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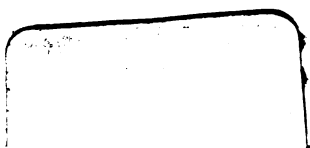


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**THE GIFT OF**  
**Edna Lamprey Stantial**

**WOMAN'S RIGHTS**  
**COLLECTION**







THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION,

HELD AT SYRACUSE,

SEPTEMBER 8th, 9th & 10th, 1852.

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PRINTED BY J. E. MASTERS,  
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## P R E F A C E .

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Before Woman's Rights Conventions were held, the way for the movement was prepared, by petitions from women and men of several different States, asking for a recognition by the State, of her civil rights. At length the Legislature of Rhode Island essentially modified its statutes relative to the right of married women, to hold and control property. New York, after fourteen years petitioning, has done the same, and more recently Indiana also.

The first Conventions on the subject were held at Seneca Falls, and Rochester, N. Y., in the summer of 1848. They based their claims on the Declaration of Independence: demanded equal rights; published their sentiments over their own names; at the head of the list stood the name of Lucretia Mott.

A similar Convention was held at Salem, Ohio, in May, 1850, an able report of which was published, and widely circulated.

The first National Convention was held at Worcester, Mass., Oct. 1850,—the call for which was as follows :

### A CONVENTION

Will be held at WORCESTER, Mass., on the 23d and 24th of October next, (agreeably to the appointment of a preliminary meeting held at Boston, on the 30th of May last,) to consider the question of WOMAN'S RIGHTS, DUTIES, and RELATIONS; and the Men and Women of our country, who feel sufficient interest in the great subject to give an earnest thought and effective effort to its rightful adjustment, are invited to meet each other in free conference, at the time and place appointed.



The upward-tending spirit of the age, busy in a hundred forms of effort for the world's redemption from the sins and sufferings which oppress it, has brought this one, which yields to none in importance and urgency, into distinguished prominence. One half of the race are its immediate objects, and the other half are as deeply involved, by that absolute unity of interest and destiny which nature has established between them.

The neighbor is near enough to involve every human being in a general equality of rights and community of interests ; but, Men and Women, in their reciprocities of love and duty, are one flesh and one blood—mother, wife, sister and daughter come so near the heart and mind of every man, that they must be either his blessing or his bane. Where there is such mutuality of interests, such an interlinking of life, there can be no real antagonism of position and action. The sexes should not, for any reason, or by any chance, take hostile attitudes toward each other, either in the apprehension or amendment of the wrongs which exist in their necessary relations ; but they should harmonize in opinion and co-operate in effort, for the reason that they must unite in the ultimate achievement of the desired reformation.

Of the many points now under discussion and demanding a just settlement, the general question of Woman's Rights and Relations comprehends such as : Her EDUCATION, *Literary, Scientific, and Artistic* ;—Her AVOCATIONS, *Industrial, Commercial, and Professional* ;—Her INTERESTS, *Pecuniary, Civil, and Political* ; in a word—her RIGHTS as an *Individual*, and her FUNCTIONS as a *Citizen*.

No one will pretend that all these interests, embracing, as they do, all that is not merely animal in a human life, are rightly understood or justly provided for in the existing social order. Nor is it any more true that the constitutional differences of the sexes, which should determine, define and limit the resulting differences of office and duty, are adequately comprehended and practically observed.

Woman has been condemned, from her greater delicacy of physical organization, to inferiority of intellectual and moral culture, and to the forfeiture of great social, civil and religious privileges. In the relation of marriage, she has been ideally annihilated, and actually enslaved in all that concerns her personal and pecuniary rights ; and even in widowhood and single life, she is oppressed with such limitation and degradation of labor and avocation as clearly and cruelly mark the condition of a disabled caste. But, by the inspiration of the Almighty, the beneficent spirit of reform is roused to the redress of these wrongs. The tyranny which degrades and crushes wives and mothers, sits no longer lightly on the world's conscience—the heart's home-worship feels the stain of stooping at a dishonored altar—Manhood begins to feel the shame of muddying the springs from which it draws its highest life ; and, Womanhood is everywhere awakening to assert its divinely chartered rights, and to fulfil

its noblest duties. It is the spirit of reviving truth and righteousness which has moved upon the great deep of the public heart, and aroused its redressing justice; and, through it, the Providence of God is vindicating the order and appointments of his creation.

The signs are encouraging; the time is opportune. Come, then, to this Convention. It is your duty, if you are worthy of your age and country. Give the help of your best thought to separate the light from the darkness. Wisely give the protection of your name and the benefit of your efforts to the great work of settling the principles, devising the method, and achieving the success of this high and holy movement.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Lucy Stone,	B. S. Treanor,	Dr. — Rogers,
Wm. H. Channing,	Mary M. Brooks,	Eliza F. Taft,
Harriet K. Hunt,	T. W. Higginson,	Dr. A. C. Taft,
A. Bronson Alcott,	Mary E. Higginson,	Charles K. Whipple,
Nathaniel Barney,	Emily Winslow,	Mary Bullard,
Eliza Barney,	R. Waldo Emerson,	Emma C. Goodwin,
Wendell Phillips,	Wm. L. Garrison,	Abby Price,
Ann Greene Phillips,	Helen E. Garrison,	Thankful Southwick,
Adin Ballou,	Charles F. Hovey,	Eliza J. Kenney,
Anna Q. T. Parsons,	Sarah Earle,	Louisa M. Sewall,
Mary H. L. Cabot,	Abby K. Foster,	Sarah Southwick,

## RHODE ISLAND.

Sarah H. Whitman,	Sarah Brown,	George Clarke,
Thomas Davis,	Elizabeth Chase,	Mary Adams,
Paulina W. Davis,	Mary Clarke,	George Adams,
Joseph A. Barker,	John L. Clarke,	

## NEW YORK.

Gerrit Smith,	Charlotte G. Coffin,	Joseph Savage,
Nancy Smith,	Mary G. Taber,	L. N. Fowler,
Elizabeth C. Stanton,	Elizabeth S. Miller,	Lydia Fowler,
Catharine Wilkinson,	Elizabeth Russell,	Sarah Smith,
Samuel J. May,	Stephen Smith,	Charles D. Miller,
Charlotte C. May,	Rosa Smith,	

## PENNSYLVANIA.

William Elder,	Jane G. Swisshelm,	Myra Townsend,
Sarah Elder,	Charlotte Darlington,	Mary Grew,
Sarah Tyndale,	Simon Barnard,	Sarah Lewis,
Warner Justice,	Lucretia Mott,	Sarah Pugh,

Huldah Justice,	James Mott,	Hannah Darlington,
William Swisshelm,	W. S. Pierce,	Sarah D. Barnard.

## MARYLAND.

Mrs. Eliza Stewart.

## OHIO.

Elizabeth Wilson,	Mary Cowles,	Benjamin S. Jones,
Mary A. Johnson,	Maria L. Giddings,	Lucius A. Hine,
Oliver Johnson,	Jane Elizabeth Jones,	Sylvia Cornell.

The Report of this Convention had the honor of eliciting the able article in the Westminster Review for July, 1851. State Conventions have been since held in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio. In the last named, a State Woman's Rights Society has been formed—the first and only one yet in existence. Another National Convention was held in Massachusetts, October, 1851. The third at Syracuse.

# PROCEEDINGS.

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WEDNESDAY, Sept. 8th, 1852.

MORNING SESSION.

Pursuant to a call of the Central Committee, the Convention assembled at the City Hall.

PAULINA W. DAVIS, President of the Central Committee, called the meeting to order. Prayer was offered for the success of the cause, by Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse. Lucy Stone, Secretary *pro tem.*, read the call :

## THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION,

HELD IN WORCESTER, OCT. 22D AND 23D, 1851, ADJOURNED TO MEET  
IN SYRACUSE, N. Y., SEPT. 8TH, 9TH AND 10TH, 1852.

The friends of equality, justice and truth, are earnestly invited to assemble there, at that time, to discuss the important question of reform, technically termed Woman's Rights.

We propose not only to review the past, and consider the present, but to mark out new and broader paths for the opening future.

The time has come, not only for the examination and discussion of Woman's social, civil and religious Rights, but also for a thorough and efficient organization—a well-digested plan of operation, whereby these social rights, for which our fathers fought, bled and died, may be secured, and enjoyed by us. Let woman no longer supinely endure the evils she may escape, but with her own right hand carve out for herself a higher, nobler destiny than has heretofore been hers.

Inasmuch as, through the folly and imbecility of woman, the race is what it is, dwarfed in mind and body, and as, through her alone, it can yet be redeemed, all are equally interested in the objects of this Convention.

We therefore solemnly urge those men and women who desire, and look for, the development and elevation of the race, to be present at the coming Convention, and aid us by the wisdom of their counsels. Our platform will, as ever, be free to all who are capable of discussing the subject with seriousness, candor and truth.

On behalf of the Central Committee,  
 ELIZABETH C. STANTON,  
 PAULINA W. DAVIS,  
 WILLIAM H. CHANNING,  
 LUCY STONE,  
 SAMUEL J. MAY.

In commenting on this document, Lucy Stone hoped all present would have something to say—even if adverse to the movement. Some women's voices were never heard beyond the fireside, and for this reason they did not speak out as they ought: the voice, like everything else, would improve by practice. Especially should they be heard when votes are taken.

The following Committee, announced by the President, as agreed on at a preliminary meeting, was appointed to nominate officers for the Convention.:

ERNESTINE L. ROSE, JAMES MOTT, GRIFFITH M. COOPER, CLARINA H. I. NICHOLS, LUCRETIA MOTT, REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, LYDIA P. SAVAGE, PLINY SEXTON, SARAH HALLOCK, AMY POST, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

The President read the following letter from Mr. G. W. JONSON, of Buffalo, Chairman of the N. Y. State Central Committee of the Liberty Party:

*To the National Woman's Rights Convention, Syracuse:—*

I send you ten dollars, and the following sentiments:

1. WOMAN—Hers—equally with man—the inalienable Right to Education, Suffrage, Office, Property, Professions, Titles, and Honors—to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. False to our sex, as well as to her own, and false to herself and to God, is the woman who approves, or who submits, without resist-

ance or protest, to the social and political wrongs imposed upon her, in common with the rest of her sex throughout the world.

Respectfully,

G. W. JONSON.

Buffalo, Sept. 7, 1852.

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Also one from HORACE GREELEY :—

NEW-YORK, Sept. 1st, 1852.

*My Friend* :—I have once or twice been urged to attend a Convention of the advocates of Woman's Rights ; and, though compliance has never been within my power, I have a right to infer that some friends of the cause desire suggestions from me with regard to the best means of advancing it. I therefore venture to submit some thoughts on that subject.

To my mind, the BREAD problem lies at the base of all the desirable and practical reforms which our age meditates. Not that Bread is intrinsically more important to man than Temperance, Intelligence, Morality and Religion ; but, that it is essential to the just appreciation and healthful acquisition of all these. Vainly do we preach the blessings of Temperance to human beings cradled in hunger, and suffering at intervals the agonies of famine ; idly do we commend Intellectual culture to those whose minds are daily racked with the dark problem, "How shall we procure food for the morrow?" Morality, Religion, are but words to him who fishes in gutters for the means of sustaining life, and crouches behind barrels in the street, for shelter from the cutting blasts of a winter's night.

Before all questions of Intellectual Training, or Political Franchises for Women—not to speak of such a trifle as costume—do I place the question of enlarged opportunities for work—of a more extended and diversified field of employment. The Silk Culture and Manufacture, firmly established and thriftily prosecuted to the extent of our Home demand for Silk—would be worth everything to American Women. Our now feeble and infantile Schools of Design should be encouraged with the same view. A wider and more prosperous development of our Manufacturing Industry will increase the demand for female labor, thus enhancing its average reward and elevating

the social position of Woman. I trust the future has therefore much good in store for the less muscular half of the Human Race.

But the reform here anticipated should be inaugurated in our several homes. I know how idle is the expectation of any general and permanent enhancement of the wages of any class or condition above the level of equation of Supply and Demand; yet, it seems to me that the friends of Woman's Rights may wisely and worthily set the example of paying juster prices, for female assistance in their households, than those now current. If they would but resolve never to pay a capable, efficient woman less than two-thirds the wages paid to a vigorous, effective man employed in some corresponding vocation, they would very essentially aid the movement now in progress for the general recognition and concession of Equal Rights to Woman. Society is clearly unjust to Woman in according her but four to eight dollars per month, for labor equally repugnant with, and more protracted than that of men of equal intelligence and relative efficiency, whose services command from ten to twenty dollars per month. If, then, the friends of Woman's Rights could set the world an example of paying for female service, not the lowest pittance which stern Necessity may compel the defenceless to accept, but an approximately fair and liberal compensation for the work actually done, as determined by a careful comparison with the recompense of other labor, I believe they would give their cause an impulse which could not be permanently resisted.

With profound esteem, Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

Mrs. PAULINA W. DAVIS, Providence, R. I.

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And the following from Mrs. HUGO REID, of England; the author of an able work on Woman, with a preface by Mrs. C. M. KIRKLAND, in which she takes high and true ground.

36, DERBY ROAD, NOTTINGHAM.

Mrs. PAULINA W. DAVIS.

*My Dear Madam* :—I have been very much gratified by the perusal of the Report of the Woman's Rights Convention of October, 1851, a copy of which has been forwarded to me in your name, by my friend Miss FINCH. I have long watched with the greatest interest, the faint indications of progress, which appear in this country,

in the important subject which occupies the attention of your Convention, and was therefore much pleased to see the interesting account of your proceedings on a previous meeting, which had appeared in the Westminster Review, and doubly pleased with your kind attention in sending me the Report of the last meeting. In this country opinion progresses slowly, and is long being matured into action, but everything appears to grow with rapidity in yours; certainly, since the commencement of your agitation, you seem to have made very wonderful advances, in arousing attention and disarming opposition. I hope you will continue to direct great efforts to the obtaining of a full and complete opening up of all educational advantages for women—this, and the giving education a practical turn, as it always has with the other sex, would be an immense advantage for women; it is also one which it seems most unjust to deny, and which is therefore least likely to encounter strong opposition. The Women of America occupy much better ground, from which to extend their sphere of action into the wide world, than those of any European country, and it is therefore only proper that they should lead the van in this noble cause. The American Women, at least in the Northern States, are the only persons of mature age who are liable to exclusions; whereas, in this country, and, I believe, in all the other countries of Europe, the disabilities of the women are shared by an immense majority of their countrymen. This, while it renders less striking the present inequality between the sexes, renders the condition of women more hopeless, for it requires great enthusiasm in women to demand for themselves a fulness of liberty not yet accorded to the whole of their brethren. It is then, for the women of a country whose men are *all* citizens, and who all stand equal before the law, to make a partial assertion of their desire to be placed on the same fair and equal basis. I see with great pleasure that some of your speakers advise those interested in this cause, to press on women the performance of present duty; it is very certain that if we, who have the charge of the rising generation during its most impressive years, would manage to rear a generation of true, just, upright men and women, women would soon be placed in the position which justice demands; and the nearer we approach perfection in the discharge of this duty, the greater progress must our cause make. I myself having done only an apathy too great for me to overcome,



have surrounded myself now with other duties, which leave me little time to do more than welcome, with warm interest, such tidings as those you have recently sent us across the ocean. \* \* \* \*

Believe me, dear Madam,

Yours most truly,

MARION REID.

In the absence of the Nominating Committee, LUCY STONE briefly alluded to that portion of Mrs. REID's Letter which speaks of the advantages possessed by the women of America over those of England, where a large part of the men are disfranchised, as well as women. She said, that if the men of this country were denied the right of suffrage, they would make common cause with woman against a common enemy. Whereas, now, instead of the earnest co-operation that a deep personal interest would give, we have, with a few noble exceptions, only their sympathy.

She gave way for the Nominating Committee, who reported the following as permanent officers of the Convention :

PRESIDENT.

LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

PAULINA W. DAVIS, of Rhode Island.

E. OAKES SMITH, of New York.

CLARINA H. I. NICHOLS, of Vermont.

GERRIT SMITH, of New York.

SARAH MILLER, of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARIES.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

MARTHA C. WRIGHT.

SAMUEL J. MAY.

LYDIA F. FOWLER.

As the question on the adoption of the report was about being put, Mrs. MOTT arose and stated, that as there might be objections to her appointment, she desired that the vote on each officer might be taken separately. The Chairman (Mrs. DAVIS) put the question accordingly, and the entire audience, with the exception of her husband, voted that Mrs. MOTT should preside.

