.

In the middle part of 1837, Scott requested and received a supernumerary relationship with the church. This freed him to become one of the famous "Seventy" agents, a host of notable talents gathered by the American Anti-Slavery Society to spread the doctrine of abolitionism throughout the country.

His letter of appointment came from Arthur Tappan, chairman of the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and Elizur Wright, Jr., secretary of domestic correspondence. Scott was commissioned for two years, beginning June, 1837. The letter stated, in part,

> The Committee welcome you as a fellow-laborer in this blessed and responsible work; the success of which will depend, in no small degree, under God, on the result of your efforts. Their ardent desires for your success will continually attend you; you will have their sympathy in trials; and nothing, they trust, will be wanting, on their part, for your encouragement and aid.[31]

Scott's decision to become an agent was influenced greatly by letters he had received following the conference meeting in 1836 from Methodist churchmen with abolitionist sentiment. With his reputation as a capable antislavery speaker spreading, his services were in great demand.

> Your services as an Antislavery Agent, are greatly wanted in the north part of Ohio, and in the Michigan Conference. I saw a local preacher a short time since . . . of Ohio who tells me that if Brother Scott would come into Ohio, he has no doubt the whole of the above Conference would be abolitionized in one year.[32]

Again, Scott entered the agency as a "laborer," writing in July of 1837:

> I closed up and left the regular work of a stationed preacher the 29th of May. . . . The 30th of May I attended the New England Anti-slavery Convention, at Boston. The 31st, I lectured in the Methodist Church in Fourth-street, New Bedford, to a good congregation. June 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 8th, I lectured to large congregations in the Methodist Church at Nantucket. . . . I lectured twice on the 5th of June; and at the close of these lectures, about two hundred and fifty names were obtained to an antislavery constitution, which were increased before I left the island, to three hundred or more. . . .[33]

---

[31]Letter, Arthur Tappan and Elizur Wright, Jr., to Orange Scott, May 18, 1837, New York, printed in Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott (Part II0, p. 122.

[32]Letter from a Methodist minister to Orange Scott, Sept., 1836, quoted in Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott (Part II), p. 120.

[33]Ibid., pp. 122-3.

This was the nature of Scott's work; to preach abolitionism, to help form local societies of abolitionists, and to raise financial support for the national movement. He did his tasks well.

Men such as John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet of New England, attested to Scott's abilities when he said of an anti-slavery meeting in Boston:

> We had listened with intense interest to the thrilling eloquence of George Thompson, and Henry B. Stanton had put forth one of his happiest efforts. A crowded assembly had been chained to their seats for hours. It was near ten o'clock in the evening. A pause ensued; the audience became unsettled, and many were moving toward the door, purposing to retire. A new speaker arose. He was a plain-looking man, and seemed rather to hesitate in the few observations he first offered. An increasing disposition to listen evidently encouraged him, and he became animated and lively, eliciting demonstrations of applause. Spurred on by this, he continued with increasing interest evident on the part of his hearers, who now resigned themselves willingly to his powerful appeals, responding at short intervals in thunders of applause. To many his illustrations were new and startling. . . . Upon inquiry we heard the name of O. Scott, now so well known among the ablest advocates of the slave's cause.[34]

Scott's ability to win the financial support of the people of New England was reflected in a letter to him from Henry B. Stanton, an American Anti-Slavery Society leader, on October 24, 1837. Stanton wrote:

> I don't believe there is any field in which you can be so useful to our Society, till next spring, as a financial agent. You have the fullest confidence of the abolitionists. They will readily give it to you. . . .[35]

---

[34]McLeister, History of Wesleyan Methodist, p. 14.

[35]Henry B. Stanton, letter to Orange Scott, Oct. 24, 1837, New York, printed in Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott (Part II), p. 135.

It was during these years, primarily 1838 and 1839, that Scott became critical of the man who had initially influenced him toward the abolitionist movement, William Lloyd Garrison. "Impressed with John Humphrey Noye's 'perfectionism,' and Henry C. Wright's 'nonresistant' theories of no government but God's, Garrison began to support these ideas in the Liberator."[36] As were many of his abolitionist colleagues, Scott was a man of one cause and could not support Garrison's scattered approach to reform and specifically, his extreme viewpoint on anarchy. Scott wrote in the Liberator:

> Trust in God and leave all to him? As well might you trust God to edit and print your paper, without any human agency. Trust in God and no human government? What is it shields you from northern and southern vengeance now? Not the irresistible power of God as much as the fear of human laws.[37]

Scott's hope for reform was to see the laws that upheld racial servitude abolished. He worked for change within the Methodist Episcopal Church, within the political process as a member of the Liberty party, and within the nation as an abolitionist who tried to stir up the populace.

His conflict with Garrison by this and other issues deepened and he found himself part of an effort by Stanton and Amos A. Phelps, also an official of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to undercut the power of Garrison and to establish a new abolitionist organization.

---

[36]Mathews, "Orange Scott: Revolutionary," p. 77.

[37]Liberator, Oct. 26 and Nov. 16, 1838, pp. 171-72, 184.

But Garrison, even though discouraged for a moment by the rebuff of some of the best known antislavery agents, antcipated the efforts and outmaneuvered his opposition at conventions of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and American Anti-Slavery Convention. His abolitionist opponents were overcome and eventually formed splinter groups, the Massachusetts Abolition Society and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Scott's enthusiasm became unleashed, perhaps too much so, during this time. He promised "nine-tenths of the Methodist influence in the state" to the Massachusetts society. At one meeting at Lowell, he spoke first in a debate and before his opponent could reply, had moved and carried a vote to adjourn--a tactic that brought him under the criticism of prominent abolitionist Theodore Dwight Weld.

These events, and the approaching general conference of 1840, pulled Scott back to the forefront of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1839. Several meetings were held by the Methodist abolitionists in preparation for the gathering. There was no rest for the revolutionary; that is, not until after the 1840 conference when he retired to reflect upon his actions, his words, his enemies, his Christian witness, and the controversies of which he had been a part. As was characteristic of Scott, he was apologetic: "Men of ardent temperature like myself are exceedingly liable to over act, and not always exercise sufficient prudence in the manner of debate."[38]

---

[38]McLeister, History of Wesleyan Methodist, p. 27.

While Scott remained in silence, the official Methodist press attacked him as being "schismatic," Garrison chided, "Where is Orange Scott who once shook the Methodist hierarchy to its foundation with his antislavery thunder? Morally defunct." And his friends accused him of being inconsistent in his life by remaining in membership with a pro-slavery church while espousing the abolitionist cause. But while others spoke, Scott, in ill health, patiently rested, and charted in his own mind the last years of his life.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRUE WESLEYAN: AN ABOLITIONIST PAPER

The press in the early 1800's had become an attractive medium to religious and social reformers and advocates, offering a direct line to the American masses at a bearable cost. The abolitionists represented a radical, widely unpopular movement committed not just to freeing the slaves, but to realizing the equality of blacks and whites. Orange Scott had become a prominent abolitionist in New England, working both within the Methodist Episcopal Church ans as one of the famous "Seventy" agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

To support the course of abolitionism, Scott had launched the True Wesleyan, the antecedent of the Wesleyan Advocate, which is still published today. This study focuses primarily on the period from 1843 to 1847, during which Scott was in a key position of leadership. He was the founder and publisher of the newspaper in 1843 and its first editor. Two years later he turned the editorship over to Luther Lee, so that he could devote more time to the establishment of a book-publishing house for the Wesleyans. But his influence was felt as the newspaper held faithfully to its founding principles through the Civil War and through succeeding editors--Lee, Lucius C. Matlack, and Cyrus Prindle--all of whom

were friends of Scott and among the early secessionists from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The secession that precipitated the founding of the newspaper was not an easy point of action for Scott and his antislavery friends to reach; moreover, it came about slowly in Scott's own thinking. As the winter of 1840 in Newbury, Vermont, moved toward the spring of 1841, Orange Scott wrote in Zion's Watchman: "I have little hope that the Church will ever be reformed in relation to slavery."[1] It was more than a year later, under the pressure not of Garrison's charge of "morally defunct" nor the Methodist hierarchy's "schismatic" propaganda, but partly in response to antislavery sympathizers within the Methodist Episcopal Church, that Scott finally concluded: "There is . . . no alternative but to submit to things pretty much as they are, or secede."[2] On November 8, 1842, Scott, the Reverend Jotham Horton, and the Reverend LaRoy Sunderland withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church. In December the two men who, respectively, succeeded Scott as editors of the True Wesleyan, Lee and Matlack, also seceded. The secession marked the end of Scott's rebellion within the system of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but was the beginning of his final hour of agitation--this time in the role of abolitionist journalist.

Scott was not without experience as a journalist. It was Scott who first had taken up the pen in behalf of the New England

---

[1] Zion's Watchman, February, 1841.

[2] Ibid., June, 1842.

