
LETTERS

TO

ANDREW T. JUDSON, ESQ.

AND OTHERS IN CANTEBURY,

REMONSTRATING WITH THEM ON THEIR UNJUST

AND

UNJUSTIFIABLE PROCEDURE RELATIVE

TO

MISS CRANDALL AND HER SCHOOL

FOR

COLORED FEMALES.

BY SAMUEL J. MAY,

Minister of the 1st Church in Brooklyn, (Conn.)

BROOKLYN:

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BURLIN
PARK
BAY

LETTER I.

BROOKLYN, MARCH 29, 1835.

ANDREW T. JUDSON, ESQ.

SIR:—I left Canterbury, after the town-meeting on the 9th ult. grieved that so large a number of persons could be so completely misled by the art and influence of a few individuals; and ashamed that in Connecticut (which claims to be the most enlightened and moral State in our Union,) a community of freemen could be found, who would thus yield themselves to be the instruments of such injustice and cruelty.

From your high official standing, Sir, both in the town and state, it was to have been expected that you would have endeavored to allay the popular excitement, and to persuade your fellow-citizens to act advisedly. So far from it, however, you were the prominent actor on the occasion; and exerted yourself beyond measure to heat the imaginations of your hearers, to enkindle their bitterest feelings against Miss Crandall and her friends, and to hurry them on to an immediate decision—a decision which can reflect no honor upon the town; and which, if it cannot be reversed, may indirectly affect the happiness of millions in our land.

I therefore take the liberty thus publicly to plead with you, and with your fellow-citizens. Nay—Sir, I have a right to claim from yourself, and from the people of Canterbury, and from the community at large, some attention to the defence I am about to offer of Miss Crandall's most benevolent project; of the part I have acted on her behalf; and of the sentiments and purposes of those Gentlemen,

who with myself have encouraged her undertaking. I solemnly aver, that so far as I know any thing about that young lady, or her patrons, or my own intentions, we have all been grossly misrepresented and traduced.

It was not until about the time of Miss Crandall's return from New-York, that I received the first intimation of her design to open her School for the education of colored females. I expressed to my informant, my heartfelt satisfaction that there was one so near me, who would dare to brave the prejudices of the public, so far as to devote herself to that great "labor of love." The young lady was then an entire stranger to me. I had heard however of her good reputation as a teacher in Canterbury and Plainfield, and, better than that, of her great integrity of mind, benevolence of heart, and energy of purpose; and therefore I determined to hold myself in readiness to aid her, if my assistance should be needed by her in any way.

A few days afterwards, i. e. on the 27th of February, I was further informed that she had made her intention publicly known in your town, and that the people there, were, in consequence, filled with indignation at her, especially yourself and her immediate neighbors. Not having received from Miss Crandall any notice of her plan (though my deep interest in the melioration of the condition of our colored brethren must be well known in this vicinity,) I at first concluded, that she might prefer to avoid receiving any assistance from me, because perhaps of her strong objections to my religious opinions. On further reflection however, it seemed to be my duty to proffer her a helping hand, which she would be at liberty to accept or reject as she might choose. Accordingly on the 28th I wrote her a hasty letter, of which the following is an exact copy.

Brooklyn, Feb. 28, 1833.

MISS CRANDALL.

Although I am a stranger to you I shall offer no apology for addressing you.

The cause, which I hear you have espoused, is one which has long been deeply interesting to me. My situation and engagements have prevented my doing as much in behalf of our colored brethren, as I fain would have done. Last week I heard indirectly from Dr. Green that you proposed to open a boarding school for colored girls. The intelligence rejoiced my heart, and I determined to do all in my power to assist you. You are probably well aware that my religious sentiments have rendered me obnoxious to the suspicion, and ill-will of the Clergy, and a considerable proportion of the people in this vicinity. This may lessen very much my ability to serve you. But

I wish you would command my services in any way in which you think I can be useful to you.

Last evening, Chauncy Morse informed me that there was considerable excitement in Canterbury, in consequence of your proposal. This was to have been expected, so inveterate are the prejudices of the people against the Blacks. But it is disgraceful to any community pretending to be Christian. I would enlarge upon this topic, but I feel too deeply to write in a proper temper.

It has been intimated that there is to be even a town-meeting to prevent you from carrying your plan into operation. If there is, I shall endeavor to attend it. But how do they purpose to prevent you? It has occurred to me that your *conspicuous* residence in the village might render your plan more objectionable to those, who are so hostile to the blacks. Perhaps your removal to some more retired situation would at once allay the violence of your opponents, and be more favorable to your pupils, who would not be so exposed to insult as they might be where you now are.

I should be very happy to see you at my house—or I will come and see you, if a visit, from such a heretic as I am accounted, would not increase the ill-will of your neighbors towards you.

Yours in the cause of the oppressed.

S. J. MAY.

It was not until the following Monday (March 4th) that I received her reply, in which she assured me that I could be of service to her, and requested me to visit her as soon as might be convenient to myself. About the same moment, the *Liberator* for March 2d came to hand, in which I saw for the first time the Advertisement of her school, and my name in the list of those to whom she referred.—This satisfied me, that she had relied upon my co-operation. I therefore set off immediately for Canterbury, in company with a mutual friend.

