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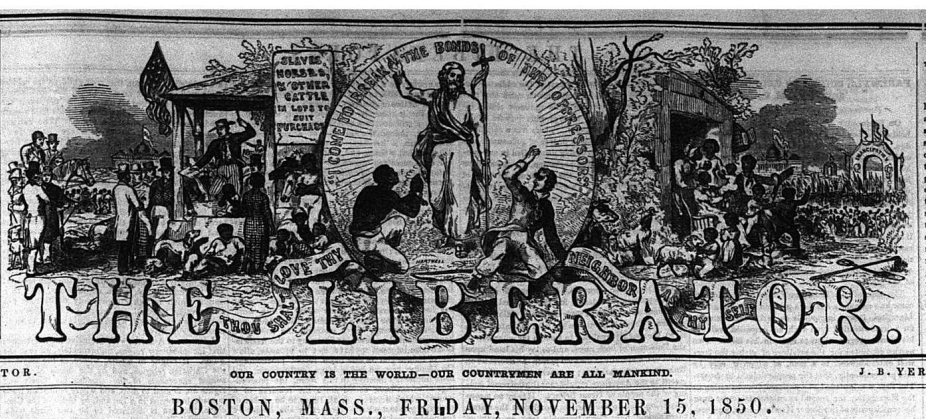

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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The Liberator.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION HELD AT WORCESTER, OCT. 23D AND 24TH, 1850.

Pursuant to a call previously issued, a Convention to consider the rights, duties and relations of women, met at Brinley Hall, Worcester, Mass., on Wednesday, Oct. 23d, at 10 o'clock.

The Convention was called to order by Sarah Earle, of Worcester.

On motion of Mary A. W. Johnson, of Ohio, Joseph C. Hathaway, of western New York, was chosen President, pro tem.

On motion of Phebe Goodwin, of Pennsylvania, Eliza J. Kenny, of Massachusetts, was chosen Secretary, pro tem.

On motion of Eliza Barney, of Massachusetts, a Nominating Committee was appointed by the Chair, viz.:—Eliza Barney, of Mass.; Mrs. Nichols, of Vt.; Ann Foster, of N. H.; Charles C. Burleigh, of Conn.; Lydia Bennett, of Me.; Pliny Sexton, of N. Y.; M. A. W. Johnson, of Ohio; Rebecca Plumley, of Pa.; Susan R. Harris, of R. I.

The Call of the Convention was then read by the President, Mr. Hathaway.

The Committee on nominating officers reported the following list, which was adopted by the Convention:

President—PAULINA W. DAVIS, of R. I.

Vice Presidents—William H. Channing, of N. Y.
Sarah Tyndale, of Penn.

Secretaries—Hannah M. Darlington, of Penn.
Joseph C. Hathaway, of N. Y.

The President elect, Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, took the chair, and read an address. (See last page.)

On motion of Mrs. Mott, the consideration of the publication of the President's address was left open for further discussion.

On motion of M. A. W. Johnson, the Nominating Committee were appointed to nominate a Business Committee.

Mrs. Mott spoke at length upon the condition of women, and the duties devolving upon this Convention, that it may do its part toward her elevation.

Mrs. Johnson, from the committee to appoint a Business Committee, reported the following names, which were adopted by the Convention:—

M. A. W. Johnson, of Ohio; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Mass.; Ernestine L. Rose, of N. Y.; Harriet K. Hunt, of Mass.; Lucretia Mott, of Penn.; Lucy Stone, of Mass.; Wm. H. Channing, of N. Y.; E. W. Capron, of R. I.; Abby H. Price, of Mass.; Wm. Fish, of Hopedale; Samuel May, Jr., of Mass.; Susan Sweet, of R. I.; Anna Q. T. Parsons, of Mass.

On motion of Mr. Foster, a committee of four on the roll and on finance was appointed, viz.:—Martin Stowell, Sarah Hallock, Dr. Martin, Susan R. Harris.

On motion of Mr. Foster, all persons present were invited to take part in the discussions, but those only who enrolled their names as members be allowed to vote.

Mr. Hathaway, one of the Secretaries, read letters from Elizur Wright, E. A. Lukens, L. A. Hine and Elizabeth Wilson.

On motion of Mr. Foster, voted, that all business for this Convention be submitted to the Business Committee.

On motion of Mrs. Earle, voted, that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet this afternoon, at 2 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. Foster, Frederick Douglass was added to the Business Committee.

On motion, adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION. The Convention met at 2 o'clock, The President, Mrs. P. W. Davis, in the chair.

The minutes of the morning session were read by H. M. Darlington, and adopted.

Mrs. Price then read an address.

Mr. Wm. H. Channing, from the Business Committee, reported a preamble and resolution, which were discussed by Mr. Channing, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. A. K. Foster, and C. C. Burleigh. The following are the resolutions:—

Whereas, the very contracted sphere of action prescribed for woman, arising from an unjust view of her nature, capacities and powers, and from the infringement of her just rights as an equal with man, is highly injurious to her physical, mental and moral development; therefore,

Resolved, That we will not cease our earnest endeavors to secure, for her political, legal and social equality with man, until her proper sphere is determined,—by what alone should determine it,—her Powers and Capacities, strengthened and refined by an education in accordance with her nature.

On motion, adjourned, to meet at 7 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION. Mrs. P. W. Davis in the chair. Business of the Convention—The discussion of the preamble and resolution offered at the morning session. Speakers—Wm. H. Channing and Lucretia Mott.

Wendell Phillips, on behalf of the Business Committee, reported several resolutions, which were discussed by W. Phillips, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Mott, Mrs. A. K. Foster, James N. Buffum, and Stephen S. Foster. The resolutions were as follows:—

Resolved, That every human being of full age, and resident for a proper length of time on the soil of the nation, who is required to obey law, is entitled to a vote in its enactments; that every such person, whose property or labor is taxed for the support of government, is entitled to a direct share in such government. Therefore,

Resolved, That women are clearly entitled to the right of suffrage, and to be considered eligible to office; the omission to demand which, on her part, is a palpable recreancy to duty; and the denial of which is a gross usurpation, on the part of man, no longer to be endured; and that every party which claims to represent the humanity, civilization and progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banners, Equality before the law, without distinction of sex or color.

Resolved, That political rights acknowledge no sex, and therefore the word 'male' should be stricken from every State Constitution.

Resolved, That the laws of property, as affecting married parties, demand a thorough revisal, so that all rights be equal between them;—the wife have, during life, an equal control over the property gained by their mutual toil and sacrifices;—be heir to her husband precisely to that extent that he is heir to her;—and entitled, at her death, to dispose by will of the same share of the joint property as he is.

On motion, adjourned, to meet to-morrow morning, at half past nine.

MORNING SESSION, Oct. 24.

The Convention met at half past nine, A. M.

The President read the following impromptu poem, suggested by the Convention:

A Woman's Rights Convention!
There's music in the word;
Through every vein of living frame,
My warm life-blood is stirred.

A Woman's Rights Convention!
Deny it every man;
Then right the evil done her
That instant, if ye can.

A Woman's Rights Convention
Is not laid low in dust;
A better time is coming,
Because it will and must.

A Woman's Rights Convention!
Ring out the word on high;
If my brother man will help me,
To help myself I'll try;

And with the power given me
By one all-gracious Lord,
Obtain my right, in every light,
By *ploughshare*, not by sword.

A WOMAN OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

The minutes of yesterday's afternoon and evening sessions were read by J. C. Hathaway, and adopted.

Letters addressed to the Convention were read from Mrs. E. C. Stanton and O. S. Fowler, by M. A. W. Johnson, and one from Samuel J. May, by Mr. Hathaway.

Wm. H. Channing, from the Business Committee, reported a series of resolutions.

Resolved, That as women alone can learn by experience, and prove by works, what is their rightful sphere of duty, we recommend, as *next-steps*, that they should demand and secure—

1. *Education* in primary and high schools, universities, medical, legal and theological institutions, as comprehensive and exact as their abilities prompt them to seek, and their capabilities fit them to receive:

2. *Partnerships* in the labors, gains, risks and remunerations of productive industry, with such limits only as are assigned by taste, intuitive judgment, f their measure of spiritual and physical vigor, as tested by experiment:

3. A *co-equal share* in the formation and administration of law, municipal, State, and national, through legislative assemblies, courts and executive offices:

4. Such influence as may become the guardians of pure morals and honorable manners—a high court of appeal in cases of outrage which cannot be and are not touched by civil or ecclesiastical organizations, as at present existing, and a medium for expressing the highest views of justice dictated by human conscience and sanctioned by Holy Inspiration.

Resolved, That a Central Committee be appointed by this Convention, empowered to enlarge their numbers: (2) Industrial avocations; (3) Civil and political rights and regulations; (4) Social relations; who shall correspond with each other and with the Central Committee, hold meetings in their respective neighborhoods, gather statistics, facts and illustrations, raise funds for purposes of publication; and through the press, tracts, books, and the living agent, guide public opinion upward and onward in the grand social reform of establishing woman's co-sovereignty with man.

Resolved, That the Central Committee be authorised to call other Conventions, at such times and places as they shall see fit; and that they hold office until the next annual Convention.

H. K. Hunt read an able essay upon the medical education of women.

Wendell Phillips reported another series of resolutions, which were discussed by Mrs. Ball, of Worcester, Miss Brown, of Ohio, and C. C. Burleigh.

Resolved, That since the prospect of honorable and useful employment, in after life, for the faculties we are laboring to discipline, is the keenest stimulus to fidelity in the use of educational advantages, and since the best education is that we give ourselves in the struggles, employments, and discipline of life; therefore, it is impossible that woman should make full use of the instruction already accorded to her, or that her career should do justice to her faculties, until the avenues to the various civil and professional employments are thrown open to arouse her ambition and call forth all her nature.

Resolved, That every effort to educate woman, until you accord to her her rights, and arouse her conscience by the weight of her responsibilities, is futile, and a waste of labor.

Resolved, That the cause we are met to advocate,—the claim for woman of all her natural and civil rights,—bids us remember the million and half of slave women at the South, the most grossly wronged and foully outraged of all women; and in every effort for an improvement in our civilization, we will bear in our heart of hearts the memory of the trampled womanhood of the plantation, and omit no effort to raise it to a share in the rights we claim for ourselves.

On motion, adjourned till 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION. The President, Mrs. P. W. Davis, in the chair.

Business before the Convention—The discussion of the resolutions offered at the morning session. Speakers—Dr. Alcott, Mrs. Rose, Sojourner Truth, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Mott, Frederick Douglass, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. C. Burleigh, and A. K. Foster.

Adjourned, to meet at 7 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION. Convened at 7 o'clock, P. M. President in the chair.

William H. Channing read a preamble and a series of resolutions, presented in the morning, upon the subject of appointing a Central Committee, whose object it should be to promote the designs of this Convention during the coming year, accompanying them with appropriate remarks.