Methodist abolitionists in the written debate in Zion's Herald in 1834. As he became more active in the abolitionist movement, his efforts as a writer likewise increased. In addition to writing in the Methodist publications, primarily Zion's Herald and Christian Advocate and Journal, Scott contributed to Garrison's Liberator and to Zion's Watchman, an antislavery paper edited by LaRoy Sunderland in New York City for the Wesleyan Conference Society, an antislavery Methodist group. One of Scott's most popular printed pieces was his pamphlet, "An Address to the Members of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," which came out of the debates at the general conference of 1836. Another notable work was his "Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church," printed in 1838 in the only number issued of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Review, which was published in response to the struggle within the church for a change in stern antiabolitionist policy. This antiabolitionist policy was reflected in the columns of the official Methodist papers, which would refuse at times to publish abolitionist articles. In an article written by Scott and sent to the Christian Advocate and Journal in January of 1838, for example, Scott added a tactful, private note: "If you cannot publish this communication, will you have the goodness to send it to Reverend L. R. Sunderland, or enclose it in a wrapper, directed to him, and drop it into the post office."[3] What Scott

---

[3]Orange Scott, letter to editors of Christian Advocate and Journal, Jan. 15, 1838, Garrett Seminary Manuscripts, John Davis Collection of Autographs and Portraits, Methodist Episcopal Church ministers, Vol. 5, Part 2, No. 166.

really meant, it appears, was, "If you won't print this article because of its abolitionist nature, then send it to a paper that will."

The article was a response to a story by Dr. Nathaniel Bangs in the Christian Advocate and Journal that accused Scott of favoring physical force in defense of abolitionism. Scott had commented on the death of abolitionist martyr Elijah P. Lovejoy in Illinois in 1837. Although Scott felt that nonresistence was the best principle in protesting, he believed physical force to defend rights, property, and lives was authorized by the U. S. Constitution and the laws of the land.

Scott referred even more directly to the anti-abolitionist policy of the Methodist press at the time of secession:

> . . .all her [Methodist Episcopal Church] papers are so much under the influence of slaveholding, that no abolitionist can be heard on the subject of slavery and abolition; however, he may be abused, traduced, and misrepresented.[4]

This antiabolitionist stance was one reason the abolitionists looked to other sources to communicate their cause. There were other reasons, too, of course. Scott could remember the assistance the 100 subscriptions to the Liberator had given him in his abolitionist campaign among New England Methodists. Indeed, the press was a powerful tool for generating new support for the abolitionist movement and bringing unity and facilitating communication among those already persuaded. The press also became, in part, the

---

[4]True Wesleyan, Jan. 7, 1843, p. 1.

"torch light" that Scott had pledged to hold to the slumbering conscience of the nation.

It was, perhaps, for these reasons that Scott launched in 1840 a short-lived paper, the American Wesleyan Observer. One purpose that stands out above all others is Scott's use of the Observer to rally support for the Methodist abolitionists as they headed into the general conference of 1840. Because the mortality rate of newspapers was about the same as the high frequency with which publications were begun, it is not surprising that the Observer was terminated after six months. In the next to last issue of the Observer, Scott and the co-editor, Jotham Horton, wrote that if enough support had been given the paper by subscribers, either Scott or Horton would have resigned their pastorates to devote their full energies to editing the paper.

> Could one of the editors have seen his way clear to devote his whole attention to the paper, we think it could have been sustained. But it has been found too great a tax upon both body and mind to conduct a weekly Journal in addition to the performance of regular pastoral duties in large and responsible stations. And as the crisis is not past for which the Observer was got up and as there are as many other Methodist papers in the field as likely to be well supported, we shall content ourselves for the present, with expressing our sentiments on the great question of equal rights, both as it respects the white and colored man, through other medians; and if our way be hedged there, the Observer may, perhaps, have a resurrection.[5]

One of the greatest benefits of the American Wesleyan Observer was the experience it gave Scott as an editor and

---

[5]American Wesleyan Observer, July 23, 1840, p. 99.

publisher--experience that would be needed when the American Wesleyan Observer indeed was resurrected as the True Wesleyan for another crisis, the secession of Scott and other abolitionists from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In the first number of the True Wesleyan, dated January 7, 1843, Orange Scott outlined for the inspection of an "enlightened public," the principles by which the paper would be governed. These principles were rooted in a "form of Christianity generally known as Wesleyan Methodism." Scott wrote:

> We shall take the name of Wesleyan Methodists; but we are not so bigoted as to suppose there is any particular virtue in a name, or in an ism. . . . It is not for a name, that we leave the old church; but for principles. As we are still Methodists in doctrine, and as we are with the venerable Wesley in his views of slavery, we have taken the name of Wesleyan Methodists.[6]

Perhaps in response to the "ism" charge of the Methodist press, which chose the name of "Scottites" as a slanderous substitute for "Wesleyan Methodists," Scott stressed that he and his followers did not "entertain uncharitable feelings toward other evangelical denominations . . . for avowing and practicing according to their conscientious convictions of Bible truth."[7] He did, however, claim the same right in presenting his own views of the truth, believing "man has nothing to fear from the advancement of truth."

There were two primary reasons for the secession of the Wesleyan Methodists: the pro-slavery sentiment and episcopacy form

---

[6]True Wesleyan, Jan. 7, 1843, p. 2.

[7]Ibid.

of government of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These reasons became the two guiding principles of the True Wesleyan. In reference to the issue of slavery, Scott wrote:

> On the absorbing question of the day, our paper will be decidedly anti-slavery. We are more than ever persuaded, and the signs of the times do fully indicate, that as the American church, North as well as South, is deeply implicated in the sin of slavery, the church must take the lead in this enterprize, bear her testimony against it, and put forth her highest and holiest energies for its promotion. The removal of slavery is emmenently a religious enterprize. . . . Where on earth shall the slave look for help, if the church will not listen to the story of his wrongs? We ask then your conscience, Christian reader, ought the plea of the slave to have a place in our columns? We have no anxiety as to the answer. To the affirmative of this question we are pledged by our most solemn convictions.[8]

After years of struggling against the power of the bishops within the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was not surprising to see the issue of church government receive as much prominence in Scott's prospectus as the issue of slavery.

> One prominent object we have in view in publishing this paper, is to advocate what is believed to be a consistent plan of church polity. The history of the Romish Church shows to what lengths a love of power has carried professed ministers of Christ,--and also, the insidious steps by which primitive Christianity put on the form of the beast. The Methodist Episcopal Church is not yet sixty years old. But have not her chief ministers asserted perogatives which the clergy of the Church of Rome did not dream of at the same period in their history? And does not the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church confer powers on her Bishops which the Priests of the Romish Church did presume to claim for a long period after St. Peter planted the standard of the Cross in the imperial city? And ought not these matters to be candidly examined?[9]

---

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

There were other guiding principles, not as important as slavery or episcopacy, which Scott adopted: (1) the advancement of sound learning, in the promotion of the literary institutions of the age, both in and out of the church; (2) the sabbath school and Bible cause that Scott felt was a deplorable Christian effort; (3) missionary intelligence; (4) Christian holiness as embodied in the experience of early Methodists; and (5) whatever in the judgment of the editor was fitted to promote intelligence, virtue and religion, and any of the other great interests of humanity.[10]

The content of the True Wesleyan during 1843-1847 clearly reflected the purposes of the paper. In the first issue, January 7, 1843, Scott, Sunderland, and Horton laid the groundwork not only for their own secession, but also for that of many other antislavery Methodists.

> Many considerations of friendship as well as our temporal interests, bind us to the church of our early choice. But for the sake of a high and holy cause, we can forego all these. . . . We have borne our testimony a long time against what we considered wrong in the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have waited, prayed, and hoped, until there is no longer any ground for hope. Hence we have come to the deliberate conclusion that we must submit to things as they are, or peaceably retire. We have unhesitatingly chosen the latter.[11]

Many of the antislavery sympahtizers in the Methodist Church were ministers and laymen who felt inadequate to confront arguments of the bishops of the powerful editors of the Methodist press. They would write to Scott, pleading with him to visit their

---

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 1.

churches to clearly defend the antislavery cause and to encourage the people to continue to support the cause in the face of hostility. A regular part of Luther Lee's time was given to traveling to churches or local conference meetings where he would debate a Methodist antiabolitionist. And, it should be noted, "logical Lee" was most successful as a debator.[12] These followers of Scott, who were faced with the decision of whether to secede, no doubt found strength and clarity in the reasons for secession that were outlined in the True Wesleyan. The reasons, like the guiding principles, revolved around the two issues of slavery and episcopacy. Even the discussion of episcopacy, however, was tied closely to anti-slavery thought. For example, in discussing the unrestricted power of bishops in stationing preachers against a preacher's will, the paper stated:

> For the simple crime of abolition, a brother may be placed by the bishops where, in all probability, he would be put either out of the church, or out of the world. For, he may be transferred to a southern conference, to which, if he does not go, he would lose his membership in the church; and where, if he does go, he would be liable to lose his head.

In presenting the antislavery reasons for secession, Scott, Sunderland, and Horton gave a thorough indictment of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

1. She [the Methodist Episcopal Church] is a slaveholding church. She allows her members and ministers unrebuked, to hold innocent human beings in a state of hopeless bondage.

---

[12]Lee wrote confidently in the True Wesleyan of April 20, 1844, "It makes but little difference who may be engaged in the opposition, for truth is truth, and error is error, and will so remain. Our friends here are in high spirits, calculating on nothing but triumph."

2. She upholds and defends her communicants in this abominable business.

3. All her disciplinary regulations which present a show of opposition to slavery are known acknowledged to be a dead letter in the South. And they are as dead in the North as in the South.

4. The general rule has been altered, either through carelessness or design so as to favor the internal slave trade.

5. The church has defended, in a labored argument, through some of her best ministers, the present rightful relation of master and slave--in that she has never called them to account for putting forth such a document.

6. She has exhorted trustees to close Methodist pulpits to Methodist antislavery lecturers.

7. She has refused to entertain in the annual conferences motions expressive of the sinfulness of slaveholding.

8. She has refused through her bishops to hear the prayers of scores and hundreds of her members against slavery.

9. She has refused to publish in her official papers, several addresses of the British Wesleyan Conference because they alluded to slavery.