The President and other officers, who also were unanimously elected, having taken their seats, the President remarked, that she was unpractised in parliamentary proceedings, shrinking ever from such positions, and was therefore quite unprepared for anything like a suitable speech. She invoked, however, great and heartfelt attention to the business before them, dispensing with all egotism or self-display. She referred also to the success that had attended this movement in the past—to the respect with which the press had spoken of our proceedings—and the favor of the public generally. She suggested some things, relative to the proprieties of the present meeting—its business, &c. She said, let it not be supposed, because certain preliminaries had been entered into, that therefore the entire responsibility rested upon a few—but enjoined upon all to take their liberty, and each to feel free to act as moved by his, or her, present convictions.

On motion of ERNESTINE L. ROSE, a business committee was appointed, viz :

E. OAKES SMITH,	SARAH L. MILLER,
LUCY STONE,	JAMES MOTT,
C. M. SEVERANCE,	ERNESTINE L. ROSE,
PAULINA W. DAVIS,	ELIZABETH W. PHILLIPS,
HARRIET K. HUNT,	PLINY SEXTON,
GERRIT SMITH,	BENJAMIN S. JONES,
JANE ELIZABETH JONES.	

The President invited all present to participate in the discussion, whether in favor or opposed—members of the Convention only, being entitled to a vote.

Mr. MAY read the following letter from WM. H. CHANNING, of Boston :

*My Dear Sir* :—Thanks for your cordial and earnest call to the Convention next week. Up to the very last moment, I have hoped

to be present; and have for months proposed to take a more efficient part in that movement, than I have heretofore been able to do. But now, greatly to my regret, I see that there is no probability of my being able to leave home. For three weeks past, my youngest child has been lying at the brink of the grave. And, though within a day or two, our physician encourages us, I have myself but feeble hope of her recovery. At any rate, it seems impossible for her to be well enough, for me to feel any freedom of heart or will to leave her and her exhausted mother, next week. If I can find a few minutes to write you more fully my views, I shall certainly do so; for I feel it to be a solemn duty, never for a moment to appear lukewarm in that cause, so long as it is misunderstood and scoffed at.—But if no letter comes from me, you will please to understand, that silence is owing to fatigue and absorbing cares.

Yours faithfully,

W. H. CHANNING.

Rev. S. J. MAY.

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The President proposed, in the absence of the Business Committee, the reading of the Declaration of Sentiments, by Ann Preston, adopted at the West Chester Convention, and printed by that Convention in tract form. The Address was then read by Martha C. Wright, one of the Secretaries.

C. H. I. NICHOLS read a sentiment from the Address, and remarked with great pathos and earnestness: There is no limit to personal responsibility. Our duties are as wide as the world, and as far reaching as the bonds of human endeavor. Woman and Man must act together—she, *his* helper. She has no sphere peculiar to herself, because she could not then be his helper. She spoke at length, upon the mutual dependence of the sexes, and of the nature of these obligations. She spoke of the need of woman's elevation, for the sake of the race, urging her to seek influence, to seek independence, to seek representation, in order to use all for the good and the advancement of human elevation. When men would kindly set aside woman from the National Councils, they say the moral field belongs to her; and this is the reason why we should seek a more elevated position, because her moral susceptibilities are greater than those of man.

Mrs. MOTT thought differently from Mrs. N., that woman's moral feelings were more elevated than man's. She thought that with the same opportunities for development, there would probably be about an equal manifestation of virtue.

Mrs. NICHOLS further remarked, that representation was necessary for free government, and taxation without it is tyranny. But this principle was violated in regard to woman, though their fathers had fought and bled for it, so many years ago. Woman was permitted to vote in Banks and Railroad corporations, because her money could not be got, in any other way, therefore, a right womanly way was found for her to vote.

E. OAKES SMITH, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions :

Inasmuch as many of the Institutions handed down to us from the past, like heir-looms, are felt to be (though time-honored) hindrances to human progress, or to the spread of that Divine Truth which gives light to the world ; therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is our duty to examine these Institutions, and to ascertain which of them are still worthy of our honor and support—which we should seek to reform, and which wholly to cast aside.

*Resolved*, That it is the right of every woman holding property, and as a citizen also of this Republic, to resist taxation, till such time as she is fully represented at the Ballot Box.

Mrs ROSE suggested that the Resolutions be discussed separately.

LUCY STONE proposed that all the resolutions be laid on the table, till toward the close of the Convention, so as to allow free range of discussion, which should be subject only to the law of benevolence.

After some remarks from SAMUEL J. MAY, in favor of the suggestion, the Convention adjourned.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President took the Chair at 2 o'clock. The Hall was rapidly filling. The greatest interest was manifested, not only by those present, but by many throughout the city. The movement was spoken of, in terms of respect, by those who had been wont to ridicule the cause.

LYDIA F. FOWLER read the minutes of the morning session.

GERRIT SMITH, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions :

*Resolved*, That the demand of woman is not for privileges, nor favor, nor employments, nor honors, but for *Rights*.

*Resolved*, That the right of human beings to their own persons, their own earnings and property, and to participate in the choice of their civil rulers, are rights which belong as naturally, absolutely and fully to woman as to man.

*Resolved*, That we beseech woman never to consent to hold any of these sacred rights in abeyance, and never to consent to exchange any of them for bribes and privileges, or favors, or flatteries, however alluring or seductive.

E. OAKES SMITH then addressed the Convention as follows :

My Friends, do we realize for what purpose we are convened? Do we fully understand that we aim at nothing less than an entire subversion of the existing order of society, a dissolution of the whole existing social compact? Do we see that it is not an error of to-day, nor of yesterday, against which we are lifting up the voice of dissent; but it is against hoary-headed error of all times; error borne onward from the first footprints of the first pair ejected from Paradise—in-termingled in every aspect of civilization, down to our own times. In view of this, it does seem to me, that we should each and all feel as if anointed, sanctified, set apart as to a great mission. It seems to me, that we who struggle to restore the divine human to the world, should feel as if under the very eye of the Eternal Searcher of all hearts, who will reject any sacrifice other than a pure offering.

We are said to be a few, disaffected, embittered women, met for the purpose of giving vent to petty personal spleen, and domestic discontent. We repel the charge—and I call upon every woman here to repel the charge. If we have personal wrongs—here is not the place for redress. If we have private griefs, (and what human heart, in a large sense, is without them,) we do not come here to recount them. The grave will lay its cold honors over the hearts of all here present, before the good we ask for our kind, will be realized to the world. We shall pass onward to other spheres of existence, but we trust the seed we shall here plant, will ripen to a glorious harvest. We “see the end from the beginning,” and rejoice in spirit. We care not, that we shall not reach the fruits of our toil, for we know in times to come, it will be seen to be a glorious work.

Bitterness is the child of wrong; if any one of our number has become embittered, (which God forbid,) it is because social wrong has so penetrated to the inner life, that we are crucified thereby, and

taste the gall and vinegar, with the Divine Master. All who take their stand against false institutions are in some sense embittered. The conviction of wrong has wrought mightily in them. Their large hearts took in the whole sense of human woe, and bled for those who had become brutalized by its weight, and they spoke as never man spake in his own individualism, but as the embodied race will speak, when the full time shall come. Thus Huss and Wickliffe, and Luther spoke, and the men of '76.

No woman has come here to talk over her private griefs, and detail the small coin of personal anecdote; and yet did woman speak of the wrongs, which unjust legislation—the wrongs, which corrupt public opinion—the wrongs, which false social aspects have fastened upon us—wrong which she hides beneath smiles, and conceals with womanly endurance—did she give voice to all this, her smiles would seem so hollow, and her endurance so divine, that her brow would be encircled with the halo of a Saint.

But we are not here from a petty personal motive. We have not left our firesides for any purpose inconsistent with its sanctities.—Were we ambitious, we should seek a field less obnoxious to public opinion—did we desire notoriety, as is so often said of us, in a bad sense, this is not the field in which to win it, for here the one is lost in the many. No, it is only a deep, holy sense of good to be done for our kind, that has compelled us from the sanctities of home, that we may here say what our pulpits dare not utter, God's truth altho' it is; and that we may challenge our Legislators to an account of their stewardship.

We are but a handful, it is true, to resist the combined forces of prejudice and oppression; and we now say, if any one of our number dreads the contest, let him, or her, go out from amongst us *now*, for we that remain are prepared to stand like the band at Thermopylæ of old. Let this Syracuse, already known as the watchword of Freedom, be *our* Thermopylæ, and here let us enter our solemn Protest, and prepare to bide the issue. Let us protest against Law in which we have no voice; against Legislation in which we are not represented; against a Democracy in which half of the people are denied the rights of Citizenship. I call upon every woman here to enter her solemn protest against a country claiming to be free, and yet denying to her the rights of a citizen.

Men gravely tell us we are unfit for the positions to which we

aspire—they say we are unfit for legislators, and therefore we must not vote, while the squalid emigrant, who can neither read nor write, is admitted to a privilege denied to the American matron. Because women cannot all of them do that which only the wisest of men are capable of doing, must we therefore do nothing? Because we have n't the heads of gladiators and pugilists, must we be denied the use of what little brain we do happen to possess? This reminds me of an anecdote of a poor Scotch woman who was telling about the rising in the North, for Prince Charles, in which a certain Highland Lord lost his head: "to be sure," she added, "it was nae much of a head, but ye ken it was all the world to the puir mon."

I trust this will not be a mere talking Convention. We have talked long enough. For years brave women have talked and have appealed to us who are younger in the work, and have encountered nothing but contempt and odium. We are stronger now. I have been to the North and the West, and must go to the South, and find thousands ready to respond, if they knew what to do. Again, I say, let us have done with so much talk, and let us act. Let us take our right.

It was a great point gained in our humanity, when woman felt herself able to speak at all, and make her grief known. Of all the miracles of Jesus, that in which he rebuked the *dumb* devil, is the one most to our mind. But too much talking, buries the subject under the weight of words. The Lacon is brief, pithy, and home to the purpose. Your great talkers are poor actors—their enthusiasm evaporates in words; they grow charmed with their own eloquence, and let occasion slip by.

I hope this Convention will be an acting Convention. \* \* \*

Let us pledge ourselves to the support of a paper in which our views shall be fairly presented to the world. At our last Convention, in Worcester, I presented a Prospectus for such paper, which I will request hereafter to be read here. We can do little or nothing without such an organ. We have no opportunity now to repel slander, and are restricted in disseminating truth, from the want of such an organ. The Tribune, and some other papers in the country, have treated us generously; but a paper to represent us, must be sustained by ourselves. We must look to our own resources.—We must *work out our own* salvation, and God grant it be not with fear and trembling. Woman must henceforth be the redeemer, the

regenerator of the world. We plead not for ourselves alone, but for Humanity. We must place woman upon a higher platform, and she will raise the race to her side. We must have no more outcasts—no more judicial murders—no more Helots in the land. Frail, miserable women, and murderous men, must disappear before the pure Gospel of divine love which we design to preach. The newspaper and the lecture room have become greater than the pulpit—more effective in stirring up human hearts to great movements. Let us pledge ourselves to the support of these, in the work in which we are engaged. We must work more diligently than in times past, that our sons may be fitted to nobler humanitarian purposes. We must help to cleanse the venality of the ballot-box, and help also to free our Legislative Halls, not only from injustice, but rowdyism. Yes, we have looked to the pulpit, but in vain; and now, in spite of St. Paul, we must ourselves preach. We have looked to Legislation, and now, despite our Solons, we must vote.

Do not mind the pratings about woman's sphere. Our Brothers know woman makes any sphere she chooses to fill, lovely. The maiden may be fair; the mother holy and tender; but the mature woman, grand in her serene wisdom, giving the law, not only to her household, but to the country also, is more than this—she is beautiful, august.

Again, I say, let us not talk, but act. We should have a literature of our own, a printing press and publishing house, and tract writers, and tract distributors, as well as Lecturers and Conventions. We must show to the world that we are in earnest; and yet I say this to a race of beggars, for women have no pecuniary resources. Well, then, we must work, we must hold property, and claim the consequent right to representation, or refuse to be taxed.

Our aim is nothing less than an overthrow of our present partial Legislation, that every American Citizen, whether man or woman, may have a voice in the laws by which we are governed. We do not aim at any idle destruction, but while we would *pull down* our present *out-worn* and *imperfect* structure of human institutions, we will help to reconstruct it, upon a new and broader base, which shall hereafter show a perfect and harmonious Temple.

Mr. HOWLETT, of Syracuse, called up the resolution in favor of resisting taxation, and advocated it.



LUCY STONE moved that it be laid on the table, and that the three last introduced be taken up for discussion. She said they were the point of the whole question. They provided that women should vote; a proposition new, and opposed by men and women. What we want is reason, and we pledge ourselves to abide by the conclusions of reason. She invited those that were opposed to express their views.

The motion was carried, and the reading called for.

LUCY STONE next addressed the Convention.

It seems to me, that the claims we make at these Conventions are self-evident truths. The second resolution affirms the right of human beings to their persons and earnings. Is not that self-evident? Yet the common law which regulates the relation of husband and wife, and which is modified only in a very few instances where there are statutes to the contrary, gives the "custody" of the wife's person to her husband, so that he has a right to her, even against herself. It gives him her earnings, no matter with what weariness they have been acquired, or how greatly she may need them for herself and children. It gives him the right to her personal property, which he may will entirely from her—also the use of her real estate—and in some of the States, married women, insane persons, and idiots, are ranked together as not fit to make a will. So that she is left with only one right, which she enjoys in common with the pauper, viz: the right of maintenance. Indeed, when she has taken the sacred marriage vow, her legal existence ceases. We are asked to trust our husbands, fathers and brothers still, when, having trusted them, they have made such havoc of our rights.

And what is our position politically? Why, the foreigner, who can't speak his mother tongue correctly—the negro, who to our shame we regard as fit only for a boot-black, and whose dead even, we bury by themselves—and the drunkard, all are entrusted with the ballot—all placed by men, politically higher than their own mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. The woman who, seeing and feeling all this, dare not maintain her rights, is the woman to hang her head and blush. We ask only for justice, and equal rights—the right to vote—the right to our earnings—equality before the laws. These are the Gibraltar of our cause.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, of N. Y., claimed that man cannot represent woman. They differ in their natures and relations. The law

is wholly masculine: it is created and executed by our type or class of the man nature. The framers of all legal compacts are thus restricted to the masculine stand-point of observation—to the thoughts, feelings, and biases of men. The law, then, could give us no representation as women, and therefore, no impartial justice, even if the present law-makers were honestly intent upon this; for we can be represented only by our peers.

It is to be expected, then, under the present administration, that woman should be the legal subject of man, legally reduced to pecuniary dependence upon him; that the mother should have lower legal claims upon her children than the father, and that, in short, woman should be in all respects the legal inferior of man, though entitled to full equality. Here is the fact, and its cause.

When woman is tried for crime, her jury, her judges, her advocates, are all men; and yet there may have been temptations and various palliating circumstances connected with her peculiar nature, as woman, such as man cannot appreciate. Common justice must demand, then, that a part of the law-makers and law executors should be of her own sex. In questions of marriage and divorce, affecting interests dearer than life, both parties in the compact are entitled to an equal voice. Then the influences which arise from the relations of the sexes, when left to be exerted in our halls of justice, would at least cause decency, and propriety of conduct to be maintained there; but now, low minded men are encouraged to jest openly in Court, over the most sacred and most delicate subjects. *From the nature of things*, the guilty woman cannot now have justice done her at the professed tribunals of justice; and the innocent but wronged woman is constrained to suffer on in silence, rather than ask for redress.

E. L. ROSE, of New York, maintained that they were at work as well for the benefit of man as woman. Miss Brown truly represented the injustice done woman. Whether man or woman differ mentally, or not, in either case, is she not entitled to Equal Rights? She argued this point at considerable length, and with much spirit. She demanded that justice be done woman. Do away with injustice, and the work is done. Give woman her right to vote, and all the rest follows.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN admitted that if we regard the natures of men and women as exactly identical, this is virtually asserting their equality in rights. All the rights of a common humanity should be

claimed on that ground. But the world recognizes a difference in the mental as well as physical characteristics of the sexes. Our social and civil relations are many of them based almost entirely upon these differences. In so far then as they do exist, one sex cannot represent the other, and injustice must be done to the unrepresented class.

Woman has a right to go into any or every department of public life, because this is a human right. She is needed in every department, because she is woman, and man cannot perform her work.— Let her go there, and be true to her own nature. God recognized at the creation the fact that the two great classes of mind are needed to work together. they are both necessary in every department of human effort. Neither can be discarded without results fatal both to justice and to morality. The *civil* and *political* departments are fair illustrations of these results.

