



THE LIBERATOR

W. M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS. VOL. XXII. NO. 40. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1852. WHOLE NO. 1132.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Washington Union.
THE NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.
Slavery has been made a subject of party politics, and since abolitionism has entered as an element in Northern politics, the Democracy of the North has been subjected to as severe a trial as any party ever withstood. Fanaticism and intolerance combined, in the attempt to root out abolitionism in the North, and to hunt down and denigrate all who were faithful to the compromises of the Union, and Southern Whigs, blinded by party spirit, and reckless of ultimate consequences, applauded and cheered on the fierce crusade against the Northern Democracy, who braided the storm of abolitionism and abolitionism, and by their courage and consistency preserved a party organization, whose principles, stretching across the line of party divisions, bind together the two sections of the country, and maintain the Union of the States. The Northern Democracy, given way to the fanatical combinations and local interests which abolitionism and abolitionism brought into the field, the Democratic party, notwithstanding the nationality of its creed, would have been confined to a section, and rendered unable to uphold the Constitution or prevent the destruction of the reserved rights of the States. The highest honor is, therefore, due to the Northern Democracy, which has stood firm, as well as the important result which has been achieved, and enabled it to withstand the powerful assaults which were made upon it. It was but right and proper that its ranks should furnish the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; and the selection of Franklin Pierce vindicates the reputation which Virginia has always enjoyed for clear sagacity and patriotic purpose.

undeniably an abolitionist. Since he has been there, his friends claim that he has been friendly to the South. But it is evident that he has made up his mind to go out as he came in, an abolitionist of the worst kind. The explanation is easy. By curbing his propensities, he hoped, at one time, to get a new nomination by means of Southern votes. But the Baltimore Convention has put an end to his hopes. He has no longer a motive for concealment, no longer an incentive to hypocrisy; and so the cloak falls at once. The Buffalo letter stands forth, and is read in his own attire. The wolf has clank off his sheepskin. This Drayton and Sayre's petition was the first opportunity he had to show his real nature since the Baltimore adjournment—and *abill, rascal, curcul*—that is to say, he is off like a shot!

From the Scottish (Glasgow) Guardian.
AMERICAN SLAVERY.
In common, we are sure, with all our readers, we hate slavery in all its forms. We have no temptation to the contrary. Especially do we hate the slavery of Christian, Protestant, and republican America. It wars with the spirit and principles of true Christianity—its grand ultimate destroyer—while it is a violation of natural rights, and is associated with universal and nameless atrocities, and, in America, with revolting inconsistency besides. In proportion to our hatred of slavery is our displeasure against the obstacle to its extinction; and among these, the infidelity of an important section of the abolitionists is one. They are, after all, only a small minority, compared with the Christian abolitionists, but a sufficient number by their noise and other appliances to create most injurious prejudices. They found abolition on infidel principles—pass infidel resolutions at public meetings—seek to identify Christianity generally with slavery—employ infidel agents, apostates from Christianity, some of whom blasphemously caricature the ordinances of the Christian Church. From a correspondence which is going on between President Mahan, of the Oberlin Institute—one of the American colleges—and some of the friends of Christian abolition in this city, it appears that the infidelity which led to a disruption in the Anti-Slavery Society of America, a number of years ago, and of which the friends of the slave in this country so justly and loudly complain, does not consist of a few loose expressions of ardent, ill-regulated minds, but constitutes a system; and that under the sacred name of humanity, men propagate the most repulsive infidelity, destructive alike to body and soul. The pernicious effects are felt in this country as well as abroad. That the Christianity which the parties denounce is not the so-called Christianity of pro-slavery churches, (as the speaker says,)—not Christianity at all—is plain from this, that though the Church of Oberlin, with which President Mahan is connected, has gone all the length that Christian churches have been or can be asked to go in connection with slavery—refusing communion with slaveholders, abandoning the negro-pew, &c.,—that Church, so far from being, on this account, more kindly treated by the Garrisonian party, is, if possible, denounced more severely than others, and that simply because they will not abandon the Bible and Christianity altogether. This plainly shows what the object of the party is; and yet the colors which they wear, and the machinery which they employ, is extensively, to say the least, anti-slavery colors and machinery. Meanwhile, Christian men and churches of America (and, with few exceptions, this, alas! applies to all denominations) are deeply to blame in allowing themselves to be silent and prejudiced against anti-slavery movements, by the hateful infidelity of others, and other causes. This constitutes no real apology in any circumstances, especially when they have an open field for labor with the disinterested, self-denying, and noble men of the Christian Abolition Societies—the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery—the Beechers and Tappans.

Was not that Christian pleading? Was there ought to alarm the most Orthodox? (Cheers.) But observe, continued Dr. Willis, who wished to be more particular in the choice of associates in this cause, had no longer excuse for inaction. The British and Foreign American Society was disjoined from him and his immediate associates. The position of either society was, however, as concerned the slave, far more Orthodox and more Christian than the course of the churches and the clergy in the Union. It was a lamentable fact, that, with some honorable exceptions, the professing ministers of the gospel stood back, and looked on with passive unconcern on a system of unrighteousness. Dr. Willis read a statement from the latest report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to the effect that, although the body called Conventioners and Associate Reformed, also, of the Methodists, Friends, Baptists, and Episcopalians were anti-slavery in principle, too many of their religiousists, while professing to abhor slavery, were indifferent or opposed to a slavemaster's efforts. The American Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union refused to publish any work on the sinfulness of American slavery, and carefully expurgated all sentiments offensive to the South, in its reprints of foreign publications. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions allowed their missionaries among the Indians to organize and superintend churches composed, in part, of slaveholders and slaves. The Presbyterian General Assembly (old school) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Assembly, refused to legislate on the subject of slavery, on the plea, that spiritual bodies, they had no cognizance of civil matters. Dr. Willis here expressed his conviction, that when Dr. Duff gave the advantage of his justly respected name to the certificate of the Orthodox of this body, from the Moderators of the Free Church Assembly, he must have been surely unaware of the position they took on this great question of religion and morals. In addressing Dr. Baird, of New York, as a representative of the missionary enterprise of that Church, it was, perhaps, natural, and from being allowed to the body he represented; but whatever praise was due to them for orthodoxy in some matters, he must say they were far from orthodox in this. (Cheers.) He apprehended that the encomium pronounced in such unqualified terms, would be understood to express approbation of their general course as witnesses for God's truth. Would any present regard as faithful exponents of the New Testament, or witnesses for truth, men, who looking on, while millions were debarr'd, by the slave law, even from seeing the Word of the living God, or from being allowed to search the Scriptures, as the Savior of the world had commanded them, would decline to bear any public or united testimony against the atrocity? (Sensation.) What a pretext to allege that, as spiritual bodies, they had no cognizance of civil matters! What, not even to reprobate with legislators? What Voluntary would defend such an absurd plan? (Hear, hear.) He would do his Voluntary friends, in this country, the justice to say—though he himself had always held the principle of an Establishment, that they were grossly misrepresenting their views, as that these required such a course of inaction on the part of religious bodies, where so great interests of humanity, and religion, too—nay, liberty of conscience and natural liberty were at stake. (Cheers.) The Presbyterian General Assembly, (new school) while they had borne testimony against the evils of slavery, and asserted that these should be corrected by discipline, admitted slaveholders to a seat in their council, and treated them in all respects as if free from scandal.