10. She had arraigned and condemned without forms of trial, members of her highest ecclesiastical assembly for simply attending and speaking in an antislavery meeting.

11. She has condemned modern abolition.

12. She has exhorted ministers and members throughout the country "wholly to refrain" from this agitating subject.

13. She has allowed some annual conferences to state that slavery is not a moral evil, while refusing other conferences to express the opposite sentiment.

14. She has allowed, without censure, one of her bishops to issue a labored address in which an attempt is made to prove that slaveholding is not only justified, but enjoined under some circumstances, by the Golden Rule.

15. She has, through some of her annual conferences, prohibited her ministers and preachers from patronizing antislavery papers.

16. She has refused to receive into some of her annual conferences, pious and talented young men on trial, for the simple reason that they were active abolitionists.

17. She has removed ministers and presiding elders from their responsibilities because of their abolition expression, and followed some of them in order to discredit their ministry.

18. She has adopted a resolution on colored testimony which disfranchises eighty thousand of her members; thus, giving the weight of her influence to that slaveholding legislation which, in a civil point of view, disfranchises millions of our fellow countrymen.[14]

Although the first few issues of the True Wesleyan were dominated by the secession activity and the assembling of the Wesleyan Methodists at a convention for organizational purposes, the newspaper gradually took on a consistent form and personality. The reader was attracted to the front page by an engraving of John Wesley, dressed in clerical garb, and encircled with the words, "The Best Of All Is, God Is With Us" and "John Wesley, Born, June 17, 1703; Died March 2, 1791." (See illustration). The engraving broke up the title of the paper, placed between "The True" and "Wesleyan." Underneath the title were quotations on each side: "This equally concerns all slaveholders of whatever rank or degree, seeing that men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers." . . . "American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun." . . . John Wesley; and "How can you, how dare you, be called a Bishop? I shudder, I tremble at the thought." "For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put an end to this." . . . Extract of a

---

[14] True Wesleyan, February 7, 1846, p. 25.

THE TRUE WESLEYAN.

...his equally concerns all slaveholders of whatever rank or degree, seeing ...actly on a level with men stealers." ..... "Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, ...t present stained with blood." ..... "It is not possible that any child of ...a slave." ..... "American Slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun." ..... John Wesley.

"How can you, how dare you, be called a Bishop? I shudder at the very thought. Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me a Bishop! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put an end to this." ..... Extract of a letter from John Wesley to Francis Asbury, dated London, Sept. 20, 1788.

. NO. 3. "Touch no dram. It is liquid fire." ... John Wesley. BOSTON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1844. "Rum is a sure, though slow, poison." ... John Wesley. WHOLE NO. 55.

'RUE WESLEYAN
...ublished every Saturday,
...EYAN METHODIST CONNECTION OF AMERICA,
...TT, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.
...TON, } Assistant Editors.

...66 Cornhill, near Court Street.

...MS OF THE PAPER.

...Wesleyan is issued every Saturday, ...s per annum, ALWAYS IN ADVANCE ...sending us five new subscribers, ...n advance, free of expense, shall ...copy gratis.

...will be acknowledged in the paper ...with the necessity of receipts. Such ...s as require a reply will also be

...and ministers of the gospel of all ...are authorized and requested to act

...of the gospel, and public institu... ...will be put at one dollar per annum,

...cations, post paid, may be addressed ...ott, Editor of the True Wesleyan, ...ll, Boston, Mass.

...will generally remit names and ...expense, when requested to do so.

...IN B. HALL, PRINTER.

...mmunications.

For the True Wesleyan.

Our Cause.

...brethren who profess to advocate ...not refuse to listen to a few words ...here are numerous ways in which ...to this cause. One has said, "It is ...da, that constitutes the food of the ...is not a matter which men may ...munity. There is great fallacy in ...o often repeated,—

...f faith let graceless zealots fight,
...rong whose life is in the right."

...e can be in the right, if his mind is ...y with the mind of God? Personal ...ore of the first magnitude. In the Apocalypse, those churches are ex... ...den candlesticks, upholding the light ...h (Rev. i. 12, 13, 20.) For "men," ...our, "do not light a candle and put ...ushel, but on a candlestick, and it ...o all that are in the house."—Matt. ...ethren in the ministry, let us labor ...cred fire burning on the altar of our ...e shall reflect the glory of the Lord ...et us preach Christ in the power of ...ove of his heart, and the faithfulness ...mits in accomplishing his promises. ...divine, who has been in the work of above fifty years, said recently, "I ...preached our ruin by the fall, re... Christ, regeneration by the Spirit, ...on of the life and conduct, as the re... ...n Jesus."

...ars to me to be comprehensive, and I ...my brethren, "Go thou and do like... ...there are other ways of promoting ...besides preaching good doctrines, ...ying their truth in our conduct. I ...ntion other pastoral duties; there is ...I feel it my duty to bring before ...we, as ministers, sufficiently brought ...Wesleyan" paper before our people? ...brethren, it is our principal organ, ...h information of our movements is ...church and the world. We have no ...ashamed of our principles; we know ...nd the test of investigation; and for ...glory in the triumphant manner in ...lences on the subject of slavery have ...ted. Long may such men as Luther ...d to adorn "our cause."

...n told that one or two of our minis... ...neutral position respecting the "True ...I hope it is a libel, for I feel that it ...ishonorable in me to call myself a ...delitionist, were I to allow the organ ...se" to remain unnoticed. I have re... ...it both within the church and without. ...over, lent my paper to some, in hope ...their names as subscribers. It is ...not succeeded so well as I wish; but ...ed it in its new dress, with good old ...sley's head on its front, I felt new ...the subject, and I rejoice to be able ...ve not labored in vain. I think our ...find a few fresh subscribers from this ...utely. Some have suggested that if ...would procure a few extra copies of ...mber, and circulate them gratuitously, ...e the means of gaining some more. I ...ope it will have such an extensive cir... ...to compensate the labors of the edi... ...sters, arouse yourselves!

...say a word further on fraternal visita... ...my limits forbid. We have sometimes ...ed to hear of our brethren in the minis... ...into this city, and spending several...

One word to the members of our churches. You, dear brethren, lie near our hearts. You form the main body in "our cause." Prosperity of soul among you is particularly desirable. Know your privileges; be not content to live beneath them, and feel, oh! feel the necessity of attaining thereunto. See that you obtain and hold fast, a full assurance of your being the children of God. Pray also for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon our labors. Let us all be determined to show the world, that "Our cause is great and shall prevail."

I am, dear brethren, affectionately yours in Christ,
JOHN J. BRAINE.

507 Bowery, New York City.

For the True Wesleyan.

Compensation to Slaveholders.

It has been said, and oft repeated, that as the slaveholders invested their property in slaves, under the sanction of constitutional law, it is hard to take their property away from them without compensation. Very well, is it not harder to make the slaves work all the time for no compensation? Besides, we do not take his property when we free the slaves. *He* fooled it away, when he paid the man who had no right to sell them, nor he to buy them. Let him look to the seller for satisfaction, if he is entitled to any. But as he was a participant in the crime of defrauding men and women of themselves, the defendant might call him a party concerned, and not allow his testimony. Again, when men invest property under the sanction of law, they risk the changes of the law, the same as they risk the lightning, water, wind, and fire; and they might as well claim compensation for losses by these, as by liberty and justice.

Some years ago, the merchants in New England invested large property in free trade, but the slave power put on tariff to help cotton growing, and many lost their property thereby, but had no compensation, though their business was not immoral. Then the same slave power put *down* the tariff, and many of those who had invested their property in manufactures lost it, but did Congress compensate them? If a company of men should seize ex presidents Adams and Van Buren, and reduce them to property under the sanction of law, and sell Adams to a self-styled democrat, and Van Buren to a misnamed whig, where they must march in quick time at the *beat* and whistle of the whip; should the law be changed and they set free, what right has Congress to take my property to hire their masters to leave off using their neighbor's service without wages, or to pay men for losing property that never belonged to them?

Every reasonable man can see at a glance, that those who seized them first had no right to them; nor has any other person any more right to the poorest, weakest, blackest person that lives, when first reduced to slavery; and that which is wrong at first, cannot become right by continuance. Wrong laws cannot make it right, and therefore the slave-owner has no claim, but owes the slave for every minute's work he has ever done for him. If the slaveholder is entitled to compensation, it must consist in prisons, stocks, thumb screws, gags, marking knives, branding-irons, bloody whips, iron yokes and gall-chains, and all other tortures of body and mind for time and eternity, that he has been instrumental in bringing upon the slave.

BETA SIGMA.

For the True Wesleyan.

Wesleyana.

NO. I.

Whatever prejudices may have existed, respecting the venerable John Wesley, in the earlier part of his career, it is now matter of history, that he not only outlived those who labored to injure him, but that he lived down the prejudices they excited, ere he descended to an honored grave.

His memory is now cherished gratefully by thousands who claim no affiliation to him by spiritual ties. For awhile, he was unhonored, save by the spiritual sons and daughters he had reared. Now, he has become the theme of pen and tongue, as one of earth's bright luminaries. The eye of the philanthropist is turned instinctively, and with admiring gaze, to the star of Wesley, as now seen in the moral heavens, surrounded by few greater lights, itself of the first magnitude.

Truths he assumed, antagonist to theories then ably argued, are now gaining general consent. Principles set forth by him, are now approved by acclamation, although, at first, assailed with virulence by most of those who with him took a part in the public duties of life.