Every thing we gathered from Miss Crandall, and from others with whom we conversed, satisfied us that a most determined effort would be made at the town meeting, then warned, to prevent the prosecution of her benevolent plan. Regarding it not, by any means as a local, town affair, but on the contrary as affecting indirectly the happiness of millions of the American people, we were deeply impressed with the importance of sustaining the school. Should a second attempt to provide for the better education of our colored people, be put down by the popular clamor in New-England, (the land of schools) discouragement we feared would enfeeble the efforts of many, who are now laboring to meliorate the condition of this immense body of the inhabitants of our land. The location of the school in your village was not indeed a matter, in itself considered, of any moment. But that the school should not be abandon-

ed, we deemed a matter of the utmost consequence. As therefore it so happened, that Miss Crandall was already established in Canterbury, it was obviously right in our view, that she should be sustained there; at least until her opponents or her patrons should provide her with a suitable situation elsewhere. And such a situation we thought could not easily be obtained any where else, if she were first to relinquish the one she now has. For wherever we looked, we saw reason to believe, that there too would be found much of the same feeling of hostility to the people of color; added to which would be the disgrace that would follow her and her school, wherever she might go—the disgrace of having been expelled from your town as a nuisance.

We have long since perceived how deep and inveterate, even in New-England, are the prejudices of the whites against those of African descent. We have apprehended, that ere our colored brethren will have any chance to rise to that intellectual and moral elevation, which they may doubtless reach, there would need to be a conflict between those great republican principles, on which our civil institutions are based, and that aristocracy of color which has become hereditary among us. It seemed to us that, in the course of Providence we were called to take a part in this conflict. We did not dare to shrink from it; nor to advise Miss Crandall to withdraw, let the consequences to her or to ourselves be what they might. We therefore exhorted her to be steadfast—meekly to bear the injuries that might be heaped upon her; and in hope of the good she would be instrumental in doing, to despise the shame she would incur.—We also promised to afford her all the assistance in our power; and assured her she might rely upon those who had encouraged her undertaking; upon others who were doubtless watching with deepest interest the result; and above all upon Him who will prosper the cause that is right.

The injurious reports which were busily circulated respecting Miss Crandall, and the friends of her school, filled her and us with apprehension, that her sentiments and purposes would be sadly misrepresented at the approaching town meeting. Who would be there to speak in her behalf? A sense of propriety forbade her appearing in person. She knew of no one that would venture to breast the current of public sentiment, that was set against her. Fearing that the prejudices which prevail in your town against my religious opinions, might only aggravate the public odium if I should appear

there in her stead,* I hesitated some time whether it would be advisable for me to undertake her defence. But as there was no one else, in the town or neighborhood, that she supposed would be willing to stand up for her, she strongly expressed her desire that I would do so. She agreed to give me a *written* request to the Moderator of the meeting, that I might be permitted to speak in explanation and defence of her sentiments and purposes.

When I went again to Canterbury on the 9th of March, I found at Miss Crandall's house, Arnold Buffum, the Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. Having heard that he was at Norwich, in the prosecution of his official duty, she had been to that city the day previous, and induced him to come to Canterbury to help her. I had had the pleasure of seeing that gentleman two or three times. I knew that he was an able advocate of the rights of the oppressed; and rejoiced that he was permitted to be there. It was at once determined, that he should be her principal attorney at the meeting. She however requested me also to speak on her behalf; and I had now become so deeply interested in the cause, that I longed for an opportunity to advocate it.

Mr. Buffum and myself accordingly proceeded to the house, where we found the meeting already organized. Asael Bacon, Esq. Moderator. Andrew T. Judson, Esq. Clerk. Looking about us, I perceived many persons present from neighboring towns, who came there, as I have reason to believe with no very friendly regard towards the proposed school. I assure you and the public, that I went to Canterbury not knowing that a single individual was to be at the meeting besides the inhabitants of the town, excepting only the young gentleman who accompanied me. I had not heard that Mr. Buffum was in the region; and I was equally surprised when I saw the two young men from Providence ("boisterous boys" as you have called them,) enter the house. In the gallery there were two or three decent looking colored men. Who they were I did not know, but at the time supposed them to belong to your town. I saw nothing in their deportment at all improper, though if they had manifested great displeasure at some of your remarks, I should not have wondered. I am thus particular, because you have endeavored through the Norwich papers to make the public believe, that the friends of Miss Crandall's school presented themselves at your "perfectly orderly meeting" in a most formidable array, as if to awe your

*Though I meant to be there as a *witness* of your proceedings.

citizens into a compliance with their wishes. Permit me to say Sir, if you or some of your coadjutors had adopted the precaution of "taking notes" at the time, (for which precaution you seem to be offended at one of the Providence young men,) you probably would have given as correct an account of the meeting as he has done in "the Liberator,"* and not have committed so many mistakes in your communications to the Norwich papers, as must be apparent to all who were witnesses of what you have therein attempted to describe.

After "the warning" had been read, the following Resolutions were laid before the meeting by Rufus Adams, Esq. viz:—

"Whereas, it hath been publicly avowed that a school is to be opened in this town, on the first Monday of April next, using the language of the advertisement, "for young ladies and little misses of color," or in other words, for the people of color, the obvious tendency of which, would be, to collect within the town of Canterbury large numbers of persons, from other States, whose characters and habits might be various and unknown to us, thereby rendering insecure the persons, property, and reputation of our citizens—

Under such circumstances our silence might be construed into an approbation of the project.

Therefore Resolved, That the location of a school for the people of color, at any place within the limits of this town, for the admission of persons from foreign jurisdictions, meets with our unequivocal disapprobation, and it is to be understood that the inhabitants of Canterbury, protest against it, in the most earnest manner.