Mrs. Tyndale, of Philadelphia, spoke of the business capacities of women, and the necessity of engaging in active duties to promote their own development.

W. H. Channing rose to thank his sister for her noble conduct. If he were her son, he should be proud of a mother who could stand up here and give such words of encouragement, and who had done such deeds.

Miss Martha H. Mowry, physician, of Providence, Lucy Stone, S. S. Foster, Mrs. Mott and Miss Brown, occupied the floor till a late hour.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, with the other documents of the Convention, referred to the Central Committee for publication.

Proceeds of the contributions, $119.65.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Paulina W. Davis, Providence, R. I., *Chairman*.
Sarah H. Earle, Worcester, Mass., *Secretary*.
Wm. H. Channing, Boston, " "
Wendell Phillips, " " *Treasurer*.
Mary A. W. Johnson, Salem, Ohio.
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro', N. Y.
J. G. Forman, West Bridgewater, Mass.
Martha Mowry, Providence, R. I.
Lucy Stone, West Brookfield, Mass.
Joseph C. Hathaway, Farmington, N. Y.
Abby K. Foster, Worcester, Mass.
Pliny Sexton, Palmyra, N. Y.
J. Elizabeth Jones, Salem, Ohio.
William Elder, Philadelphia.
William Stedman, Randolph, Ohio, Stark co.
Emily Robinson, Marlborough, Ohio, "
Abby H. Price, Hopedale, Mass.
William Lloyd Garrison, Boston.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Eliza Barney, Nantucket, Mass., *Chairman*.
Marian Blackwell, Cincinnati, O., *Secretary*.
Elizabeth C. Stanton, Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Eliza Taft, Dedham, Mass.
C. F. H. Nichols, Brattleboro', Vt.
Calvin Fairbanks, Mc. " "
Hannah Darlington, Kennet Square, Penn.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL AVOCATIONS.

Charles F. Hovey, Boston, Mass., *Chairman*.
Phillinda Jones, Worcester, Mass., *Secretary*.
Harriet K. Hunt, Boston, "
Elizabeth Blackwell, England.
Benjamin S. Treanor, Boston, Mass.
Ebenezer D. Draper, Hopedale, Milford, Mass.
Phebe Goodwin, Delaware county, Penn.
Alice Jackson, Avondale, West Chester co., Pa.
Maria Waring, Dublin, Ireland.

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL FUNCTIONS.

Ernestine L. Rose, New York, *Chairman*.
Lucy Stone, West Brookfield, Mass., *Secretary*.
Wendell Phillips, Boston, Mass.
Hannah Stickney, Philadelphia, Penn.
Sarah Hallock, Milton, N. Y.
Abby K. Foster, Worcester, Mass.
Charles C. Burleigh, Plainfield, Conn.
Elizabeth C. Stanton, Seneca Falls, N. Y.
William L. Garrison, Boston, Mass.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RELATIONS.

Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia, Pa., *Chairman*.
William H. Channing, Boston, Mass., *Secretary*.
Anna Q. T. Parsons, Boston, Mass.
William H. Fish, Hopedale, Milford, Mass.
Rebecca Plumley, Philadelphia, Penn.
Elizabeth B. Chase, Valley Falls, R. I.
J. G. Forman, West Bridgewater, Mass.
Henry Fish, Hopedale, Milford, Mass.
Mary Grew, Philadelphia, Penn.

A sub-Committee from the Central Committee, to act as a Committee of Publication.

Paulina W. Davis, William L. Garrison,
William H. Channing.

LETTER FROM ELIZABETH WILSON.

CADIZ, (Ohio,) Sept. 27, 1850.

DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW-LABORERS:

I would consider it both an honor and a privilege to be with you on the occasion of your meeting, but I regret to say it will not be in my power to be personally present with you; but I am with you in spirit, and I pray God to bless every member of your Convention, and direct your deliberations, that they may redound to His glory, and promote the interests of the human family.

I rejoice that the friends of reform begin to awaken to this subject, and to adopt concentrated action, as to union there is strength. There is no reform in progress in which the well-being of the human family is more involved than the one which has brought you together. Nothing short of an immediate miracle could prevent the deleterious effects of such an excess of authority in either party as is experienced by the male part of community over the female. Both the governor and the governed are encompassed with evil tendencies peculiar to their situation. There is nothing more demoralizing to any portion of the community than arbitrary power. And a majority of men show by their conduct that they are not exempt from its contaminating influence. Hence the pride, vain boasting, wrath, strife, licentiousness, murder and war. On the part of woman, the position in society which she occupies has a tendency to paralyze her energies, physical, moral and intellectual—lower her independence and self-respect, and render her a servile, frivolous, insignificant, useless member of community. What a powerfully deleterious influence these evils of our social system must necessarily produce in society! That many men and women surmount every obstacle, and prove beyond dispute that they are in possession of and exercise every attribute that would adorn and elevate humanity, we gladly admit; but that their position in society has the evil tendencies we have specified, we think there are few who consider the subject will deny. Hence the question has heavy claims on the Christian philanthropist. The phrase, 'Woman's Rights,' conveys a very inadequate idea of the magnitude of this question.

On the part of woman, one deprivation of rights makes way for another. Woman is deprived of her rights by legal enactment. But the most invidious and unbrotherly conduct of man towards woman is, the war he wages against her intellect—(honor to many of our good brothers, who act very differently.) According to public opinion, her intellect is not her own, her gift of speech is not her own. The restrictions of public opinion on woman's intellectual exertions are greater than those of slavery, as far as principle is concerned. Slavery keeps its victims ignorant from policy, not from principle. Woman is taught to refrain from any public exercise of speech or intellect, from a religious principle, as a tribute of adulation to man's superiority, a reverence which no other despotism claims on the same principle. This aristocracy of sex raises its haughty crest far above any other despotism in the civilized world—prostrating the immortal mind, that emanation of Deity, at its footstool, to do it reverence.

Jenny Lind may appear publicly, and rival the nightingale in song, and she receives loud acclamations, and is nearly deified. Not one word is said against her violating female etiquette and retiring modesty. Actions of this kind do not detract from man's glory; but for a woman to appear as an advocate, or use her intellectual exertions for the promotion of any good cause, is to present herself as a victim to the shafts of persecution. The exercise of speech and intellect man claims as his monopoly, a concomitant of his sovereignty. As Milton:

'For contemplation he, and valor formed;
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace;
He, for God only; she, for God in him;
His fair large front, and eye sublime, declared
Absolute rule.' (!!)

Idolatry!—'She, for God in him.' (!!)

Man cannot sympathize with woman in the pain and attendant evils which the deprivation of her rights inflict on her. No—he scoffs at the idea of woman talking of being divested of her rights; because he considers her an inferior being to himself. What portion of the human family ever usurped authority over another portion, but represented themselves to be superior? Christ says, 'If any would be great, let him be the servant.' Superior is a term wholly unknown in the Bible, with reference to human beings. That all mankind are created equal is a Bible doctrine. A majority of men will acknowledge abstractly that women do not enjoy their rights; but when any amendment is proposed, they will fly the course, and begin to justify woman's deprivation of rights from the Bible. The Bible is a slandered book.

A great part of our moral and theological teachings give perverted views of the Bible, a mere play on words, on this question, and are powerful obstacles, together with legal enactments, in the way of woman's elevation.

It has been my earnest desire to use the mental powers God has given me, however feeble, to remove this slander from the book of God. We call on man to produce his testimony from the Bible, showing his authority to govern woman, or stand before the world as an arrogant usurper. It may be said, the wife's duty to obey implies the husband's right to command. Obey what? For him 'to nourish and cherish her,' as she is his own body, 'as the Lord the church.' Her obedience must correspond to his duty; her obedience is passive, not active. He must treat her in the manner he would wish himself to be treated, were she head and he body. Would he suppose it would have any tendency to cheer and gladden his heart for her to rule him? Every human being has an inherent love of liberty, and cannot be happy without its enjoyment; consequently, the husband, in the performance of his duty, as 'nourisher and cherisher,' cannot deprive the wife of her liberty. There is not an example or scripture record of husbands ruling their wives. Wives acted as freely in family government as did husbands.

Supposing it true, that the husband had authority from the Bible to rule his wife, which we utterly deny, how does that constitute men in cumulo a great hereditary aristocracy, with plenary power to rule all women? Nor will a majority of women's tame submission, and saying 'they have all the rights they want, (a very convenient way to throw off responsibility,) give him a right to rule. Women cannot alienate their natural rights more than men, and for the same reason, because the duties they impose are unchangeable. As woman is endowed with the power of self-government equal with man, it is an unmistakable indication that she was intended by her Creator to govern herself, and she succeeds fully equal to man in the use of this power.

It is a despicable, pitiful thing to hear a woman representing herself as lower in the scale of creation than man, having fewer rights; thus dishonoring her Creator, who 'made her in His own image, and crowned her head with glory and honor, and set her over the works of his hands, equally with man. We are to be pitied. This low, servile, cringing disposition is the legitimate fruit of a perverted social organization, which has governed them from their birth. But, thanks to our great Creator, a love of liberty in woman, as well as in man, is indestructible; may be paralyzed, but not destroyed, and woman does love liberty as well as man. We believe there are few women who do not think they are unjustly dealt with, though a majority are afraid to say so; they fear the sneers, and sarcasms, and menaces of men, and the sneers and no less bitter sarcasms of a number of their sex, who *profess* they 'have all the rights they want.' There is generally little complaining in a despotism, though great suffering may be experienced. Nor is it peculiar to women to become so degraded by bondage that they would prefer to live in *comparative* slavery, rather than encounter perils and continually attendant on their emancipation. Nor is this any indication that God designed them for slaves.

The Jews (whose history is a transcript of human nature) preferred the bondage of Egypt, with its fleshpots and the comparative quiet they enjoyed there, to the turmoil and privations consequent upon the obtaining of their liberty, and proposed to make a captain and return to their bondage, and talked of stoning Moses, their great liberator, for his instrumentality in their emancipation. Notwithstanding their low, servile longings, the sequel of their history demonstrates that they were not designed to be slaves.

The laborers in the promotion of the 'Woman's Rights' reform may expect to encounter persecution. Both men and women will appear as antagonists, equipped with their warlike implements. Menace, persecution, detraction, ridicule, opprobrium and bitter sarcasm will be brought into requisition. And as the cause progresses, it may be found necessary for them to call in the aid of their faithful ally, the mob, with its heavy artillery, charged with brickbats and rotten eggs. But truth is invulnerable. Woman's education is an up-hill business, and will require all the exertions of its friends for its consummation. But the interest awakened in the community on this question is cheering. Persevere, and your efforts will be crowned with success. The friends of this cause have good reason to report progress.

The emancipation car will roll on to its desired goal. God has work for women to do, as a free moral agent, in every department of life. She is God's servant, not man's.

Dear brothers and sisters, I bid you adieu.

ELIZABETH WILSON.