It would be interesting to trace in the history of the past, all the changes which preceded and produced the result to which allusion has been made. But it might be more elaborate than is agreeable to most readers; hence, an allusion to the fact will be sufficient for the present.

Everything pertaining to the personal history of Wesley, has associated with it a peculiar interest. And this is true, especially of his religious fold. He embraced a theory of Christian duty far higher in its obligations, and labored diligently to practise what he believed and taught. While they, with a theory less perfect, were distinguished by gross inconsistency of life.

What his opinions were, and what his religious experience was, will form an interesting topic of inquiry. To the latter, attention is first requested in some further remarks.

When but six years old, a remarkable escape from death by fire, which consumed his father's dwelling, induced his mother to say that it became her "to be more particularly careful of the soul of a child whom God had so mercifully provided for." What pains she took to train him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, appears from the fact that he became early serious, and at the age of eight years was admitted by his father to partake of the sacrament. Being sent away from home to school, when but eleven years of age, and entering college when in his seventeenth year, his early seriousness was chased away by the influences which surrounded him. Naturally gay and sprightly, with a turn for wit and humor which he freely indulged, he fell into a state of religious carelessness, which continued until he was twenty two years of age. The subject of ordination to the office of a deacon in the church of England, called up serious reflections, which in connection with the pious correspondence of his mother, led to an important change in his views and conduct.

Richard Watson remarks that "his mother's admirable letters were the principal means, under God, of producing that change." In my next, the exercises of his mind will be presented, to the inquiry after

TRUTH.

Resolution

OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE WILBRAHAM ACADEMY.

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this board, it is altogether uncalled for, inexpedient and injurious to have introduced into the public exhibitions and performances of the Wesleyan Academy, any of the exciting subjects of the day. The board, therefore, hereby request and instruct the Principal to prevent the introduction of any such topics on such occasions and as far as possible, to prevent the public agitation of any such subjects among the students."

The above resolution was moved by W. Fisk, seconded by J. W. Hardy. Passed in the board of trustees, August 16, 1837.

MIAMI CONFERENCE.—SUSPENDED RESOLUTION.—It appears to me that it is both unnecessary and improper. If adopted, its proper place is in the general rules. But the part on temperance and slavery, are already there. There is a section on war which, I think needs modifying. La centionsm ought to stand by itself, so as to fully sustain the moral reform effect. These evils are not similar, and I know not what is meant by *similar* evils. The general rules *already* require us to avoid *evil* of *every* kind.

B. SHAW.

Ministers' Department.

Questions for Young Ministers.

BY ISAAC WATTS, D. D.

SECTION 1.

Of Faithfulness in the Ministry.

Do I sincerely give myself "to the ministry of the word;" Acts vi. 4, and do I design to make it the chief business of my life to serve Christ in his Gospel, in order to the salvation of men?

Do I resolve, through the aids of divine grace "to be faithful to him who hath put me into the ministry," and "to take heed to the ministry which I have received in the Lord, that I may fulfil it?" 1 Tim. i. 12. Col. iv. 17.

Do I honestly and faithfully endeavor by study and prayer, to know "the truth as it is in Jesus?" Eph. iv. 21, and do I seek my instructions chiefly from the "holy Scriptures which are able to make me wise unto salvation, through the faith that is in Christ, that I may be thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work?" 2 Tim. iii. 14, 17.

Do "I hold fast the form of sound words," as far as I have learned them of Christ and his apostles? 2 Tim. i. 13, that I "may by sound doctrine exhort and convince gainsayers," Tit. i. 9, and do I determine to "continue in the things which I have learned, knowing from whom I have learned them?" 2 Tim. iii. 14.

Do I resolve to give the people the true meaning of Christ in his word, so far as I can understand it, and "not to handle the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God?" 2 Cor. iv. 2.

Am I watchful to "avoid profane and vain babblings"? 1 Tim. vi. 20, and do I take care to "shun foolish questions, which do gender strife, and disputing about words, which are no profit, but the subversion of the hearers?" 2 Tim. ii. 14, 23.

Do I study to show myself "approved unto God, rightly dividing the word of truth," 2 Tim. ii. 15 giving to every one, viz., to saints and sinners, their proper portion?

Do I make it my business to "testify to all men, whether Jews or Greeks the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in Christ Jesus; and that "there is no other name under heaven given whereby we may be saved;" making this gospel of Christ the subject of my ministry? Acts xx. 21. Acts iv. 12.

Do I preach to the people, "not myself, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and myself as their servant for Christ's sake?" 2 Cor. iv. 5.

Do I, in my study and my preaching, "take heed to my doctrine and my exhortations, so that I may save myself and them that hear me?" 1 Tim. iv. 16.

Do I watch over the souls of men as one that must give an account, being solicitous that I may do it with joy, and not with grief?" Heb. xiii. 17.

SECTION 2.

Of Diligence in the Ministry.

Do I "give attendance to reading," meditation and study? Do I read a due portion of Scripture daily, especially in the New Testament, and that in the Greek original, that I may be better acquainted with the meaning of the word of God? 1 Tim. iv. 13.

Do I apply myself to these things, and give myself wholly to them, that my profiting may appear to all? 1 Tim. iv. 15.

Do I live constantly, as under the eye of the great Shepherd, who is my master and my final judge, and so spend my hours as to be able to give up a good account of them at last to him?

Do I not "neglect to stir up any of these gifts, which God has given me, for the edification of the church?" 1 Tim. iv. 14, and 2 Tim. i. 6.

Do I seek, as far as possible, to know the state and the wants of my auditory, that "I may speak a word in season?" Isa. l. 4.

Is it my chief design, in choosing my subject, and composing my sermon, to edify the souls of men?

Am I determined to take all proper opportunities to preach the word in season and out of season; that is, in the parlor, or the kitchen, or the workhouse, as well as in the pulpit; and seek opportunities to speak a word for Christ, and help forward the salvation of souls? 2 Tim. iv. 2.

Do I labor to show my love to our Lord Jesus, by "feeding the sheep and the lambs of his flock?" John xxi. 16, 17.

Am I early solicitous for the success of my ministry? and do I take all proper methods to inquire what effects my ministry has had on the souls of those who hear me?

Where I find or hope the work of grace is begun in the soul, am I zealous and diligent to promote it?

SECTION 3.

Of Constant Prayer and Dependence.

Do I "give myself to prayer, as well as to the ministry of the word?" Acts vi. 4.

Do I make conscience of praying daily in secret, that I may thereby maintain holy converse with God, and also, that I may increase in the gift of prayer? Matt. vi. 6.

Do I make it my practice to offer "prayers, supplications, and intercessions, for all men," particularly for our rulers, and for my fellow laborers in the ministry, and for the church of Christ, and especially for those to whom I preach? 1 Tim. ii. 1. Rom. i. 9, 10. Phil. i. 4.

Do I seek by prayer, for divine direction and assistance in my studies, and in all my preparations for the public? and do I plead for the success of my ministry with God, in whom are all our springs? Eph. iii. 14—19. Phil. i. 8, 9.

Do I ever keep upon my spirit a deep sense of my own insufficiency for these things, that I may ever depend and wait on the power of Christ for aid and success? 2 Cor. ii. 16, and iii. 5, and 2 Tim. ii. 1.

SECTION 4.

Of Self Denial, Humility, Mortification, and Patience.

Do I endeavor to please all men for their good and not make it my business to please myself? Rom. xvi. 2, but to become all to all, that I may win their souls, so far as is consistent with being true and faithful to Christ? 1 Cor. x. 23, and ix. 19, 22.

Do I behave myself before men, "not as a lord over God's heritage, but as a servant of all, for Christ's sake? and do I treat them not as having dominion over their faith, but as a helper of their joy?" 2 Cor. iv. 5, and i. 24.

Am I "gentle and patient towards all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves?" 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

Do I "approve myself in all things as a minister of God; in much patience possessing my own soul," and having the government of my own spirit? 2 Cor. vi. 4.

Do I, as a man of God, whose business is heavenly, flee from covetousness and the inordinate desire of gain; not seeking my own things so much as the things of Christ? 1 Tim. vi. 10, 11. But having food and raiment, have I learned therewith to be content? 1 Tim. vi. 8.

Am I willing "to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ?" 2 Tim. ii. 3, and am I learning to bear whatsoever God calls me to, "for the sake of the elect, that they may obtain salvation with eternal glory?" 2 Tim. ii. 3, 10.

Am I more and more fortified against shame and suffering for the testimony of my Lord Jesus Christ? 2 Tim. i. 8—12.

Am I willing "to spend myself and to be spent for the good of the people, or even to be offered up, as a sacrifice for the service of their faith?" and do I count nothing dear to me, that I may fulfil the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus? Phil. ii. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 15. Acts xx. 24.

SECTION 5.

Of Conversation.

It is my constant endeavor to "hold fast the true faith, and a good conscience together, lest making a shipwreck of one, I should lose the other also." 1 Tim. i. 19.

Do I so walk as to be an "example of Christians, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity?" 1 Tim. iv. 12; that in "all things I may show myself a pattern of good works?" Tit. ii. 7.

Do I endeavor to walk uprightly amongst men, and do nothing by partiality? 1 Tim. v. 21.

Is my conversation savory and religious, so as to minister edification to the hearers? Eph. iv. 29.

Do I ... charity, to those who differ from me in opinion, and even "bless and pray for them that are my enemies?" Rom. xii. 14, and xiv. 1.

Do I behave myself blameless as a steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine nor filthy lucre, no brawler, no striker; a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate? Tit. i. 7, 8.

Do I daily endeavor "to give no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed?" 2 Cor. vi. 3.