Resolved, That a Committee be now appointed, to be composed of the Civil Authority and Select Men, who shall make known to the person contemplating the establishment of said school, the sentiments and objections entertained by this meeting, in reference to said school, pointing out to her, the injurious effects, and the incalculable evils, resulting from such an establishment within this town, and persuade her, if possible, to abandon the project."

Mr. Adams accompanied the presentation of these resolves with a speech, in which he attempted to set forth the causes of complaint, which the town of Canterbury had against Miss Crandall. But, I am sorry to say, he sadly misrepresented her sentiments and purpose—

*I suspect no one will undertake to prove the statements, made by H. E. Benson, untrue in any one material point. But he is not, nor is any one but the Editor of the Liberator, responsible for the heading and the remarks prefixed to the Letter; nor for the black letter type, in which the names of certain individuals in Canterbury are signalized. I respect and love Mr. Garrison's fervent devotion to the cause of the oppressed, and his fearlessness in reproving the oppressors; but no one can disapprove, more than I do, the harshness of his epithets, and the bitterness of his invectives.

zes; and made several most ungenerous insinuations against her motives.

As soon as he sat down, you took the floor. I shall not pretend to repeat all that you said, nor to describe minutely the style of your address. It was a most inglorious exploit! And oh Sir! what a golden opportunity you lost, on that day, to act as a true patriot and genuine philanthropist should have done; ay, to illustrate the principles of a real *republican*! It is much more difficult, I grant, but how much more honorable is it to withstand public prejudice, and labor to enlighten and correct it, than it is to avail ourselves of its blindness and impetuosity to accomplish some selfish purpose, or gratify some private feelings! Who Sir, have ever been instrumental in the melioration of the human condition; or the advance of knowledge and virtue; but they who have dared to oppose public error, and even defy public odium? I deeply lament, Sir, that you did not perceive, or that you chose not to pursue the course, in which the principles of our civil institutions, as well as the precepts of the gospel would have guided and sustained you. To whom Sir, should they, who, condescending to men of low estate, would labor to instruct and raise them, to whom I ask should such look for encouragement, if not to those who profess to believe that all men are born with equal rights—that the King of Kings and Lord of Lords is no respecter of persons? But all such reliance upon you, Sir, it seems would have been misplaced. You vented yourself in a strain which evinced your reckless hostility to Miss Crandall, her school and her patrons; and your determination to do every thing in your power to thwart her project. You twanged every chord that could stir the coarser passions of the human heart; and with such sad success that your hearers seemed to have lost for the time their perception of right and wrong. The remarks that were made by yourself and by others, were adapted to make an impression of this sort upon the minds of your fellow-citizens,—that a great calamity was impending over your town, of which Miss Crandall was the author, or the instrument—that there were powerful conspirators combined with her in the plot—and that the people of Canterbury should be roused by every consideration of self-respect and self-preservation, to prevent the accomplishment of the design, defying the wealth and influence of all who were abettors of it.

When I supposed you were done, though it appears from the account in the Norwich paper I was mistaken—but certainly not until I thought you had drawn your remarks to a close—I whispered to

Mr. Buffum, it is now high time for us to present Miss Crandall's request to be heard. He therefore, being the one on whom her defence was chiefly to rest, first handed her respectful petition to the Moderator. I watched until he had read it, and passed it to you, and you had read it; and I then gave to the Moderator a similar billet from Miss Crandall, praying that I also might be permitted to speak on her behalf. For reasons however, known only to yourself and to Him who sees all hearts, you *reversed* the order of our certificates, when you read them to the meeting. But let this pass. It might have been accidental.

You instantly broke forth with even more violence than before, and accused us of insulting the town, and interfering in the management of its local concerns. Other gentlemen arose in high displeasure, (Mr. Solomon Payne in particular,) and opposed Miss Crandall's petition; and very roughly admonished us, that if we dared to interfere, we should suffer the penalty which the Law prescribes.—Of course we did not dare to interfere; and so we sat quietly until the dissolution of the meeting. But we dare now to appeal from your decision; and we do appeal in full confidence that it will be reversed by the opinion of the fair minded, and impartial, every where. It is necessary that I should dwell for a moment upon this point, because it has been made so prominent by yourself and your coadjutors. Not only has Rumor with her thousand tongues spread every where the slander, that Mr. Buffum and Mr. May thrust themselves into a peaceable town meeting in Canterbury, and interfered with the business of the town; but the same false accusation is brought against us in the public prints. It is not true that *we* asked leave to address the meeting. Miss Crandall asked leave to be heard *by us*, her sex forbidding her to advocate her own cause. We said not a word: but simply put into the hand of the Moderator a written request from Miss Crandall. We were silent, because we were not permitted to speak. How then did we interfere? The meeting was called for the sole purpose of opposing a project started by that young lady. Her sentiments and purposes were misrepresented, by you and others, and even her integrity called in question. And where Sir, was your sense of justice, where your honor, to say nothing of your gallantry, when you opposed, as you did with vehemence of passion, her being heard in reply? A young lady was accused by you and others before the assembly of the people, ay, and in the presence of her aged father, accused of entertaining sentiments and purposes which excited the public disgust, and no one