From the Portland Inquirer.
THE CHRISTIAN MIRROR VS. MR. GARRISON.
A note addressed to the *Mirror*, in reply to a charge that Mr. Garrison is an 'unprincipled liar,' is met in this issue. 'We have long to sustain our opinion, as undeniable as that our hemisphere is enlightened by the sun, at the noon-day hour.' Very conclusive testimony in support of so grave a charge. But 'a lie well stuck to is better than the truth told waveringly.' As further evidence, we presume, the *Mirror* asserts that 'it is not an unheard-of thing for a man to be governed by the law of contraries.' Somewhat equivocal this. To whom does the hint refer? To the accuser, or the defender of the accused? It is not material, perhaps; but since it is introduced, an explanation seems desirable. Next comes, as additional proof, of course, an extract from the *British Banner*, treating, among other things, of the want of efficiency of anti-slavery organizations, and the comparative view which certain men take of these, together with a sprinkling of the old controversy between Mr. Tappan and Rev. Mr. Chickering. Now we submit, in all candor, if this is not quite too bad? Here the *Christian Mirror*, a leading religious journal, in a charge of ability and sustained by a large and influential Christian denomination, prefers the serious charge against a fellow-citizen of being an 'unprincipled liar,' whom it loathes and abhors; and when called upon for proof, coolly re-affirms the charge, attempts to excite personal prejudice, and would fain divert the mind from the real issue to a point which scarcely has a collateral bearing upon the question. We do not agree, any more than the *Mirror*, with certain views which Mr. Garrison, perhaps, but since we go further, and say that these sentiments, in our estimation, are unsound and of exceedingly dangerous tendency. But there is no more reason to question his sincerity, than there is to doubt the sincerity of the *Mirror* in holding opposite views; nor does the holding of any opinion upon any conceivable subject, necessarily involve a want of integrity; still less does it furnish the slightest pretext for the accusation of being an 'unprincipled liar.' It is against his charge, we hold, that the *Mirror* is really in the wrong. This is not the first time this identical charge has been made by the *Mirror* against Mr. Garrison. It is a little singular that some eight or nine years since, it was made in precisely the same form, viz., that the *Mirror* had means or facilities for understanding the character of Mr. Garrison, which its readers had not. 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From the London Inquirer.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

To the Editor of the Inquirer:—

Sir,—Putting England aside, the moral and political aspect of Europe, as well as of America, is just as sufficiently dark. Upon the former, civil and religious death seem to have fallen. But in the worst of times, let us never despair. In the very triumphs of evil, there are omens of a brighter day. The more revolting the extremes in the direction of wrong, the more likely the reaction which shall insure a return to right. In the hour of Europe's gloom, we own to being full of hope even for America. A strange moment, some might think, for America. A strange moment, some might think, for America. A strange moment, some might think, for America.

An American minister was lately so polite as to honor me with a call. I was not only a great pleasure to me, but it was an object of interest with me. I was so very favorably impressed with him. His conversation was agreeable and intelligent; and I was unwilling to hazard allusions which might possibly dispate the pleasing impressions I had thus formed. Nevertheless, an obliging suggestion on the part of my visitor opened an opportunity which could not be lost. "Shall we hope to see you, sir, on our side the Atlantic? It is only ten days' matter now; and your coming would give us great pleasure. In perfect good humor, and with great jocularity, I replied,—"I feel very grateful, sir, for your kind desire; but even were I a younger man than I am, my resolution would be this—When your Congress shall have passed a law to emancipate your slaves, I shall think of crossing the Atlantic—but not till then." A discussion forthwith ensued; which I may truly characterize, on his part, as embodying all the cut and dry fallacies, misstatements, and misrepresentations, which could be heaped together in any one mind, not absolutely itself involved in the horror, sin, and guilt of slaveholding.

The Constitution is always an object of interest with me. I was so very favorably impressed with him. His conversation was agreeable and intelligent; and I was unwilling to hazard allusions which might possibly dispate the pleasing impressions I had thus formed. Nevertheless, an obliging suggestion on the part of my visitor opened an opportunity which could not be lost. "Shall we hope to see you, sir, on our side the Atlantic? It is only ten days' matter now; and your coming would give us great pleasure. In perfect good humor, and with great jocularity, I replied,—"I feel very grateful, sir, for your kind desire; but even were I a younger man than I am, my resolution would be this—When your Congress shall have passed a law to emancipate your slaves, I shall think of crossing the Atlantic—but not till then." A discussion forthwith ensued; which I may truly characterize, on his part, as embodying all the cut and dry fallacies, misstatements, and misrepresentations, which could be heaped together in any one mind, not absolutely itself involved in the horror, sin, and guilt of slaveholding.

My visitor thought it was now time to be moving; and my feelings were certainly not of relief, at the termination of an interview which brought me into such an unexpected cognisance of the kind of spirit by which slavery lives in America; and by which, even in its last maturity of horror, it is enabled to walk in the face of day, under the imposing sanction of the leaders of manners, the teachers of morals, and the preachers of light.

Alas, why is it thus? And why, if faithful to our convictions, must we look coldly on men whom we regard as our countrymen, and on people could otherwise so readily sit, as gifted expounders of the oracles of God, and fervent proclaimers of the riches of Christ? I am reminded of this question by the embarrassment we must feel, and the restraint we must put upon the best promptings of our own hearts, when we find ourselves in presence of brethren from the churches of America, who are unknown to us previously, or from whom we are unable to gather that they come to us as sharers in the mighty struggle of their day, and as opponents not to be mistaken or gainsaid; and that gigantic enormity of their country, who are characters of wickedness and shame are standing out, as they have never stood before, under the burning glance of an indignant and astonished world.

Let us see the men who throw themselves heartily into the cause of the slave. To all such our hearts yearn; and to one such, at least—whose modesty we must avoid by respectfully naming him, the Rev. Nathaniel Hall, whom we have understood to have lately arrived in England—there is not a heart, or a hand that would not be open to his every wish, and ready to do all that he might desire, in relation to the cause of the slave. And the Fugitive Slave Law—whose right he denies, and whose enforcement, by any compliance of his, he solemnly repudiates and abhors. It is such men who do us honor in coming to us; and whom we the more willingly embrace for the hope they bring us, that there are a righteous few, who will yet save their country, and place her where she ought to be placed, and where her best friends wish her to be placed, in front of the nations—with England at her side—as their EXAMPLE, BENEFACTRESS, and PROTECTOR.

As for the more tranquil and auxiliary means of arriving at the same end—diatribe of the produce of slave labor, a practice long established to every available extent in my own family—it only remains to bid them God speed, as channels at least of diffusing a right spirit and a right mind, out of which will grow an increased and increasing resolve, by all true hearts to leave nothing undone for the extermination of the Master Sin of America.

I remain, sir, your most obliged servant,
GEORGE ARMSTRONG, B. A.
Clifton, September 2nd, 1852.

JOHN P. HALE—EQUAL RIGHTS.

Mrs. FRANCIS D. GAGE, in a letter to the Pennsylvania Freeman, dated at Cleveland, (Ohio,) says—
"Your paper is not devoted to Free Soils—(though perhaps it may be to a party,) yet I think its readers will be glad to hear that the friends of Freedom, who hold the second rank in the army as opposers of human chattelism, are doing earnest work for the cause. I am not inconsistent, though perhaps not far off, and consequently consistent with the present prospect of the anti-slavery cause in Ohio. Hale has been here making speeches with decidedly good effect. A dinner (if a meal eaten at midnight may be so called in this Democratic country,) to which ladies were invited, was given him last evening. In the course of Mr. Hale's remarks on a toast, [I prefer the word sentiment,] he said that it was the first time he had ever been present at such a meeting, where the bottle was excluded and the ladies admitted. Whigs and Democrats were in attendance, and free speech was urged and acted upon, and each spoke his own mind, yet all was harmony. It was a triumph, as I viewed it, in more ways than one. First, in the exclusion of strong drink; second, in permitting women to mingle in their festivity; third, in inviting and treating with kindly courtesy men of opposing sentiments; and fourthly, that there was an out-spoken disapprobation of the late hour. So I hope that all will do good."

We also had a meeting, on the 11th inst., announced in the papers, a Free Soil meeting, in the Liberator—Dr. Nevins's church. Your humble servant gave there an address, and was followed by Mrs. C. M. SEVERANCE in a beautiful effort. She is fully one to do noble work for the cause, and her remarks will not be forgotten by those who listened. The congregation was composed of people from all

parts of the State, who came in, many prompted by curiosity, no doubt, that would not have ventured at home, and from the attention and repeated expression of applause, I think they will go away with a somewhat better impression of us *fugitives* than they had when they came. God grant it may be so, and with better effect. God grant it may be so, and with better effect. God grant it may be so, and with better effect.