Do I watch over myself in all times, and places, and conversations, so as to do and to bear what is required of me, to make a full proof of my ministry, and to adorn the doctrine of God my Saviour? 2 Tim. iv. 5. Tit. ii. 10.

Miscellany.

Death and the Grave.

"I am hungry," said the Grave, "give me some food."

"I will send forth a minister of destruction," replied Death, "and you shall be satisfied."

"And what minister will you send forth?"

"I will send forth Intemperance, and he shall carry alcohol for a weapon."

"It is well," said the Grave; "but how know you that the people will fall into the snare?"

"I will demand the assistance of the tempter," replied Death, "and he shall disguise the snare under various seducing forms, such as food, and medicine, and pleasure, and hospitality, and benevolence. The people will then drink and die."

"I am content," said the Grave; "so, I perceive that your scheme is skilful, and will succeed."

The church bells began to toll, and the mourners to walk through the streets, and the sexton to ply his mattock and his spade; for the minister of destruction had gone forth; and once more Death and the Grave met together to exult over the success of their schemes.

"And who is this, they are bringing?" asked the Grave.

"This is an old man, who fancied that wine was necessary to recruit his wasted strength. He began with but a little at first, but gradually increased the quantity, and finally drank to excess and died."

"And who is this?"

"This is a young man who was fond of company, and thought liquor was necessary to convivial meetings. He contracted the habit of drinking, and is now a corpse."

"And who are they now bringing, followed by a train of weeping children?"

"This is a broken-hearted woman whose husband became a confirmed drunkard, and who left her children to pine in want, whilst he spent his time and money at a tavern. And now they are bringing in the corpse of the husband himself, who has lost his life in a drunken brawl."

"Hush," said the Grave, "I hear a loud wail, and the sobs of grief that will not be silenced. What is the meaning of this?"

"Ah!" said Death, "they are bringing the body of a little infant, whose drunken father, aiming the blow at his wife, destroyed it at the breast; and the mother, like Rachel, 'refuseth to be comforted, her child is not.'"

"And who are these?"

"These are the bodies of a female profligate and her still-born offspring. She was once fair and innocent, but liquor inflamed her seducer, and deprived her of caution. She was soon however, deserted, and after pursuing a short career of crime, died."

"And these?"

"These are the bodies of a murderer and his victim. They were once bosom friends; but wine snapped the bonds of friendship; they quarrelled over their cups, and one having died by the hand of his companion, the other suffered the felon's death. But here is the crowning incident of our scheme. Behold the corpse of a suicide!—This man drank until his property was dissipated and his mind deranged; and so in his distraction, he laid violent hands upon his own life."

Long did these dark associates thus converse, and loud was the cry that ascended to heaven from injured parents and children, and brethren and friends, until at last, Mercy was sent down to see what could be done to check the mischief. And Mercy instantly sent her healing minister, and she called it Total Abstinence; "for," said she, "they cannot touch the evil without contamination. Like the poison of the Upas tree, its very smell is deadly, and no one is safe that comes within the reach of its influence."

The church bells were but seldom heard, and but few mourners were seen in the streets. The wailings of the widow and the orphan were succeeded by hymns of praise and thanksgiving; for Death and the Grave were despoiled of all their prey.

[From the Richmond Christian Advocate.]

The Advent.

The plains of Judea were silent. Her mountains lifted themselves on high, and their lofty summits seemed gilded with light reflected from heaven. The sky was gemmed with myriads of stars, and the queen of night scattered her gentle beams around. The flock had ceased their bleating, and, with the little lambs that gambolled in sportive innocence over the extended plain, rested quietly on their downy fleeces, safely gathered into the fold. The shepherds who watched their flocks by night, seated on the ground like the Great Shepherd of the sheep who "had not where to lay his head," perchance were musing upon the words of prophetic inspiration; and fondly rolled in their minds "the promise of his coming." Faith plighted her wings, and love, the fire of the soul, received a gentle breeze that well-nigh fanned it to a flame. Fancy, soaring within the bounds of inspiration, paints the night in brightness, and mantles nature in enchantment. The Jew, oppressed under the galling yoke of bondage, had offered his prayer for deliverance, and had closed his eyes in restlessness. The guardian of his slumbers hovered around his pillow, and with magic touch aroused the secret ... while his footstool caught light from the eternal throne. They even prevented the night-watches, and refused that the clock should number another day departed. The midnight was waiting. The ancient Church of God, to whom pertained the law and the covenants, the promises and the gifts of prophecy, was wont on this glad night to linger around the temple at Jerusalem, while her servants even favored the dust thereof. She looked out for the glorious appearing of "the wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace." While all men were in expectation, and the pious sighed for deliverance, the humble shepherds abiding in the fields, whose locks were wet with the dew of night, were more intense than all they. For while they thought on these things—Behold a sudden brightness lights up this lower world. Gabriel appears and declares: "For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." A radiant band follows, and heavenly music, mellowing yet more and more into sweetest notes as it nears, breaks forth from the mansions of glory upon their ears. Their gladdened hearts, catching the glowing theme of inspiration, echo back the tidings of great joy which are to all people; and heaven, earth and sky resound with the language of Jehovah, understood by mortals yet incomprehensible: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will to mankind." Hail, the Immortal God appears a *babe* on earth! Could the scales but fall from the eyes of the pious, 'twixt earth and heaven were thronged with inhabitants from the spirit world.—From the vortex of heaven's high concave, a pressing throng, with eager gaze, view the thrilling scene on earth. "Silence heightens heaven," and all adore. The shepherds were overpowered, and, like the Apostle Paul as he journeyed towards Damascus, fell prostrate on the ground. Yes, while they drank in the precious words of the angel, they felt quite on the verge of heaven. Like Peter, James and John, on the mount of transfiguration, they were wont to dwell forever in such a place. Surely now the Spirit of the righteous, who looked for redemption in Israel, by some mysterious, silent, yet mighty impulse, was stirred within—the refreshing of sleep departed; and they wished for the day. But the shepherds must go "even to Bethlehem, and see those things which are come to pass there." O my soul, couldst thou but go with them, unworthy such company, thou wouldst follow at humble distance these holy men, and, like them, prostrate thyself before the infant Jesus. And with the wise men of the East who led by a radiant star, journeyed to the Messiah of the world, then wouldst offer a worthy sacrifice. Knowest thou the sacrifices of God? They are a broken and contrite spirit and a holy life. Take then upon thee the yoke of Christ, and bear his burden, so at his second coming thou mayst be found of him in peace.

LINDSAY.

Dying Rich.

The following lines from the United States Gazette, have the eloquence of truth to recommend them:—

"An active business man is a rational man, and a blessing to the community. He keeps in gratifying exercise the talents which God has given him, which, of itself, is a blessing to him. He gives employment to the hand of industry, which is far better than giving alms to the unemployed. These are the legitimate and rational ends of active business pursuits and wealth getting—the gratification of the active powers and promotion of industry. But their desire of growing rich merely to die rich, is one of the most foolish intentions that ever entered the heart of foolish man. Experience has fully and satisfactorily taught the lesson, that much wealth left to heirs, is, eight times out of ten, not a blessing, but a curse. Its expectation beguiles and spoils all the manly powers—its possession leads to misjudgment, excess, and finally exhaustion and ruin. The time will yet come, when men of wealth will be wise enough to make a gradual disposition of their property while living—not prospective, but operative—thereby have an eye to the use which is made of it, and participate in the greatest enjoyment that wealth is capable of giving, that of seeing it do good to others. They will dismiss the foolish aspiration of 'dying rich,' with the almost certain reflection that their heirs sooner or later will die rich."

A Benevolent Man.

Mr. N. R. Cobb, a pious young merchant, connected with one of the Baptist churches in Boston, at the age of twenty-three drew up and solemnly subscribed the following remarkable document.

"By the grace of God, I will never be worth more than $50,000.

By the grace of God, I will give one fourth of all the net profits of my business to charitable and religious uses.

If I am ever worth $20,000, I will give one-half of my net profits.

And if ever I am worth $30,000, I will give three-fourths, and the whole after $50,000, so help me God, or give to a more faithful steward and set me aside."

These resolutions were faithfully kept till he died, at the age of thirty-six. And on a death bed he said to a friend—"By the grace of God—nothing else—by the grace of God, I have been enabled, under the influence of these resolutions, to give away more than $40,000."

A CONTRAST.

Mr. A., a member of a Baptist church, owned a large and excellent farm, which, with other sources of income, and much self denial, enabled him to hide in the ground, and other places, a considerable sum every year. His resolutions were not to give, except to the pastor of the church a small amount yearly. He died at an advanced age, disposed of his property by will, but never mentioned a word about the hidden treasure. After his death, a part was accidentally found. There are good reasons to believe a considerable sum still lies buried, and will remain there, doing no one the least good. Mr. Cobb in thirteen years gave away more than $40,000, and died rich. Perhaps the amount given yearly to his pastor is included in said sum. It can't be recollected, that Mr. A.'s whole contributions for pastor and all other things, during his ...

letter from John Wesley to Francis Asbury. The lettering and the printing of the True Wesleyan was judged by other newspapers and readers to be attractive and professional for its day. There was some reservation about the engraving of Wesley, although it didn't surface until 1846 when the engraving was dropped from the masthead, bringing a response from the Western Recorder: "We are pleased that the worthy publisher has seen fit to remove from the head of this paper that ghostly portrait of the venerable founder of Methodism."[15] All of the editors of the True Wesleyan during the Civil War made a practice of re-examining its appearance at the end of each year, and would make changes, including a new masthead, in January of each new year.