LETTER FROM O. S. FOWLER.

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE WOMAN'S CONVENTION, WORCESTER, MASS.:

Professional appointments at the West will prevent my complying with the invitation of the Committee to be present during the deliberations of your body, and I therefore take this opportunity to express to you a few of my sentiments touching the general subject of your Convention.

To say that I regard the elevation of woman and putting her in her proper position as the most important work—a work more potential on the destinies of man than any other, and more absolutely necessary to the progress of the race—is but to express a truism, uttered a thousand times before, not by myself merely, but by all who take any interest in bettering the condition of man.

As in agriculture, every month brings its particular kind of labor, so every period of the world's destiny, and every age, brings its particular kind of work in order to promote progression; and the work of this age is to perfect woman, and thereby the race. It is a great work, greater than any which has yet claimed the attention of mankind; no more important, ay, no more imperious—one which must positively and absolutely be accomplished, and by the present generation; and your movement shows that you have appreciated this general fact, and act yourselves at work for its performance.

But by what means can so necessary a work be accomplished? for in proportion to the value and importance of the work, is it necessary that just the right means, and they alone, should be employed, and in just the right manner. Far be it from me to dictate to your body touching this head; but pardon me if, from the inexpressibly deep interest I have in this subject, I offer for your consideration the following suggestions.

The two sexes, in their collective capacity, bear precisely the same relations to each other which the individual husbands and wives sustain to one another. This is a fundamental truth, and embodies those landmarks which furnish infallible guides as to the best means of improving the condition of woman. Your Convention is based on the pre-supposition that woman occupies a position inferior to what actually belongs to her, and inquires, By what means can she be elevated to her proper sphere? Suppose, then, a wife occupies a position below that of her husband, by whom and by what instrumentalities can she most effectually be elevated? It is not alone for her to complain of her inferior position, nor is it for her, by her own exertions alone, to make herself what she should be. In this matter, the husband has quite as much interest as the wife, and has more to do. As the improvement of the wife should come more from the husband than from herself, and as the improvement of the husband should be originated and accomplished more by the wife than by the husband; or, more properly, as every husband should consult his wife how he and she together can most effectually improve their condition and character, and as every wife should consult with her husband how she, in conjunction with him, can most effectually perfect herself; so it is not for women to meet together in convention alone, to consult and labor for the elevation of her sex; but it is even more proper for man to meet in convention, and inquire, 'How can we elevate the female sex?' and then labor for that end; but the true method is for man and woman to meet together in counsel, each putting the wisdom of the one and the warm aspirations of the other together, in the search after female perfection, at the same time that other conventions may properly be called of both sexes, inquiring how the masculine can be purified, developed and perfected.

This law passes a slight criticism on your convention's being conducted wholly by females; better even that, than to allow the subject to be wholly neglected. Still, your effort would not stand in the way of a convention of both sexes, having the same inquiry which now occupies your philanthropic body; and I trust the day is not far distant when such conventions shall be frequent, and their deliberations most effectual in the promotion of the great and glorious end you seek, for I regard woman to be accomplishment of as all comparing in importance, or in moral sublimity and beauty, with the perfection of your sex.

The plain fact is this: all conventions of deliberation of woman without man are just as defective as the unmarried women at fifty; just as all deliberations of men, either political, religious, mechanical, agricultural, or whatever they may be, are exactly like a bachelor at seventy. Or thus, as in the economy of nature, no man can be a man until he has become thoroughly identified and incorporated with a female companion, and no woman can put on either the beauties or glories of the feminine until she has become devoted to and assimilated with one of the opposite sex, so none of the common ends of society, accomplished by either sex individually, without the assistance of the other, can be otherwise than most lame and imperfect. In other words, man has certain qualities which require to be infused into every thing appertaining to the public, and the respective qualities of the feminine require also to be infused and incorporated into the same measure.

Nothing emanating from the masculine can be perfect, unless it has superadded to it the qualities of the feminine; and nothing emanating from woman can be perfect, unless incorporated with the masculine. Any thing coming from man alone is like a social party of men without women, comparatively destitute of refinement, and all the more exquisite susceptibilities of humanity; while whatever proceeds from woman alone is like a company of females, requiring that strength and power which it is the province of the masculine to confer.

I need not apply this general law by way of defining what the position of woman should be as regards politics, public speaking, &c. It explains itself. It says, in language not to mistaken, that politics and government require the participation of woman in some form, as much as of man; and till it has that, to all intents and purposes, will it be marred by all the imperfections of the old bachelor. And so of religion, the pulpit included; and so of the lecture-room, for science recognises in its development the female mind quite as much as the male; whereas now it has mainly the latter; though, thank Heaven! woman is beginning to assert her right, and will ultimately add to science those female influences just shown to be requisite in every thing that concerns humanity. Of course, then, it is not only proper, but absolutely necessary, that we have female lecturers on science, and female speakers on all those subjects which belong to or interest humanity.

This general law, applied to individuals, passes high encomiums on the noble stand taken by Lucretia Mott and some others of her sex, who, nobly breaking away from the trammels of aristocracy, which points the finger of scorn and ridicule at female speakers, have practically exemplified the law in question, by speaking before large bodies of both sexes. Their doctrines we do not now either commend or disapprove, but congratulate society on the fact that they opened their mouths in public, and with such ability as to have given responsibility to a custom before disreputable, and broken the ice so that others can now follow in their noble footsteps.

To run out the great principle here developed in detail, and to apply it to the decisions of thousands of those subjects and questions which come within the consideration of your honorable body, is not necessary, because the general law here developed is too unequivocal and its application too plain to require it.

One single additional application must suffice. That the race is not always to remain what it is and has been, but that the perfect reality of the past and the present is to be superseded by that almost celestiality 'which kings and prophets waited for, and sought, but never found;' that, in short, society is to be regenerated, and a millenium with all its glories is soon to be established, and the race become perfected far beyond what we have seen or heard, or it 'hath entered into the heart of man to conceive,' is a truth, written, not upon the page of prophecy alone, but upon the nature of man, and as clearly evinced by those throes of society and transitions through which it is so rapidly passing, as the first dawning of the sun evinces the prospective coming of its noon-time glory.

When God made man, He did not trifle. It was His last work, His greatest work. All the power, all the wisdom, all the benevolence, in short, every characteristic of the Deity was brought into the most infinitely intense state of activity and power in the creation of man. To have the race always continue to be what it thus far has been, would be disreputable to its Author.

The evils of the past and present will only contrast the more gloriously with the beauties and perfections of the future. But this ordination and perfection of the race is to be accomplished by means; for God always works by instrumentalities, and in this case, human instrumentalities are to be the direct agencies for bringing about this infinitely glorious change.

Now, are those agencies to be put forth by man alone? No, for he is inadequate to the task; nor, for a like reason, can they be put forth by woman alone.

In short, the relations of the masculine and feminine to each other, and those laws which govern this whole subject, show that in the regeneration of the race, female agencies and influences are to be quite as efficacious and efficient as those of man; and if the world, as a whole, cannot be regenerated without both the masculine and feminine efforts combined, then individual societies cannot be changed from bad to good by either sex singly. As children cannot be completely educated by either the mother alone or the father, so, in training race after race for higher and still higher achievements, it will require both the masculine influences of all the fathers, husbands and brothers of every nation and town under heaven, as well as all the mothers, sisters and wives; for every generation stands directly in the same relation to the next generation, which the fathers and mothers stand to individual families of children.

Do not, however, understand me, as to this general law, to criticise the movements of your body, because they come exclusively from women. Man has not been doing more what he can do for woman. It is better that woman try to do alone, than that nothing be done; but it is to be hoped that your convention will provoke man to rise in all the interest which man should feel in the perfection of the feminine, and join with woman in devising and executing those ways and means which shall place woman in the position she was originally created to occupy; for let it be remembered, that woman was created perfect, and that her nature is all that even a God could make it, both for her own happiness and for the happiness of society; and when we ascertain what her natural sphere is, and place her in it, we shall do the very thing exactly for the perfection of not her alone, but all mankind.

Whilst, therefore, I pray with all my soul for spiritual influences to overshadow and guide the deliberations of your assembly, I remain, as I long have been,

Yours for the perfection of woman,

O. S. FOWLER.

New York, Oct. 14th, 1850.

☞ Other letters and addresses read at the Convention will be published in the next Liberator.

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, NOV. 15, 1850.

RECEPTION MEETING.

A gathering of the friends of Reform, International Amity, and Universal Emancipation, will take place in FANEUIL HALL, THIS (FRIDAY) EVENING, the 15th inst., at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of congratulating Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P. of England, on his arrival in this country, and of sympathizing with him in the various reformatory movements in which he has been so honorably distinguished since his last visit to the United States. Addresses will be delivered on the occasion by Messrs. Thompson, Phillips, Garrison, and Douglass.

☞ The galleries specially reserved for the Ladies.

On behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, } *Committee.*
EDMUND QUINCY,
SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,

☞ We consider it wholly unnecessary to urge the friends of Reform, International Amity, and Universal Emancipation, to be present at this Reception Meeting, in overwhelming numbers; for we have no doubt Faneuil Hall will be crowded to its utmost capacity. Those who would obtain entrance must go early; as it expires truly is to be run from 7 to 8, and the attendance from the neighboring towns will be numerous. There never has landed on these shores a more intrepid, devoted and meritorious advocate of human freedom, without regard to clime or color—or one more strongly desirous of the peace, prosperity and happiness of this republic—or one more deserving of the general regard and a most enthusiastic welcome—than GEORGE THOMPSON. *Honor to whom honor.*

It will be seen, by the notice below, that our colored fellow-citizens intend giving Mr. Thompson a special reception in the Belknap street meeting-house on Monday evening next. It will be hearty!

☞ Mr. Thompson will attend a gathering of the friends of freedom in the City Hall, Worcester, on Thursday afternoon and evening, next week.

A WELCOME MEETING
TO
GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., M. P.,

Will be tendered by the colored citizens of Boston, at Belknap street church, on Monday evening, Nov. 18, 1850. Exercises will commence at 7 o'clock.

John S. Hilton, William H. Logan,
Wm. C. Nell, Edward Jackson,
Robert Johnson, Wm. Johnson,
Henry Weeden, Abraham Gaul.

LECTURES BY GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P.

At the earnest invitation of numerous friends, this distinguished philanthropist and eloquent orator has consented to deliver a course of

FIVE LECTURES

in Boston, to commence on Tuesday evening, the 26th instant, and to continue on Friday, the 29th; Tuesday, the 2d; Friday, the 5th; and Tuesday, the 9th of December.

The first three Lectures will embrace the *History, Condition and Prospects of British India*; the last two will be on the *Slave Institutions of Great Britain.*

Further particulars will be hereafter announced.

Tickets for the Course, One Dollar each. Single Lecture Ticket, 25 cents. For sale at 21 Cornhill.

EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

With the greatest satisfaction, we have devoted a large portion of our present number to the proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester on the 23d and 24th ultimo. A candid and careful perusal of them is due to the Convention itself, and to the object for which it assembled—an object which cannot be exaggerated either in its importance. The report of the speeches made on the occasion ought to have been full and accurate; but we believe no reporter was employed for that purpose by the Convention—an omission much to be regretted, as at no other general gathering have we ever heard a better succession of speeches. The aim and spirit of the meeting, however, may be gathered from the Resolutions that were discussed and adopted. In these, every thing sought or demanded is explicitly avowed.

STATE ELECTION.

The annual State election took place in this Commonwealth, on Monday last. It has resulted in the complete prostration of the Whig party, and in a manner highly auspicious to the cause of freedom and humanity. There is no doubt of Governor and all the Senate will be strongly Anti-Whig, and the House of Representatives probably about equally divided, the prospect is that Gov. Briggs will not be re-elected; and that Hon. Robert C. Winthrop will have leave to remain at home, and either the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips or Charles Sumner, Esq., be elected to fill his place in the U. S. Senate. So much for Daniel Webster's effort to bind Massachusetts to the car of the Southern Juggernaut!

The following is the state of the votes given in Boston:—For Governor—Briggs, 3942; Boutwell, 1903; Phillips, 325. Majority for Briggs over all others, 2260. Last year his majority was 3269.

In 308 towns in the Commonwealth, the result is as follows:—Briggs, (Whig,) 53,983; Boutwell, (Dem.) 34,454; Phillips, (Free Soil,) 27,389; Scattering, 474. Of course, there is no choice of Governor by the people.

Of the State Senators elected, 22 belong to the Coalition, (Dem. and Free Soil,) and only 10 to the Whigs. The latter have succeeded in Suffolk, Hampshire and Barnstable; the former in Essex, (2,) Middlesex, Worcester, Franklin, Berkshire, Norfolk, Bristol, Plymouth—securing to them an absolute majority of the Senate against all contingencies. There are five vacancies—3 in Essex, and 2 in Hampden.

According to the latest returns, the Atlas makes the House of Representatives to stand as follows:—Whigs, 161; Opposition, 156; no choice, 80.

For members of Congress—In the Second District, the vote is as follows:—Upham, (Whig,) 6045; Rantoul, (Dem.) 4537; Sewall, (Free Soil,) 3146. No choice. Mr. Upham wants 1638. In September, he needed only 341.

Third District—Duncan, (Whig,) 5800; Brown, (Dem.) 3668; Higginson, (Free Soil,) 2538. No choice. Mr. Duncan lacks 346 votes.

Fourth District—Thompson, 5641; Palfrey, 4918; Frothingham, 3788. No choice.

Fifth District—Barton, 4317; Knowlton, 4165; Allen, 3767. No choice.

Sixth District—Davis, 6751; Chapin, 4957; Huntington, 2393. No choice.

Seventh District—Goodrich, 3313; Bishop, 2670; Scattering, 452; probably no choice.

Eighth District—Walley, 4365; Mann, 6895; Whittaker, 2270. Mann's majority, 256.

Ninth District—Fowler, 6683; Little, 3181; Scat. 723. Mr. F. has a large majority.

Tenth District—It looks as if Zeno Scudder (Whig) was elected, but the vote is close.

FAREWELL SOIREE TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P.,

Previous to his embarkation for America.

On Wednesday evening, Oct. 16, a meeting was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate street, London, for the purpose of bidding farewell to the Honorable Member for the Tower Hamlets, previous to his leaving England for the United States. The objects of the Soiree were two-fold, a testimony of respect and admiration for his character and public services of Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, and also as an expression of earnest wishes for his success in a mission, so far at least as its anti-slavery aspect is concerned, it may be said without the slightest hyperbole that he carries with him the sympathy of the entire population of the United Kingdom, and the fervent wishes of the wise and good in every enlightened portion of the globe.

The time of Mr. Thompson's departure having become known only a few days prior to his sailing from Liverpool, it was impossible to make arrangements for a demonstration on a scale as extended as his friends were anxious to make in his favor. Two parties contested for the privilege of giving the farewell entertainment to a man, of whom it may be said pre-eminently, that the people delight to honor. The first was intended as a national demonstration in the Metropolis; the second as an entertainment from his constituents of the Tower Hamlets alone, numbering upwards of 21,000 electors, and a population of half a million. The claim of the latter was strongly urged, upon the ground that, as Mr. Thompson was their representative in Parliament, he was peculiarly their property, and they had, therefore, a clear right of preference. The multiplicity of the honorable gentleman's engagements, however, in the cause of the National Reform Association,—his laborious exertions in which have at times considerably impaired his health, and sometimes rendered his friends even anxious spectators of his physical prowess,—the urgency of either invitation, and circumstances compelled the abandonment of all idea of an entertainment of any thing like a public nature. Indeed, it was felt, that were publicity to be given to the Soiree, and tickets thrown open to all purchasers, the largest room in London would be inadequate to the accommodation of one tithe of the number who would have sought admittance. On the other hand, it was known that the most painful disappointment would be experienced, were no opportunity afforded his more immediate friends of bidding him an affectionate farewell. In this state of things, a middle course was suggested, and adopted, as the only one practicable under the circumstances. For some time past, a series of private Soirees have been held in the Metropolis, in connection with the Council of the National Reform Association. The Executive Committee resolved to convert the next monthly gathering of that kind into a Valedictory Soiree to Mr. Thompson. The circle of invitations was, accordingly, extended to the utmost limit of convenience, but all advertisements or notices in the public journals, not only of the Soiree itself, but also the fact of the honorable gentleman's intended departure, were carefully avoided, for the reason before stated, as well as in compliance with the desire of Mr. Thompson himself, that the meeting should assume as little of a public demonstration as possible.

Upwards of 600 ladies and gentlemen met together on the occasion. After partaking of tea, coffee, &c., in the usual friendly manner, proceeded to the large and elegant hall of this celebrated establishment of Messrs. Bathe & Co. Among the distinguished persons present were Sir Joshua Walmsley, M. P., President of the National Reform Association; John Williams, Esq. M. P., Treasurer, Henry Tindal Atkinson, Esq., Vice-Chairman; Denis McDonnell, Esq., R. Le Blond, Esq., Henry James Slack, Esq., author of the 'Ministry of the Beautiful,' &c.; John Gowksmith, Esq., merchant; and John Matson, Esq., member of the Executive Committee:—Robert Espie, Esq., of Sydenham; T. J. Serle, Esq., one of the Editors of the Weekly Dispatch; J. Thwaites, Esq., W. Algee Conner, A. Kendall, W. Dowell, J. Bishop, J. Peppercorn, W. A. H. Haws, B. Glover, of Berry, Lancashire; W. Howard, G. Newman, D. Parker, J. D. Skillet, W. Statham and W. Allman, members of the Council; and J. Hubberety, Esq., Secretary:—R. I. Evans, Esq., Deputy Lieutenant of the City of London; Drs. Oxley, Bainbridge and Elmore; G. E. Dawes, Esq., Solicitor; H. J. Brown, Esq., M. R. C. S.; F. B. Knuckey, Esq., Solicitor; Wm. Carpenter, Esq., Editor of Lloyd's Despatch, &c.; William Wells Brown, W. Farmer, C. Woolmton, R. Gosnell, W. Brooks, Esqs., John Scoffern, Esq., M. B. Professor of chemistry; F. J. Smith, Esq., Russian Broker; J. Charles, Esq., merchant; J. Lambert, Esq., of Barbadoes; Rev. T. Warren, James Passmore Edwards, Esq., Editor of 'The Public Good'; J. F. Mollett, Esq., merchant; James Beal, Esq., J. Cope and J. Terry, Esqs., Churchwardens of Clerkenwell; J. Dix, W. Beston and W. Croucher, Guardians of do.; Robert Smith, Esq., late Secretary of the Anti-Slavery League; W. Martin, Esq., J. Nelson, Esq., T. Cockshaw, Esq., P. Crellin, Esq., and a large attendance of other gentlemen, of the reform movement in the Metropolis and throughout the country.

Numerous letters were received from members of Parliament, and gentlemen of influence, regretting their inability, from the shortness of notice, absence from London, and other causes, to be present on the occasion. Lord Dudley Stuart, Esq., M. P., intimated that he should have been present, had the state of his health permitted of his attendance at an evening meeting. William Johnson Fox, Esq., M. P., and Joseph Hume, Esq., M. P., were unwillingly absent from a similar cause. James Wyld, Esq., M. P., J. W. Williams, Esq., M. P., Henry Vincent, Esq., the Reverends D. Thomas and Hugh Seaborn, Edward Miall, Esq., editor of the Nonconformist, J. C. Williams, Esq., Secretary of the British Anti-State Church Association, and other gentlemen of eminence and influence, were absent from previous engagements from which they were unable to relieve themselves, but all entering deeply into the objects of the meeting, and breathing prayers for the success of Mr. Thompson in his mission. The spirit that pervaded the whole communications may be gathered from the following letter of Mr. Thompson's more-intimate, ardent and sincere reformers in England, William Tavett, Esq., who has given evidence of his devotion to the cause of democracy, by suffering a long imprisonment for its fearless advocacy.

16 SOUTH ROW, NEW ROAD,
October 14th, 1850.

DEAR SIR:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the circular respecting the soiree to our friend, Mr. G. Thompson, on Wednesday next. Having a permanent engagement on that evening, I shall not be able to attend myself, but I will do all in my power to give the subject publicity among my friends, and to induce as many as I can to be present on that occasion; for of all the public men I know, there is no one of whose public services and great abilities I have a higher estimation, and none who have shown a more honest, determined and outspoken desire to benefit the millions, than his our friend, Mr. G. Thompson. I am glad to learn that he is once more about to join his voice and efforts to those of the brave band of American abolitionists, whose unwearied exertions and fervent protestations against the deep and deadly injustice of negro slavery continue to spread and widen, and make their power felt, despite all the efforts that have been made to crush them. That they may yet live to witness the triumph of their labors in America, as our friend, George Thompson, has lived to see the fruits of his labors in our colonies, and that American democracy may be purified of that last remnant of kingly dominion, is the ardent desire of

WM. LOVETT.

TO WILLIAM FARMER, ESQ.

Appended is a verbatim report of the address delivered at the soiree. The enthusiastic spirit that pervaded the assembly would baffle the most skilful reporter, possessed of the most graphic powers of description, to convey to paper. There was a completeness of arrangement, and a degree of refinement impossible to be attained in any assemblage in any previous meeting. For this perfection, the Association were greatly indebted to the gratuitous services of Henry James Slack and Therold Wood, Esqs., the latter of whom undertook the superintendence of the musical arrangements, and himself presided at the piano forte.