CLARINA I. H. NICHOLS, of Vermont, Editor of the Windham County Democrat, said :

There is one peculiarity in the laws affecting women's property rights which, as it has not, to my knowledge, been presented for the consideration of the public, except by myself, to a limited extent, in private conversations and otherwise, I wish to present here. It is the unconstitutionality of laws cutting off the wife's right of dower. It is a provision of our National and State Constitutions, that property rights shall not be confiscated for political, or other offences against the laws. Yet in all the States, if I am rightly informed, the wife forfeits her right of dower, in case of divorce for infidelity to the marriage vow. In Massachusetts, and several other States, if the wife desert her husband for any cause, and he procure a divorce on the ground of her desertion, she forfeits her right of dower. But it is worthy of remark, that in no case is the right of the husband to possess and control the estate which is their joint accumulation, set aside ; no, not even when the wife procures a divorce for the most aggravated abuse and infidelity combined. She, the innocent party, goes out childless and portionless, by the decree of law ; and he, the criminal, retains home, and children, by the favor of the same law. I claim, friends, that the laws which cut off the wife's right of dower, in any case, do confiscate property rights, and hence are *unconstitutional*.

The property laws compel the wife to seek divorce, in order to protect her earnings for the support of her children. A rum-drinker took

his wife's clothing to pay his rum bill, and the Justice decided that the clothing could be held, because the wife belonged to him.

She then offered the following—

*Resolved*, That equally involved as they are in the Natural Relations which lie at the base of all society, the sexes are equally entitled to all the rights necessary to the discharge of the duties of those relations.

She went on to say, only under the common law of England has woman been deprived of her natural rights. Instances are common where the husband's aged parents are supported, and the wife's parents left paupers, and the wife's earnings thus employed. She had asked judges why the personal property was not allotted to the widow, and had been informed that it was because if she should marry again, the second husband would obtain that property. A second wrong to remedy the first one perpetrated! A man had told her that his wife was feeble, and had not earned the property, and was not justly entitled to an equal share. He remarked that she had had nine children! Which is of the most importance, the children a woman bears, or the bread and butter they eat? This is a delicate question, and I appeal to the women here to sustain me.

Mrs. N.'s remarks were continued in this strain, to the great satisfaction of the mass of the audience, who frequently manifested applause.

E. L. ROSE inquired if it would be in order to move the adoption of the resolutions, but it was decided best to lay them over until tomorrow.

E. O. SMITH presented the following Resolution, offered by LUCRETIA MOTT:

*Resolved*, That as the imbruted slave, who is content with his own lot, and would not be free if he could, if any such there be, only gives evidence of the depth of his degradation—so the woman who is satisfied with her inferior condition, averring that she has all the rights that she wants, does but exhibit the enervating effects of the wrongs to which she is subjected.

The above was laid on the table, for further consideration.

E. OAKES SMITH offered the following—

Whereas, modern society is such that human freedom, in its best sense, can only be secured by pecuniary independence,  
Therefore—

*Resolved*, That every woman should engage herself in Literature, the Fine Arts, Professions, Agriculture, Commerce, or whatever

honorable occupation best adapted to her capabilities, that she may thus remove the stain from labor, and work out her own emancipation.

This resolution was laid on the table, till after those having precedence should be disposed of.

The President declared the session closed.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention met at a quarter before seven. House crowded. President in the Chair.

LYDIA F. FOWLER read the minutes of the afternoon session.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY read the Resolutions.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH read the following letter from JOHN NEAL, Esq., of Portland :

PORTLAND, July 28, 1852.

*My Dear Friend :—*

\* \* \* \* \* Mothers are not only the earliest, but the best teachers of man. What children are, when their mothers have done with them, and passed them over to their fathers, *that will their country be*, after a few years. Before the influence of a father is felt, the foundations of character are laid for life. The temper is formed—the habits are begun—the affections are in flower. Happen what may, chance or change, evil or good, it is the mother's milk, and not the father's fire—the mother's love, and not the father's reason, that shapes the child.

But how is a mother to lay the foundations of political knowledge, in a country like ours—a deep, safe and lasting knowledge, in her sons, the future Law-givers and President-makers of their day, unless the great principle for which our fathers bled, with all its consequences, that taxation and representation must go together, be *understood* by her, as well as *acknowledged* ?

And what is that mother good for, as the Teacher of a self-governing generation, who does not see in the crafty, though affronting declaration, that all "*men* are created equal"—and that citizens are "*free white males*," of a certain age—whereby one-half of our whole population are disfranchised forever, either an outrage or a blunder ?—falsehood, or foolishness ?

Are not men, women and children, if "created" at all, in the sense of such a declaration—in other words, all *reasonable* and accountable creatures — are they not "created," or born *equal* in their political rights and privileges? in the right of governing themselves? If the language employed does not mean this—what does it mean? There is no other equality at birth: nor can there be any other. In no other sense were any two persons ever equal, since the creation of the world.

And yet, after all this, look at the condition of woman, as a political share-holder, as a citizen of this "the freest Country on earth"—a country where woman is outwardly more venerated, and more nearly worshipped, than any where else upon the face of the earth. She is taxed, without being represented: She is never her own mistress: She could not, until this great reformation began, receive or transmit property, after marriage, as men do, nor even educate her children. Nor could she acquire property by the labor of her hands—all she could earn belonged to her master, and the creditors of her master—that master among whites, being her *husband*. By the "law, and the men of the law"—the great champions of woman's rights, and of what they call knightly courtesy, a married woman was and still is, classed with infants, idiots, lunatics, and persons beyond sea, in all our legislation. And worse than all, she was made to believe—the simpleton!—that these were her *privileges*, and her *protection*! Just as the free blacks, in the Free States, are *privileged* from serving on juries, training in the militia, and holding office; and just as the Hindoo mother is *privileged* to drown her children, or throw them to the crocodiles, or set fire to herself on the funeral pyre of a scoundrel tyrant she never cared a snap for; and just as the women of China are *privileged* from gadding, by being crippled for life. And wo to him that may try to undeceive them! I have been laboring over twenty years in their behalf, and to this hour, the bitterest things that are ever said, or thought of me, are by the women whom I have been trying to raise up from the condition of bond-slaves, contented with their task-masters and their fetters, to a state of entire equality and companionship with man; to the condition of friends, helpers, and "pleasant counsellors" in the blessed co-partnership of marriage—blessed, if equal—cursed, if otherwise.

And here, speaking of law, just suppose that women made the

laws, and that men were dealt with, and disqualified as they are—how would the men stomach it! Run a parallel here.

\* \* \* \* \*

But, whatever else may be done, or not done, at your Convention, there is one thing you must endeavor to do, at all hazards. With it, you will have accomplished everything—without it, nothing.

You must oblige men to pay women better wages.

But how? There is only one way. Give her the right of suffrage—in other words, the right of meddling with elections; and up go her wages, with the wages of other laboring people: in other words, give to every female, as to every male, at the age of twenty-one, the sacred right of citizenship. Why should not a *free white female*, be allowed to help govern herself, and choose her own masters, as well as every free white *male*?

Admitting that she has less bodily power—that she is more liable to disqualifying sickness—that she has not so much strength of understanding—are these to be urged against women when they are never even thought of, as objections to the citizenship of a *man*? \*

\* \* \* “And, if they take the privileges, they must bear the burthens of citizenship.”

Agreed. The heaviest burthens of citizenship, they already bear. Being the mothers of all who claim to be citizens, from the mightiest to the lowliest, and having done that for them, which their fathers never could, nor would do, one would suppose that only degenerate sons would be willing to disqualify them.

But stop; what are the duties, which a woman, admitted to all the rights of citizenship, would not be able to discharge?

“She could not enter the militia.” I deny this; for women are found in all the armies of the earth—shamefully disguised, to be sure, and acting as men; not only in the ranks, but as leaders. But, if it were true—what then? Substitutes are allowed. The aged, the wealthy, the learned, and the weak and sickly, among men, are all excused from serving in the militia; and, if not within certain ages, and *able bodied*, they are not even required to furnish a substitute.

If men may escape themselves, why not exempt women, for correspondent reasons?

“But they could not hold office, nor serve on juries, nor sit in our legislative assembly, without many inconveniences to the public.” Indeed! But who shall be judge! Will you not trust the people?

If a woman were elected to office—and such things have happened—and should prove to be wholly unfit, or should become disqualified—who is in fault? and where is the remedy?

You do not gage the understandings, nor the health and strength of *male* candidates for office; you do not interfere with electors in their choice; nor disqualify men of doubtful characters, or questionable understandings, or inferior bodily strength. You acknowledge it to be none of your business, and allow the people to judge for themselves.

But if women legislate, or hold office, that will lead to the neglect of their families.

And if it did, the proper answer would be—that is none of your business.

Would you dare to urge a similar objection to any man the people had taken up, that he would neglect his family? Was such a thing ever heard of?

Why, if all the offices of the country, from the highest to the lowest: and all the legislation of the country, were in the hands of women, it would amount to only a small per centage of the whole; not more than *one per cent*. And yet men—these men—argue as if all our nurseries would have to be abandoned, all our little ones left to shift for themselves, and our whole country depopulated, if the voters of both sexes were *allowed to choose* women for law-givers, or judges, constables, or *jurymen*! When, if permission were given to-morrow, the probabilities are, that not a married woman would be thought of, under a certain age; nor one single mother in a thousand, be required to leave her family, even for sorting or distributing letters in the post office: nor *so much as one, without her own consent*, and the consent of her husband.

\* \* \* Mark my words: If you do not uphold the dignity of labor—and this you cannot do, where wages are low—you, and yours, and all the women of the world, must continue to stitch, stitch, stitch, to the end of time.

Think you, if women had *votes*, that we should have thirty or forty thousand *men*, sorting and distributing letters; or copying manuscripts, as recording officers—mere copying machines—and at least one hundred thousand retailing pins and needles, or peddling laces and ribbons; candies, cakes and sweetmeats; gloves and stockings; bobbins, toys and trumpery, at three times the wages that are ever



paid to women, for correspondent services ? I say no. And I say it is a fact, capable of demonstration, that the right of suffrage is worth about fifty cents a day to the common laborer of our country, and would be worth more, upon the average, to all the women of our country, if a part of them were allowed to distribute letters, copy papers, or hold office, and receive for the same labor, the same pay as men. *And why should they not ?*

Let me urge upon you, and upon all the strong-hearted women you are associated with, who do not regard it as a compliment to be called masculine of understanding, any more than a robust man would the being called womanly, to look well at this great question.

Be not deterred, nor frightened, nor fooled, by all the outcry about being "*hustled*" at caucuses, or elections, or mobs. Women are not obliged to go to such places ; and if they were, it would be wholesome for all parties. The first time they ever took the field, even so far as to become *listeners*, at political gatherings, was in the great Harrison campaign ; and what were the consequences ? Every-where throughout the whole country, their influence was felt and acknowledged. Violence and ribaldry were rebuked, and men were ashamed to be less than gentlemen, in the presence of women.

\* \* \* One word more. Among the Teachers we have had upon Earth, I remember but one, who appeared to have understood the true character of woman. And that was our Lord and Master, the blessed Savior himself. He, of all the men that have labored for the elevation of mankind, acknowledged by solemn adjudication, the equality of woman ; holding her to be no more guilty than her brother, if she went astray. \* \* \* \* \*

Look up to Him, if you would not go astray. Claim for yourselves, and your daughters, and *their* daughters, what HE never denied to you, entire equality with man, with all the correspondent privileges, obligations, and liabilities ; and you will triumph at last, as surely as you put your trust in Him. \* \* \* \*

Farewell,

J. N.

The President announced GERRIT SMITH, who was received with cheers.

Mr. SMITH said that the men had been complained of to-day, as taking great liberties with the rights of women. They had been taking as great liberty with his rights. They were determined to

have a speech out of him. He objected to Mr. NEAL's compliments to woman, as though she were an angel. She is not an angel! (Cheers.) She is a woman. I do not believe in getting her to heaven before her time.

Mr. S. read the first resolution. The women who are engaged in this movement, are ridiculed as aspiring to be doctors, lawyers, clergymen, sea captains, Generals, Presidents, &c. For the sake of the argument, I admit that this is true, and that they are totally unfit for these places. He went on at large, to insist on the perfect equality in intellect and judgment, of the two sexes. The concession he had made, was a large one, even for the sake of the argument. The silly aspirations of these silly women—if the objector pleases, is no part of the issue. These women complain that they have been robbed of great and essential rights. They do not ask favors; they DEMAND RIGHTS: the right to themselves; to their earnings; to a vote. Suppose I were to go to vote, and a man should push me back, and say, “you want to be Governor, don't you?” “No,” I reply; “I want to exercise a God-given right to vote.” Such a taunt as this, would be no more insulting, than those now cast at the women, by men unutterably mean and base. Why do women make reference to their exclusion from places of honor and emolument? Simply to show how their rights are cloven down. Let her have her rights; and then if she fails to secure a proper position, I shall not be the one to weep over her failure. I ask no favor, no grace, for woman; nothing but her rights. I make no claim that woman is fit to be a member of Congress, or President; all I ask for her, is what I ask for the negro—a fair field. All will admit that woman has a right to herself, and to her earnings. You admit these two rights. But you are not prepared to admit that she has the right to the ballot. But the other rights must be held by a very precarious tenure, if she does not exercise this right. If the men who make and administer the laws, see that females are their constituents, they will not be very likely to fail to pay due regard to the rights of women. This is the great Right, which guaranties all other rights.

[Mr. S. sat down, amid the applause of the Convention.]

The President then announced that a letter had been received from ELIZABETH C. STANTON, of Seneca Falls; which was read by SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and from which the following extracts are given:

SENECA FALLS, Sept. 6th.

*My Dear Friends*:—As I cannot be present with you, I wish to suggest three points, for your serious and earnest consideration.

1st. Should not all women, living in States where woman has a right to hold property, refuse to pay taxes, so long as she is unrepresented in the government of that State?

Such a movement, if simultaneous, would no doubt produce a great deal of confusion, litigation and suffering, on the part of woman; but shall we fear to suffer for the maintenance of the same glorious principles, for which our fore-fathers fought, and bled, and died. Shall we deny the faith of the old revolutionary heroes, and purchase for ourselves a false peace, and ignoble ease, by declaring in action, that taxation without representation is just? Ah! no; like the English Dissenters, and high-souled Quakers, of our own land, let us suffer our property to be seized and sold—but let us never pay another tax, until our existence as citizens, our civil and political rights, be fully recognized. \* \* \* \* \*

The poor, crushed slave, but yesterday toiling on the rice plantation in Georgia, a beast, a chattel, a thing, is to-day, in the Empire State, if he own a bit of land, and a shed to cover him, a person, and may enjoy the proud honor of paying into the hand of the complainant tax-gatherer the sum of seventy-five cents—even so with the white woman: the satellite of the dinner-pot; the presiding genius of the wash-tub; the seamstress; the teacher; the gay butterfly of fashion; the femme covert of the law. Man takes no note of her through all these changing scenes. But lo! to-day, by the fruits of her industry, she becomes the owner of a house and lot, and now her existence is remembered and recognized, and she too may have the privilege of contributing to the support of this mighty Republic—for the “white male citizen” claims of her one dollar and seventy-five cents a year—because, under the glorious institutions of this free and happy land, she has been able, at the age of fifty years, to possess herself of a property worth the enormous sum of three hundred dollars. It is natural to suppose, she will answer this demand on her, joyously and promptly; for she must, in view of all her rights and privileges, so long enjoyed, consider it a great favor, to be permitted to contribute thus largely to the governmental treasury.

One thing is certain, this course will necessarily involve a good deal of litigation, and we shall need lawyers of our own sex, whose

intellects, sharpened by their interests, shall be quick to discover the loop-holes of retreat. Laws are capable of many and various constructions; we find among men, that as they have new wants, as they develop into more enlarged views of justice, the laws are susceptible of more generous interpretation, or are changed altogether; that is, all laws touching their own interests: for while man has abolished hanging for theft, imprisonment for debt, and secured universal suffrage for himself, a married woman, in most of the States of the Union, remains a non-entity in law — can own nothing; can be whipped and locked up by her lord; can be worked without wages; be robbed of her inheritance, stripped of her children, and left alone, and penniless—and all this, they say, according to law. Now, it is quite time that we have these laws revised, by our own sex—for man does not yet feel, that what is unjust for himself, is also unjust for woman. Yes, we must have our own lawyers, as well as our physicians and priests. Some of our women should go at once into this profession, and see if there is no way by which we may shuffle off our shackles, and assume our civil and political rights. We cannot accept man's interpretation of the law. \* \* \* \*

2d. Do not sound philosophy, and long experience teach us, that man and woman should be educated together?