The wide-ranging guiding principles that Orange Scott had discussed in his first prospectus for the True Wesleyan implied that the publication would have variety. A large amount of antislavery news and editorials left no doubt as to the primary concerns of the paper. Scott believed that in order for the paper to reach a larger audience than that which a specialized opinion paper would touch, however, he must broaden the content of the True Wesleyan. In describing a "spirited antislavery paper," the Democratic Freeman, Scott reflected this philosophy:

> A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to interesting miscellaneous reading. This is a great improvement on the leading anti-slavery papers of the country, which are devoted almost entirely to slavery and abolition. This makes them too heavy and dry for most readers. If from one-fourth

---

[15] Ibid.

> to one-half of the space in these papers were devoted to the right kind of miscellaneous reading, it would greatly increase their circulation, and thus advance the cause.[16]

Scott, and to a lesser degree, his successors, Lee and Matlack, adopted the design of publishing an antislavery paper that appealed to the family. It offered sections for young readers, called the "Children's Department," and another column entitled "Parents." Beyond these specialized areas, there generally appeared poetry and some kind of fiction or nonfiction narrative for family reading. It was not unusual for these stories to have some kind of moral lesson interwoven in them, such as "The Rose Bush," a narrative in which a mother explains to her daughter the gripping story of how her father was saved from drunkenness through a temperance lecturer. The "family" approach was well accepted by True Wesleyan readers.

> In the matter it contains, as a family paper, it is second to none of its size with which I am acquainted. A sister told me the other day, that her children have been very much interested in reading it since the second volume commenced. It has always been read with interest, as an advocate of our principles. But in addition to that, it now has the merit of attracting the general reader.[17]

The True Wesleyan also tried to appeal to a broad readership of adults, including the businessman and the farmer. The True Wesleyan could very well have been the only paper upon which many of its readers relied for news. The weekly publication

---

[16] Ibid., March 1, 1844, p. 43.

[17] Ibid., April 6, 1844, p. 55.

assisted the farmers with advice on agriculture and another section showed the latest market prices in meat, fruits, and vegetables. The literary person found special notices and reviews of books and periodicals. Readers interested in government found in-depth reporting on the activities of the United States Congress. The "General Intelligence" department kept readers informed on a variety of subjects, including the latest foreign news that had come off ships landing in the harbor at Boston, the early publishing home of the True Wesleyan. Domestic news was broad in its coverage also, hitting the elections, tragedies (primarily epidemics), reports on orphans, suicides and widows--aided from the U.S. Office and Register Department, Supreme Court cases, and exploring expeditions.

"Religious Intelligence" was also a regular part of the paper. There were reports on and announcements of revival meetings, and discussions on church growth. Though the paper was not wholly dominated by the devotional articles (sermons in print), which traditionally plague conservative religious journals even today, there was sufficient material of this nature, usually appearing in a section entitled "Communications." This column was an "umbrella" under which lengthy letters, written to the editor for publication, appeared. When news and feature stories were scarce, the "Communications" of pastors and laymen filled the columns of the religious newspapers of the day. At times, these pieces were of a high quality, usually depending on the ability of the writer. For in-depth religious discussion, however, the True Wesleyan relied on

its own leaders or respected scholars for articles that were printed over a series of issues. "Wesley and Atheism" was one that Scott printed, for example. Lee frequently liked to furnish discourses himself since he was a student of theology, and, in fact, wrote a book, Lee's Systematic Theology, which became an important work to the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the training of its pastors. At times Lee would get carried away with the length of his articles. On one occasion he described the front page as "rather heavy" because practically every column was filled with one article on theology, despite his efforts to "abridge" the discourse.[18]

Although it was not uncommon for news stories and other material in the True Wesleyan to clearly set forth some kind of opinion, the editors of the True Wesleyan always reserved a special column for the official editorial of the paper. The primary concerns of the paper, slavery and episcopacy, received the greatest attention. Scott, Lee, Horton, and Matlack, however, freely discussed other issues in and outside of this column. The issues included, for example: intemperance, freedom of discussion, popery, Christian perfection, the need of land for the American Indian, the ten-hour week without reduced wages, native Americanism, education, physical fitness, idleness, the mail system, prison reform, pacifism, experimental holiness, and education.

Scott and Lee, who edited the True Wesleyan during the period under consideration in this study, held an open attitude

---

[18]Ibid., Jan. 25, 1845, p. 15.

toward publishing articles of diverse opinion. This openness toward free discussion came from the conviction of the editors that truth was not to be feared. It was also, perhaps, a reaction to the denial of publication that the abolitionists had received earlier from the Methodist press. Two subjects that both Scott and Lee tried to sidestep in the True Wesleyan were politics and secret societies. They were not successful in either area.

The editors had concluded that they would try not to combine religion and politics. The emergence of the Liberty party with its appeal to antislavery men, however, prompted an occasional response. Horton reported in 1844 that he had voted for James G. Birney.[19] And Scott, who had pointed out his allegiance to the Liberty party, questioned the inconsistency of an antislavery Wesleyan to be withdrawn from the pro-slavery Methodist Episcopal Church, but not from the pro-slavery Whigs or Democrats.[20]

The ultra conservatives of the Wesleyan Methodist Church forced the issue of membership in secret societies into prominence with a barrage of emotionally charged communications to the True Wesleyan. Scott and Lee both tried to avoid any confrontation on the issue by letting the conservatives vent their reactions in the paper, even though both editors were Masons. Scott even went so far as to point out that twenty-two

---

[19] Ibid., July 20, 1844, p. 115.

[20] Ibid., Feb. 22, 1845, p. 33.

years earlier he had joined a secret society, but no longer had connection with it.[21]

Even though he defended free discussion, Lee showed that he was growing weary of the discussion of the issue and its potential divisiveness. He suggested that the Wesleyans conclude their discussions. This might have happened had not a prominent Wesleyan, Edgar Smith, head of the Alleghany Conference, given the anti-society writers stature.

The controversy finally resulted in passage of a memorial that stated, "We will on no account tolerate our ministers and members in joining secret oath-bound societies."[22] There was ambiguity surrounding the measure in that it was unclear as to whether the resolution was "mandatory" or "advisory." Whatever the reason, it violates the principles of one of the original founders of the church, LaRoy Sunderland, an Odd-Fellow and Mason for twenty years.

> I deny the right of any church or conference, civil or ecclesiastical, to forbid my belonging to a lodge if I chose to do so. . . . any will say [the measure will not be] enforced here in New England. But I respect myself and the Church too much to be willing to have her rules or resolutions suspended or disregarded on my account. . . . It was a measure concocted, planned and executed, almost by one individual [Smith], who seems to have taken it upon himself to think for the entire Church on the subject.[23]

In determining to what extent the True Wesleyan qualified as an abolitionist paper, the events, leading up to the founding of the paper,

---

[21] Ibid., Feb. 1, 1845, p. 18.

[22] Ibid., Oct. 19, 1844, p. 167.

[23] Ibid., Nov. 16, 1844, p. 180.

in the lives of Orange Scott and those persons who joined him in seceding from the Methodist Episcopal Church suggested that abolitionism would be an abiding concern of the editors. It was indeed. Even though Scott followed the philosophy of presenting a versatile, family paper that would be highly marketable, abolitionism was clearly the dominating theme. News columns carried announcements of antislavery meetings and urged readers to be present. There were regular reports of antislavery efforts taking place throughout the nation. A wide range of stories reported such news as: congressional debates over slavery legislation, progress of the underground railroad, Sarah M. Grimke (an antislavery figure), a reprinted article from the Louisville (Kentucky) Daily Journal by Cassius M. Clay (one-time slaveholder who turned abolitionist), an investigative report on discrimination against blacks on coaches, and many other items. Many of the antislavery articles were related to religion, most likely because many of the abolitionist were religious and opposed slavery because it was regarded as a great sin and a moral evil. Writers for the True Wesleyan would keep close watch of religious bodies, particularly when they met for national conferences, and report what action or inaction was taken on the question of slavery.

Aside from the news stories, much of the miscellaney or general feature material was of an antislavery nature. Stories described in the most desperate language of the writer, the agony of slavery. The language used to discuss the slaveholder was no less descriptive. One writer, who signed his article Beta Sigma,

concluded a discussion of compensation to slaveholders, stating that the only compensation they merit is "prison, stocks, thumb screws, gags, marking knives, branding irons, bloody whips, iron yokes, and gall chains, and all other tortures of the body and mind for time and eternity, that he has been instrumental in bringing upon the slave."[24] Poetry from such prominent writers as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow likewise proved the abolition tone of the paper:

The Slave In The Dismal Swamp

In dark fens of the Dismal Swamp
The hunted Negro lay;
He saw the fire of the midnight camp,
And heard at times a horse's tramp
And a bloodhound's distant bay.

Where will-o'-the'wisps and glowworms shine,
In bulrush and in brake;
Where waving mosses shroud the pine,
And the cedar grows, and the poisonous vine
Is spotted like the snake.

Where hardly a human foot could pass,
Or a human heart would dare,
On the quaking turf of the green morass
He crouched in the rank and the tangled grass,
Like a wild beast in his lair.

A poor old slave, infirm and lame;
Great scars deformed his face;
On his forehead he bore the brand of shame,
And the rags, that hid his mangled frame,
Were the livery of disgrace.

All things above were bright and fair,
All things were glad and free;
Lithe squirrels darted here and there,
And wild birds filled the echoing air
With songs of Liberty!

---

[24] Ibid., Jan. 13, 1844, p. 13.