There was an appropriateness in the farewell soiree to Mr. George Thompson being held in connection with the National Reform Association, previous to his visit to the American Anti-Slavery Society; holding as these organizations severally do, parallel positions in their respective spheres. The former is laboring for the political, the latter for the personal enfranchisement of millions of their oppressed fellow-countrymen. There is no man who, from his antecedents, is so thoroughly qualified to sustain the character of the Dais-man of both races, and to lay his hand upon the heads, and unite the hearts of the reformers on both sides of the Atlantic; none who can so truly represent to the American republicans the universal feeling of the people of Great Britain. It is by no means surprising that, in the various speeches at the soiree, there should have been traceable such an unity of spirit and unalloyed sympathetic feeling of sentiment, between the cis-Atlantic and trans-Atlantic abolitionists. The expressions of attachment to America, per se, in her pristine condition—in the character which Providence intended her to sustain as a real anti-slavery republic for black and white—the refuge of the oppressed of all countries, and the germ of the mightiest empire in the world—are universal and fervent. The denunciation of America in her vitiated condition—in that state of moral leprosy by which she has rendered herself unfit for communion with the civilized world—in her anomalous character of a pro-slavery republic—in her transformation from the refuge of the oppressed, into the refuge of the greatest oppressor in the world—was equally strong and fervent. That condemnation was, nevertheless, conveyed in terms more of sorrow than of anger; not with imprecations for her national destruction as one of the greatest enemies of human liberty and happiness, but with aspirations for her regeneration and reformation, and the resumption of her rightful moral position among the nations of the earth. The feeling evinced towards the United States at the London Tavern is that of the people of Great Britain, and in this respect, Mr. George Thompson will more legitimately speak the sentiments of Parliament than this country than does Sir H. L. Bulwer at Washington.

Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY, M. P., having taken the chair, Miss CURRY, Mrs. MARTIN, and Mrs. SEYMOUR, assisted by a chorus of thirteen professional vocalists, immediately commenced

THE PEOPLE'S ANTHEM.

The Poetry by Ebenezer Elliott.—Music by William Thorold Wood.

1.

CHORUS.

When will thou save the people?
Oh! God of Christendom!
Not king and lords, but nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men!

QUARTETT AND SEMI-CHORUS.

Flowers of thy heart, oh! God, are they;
Let thine unfolding buds unclose!
Their heritage a winter's day.

CHORUS.—God save the people!

2.

CHORUS.

Shall crime breed crime for ever,
Strength aiding still the strong?
Is it thy will, oh, Father!
That man shall toil for wrong?

QUARTETT AND SEMI-CHORUS.

'No!' say the oppressed, meekly;
'No!' the oppressor, loud:
'Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,
And songs ascend instead of sighs.'

CHORUS.—God save the people!

The above beautiful anthem having been enthusiastically encored; at its termination,

The Chairman (who was received with loud applause) rose and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to have an opportunity of prefacing the few observations I have to make, by thanking the promoters of the evening, with the words '*Ladies* and gentlemen.' (Cheers.) I rejoice to see so numerous and brilliant a meeting of the fair sex in country-women amongst us. It is, indeed, a gratifying sight, assuring us, as it does, that we are engaged in a right cause, and are pursuing it in a right manner; for it is the cause of humanity wherever they take an interest, we may rely upon it that virtue, good sense and progress will be secured. (Hear.) The present date of a meeting of a mixed character, assembled in consequence of its having been found, by the Council of the National Reform Association, expedient to assemble as frequently as convenient—at least once a month—the subject of which is the representatives of the various local associations, in and around the metropolis; that we might consult, and take counsel together, for the good of the people, and that we have at heart, and to advance the cause which we believe to be just, right, and honest in the sight of God and the people. (Hear.) But on the present occasion, we have broken in upon the circle of our invitations, and introduced the new feature of vocal music into our proceedings, for the purpose of gratifying our friends who have kindly confided it is the delight of us all to render every possible mark of admiration, respect and affection. (Loud cheers.) As he is now present, I will say that his respecting him, although, perhaps, no individual in this room is capable of feeling more warmly towards him than I do. I have experienced the invaluable benefit of his counsel, advice and assistance, in the good work that we have for a long series of years been endeavoring to promote. But it is not to the cause of national reform alone that I am now speaking of the services of Mr. Thompson. All who know his history are aware that he has most zealously worked in those causes equally virtuous and just as ours, in which he has blended his earnestness, ability and success, which few could equal, none excel. (Cheers.) It has been my good fortune to be the fellow-laborer of Mr. Thompson in the vineyard of reform, and to some extent, also, in that of free trade; but most especially have we had the pleasure and satisfaction of working together for the furtherance of parliamentary and financial reform. I have witnessed the effects of his untiring zeal, his manly intelligence, and the electric power of his eloquence, in every part of the kingdom. (Hear.) And after such a lengthened and extensive experience, I have the satisfaction of being able to state that at no meeting has there been a failure, or anything marring the name of opposition. In some instances, individuals who had listened to his voice nineteen or twenty years ago, have come forward and declared—'My first lesson in public virtue and political righteousness was learned from the lips of that good man.' (Hear.) 'I am now,' said one, 'a minister of religion; but I should never have attained that high and important position, had I not listened to the soul-inspiring eloquence of George Thompson.' (Cheers.) This has been from no sinister, military instance, but in several. I myself received this noble testimony as to the result of our friend's labors, from the lips of a minister of religion; it was most cheering to me, and I believe it has, in numerous instances, I have deemed this a fitting occasion to narrate an incident which I know must be most pleasing to an assembly of his warm friends. But none perhaps may tell me, that there is nothing peculiar in the case of Mr. Thompson; that many men, besides him, have been engaged in various good works, and have, with the same ability, none with more earnestness, and, perhaps, more success, more entirely free from all personal considerations. (Loud cheers.) I purposely take this opportunity of publicly stating the declaration, because I know that a contrary statement has been put forth by men, who are, probably, under the influence of envy of the possessor of splendid talents which they themselves cannot approach within an immeasurable distance. In no one instance has my friend taken fee or reward in the cause he has nobly advocated. (Hear, hear.) Having most powerfully aided in conducting the anti-slavery contest in this country to a triumphant issue; he was induced, in the year 1835, to visit that land of the free—the United States of America. I say 'the land of the free,' for it must be confessed that, with all its faults, it still deserves to be so entitled. If we are there be, indeed, the foul blot of slavery upon its escutcheon, it becomes us to bear in mind that England has left it there, and that it is only since we ourselves wiped the same stigma from our national character. During his stay in America, our friend rendered most invaluable aid to the cause, by the opportunity he had of meeting, and confounding the advocates of slavery hunted for his life, and drove him ignominiously from their shores, yet the seed that he then sowed has brought forth an abundant harvest; and now, after a lapse of fifteen years, he is going back to behold the gratifying result of his humble exertions; to witness the wonderful progress made in that great work, the emancipation of freedom, which, I doubt not, is approaching to a triumphant issue; for the time, I am confident, is not far distant, when the blot of slavery will be wiped from America will, beyond the power of any one to gainsay her title, become, in every sense of the word, 'the land of the free.' (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, leaving, for a moment, the friend we have assembled to honor, and turning to the Association whose interests we have met to promote, allow me to mention a few of our recent proceedings. On Monday last, we had a large, enthusiastic, and most influential meeting in this room, the proceedings of which have set forth the remarks of a journal which deserves, at all times, to be spoken of with the greatest possible respect as the leader of the public mind upon important questions. That paper says that we are not the people of yesterday, but are merely repeating the old story over again.—We plead guilty to the accusation. What then? Why, we ask the Times, ought we to be placed by the government in such a position as to be under the necessity of pleading for the rights of the people over and over again? (Hear.) Is it our fault that we are now in the position we occupy, and have to stand on behalf of our country? Let our rulers act justly, and give the people their constitutional rights, and they will no longer trouble our rulers. The people ask no more than their rights, and they will take no less. (Cheers.) Let me tell our governors that the time is coming—ay, it is even at hand—when they will be compelled to yield. Justice, common sense, constitutional rights and the will of the great body of the people are all with us; and what mere power can stand against such combined opposition? We have been accused, again and again, of desiring to improve the condition of the middle classes, but wishing to do nothing for the poor people of the rest of the industrial classes. We repudiate the charge. Let the men who have branded us with it, or thought for a moment we deserved it, strive and vie with us in the cause of humanity, and we will contest in promoting the great object of equal rights for every man in the country. But, ladies and gentlemen, the Association is not the Association, to take up your time, but to give place to others. I know that my task will be a simple and easy one. I know that, in the presence of such an assembly, this meeting will not have occasion to blush at what has ever characterized the proceedings of the meetings of the National Reform Association, the more particularly upon this occasion, when I see that we have the presence of so many of the fair sex with us. I have not come here to make a speech. I knew that there would be gentlemen present far more able to address this large assemblage than I am. I came here simply to conduct this interesting meeting according to the best of my ability, and simply to lay its programme before you. As the chairman of the meeting of several gentlemen now upon the platform, I am happy to say that, through the able assistance of our friend Mr. Slack, we have had the gratification of the production of several admirable pieces of music, well adapted to the occasion; and, at a subsequent period of the evening, we shall have the high treat of listening to the powerful and eloquent address of our most esteemed friend, Mr. George Thompson, before he leaves us to visit the United States; although I rejoice to think that he will not be for a few months. (Hear and cheers.) I am sure that we all fervently hope to see him return at the appointed time in the enjoyment of renewed health, strength, and vigor, and with more improved means of doing, if it be possible, in his views respecting human liberty and progress. This would, indeed, be a wonderful parting consolation to his advocates

Mount and other advocates of freedom, are some-times treated with the epithet of 'stipendiary demagogues.' Why we should be so, even if we received compensation for our efforts, I do not know. The laborer is worthy of his hire.' [Hear.] The man who devotes his time and energies to the service of the people should, at all events, be supplied with the means of feeding and clothing himself and his family. But I, for one, as regards myself, at least, have never been a stipendiary demagogue. I never shall be, apparently to declare that, after twenty years of incessant labor, I never made a farthing by my efforts. And have I ever received one shilling for my people's money. [Loud and prolonged laughing.] And I here publicly defy all Englishmen to point to the time when I ever entered into any pecuniary compact with reference to the advocacy of any cause I have espoused. [Renewed cheering.] It is true, I received 200 annually, for some years, in a case, I received an anti-slavery cause in this country for educating my children. Are on Patrick's monument, my wife, who sits behind me, [cheers,] will tell you whether that was very much too large a sum for her to live upon, and for my family, to keep the world in credit for me. [Hear.] My labors for the last two years, I have been freely given to the cause of national reform in this country.

I go back again to America. I long to be free and yet, paradoxical as the statement may appear, I feel that with the journey shortening every time I go, I am more and more attached to my home and my family. I have a strong feeling that element of which I am so well fitted, I am desirous of living, for a fortnight, a life in the ocean wave? I anticipate much benefit to my health from the voyage. I hope once again to gaze beneath from the voyage. I hope once again to gaze

'The glorious mirror, where the' Almighty's form
Glasses itself in tempests.'