This isolation of the sexes, in all departments, in the business and pleasure of life, is an evil greatly to be deplored. We see its bad effects on all sides. Look at our National Councils. Would man, as a statesman, ever have enacted such scenes, as the capitol of our country has witnessed, had the feminine element been fairly represented in their midst? Are all the duties of husband and father to be made subservient to those of statesman and politician? How many of these husbands return to their homes as happy and contented—as pure and loving, as when they left? Not one in ten. \*

\* \* \* Experience has taught us, that man has discovered the most profitable branches of industry, and we demand a place by his side. Inasmuch, therefore, as we have the same objects in life, namely, the full development of all our powers, and should, to some extent, have the same employments, we need precisely the same education; and we therefore claim that the best colleges of our country be open to us. \* \* \* This point, the education of boys and girls together, is a question of the day; it was prominent at the late Educational Convention, in Newark; and it is fitting that in our Con-

vention it should be fully discussed. My ground is, that the boy and the girl, the man and the woman, should be always together, in the business and pleasures of life: sharing alike its joys and sorrows, its distinction and fame; nor will they ever be harmoniously developed, until they are educated together, physically, intellectually, and morally.

She hoped, therefore, that in the proposed People's College, some place would be provided, where women could be educated side by side with men.

There is no better test of the spirituality of a man, than is found in his idea of the true woman. Men, having separated themselves from woman, in the business of life, and thus made their natures coarse, by contact with their own sex exclusively, now demand separate pleasures too; and, in lieu of the cheerful family circle, its books, games, music, and pleasant conversation, they congregate in clubs, to discuss politics, to gamble, drink, etc., in those costly, splendid establishments, got up for such as cannot find sufficient excitement, in their own parlor or studios. It seems never to enter the heads of these fashionable husbands, that the hours drag as heavily with their fashionable wives, as they sit alone, night after night, in their solitary elegance, wholly given over to their own cheerless reflections: for what subjects of thought have they? Gossip and fashion will do for talk, but not for thought. Their Theology is too gloomy and shadowy, to afford them much pleasure in contemplation; their Religion is a thing of form, and not of life, so it brings them no joy or satisfaction. As to the Reforms of the day, they are too genteel to feel much interest in them. There is no class more pitiable, than the unoccupied woman of fashion, thrown wholly upon herself. \* \*

\* \* \* Does not the present abuse of the religious element in woman demand our earnest attention and investigation?

Priestcraft did not end with the beginning of the reign of Protestantism. Woman has always been the greatest dupe, because the sentiments act blindly, and they alone have been educated in her.

Her veneration, not guided by an enlightened intellect, leads her as readily to the worship of saints, pictures, holy days, and inspired men and books, as to the living God, and the everlasting principles of Justice, Mercy, and Truth. \* \* \* \*

There is the Education Society, in which women who can barely read and write, and speak their own language correctly, form se

societies, and beg funds to educate a class of lazy, inefficient young men for the ministry, who, starting in life on the false principle that it is a blessing to escape physical labor, begin at once to live on their piety. What is the result? Why, after going through College, Theological Seminaries, and a brief struggle at fitting up skeleton sermons, got up by older heads, for the benefit of beginners, and after preaching them for a season to those who hunger and thirst for light and truth, they sink down into utter insignificance, too inefficient to keep a place, and too lazy to earn the salt to their porridge—whilst the women work on, to educate more, for the same noble destiny. Look at the long line of benevolent societies, all filled with these male agents, living, like so many leeches, on the religious element in our natures. Most of them, from the ranks of the clergy, who, unable to build up, or keep a church, have taken refuge in some of these theological asylums for the intellectually maimed, halt, and blind, of this profession.

Woman really thinks she is doing God service, when she casts her mite into their treasury, when in fact, not one tenth of all the funds raised, ever reach the ultimate object.

Among the clergy, we find our most violent enemies—those most opposed to any change in woman's position; yet no sooner does one of these find himself out of place and pocket, than, if all the places in the various benevolent societies chance to be occupied, he takes a kind of philanthropic survey of the whole habitable globe, and forthwith forms a Female Benevolent Society, for the conversion of the Jews, perchance, or for sending the gospel to the Feejee Islands—and he is, in himself, the law for the one, and the gospel for the other. Now, the question is not whether the Jews are converted, or whether the gospel ever reaches the Islands; but does the agent flourish? Is his post profitable? And does woman beg and stitch faithfully for his support, and for the promotion of his *glorious mission*?

Now, I ask woman, with all seriousness, considering that we have little to give, had we not better bestow our own charities with our own hands? And, instead of sending our benevolent outgushings, in steamers, to parts unknown, had we not better let them flow in streams whose length and breadth we can survey at pleasure, knowing their source, and where they empty themselves?

\* \* \* Thus woman, in her present ignorance, is made to rest in the most distorted view of God and the Bible, and the laws of her being; and, like the poor slave, "Uncle Tom," her religion, instead of making her noble and free, and impelling her to flee from all gross surroundings, by the false lessons of her spiritual teachers—by the wrong application of great principles of right and justice, has made her bondage but more certain and lasting—her degradation more hopeless and complete.

ELIZABETH C. STANTON.

MATILDA E. J. GAGE, of Manlius, offered the following resolution :

Whereas, the peace of society depends on the promotion of justice; and the happiness of mankind on the enjoyment of their rights; and, whereas, the absolute rights and natural equality of both sexes are self-evident, and cannot be given by favor, but eternally exist, therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is the imperative obligation of every woman, to enter into the discharge of the duties arising from her natural rights, and to direct her most strenuous efforts to the acquiring of those rights, now forcibly withheld.

LUCY STONE next addressed the Convention.

She urged upon woman, the duty of resisting taxation, so long as she is not represented. It may involve the loss of friends, as it surely will that of property. But let them all go: friends, house, garden-spot, all. The principle at issue requires the sacrifice. Resist; let the case be tried in the courts; be your own lawyers; base your cause on the admitted, self-evident truth, that "taxation and representation are inseparable." One such resistance, by the agitation that would grow out of it, will do more to set this question right, than all the Conventions in the world. There are fifteen millions of taxable property, owned by women of Boston, who have no voice, either in the use or imposition of the tax. So that, however they may revolt, and abhor the atrocious deed, they are compelled to aid in returning Thomas Sims to slavery, who in his life's young prime, and yearning for liberty, had sought refuge in their city; and so also for any other atrocious deed the government may perpetrate.

We want, that our men friends, who are so justly proud of their "Declaration of Independence," should make their practice consistent with it. But if they will not do that, then let them blot from its

page, the grandest truths their Fathers ever uttered—truths that the crushed soul of humanity, the wide world round, has leaped to hear. But, sisters, the right of suffrage will be secured to us, *when we ourselves are willing to incur the odium, and loss of property*, which resistance to this outrage on our rights will surely bring with it.

Mr. J. B. BRIGHAM, a school teacher, said he wished to say a few words, in reply to the arguments used. He said, the "feminine element" which women possessed, in opposition to the masculine element in men, showed that their spheres were not the same, and that woman was only truly lovely and happy, when in her own sphere and her own element. He was very happy to hear the phrase "feminine element," for if they understood this it would guide them in everything. In the very animals the difference was manifest. He thought women ought to be keepers at home, and mind domestic concerns; and he had no doubt that the true object of this Convention, was not so much to acquire any real or supposed rights, as to make the speakers and actors conspicuous. He wished to urge upon those engaged in this Convention to claim nothing masculine for women.

GERRIT SMITH said, if his esteemed friend would allow him, he would hand him over to LUCRETIA MOTT, as he wanted him to feel the power of a woman. Mr. S. then alluded to the stone which a woman cast from the wall, in a siege by Abimelech, and when it fell on his head, he commanded his armor-bearer to thrust him through, that he might not be slain by a woman. He would not leave his friend that privilege. He would hand him over to a woman, to slay him.

LUCRETIA MOTT took the stand, and spoke at considerable length. She cited several examples to prove that women were equal in strength to men, and superior in industry.

It was impossible, she said, for one man to have arbitrary power over another, without becoming despotic. She did not expect our friend to see how woman is robbed. Women were to feel it. Slave-owners did not perceive themselves oppressors, but slaves did. GERRIT SMITH alluded to one woman, whom our friend would call out of her sphere. If he believes in the Bible, he must acknowledge that Deborah, a mother in Israel, arose by divine command and led the armies of Israel. She also referred to the wife of Heber, the Kenite, who drove the nail into the head of the Canaanite General,



and was celebrated therefor in the songs of Israel. She thought female preaching in harmony with the doctrine of Paul. She referred to Paul's directions to women how to preach, and his exhortations to them to qualify themselves for this function, and not to pin their faith on ministers' sleeves.

She cited Willis' Unwritten Philosophy, and advised Mr. BRIGHAM not to stake his wisdom against the allotment of the Almighty.

Our schools were opened at last to women, and they had now sent out teachers. Colleges were now opened, and LUCY STONE and ANTOINETTE BROWN had entered, and obtained there diplomas, and now went out and pleaded the cause of the slave, and of their own sex, with an eloquence almost equal to that of our young friend, here.

The medical world was now open to woman, and noble examples had been set by talented females. Woman's sphere had been enlarging and widening, till it is now filling, not only the whole earth, but also heaven.

Mr. BRIGHAM could not appreciate the propriety of Mr. SMITH's mode of logic. He himself had not the eloquence of Miss STONE, or Miss BROWN, for he had not the "feminine element." He did not object to woman's voice being heard. He would have them visit this city, and seek out the breathing-holes of perdition. He remarked, that women had less voice than men.

Mrs. MORR asked whether her young friend had sent a protest to old England, against Victoria's proroguing Parliament. In the yearly meetings of the Friends, documents read by the men, had been read by the women's clerk, that they might be better understood.

She closed by saying, that LUCY STONE and ANTOINETTE BROWN wanted to treat this subject more at length, to-morrow, and she hoped her young friend, BRIGHAM, would be present and discuss the question farther.

Mr. PRYNE made some remarks, and was followed by Mr. HOWLETT.

LUCY STONE said, Mr. BRIGHAM lacked faith in God. That woman's nature was stamped and sealed by her Creator, and there was no danger of her unsexing herself, so long as He was on the Throne, or His eye watched her.

The meeting then adjourned until nine o'clock Thursday morning.

## THURSDAY MORNING SESSION.

Convention called to order at nine o'clock, by the President. The attendance large; all the seats in the Hall occupied—the greater number women, but a respectable representation of men. The greatest interest prevailed.

The minutes of yesterday were read by LYDIA F. FOWLER, and approved.

A proposition for a Finance Committee having been made, by Rev. Mr. MAY, and it being suggested that WENDELL PHILLIPS, the Treasurer, is the proper person to whom to send the money, a discussion was raised upon the manner in which the Convention is constituted.

B. S. JONES, of Ohio, wanted to know whether the officers were elected for one year, for life, or good behavior. When he saw the call of this Convention—as a national one—it was new to him, and to the friends of Woman's Rights, in the West.

PAULINA W. DAVIS said, the first Convention was called by correspondence with the friends of Woman's Rights, in every part of the country; and it was attended by delegates from more States than the present Convention, which is the third. The former Conventions, held at Worcester, elected their Central Committee for the year. It would be impossible to get up a Convention without a Committee. Is that satisfactory, Mr. JONES?

Mr. JONES — It is satisfactory, so far as Mrs. DAVIS herself understands it.

The President said, this was not, as yet, a permanent organization, but only a Convention for the time being. Perhaps it would be deemed advisable to form an organization, and then standing Committees could be appointed, and all the usual machinery. She thought it would be premature to send the funds to WENDELL PHILLIPS, the Treasurer of the last Convention, unless no other Treasurer were appointed.

It was then proposed, by Rev. Mr. MAY, that all those who had purchased tickets of admission, (and they numbered five hundred,) should write their names and residences on the backs of the cards, and hand them in, on the last day of the Convention, that the officers might communicate with them, in reference to the next Convention.

LUCY STONE said, none need give their names who were not willing to co-operate in the future, with us.

It was then agreed that a Committee of Finance should be appointed, and Rev. Mr. MAY being nominated, declined, and named Mrs. STEPHEN SMITH, of Syracuse.

PRESIDENT—Woman's Rights women do not like to be called by their husbands' names, but their own.

Mr. MAY—Then, ROSA SMITH.

This lady was elected; also, ELIZABETH W. PHILLIPS, JOSEPH SAVAGE, and CAROLINE M. SEVERENCE, of Ohio.

E. L. ROSE, from the Nominating Committee, reported the name of CAROLINE M. SEVERENCE, of Ohio, as a Vice President, and she was unanimously confirmed as such by the Convention.

MATILDA E. J. GAGE, of Manlius, next addressed the Convention :

\* \* \* \* \* This Convention has assembled to discuss the subject of Woman's Rights, and form some settled plan of action for the future. Let Syracuse sustain her name for radicalism. While so much is said of the inferior intellect of woman, it is by a strange absurdity conceded that very many eminent men owe their station in life to their mothers. Women are now in the situation of the mass of mankind, a few years since, when science and learning were in the hands of the priests, and property was held by vassalage; the Pope and the priests claimed to be, not only the teachers, but the guides of the people; the laity were not permitted to examine for themselves; education was held to be unfit for the masses, while the tenure of their landed property was such as kept them in a continual state of dependence on their feudal lord.

\* \* \* It is but a short time, since the most common rudiments of education were deemed sufficient for any woman; could she but read tolerably, and write her own name, it was enough.

\* \* \* Trammled as women have been, by might and custom, there are still many shining examples, which serve as beacon lights of what may be attained by genius, labor, energy, and perseverance combined. "The longer I live in the world," says Goethe, "the more I am certain, that the great difference between the great, and insignificant, is energy, invincible determination, an honest purpose once fixed, and then victory." Sir Isaac Newton said of himself, "that if ever he had been able to do anything, he had effected it by patient thinking only"; and we are all familiar with the anecdote which narrates the starting occasion of that train of thought. Ik Marvel, in his Dream Life, says, "there is no genius in life, like the

genius of energy and industry ; that all the traditions, so current among young men, that certain great characters have wrought their greatness by inspiration, as it were, grow out of a sad mistake ; and that there are no rivals so formidable, as those earnest, determined minds, which reckon the value of every hour, and which achieve eminence by persistent application."

Although so much is said against the unfitness of woman for public life, it can be seen, from Semiramis to Victoria, that she has a peculiar fitness for governing. In poetry, Sappho was honored by the title of the tenth Muse. Helena Lucretio Corano, a Venetian lady, who lived in the seventeenth century, was a woman of such rare scientific attainments, that the most illustrious persons, in passing through Venice, were more anxious to see her than all the curiosities of the city. She devoted herself, with intense perseverance, to literary pursuits ; was made a Doctor, and received the title of Unalterable ; and, with all, combined an unostentatious humility. She was but thirty-eight, when she died. Mary Cunitz, a native of Silesia, was one of the greatest geniuses of the sixteenth century. She understood many languages, was skilled in history, poetry, painting, music, and medicine ; and these were but amusements. She particularly applied herself to Mathematics, and especially to Astronomy. She was ranked as one of the most able astronomers of her time, and formed astronomical tables, that acquired for her a great reputation. Another lady of the seventeenth century, Anne Maria Schureman, succeeded admirably in sculpture, engraving, and music. She was also learned in various languages ; but in miniature painting she particularly excelled.

Constantia Grierson, an Irish girl, of poor parentage, was celebrated for her literary attainments, although she died at the early age of twenty-seven.

With the learning, energy, and perseverance of Lady Jane Grey, Mary, and Elizabeth, all are familiar. Mrs. Montague is spoken of by Cowper, as standing at the head of all that is called learned, and, that every critic veiled his bonnet at her superior judgment. Joannie Baillie has been termed the female Shakspeare. Miss Caroline Herschell shares the fame of her brother, as an astronomer, having herself discovered planets and comets. The greatest triumphs of the present age, in the drama, music, and literature, have been achieved by females, among whom may be mentioned Miss Cushman, Jenny

Lind, Miss Chesebro, Miss Carey, Miss Fennimore Cooper, Grace Greenwood, Mrs. Stowe, and Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Mrs. Somerville's renown has long been spread over both hemispheres, as one of the first astronomers of the present age. With this, she combines various literary acquirements; and to those who think them incompatible with feminine duties, it can be shown that she discharged, in an eminent degree, every social and family requirement.

To those who say women do not desire their rights, or think they have them already, I would say, converse with any intelligent woman on the subject, and you will not find them indifferent. Woman feels deeply, keenly, her degradation, but is bound by the iron hand of custom which so long has exercised tyrant rule over her. An ignorant woman is nominally in the same condition as the peasant who thinks it right that a king shall rule over him; and to keep him content, he is made to believe it would be blasphemy and treason in him to call in question this right.