On him alone was the doom of pain,
From the morning of his brith;
On him alone the curse of Cain
Fell, like a flail on the garnered grain,
And struck him to the earth![25]

A popular feature for discussing antislavery issues was the lengthy written debate. The Wesleyans were articulate and consistent in their arguments, causing one pro-Methodist paper to admire the "consistency of the 'Scottites.'"[26]

Many times the editors, particularly Lee, would travel to local churches or antislavery societies to debate a representative of the Methodist Church. Regular reports were filed by mail and printed in the True Wesleyan

> Prof. [Calvin] Kingsley closed on the negative, in a very pretty and somewhat artful speech; but it was greatly wanting in energy and power. He attempted to secure, by a soft and tender spirit, an extremely gentle manner, and a few tears--very few and small--manufactured for the occasion, what they had failed from the commencement to secure by argument--a bitter spirit and personal abuse. It appeared that the effort was more to redeem their own characters as Christians, than to redeem the Church from the predicament in which our arguments had involved it. Mr. K. declared that discussions of this kind were very unpleasant to him, that every feeling of his heart was opposed to them. This came with rather an ill grace, after having twice engaged in them, and the second time on his own undeniable challenge. It may yet be true, for the discussions may have changed his feelings on the subject of slavery. This I believe to be the true state of the case. They did not find it so easy to defend the Church as they expected, and the work proved to be very unpleasant.[27]

---

[25] Ibid., Feb. 4, 1843, p. 20.

[26] Ibid., March 30, 1844, p. 50.

[27] Ibid., March 1, 1844, p. 43.

These skirmishes had to be of great interest to the True Wesleyan readers--especially since the antislavery writer invariably came out the winner before the largely antislavery crowd. Lee went on to note that Kingsley begged a good Wesleyan not to take a vote from the people to see the winner.

While the news and feature columns of the True Wesleyan were heavily opinionated, the editors of the paper reserved a particular column in each issue to present an official editorial. The resounding theme was a reiteration of the arguments presented in the general conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1836 and 1840 and in the True Wesleyan at the time of secession. Antislavery issues and thoughts were much broader, however, than the Methodist controversy and the True Wesleyan editors gave these ideas attention also. The annexation of Texas, for example, was opposed because it was "being supported by the South to perpetuate slavery."[28] The issue of civil disobedience was openly discussed with Lee writing that "there is no middle ground. When the claims of civil government conflict with the government of God, we must be absolutely bound to obey one or the other." The editor applied the discussion to choosing what course to take when the "law" comes to a person's home where a fugitive slave is being harbored. That person must flee, or submit to the penalty, said Lee. The "choice" also indicates the endorsement of nonviolent resistence by the True Wesleyan, whose editors opposed physical rebellion or Civil War.[29]

---

[28] Ibid., March 16, 1844, p. 43.

[29] Ibid., Jan. 25, 1845, p. 15.

The best example of the full commitment of the True Wesleyan and its editors to abolitionism emerged in an editorial Scott published on August 3, 1844--a discourse that brought scores of responses from both pro- and antislavery corners and which made Scott somewhat the William Lloyd Garrison of the Methodist abolitionists. Scott's editorial, entitled "Division of the Methodist Episcopal Church: Its Effect on the Union of the States," set forth the virtues of dividing the union as a means for resolving the conflict over slavery.

> That the Methodist Episcopal Church will be divided within twelve months, there is no room for doubt. This to our mind is as certain as anything future. Indeed, we have had little doubt for more than a year, that such would be the result of the deliberations of the General Conference. Well, there is no enlightened Christian or philanthropist but will rejoice in such an event. Large ecclesiastical organizations are dangerous--especially when they give their influence to the worst forms of oppression. A division of the Methodist Episcopal Church will hasten the abolition of slavery in our country; it cannot be otherwise. Withdraw all Northern support from the abominable system of manstealing, and the traffic in human souls will soon wind up.
>
> The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church will have a tremendous influence on the Union of the States. It will not necessarily produce a disruption, but it will greatly weaken the cords of union. And we say this without the least alarm. We have long been of the opinion, that the glory of God and the happiness of man requires a severance of the "union," both in church and state. Start not, cause we are opposed to human governments or ecclesiastical organizations--for we are in favor of both--but because we believe division would be beneficial every way to the cause of suffering man. The question of liberty or slavery must, ere long, be the great political party questions--questions which will entirely throw into the shade all minor considerations. And when this shall be the case, the days of our "stripes and stars" will be numbered. Let it not be said, the South will not consent to a dessolution of the Union. They will; they are up to almost anything, however suicidal.
>
> Other churches will most likely follow the example of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They must do this. And the nation cannot long brave the moral sentiment of the country. And blessed be that day when the ungodly national compact shall be broken up! Slavery never would, never could have flourished

> in this land in the nineteenth century, controlling church and state, but for the connivance and support of the North. Cut off Northern support, in every sense, and you take out its life blood.
>
> If the Union were divided, fifteen hundred miles of slave-holding territory would be thrown open to the free States, making five border States. This would afford great facilities for the escape of the slaves from their oppressors. The border States, therefore, would be forced to emancipate; this would make other border States, and so on. We do not believe slavery will ever be abolished in this country till it is done by the force of circumstances--not by physical force--but the force of circumstances. And such a crisis must come, and come soon.
>
> It is too late in the day to talk about a war between the North and South. Such a way could not be maintained on the part of the South a single month; and those eyes which only see through cotton bags and human souls, must see this--however reckless they may be in other matters. Beside, the anti-war spirit and feeling is diffusing itself throughout creation. It is, therefore, we repeat, too late in the day to talk of civil war in such a land as this.[30]

The responses, which Scott unreservedly printed in the newspaper, accused the True Wesleyan editor of "treason," of being "thunderstruck," of "laboring under temporary mental aberation." The unbelieving Olive Branch remarked, "The harmless madman Garrison may do it, to put down civil government, the Christian Church and her ministry, but surely the sagacious, deep-seeing editor of the Wesleyan can never use such materials while in his reason."[31]

Despite the barrage against Scott's disunion article, the editor refused to depart from the position that he had "summered and wintered" and which was being "entertained in different parts of the country . . . by many leading men in the different evangelical churches."[32] He clarified the position over succeeding issues of the

---

[30] Ibid., Aug. 3, 1844, p. 123.

[31] Ibid., Aug. 24, 1844, p. 34.

[32] Ibid.

True Wesleyan, making it apparent that he coveted the cause of the abolition of slavery over the union of the states. He, indeed, did sound like Garrison when, in a reference to the U. S. Constitution, he labeled the "national compact" as a "pro-slavery instrument." Scott said, "True there are some features in the Constitution of the country which contain sentiments in accordance with the largest liberty; but the instrument, as a whole, is pro-slavery."[33]

A leading responsibility the True Wesleyan editors accepted was keeping a close eye on the transactions of other churches, particularly viewing their general conference meetings, to assess their antislavery sentiments. The editors reported in one issue, for example, that the Methodist Protestant Church, a splinter Methodist group that had broken away in the early 1800's from the Methodist Episcopal Church over the issue of lay representation, had adjourned from its general conference meeting and done "nothing against slavery in our opinion."[34] The Wesleyan press even kept watch on what the churches were singing, attacking pro-slavery hymns.

Pro-Slavery Hymn

Master Supreme, I look to thee
For grace and wisdom from above;
Vested with thy authority
Endue me with thy patient love;

---

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., June 6, 1846, p. 91.

Inferiors, as a sacred trust,
I from the sovereign Lord receive,
That what is suitable and just,
Impartial I to all may give;

The servant faithfully discreet,
Gentle to him, and good, and mild,
Him, I would faithfully entreat,
And scarce distinguish from a child.

Yet, let me not my place forsake,
The occasion of his stumbling prove
The servant to my bosom take,
Or mar him by familiar love.

O, could I emulate the zeal
Thou dost to thy poor servants bear!
The troubles, griefs, and burdens feel,
Of souls entrusted to my care!

In daily prayer to God commend
The souls whom Christ expired to save
And think how soon my sway may end,
And all be equal in the grave![35]

The Wesleyan Methodist Connection did not escape the pen of the True Wesleyan editors, or its readers. One reader reported the establishment of a "Colored Wesleyan Church" in the same community where a white Wesleyan Methodist church already existed. The reader cried that the two races were no more different than people who were "big-headed, black-eyed, short-nosed, straight backed, long-fingered, or big-footed. I hope, I beg, I pray that the Wesleyans may have nothing to do with any such abomination."[36] Both Horton and Lee responded in the True Wesleyan that there was no evidence of any Wesleyans attempting to segregate blacks from whites, but that "our colored friends have natural rights as well as ourselves"

---

[35] Ibid., Jan. 2, 1857, p. 2.

[36] Ibid., April 12, 1845, p. 57.

and would not be "coerce[d]" to worship with other brethren. Lee wrote that blacks had been "so long oppressed, insulted and crowded into a corner or out doors, that we must expect they will feel a little distrust, and wish to stand a little way off for a time."[37]

---

[37] Ibid., April 19, 1845, p. 6.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans were suddenly saturated with a large number of newspapers. Mechanical improvements in presses and papermaking machinery and lower postal rates were major factors in making the print medium economically attractive. Many of these papers were religious and represented denominations with specific theological viewpoints. Another kind of newspaper was that which became the banner for reform movements such as temperance, labor, peace, and abolitionism. At the outset of this study, a perspective on the development of the religious press and abolitionist journalism in the 1800's was provided. The abolitionist press was said to have included those newspapers and periodicals of limited, general circulation; whose contents ranged from the rational to the emotional, usually relying on religious persuasion; whose editors were motivated by an abiding concern for abolition. Because of the changing view of an abolitionist, it was necessary to define this nineteenth century reformer. It was noted that while the revisionists of American history, focusing on Civil War causation, condemned abolitionists as fanatics whose agitation had brought about a needless war, historians of the 1960's--perhaps influenced by the civil rights movements of their own day--found the frame of mind, the program, and tactics of the abolitionist to be more comprehensible.