Political men are struggling with mind and might to keep the people from agitation, but the undertone of society is all for freedom, and I earnestly hope Ohio will yet redeem herself, and speak out the earnest conviction of her great throbbing heart for freedom!

GEORGE THOMPSON.

An American correspondent of the Pennsylvania Freeman, writing from London, says:
"C. and myself called on George Thompson, this afternoon, and presented the letters which you so kindly favored us. After an hour's very entertaining conversation, he politely accompanied us through the residence of the aristocratic of the British aristocracy—many of whom are out of town at this season; and showed us through the rooms of the Reform Club, of which he is a member—a privilege which he should not readily have obtained, but through his kindness."

And here, let me correct an error concerning the causes of his recent defeat, which has prevailed even among the anti-slavery people in the United States. Though acrimonious, he was never hostile, the London Whigs, and he was opposed by that entire body and their subordinates, the licensed victuallers, a very numerous class, together with several other interests, and as he was above a resort to bribery, and was, in a great measure, indifferent to the result of the election, and his opponents were neither, his defeat was brought about by a coalition among them. Cabmen were allowed by the opposition, a shilling for every voter. The slavery question is still a little to be agitated with the matter. His advocacy of the anti-slavery cause is certainly the last thing in the world to render him unpopular with the British nation. Abolitionism is not the vulgar thing in Europe which it is in America, and of all countries, perhaps the least so in England.

HENRY CLAY.

35 ECCLES STREET, July 24, 1852.

To the Editor of the Dublin Advocate:—

DEAR SIR:—The popular American statesman—Henry Clay is dead; and now that the grave has closed over him, British and Irish journalists are lauding his memory, as if he were a man deserving the esteem and respect of mankind. He was an unrelenting enemy of his colored brethren while living; as such, impartial history will describe him. This being the case, his life should be pointed out by every friend of freedom, as a beacon to warn all men who desire to be respected in life and in death, to avoid the unjust and sinful course he pursued. That he, or any other man, should have been justly degraded by the name of slaveholder, is a disgrace to the name of man, and a disgrace to the name of man, and a disgrace to the name of man. He was a man of large intellectual powers, but he used all his powers of mind and body for the perpetration of slavery. There was no greatness exhibited here, except greatness in villainy; let the term, in that sense, be engraven on his tomb, and it will be true in letter and in spirit. Henry Clay and his confederates would sustain the Union of the American States at any price, and at the price of slavery. The effort to seek and cherish the slave is as God in heaven, who has ordained in man a desire for freedom, and an abhorrence of slavery, so sure it that the American Union will fall to pieces, and that at no distant day either, if slavery be not utterly abolished within its borders, all the efforts of her Calhouns, and her Clays, and her Websters, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Republican America, with her fastidious Declaration of Independence, scowled at by three and a half millions of slaves, and, perhaps, one and a half millions more of degraded free colored men and women, growing in intelligence and knowledge of their rights to exist under her present relations of tyrants and slaves, the idea is preposterous, the instincts of men reject it. If Justice do not soon take the helm, this proud confederation will crumble in the dust, and rivers of blood will avenge the injuries of the colored race.

On the heads of such men as Henry Clay be all the infamy of such vile doings. If the crime of making merchandise of men—of God's image upon earth—were duly reflected on, a general cry of execration would soon ring the world of the dead.

Faithfully, yours,
JAMES HAUGHTON.

HENRY CLAY'S WILL.

The operation of this instrument is a subject of discussion—not to the mass of his slaves, but only to those born after the first of January, 1850, who are to be free, the males at 25, and the females at 25.

1. Is this clause limited in its operation to those who were born prior to the death of the testator, or to those born in 1834, when she was 45, and this son will become entitled to his freedom at 25, in 1922—if he can get it; but who will see it done?

2. Of course, it attach to the persons of the slaves bequeathed to his family, so as to free their children at the prescribed age, in whose hands soever they may be? If so, a female slave born in 1849 may have a son born in 1834, when she was 15, and this son will become entitled to his freedom at 25, in 1922—if he can get it; but who will see it done?

3. Does the provision attach to those who may be born of the persons to be freed, but born before their day of freedom? If so, then a female child born in 1850 may have a child born in 1874, to be free in 1899; and this child, if a female, may have a child born a slave in 1898; to be free in 1923, and so on to the end of the world. What is the true construction?

POSTAGE AND SLAVERY. Slavery curses everything. Nothing but vice and poverty can prosper under its sway. If the Southern States had not our Northern mechanics and merchants to cheat, and Northern freemen to tax, they would have been bankrupt long ago. Were it not for the South, we could have penny postage on letters, and papers free; but now we are taxed every year, more than half a million of dollars at the North, to pay the deficit at the South in the postage revenue. In a recent report of the receipts of the Postal Department, we see that every free State except Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, pays large sums over and above the expense of transportation; while every Southern State, except Delaware and Louisiana, falls in debt to the Department in equally large sums. If we have no slaves to do with slavery, it has something to do with us. Every letter we put into the post-office, and every paper that comes through the mail, is fixed up some morning, and find their occupation gone—find that the religious bodies had suddenly expanded so as to embrace it. It should be so. 'Religion,' says the Italian reformer Mazzini, 'has presided over all the great revolutions of humanity,' and it should be the same with the reforms which are condensed revolutions, or rather afford the quiet vaccination which averts the disorder. Religious institutions should accept the duty, and save the world from the most atrocious of all tyrannies. Here are questions to arise—'Temperance Laws, Woman's Rights, Land Reform, Ten Hour Bills, the system of Penitentiaries, the Manufacturing system, which fills some of our towns with stout Irishmen, who live helplessly on the labor of their children ten years old, working thirteen hours a day—the whole problem of Associated Labor, which we must inevitably meet and settle—'and above all, the great work of slavery, the one which all politicians call for us to endure it;—all these are before us. All these questions involve moral principles: where are these principles to be adjusted, if not here? It may be a question whether Slavery, for instance should be discussed out of the churches (of which I hold the affirmative), but there can be no reasonable question that it should be constantly discussed within them. We cannot trust a thing so sacred to the jobs of the Slave House only. Legislative bodies, most surely to organize the members of the Senate and the House, in a right state of society, the theme of the pulpit during every summer should predict the matter of next winter's legislation. Why do you place your look-out at the mast head, if not that he may cry 'Land O' before those on deck, even on the quarter deck, have said it?

High Price of Slaves. At extensive sale of negroes at Aiken, S. C., by J. C. Sprout & Co., the average price was \$205. A few sold as low as between \$70 and \$80, and some went as high as \$130 and \$140. The number sold was about 75.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, OCT. 1 1852.

A TIMELY SERMON.

We have received in pamphlet form, and read with very great pleasure, a discourse on 'Things new and old'—being an Installation Sermon, by T. W. Higginson, Minister of the Worcester Free Church. From the following extracts, our readers can form an idea of its merits as a whole. Mr. Higginson is among the few preachers in this country, who, some how or other, contrive to preserve their manhood, keep a good conscience, indulge a bold utterance of their convictions, and bow down to the 'higher law,' cost what it may. It will be seen that he thinks reformers are rather too severe with the clergy for their shortcomings; but when he says, as he does, without mincing, 'to denounce them and spare their rich parishes, is to denounce the weathercock and spare the breeze that whips it,' they will hardly thank him for his friendly apology in their behalf; for it amounts, in fact, to the keenest irony and the severest condemnation. That they are such weathercocks makes their criminality all the more palpable in professing to be the followers and ministers of Him who was willing to lay down his life for the truth.

When the highest officers of state venture to say publicly that 'Religion is an excellent thing in everything but politics; there it only makes men mad,' it is time to grow serious; time for Religion to reproduce the experience of Paul, and inquire whether her proselytes are really mad, (most noble Festus,) or speak the words of truth and soberness itself.