\* \* \* I honor those noble women, who have been willing to pioneer in the path of duty and right, and bear the obloquy which always has, and always will, follow the first promulgation of unaccustomed truths: so suffered the martyrs of old; so suffers Kossuth. Obloquy is said to be a necessary ingredient of all true glory; it might be said to be a necessary concomitant of all great truths.

\* \* \* The question is, how can this mental and moral lethargy, which now binds the generality of women, be shaken off? They are educated to a state of entire dependence; taught before marriage, to expect a support from their fathers, and after, from their husbands; to suppress their convictions, if contrary to those of their fathers, brothers and husbands, and to allow others to act for them. This state of listlessness follows as a natural consequence.

Self-reliance is one of the first lessons to be taught our daughters; they should be educated with our sons, and equally with them taught to look forward to some independent means of support—either to one of the professions, or the business best fitted to exercise their talents. Marriage has been looked to as the acme of hope, by women; and why? Because all lucrative and honorable means of support have been seized by men, and women have been driven to marriage, as a necessity. To what more fertile cause can be attributed the uncongeniality frequently existing between married parties? Women have been instructed in showy accomplishments, while literature

has been nearly cast aside, as unnecessary; men have been educated not to expect companionship in their wives. At the proposition of equal education and rights, man starts up and says, if women are admitted as equals, you ruin domestic harmony. If a woman is permitted to think for herself, forsooth, she may disagree in her views with her husband, and family peace be destroyed. A fig for such reasoning! Were refined, intelligent conversation in the home circle appreciated, club-rooms, secret societies, taverns, and stores, where man's leisure is generally spent, would be less frequented; for where all are educated, it is a disgrace to be ignorant, and time now wasted, would be spent in improvement.

\* \* \* Being placed in a position compelling them to act, has caused many persons to discover talents in themselves they were before unaware of possessing. Great emergencies produce great leaders, seemingly fitted by Providence, while it is but the arousing some energy, hitherto dormant.

\* \* \* Those who fear woman's incapacity to cope with the trials of life, should consider what is *now* actually thrust upon her, by existing customs. Thousands of women are driven to a life of pollution, by the insufficiency of wages in those departments of labor which she is legitimately permitted to enter. Let any who doubt, read the statistics of London, New York, or any other great city—or the confessions of the poor creatures themselves! One, (in a report, a while since, on the London seamstresses,) says, "*if I was never allowed to speak more, it was the meager pay I received by labor, that led me to go astray.* I struggled very hard to keep myself chaste, but found I could not get food and clothing for myself and mother. Could I honestly have earned enough to have subsisted upon—to feed and clothe myself, I should have remained virtuous." \* \* \* Nor is the condition of this class much better in our own country. In the reports of those missionaries who have recently directed their efforts of reform to the vilest sinks of infamy in New York, we perceive the cause which operates to keep the ranks of iniquity filled. Earning but a scanty subsistence, totally inadequate to provide the commonest necessaries of life, these women have, as constant accompaniments, want, labor unceasing, broken rest, and in the end a chance of starvation. With nothing to cheer, nothing to encourage, and driven by task-masters as merciless as those of Pharaoh, or of the Southern cotton and rice plantations; while opposed to this, is

offered a life of ease, plenty, society, and amusement. Instead of the damp, dark, confined, noisome room, occupied by the sewing girl, are presented to her imagination, large, high, airy, and commodious dwellings, adorned with flowers, and enlivened by music ; and is it strange she falls ?

\* \* \* Custom has been, and is now, the mistress who plants her foot on the too willing neck of prostrate womanhood. Of custom, which has been termed unwritten law, "it is our first duty," says Blackstone, "to make enquiries as to its legality ; for if it is not a good custom, it ought no longer to be used." In all governments, it would be the dictate of policy, for the governed to submit to what the governors decree, provided they decree nothing inconsistent with their natural rights ; but as soon as any government stretches its powers so far as to destroy the natural rights, to which the members of a community are entitled, these last are justified, by all the laws of God and man, in opposing such a government. We claim, as a natural right, the same privilege of acting as we think best, which is accorded to the other half of mankind—a right bestowed upon us by God, when he created man in his own image, after his own likeness, both male and female, and gave *them* equal dominion : Genesis, 1st chap., 26th, 27th, and 28th verses.

\* \* \* Although our country makes great professions in regard to general liberty, yet the right to particular liberty, natural equality, and personal independence, of two great portions of this country, is treated, from custom, with the greatest contempt ; and color in the one instance, and sex in the other, are brought as reasons why they should be so derided ; and the mere mention of such, natural rights is frowned upon, as tending to promote sedition and anarchy.

\* \* \* Let us look at the rights it is boasted women now possess. After marriage, the husband and wife are considered as one person in law, which I hold to be false, from the very laws applicable to married parties. Were it so, the act of one would be as binding as the acts of the other, and wise legislators would not meet to enact statutes defining the peculiar rights of each ; were it so, a woman could not legally be a man's inferior. Such a thing would be a veritable impossibility. One half of a person can not be under the protection or direction of the other half. Blackstone says, "a woman may indeed be attorney for her husband, for that implies no separa-

tion from, but rather a representation of her lord. And a husband may also bequeath any thing to his wife, by will ; for it can not take effect, till the coverture is determined by his death." After stating at considerable length, the reasons showing their unity, the learned commentator proceeds to cut the knot, and show they are not one, but are considered as two persons, one superior, and one inferior—and not only so, but the inferior, in the eye of the law, as acting from compulsion. A wife can not, by will, devise lands to her husband ; for at the time of such act, she is supposed to be under his coercion, and therefore all deeds executed, and acts done by her, during her coverture, are void, except it be those where she is solely and directly examined, to learn if her act be voluntary ! How degrading ! how humiliating ! and carrying on the face of it, crying injustice, is the position woman is compelled to assume, when thus taken aside, by the magistrate, and asked, " Do you sign this deed of your own free will and accord, and not by fear and compulsion of your husband ?" Out upon it ! Why the very stones would cry out, should woman longer hold her peace.

Every father has a right to bind, or give away, any of his children, while minors, without the consent, or even knowledge of the mother ; and when he dies, she is not considered a competent guardian for the child, and the father can, by Part 2d, Title 3, Sec. 1st, of Vol. 2d, Revised Statutes, in his will, or deed, exclude the mother from participation in such guardianship ; for though called one, the father alone has legal power over the children. A mother, as such, is entitled to no power over her own children.

A woman's personal property, by marriage becomes absolutely her husband's, which, at his death, he may give away from her ; while at her death she has no such power, or any power, of disposing of his personal property. The law very kindly allows a woman her wearing apparel, as well as jewels and ornaments, provided the latter were not disposed of by her husband, previous to his death ; and provided the children do not live with her, she is allowed one bed, bedstead, and bedding.

\* \* \* Man may not only bid her stand aside from all that is lucrative, but when, by patient industry, she has accumulated a sustenance, he seizes the control of the whole. Even now, a case arises to mind, of a woman who, by daily washing, had earned enough to buy a house for herself and dissipated husband. A short time since,



the husband was taken sick, and not being expected to live, bequeathed the whole to his brother; and all the wife could get, was the interest of one third, during her natural life. And where was her redress? She had none. A *shame* on such laws! a *SHAME* on such men. A woman not only (till recently) lost all right of holding property by marriage, but she lost her personal identity. In this act, she becomes absorbed in another. At the death of her husband, she is left a queen, or a beggar, as the option of her lord dictates; while, should she die first, she has no right to the disposition of any of the property accumulated by the united industry; for by Title 1st, Part 2d, Sec. 1st, 2d Vol. Revised Statutes, of this State, Idiots, persons of unsound mind, married women, and infants, are declared incompetent to devise real estate. *Well classed, truly!*

The present laws are deleterious to the moral sensibilities of both husband and wife. Woman has no inducement to prudence and industry, and she is obliged seemingly to acquiesce in the wishes of her husband, however repugnant to her, as the only means of obtaining, in even a small degree, her own; or she is allowed to follow her own plans and views as a favor, and not from the lack of power to compel her to do otherwise.

\* \* \* In the present posture of our national affairs, when the instruments of power, although professedly in the hands of the people, are, in reality, lodged in the hands of a moiety, thereby forming an Aristocracy, rather than a Republic—what are we to expect, but that one portion of the nation will be sunk in ignorance and grovelling submission.

\* \* \* We are invited to acquire a knowledge of government, not only by many immediate benefits, but by a multitude of future ones; and who can say it will not end in the full maturity of public happiness? Nothing is a stronger proof how natural the love of liberty is to mankind, than the efforts made to attain it. Let wives cast aside the thought that their highest duty consists in gratifying their husbands palates, by some delicacy; or listening with smiling countenance, to what he may please to relate of the day's occurrences, while placidly darning his stocking, with no higher ambition than to have it *well* done. I do not, by any means depreciate these necessary employments, in their proper place; but they should not be the chief business of their lives. The duty to please, devolves equally on both parties. Remember your duty to God, and your own sex, as well as

to man. Let us make such use of our talent, as to receive the plaudit of our Maker, of well done, good and faithful servant.

To mothers we look, especially to young mothers, for the instruction of their children in the principles of justice and right, and to see that equal justice is granted to both ; not giving one every advantage, and according none to the other.

\* \* \* We need not expect the concessions demanded by women will be peaceably granted ; there will be a long moral warfare, before the citadel yields ; in the meantime, let us take possession of the outposts. The public must be aroused to a full sense of the justice of our claims. Beside the duty of educating our children, so as to make the path of right, easy to their feet, is that of discussion, newspaper articles, petitions : all great reforms are gradual. Fear not any attempt to frown down the revolution already commenced ; nothing is a more fertile aid of reform, than an attempt to check it ; work on !

“ Work sows the seed :

Even the *rock* may yield its flower :  
No lot so hard, but human power,  
Exerted to one end and aim,  
May conquer fate, and capture fame !  
Press on !

Pause not in fear :

Preach no desponding, servile view—  
What e'er thou will 'st thy WILL may do.

Work on, and win !

Shall light from nature's depth arise,  
And *thou*, whose mind can grasp the skies,  
Sit down with fate, and idly rail ?—  
No—ONWARD ! Let the Truth prevail !”

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J. ELIZABETH JONES, of Ohio, then addressed the Convention :

She was glad to mingle with the free spirits in that hall. This was a time of progress, and man might sooner arrest the progress of the lightning, or the clouds, or stay the waves of the sea, than stay the onward march of Truth, with her hand on her sword, and her banner unfurled. She was not in the habit of talking much about women's

rights—she was one of those who, instead of talking about rights, took them, without saying anything about it.

She occupied pulpits, all over the country, five days out of seven, in lecturing on science, and she did not find any objection. She was not sufficiently versed in the subject, to know what all the women wanted ; but she knew what she wanted herself, and she wanted what the men were most unwilling to grant—the right to vote. That included all other rights. She wanted to go into the Legislative Hall, sit on the Judicial Bench, and fill the Chair of the Executive. Now do you understand us ? This we claim on the ground of humanity ; and on the ground that taxation and representation go together. The whole question resolves itself into this. There has been no attempt to dispute this. No man in this hall, or who may come into it, will venture to deny the right of woman to vote. You may make many arguments against the expediency of exercising it, but the right is ours. But while we are deprived of political rights, there are other rights in connection, and which no law prevents. We can take our rights as merchants, and in other avocations, by investing our capital in them. But we stand back, and wait till it is popular for us to become merchants, doctors, lecturers, or practitioners of the mechanic arts. I know girls, who have mechanical genius sufficient, perhaps, to become Arkwrights and Fultons, but their mothers would not apprentice them. Which of the women of this Convention have sent their daughters as apprentices to a watchmaker ? There is no law against this ?

The PRESIDENT — The Church and public opinion are stronger than law.

L. A. JENKINS, of Waterloo, N. Y., wanted to ask the lady, whether there was any law to prevent women voting, in this State ? The statute states white male citizens may vote, but does not say that white female citizens cannot.

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

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN said she knew instances of colored persons voting, under the same circumstances, and their votes being allowed, by the legal authorities ; there being no express provision forbidding them to vote. She had been just informed, by some person, that J.

A. Dix declared the proceedings of a school meeting void, because two women voted at it. But this proved nothing, except the individual opinion of Mr. Dix.

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

Mrs. DAVIS said, when the Rhode Island Convention to alter the Constitution, was sitting, in the draft they said, "all citizens;" but they discovered afterwards that the word male, was not inserted, and they immediately put it in, intending, of course, to exclude women. Mrs. D. then proceeded to read a letter of Rev. A. D. MAYO, of Gloucester, Mass., remarking that it was supposed the clergy were opposed, yet here was a distinguished clergyman in their favor.

GLOUCESTER, Mass., August 24, 1852.

TO MRS. PAULINA W. DAVIS :

*Dear Madam* :— \* \* \* I have never questioned what I understand to be the central principle of the reform in which you are engaged. I believe that every mature soul is responsible directly to God, not only for its faith and opinions, but for the details of its life in the world. In every crisis of duty, there can be consultation, at last, only between one spirit and its Creator. The assertion that woman is responsible to man for her belief or conduct, in any other sense than man is responsible to woman, I reject, not as a believer in any theory of "Woman's Rights," but as a believer in that religion which knows neither male nor female, in its imperative demand upon the individual conscience.

This being true, I know not by what logic the obligation of woman to form her own ideal of life, and pursue the career which her reason and conscience dictate, can be denied. The sphere of activity in which any person will shine is always an open question until answered by experience. I may admire the wisdom of the mind which has discovered that half the people in the world are incompetent to act beyond one circle of duty; but until the fact has been established by the universal failure of your sex, every where outside that fatal line, I must admire rather than believe. Every real position in soci-

ety is achieved by conquest. I must convince my people that I am a true minister of the Gospel, before I can claim their respect and support. And when a woman, in the possession of the powers and opportunities given her by God, tells me she must trade, or instruct the young, or heal the sick, or paint, or sing, or act upon the stage, or call sinners to repentance, I *can* say but one thing—just what I must say to the man who affirms the same — “My friend, show your *ability* to serve society in this way, and all creation cannot deprive you of the right. If you *can do* this, to which you aspire; can do it well, then you and every body will be the gainers. And whoever says you have forfeited any essential grace or virtue of womanhood by your act, betrays, by the accusation, an utter incompetency to judge upon questions of human responsibility and obligation.”

\* \* \* I therefore believe the method of this Reform, is that declared by God, when he said to Adam: “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.” There is no “royal road” to womanhood, as there is certainly none to manhood. *You* must achieve what you desire.

\* \* \* Woman must do much, before man can help her. I suppose the sexes are about equally culpable; and I make no peculiar charge, when I say that until I can see more individual consecration, more clearness of perception and firmness of conduct, in regions outside the walls of the household, among the mass of women, than now, I shall not cherish extravagant hopes of the great immediate success of your noble object.

\* \* \* Your movement is a part of the great onward march of society, and must be exposed to the reverses from outward hostility, and inward faithlessness, that have always hindered the progress of the race.

\* \* \* This reform will be a sword of division, and you will not be surprised when those who have entered it from any motive less exalted than consecration to duty, fall away in weariness and disgust. Yet all the more honorable will it be to those who are content to remain, and abide the fatal conditions of sincere human effort. You are not very near your journey's end; but you are doing much for your sex, in a mode which will “tell” inevitably upon society. I often encounter a new spirit of self respect and honorable independence; a new hope, and works corresponding to it, among young women, which I can trace back to these Conventions. I believe cul-

tivated men in all professions, are becoming ashamed to treat your arguments with open ridicule or quiet contempt, and occupy a position, at least, of fair minded neutrality, to a greater degree than ever before; while the popular sympathies are every year more enlisted in your success.

\* \* \* With great respect, I remain your friend and fellow laborer in the cause of truth,

A. D. MAYO.

SAMUEL J. MAY read letters from WM. LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston, and MARGARET H. ANDREWS, of Newburyport, extracts from which follow :

“ Much, very much, do I regret that I cannot be at the Woman’s Rights Convention, which is to assemble to-morrow in Syracuse; but circumstances prevent. I shall be there in spirit, from its organization to its dissolution. It has as noble an object in view, ay, and as Christian a one, too, as was ever advocated beneath the sun. Heaven bless all its proceedings.

Yours for all Human Rights,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.”

Rev. S. J. MAY.