I wish to see those women, who remained calm and self-possessed amidst an American mob of 5,000 'gentlemen of property and standing,' [hear,] which, by a vote, passed the abolition tracts to the winds, tore their anti-slavery sign-board, and stamped it in the dust, and, in the language of the Boston Mob, 'beneath their democratic feet?' Yes, I am, indeed, desirous of seeing those women beings! Oh! that the people of England would take up this great question of parliamentary and financial reform as the American women have taken up the great question of slavery! Why, the cause of freedom! In a great extent, sustained, as well as the quantity and quality of the butter which is spread upon it. It determines the number of spoonfuls which they put in the pot when they count noses—one, two, three, four, and one for the pot! [Laughter.] It is not only a tea question, but it is a sugar question; it is a calico question; it is a present question, it is a most vital matter of household economy, of which it is not an ingredient. We want not only to make their sons free—free by birth, but not free because they happen to be born on some rotten borough—we want no such spurious titles to the elective franchise as are derived from burgage tenure, or freedom in decayed, gatehouses old cities—we want them to have the franchise because they are Victoria's subjects, the victorious defenders of England's glory, and the creators of all England's wealth. If they would like to have twenty shillings as far as thirty shillings under the present system—if they would prefer fewer visits from gentlemen in black, with ink-horns attached to their button-holes, and with the periodically leave timeous refreshers at their doors—if they wish to see a freescope for the industry and enterprise of their children—then let them join with us.

There is nothing of violence in our principles, still less in our movements. We are jewellers, it is true, but, then, we level upwards, not downwards. [Hear, hear.] We seek to take nothing from the rich, but to give something to the poor, or, rather, to enable those that are poor to become rich, through the fruits of their own industry. Oh, my friends, it is to me often a grievous and afflicting thought, that, in the valleys of Egypt, under the dominion of its despotic power, or on the plains of India, where men are ever by millions on the verge of starvation, I have never seen poverty so deep, so helpless, so hopeless, and yet so undeserved, as that which I have witnessed within this country. [Hear.] But, why should it be so? All realms are tributary to us; beneath us are exhaustless mines of wealth, and the reform which we seek is the sea, the great highway of all the nations of the earth, and with all the nations of the earth we have dealings. What river is there that our ships do not ascend? what creek they do not penetrate? what bay we have not entered, and where exchange could be made between man and man, where is it that you find not British industry and British enterprise? [Cheers.] Our sons should all be rich; there should be no poverty but that which is the fruit of crime, and nourished by vice. O, yes, virtuous industry should indeed have leave to live in England. But why is it otherwise? Because our national affairs are not well administered. I never like to select cases and blazon them individually, as though upon them were chargeable all the evils of the system. I have no grudge against aristocracy as such. I have no grudge against merchant princes and princes of commerce, and dukes and degrees in society. I know there must ever be an aristocracy. You cannot level men. There is no Procrustes bed to which you can bring every member of the community, elongating some and shortening others. I want all men to see before them a higher position than that which they have yet attained. I want the industry which travel to enterprise to have free scope, and the laudable and honorable ambition of men to have an opportunity of legitimate gratification. I cannot speak of any class as 'Mr. Merchant Plunderer,' 'Mr. Lawyer Swindler,' [Cheers.] I know that, unhappily for my own countrymen, their worst enemies are their own opposites and unhappily, unnecessarily. We do not say to the people, 'Sit still and wait for your political and social redemption;' on the contrary, we tell them—

'Who would be free, himself must strike the blow;'

but not a blow at his fellow-man. His tyrant is not his neighbour, but his own uncurbed lusts and appetites. Strike first a blow at that, at all its self-imposed degradation, and all its bitter slavery; make yourself free, and then, my friends, you may pass the proudest in the land, and, in your manly make way for the majesty of virtue—for the son of God! [Cheers.] Well, what are our means for effecting this change? The foolishness of preaching. [Hear.] The influence we employ is that of enlightening upon understanding, and not will upon will. We are promoting our cause to-night. Ten-parties did the business for the corn-laws. Three for the women of England took the lead. It is one of the most pleasing reflections of my life, that I was the first man who ever addressed a female audience upon that great question. At Manchester, I attended many large meetings of the women of England, and drew up the petition which they laid at the feet of the Queen, praying for a free trade in the food of the people. I was enabled to do more. I brought them to labor for the funds of that association. I know their worth from experience. I have felt the powerful influence of their increasing labors. Well, to-night I again ask the women of England to join with us in promoting the cause of the National Reform Association. There is no cause, I sincerely believe, more in accordance with the spirit of the age, more calculated to secure peace in our country, than that which will always refine and improve the tone of our proceedings. [Hear, hear.] What man, for sake of a party, is tempted to-night to commit—or, if tempted, would commit—an act *contra bonos mores*, in the presence of the ladies here assembled? Not one. The ladies will elevate himself a man for our present meeting having been made a mixed assembly, instead of one composed of men only? and why, I ask, should it not be so? Is there anything unfeminine in the cause we plead in our cause? I know of no sex in mind [hear]; or if there be a distinction in the mental powers of the two sexes, give me woman's mind in woman's; woman's affections before man's; woman's constancy before man's. I speak it to our shame. [Hear and laughter.] No, my friends, women are never out of place in a good cause.

'No radiant pearl that crested fortune wears;
No gem that, sparkling hangs from Beauty's ears;
Not the bright star, which night's blue arch adorn,
Do rising suns that gild the vernal morn,
Shine with such lustre as the tear which breaks,
For human woe, upon the eyelid of lovely cheeks.'

[Cheers.] It has been my privilege, more than that of any other man in the kingdom, to deliver addresses to the women of Great Britain, and I am not afraid to ask the question, whether those who have embraced and labored for the object I have recommended have been worse wives, daughters, or mothers, in consequence of their becoming reformers.—When did you ever hear of any quarrel having ensued about me or my doctrines? [Hear and laughter.] No, woman has her duties, which are dictated best by herself. Woman's rights may be left to woman's keeping. You can force nothing wrong upon her while she cherishes that which is the justre of her sex—her native modesty, her shrinking bashfulness. But one can do hold in denouncing, and in endeavoring to procure the abolition of bad laws, such as those by the influence of which the poor woman's cup is filled of three-fourths of her earnings (hear)—the ten-tax, the soap-tax, the sugar-tax, and all those craftily devised and invisible machines for taking from attenuated poverty the little that it has. (Loud cheers.) Women, I repeat, cry, 'I not let women meddle with politics,' is sheer cant and absurdity. Why, even now, and in perfect conformity with fashionable constitutionalism, they do meddle with them repeatedly; and, in numerous instances, the very men from whom this rubbish about non-interference is falls, when it suits their corrupt party purposes, absolutely and earnestly beg and entreat them, unjustly and unfairly, to meddle in politics, as some present know, to their cost. 'O, do not let women meddle with politics,' the sneering aristocrat, whose own mental powers are of such dwarfish proportions that he is of little more use in the creation, except to prop his pedigree in the artistic taste of Moses & Sons; to stand outside their door, at the corner of the Minories, attired in the most fashionable garments, all but the neckcloth (laughter); and yet, who does that same puerile dandy go to in the borough which he wishes to represent? Is it the man only that he applies to? or is it not also to the influence of the women to which he makes his appeal? [Hear.] Who does he get to make his rosets, and wear them, too; to clap their slender, kid-gloved hands, and wave their delicate white handkerchiefs, in applause, when he is chaired? [Hear, and laughter.] What influence does he bring to bear upon the women during the canvass? Why, the women, certainly. Our friend, Mr. Williams, could a tale unfold upon this subject, whose lightest word would be startling in your ears—I am sure of that. Women are fit for anything—he could tell you how the honest tradesman is visited by ladies in satin slippers, and when he has rolled out a carpet on which they have condescended to walk into his shop, he has found that their business has been to coerce, if they could, independent tradesmen into voting for the aristocratic idol of a large metropolitan borough. [Hear.] Therefore it is that I say that the assertion, that women do not meddle in politics, is untrue. Let women meddle intelligently, and not virtuously with politics, and politics, or do not let them meddle with them at all. Well, we ask them again to join us in this great cause. Women! for my part, I have no sympathy, We cannot do without it. We are obliged to say to him—

'Put money in thy purse, Roderigo.'

Do not let Mr. Williams be the 'First Lord' of an empty treasury; because we have no money to draw cheqs, even if he drawn them upon himself; nothing will keep his pen from paper. [Laughter.] We shall not stick long in a party, because we know we are sure. [Hear.] But, my friends, we must not be content to support the cause of reform with mere applause, however sonorous. The sincerity of our political faith must be tested by the zealousness of our labors in its diffusion. All religion and morals preach to us this doctrine. Christianity tells us that faith without works is dead. Even the Stoic, notwithstanding its fatalism and predestination, teaches us the sunnel season. 'Three things,' said Mahomet, 'are necessary to enable the faithful to reach Paradise—prayer, fasting and almsgiving.' Prayer brings him half way; fasting takes him the other half; but he cannot obtain admittance to the celestial city, no nor even approximate to the black-eyed houries with all the other delights of paradise, except through the medium of almsgiving or good works. Well, I suppose, I am one of the most religious people in the world, so far as the first two virtues are concerned. We have prayed long enough; we have been incessantly telling the House of Commons, and the Minister, what we want. [Hear.] Victoria's subjects have been instant in season and out of season in the duty of prayer. As to fasting, why, we have had our fast days, but, alas, but actually thirty consecutive years, of rigid abstinence. The Mahometan fast is called the Ramadan, and continues but for one month annually, and that only between sunrise and sundown. I had a Mahomedan with me when I was in India, who pulled a very long face during those thirty days, although he found, after sundown, and all night; but the people of this country fasted from 1815 to 1846, (hear,) until the labors, sagacity, administrative talent, and statesmanship of Robert Peel illuminate man, now no more, put an end to the system. (Cheers.) And here, my friends, allow me, in passing, to remind you of his last words in the House of Commons. You know what I allude. (Hear.) May I not with truth say of him—

'This was the noblest Roman of them all:
All the conspirators, save only he,
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar.
He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was noble, and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world—' This was a man!'"

(Cheers.) Well, what were his last words? 'Evil-minded men misrepresent my motives, but more clearly than ever, that upon the maintenance of the principles of free trade, the peace and welfare of the country depend.' (Hear.) Such was his last, and the greatest greatest statesman of the day: let him write his own epitaph. Well, I think no one can deny that we have had prayer and fasting enough. Well, what is the part which the Minister will perform, in order to obtain admission to paradise? Why, he must give. (Hear.) Prayer, fasting, long faces, sanctimonious whines, and the bowing the head like a bulrush, he must add the efficacious and life-giving virtue of good works—he must give. Give, my friends, to your own cause. Oh, it is a luxury to give! I do such exactly feel as I have imagined. Open your niggard soul. If you have a soul that would refuse to give, fine it; pay a fine to our Treasurer in its behalf. (Laughter.) But I have made my appeal to-night especially to the ladies. Before I sit down, I will relate a little love story, containing a similar lesson to that I have just delineated from the Mahomedan. It is a tale of rustic swain and damsel lived near each other. He became smitten with her charms, but had not courage to tell his love.