For consider the consequences of a doctrine so flattering to each man's peculiar propensities and temptations. The politician limits this disclaimer to politics, because that is his pursuit; but how easily, *mutatis mutandis*, is the definition made available for every other pursuit. 'Good in everything but politics,' says the lawyer; 'Good in everything but the retail trade in dry goods,' observes the dry-goods retailer; 'In everything but blacksmithing,' adds the blacksmith. And so on, through every trade and profession in the community; every man, with the utmost deference for religion in the abstract, respectfully 'signs off' from religion in behalf of his special employment. And so at last, cut off from all occupations of all men, what is left in which religion is excellent? Nothing, apparently, except in eating Sunday worship, and paying the rates of the church while they denounce the sins of the Jews and of those of Americans alone.

I rejoice to think that the picture I have drawn is not yet realized in the New England pulpit. I cannot endorse quite all the reproaches of our reformers. All that can be fairly proved is this, that our clergy do largely share the sins and errors of their congregations; not that they lead or exceed these sins. I think justice is hardly done them. In the anti-slavery movement itself, I scarcely know a single young clergyman who is not avowedly more anti-slavery than the majority of his congregations. This is to say little, I know, but it is to say some thing. The new Dispensary Law of this State has been chiefly carried by the clergy. Nor has any young man contributed so largely to the ranks of the most fearless radicalism. I think it has done the clergy good to proclaim their faults; but they are in these days such very safe game for reformers to attack, that the denunciation may in time grow rather inglorious. Taking them at the worst, their timidity and ignorance are hardly worth so many silos as the selfishness and ambition of the laity who control them. To denounce them and spare their rich parishioners, is to denounce the weathercock and spare the breeze that whips it, a policy quite indeed, but not, perhaps, either heroic or effectual.

Let the simple truth be told. The time has come when an earnest and fearless inquirer can no more study the Bible and believe in its verbal inspiration, than he can study astronomy and believe that the sun moves round the earth. There is no person about whom I feel greater anxiety than an ingenious young man who has been brought up to identify this dogma with religion and virtue,—to make the Most High God responsible for every word which his human creatures have spoken through the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The path of one so educated is encomiastic; his belief, everything is against him, history is against his belief; science is against it, humanity is against it; the more thoughtful and earnest he is, the more sure he will be to discover it; he is launched on the ocean, clinging to a plank which may at any moment slip from him, and he has never learned to swim. I exhorted him not to throw away the plank, as some would say, but keep it for its value, and learn meanwhile to support himself. God is very close to him, if he only knew it; heaven is very high in his mouth and in his heart. From my soul I believe that the inspiration of the Eternal Spirit is as ready to shed glory over Massachusetts as over Judea, when we begin to believe in it. And it is because we do not believe in it, that there is coldness and despair and an atheistic melancholy all around us in the churches.

We do not, I trust, undervalue the debt of mankind to the Scriptures. We only claim, with the most eminent of modern Orthodox critics, the learned and pious Neander, that the time is come to distinguish between the divine and human in the sacred writings. Acknowledgments are accumulating from multitudes of religious minds, that their experience of the Bible is that it is not the master of the soul, but the servant of the soul. It is not possible that any collection of various books, by various writers, at various times, can be assumed as a whole and so consulted, without introducing the utmost confusion into all moral questions. It has almost come to be a proverb, 'You can prove anything out of Scripture.' There are, all told, not less than fifty different sects in this country, each claiming to sustain itself by the Bible, to the exclusion of all others. And in all great Capital Punishments, as War, Slavery, Temperance, and so on, the Bible is made to do the bidding of the man who decides what is or is not Scriptural. And worse than this is the discomfort that we study this priceless book, from childhood, in a manner so constrained and unnatural, that one half its beauties are veiled from us, and reserved for a generation that shall read it without artificial light.

The Orthodox Clergy were right in saying that the religious organizations had the first claim on moral reforms—but they forgot to add, that all claims were legally invalid, by too long slavery, the one positive that most of all reformers would be glad to take up some morning, and find their occupation gone—find that the religious bodies had suddenly expanded so as to embrace it. It should be so. 'Religion,' says the Italian reformer Mazzini, 'has presided over all the great revolutions of humanity,' and it should be the same with the reforms which are condensed revolutions, or rather afford the quiet vaccination which averts the disorder. Religious institutions should accept the duty, and save the world from the most atrocious of all tyrannies. Here are questions to arise—'Temperance Laws, Woman's Rights, Land Reform, Ten Hour Bills, the system of Penitentiaries, the Manufacturing system, which fills some of our towns with stout Irishmen, who live helplessly on the labor of their children ten years old, working thirteen hours a day—the whole problem of Associated Labor, which we must inevitably meet and settle—'and above all, the great work of slavery, the one which all politicians call for us to endure it;—all these are before us. All these questions involve moral principles: where are these principles to be adjusted, if not here? It may be a question whether Slavery, for instance should be discussed out of the churches (of which I hold the affirmative), but there can be no reasonable question that it should be constantly discussed within them. We cannot trust a thing so sacred to the jobs of the Slave House only. Legislative bodies, most surely to organize the members of the Senate and the House, in a right state of society, the theme of the pulpit during every summer should predict the matter of next winter's legislation. Why do you place your look-out at the mast head, if not that he may cry 'Land O' before those on deck, even on the quarter deck, have said it?

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THE FISHERY QUESTION.

LONDON, September, 1852.

DEAR GARRISON—There will be no war arising out of the fishery question; our aristocracy don't feel themselves firm enough in the saddle to encounter you, though the will is strong. Your democratic institutions are their aversion; they would be their terror, if it were not that you cherish slavery; but that diminishes your moral influence much with the people. Whilst that lasts, you have but a negative influence with them. Our aristocracy know that their power was founded in feudalism, and that commerce has driven out from the people the feudal spirit; that the fruits of commerce are democratic in their tendency; there is no taint in it, but individually only in feudalism, all centred in the lord. In commerce, the centre of interest is circulatory, it is diffusive; its tendency is to promote the interests of men. Feudalism goes upwards to a man, and dries and becomes arid ere it reaches the chief. Commerce goes round the circumference, and enlarges. Commerce has, during the last fifty years, wonderfully enlarged the ledgers of the two countries; and if you talk about war, the dollar interest becomes serious, and they carry home, mentally, their ledgers to sleep upon. They know that war will cut up their balances, that the great will become little, and the little ones less; and commerce falling, the feudal lords have no means of raising the national expenditure after the rate to which it is now needed; and they know that the people are sufficiently enlightened to trace effects to causes; nay, that they can anticipate some effects before their causes are brought into action, and that they will visit upon foolish statesmen their just indignation. Public opinion is now becoming more powerful, and men do not throw up their caps, and think that wisdom is necessarily found under a coronet; they have learned to know that a title very often heralds a fool. The people of England know that it is absurd to quarrel about a few acres of land covered with water, and that there is no good reason for mooting out to any nation in particular, any given portion of the ocean, or of the fish of the sea; it is equally given by God to all; and every nation that can make it worth its while to send to a place where fish abound, is entitled to fish. That nation which is nearest to the locus in quo would have the advantage of supplying the stores, tackle, and wants of the men on its coast. Man never goes to a spot without carrying his wants with him, and he cannot carry all the supplies which the ever-occurring incidents of travel and of humanity call for. Hence it is that men carry benefits with them to each other. In proportion as knowledge diffuses itself, each man increases his own individual independence; but as that knowledge increases, his aspiration and his circle of activity enlarge, and the motives which influence him become variously increased; and he that would otherwise vegetate, grow enervated with prejudices, and become barren, becomes by travel active, buoyant in spirit, and applies his energies in those ways which suit his temperament and his knowledge; and the difference to the world is just the difference there is between flowing and stagnant water; the one carries health and fruitfulness, the other produces disease and death.