was permitted to speak in her defence! Where will you find an upright man, who will say this was fair? You will not Sir, I hope pretend to justify it yourself. You have been so long accustomed to the proceedings of our Courts of Justice, in which no judgment is ever given, until both parties have been patiently heard, that you Sir, of all others, should have seen at a glance the propriety of Miss Crandall's claim to be heard; and should have had the honor to insist on her right to speak by those, whom *she chose* to represent her sentiments and purposes, and vindicate her character. I did expect as much as this from you, although I had been told of the violence of your opposition to the proposed school; for I would not suppose there was a Lawyer, of good standing in this community, that would claim at any tribunal a verdict in favor of the side he espoused, until after the opposite counsel had been heard. I am now compelled to believe, that you were afraid to submit the case in question to a fair investigation. You relied upon the prejudices of the people; and having excited them to the utmost, hurried on a decision which you plainly foresaw would gratify your wishes. If this be not the just inference, why were you so much offended at the presence of Mr. Buffum and myself? And why did you show so much passion when we presented Miss Crandall's request to be heard by us?

You sought to turn off the minds of your fellow-citizens, from the very proper request of that defenceless young lady, by holding us up as foreigners who had come there to interfere. And you have since pressed this accusation of *foreign interference* with so much urgency, that I am persuaded you rely, for the justification of your own conduct, upon the impression you may make on the public mind by this charge against us. Calling us foreigners (especially those of us who live in an adjoining town) would be only a ludicrous misnomer, if it had not been obviously applied by you for a sinister purpose.

Of course Sir, there are town rights, as well as state rights, which every individual is bound to respect, and every town competent to maintain. If I have violated those rights I shall be most anxious to make to the people of Canterbury a public apology. But surely the rights and interests of any town are not to be regarded as of equal, much less of paramount importance to the rights and interests of larger portions of the community. To maintain that they are, would be to maintain a wilder doctrine than our South Carolina brethren ever broached. Nor are the rights of any town to be considered as of equal, much less of paramount importance to the

eternal principles of right, and truth, and justice. Whenever therefore any town is seen to be pursuing a measure that will be prejudicial to other portions of community, those not belonging to that particular town have a *right* to interfere. There can be nothing wrong in their going into that town, and asking leave of the town to remonstrate with them against the measure. If permission be not given, they are then left with the right to call the measure in question before a common tribunal. So too, if the procedure of a town is likely to be unnecessarily injurious to an individual, whether that individual be a resident in the town or not, he has a *right* to interfere—he has a right to present himself at the town meeting where such a procedure is to be determined on, and claim to be heard. If he be an inhabitant of the town he may speak without special permission; if not an inhabitant, he must obtain permission. In neither case however is he doing wrong. And if he cannot present himself in person, or is unable to speak, he obviously has a right to appoint an advocate; and the town would obviously do wrong if they refused to hear the advocate. Now, will you Sir, say that he must select for his advocate one who is an inhabitant of the town in which the meeting is convened? I trust not. How futile then was your objection to us that we were foreigners! and how false the accusation, which you have reiterated, that we interfered, or were disposed to interfere (in an improper manner at least,) with the business of your town meeting.* If the question, to be considered on that occasion, had been altogether local, still as it deeply involved the interests and character of one who could not with propriety be present, she had a right to delegate one or more to appear for her. And as she knew of no one in the town, who would be willing to undertake her defence, she was under the necessity of seeking assistance from some *foreigners*, as you are pleased to call those who do not live within the limits of Canterbury. I leave it for all honorable men to decide between us, whether on this supposition I should have done wrong to go to the meeting; and whether you would have done right to oppose my being heard at her request?

But Sir, the question at that meeting was not one of local interest

*A gentleman of Plainfield has assured me, that some years ago, Andrew T Judson, Esq. himself, attended a town meeting in Plainfield, and asked permission to speak upon the subject under consideration; that permission was given him, and he did address the meeting. The gentleman did not recollect the subject. But it is a matter of no consequence what the subject was, in order to test the principle. If it were a less important one, than that at Canterbury, there wd. be the less reason for the interference.

merely. It was intimately connected with the *greatest* question our nation is now called upon to decide—i. e. whether our immense colored population shall henceforth be permitted to rise among us, *as they may be able*, in intellectual and moral worth; or be kept down in hopeless degradation, until in the providence of a just God they may throw off the yoke of their oppressors, with vindictive violence. Such Sir, was the magnitude of the question agitated at Canterbury on the 9th of March. So momentous was it in my view, that I should have attended the discussion, even if Miss Crandall had not called on me to advocate her cause. And so deeply interesting is the question to our whole country, that I cannot think I should have been guilty of any great impropriety if, without her certificate, I had respectfully asked permission to address your fellow-citizens. Had leave been given me, I could have assured them, that there was no intention or wish on the part of those who will patronize the school, to injure your village or incommode an individual in it; but that they would be ready at any time to have it removed to any more retired spot, wherever such an institution could be suitably accommodated. And I should have plead with you and your neighbors Sir, with all the earnestness in my power, that, in view of the momentous connexions and dependencies of the question, you would so far forego your prepossessions and prejudices, as to decide that a School for the better education of those, who of all others in our land need it most, might be permitted to remain unmolested where it happens in the providence of God to have been located.

I will not detain you and the public longer Sir, with this direct exculpation of Mr. Buffum and myself. It might be easily shown that several other statements in the Norwich papers are untrue, and that the whole account of the meeting is highly discolored.* Our presence there evidently disturbed the feelings of yourself and those who were leagued with you against Miss Crandall's school. But we neither did nor said any thing to disturb the meeting. When we carried Miss Crandall's certificates to the Moderator, we did so as quietly as possible. And when we spake to each other, which we did but three or four times, it was in a whisper.