“ I wish to express my deep sympathy, to those brave women who are struggling against ancient prejudices and modern folly, and who will eventually elevate our sex to a position which will command the respect of those who now regard them with derision and contempt; and my gratitude to the noble minded men who are extending a helping hand to those who have hitherto been considered the weak and dependant portion of society, and are endeavoring to raise them to *their* stand, instead of trying to establish their superiority over them. Such conduct shows true greatness and dignity of character.

I wish to bear my share of the reproach and contumely which will be liberally bestowed upon this movement, by many who ought to know and to do better — this is indeed the actuating motive which impels me to write.

With regard to the counsel which has been requested of all interested, I find little left me to say. If there be any one subject which has not been sufficiently insisted on, it is the aimless life which young women generally lead, after they have left school. A large portion

are occupied in forming matrimonial plans, when they are wholly unfit to enter into that sacred state. Dr. Johnson makes his Nekayah say of young ladies with whom she associated, "Some imagined they were in love, when they were only idle." If young ladies directed their attention to some definite employment, this evil would be remedied.

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,  
MARGARET H. ANDREWS.

B. S. JONES moved that Gerrit Smith's three resolutions should be taken up this afternoon. He objected to the resolutions' lying so long on the table, not acted upon; it was unparliamentary, and would lead to confusion.

Mr. MAY said Lucy Stone had proposed that the speaking should take this course. She had good reasons, and could explain them for herself.

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

LUCY STONE thought our course the best. She did not care a fig for precedents of other Conventions. She thought B. S. Jones tithed mint, and anise and cummin, in his adherence to parliamentary usage.

Let us make our own rules. The interest manifested in the Convention, shows that the cause is being well served. We need not, then, be troubled about the form.

She alluded to Elizabeth Jones' idea of silently taking rights. It could not be done. In Massachusetts women had apprenticed themselves as printers, and were expelled, because men would not set type if women were allowed to. Harriet K. Hunt applied to attend medical lectures, at Harvard College, but the students declared that if she was admitted, they would leave—and so she was sacrificed.

HARRIET K. HUNT—No; I am here.

LUCY STONE—Our President says she was only suspended.

So too, when the sisters Grimke, and Abby Kelley, began publicly to plead the cause of the slave, they were assailed, both by pulpit and press, and every species of abuse was heaped upon them. But they persevered—proved their capacity to do it, and now we meet in quietude, and our right to speak in public is not questioned. So it will be. The woman who first departs from the routine in which

society allows her to move, must suffer. Let her bravely bear, for the sake of the good that will result; and when the world sees that she can do well what she has undertaken, it will acknowledge her right to do it. But we must be true to each other. We must stand by the woman whose work of hand or head removes her from her customary sphere — employ the woman physician, phrenologist, artist, rather than a man of the same calling. Be true to woman, and in time all professions and avocations will be as free to us, as to our brothers.

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

The Convention then adjourned till the afternoon.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Hall was crowded to excess, long before the time for calling the Convention to order had arrived.

The President called the meeting to order, and one of the Secretaries read the proceedings of the forenoon session.

The President declared the question before the Convention on the adoption of the three resolutions introduced by Gerrit Smith. They were adopted without further discussion.

CATHARINE STEBBINS suggested that speakers be restricted to thirty minutes.

Mr. MAY thought this would embarrass us. We had better not make any restriction; but if any speaker was tedious, we should be honest enough to say so.

The PRESIDENT hoped the suggestion of Mrs. Stebbins would answer the purpose, without the adoption of any resolutions.

C. I. H. NICHOLS said she was a great talker, but she would be brief as possible. She said the papers had represented her to be the editor of a Pierce and King paper. She believed that she was a liv-



ing witness that when women acted out their free will, they would never be found advocating principles opposed to their honest convictions. She declared that she was editing a paper devoted to the cause of "Free Democracy." The publishers had agreed to set her right; but she deemed it due to the audience, especially as she had declared herself a political woman, yesterday, and had neglected to define her position. She was also happy to say that she was *not a widow*, but had the co-operation and encouragement of her husband in the advocacy of Freedom and Woman's Rights.

She followed this personal explanation with a lengthy address upon the condition of females. Her address was peculiarly able and argumentative.

ABBY PRICE, of Hopedale, read an Address, from which extracts are given.

I shall, in my remarks, very briefly consider Woman's religious position—her relation to the Church—and endeavor to show that by its restrictions and inferiority she has herself suffered; and that from the same cause man and society generally, have suffered.

Without going largely into detail, to prove that woman has been religiously oppressed, any one in the least acquainted with history may know, that in the past, as in the present, the world over, the Church has proscribed and restricted her; suffering her to exercise her inalienable Human Rights, only by *permission*.

\* \* \* "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus."—*Gallatians*, 3d chap., 28th verse.

Notwithstanding the explicit declaration contained in the above, so entirely in accordance with natural justice, and reason, as well as with the general tone and spirit of the New Testament, woman is, in nearly all the Churches, denied *free speech*. From St. Paul down to the present priesthood, it is said very gravely, "It is not permitted unto woman to speak; if she would learn any thing, let her ask her husband, at home"! Deliberations have been entered into, by some denominations, whether she should be allowed to respond, Amen; and some have thought even this improper!

Allow me here to state, that the whole arrangement of nature, in her beautiful and wise manifestations to us, evince that the Divine Order is for the sexes to mingle their different and peculiar characteristics in every relation of life. In Christ Jesus our Lord, the mascu-

line and the feminine were blended harmoniously. The different characteristics in his own person were distinctly and plainly seen. The masculine, when he fixed his eye in stern rebuke, and made the hypocrite and the Pharisee tremble; and the feminine gleamed often through his tears of affection and pity, and shone ever a glorious halo of patience and love around him, in the midst of suffering the most wasting and intense. The Church, his Representative, should also exhibit these peculiarities in as full and as glorious harmony.

\* \* \* Very few of the sects allow woman to assume responsibility as religious *teachers*. However great she may feel the duty to be upon her, and however well qualified she may be, all ecclesiastical authorities with one accord begin to make excuses, whenever a woman presents herself to be properly authorized, according to the popular usage of that Church, to preach the Gospel to a people, one half of whom are her own sex.

Again: *Woman is denied a representation in all Ecclesiastical Assemblies.*

The male portion of the Church assemble in delegation from the different bodies with which they are connected, to legislate in behalf of the Churches; but woman has no representation in these councils. Her opinion of what is best to promote the interest of religion, is not respected. Her right to representation being denied, her claim to just recognition is solemnly mocked. The Church places its hand on woman's lips, and says to her, "you shall not *speak*—you shall not be represented: You are not eligible to office, because you *are a Woman!*" Is not this crucifying, with a strange presumption, the soul of Christ?—treating with contempt the feminine of the Christian character?—trampling upon *Human Rights?* And yet woman patiently bears this contumely and scorn. The poor young men that she often educates, by toil, early and late—labor, arduous and half-paid, teach her, when properly prepared, that this absurd tyranny is supported by the Word of God!

\* \* \* Woman may speak when the themes are only trivial; when assembles the thoughtless crowd in the halls of fashion, with no aim but amusement, then may she speak freely, and loudly. She may meet with these same ministers, and reply to the hollow compliment, addressed to her vanity, with smile and bow. She may make any display of eloquence and wit when dress and personal charms are all combined to amuse, and attract admiration. In such

assemblies there is no restriction, no fear for woman's delicacy, no effort to preserve the diffidence and timidity of her character, no wish for her to keep *silence*. But when the gathering is presumed to be from high and noble motives — to consider the truest and most important interests of the soul—when humility should clothe each spirit, and all should seek but to learn the will of the common Father, then, alas! there is thought to be danger to the womanly character to *speak!* *She* must keep silence in the churches! Call it a *religious* meeting, if there are only six persons present, and woman may not ask God's blessing to rest there; nor presume, should *one* man be present, to give utterance to her religious aspirations!

\* \* \* *Every class of society, and especially each sex, need religious teachers of the same class and sex with themselves, having the same experience, the same hopes, aims and relations.*

Human minds are so constituted as to need not merely intellectual instruction, but the strength imparted by an earnest sympathy, born of a like experience.

In order rightly to appreciate the wants of others, we must know and realize the trials of their situation, the struggles they may encounter, the burthens, the toils, the temptations that beset their different relations. These should be apprehended to some extent, and the more the better, by the person who is qualified to speak to the spiritual wants of *all*. Each relation, therefore, needs its teacher, its peculiar ministry. No one can demonstrate by College lore, the weight of a mother's responsibility. No *man*, not even the kindest father, can fully apprehend the wearisome cares, and anxious solicitude for children, of her who bore them. The tremblings of a mother's soul, none save a mother can feel. Man may prepare sound and logical discourses; he may clearly define a mother's duty; he may talk eloquently about her responsibility; he may urge upon her strong motives to faithfulness in the discharge of her maternal duties; he may tell her what her children should be, in all life's varied aspects. She hears the good instruction and advice always with more or less of this feeling: *You cannot know* of what you are talking.

\* \* \* The Church needs a varied ministry. Not alone is the power of mind needed, but the zeal and inspiration of the inner life. The unction of love, and faith, and courage produced by a struggle amid life's realities. Not the dreamer, but the toiler, can best affect the lives of others through their hearts.

In this ministry, the sexes must blend harmoniously their ministrations to others from their own lives and experiences. This must be the Divine order. Reason teaches it to the calm observer. Our souls respond to this truth, from their deepest chambers.

Not only does woman need the teachings of her own sex—the sexes need the ministry of each other. Man also suffers a loss from an exclusive ministry. He needs different influences at different times. Under the continual and unvaried preaching of his own sex, he becomes cold, stern, apathetic. Is woman's voice pleasant and salutary to him at home, by the fireside and in the drawing-room? and would it not be equally so, at the altar of social religious worship? Then, when his nature is the most softened, the most reverent, should he receive the impress of mercy, gentleness, patience, and trust. These are woman's peculiar nature, and man needs their sweet, religious influence. He needs to see on the altar of God the garnered treasures of the wife's and mother's rich experiences; and she needs fully to realize how steadfastly, and resolutely, and calmly he stands, under the responsibilities that rest upon him.

\* \* \* Man thinks to make ample amends for this injustice, by fulsome flattery, and affected care for her "angel refinement and delicacy." Alas! this is poor atonement for the injustice done. Infringe in one respect upon my inherent rights, and it is *tyranny*. No matter under what pretence the wrong is done.

\* \* \* Doomed, as girls are, to a frivolous, objectless existence, how can we expect to see any where flourishing the sterling qualities of a true and aspiring womanhood? We know that our religious nature must be injured, for especially does the religious element need freedom of action.

\* \* \* Aid us, then, husbands, brothers, fathers, to achieve this our noble destiny. Give us, as you yourselves possess, the full possession of *all* Human Rights. Give us a chance to exercise all our varied capabilities. Allow our peculiar characters to blend with yours, socially, civilly, and religiously, for mutual benefit. Not for the sake of emolument, or power; but that true harmony, and Divine order, may be exhibited beautifully in human life. Doom woman no longer to banishment from the hallowed ground of Church and State. She has too long been but as the Pariah of the desert. Welcome and receive her ministrations, reverently to her human nature, kindly to her present weakness, encouragingly to her hopes; receiving her

counsels with respect and confidence, so far as worthy such respect ; and be assured that a better day will begin to dawn. The birth of a new spiritual life will be given to this new marriage, and melody as from the harps of angels, will be breathed from the circles of earth.

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Extracts from Mrs. PAULINA W. DAVIS' Address to the Convention.

\* \* \* We commence life where our fathers left it. We have their mistakes and their achievements. We attempt to walk in the paths they trod, and wear the garments left by them ; but they are all too short and narrow for us ; they deform and cramp our energies : for they demand the Procrustean process, to conform the enlarged natures of the present to the past. Institutions, laws, creeds, and forms, are unchanging, while the human soul never rests, but seeks ever to rise ; to become like the Infinite in wisdom and love. \* I am fully aware that at the very threshold of these inquiries, we shall be met with the cry that our examination tends to disturb the order and harmony of society. That the cherished customs of ages will be overthrown, if these institutions, considered so sacred, are opened to investigation. The "chaos of old night" will return upon us. The trembling, fearful cry proves their worthlessness : for all things founded in immutable truth, grow only the stronger by every trial. Conscious of the want of adaptation to their human needs, of forms and ceremonies, they still worship in them ; "and like the crested wave, as it breaks on the shore," they grow more beautiful to their worshippers as the hour of their dissolution approaches. The shell is accepted for the kernel ; the shadow for the substance ; the form for the spirit.

\* \* \* Our movement, known popularly as the Woman's Rights, is clearly the great humanitarian movement of the age. It strikes deep its roots, and spreads its branches "wide o'er all the earth." Its aim cannot be for one sex alone, nor for one object, as is frequently asserted, viz : that of gaining the elective franchise :—for were woman's legal disabilities removed to-day—were she called upon during the present Presidential canvass and election, to stand

side by side with man, to vote and compete for office, still the work would be very far from its completion — for it has higher aims and nobler purposes. It seeks to elevate humanity, and bring society into that harmonious state which has been predicted, when they shall “beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.” That we may comprehend the evils into which society has fallen, and propose a remedy, it must be our concern to look at man and woman inductively, and thus ascertain what are their relative capabilities of development, intellectually, morally and socially, and to decide whether there be a limit set to woman’s progress, short of man’s highest attainment; whether there be a limit to the progress of either sex, out of themselves — one that may rightly bound and restrain their faculties.

The sacred traditions of both Jew and Gentile, agree in ascribing to woman a primary agency in the introduction of human evils. In the Greek Mythology, she is indeed not the first offender; but she is the bearer of the box that contained all the crimes and diseases which have punished our world for the abuse of liberty. It is worthy of remark, that Pandora, who is the Eve of the Grecian system, being, like her Hebrew correspondent, created for special purposes, was the joint work of all the Gods. Venus gave her beauty, Minerva wisdom, Apollo the art of music, Mercury eloquence, and the rest the perfection and completeness of all her divine accomplishments. Her name signifies gifts from all—

“ A combination and a form indeed  
Where every God did seem to set his seal  
To give the world assurance of a paragon,”

Prometheus made the first man of clay, and animated him with fire stolen from Heaven; and Jupiter is represented as attaching the terrible consequences of a rational and responsible vitality, thus conferred upon a creation of earth, by sending this wonderfully gifted woman into the world, loaded with all the evils which it was fated to endure. It was her destiny to be the occasion of the fall; the instrument of doom; but her fortunes are linked to the resurrection and life, as well as the suffering and death, of the race. Among the gifts of Pandora, which had otherwise been fatal, she brought hope, which lay concealed, after all the others had flown abroad on their missions of mischief. In our sacred story, this point in the parable has a clear explanation — “The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s

head." If she brought death into the world, she brought forth a Son who "taketh away the sins of the world." These myths, whether received as simple facts, or as poetic fiction, whose oracles always reveal the deepest signification of facts, alike indicate the eminent agency of woman in the fall and rising again of the human image of the divine upon earth. These mythical representations are worthy of very grave consideration; for the facts of history and the lessons of experience, are both so cramped and crippled by the slaveries of human systems, and the distortions of circumstances, that it is safest to turn from their perversions and partialisms, and seek the truth of our subject in the inspired revelations given by Infinite Love. History is but a copy of surfaces, the report of hearsays, the imprint of accidents which make up the monstrous meagreness of our prison life, in this world of falseness and empty forms. But the deeper intuitions of the soul penetrate the truth, and give it to us in varied form and figures, but essential agreement. The heart of the Scripture statement, and the innermost meaning of the Pagan myth, are doubtless the true rendering of the real enigma which we are considering. Woman is the occasion and the instrument, if you please, even the agent of the evils of this life; and of all the possibilities of its highest happiness, its glory. This is true of her, whether considered as a substantive existence, or as the symbol of the passional and affectional nature of humanity, which she particularly manifests. We have seen the woes incident to her life; we look for the hope and redemption which she brings into its prophecy. The fall of man inverted the order of human things: woman became the victim of suffering and bondage—man became her master, and swallowed up her existence in his. The derangement continues, and every where and always marks the degree of the curse by the measure in which it is found. From the barbarous degradation in which she is governed with stripes, and sold like a commodity in the open markets of trade, to the refined disfranchisement in which her noble life is extinguished by tenderness, and when she can be but once bought and sold during the lifetime of her master, she still lies under the primal curse; and it still remains for her to work out her ransom in dishonor and pain. But the clouds are breaking that have so long lowered over her head, and a ray of hope shines through, which promises ere long to glorify her mission, and enlighten the world. I have said the order of life was inverted by the fall; for evil, in its very nature is a falseness of things and

inversion is its form. It is so in all things: Power which is properly only the servant of Goodness, is every where its master. Love, the holiest and highest of the passions, is the basest and lowest. Vice rules, and virtue is in chains. The Messiah, the Prince of Peace, took the form of a servant, in his minority to an evil world; and womanhood, which is chosen to characterize the Church made perfect, as the "bride of the lamb," follows the rule, and is every where in a state of degradation corresponding inversely to the glory which is yet to be revealed in her. Such are the facts, and such the philosophy which we may deduce from them. The wrong suggests the remedy. But to reach it, we must leave prospects and abstractions, which we have to deal with, and address ourselves to the real conditions, to the actualities of the work before us.