All this is seen, in lesser or greater clearness, by the people here. They now export to and import from you to an extent more largely than to all the nations of Europe, and very large portions of the land that formerly belonged to our aristocracy has now passed into the hands of those who have grown rich by commerce; and our aristocracy again have been marrying into commercial families, the heads of which families have had aristocratic aspirations, and have married their daughters for a title, but have neverthless carried with them some of the influence which riches and the cause of those riches ever carry with them. These are in the Barings, the Morrises, the Arkwrights, the Wignams, the Lloyds, and the Glyns; and the large railway interests carry up with them and influence slowly, but very slowly, changing the feudal lords. It is beginning to be noticed now, that there is not a single peer who can trace his lineal descent from William the Conqueror. Nature is very democratic. It is a saying here, which those who notice transitions see to be realized, that the first generation acquires, the second enjoys, the third spends, and the fourth goes to work again. The ascent of these commercial lords into the clouds of feudalism is diminishing very rapidly that feeling of reverence for mere ancestry which used to be felt prior to your emancipation from England, and your union into a federalism of people. Your subsequent growth has shown what the institution of democracy can do, and that men were made to grow in a free soil, and were not made for princes; that man is equal to ruling himself; at all events, that he is better able to rule himself than princes are to rule him—that he grows more fruitful in the garden that belongs to him—that he grows quicker when left unrestrained than he is when you look through your patent office at the inventive power of your people, you will see how fruitful is mind in calling method to its aid, and making science subserve the wants of man. Feudalism is going with us. Men are beginning to see that the aristocracy have robbed the crown of all its lands and income, saddled its maintenance upon the people, and made it a first class paper, dependent upon the taxes, that is, upon the labor of the people from whence the taxes are raised; shared all the patronage of the government, of the army, navy, ordnance; colonies abounding with places for their progeny for governors, who were always chosen from military men, and generally on account of their family influence. Then that the Church, that is, the right to take a tenth of the produce of the kingdom from the people, was also kept and shared amongst them, and the work done by landlords, that in short the land as well as the crown lands, the leaves and fishes in Church and in State, were seized upon and shared among them; and miral law, the press-gang, and the laborious military service, the lash and 6d. a day, (now a shilling), were reserved for the people. All this is now seen through, and the system is offensive in their nostrils.

Up to the time of the American revolutionary war, this state of things had gone on; the people suffered under it, suffered by it, and through it, but they perceived not its causes; and the priests were cunning enough to keep them in catchism and ignorance, and to teach them to do their duty in that state of life to which (so taught the priest) it had pleased God to call them; but which in truth was the state to which it had pleased the priest to guide them. Our people then were like your slaves now, unable to perceive the value of knowledge; and they could be made, that is, our people could be made, by very little management, to about, Church and King forever,—for the priests have always been subtle enough to use the crown as a peg upon which to hang their own cloaks, and to



From the National Era. HOLD YOUR TONGUE. BY GEORGE W. LIGHT.

You have said that we shall no longer agitate. I mean to agitate; now, what will you do about it? —GIDDINGS.

Don't you feel the Union shake? Hold your tongue! That the universe will split, If the devil slack his grasp, Though a joky, is awful wit! Hold your tongue!

Hear your master crack his whip! Hold your tongue! With the meekest Yankee grease, Smear the hinges of your knees, And in silence pray for peace. Hold your tongue!

Let the bloodhounds have their fill: Hold your tongue! All your little conscience sell: For the Union must be saved, If salvation come from hell! Hold your tongue!

Will the land of Pilgrim sire? Hold its tongue! Tyrant! dream your dream of lies! We hurl back your words of scorn; All your insolence despise! Hold your tongue!

Traitors, throwing down their arms, Hold their tongues; Cravens, on their knees submit; But the Eagle of the North Never did her mountains quit! Hold your tongue!

Do you talk of threatening clouds? Hold your tongue! For, behind them, Freedom's sun, Laughing at their thunder-tones, Sees them dwindle, one by one! Hold your tongue!

Tyranny will yet for shame Hold its tongue, And its clanking chains be still! But, as long as God shall reign, Freedom's trumpet never will Hold its tongue!

From Punch. AN ELECTION ROAR FROM THE BRITISH LION.

Oh, election time is the time for me, With its bands and its beef and its beer so free; I'm a big beast always, but then, I've seen, A bigger beast than ever I be, With a tooral-looral.

For they let me loose to ramp and roar, And they give me victuals and drink galore, And the more I call for, they draw the more, And I know it aint me as pays the score, With a tooral-looral.

So I blows my bacon and swigs my ale, And with ribbons I ties my mane and tail, And backs my opinions without any fail, Which is always his'n as pays on the nail, With a tooral-looral.

'Tother times deuce a bit the big-wigs thinks What I says or does, or eats or drinks; But then, if I only nods or winks, I'm as wise as a serpent, and deep as a Sphinx, With my tooral-looral.

Mrs. Lio's ebs is then a reg'lar saint, And my ebs is angels, and fit to paint, And all the world through such a Lion there aint, And the British—and, neither, I s'pose, there aint, With a tooral-looral.

It's wonderful, then, how the tip-top nobbs With the British Lion hobs and bobs; Till there's no such thing in the world as mobs, But enlightened electors instead of snobs, With our tooral-looral.

So I eats myself hungry, and drinks myself dry, For I know what 'will come to, by and by; And sometimes I says to myself, on the sly, They must see a deal o' green in my eye, With their tooral-looral.

Instead of flatt'ring and letting me loose, To swill like a hog, and to hiss like a goose, I fancy a dose of wholesome abuse To the British Lion might be o' more use Than their tooral-looral.

If they made me less of a hustings tool, Didn't call me wise when they think me a fool; If, instead of rousing my passions, they'd rule, And pack off the poor British Lion to school, With a tooral-looral.

I'll answer for it, if once they began To deal upon this here sort of plan, That the British Lion, as fast as he can, Will grow less of a brute, and more of a man, With a tooral-looral.

THE FIRST-BORN. The First-born is a fairy child, A wondrous emanating! A tameless creature, fond and wild— A moving exultation! Beside the hearth, upon the stair, Its footsteps laugh with lightness; And cradled, all its features fair, Are touched with mystic brightness.

First pledge of their betrothed love— O, happy they that claim it! First gift direct from Heaven above— O, happy they that name it! It times the household with its voice, And, with quick laughter ringing, Makes the inanimate forms rejoice, A hidden rapture bringing.

Its beauty all the beautiful things, By kindred light resembles; But, evermore, with fluttering wings, On fairy confines trembles. So much of those that gave it birth, Of father and of mother, So much of this world built on earth, And so much of another.

TO SORROW. BY LUCY A. COLBY. O! sad-eyed angel, with thy smiling brow, And drooping pinions trailing in the dust, Though dark and loveless seems thy mission, thou Dost watch the growth of an immortal trust, A holy faith, undoubting and sublime, Which lifts us from this sad, strange world of ours, To a celestial and unclouded clime.

Where never falls a blight upon the flowers! Once thou didst seem a fearful thing to me— A shadow interposed to veil the light, And long and vainly did I strive to free My soul from thy sad presence, and the might

Of rayless darkness round me gathering: That time is past. I see thee as thou art, A sunbeam brightness on thy drooping wing; Fondly I fold thee to my throbbing heart, And, while I weep, I mourn my lonely lot, I bless thee for the lessons thou hast taught.

The Liberator.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION AT SYRACUSE.

Mrs. Mott had great objections to taking the Chair, and the Convention would find out their mistake. She invoked a careful attention to the business of the meeting, and a dispensing with all egotism. She referred also to the favorable success which had attended previous meetings, and alluded to the almost unanimous courtesy of the public journals where their Conventions had been held. She wished this meeting to carry out the purpose for which it was called, and to keep up in interest with prior Conventions. She wished all votes to be given in a firm voice, and speakers first to address the Chair, and then turn, facing the audience. The voice could be improved by carefully modulating it. As to woman's rights, nothing short of universal rights could meet the contingency. (Cheers.)