*It may not be improper here to inform the public that one of the Civil Authority, whose name appears in the Norwich Courier, was *not* at the meeting—that another has been since heard, by three witnesses, to say that some of the statements in that address to the American Colonization Society were *not* true; and also I believe that not more than two or three of the Authority remained after the meeting, to hear the remarks by Mr. Buffum and myself.

So soon as the meeting was *dissolved*, I called upon the people to hear us. Perhaps in this, I misjudged. But I thought, after what had been alleged against Miss Crandall, our absent friends and ourselves, that we ought to speak, when we could do so without impropriety. What we said, those who *heard* us can testify. I can only aver that neither Mr. Buffum's language nor my own was what it is represented to have been in the Norwich Republican.

I am Sir, not a foreigner, but
Your fellow-citizen,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

LETTER II.

BROOKLYN, APRIL 6, 1833.

ANDREW T. JUDSON, ESQ.

SIR;—I intend now to consider some of the charges brought by you and others against Miss Crandall; and some of the objections urged against her proposed school; correcting as I proceed, some of the many misrepresentations, which were given (and have been reiterated,) of the sentiments and purposes of those, who have encouraged her undertaking.

The first complaint or charge, if I remember correctly, which was alleged at the town meeting on the 9th, was that Miss Crandall had perverted her school from its original purpose. 'She was introduced here,' said one or more of her accusers, 'to instruct our children. We gave her our patronage and our confidence. She has set aside the one, and abused the other, and is now about to introduce into

the town a class of persons whose presence will be offensive to us.' I do not give this *exactly* the precise language, but as the substance of the charge; and the same is repeated in the Norwich papers. It struck me at the time, that the tone of the complaint implied that you had conferred upon this young lady a much greater amount of favors, than she has in fact received. All that has been done for her, by the Ladies and Gentlemen of Canterbury, has been to encourage her opening a school there, which surely was as much for their own accommodation, as for her benefit. The favor was then at least mutual. But I am one Sir, who regard a capable and faithful Teacher of youth as a greater benefactor to the community, than the community is to her. Will you tell me she was furnished with money? Very true. But did she not give the lender good security for the repayment of the loan, with lawful interest? The house in which she resides was purchased by herself, and she is still indebted for it to a considerable amount. If the establishment had been bought and fitted up for her by her patrons, they would unquestionably have the right to insist that it should be still appropriated to its original purpose, or else given back into their hands. But they cannot pretend to so much as this. Unless therefore you and your neighbors have good reason to believe, that she had her present plan in contemplation when she came into your village; and that she availed herself of your patronage only that she might get herself established there, all the while intending to enter as soon as possible upon the course now proposed—I repeat, unless you have good reason to believe this, you have no reason to be offended with her. Now I have never heard this alleged. Nor do I suppose she ever thought of devoting herself to the instruction of colored females until last Fall, after she had been resident among you a year or more. She has not been bribed nor persuaded by others, to this undertaking. The circumstances which have led her to it, (as she relates them) seem to have been providential. How could she resist the convictions wrought in her mind? How could she refuse to obey them, without disregarding a higher obligation, than any she is under to her patrons? Some men may sneer if they will, at what is called a sense of duty. There is such a thing. And when it is awakened in the human breast it leads one to act with a determination, consistency and fearlessness, which is never to be seen in the conduct of the selfish, calculating and worldly.

The next charge was that Miss C. went off to Providence, Boston and New-York to make arrangements for her proposed school, with-

out having apprised her neighbors of her intention, asked their advice, or consulted their wishes. Surely, Sir, it was not her fault that none of the people of Canterbury were known to feel so much commiseration for the colored people in our land, that she could hope for encouragement from them to pursue her intention to labor for their good.

But it has been repeatedly said of her since, if it was not alleged against her at the meeting, that she was guilty of falsehood or at least prevarication respecting the object of her journeys. This is indeed a grave accusation. The untruth is said to have been this: when asked by some one or more, why she was going to the above named cities, she replied, to visit schools and procure school apparatus; whereas it now appears that she went to seek patrons and pupils for her school, under the now arrangement. Miss Crandall's reply to this accusation is, that she had for sometime previous contemplated a visit to the schools in the various parts of our country—that she had long felt the need of more apparatus, and that such a journey as she has lately made would have been ere long necessary, if she had not proposed the important alteration that has taken place in her school. She adds that when about to leave home, she was wholly unacquainted with the friends of the colored people, excepting by reputation; and did not know that they would approve of her design; and that she therefore felt herself justified in acquainting those of her neighbors who inquired, with only a part of the objects of her journey. She assures me, and is ready to prove to her opposers if they wish, that while absent from Canterbury she did visit *eight* different schools in Providence and Boston. If she had not met with so much encouragement to open her school for colored females she would have devoted more of her time to similar examinations; and this would then have become the principal purpose of her journey. But finding so many persons, where she went, deeply interested in her proposal; and so large a number of pupils ready to be placed under her care; this assumed that prominence among the purposes of her journey, which it doubtless had in her thoughts.—Now Sir, I am willing to leave this explanation with the public, as she has left it with me; and I have no doubt it would satisfy even yourself and her opposers, if you were in a state of mind that would permit you to judge impartially.