The discussion of abolitionism noted the tendency to group a large number of nineteenth century figures under the label of abolitionists without careful analysis of who they were, what they did, what they believed, and to what degree they were willing to demonstrate their belief. In reality, abolition and antislavery are not interchangeable labels. More correctly, abolitionists were part of the radical element within the antislavery movement that was not just against slavery, but wanted it abolished either immediately or as soon as possible at no compensation to the slaveholder. A great distinction of abolitionists was the belief in the equal rights of blacks and the disbelief of the notion that blacks were inferior, from both a scientific and Biblical view, to whites.

The definition of abolitionism presented in chapter II, specified strong qualifications by which to measure the paper under consideration, the True Wesleyan, and its founder and first editor and publisher, Orange Scott. And, while the initial research indicated antislavery sentiment in Scott's life and the True Wesleyan, this writer had doubts about the "abolitionist" label ever being accurately applied. Those doubts began to disappear with a study of Scott's background. As related in chapter III, Scott was a popular Methodist preacher who sacrificed positions of leadership within the Methodist Episcopal Church to embrace the unpopular cause of abolitionism. He studied the subject of abolition for more than a year before committing himself to being a "torch light" for the cause of human freedom. In the general conference of 1836 of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he represented the abolitionist cause with fervor

and against overwhelming opposition. His action cast him into the role of leader of the antislavery faction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His activities were hardly limited to the church as he became one of the famous "Seventy" agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was a leader of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. His efforts in raising financial support earned him the recognition of American Anti-Slavery Society leader Henry B. Stanton. And his oratory brought the plaudits of the popular antislavery poet John Greenleaf Whittier.

When Scott decided to secede from the Methodist Episcopal Church--along with Luther Lee, Jotham Horton, LaRoy Sunderland, and Lucius Matlack--he launched the True Wesleyan as a weekly newspaper. It was a highly professional paper, continually improving its physical appearance and providing guidance to elevate its correspondents to a standard of writing competitive with other papers of the day. It had the usual difficulties of delinquent payments from subscribers, but managed to pull through periodic financial crises. The paper never swept over the masses, although it showed modest gains in circulation, reaching 3,100 by the time Scott handed the position of editor to Lee at the end of 1844. Generally, however, opinion papers have been read by a select audience--in this case, the Methodist Episcopal hierarchy and antislavery sympathizers primarily in New England.

Although the True Wesleyan appeared to be just another addition to the large number of religious newspapers of the day, it was not. The editors during the period under examination in this

study, 1843-1847, reflected their abiding concern for abolitionism in the columns, as did their readers and correspondents. Printed material covered a broad range from mundane antislavery society announcements to in-depth discussions of antislavery issues to abolitionist poetry by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Editorially, the True Wesleyan editors reviewed the nation, other churches, and themselves with precision. The editorial thought reached what was considered fanatical ends by some antislavery readers when Scott proposed disunion of the states as an alternative to civil war in resolving the conflict over slavery. At the same time, Scott labeled the U.S. Constitution a "pro-slavery compact," opening himself to heavy criticism. These events, if nothing else, pointed out the wholehearted commitment of Scott and the True Wesleyan to pure abolitionism. Competitive newspapers also attested to the focus of the True Wesleyan. The Western Recorder typified those remarks. "Anyone who may have a desire to be acquainted with the merits of the slave question cannot, in our opinion, do better than to take the Wesleyan."[1]

Scott's uncompromising position on abolitionism put him in conflict with many persons--a position he did not covet. But his destiny and cause were clear to him.

> We are not born to float on the popular current. We have always been in the habit of expressing our opinions freely on all subjects, without stopping to inquire whether they would be popular or unpopular; and it is too late in the day now to change our course.[2]

---

[1] True Wesleyan, Jan. 20, 1844, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., Aug. 24, 1844, n.p.

At various times in Scott's life, and upon his death, his opponents would refer to his "kind feelings and gentlemanly disposition."[3] Dr. Thomas Bond, a Methodist editor who attacked Scott deridingly, commented:

> I had been afflicted at the necessity which I had believed was laid upon me, to advert to you as a partizan, while I entertained great regard for you as a man: and it was, therefore, a matter of rejoicing, that in discharging what I considered my duty to the church, I had not lost a friend, for whom myself and family entertained a high esteem.[4]

There was no tomorrow in Scott's work for abolitionism and the Wesleyan Methodist secessionists. He died a weary man at the age of forty-seven, realizing he had thrown himself "and all that I had upon her [the church] altar; not then thinking I should so soon be consumed; but so it is."[5] Scott, however, was not dismayed with a life spent for the cause of abolitionism: "My confidence, brethren, in the truthfulness of our principles . . . remains undiminished."[6] And so did the confidence of the succeeding editors of the True Wesleyan who sustained the principles of abolitionism long after Scott's departure.

---

[3]Ibid., Jan. 20, 1844, p. 11.

[4]Dr. Thomas Bond, Letter to Orange Scott, quoted in True Wesleyan, March 25, 1857, p. 59.

[5]Orange Scott, Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled from His Correspondence, and Other Authentic Sources (Part I), compiled by Lucius C. Matlack (New York: Wesleyan Book Room, 1848), p. 43.

[6]Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes, Gilbert Hobbs. The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964.

Browne, Benjamin P. Christian Journalism for Today. Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1952.

Craven, Avery. The Coming of the Civil War. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, First Phoenix Edition, 1967.

Dumond, Dwight L. Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America. New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1960.

Emery, Edwin. The Press and America: An Interpretive History of Journalism. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962.

Filler, Louis. The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.

Griffin, C. S. The Ferment of Reform, 1830-1860. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967.

Hart, Albert Bushnell. Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1966.

Henry, Carl F. H. Successful Church Publicity: A Guidebook for Christian Publicists. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943.

Herbert, Hilary A. The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences: Four Periods of American History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

Hudson, Frederic. Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873.

Johannsen, Robert W., ed. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Kraditor, Aileen S. Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850. New York: Vintage Books Division, Random House, 1967.

Lincoln, Abraham. "Fourth Debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Charleston, Illinois," in The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, ed. by Roy P. Basler, III. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

Litwack, Leon F. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Malone, Dumas and Rauch, Basil. Crisis of the Union, 1841-1877. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960.

Marty, Martin E., et al. "The Protestant Press: Limitations and Possibilities." In The Religious Press in America. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

McLeister, Ira F. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. Rev. by Roy S. Nicholson. Syracuse: Wesley Press, 1951.

McPherson, James M. The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Mott, Frank Luther. A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850. I, II, III. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930.

_____. American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941.

Rayback, Joseph G. Free Soil: The Election of 1848. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1970.

Savage, W. Sherman. The Controversy over the Distribution of Literature, 1830-1860. Jefferson City, Mo.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1938.

Scott, Orange. Memoir of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled from His Correspondence, and Other Authentic Sources. Compiled by Lucius C. Matlack. New York: Wesley Book Room, 1848.

Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-19th Century America. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957.

Sweet, William Warren. The Story of Religion in America. 2nd rev. ed. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

Wolseley, Roland E. The Magazine World: An Introduction to Magazine Journalism. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952.

Articles

Allen, Eric W. "International Origins of the Newspapers: The Establishment of Periodicity in Print." Journalism Quarterly, VII (December, 1930), 307-319.

Berwanger, Eugene H. "Western Prejudice and the Extension of Slavery." Civil War History, XII (September, 1966), 197-212.

Degler, Carl. "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice." Comparative Studies in Society and History, II (October, 1959), 49-66.

Dillon, Merton L. "The Abolitionists: A Decade of Historiography, 1959-1969." Journal of Southern History, XXXV (November, 1969), 500-522.

Duberman, Martin B. "The Abolitionists and Psychology." Journal of Negro History, XLVII (July, 1962), 183-191.

Eaton, Clement. "The Freedom of the Press in the Upper South." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVIII (March, 1932), 479.

Gara, Larry. "Who Was an Abolitionist?" In The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists. Edited by Martin Duberman. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796-1836. Vol. I. New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840. New York: G. Lane and C. B. Tippett, 1844.

Martin, Asa Earl. "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II (March, 1916), 509-529.

Mathews, Donald G. "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary." In The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists. Edited by Martin Dickerman. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Pease, William H. and Pease, Jane H. "Antislavery Ambivalence Immediatism, Expediency, Race." American Quarterly, XVII (Winter, 1965), 682-695.

Unpublished Documents

Del Porto, Joseph A. "A Study of American Anti-slavery Journals." Unpublished research paper, College of Arts and Letters, Michigan State University, 1954, in possession of reference library, Department of English, Michigan State University.

Scott, Orange. Letters. Garrett Seminary. Garrett Manuscripts, John Davis Collection of Autographs and Portraits, Methodist Episcopal Church ministers.

Newspapers

American Wesleyan Observer, July 23, 1840.

Christian Advocate, 1836, 1840.

Liberator, Oct. 26 and Nov. 16, 1838.

Philanthropist, 1836.

True Wesleyan, 1843-1864.

Zion's Watchman, Feb. and June, 1841.