A letter was read from Horace Greeley, in which he insisted that increase of the means of employment was the necessary mode of elevating the sex. He also insisted that increase in the wages of labor was demanded by justice, and a necessary measure of reform. He suggested that friends of the cause should begin by granting female laborers proper prices for their work.

A letter also was read from Mrs. Hugo Reed of England, expressing her warm sympathy with the Woman's Rights movement. The women of America had greater facilities, she declared, and should therefore lead the van in this great enterprise.

Miss Lucy Stone believed that, in our country, if one half the men suffered the same political disabilities under which woman labor, they would be efficient helpers in securing to women their rights. It would not then be a matter of gallantry, but a deeper, a personal interest. The English were then better circumstanced than the Americans, and she hoped Mrs. Davis would communicate that fact to Mrs. Reed. She hoped also that the question of Broad, raised by Mr. Greeley, would be spoken of in future meetings.

Mrs. Nichols contended for identity of sphere. If man is woman's head, and woman man's helper, there must be a common sphere. Even in the maternal function, they came into a more intimately united sphere than anywhere else. It is not because we wish to be men that we are engaged here. Had woman helped in framing creeds, we would have had a theology in which love would have been prominent as well as justice. But justice is love in a chronic state. (Cheers.) In our revolution, it was contended that taxation without representation was unjust, yet even now all classes are not represented. Man is under obligation to God and man to use all his influence for good. She added, that we should get all the influence we can. (Cheers.) She considered those who, in disgust with politics, abstained from voting, as recreant to duty. Women were always taxed, and therefore should be represented. Men give women the higher department when, politely excluded from political power, they assign to them the moral influence. In stock company manufactories, women were allowed to vote, because their money could be got at in no other way. (Cheers.) Effectualities settle theories. If women can vote in such companies, they surely may elsewhere. If women could not vote on the same occasions, there could be other plans and other occasions set apart for that purpose. There are 122 ladies holding post-offices, which evinced that they are capable of holding offices.

Mrs. Mott questioned the theory that man was the head, and woman the helper. Mrs. N. was estranged by her old theology.

Mrs. Nichols. Perhaps I am a politician. (Cheers.) It is politic to admit theories which, in carrying out, will correct themselves. (Cheers.)

Mrs. Mott could not allow to woman superior moral worth. She thought the demoralization mutual.

Mrs. E. Oakes Smith proceeded to address the assembly. We have convened to disorganize time-honored institutions. All our heads will be in the grave before these objects are gained. We have not come to speak of private wrongs. Men tell us we are unfit for the position which we seek. Because we have not the heads of gladiators and pugilists, must we be denied the privilege of using what brains we have? Let Syracuse, which has become the Thermopylae of liberty, be the place for our struggle. (Cheers.)

She hoped that this was not a mere talking Convention. We have talked for years. We must now act. She had travelled west, and east, and north, and the friends everywhere said, 'Organize.' We want no more Helots—no more judicial murders—no more abandoned orphans. We must extend our industry into every department and profession, for which we have ability. In spite of St. Paul, we must preach.

Miss Lucy Stone addressed the Convention at length, depicting forcibly the inequality and injustice of the present statutes. She declared that woman was not properly protected; that she had no tie of nature sacred before law. A man has the custody of his wife's person. Her legal existence is suspended the moment she takes upon herself the marriage vow. Men were mean in taking the advantage which was afforded of pillaging their wives' earnings; but they were only just as mean as the law. By marriage woman gains a right to be maintained. She submits, because she cannot bear the odium. The principles we contend for are hoary with years, sprinkled with the baptism of ages. The last speaker has said the grave will close over us before we gain our rights. It may be so, but we will discharge this great duty. The rights of our sex, so long denied, must yet be granted.

Mrs. Brown. Man cannot represent woman, because he knows not woman's nature. When woman is accused, she is not arraigned before a jury of her peers. It is before a jury of men. The guilty woman cannot get justice in our courts, much less the innocent. If she appeals, it is but to be ridiculed. She prefers to suffer in silence, rather than to have her private feelings exposed to the public.

Mrs. Rose. Enough has been said to convince every one present; but my friend is mistaken. Virtue recognizes no sex; vice recognizes none. So it has been long viewed. We meet them on every issue. If mind knows sex, then man cannot act for woman; if it knows no sex, woman has as much right in the matter as man. Mrs. R. continued her remarks to considerable length. As water finds its level, so will mind. Why are not women as wise as men? You might as well go to the South, and ask the poor, degraded slaves, why they are not as wise as their masters. (Cheers.) It must be credited to the beauty of woman's mind, that she is as good as she is. Poor woman has been shackled so long, that she loves and hugs her shackles and chains. Women oppose this movement as much as men do. Men acknowledge that we are right. What does woman say? Why, that men won't like it. (Cheers and laughter.) The oppressions of the sex have become legal, and having become legal, have become fashionable. (Laughter.) Laws are made for the rich, not for the poor. Married women merge their rights in their husbands. If he pillages her of all, she has no redress. Her whole right in her own and husband's earnings after marriage, is only a life interest. These unequal and unjust laws should be removed, and all minor injustices will disappear. (Cheers.)

Antoinette Brown said that men and women have their peculiarities. On this account, both are needed

in making laws. Woman is needed in public life, because she is needed to harmonize the differences. God recognized this when he organized the sexes. But man has usurped the whole field. A painter depicted a bear, and a man in the act of thrusting a knife to the heart of a bear. A bear came along, and regretted that a bear had not painted the picture. So it is in our own case. We are disfranchised. We are degraded because disfranchised. Governments have their just powers in the consent of the governed. We then have no part in this government, for our consent has never been obtained. Would our women give their consent to the Fugitive Slave Law? We would not send a woman out into public life to become man, but to become woman. If she has a dissimilar nature to man, it is her duty to go; else public life will be as corrupt as politics now are.

Clementine Nichols. I am introduced as that monster of womanhood, a political editor. This latter term better, for suspension does not imply extinction of existence. We speak of the laws which exist in all the States. We have the hope that woman, though her rights are suspended, will come out a live woman yet. The laws provide that there shall be no confiscation of property rights for political offences, yet woman's property rights are confiscated by law. Man's right to property never is confiscated, not even for infidelity. Law says she may, not shall, have alimony. They say we are after the pants. They have legislated away our skirts already. They do not disdain to sit upon them in their courts of justice. And now, having sought to rob us of our garments, and it is not proper to dispense with them, they must not complain if we give chase. (Laughter.)

Mrs. E. O. Smith read a letter from John Neal of Portland, which expressed in his peculiar style, his sympathy with the Woman's Rights movement.

Gerrit Smith said that the men had been complained of to-day as taking great liberties with the rights of women. They had been taking as great liberty with his rights. They were determined to have a speech out of him. He objected to Mr. Neal's compliments to woman, as though she were an angel. She is not an angel! (Cheers.) She is a woman. I do not believe in getting her to heaven before her time. Mr. Smith went on to defend the rights of woman to vote. He said he wished women to have a fair field to test their ability. It was time enough to criticize the experiment when it had been tried. Her rights in every respect were involved in her rights at the ballot-box.

Miss Anthony read an address to the Convention, written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The scope of it was the duty of property-holding women to refuse paying taxes, when not represented in legislative bodies.

Lucy Stone wanted the woman who had wealth, nobly, heroically to refuse to pay taxes. The issue would thus be made of taxation without representation. She contended that this nation should be consistent in its declaration, that government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed. Make your practice consistent with your theory. She advised women, when the tax-gatherers came, to refuse, and, when brought to justice, to reply that taxation and representation are inseparable, and to keep saying it, in reply to every question they asked. (Laughter and cheers repeated.) Boston court-house was hung in chains, and Thomas Sims, in the prime of his manhood, was cast down from the platform of freedom, to see in the caldron of slavery, and Boston women were taxed to defray the expense. (Cries of 'Shame!') You of Syracuse may have such an account to settle; but you here will perhaps yet rescue another fugitive. (Cheers.) To you I appeal, to be ready in the sacrifice for the right, let it cost what it may.