Again; it was, (by more than one of the Speakers at your town meeting,) objected to the school proposed by Miss Crandall, that it would greatly lessen the value of property in your village, by ren-

dering it no longer a desirable place of residence. One gentleman, if not more, intimated that he should wish to sell out his property, and move off. If this depreciation of real estate will be consequent upon the establishment of her school, the effect should be attributed to its true cause; not to that benevolent institution, but to the prejudices of those who would crush it. If you and the other gentlemen who have become so unhappily conspicuous, had interested yourselves as much as all patriots and philanthropists in our country should have done long ago in the condition of that immense portion of the American people, which is held in degradation, you would have rejoiced to hear that an experiment was to be made so near you to benefit them; and would have watched its operation with increasing satisfaction. But if on the contrary, you have cherished your unrighteous prejudices against them—prejudices which have no deeper foundation than their skins, unless it be in that deep degradation itself, to which they have been consigned by our government, in despite of the principles on which our government rests,—I repeat Sir, if you and other gentlemen in Canterbury have cherished your prejudices against them to such an extent, that you cannot bear even to have a few of them resident among you—who is to blame? Who but yourselves? Although therefore, you may, through the influence of the same prejudices in the breasts of your earthly judges, escape utter condemnation at the bar of public opinion; can you expect a similar impunity at the tribunal of the Most High? He is no respecter of persons! He does not regard the rich and mighty, more than the poor, and the despised! The cause of truth and righteousness—the melioration of the human condition has never made any advance, but in opposition to the wishes of a certain sort of men. Ought the cause at any time to have been abandoned on their account? The preaching of Paul at Ephesus was very prejudicial to one Demetrius, and a few other silversmiths; and they succeeded in raising an uproar, and making it appear to be an affair of great consequence to *all* the Ephesians. But Sir, did you ever think Paul was to blame in that matter?

In a pecuniary point of view, such a seminary will doubtless be beneficial to the inhabitants of Canterbury. Thirty or forty temporary residents will be introduced among you to be clothed, fed and warmed, as well as instructed; thus making a considerable addition to the class of consumers. Some of them will be the daughters of men of wealth; and all of them supported there by their parents or relatives,* who are able and willing to pay all their expences.—However, to quiet the fears of those who are, or pretend to be, apprehensive that some of Miss Crandall's colored pupils may become chargeable to the town, the patrons of her school hold themselves in readiness to give bonds, in any amount that may be required, to secure the town from all such harm.

*There is a solitary exception among those who are now engaged, the very honorable exception of a young woman, now keeping a school in New-York, who by her own frugality has accumulated enough to defray her expences for half of a year. She will be assisted by a gentleman of that city, to complete

Nothing, I am confident, could have been further from Miss Crandall's intention, than to do her neighbors any injury. And Sir, you may rest assured, the gentlemen referred to in her Advertisement would not uphold her a moment in violating any of your rights. The determination she has formed to devote herself to the education of colored females, we cannot but highly approve. Her residence in your village is altogether a providential circumstance.— We should encourage her benevolent enterprise, wherever it might be undertaken. And if a suitable situation can be provided for her, in some place where her neighbors would assist and cheer her, or where they would only not molest her, we should rejoice to have her remove thither.† But you declared, in the town meeting, that the school should not be located in any part of Canterbury—and also that there is not a town in the State which would admit such a seminary within its borders. It is therefore all the more necessary that she should be sustained where she now is. It is to be deeply regretted that yourself and others are opposed to her. We think you are doing yourselves no honor; and more than that, we are persuaded you are helping to perpetuate the great iniquity, and the deep disgrace of our country. The question between us is not simply whether thirty or forty colored girls shall be well educated at a school to be kept in Canterbury; but whether the people in any part of our land will recognize and generously protect the "inalienable rights of man," without distinction of color? If this be not done, in Connecticut, where else in our land can we expect it will be done, at least in our day? That it cannot be done even in this State without a struggle is now most shamefully obvious. A year or twosince, some benevolent individuals proposed to erect an institution, at New Haven, for the education of colored young men. The design was defeated by violent opposition. If the citizens had opposed merely its location in that City, they might have escaped condemnation, for such a seminary there might have been very prejudicial to Yale College. But it was only too apparent, that their hostility to the institution was peculiarly embittered by their prejudices against the color of those, who were to be educated at it. So too in the case at Canterbury; no one pretends there would have been any opposition to Miss Crandall's school, if her pupils were to be white. The tincture of their skin then it is which has called out all the men of influence in array against her; and has even procured from the freemen of the town an expression of their "unqualified disapprobation" of her plan.

Here then, in Connecticut, we have had two recent instances of outrage committed upon "the inalienable rights of man." Among these rights, to use the language of the Declaration of Independen-

a year with Miss Crandall.

†An offer may have been made to Miss Crandall by responsible individuals to purchase her house, as stated in the Courier; but we beg the public to take notice, that the offer implied an abandonment of the project. No proposal has been made to her to procure her some other suitable situation in lieu of the one she now has. Such a proposal would have been acceded to.

dence "are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now Education has from the first, been regarded in this State highly conducive to the private happiness, and the public weal. Yet have our colored brethren been twice angrily denied permission to seek this blessing, to the extent that they have desired. Will the people of Connecticut generally, countenance these violations of our civil and religious principles? If they will, let them no longer claim to be a republican, much less a christian people!

The appeals, you have made in the public newspapers, are very similar to those you urged at the town meeting on the 9th. I trust however they may be shown to rest upon mistakes or prejudices.