\* \* \* The teachings of nature, to the extent which her lessons are permitted to go, have surely some instruction for us, and however limited and partial they are made by our interference, still, for a state of things manifestly wrong, some hints may be gleaned for criticism, if not for direction. Boys and girls of the same home circle, or the same neighborhood, who are educated together, and who have proper physical and moral training, and favorable outward surroundings, are gay, guileless and pure. Their joyous laugh and light play together, defy the fear of public eye or ear; its cold mockery is nothing to them. Nature has never separated the sexes; but artificial and false customs have come in and divorced what God created to be conjoined. No form of society can be in harmony, which wholly disregards the first form given, that of the family. The union of the sexes in schools, stimulates to exertion, and imposes wholesome moral restraints; and were it but continued, instead of being rudely broken in upon, it would prevent many unhappy marriages, for it would tend to moderate that inconsiderate passion which is often awakened by distance and imposed restraints.

In the midst of this joyful existence of childhood, the girl is caught up and sent for a year to a girl's boarding school, to finish her education, and womanhood is now thrust upon her. Here, in this new stage of existence, the lesson most assiduously taught is one of self-consciousness.

\* \* \* Surrounded by those in the full maturity of life, the frost of conventionalisms soon hangs its brilliants upon her; she lives to glitter and dazzle. She no longer enjoys as a child, for her whole



nature is over stimulated ; she lives in a fever of excitement ; sleeping and waking, her dream is of love and marriage, for she is taught that this is the end and aim of woman's life. If from this state of things she is ever developed as a woman, it will be through pain and suffering. Affliction will be her educator, and sorrow her discipline, if her life shall ever bloom, as the bud promised, in strength and beauty.

\* \* \* From the marriage hour woman is presented only in a series of dissolving views. First view, she stands beside her husband radiant in girlish beauty. She worships. One side of the lesson is well learned, that of entire dependence. Not once has she dreamed that there must be mutual dependence, and separate fountains of reciprocal life. It may be that neither of them have looked upon marriage as a holy sacrament, into which no worldly motive or root of bitterness should enter. The husband invested her with his ideal of womanhood, while she was yet a child. The illusion served for the period of courtship, but the trials of life disclose the mistake, and he is forced to lower his tone of reverence and pride, to that of pity, apology, and patronage. The immolated child saw not, in the ornamental bracelets, the vestige of the handcuff, and the sign of continuing spiritual slavery. She had no clue to the riddle of the ring, the ear ornaments and the necklace, as the gilded yoke and sign of property. The husband, too, has an idea that strength and usefulness are masculine and coarse. No wonder that he mistakes ignorance for innocence, and helpless dependence for graceful devotion ; hence, while placing upon her the symbols of his proprietorship, he is happy in his new possession, but soon awakens painfully to the conviction that after all, a slave is not a wife, and a helpless dependent can be no friend in the hour of need. The canvass darkens ; the bride disappears in her golden handcuffs.

\* \* \* In the next scene, the child wife appears withering away from life, as from the heart she is not large or noble enough to fill—pining in the darkness of her home-life, made only the deeper by her inactivity, ignorance and despair. The occupation of business, ambition, and the ennobling pursuits of life, are forbidden her by general consent. These, it is true, could not supply, but they could cover and blunt disappointment. Henceforth her internal and external life bear no analogy, each to the other.

\* \* \* In a new view, she has passed the season of despair, and appears as the heartless votary of fashion, a flirt, or that most to be dreaded, most to be despised being—a married coquette; at once seductive, heartless, and basely unprincipled; or as beauty of person has faded away, she may be found turning from these lighter styles of toys, to a quiet kind of handmaiden piety and philanthropy. Is deeply interested for poor, benighted Africa, for the Fejee Islands, or Chinese. This is what the exclusive masterdom in religion has left to woman. There is still one last view, ere the canvass is withdrawn, and its images are forgotten.

Look deeply into that soul-full eye, now that all fear is passing away before the angel of death, who has called the spirit to freedom. It says clearly there is falseness and wrong that must be removed. Marriage, as it now exists, is only a name, a form without a soul, a bondage, legal and therefore honorable. Make it felt that only equals may enter this relation. \* \* \* The mature man is not in effect wedded to the child. Give her strength, power and ability to stand alone, ere you demand of her duties from which an angel might shrink. Make marriage what it should be, a union of soul with soul, a blending of two in one, without masterdom or helpless dependence, and it is then what God designed it to be. Let only such marriages be consummated as are based upon the highest love. A love noble and generous in its nature, which founds itself on pure and ardent friendship, an exalted respect, and an implicit confidence in its object.

\* \* \* Man assumes the right to control, and more in the political world, than in the social circle. He is responsible for withdrawing the child from her companions, and thrusting womanhood upon her. He is responsible for closing the professions in which woman might obtain a competence and find scope for a laudable ambition. He is responsible for monopolizing all the lighter kinds of commerce and trade, and thus compelling women to marry. I do not say, for I do not know, that men are conscious how entirely they govern. Among nearly all classes of women, the first question is, what will the gentlemen say of such or such a thing? and their opinion is the standard of action, from the cut of a dress to the highest moral act. \* \* \* I have alluded to but one evil in marriage, and that is, inequality in years and development, which soon wears out the most fervent love. But there are others, from various motives,

such as ambition, interest, convenience and accident. In all these, neither party inquires whether there is correspondence of faith, hope, and above all, of religious principle. There may be, alas ! too much of truth in the bitterness of Byron's words, when he says :

“ Few more find what they love, or could have loved ;  
 Though accident, blind contact, and the strong  
 Necessity of loving have removed  
 Antipathies—but to recur ere long,  
 Envenomed with irrevocable wrong ;  
 And circumstance, that unspiritual God  
 And miscreator, makes and helps along  
 Our cunning evils with a crutch-like rod  
 Whose touch turns hope to dust.”

Our work, so true to humanity, re-creates hope from the dust, by elevating woman — by demanding for her education, equal in all respects to man, and by opening new avenues to independence of life, that when she marries, it may be from a true, high love. Man may secure the gratitude of woman by conferring favors upon her, by giving her food and shelter, but this is a weak band. It will not serve to make life harmonious at its center. The domestic hearth will not be the pivot about which all other movements can circle. Did the evils of such unions cease with the parties concerned, it would not so much matter that there should be a skeleton in every house. But it does not; it is one of those sins visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation : hence those inharmonious organizations that pain the eye and wound the higher nature, rendering sacrifice and atonement continually needful. It is on those who have found out the secret of home happiness, that this glorious work, so full of justice and right, rests. It cannot be trusted to those who are in conflict either with God or man. They cannot be the true alchemists to transmute the base metal into pure gold, for their judgments will be perverted, and their eyes be clouded, through the false medium of self-observation. Their own lacerated feelings, which are at best but poor philosophers, will usurp the control of reason and judgment, and thus the grand object be delayed.

\* \* \* I will close my remarks with the following resolution :

*Inasmuch* as the Family is the central and supreme institution among human societies, so that all other organizations, whether of Church or State, depend upon it for their character and action, its evils being the source of all evil, and its good the fountain of all good,

involved in the destiny of the race — and inasmuch as MARRIAGE, the bond of this primary and principal of human associations, was the only institution given by the Creator in the innocence of Eden, and is the chosen symbol of relation for the union of the Church with her Redeemer, in the Paradise to come — we are thereby taught as much as we can yet comprehend of the deep significance of its idea, and the boundless beneficence of its office in the economy of human existence :

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

It was decided by the Convention that the Publishing Committee have discretionary power to merge those resolutions which may be similar, in publishing the proceedings.

ERNESTINE L. ROSE, being introduced as a Polish lady, and educated in the Jewish faith, said—

It is of very little importance in what geographical position a person is born, but it is important whether his ideas are based upon facts that can stand the test of reason, and his acts are conducive to the happiness of society. Yet, being a foreigner, I hope you will have some charity on account of speaking in a foreign language. Yes, I am an example of the universality of our claims ; for not American women only, but a daughter of poor, crushed Poland, and the down-trodden and persecuted people called the Jews, “ a child of Israel,” pleads for the equal rights of her sex. I perfectly agree with

the resolution, that if woman is insensible to her wrongs, it proves the depth of her degradation. It is a melancholy fact, that woman has worn her chains so long that they have almost become necessary to her nature — like the poor inebriate, whose system is so diseased that he cannot do without the intoxicating draft, or those who are guilty of the pernicious and ungentlemanly practice of using tobacco until they cannot dispense with the injurious stimulant. Woman is in a torpid condition, whose nerves have become so paralyzed that she knows not she is sick, she feels no pain, and if this proves the depth of her degradation, it also proves the great wrong and violence done to her nature. \* \* \*

Woman is a slave, from the cradle to the grave. Father, guardian, husband—master still. One conveys her, like a piece of property, over to the other. She is said to have been created only for man's benefit, not for her own. This falsehood is the main cause of her inferior education and position. Man has arrogated to himself the right to her person, her property, and her children; and so vitiated is public opinion, that if a husband is rational and just enough to acknowledge the influence of his wife, he is called "hen-pecked." The term is not very elegant, but it is not of my coining; it is yours, and I suppose you know what it means; I dont. But it is high time these irrationalities are done away, for the whole race suffers by it. In claiming our rights, we claim the rights of humanity: it is not for the interest of woman only, but for the interest of all. The interest of the sexes cannot be separated—together they must enjoy or suffer—both are one in the race. \* \* \*

E. O. SMITH, one of the Vice Presidents, took the Chair, while LUCRETIA MOTT addressed the Convention in favor of agitation.

She said, allusion had been made by the last speaker to the condition of France. A petition was presented, during the Provisional Government, before the last uprising of the people in that country, for the rights of woman. Some of the greatest philosophers there present, saw that women were right in their claim; they saw in it a new future for woman. The reason of the failure of the Revolution of 1789, was that they failed to be represented by one half of the intelligence of France—intelligence different but not inferior, and for that very difference essential to form a complete Republic. Woman had long suffered under a nightmare of oppression, without the power to state the cause of her suffering. Those only shunned or hated

discussion, who, being in the wrong, feared the light. The common remark in the social circle is, "what do you want?" *Women* would not ask that question, if they were not stupified with the gilded pill of flattery, in place of rights.

It was said this morning, that woman could take her rights in a quiet way, without making so much talk about it; this is not the case, as is shown in the efforts already made. In all reforms we have the assertion that agitation is not best; that God in his own good time will bring about the desired end; it had often been said, in the meetings of which she was a member, that if Friends would keep still, and not mix in the excitements of the day, Providence would bring about all reforms. She was a believer in agitation—in the wisdom of *not* keeping still. Jesus was an agitator; he told the Scribes and Pharisees they made the law of God of no effect, by their traditions; and urged the practical carrying out of the law of righteousness. She added, that the wife was degraded in the marriage relation, in the false vow of obedience to her husband. Blackstone defines the law of marriage to be that the husband and wife are one person, and that person, the husband. Thus women are degraded by law, by the monopoly of the Church, and all the circumstances with which she is surrounded. She must therefore boldly affirm her rights. Lucy Stone, whom they all delighted to honor, had to do battle for her rights, even in that college (Oberlin) which was the first to open its portals for the equal education of women with men. Antoinette Brown, also a student in that seminary, had to meet the prejudices against women's preaching, and to show that no Apostolic or other Scriptural prohibition could be found. Women must go on, in the exercise of their talents and powers. The first efforts were feeble, but they would gain strength. Some women had resolved to study Law. We had already successful practitioners of Medicine. The salaries of female Teachers are now from five hundred to one thousand dollars per year. The teacher of Grammar in the Girard College, a woman, is acknowledged superior to most men. The number of female Editors is constantly increasing. Schools of Design, and other branches of the Fine Arts, are offering employment to women. The U. S. Mint employs three to four hundred women. Persevere then, until no woman shall confess her own degradation, by saying she has all the rights she wants.

Mrs. Morr's resolution was then adopted. Adjourned.

## THURSDAY EVENING SESSION.

The Hall was crowded still more than on the previous evening.

The President called to order at a quarter to seven.

HARRIET K. HUNT, M. D., said, that unseen spirits have been with us in this Convention—the spirits of our Shaker sisters. Untold sorrows have driven many of them to these societies, the Convents of our country.

LUCY STONE read an address from Mr. Brigham, who thought justice had not been done him. She proceeded to comment on his letter, she thought their differences were more in terms than ideas; that capacity, not sex, should limit sphere; that when woman had a genius for sculpture, or the other fine arts, she should not be confined to the kitchen.

She went on further eloquently to discuss the question.

Some discussion arose between Mr. Brigham, Martha C. Wright, Eliza A. Aldrich, of Cincinnati, Ohio, (Editor of the *Genius of Liberty*), C. I. H. Nichols, and Harriet K. Hunt, as to the peculiar relations of woman as wife and mother.

Mrs. PALMITER, replying to Mr. B., said she had been fifteen years a preacher of the Gospel, and had gone here and there preaching a risen Savior. A preacher told her the female sex was the wickedest. She preached the next Sabbath, and referred to this circumstance. She said that a rib was taken from man's side, and formed into woman. Man accepted her, "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh." Now if one rib was so wicked as that, what a mass of wickedness the whole of him must be.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN took up the Bible argument, prefacing it with this resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Bible recognizes the rights, duties and privileges of Woman as a public teacher, as every way equal with those of man; that it enjoins upon her no subjection that is not enjoined upon him; and that it truly and practically recognizes neither male nor female in Christ Jesus.

God created the first human pair equals in rights, possessions and authority. He bequeathed the earth to them as a joint inheritance; gave them joint dominion over the irrational creation; but

none over each other.—(Gen., 1, 28.) They sinned. God announced to them the results of sin. One of these results was the *rule* which man would exercise over woman—(Gen. 3, 16.) This *rule* was no more approved, endorsed, or sanctioned by God, than was the twin-born prophecy, “thou (Satan) shalt bruise his (Christ’s) heel.” God could not, from His nature, command Satan to injure Christ, or any other of the seed of the woman. What particle of evidence is there then for supposing that in the parallel announcement he commanded man to rule over woman. Both passages should have been translated *will*, instead of *shall*. Either auxiliary is used indifferently according to the sense, in rendering that form of the Hebrew verb into English.

Because thou hast done this, is God’s preface to the announcement. The results are the effects of sin. Can woman then receive evil from this rule, and man receive good? Man should be blessed in exercising this power, if he is divinely appointed to do so; but the two who are one flesh have an identity of interests, therefore if it is a curse or evil to woman, it must be so to man also. We mock God, when we make Him approve of man’s thus cursing himself and woman.

The submission enjoined upon the wife, in the New Testament, is not the unrighteous rule predicted in the Old. It is a christian submission due from man towards man, and from man towards woman: “Yea, all of you be subject one to another”—(1 Pet., 5, 5. Eph., 5, 21; Rom. 12, 10, &c.) In 1 Cor. 16, 16, the disciples are besought to submit themselves “to every one that helpeth with us and laboreth.” The same Apostle says, “help those women which labored with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow-laborers.”

*Man is the head of the woman.* True, but only in the sense in which Christ is represented as head of His body, the Church. In a different sense He is head of all things — of wicked men and devils. If man is woman’s head in this sense, he may exercise over her all the prerogatives of God himself. This would be blasphemous. The *mystical* Head and Body, or Christ and His Church, symbolize oneness, union. Christ so loved the Church he gave himself for it, made it his own body, part and parcel of himself. So ought men to love their wives. Then the rule which grew out of sin, will cease with the sin.

It is said woman is commanded not to teach in the Church. There is no such command in the Bible. It is said, (1 Cor. 14, 34,) “Let



your women keep *silence* in the churches ; for it is not permitted unto them to *speak*." This injunction, taken out of its connection, forbids *singing* also ; interpreted by its context, woman is merely told not to *talk* unless she does *teach*. On the same principle, one who has the gift of tongues is told not to use it in the Church, unless there is an interpreter. The rule enforced from the beginning to the end of the chapter is, "Let all things be done unto edifying." Their women, who had not been previously instructed like the men, were very naturally guilty of asking questions which did not edify the assembly. It was better that they should wait till they got home, for the desired information, rather than put an individual good before the good of the Church. Nothing else is forbidden. There is not a word here against woman's teaching. The Apostle says to the whole Church, woman included, "ye may all prophesy, one by one."