'But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
Feed on his' not 'damask,' but 'russet cheek.'

At length, finding she was becoming an object of compassion, and fearing that she was in danger of losing her, he was induced to do what, in fashionable society, is called 'popping the question.' (Laughter.) He, therefore, invited her to take a walk to a neighbouring grove where always fond of rambling—up a shady grove. (Laughter.) His heart was full, but his lips were closed; he could not utter a syllable; but, in the agitation of his mind, poor thing, cast down her eyes, and was perfectly mute, but fully understanding for what particular purpose he had brought her to that lonely place. At length, a bold beguin to sing on John's side of the road, and a lucky thought struck him. 'Bessy,' said he with a gentle squeeze of the arm, 'dost hear you bird?' 'Ay, lad, I do,' said she. 'What does it seem to thee to sing?' 'I cannot tell; what does it seem to thee?' 'Why, Bessy,' said he, 'it seems to me to sing, 'I love thee! I love thee!' They proceeded on in silence until a bird began to sing on the damsel's side of the road. 'Johnny,' said she, 'does hear that bird?' 'Ay, lass,' said he. 'Well, what does it seem to thee to sing?' 'I cannot tell,' said he. 'What did thy bird sing?' 'My bird sing!' said he, with another gentle squeeze, 'I love thee, I love thee!' 'Why, Johnny, 'tis the same bird sings, 'Shew it! shew it!'" (Loud cheers and laughter.) Now here are we upon this platform, choristers that may vie with any in Christendom. Shall not our cause be also a musical one? (Hear.) Those are those in this assembly, who have heard my addresses for the last twenty-five years. I espoused them, as I have stated, when they were a despised cause of the people. [Cheers.] And now, my friends, in the full feeling of my heart, allow me to say to you, that I am not the same man. There are some young men here: have they learned nothing from the scene they have witnessed this evening? Let them learn from me, that, in their journey through life, there is only one path of satisfaction, which will frequently sustain them when weary and foot-sore, in reflecting that they have done something to ameliorate the condition of their fellow man race. [Hear.] If I leave nothing to my children as the result of my labors, I shall, in this respect, at least, leave to my son an example. Durham, my life, I have spoken to you as a man. I am proud in being able to declare that I have not now to recall, I will not say one word, but a single sentiment I ever uttered in your ears. [Cheers.] There are those in this assembly, who have heard my addresses for the last twenty-five years. I espoused them, as I have stated, when they were a despised cause of the people. [Cheers.] And now, my friends, in the full feeling of my heart, allow me to say to you, that I am not the same man. There are some young men here: have they learned nothing from the scene they have witnessed this evening? Let them learn from me, that, in their journey through life, there is only one path of satisfaction, which will frequently sustain them when weary and foot-sore, in reflecting that they have done something to ameliorate the condition of their fellow man race. [Hear.] If I leave nothing to my children as the result of my labors, I shall, in this respect, at least, leave to my son an example. Durham, my life, I have spoken to you as a man. I am proud in being able to declare that I have not now to recall, I will not say one word, but a single sentiment I ever uttered in your ears. [Cheers.] Let me say, I will not say Amen, but I will say Well, I will not say Amen, but I will say Well, I will not say Amen, but I will say Well

POETRY.

Our homes shall 'hide the outcast,' when
His galling chains are broken,
And tyrants find the will of man
As chaff, when God hath spoken.

Chicago, Oct. 15, 1850. PAULINA.

For the Liberator.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Denounce, frown, and nullify the bill!
This is the word, the universal cry!
Denounce it!—'tis the sovereign people's will;
And mouthing demagogues, who vainly try
To pillar up the noxious, bloody thing,
Will round their ears its falling timbers bring.

Startled humanity was pained and shocked,
And stunn'd, and staggered back, as well it might,
When on the public ear the tidings broke,
That such a hateful thing had seen the light,
And passed into a living law, upheld
By Northern voters, ratified and sealed.

Democracy! a bastard, dough-faced tribe
Of office-seekers have disgraced thy name;
The truckling varlets, not above a bribe,
Have brought upon themselves eternal shame,
And on their country a disgraceful stain,
That sophists try to cover up in vain.

Three recreant Northern Whigs, too, had a share
In helping through the diabolic bill;
Let their outraged constituents take care
That better men henceforth their places fill;
And let the traitors in oblivion sink,
Or stand as beacons on Destruction's brink.

Like Lucifer, the godlike Daniel fell:
Samson of Marshfield, shorn are thy locks!
Thy fame, which once did mightily excel,
Now upon Slavery's bloody altar smokes,
And sends abroad so horrible a stench,
As all our sympathies with thee to quench.

Let Whig and Democrat forgotten be—
To actions look, not to an empty name—
Give us the man, whate'er his titles be,
True to humanity—despite of fame;
Daring to play an honest, manly part;
This is the man we honor in our heart.

When comes the tug of war, the good, the true,
Cast off the fetters of the partizan;
And pledge themselves at Freedom's shrine anew,
Remembering but the brotherhood of man;
And all uniting 'gainst the common foe,
They proudly triumph in his overthrow.

Thank Heaven! at once the Northern voice arose,
Deeper and louder than Niagara's roar,
Vowing the vile enactment to oppose;
And soon those vows to earth's remotest shore
Shall ring in majesty and thundering tones,
Till tyrants quake and tremble on their thrones.

Denounce the bill, all ye who cannot bend
To tyranny the coward's supple knee;
Denounce it, ye who, knowing, dare defend
The rights of man, the blessings of the free!
Denounce it with a withering voice of scorn,
As a foul thing of barbarism born.

Denounce it, ye, who would not see the soil
On which for Freedom's sake your fathers bled,
Polluted by the tyrannous and vile
Slave-hunter's stealthy, desecrating tread,
Hunting the flying fugitive to death:—
Denounce it now, and with your latest breath.

Denounce it, ye who would not madly rush,
Hostile to Freedom's ever onward car;
Destined ere long triumphantly to crush
The advocates of tyranny and war;
Denounce it, ye who would not bow the neck
Obsequious at the Southern Moloch's beck.

Denounce it, ye who wish your country's weal;
Denounce it, as ye would not aid the blow
By tyrants struck, her destiny to seal,
And Freedom's altars basely overthrow;
Denounce it, as you would not basely be
A land of slaves, but continue free!

Denounce it, ye who would not wish to lend
Your influence to robbery and fraud;
Denounce it, as ye would not dare defend
Theft, rapine, murder, nor be heard to applaud
Th' abettors of a foul, abhorrent deed,
Against which heaven and earth united plead.

Denounce the bill, by all to manhood dear;
Denounce it by thy brother's hopeless sigh;
Denounce it by thy fetter'd sister's tear—
By every human, every tender tie;
Denounce it, as ye hope your sins forgiven—
Denounce it, as your souls would enter heaven.

God's law is higher than the laws of man,
And he who, knowing, rashly dares despise,
On the broad road to ruin takes the van,
And when the rebel's refuges of lies
Are swept away, where shall the rebel stand,
Safe on the right, or on the darker hand?

Thank God! a voice from the four winds of heaven
Stirs even Indifference in its easy-chair,
Crying, 'The fugitive must not be given
Back to the spoiler, and to blank despair!'
We will not, cannot give a brother back—
Humanity forbids th' inhuman act.

On Zion's watch-towers, watchmen long asleep
Are startled from Conservatism's dreams,
And from their easy cushions upward leap,
While Freedom's pennon from the watch-tower streams,
Her champions battling bravely in the cause
Of outraged Nature's violated laws.

Pray Heaven increase an hundred fold their zeal,
And let them utter no uncertain sound,
Till tyrants, with their hireling minions, feel
That Freedom holds invulnerable ground;
At least throughout New England, where her fires,
Lit by our fathers, but with time expire.

Cold is that heart, and blighted, seared and dead
To the warm promptings of the law of love,
Who for th' enslaver of his kind can plead,
Regardless of the mandate from above;
'Break every yoke, and let th' oppressed go free';
A law from which no just appeal can be.

May Heaven dispel the sombre, threat'ning cloud
That o'er the nation's firmament lowers,
And nerve its ministers to cry aloud,
Against enactments of the higher powers,
At variance with th' eternal laws of God,
Till sound repentance save us from the rod!

M.

From the Chicago Tribune.

TO MILLARD FILLMORE.

May God forgive thee, through his Son,
For man can pardon never;
The deed of guilt that thou hast done,
Will brand thy name forever;
That name which might have stood beside
The Father of his nation,
Is doomed, through ages, to abide
A theme of execration.

That name, the hallowed ties of earth
Will widely, rudely sever;
That name has darkened home and hearth,
To be illumined—never!
The blushes of indignant shame,
On manly cheeks are glowing,
For thou has tarnished *Freedom's* name—
In dust her laurels strewing.

The spirit of the martyred dead
In glory hath arisen—
Think not to bow a freeman's head
By threats of fine and prison!

Usage assigns to the Chair of such Conventions as this, the duty of stating the objects of the meeting. But the published call under which we are convened presents such a summary of those objects as may suffice for the occasion; and the subject matters brought to be submitted, the discussion of them, and the action contemplated by this Convention, are equally familiar to us all.

This leaves me at liberty to occupy you for a few moments with some general reflections upon the attitude and relations of our movement to the times and circumstances, and upon the proper spirit and method of promoting it.

I do not even intend to treat these topics formally, and I do not hope to do them successfully; for it requires less than a complete philosophy of reform could answer such inquiries, and that philosophy, it is very certain, the world has not yet discovered.

Human rights are and their reasons are neither mysterious nor difficult. The world has never been ignorant of them, nor insensible to them; and human wrongs and human rights are just as familiar to experience, and as well understood; but all this is not enough to secure to mankind the possession of the one, or to relieve them from the foll burden and suffering of the other. A creed of abstract truths, or a catechism of general principles, and a completely digested list of grievances, altogether, are not enough to adjust a reform to its proper work, or to make Prophets and Apostles and earnest world-menders in general would have been more successful, and left us less to wish and to do.

It is one thing to raise a declaration of rights or a declaration of wrongs to the world, but quite another thing wisely and happily to commend the subject to the world's consideration, and to secure the desired reformation. Every element of success is, in its own place and degree, equally important, but the very starting point is the adjustment of the reformer to his work, and this, I think, is the adjustment of his work to those conditions of the times which he seeks to influence.