Throughout your remarks it was continually implied, and sometimes offensively expressed, that Africans and their descendants are *naturally*, as well as actually, inferior to the white varieties of the human race. This notion has become so prevalent through our country, that I suppose it is generally received as resting upon an indubitable fact; and so few take pains to examine the ground of it. If there were room within the limits, to which I must restrict myself, I could easily lay before you enough of the results of those inquiries, which physiologists have pursued into this matter, to show you that the teaching of our Sacred Scriptures on this point is deserving of so much higher deference, than your prejudices have permitted you to pay to it. Causes enough have been in operation to produce all the varieties of men, which we now behold among the descendants of the primitive pair. I might also adduce many instances of Africans, who under the withering influences which have surrounded their race for the last three hundred years, have yet risen to a considerable elevation in science, literature, and moral excellence. But I shall leave their defence for the present in far abler hands. The Massachusetts Colonization Society at its last Annual Meeting, February 9, was addressed by Hon. Alexander H. Everett, one of the ripest scholars, and most distinguished civilians in our land. Having spoken at some length of the new hopes of Africa, which seem to be kindling in many bosoms, and having pointed out the benefits which may be conferred upon that benighted land by colonies planted there from this country and Europe, he said

"But, Sir, we are sometimes told that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation to vegetate forever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject with contempt and indignation this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were, and what they did, three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front

in the march of civilization—when they constituted, in fact, the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors:—they had it from the Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word—from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities—such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi—came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world. They will be, what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Paul's,—the present pride of Rome and London.

Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race? It is sometimes pretended, that, though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history—who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe, that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.

So much for the supposed inferiority of the colored race, and their incapacity to make any progress in civilization and improvement.—And it is worth while, Mr. President, to remark, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, but which does not exist to any thing like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I just alluded, when the blacks took precedence of the whites in civilization, science and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed. The early Greek writers speak of the Ethiopians and Egyptians as a superior variety of the species:—superior, not merely in intellectual and moral qualities, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance. The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beauty.—

The black prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, (probably an Egyptian prince,) is constantly spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers, as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora, or the Morning. There are, in short, no traces of any prejudice whatever against the color of the blacks, like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. This prejudice forms at present, as was correctly observed by President Madison in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention, the chief obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of them who reside in this country."

Coming as this testimony does, from a distinguished member of the Colonization Society, I trust it will make some impression upon your mind, and upon the minds of other gentlemen in Canterbury, who have all at once come to take such a deep interest in the operations of that Society.* I have however one word more to say before I leave this topic. If it were true, that the African members of the human family are naturally inferior to others, would not this be a very strong argument with correct reasoners, no less than with benevolent men, in favor of their being aided by peculiar assistance, ay, with every possible facility for improvement? Surely it would be, methinks, unless they can be shown to be *insusceptible* of improvement.

But Sir, that even you do not consider them thus incapable of improvement, is evident enough from what you have said may be done for them, on the other side of the Atlantic. It is then only their being improved in America that you object to. The thought of encouraging or even permitting colored men to rise, if they can, to an equality with us, even us! white ones (who have no doubt departed quite as much as they have from the original complexion of our race)—the thought, that they should ever be partakers with us, even us! in all the privileges of this land of *equal rights*, this is a thought, which seems to have maddened you and other gentlemen who have been preeminent in this region for their *republican* zeal! Surely the heart of man is deceitful above all things!

I shall leave with you what I should say on this point also, in the words of Mr. Everett, who has set forth what I believe to be true, far better than I could.

"I was not, Mr. President—if so humble an individual may be permitted to allude to his own private sentiments, upon a subject of so much interest—I was not, in the first instance, very favorably impressed in regard to the character of this institution. Looking at it as it has been sometimes represented, as intended chiefly to remove from this country the colored portion of the population, I was inclined to consider it as an inadequate instrument for effecting an ob-

*I have reason to believe that neither Andrew T. Judson, Esq., nor indeed any of the Civil Authority and Select Men of Canterbury were members of the Colonization Society, or expressed any interest in it, until the excitement against Miss Crandall.

ject in itself impracticable, and which, if it could be effected, would be, after all, of doubtful utility. The pecuniary means at the disposal of the Association never have been, and probably never will be, sufficient to pay the expenses of the transportation to Africa of a tenth part of the annual increase of the colored people. It is quite clear, therefore, that there could be no prospect of ever making any approach in this way, to a removal of the whole mass. And Sir, if this could be effected, why should we desire it? Is there not ample room and verge enough in our vast territory for the population of all colors, classes and descriptions? Is it not our true policy rather, as far as possible, to induce emigration from abroad, than to endeavor to remove two or three millions of our present inhabitants? Whatever may be the case in the crowded countries of the Old World, here at least, thank God, there is no pressure of population upon the means of subsistence. Sir, it is literally true in this country, that the harvest is many and the laborers few. And this being the case, shall the little accident of the different color which it has pleased Providence to give to their complexion, render an entire variety of our fellow-men so odious to us, that we cannot abide them in the same continent? Suppose, Sir, that you or I, or any individual, had it in his power, by a mere act of the will, to change the color of the whole black race to white, would it be a proof of good sense and good feeling to exercise the power? Suppose that an individual had it in his power by an act of the will, to change all the black eyes in this assembly to blue? Would he think it worth while to exercise it? Sir, one of these operations would be just as judicious as the other. The attempt to break down the beautiful variety that pervades all the works of Providence into a tame and monotonous sameness, is every way objectionable. To desire the removal of two millions of our population, merely because their complexion is different from that of the rest, would be inconsistent with any correct principles of taste, morals, or political economy. No Sir, I am quite willing that the colored people should remain with us. What we really ought to desire is, that their present political situation should be improved, that they should be, in the language of Curran, redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled—that they should be placed, in short, on an equal footing in point of civil and political rights, with all the other inhabitants of our favored country.—This, Sir, is a change which ought to be effected—which must, at some time or other, be effected—which, I have no hesitation in saying, will, at no very distant period be effected.”