Mr. Brigham asked if he was in order. He then went into an argument against Mr. Smith's position, and insisted upon women's duty to keep their property separate.

Mr. Brigham also alluded pointedly to the Bloomer costume, insinuating that it was a studied eccentricity.

Mr. Smith responded to correct a misapprehension. He would not go into an argument, as Lucretia Mott was ready to solve his inquiries. (Mrs. M. Go on.) No—when Abimelech besieged Thebes, a woman cast a millstone on his head, and he commanded his armor-bearer to thrust him through, that it might not be said a woman slew him. He should not leave his friend Brigham that privilege, but should turn him over to Lucretia Mott.

Mrs. Nichols said that Mr. Brigham's allusion to animals was not a happy comparison. Among no animals did males legislate away the rights of the females.

Mr. Brigham asked which robin sat upon the eggs, the male or the female. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mrs. Nichols. When the female robin goes abroad to seek her food, the male slips into her nest. (Cheers.)

Mrs. Mott cited Mr. Brigham to many examples in the world of countries where men were equal in strength to men, as well as superior in industry. She would not say that Mr. Brigham measured the ability of women by his own. Mrs. M. then passed to the merits of the general question, which she argued with ability. It was impossible, she said, for one man to have arbitrary power over another without becoming despotic. She did not expect our friend to see how women were robbed. Women were to feel it. Slave owners did not perceive themselves oppressors, but slaves did. Gerrit Smith alluded to one woman, whom our friend could call out of her sphere. If he believes in the Bible, he must acknowledge that Deborah, a mother in Israel, arose, by divine command, and led the armies of Israel. She also referred to the wife of Heber, the Kenite, who drove the nail into the head of the Canaanite general, and was celebrated therefor in the songs of Israel. She thought that female preaching was in harmony with the doctrine of Paul. She referred to Paul's directions to women how to preach, and his exhortations to them to qualify themselves for this function, and not to pin their faith on minister's sleeves. She cited Phebe, the deaconess, deacon or minister of the church at Cenchreae, alleging that that same expression was applied to Tyebichus and men who were preachers.

She cited 'Willie's Unwritten Philosophy,' and cordially advised Mr. Brigham not to stake his wisdom against the allotment of the Almighty. Mrs. M. then went on to point out the fashionable idleness of woman—a little sewing, &c. 'in her sphere.' She referred to Catharine Beecher, in an eloquent strain of remark. Who had fought against British domination carried about the same aristocracy with them. Our schools were opened, at last, to women, and had now sent out teachers. Colleges were now opened, and Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown had entered and obtained their diplomas, and now went out and pleaded the cause of the slave, and of their own sex, with an eloquence almost equal to that of our young friend here. (Cheers.) Antoinette Brown is welcomed to pulpits of all classes, and has a salary offered her. Mrs. Mott hoped she would not accept one, as she believed in a free gospel, and desired not that brainless, imbecile young men should be supported by women, for carrying the gospel to the Feeble Islands. (Cheers.) The medical world was now opened to woman, and noble examples had been set by talented females. The reform causes of the day had called woman out, and shown her true and proper sphere. It was enlarging, widening, till it was filling not only the whole earth, but also heaven. (Cheers.)

Mr. Brigham could not appreciate the propriety of Mr. Smith's mode of logic. He had not the eloquence of Miss Stone or Miss Brown, for he had not the feminine element. He did not object to woman's voice being heard. He would have them visit this city, and seek out the breathing holes of pedantry. He remarked that women had less voice than men.

Mrs. Mott asked whether her young friend had sent a protest to Old England against Victoria's prograding Parliament. In the yearly meetings of the Friends, documents read by the men, had been read

by the women's clerk that they might be better understood. Some women here had quite good voices. She also cited Mr. B. to the example of the matron, whose boys were going out to work with their father, who charged them to obey him, or she would whip them when they came home.

Lucy Stone said Mr. Brigham lacked faith in God. God had made them women, and would keep them such. They were God's work, and God's work cannot be blotted out till He himself is blotted out. (Applause.)

Mrs. Gage, of Manlius, addressed the Convention. While inferiority is universally ascribed to women, it is acknowledged that all great men were the offspring of talented and intellectual mothers. Formerly, the most common rudiments of education were deemed sufficient for women. Now people see things differently, and our schools are being opened to them. From Semiramis to Victoria, the capability of woman has been acknowledged. Corinne, Schureman, and Grierson, Mary, Elizabeth, and Lady Jane Gray, Caroline Herschel, and others were mentioned as examples of talented and profoundly intellectual women.

Women do feel their degradation. They are not contented. Thousands groan under the burden of wrong, who do not know the proper means of redress. How many had the heard complain that their life was passing away useless, who know no means to remedy the evil. That their life was objectless need not be argued.

Marriage was the acme of woman's life, because men had usurped the avocations of industry. Men had been taught that their wives were not fit for companions. It has been said, 'show a man's company, and we'll show who he is.' She said, 'show me the women of a country, and I will show you what the men are.' (Cheers.) The speaker then alluded to Elizabeth Blackwell. An abandoned woman once declared that if she could have obtained proper occupation, she would always have remained virtuous. When the Scripture refers to the oppression of the hireling, it does not mean so much the violation of contract between the parties, as the employment of them for inadequate compensation.

In many countries the women are the active, and men the inefficient members of society. Among the Indians, women do all the work, in France they hold the plow, in America women as well as men labor as slaves in the open field. Once lords had absolute control over their vassals. Once fathers had absolute control for life over their children. Now things are different; we therefore have a precedent.

Mrs. G. remarked upon the ridiculous law, by which, when property is decided away, the wife is taken into a separate room, and gravely asked if she signed this document without constraint of her husband. Out upon such a law! The very stones cry out against it! (Cheers.) The present laws are deleterious to the moral sensibilities of both husband and wife. Women have been compared to slaves. The analogy is incomplete. Slaves may be set free; not so with women. Women are so educated that the affairs of government are mysterious to them. They are taught to reverence the authors of their degradation, on the Catholic maxim—that 'Ignorance is the mother of devotion.'

If the people are not made for the government but government for the people, have not women some right to inquire into matters? Nothing is so strong evidence of the love of liberty in mankind, as their anxiety to obtain it. Let us employ our talent as to receive the plaudit of our Maker. Well done!

Reforms are gradual. There is no surer evidence of their final success than the efforts made to check them.

Mrs. G. was listened to with great attention, and was greeted with frequent applause.

The President said that the arguments had been carefully proposed, and were worthy of a woman.

Jane Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, was glad she lived in this age, when progress was advancing so rapidly. She was one of those women who talk little about Woman's Rights, but she took her rights and said nothing about it. (Applause.) She had occupied pulpits all around where she lived. Men cared not about their taking their rights, but objected to their boasting about it. She demanded those rights which men was most unwilling to grant, which, if granted, the citadel would surrender at discretion. She wanted the right to vote; she wanted to vote and be voted for. (Applause.) Men asserted this right as evidence of their humanity; and in denying it to us, they deny our humanity. We claim our franchise as a right, and shall occupy it with no pledges, no conditions. When we exercise our right to vote, we will make our pledges, and not before. Suppose most of us do not want to vote, is that any argument for refusing that right to those who do? (Hear, hear.) We want the right to property. Common law gives the husband on marriage all the wife's personal property.—She wanted the right to hold property, and all the rights man has. We—the women—have got to take our rights. Men can't do it for us. The laws do not hinder us from engaging as merchants. Who of all that attend Woman's Rights Conventions has yet apprenticed her daughter to a jeweler, wheelwright, or to any of the mechanic arts? Men will not complain of your taking your rights, but of your making a noise about it. She had now told what she wanted, and wanted to know what the rest wanted. (Loud applause.)

Miss Lydia A. Jenkins, of Waterloo, asked Mrs. Jones whether the rights of suffrage was prohibited to women. The laws allowed the men to vote—did they prohibit women?