Those who prefer the end in view to all other things, are not contented with their own zeal and the discharge of their duty to their consciences. They desire the highest good for their fellow-beings, and are not satisfied with merely clearing their own skirts; and they esteem martyrdom a failure at least, if not a fault, in the method of their action. It is not the salvation of their own souls that they are thinking of, but the salvation of the world; and they will not willingly accept a discharge or a rejection in its stead. In their honest and earnest zeal, righteousness and rebuke sin, but they have no quarrel with 'the world that lieth in wickedness,' and their mission is not merely to judge and condemn, but to save alike the oppressor and the oppressed. Their principles and conformable means are the first necessities of a great enterprise, but without right apprehensions and tempers and competent means, the most excellent purposes must utterly fail. Who is sufficient for these things?

Divine Providence has been baffled through all the ages of disorder and suffering for want of fitting agents and adjusted means. Reformations of religion have proved but little better than the substitution of a new error for an old one, and civil revolutions have resolved themselves into mere civil insurrections, until history has become but a monument of buried hopes.

The European movement of 1848 was wanting, neither in theory nor example for its safe direction, but it has nevertheless almost fallen into contempt.

We may not, therefore, rely upon a good cause and good intentions alone, without danger of deplorable disappointment.

The reformation which we purpose, in its utmost scope, is radical and universal. It is not the mere perfecting of a progress already in motion, a detail of some established plan, but it is an epochal movement—the emancipation of a class, the redemption of half the world, and the transforming re-organization of all social, political and industrial interests and institutions. Moreover, it is a movement without example and without precedent, and without traditions, for it has no purpose of arming the oppressed against the oppressor, or of separating the parties, or setting up independence, or of severing the relations of either.

Its intended changes are to be wrought in the intimate texture of all society, organizations, without violence, or any form of antagonism. It seeks to replace the worn out with the living and the beautiful, so as to reconstruct without overturning, and to regenerate without destroying; and nothing of the spirit, tone, temper or method of insurrection, is proper or allowable to us and our work.

Human societies have been long working and fighting their way out of a state so scornfully call barbarism, into what we boastfully call modern civilization; but, as yet, the advancement has been chiefly in ordering and methodizing the lower instincts of our nature, and organizing society under their impulses. The intellect or the masses has received immense development, and the greater affections have got something relieved from the dominion of force; but the institutions among men are not yet modelled after the highest things in our nature. The mass of mankind are still in slavery, and the ignorant man in darkness, on the inference that he cannot use what he does not desire. This is indeed true of the highest attainments of the intellect or the nobler *soul*; and men must learn that the higher faculties must be first awakened, and then gratified, before they have their full force to bear upon the world ministry of *angels* to dependent humanity is the method of Divine Providence, and among men the law of heaven is, the 'elder shall serve the younger.' But let it be remembered that the harder sen overvalue the force which heretofore has figured most in the world's affairs. 'They know not what they do,' in the mere intellectual development most concede in justice and pity to the wrong doers. In the order of things, the material world was to be first subdued. For this coarse conflict, the larger bones and stronger nerves of manhood are especially adapted, and it is a law of muscles and of all matter that might shall overcome right. It is the law of the vegetable world, and it is the law of the animal world, as well as the law of the animal instincts and the physical organization of men too; but it is not the law of mind and of moral affections. They are of that nature which charge themselves with the atonement for all evils, and burden themselves with all the sufferings which they would remove.

This wisdom is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and full of mercy and of good fruits.

Besides the feebler frame, which, under the dynasty of muscles, degrades, there remains even in their justice has got the upper hand of force in the world's judgments, a mysterious and undefined difference of sex that seriously embarrasses the question of equality; or if that is granted in terms, of equal fitness, for avocations and positions which heretofore have been the monopoly of men. Old ideas and habits of mind survive the facts which produced them, as the shadows of night stretch far into the morning, sheltered in nooks and valleys from the rising light; and it is the work of a whole creation day to separate the light from the darkness.

The rule of difference between the sexes must of necessity be the thing which each estimates most highly in the other, and it is not at all wonderful that some of woman's artificial incapacities and slaveries seem to be necessary to some men of her excellencies, just as the chivalry that makes man a butcher of his kind still glares like a glory in the eyes of admiring womanhood; and the more because it raises as much above and unlike her own powers and achievements. Nature does not teach that men and women are equal, but only that they are unlike; and the inferiorities and dependents and dependent that their respective differences in their balance establish, instead of destroying, their equality.

Men are not, by their mere manhood, equal among themselves, but their theoretical equality for all the purposes of justice is more easily seen and allowed than what we are here to claim for women. Higher views, nicer distinctions, and a more philosophy are required to see and feel the truths of woman's rights; and besides, the maxims upon which men distribute justice to each other have had little-or-none for ages, while the doctrine of woman's true relations in life is a new science, the revelation of an advanced age, —perhaps, indeed, the very last grand movement of humanity towards a highest development—too new to be yet fully understood, too grand to grow out of the broad and coarse generalities which the infancy and barbarism of society could comprehend.

The rule of force and fraud must be well nigh overturned, and learning and religion and the fine arts must have cultivated the earth into the tone of wisdom and justice tempered by the most beneficent affections, before woman can be fully installed in her highest office. We must be gentle with the ignorance and patient under the injustice which these causes induce. Long-suffering is a quality of the highest wisdom, and charity beareth all things, for it hopeth all things. It will be seen that I am assuming the point that the redemption of the inferior, if it comes at all, must come from the superior. The elevation of a favored caste can have no other providential purpose than that when it is elevated near enough to goodness and truth, it shall draw up its dependencies with it.

But, however this may be in the affairs of men as they are involved with each other, it is clearly so in the matter of woman's elevation. The tyrant sex, if such we choose to term it, holds such natural and necessary relations to the victims of injustice, that neither rebellion nor revolution, neither defiance nor resistance, nor any mode of assault or defence indeed, can be party antagonism; is either impossible, expedient or proper. Her cause must rest in its justice, and conquer by its converting truth. We take the ground, that whatever has been achieved for the race belongs to her as much as to him or her by the life of that other; for rights cannot be forfeited by way of salvage, and they are in their nature unpurchasable and ineliminable.

We claim for woman a full and generous investiture of all the blessings which the other sex has solely or by her aid achieved for themselves. We appeal from their injustice and selfishness to their principles and affections.

For some centuries now, the best of them have been asserting, with their lives, the liberties and rights of the world, and have died for the few endowed with the highest intellect, the largest frame, or even the soonest morals, that the claim has been examined, and boldly and nobly asserted; and it has been held that wherever a faculty is given, its highest activities are chartered by the Creator, and all objects alike, whether high or lower in the necessities of an animal life or to the superior powers of the human soul, and so become wants more imperative, because nobler than the bread that perishes in the use, are equally sacred, open and free to ALL; and that all artificial restraints, for whatever reason imposed, are alike culpable for their presumption, their folly, and their wrong.

It is pitiable ignorance and arrogance for either man or woman now to prescribe and limit the sphere of woman. It remains for the greatest women whom appropriate culture and favorable influences shall yet develop, to say and to show what are woman's capacities and relations in the world.

We will not concede woman's claim of an equality which means identity or resemblance of faculty and function. I do not base her claims upon any such parallelism of constitution or attainment. I ask for her the right to develop her powers of her powers, the conditions most favorable for her possibilities of growth, and, the full play of all those incentives, which have made men, and women and then, with all her natural impulses and the whole heaven of hope to invite: I ask that she shall fill the place that she can attain to, without settling any unnecessary limits beforehand. Let the world and people gossip about for want of principles of truth, or the faculty to reason upon them.

But it is not with the topics of our reform and the discussion of them that I am now concerned. It is of its position in the world's opinion, and the cause, that I am thinking; and I am fearful that some aggressions as in the method and manner of successful advocacy from the inquiry; but especially am I solicitous that the good cause may suffer no detriment from the manner and temper of its friends, I assume, or the spirit with which they shall maintain them. It is fair to presume that such causes as have been long and successfully resisted by the majority of the governing sex, must also more or less darken the counsels of those most anxious for truth and right. If our demand were simply for chartered rights, and the recognition of a mere acknowledgment in paper constitutions, there would be no ground of doubt. We could plead our common humanity, and the equal justice which is the Divine mode in saying that the natural right of self-government is so clearly due to every human being alike, that it needs no argument; and if some or a majority of women should not prefer it, there would be no ground for taking it from those who would. And the question of the control and enjoyment of her own property or earnings would be a plain and simple one to claim and assure, needs only to be stated to command instant assent. Her appropriate avocations might not be so easily settled that a programme could be completed which would satisfy everybody; but we need argue no such difficulties while we ask only for liberty of choice, and opportunities of adaptation; and the question of her education is solved by the simple principle, that whatever she can receive is her absolute due.

Yet all these points being so easily disposed of, so far as they are mere matters of controversy, the advocates of the right need none the less the wisest and kindest consideration for all the resistance we encounter from the fact that it is a reform of interest under the injustice and insolence to which we must expose ourselves. And we can help ourselves to much of the kindness we need, and to the wisdom we shall need, by treating the prejudices of the public as considerately as if they were principles, and the customs of society as if they once had some foundation in reason, and as if men were with the greater force for all the consequence which we concede to them. For a prejudice is just like any other error of judgment, and it is a common weakness for some fitness to things more or less necessary, and is not an utter absurdity, even though the reason on which it is founded is not the one assigned. We may say that there is nothing serious, or respectable, or just, in the repugnance with which our propositions are received? The politician who knows his own interest and purpose, will be willing to wish to save his wife and daughter from the taint, and he must be excused, too, for not knowing that the sacrifice of himself is secured by the saving virtue for which he dreads the risk.

There may be real though very foolish tenderness in the motive which refuses to see woman in the professions that men could cultivate and practice with equal profit and credit to herself. The chivalry that worships womanhood is not mean, though, it is the same time unlikely to secure the objects of its overfond care.

And it is even possible that men may deprive themselves of many important liberties, personal and political, with the kindly purpose of accommodating their supposed incapacities for the offices and duties of human life. The rude philosophy and harsh words will neither weaken the opposition, nor strengthen our bands. Our address is to the highest sentiment of the times, and the tone and spirit due to it and becoming our success, are courtesy and respectfulness. All the strength and truth of complaint, and all the eloquence of denunciation, are easy of attainment, but the wisdom of affirming principles and positive science, and the adjustment of reformatory measures to the exigencies of the times and circumstances, are just as much more useful as they are more difficult. A profound expediency, as true to principle as it is careful of success, is, above all things, difficult and necessary. We have to claim liberty without its usually associated independence. We must insist on separate property where the interests are identical, and a division of profits where the very basis of the partnership is blended. We must demand provisions for differences of policy, where there should be no shadow of controversy; and the free choice of woman's sphere of her excellencies, just as the chivalry that makes man a butcher of his kind still glares like a glory in the eyes of admiring womanhood; and the more because it raises as much above and unlike her own powers and achievements. Nature does not teach that men and women are equal, but only that they are unlike; and the inferiorities and related and dependent that their respective differences in their balance establish, instead of destroying, their equality.

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