That my own sentiments are perfectly accordant with Mr. Everett's, you may see in my published discourse, which was delivered July 3d 1831. No one surely will deny, that it is benevolent to provide a retreat on some far distant shore for any of our countrymen, who may wish to escape from oppression at home. But there are many who deny that it is right to make any, even the blackest, wish to emigrate by cherishing our wicked prejudices against them, or withholding from them any of the privileges which our country affords. And there are many too, who have satisfied themselves that it can never be in the power of the Colonization Society to transport so

many of our colored brethren every year to the shores of Africa, as to make any sensible diminution in their numbers; even if so many could be made willing to go. For my own part, I would as soon undertake to remove our Alleghany mountains across the great deep, in any given time, as I would to transport in the same time *two millions, five hundred thousand* human beings with their annual increase of *sixty-two thousand*, and prepare the wilds of Africa for their reception. Sir, there never will be fewer colored people in this land than there are now. They must then be admitted to the full exercise of all their rights, as men, here. The reason, and the only reason why the Colonization Society is losing favor with many true philanthropists in the land, is that sentiments are continually disseminated in its publications, which tend to perpetuate the degradation of our colored brethren, and put further off the day, when they will be permitted freely to enjoy with us the blessings of this favored portion of the earth. For six or eight years past I have been a member of this Society. But I have come to be so doubtful of the tendency of its operations, that I shall probably soon withdraw. Should the late procedure at Canterbury be accepted as promotive of its real objects, sure am I that the worst suspicions that have been awakened of it, would be confirmed in the bosom of every true friend to our colored brethren. But I cannot believe it will be.— Many Colonizationists at the South may perhaps applaud what you have done, and threaten still to do; but there are many in New England who will condemn your proceedings as heartily as I do. Others besides Mr. Everett acknowledge the rights of the colored people to a full participation in the privileges of American citizens; and insist that they ought to be educated. I would particularly refer you to the closing remarks of the review of "Mr. Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization" in the last No. of the Christian Spectator, supposed to have been written by Rev. Mr. Bacon of New-Haven, a zealous member of the Colonization Society.

Had I room I could easily bring forward other sentiments from other gentlemen who are members of the Colonization Society, very little in accordance with those uttered by yourself and others at the meeting, and since published in the Norwich papers. But I must hasten to notice one or two more of your allegations.

It has often been charged upon those, who advocate the abolition of Slavery, that they are aiming to amalgamate the blacks and the whites. This string was harped upon at the town meeting by all the opposers of Miss Crandall. It served to shock the prejudices of the people, and dupe their judgment. The same charge is repeated in the Norwich papers to the same effect, so that I am compelled to take some notice of it. And I now call upon you, and others who have brought this accusation to prove it, if you can. I know and am sure, that such is not one of the intentions or wishes of the Anti Slavery Society, nor of any Abolitionists that I am acquainted with. Of course we do not believe there are any barriers established by God between the two races. If there were any, the complexions of tens of thousands in our land show to our disgrace that those barriers are not impassable. Whether

marriages shall or shall not take place between those of different colors, is a matter which time must be left to decide. We do not advocate them, we do not hope to see them, we only say that such connections would be incomparably more honorable to the whites, as well as more consistent with the laws of God, and the virtue of our nation, than that illicit intercourse which is now so common especially at the south.

As to your charge that we advocate the immediate emancipation of the slaves in our country, it is true. We do so from the deep conviction, that few if any sins can be more heinous, than holding fellow men in bondage and degradation; and in the assurance that men cannot leave off sinning too suddenly. So long as we believe there is a wise and good Being presiding over the affairs of men, so long we must believe that it will be safe for men to do right at any moment. Persons who are alarmed at the doctrine of immediate emancipation, forget that the same civil arm which now holds the slaves in bondage would still be stretched over them, when free laborers, to keep them in due subjection to righteous laws. And that when free they may be brought more effectually under the soothing and sanctifying influences of Religion. I am unwilling to pass from this topic without making all the remarks I intended. But I have not room to enlarge.*

By reiterating the charges, I have now been considering, you and your coadjutors succeeded in effecting your purpose. You procured from the inhabitants of Canterbury an expression of their unqualified disapprobation of Miss Crandall's project. But remember Sir, this does not prove that Miss Crandall's project is an unworthy one. Far otherwise. The purest and best undertakings have often been opposed. There are those, who, deeply persuaded of the importance of doing what we may to meliorate the condition of our colored people; and believing that Miss C. is actuated by right motives, will do all in their power (not to injure Canterbury) but to sustain her school. I sincerely hope Sir, that you and your neighbors will see your mistake, and by upholding instead of overthrowing this institution, secure to your town the high praise of being first in this great "labor of Love."

Yours,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

*My views are given at some length in my Discourse on "Slavery in the United States."