Mrs. Jones said she was not sufficiently acquainted with the law to answer, but she held that whether the statute book was in favor or against the right, woman had a natural right to vote, which no human laws could abrogate.

Miss Antoinette Brown said she knew instances of colored persons voting under the same circumstances, and their vote being allowed by the legal authorities, there being no express provision forbidding them to vote. She had just been informed by some person, that J. A. Dix declared the proceedings of a school meeting void, because two women voted at it. But this proved nothing, except the individual opinion of Mr. Dix.

Mr. Jones said he supposed Miss Brown referred to Ohio, where cases of that kind had come before the courts; but it was a splitting of hairs between black and white blood, and the judges decided in favor of the right to vote because there was fifty per cent. of white blood in the persons in question. He thought that the permission to white males to vote excluded all others.

Mrs. Davis said when the Rhode Island Convention to alter the Constitution was sitting, in the draft they said 'all citizens,' but they discovered afterwards that the word male was not inserted, and they immediately put it in, intending, of course, to exclude women. Mrs. D. then proceeded to read a letter of Rev. A. D. Mayo, of Gloucester, Mass., remarking that it was supposed the clergy were opposed, yet here was a distinguished clergyman in their favor. The following is an extract from the letter:—'Every real position in society is achieved by conduct. I must convince my people that I am a true minister of the gospel, before I can claim their respect and support. And when a woman, in the possession and exercise of the powers and opportunities given her by God, tells me she must trade, or instruct the young, or heat the sick, or paint, or sing, or set upon the stage, or call sinners to repentance, I can say but one thing—just what I must say to the man who affects the same—'My friend, show your ability to move society in this way, and all creation cannot deprive you of the right. If you can do this naturally and well, then you and everybody will be the gainer, and whoever says you have forfeited any essential grace or virtue of woman-

hood by your act, betrays, by the accusation, an utter incompetency to judge upon questions of human respectability and obligation.'

I hardly know a village which does not number among its laborers in the various mechanical and mercantile professions, women who have established an acceptable reputation in those departments. Many a mother who would not dare to come to your Convention, is glad to be cured of her own or her children's ills by my good friend, Dr. Harriet Hunt. I have never heard that the admiration of the theatre goes at Mrs. Mowatt's 'Parthenia' was abated by the reflection that this excellent woman is in her way a public teacher. I doubt whether the great Apostle himself would tell Lucretia Mott to cover her face in the church; while thousands of intelligent people listen with delight to the lectures of Mrs. Oakes Smith, and the historical researches of Mrs. Putnam, or the scientific researches of Miss Mitchell, receive the respect they demand; while women, in almost every department of American life, except those concerning which we yet stand before the world a nation of experimenters, have been and are recognized for their work's sake. It seems to me that the discussion about woman's sphere is alike petty and mysterious. Woman's sphere is now wherever she makes it, and there it always will be.

Mr. May referred to the idea of women having first organized State and National Government, ignoring the existence of the other sex, and acknowledged that men had managed political matters so wretchedly, that if the women should assume the government, he for one would consent, only wishing them not to treat the men as the men had treated them.

Mrs. Jones said they were firing at random, presenting resolutions without end, and acting upon none. They ought to stick to parliamentary usage.

B. S. Jones moved that Gerrit Smith's three resolutions should be taken up this afternoon.

Mr. May said Miss Lucy Stone had proposed that the speaking should take this course. She had good reasons, and could explain them for herself. (Miss Stone advanced, and was welcomed with rapturous applause.)

The President thought this Convention as orderly, regular and parliamentary as those of men.

Miss Lucy Stone said the interest that was excited last evening showed that they knew what they were about. She did not care a fig for other Conventions or their usages. She was very much of the opinion of the Quakers, that they should speak as the spirit moved them. She did not believe that it was so easy to go and take their rights as Mrs. Jones had said. Women wanted to be employed as printers; but the men 'struck,' and they could not be employed. Harriet K. Hunt went to claim her right in the college where she had obtained permission to study from the heads of it; but the students sacrificed her.

Miss Harriet Hunt, exclaimed in a laugh—Not exactly.

Mrs. Mott—They suspended her, though life is no extinct.

Miss Stone—When the slavery agitation commenced, all was turmoil and violence, and even women were pelted with rotten eggs and bricks, and even pastoral letters and newspaper squibs were written against the Grimkes; but now they were permitted to meet here in peace. They had had handicraft trades to go to, such as jewellers or penologists; but they did not avail themselves of these trades. It was their duty, whenever a lady set up in business, to give her a preference. Why not to the lady in Albany who examines heads, instead of Dr. Fowler at New York, whom she was glad to see present. Then the pulpits were open to ladies, and Antoinette Brown was an example, though she could not get ordained at present. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Jones said the real cause of the abuse of the Grimkes and Abbey Kelley was not because they took their right of speaking, but because they attacked the positions of others. She (Mrs. Jones) was pelted from head to foot with eggs, because of her attacking the pro-slavery clergy in their position. The clergy were very friendly to female missionaries on their return from abroad, and open their doors to them.

Mrs. Paulina W. Davis delivered an eloquent address on marriage, showing that from want of proper education and training, and from marriages taking place too early, most marriages are unhappy, and the innocent child-woman withers away from the affection of the man whom she calls her husband, because when her beauty and personal charms fail, she has no inward resources either for herself or her companion. She drew a vivid picture of the unmarried flirt and the married coquette, and concluded by moving the following preamble and resolution:—

Inasmuch as the family is the central and supreme institution among human societies, so that all other organizations, whether of Church or State, depend upon it for their character and action, its evils being the source of all evil, and its good the fountain of all good, involved in the destiny of the race, And, inasmuch as marriage, the bond of this principal and primary of human associations, was the only institution given by the Creator in the innocence of Eden, and is the chosen symbol of relation for the union of the Church to her Redeemer in the paradise to come. We are thereby taught as much as we can yet comprehend of the deep significance of its ideas, and the boundless beneficence of its office in the economy of human existence.

Resolved, therefore, That the correction of its abuses is the starting point of all the reforms which the world needs; and that woman, by every part of her natural constitution, and every circumstance of her actual position, is the fitting minister of its redeeming agency; and that answering to the duties of her great mission, and acting within her appropriate sphere, she is authorized to demand the emancipation of her sex from all the slaveries of law and custom, which, hitherto, have made and kept her incapable of her heaven-appointed office. And, that woman may perform her duties and fulfill her destiny, we demand for her moral, social, pecuniary and political freedom. We demand that her proper individuality be held sacred, her natural independence respected, her faculties all educated within their aims, and objects freely opened to her aspirations, her physical and mental health justly regarded and all her natural strength elicited, without limit or restraint, reward or penalty, other than the laws of her own nature and of general harmony imposed, in order that with enlightened conscience and untrammelled energies, she may do her proper work, and contribute to the peculiar elements of the new civilization now opening upon the world, in which love shall overrule force, and equal liberty and justice shall replace the degradation of castes and the oppression of individuals.

Mrs. Nichols said, that only under the common law of England has women been deprived of her natural rights. Instances are common where the husband's aged parents are supported, and the wives are left paupers, and the wives' earnings thus employed. She had asked judges why the personal property was not allotted to his widow, and been informed that it was because, if she should marry again, the second husband would obtain that property. A second wrong to remedy the first one perpetuated! A man had told her that his wife was feeble, and had not earned the property, and was not justly entitled to an equal share. He remarked that she had nine children! Which is the most important, the children a woman bears or the bread and butter they eat! (Applause.) This is a delicate question, and I appeal to the women here to sustain me. Mrs. N.'s remarks were continued in this strain to the great satisfaction of the great mass of the audience, who frequently manifested applause.

(To be concluded.)

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Advertisement for 'WATER CURE AT HIGH ROCK' by ASA SMITH, located in Lynn, Mass.

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Advertisement for 'ELEVEN WEEKS IN EUROPE' by James Freeman Clarke, published and for sale by TICKET, REED & FIELDS, Boston.

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