In 1 Tim. 2, 12, the writer forbids woman's teaching over man, or usurping authority over him ; that is, he prohibits dogmatizing, tutoring, teaching in a dictatorial spirit. This is prohibited both in public and private ; but a proper kind of teaching is not prohibited. Verse 14—a reference to Eve, who, though created last, sinned first, is merely such a suggestion as we would make to a daughter whose mother had been in fault. The daughters are not blamed for the mother's sin, merely warned by it ; and cautioned against self-confidence, which could make them presume to *teach over man*. The Bible tells us of many prophetesses approved of God. The Bible is truly democratic. Do as you would be done by, is its golden commandment, recognizing neither male nor female in Christ Jesus.

ERNESTINE L. ROSE — If the able Theologian who has just spoken had been in Indiana when the Constitution was revised, she might have had a chance to give her definitions on the Bible argument, to some effect. At that Convention, Robert Dale Owen introduced a clause to give to a married woman the right to her property. The clause had passed, but by the influence of a minister was recalled ; and by his appealing to the superstition of the members, and bringing the whole force of Bible argument to bear against the right of woman to her property, it was lost. Had Miss Brown been there, she might have beaten him with his own weapons. For my part, I see no need to appeal to any written authority, particularly when it is so obscure and indefinite as to admit of different interpretations. When the in-

habitants of Boston converted their harbor into a tea-pot, rather than submit to unjust taxes, they did not go to the Bible for their authority; for if they had, they would have been told from the same authority, to "give unto Cesar what belonged to Cesar." Had the people, when they rose in the might of their right to throw off the British yoke, appealed to the Bible for authority, it would have answered them, "submit to the powers that be, for they are from God." No! on Human Rights and Freedom — on a subject that is as self-evident as that two and two make four, there is no need of any written authority. But this is not what I intended to speak upon. I wish to introduce a resolution, and leave it to the action of the Convention:

*Resolved*, That we ask not for our rights as a gift of charity, but as an act of justice. For it is in accordance with the principles of republicanism that, as woman has to pay taxes to maintain government, she has a right to participate in the formation and administration of it. That as she is amenable to the laws of her country, she is entitled to a voice in their enactment, and to all the protective advantages they can bestow; and as she is as liable as man to all the vicissitudes of life, she ought to enjoy the same social rights and privileges. And any difference, therefore, in political, civil and social rights, on account of sex, is in direct violation of the principles of justice and humanity, and as such ought to be held up to the contempt and derision of every lover of human freedom.

\* \* \* But we call upon the law-makers and law-breakers of the nation, to defend themselves for violating the fundamental principles of the Republic, or disprove their validity. Yes! they stand arrayed before the bar, not only of injured womanhood, but before the bar of moral consistency; for this question is awakening an interest abroad, as well as at home. Wherever human rights are claimed for man, moral consistency points to the equal rights of woman; but statesmen dare not openly face the subject, knowing well they cannot confute it, and they have not moral courage enough to admit it; and hence, all they can do is to shelter themselves under a subterfuge which, though solidified by age, ignorance and prejudice, is transparent enough for the most benighted vision to penetrate. A strong evidence of this, is given in a reply of Mr. Roebuck, member of Parliament, at a meeting of electors, in Sheffield, England. Mr. R., who advocated the extension of the franchise to the occupants of five pound tenements, was asked whether he would favor the extension of the same to women who pay an equal amount of rent? That was a sim-

ple, straight-forward question of justice ; one worthy to be asked even in our Republican Legislative Halls. But what was the honorable gentleman's reply ? Did he meet it openly and fairly ? Oh, no ! but hear him, and I hope the ladies will pay particular attention ; for the greater part of the reply contains the draught, poor, deluded woman has been accustomed to swallow—FLATTERY : “There is no man who owes more than I do to woman. My education was formed by one whose very recollections at this moment make me tremble. There is nothing which, for the honor of the sex, I would not do—the happiness of my life is bound up with it—Mother, Wife, Daughter, Woman, to me have been the Oasis of the desert of life, and, I have to ask myself, would it conduce to the happiness of society to bring woman more distinctly than she now is brought, into the arena of politics ? Honestly I confess to you I believe not. I will tell you why. All their influences, if I may so term it, are gentle influences. In the rude battle and business of life, we come home to find a nook and shelter of quiet comfort, after the hard and severe, and I may say, the sharp ire and the disputes of the House of Commons. I hie me home, knowing that I shall there find personal solicitude and anxiety. My head rests upon a bosom throbbing with emotion for me and our child ; and I feel a more hearty man in the cause of my country, the next day, because of the perfect, soothing, gentle peace which a mind sullied by politics is unable to feel. Oh ! I cannot rob myself of that inexpressible benefit, and therefore I say, NO.”

Well, this is certainly a nice, little, romantic bit of Parliamentary declamation. What a pity that he should give up all these enjoyments, to give woman a vote. Poor man ! his happiness must be balanced on the very verge of a precipice, when the simple act of depositing a vote by the hand of woman, would overthrow and destroy it forever. I don't doubt the Honorable gentleman meant what he said, particularly the last part of it, for such are the views of the unthinking, unreflecting mass of the public, here as well as there. But like a true politician, he commenced very patriotically, for the happiness of society, and finished by describing his own individual interests. His reply is a curious mixture of truth, political sophistry, false assumption and blind selfishness. But he was placed in a dilemma, and got himself out as he could. In advocating the franchise to five pound tenement-holders, it did not occur to him that woman may possess the same qualification that man has, and in justice, therefore,

ought to have the same rights ; and when the simple question was put to him, (simple questions are very troublesome to statesmen,) having too much sense not to see the justness of it, and too little moral courage to admit it, he entered into quite an interesting account of what a delightful little creature woman is, provided only she is kept quietly at home, waiting for the arrival of her lord and master—ready to administer a dose of purification, “which his politically sullied mind is unable to feel.” Well ! I have no desire to dispute the necessity of it, nor that he owes to woman all that makes life desirable—comforts, happiness, aye, and common sense too, for it is a well-known fact, that smart mothers always have smart sons, unless they take after their father. But what of that ? Are the benefits woman is capable of bestowing on man, reasons why she must pay the same amount of rent and taxes, without enjoying the same rights that man does. But the justice of the case was not considered. The Honorable gentleman was only concerned about the “happiness of society.” Society ? what does the term mean ? As a foreigner, I understand by it a collection, or union of human beings : men, women, and children, under one general government, and for mutual interest. But Mr. Roebuck, being a native Briton and a member of Parliament, gave us a Parliamentary definition, namely : society means the male sex only ; for in his solicitude to consult “the happiness of society,” he enumerated the benefits man enjoys from keeping woman from her rights, without even dreaming that woman was at all considered in it ; and this is the true Parliamentary definition, for statesmen never include woman in their solicitude for the happiness of society. Oh, no ! she is not yet recognized as belonging to the honorable body, unless taxes are required for its benefit, or the penalties of the law have to be enforced for its security. Thus, being either unwilling or afraid to do woman justice, he first flattered her, then, in his ignorance of the true nature of woman, he assumed, that if she has her rights equal with man, she would cease to be woman—forsake the partner of her existence, the child of her bosom, dry up her sympathies, stifle her affections, turn recreant to her own nature. Then his blind selfishness took the alarm, lest, if woman were more independent, she might not be willing to be the obedient, servile tool, implicitly to obey and minister to the passions and follies of man ; “and as he could not rob himself of these inexpressible benefits, therefore he said, No.”

Such are the lofty views of statesmen on woman, that equality of rights, the only and sure means to enlighten and elevate man, would degrade and corrupt woman. The genial rays of the sun of freedom, that vivify, cheer and ennoble him, would chill the heart and destroy the affections in her, and therefore it is inexpedient to give her her rights, "to bring her more distinctly into the political arena." Oh, yes! the Turk deems it inexpedient (for the happiness of society,) to give woman any personal freedom, therefore he encloses her in a harem. It is a well-known characteristic of tyrants and cowards, when they dare not face a question of right, to shelter themselves under expediency. It was inexpedient for Nicholas of Russia to allow Hungary to free herself from Austrian oppression, therefore he sent his infernal machines to prevent it. It was expedient for Louis Napoleon to destroy the Roman Republic, and inexpedient to await the issue of another election, and therefore he violated his oath, and, with bayonet in one hand and musket in the other, compelled his re-election. The bright and noble spirits of France were inexpedient to his treachery, so he incarcerated them, or banished them from the country—all these are measures of expediency. Thus in the more despotic countries of Europe, it is expedient for the rulers to deprive the people of every vestige of freedom. In constitutional England, it is already expedient to advocate (and I hope they soon will obtain it) the extension of the elective franchise to every man who pays five pounds rent, but it is yet inexpedient to give woman the same privilege. And here, in this glorious land of freedom, a Republic that has proclaimed equality of rights—that has written on its banners universal suffrage—even here it is yet deemed by the wiseacres of the nation, expedient to exclude half of its population from that universality. And do you know, my friends, the reasons given for all these measures of tyranny and oppression? Why, the happiness of society. But the question we ask, is not whether woman shall forsake her household, like man, to intrigue in politics, fight at elections, marshal armies, or direct navies. The question at issue is whether woman, as a being amenable to the laws under which she lives, shall have a voice in their enactment—as a member of the social compact, shall participate and control those institutions to which she is made subject? Or shall man, in his assumption of power, continue to deprive her of her natural and inalienable rights, prescribe her sphere of action within the least possible limits, restrict her education, and the de-

velopment of her powers to the lowest degree, cripple her physical, mental and moral energies, that he may have a docile, obedient slave to do his bidding? These are questions not of expediency, but of right; not of charity, but of justice. And yet, though we might well leave the issue of our cause on its own merits, I would be perfectly willing to meet the opposers of our claims on their own grounds, and convince them that even on the question of expediency they have not an atom of ground to stand upon. The greatest objection I have yet heard, in public or private, against woman's political rights, is the corruption of the present state of party politics. It is represented to be in so low and degraded a condition, that no one can enter the political arena without contamination, and therefore woman must be kept from its very atmosphere. Now, without disputing the validity of the testimony, as humiliating confessions come mostly from gentlemen belonging to these honorable bodies, I would ask, what is to be done? Leave forever our Legislative Halls, the Stygian pools, as the honorable Horace Mann calls them, that they now are? For what rational hope have we that they will ever become purified unless woman takes them in hand, seeing that man has had the exclusive possession of them so long, and they only seem to grow worse. No! no! something must be done. Expediency, "the benefit of society," calls for woman's "purifying influence," for "the perfect, soothing, gentle peace which the politically sullied minds" of our legislators, seeing how they fight in Congress, "are unable to feel." Let woman then, be with him wherever duty calls her, and she will soon cleanse the Legislative Halls, as she has cleansed and purified the festive board of the excess that existed there.

"'Tis not well for man to be alone"—Mother, Sister, Wife, Daughter, woman must be with him, to keep him in his proper sphere. Do you doubt it? Then look at exclusive assemblies of men, and even among the best you will perceive the rude, uncultivated nature of Adam, before mother Eve civilized him, by making him partake of the Tree of Knowledge. Expediency, therefore, as well as justice, demands that woman should have her political, civil and social rights, that she may be better able to "soothe, quiet," and aid man, abroad as well as at home. And the beneficial effects to society will soon be apparent; for as she will be better educated, have all her powers developed, her judgment expanded, she will be more competent to fulfil the various duties devolving upon her — as mother, to train her

sons (aye, and her daughters, too,) in the way they should go, from which, when they grow old, they will not depart; as wife, more truly affectionate, so that when the husband's head will rest on her throbbing bosom, she would be able to give him counsel and courage, as well as rest; and though at the marriage ceremony she might not be willing to say "Obey," she will substitute the far better word, Assist. As a companion, she would be more interesting and instructive, and as a member of society, more useful, honorable and happy.

LYDIA A. JENKINS—Tyranny always strives to hamper the tongue from free utterance, and all hampering of the tongue is tyranny. The thoughts of Jesus of Nazareth, once uttered, had come down to us, borne upon the waves of nineteen centuries. The truths he uttered were above his time. Men are not now fit to receive them. He is a craven who will not allow truths to be uttered because men are not prepared to hear them. When carriages rival the eagle's speed, when the fire of heaven conveys intelligence, when a Crystal Palace is reared, with progress depicted in every department, and nations are shaking hands, when education is receiving a new impetus, and religion is disbanding itself from ties which bind it to earth, is it wonderful that woman should endeavor to lay aside some of the bands which confine her? Ah, no! \* \* \*

E. S. ROSE's resolution was then adopted.

The question of organization, or continued Conventions, and the adoption of resolutions, were laid on the table, to be taken up at the morning session.

Adjourned to nine o'clock, Friday morning.

#### FRIDAY MORNING SESSION.

President in the Chair. Hall crowded. Minutes of the last evening were read.

A letter was read by MARTHA C. WRIGHT, Secretary, from SARAH D. FISH, of Rochester. The following are extracts:

\* \* \* When we shall have the bright sunlight of truth beaming on our pathway, we shall hear no more about its being exclusively the mother's business to train her children—thus lulling to rest the mental and spiritual energies of the father—but there will be a mutual responsibility.

\* \* \* It will no longer be considered as belonging solely to woman to make home happy ; that it is her province alone to create a halo of love in the family circle ; but father and mother, brother and sister, will feel alike inspired by all the holy affections, conjugal, parental, fraternal, and filial, to make home beautiful, attractive and happy.

\* \* \* In such an assemblage of philanthropy and talent, as will convene at your different sessions, I feel that the many obstacles in our path, civil, social and political, will be considered, and clearly held up to the view of all ; and knowing faithful laborers, in this work, are daily added to our numbers, I consider it impossible for all the powers of darkness to prevent our onward course : therefore, let us continue earnestly persevering for the holy boon of freedom. Success is surely ours.

Your Friend,

In the cause of Freedom,

SARAH D. FISH.

Rochester, September 6th, 1852.

LYDIA F. FOWLER, (Secretary,) said, she would give her speech in the form of resolutions, or Homœopathically :

*Whereas*, We see in the human body, that, though each organ selects from the same life-founts the nourishment requisite for its growth, nutrition and assimilation, yet that each, from the highest to the lowest function, has an individual of its own, independent of all the others ; therefore, in order to follow out the analogy of nature, let us—

*Resolve*, That in the great body politic, or in the great social body, each one, irrespective of sex, talent, or capability for a higher or lower mission, fulfil the great ends of his or her being.

*Resolved*, That, as it is said by many, that the race has become dwarfed in body and mind, through the folly and imbecility of woman, and that it is chiefly by her instrumentality that it can be redeemed : Therefore—

*Resolved*, That all women be recommended, yea, earnestly entreated, to understand thoroughly the human organism in its physiological and anatomical relations, that there may be a more harmonious development, and that the curse of physical weakness and deterioration be in a measure removed from the race.

*Resolved*, That the Convention appoint a General Committee from different parts of the country, who shall find out the wants of those who seek to enter professions, to give them a word of encouragement, and to recommend them to the patronage of the public in the different cities and villages.



*Resolved*, That mothers be urged to carve out for their children a high and noble destiny; to study their idiosyncracies and adaptations to different employments, and develop them so that each son and daughter will be qualified to earn his or her livelihood, and hence not outrage nature through the influence of the pocket nerve.

*Resolved*, That as it is universally acknowledged, that when a truly great work is performed, it proves the right of the performer to do it; therefore, let each woman here assembled, determine that during the coming year, she will labor to accomplish some great and useful end, either in the bosom of her own family, in perfecting her own "God-inspired self-hood"—in living out the full tide of her emotions and aspirations, or fulfilling the instincts of her genius, whether as a poet, artist, physician or minister.

It was suggested to the President, that a member present felt called to offer prayer.

LUCRETIA MOTT said, she knew that prayer was customary on such occasions, at the opening of meetings, but that she could not conscientiously call for it; it was due, however, that opportunity should be given when asked.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN then offered prayer.

A session of the Business Committee was called, at noon.

JAMES MOTT suggested that all resolutions be handed to the Business Committee, to be reported on.

E. OAKES SMITH, thought individuals might better read or offer their own resolutions, and then refer them to the Business Committee.

Mr. C. A. HAMMOND, of the State Committee of the Liberty Party, offered the following resolutions, which were referred to the Business Committee :

*Resolved*, That if a woman has a right to the ballot-box, and to the other rights of a common humanity, then it is the duty of those who thus believe, to act consistently with this truth when they vote for civil rulers, or use their influence in their choice.

*Resolved*, That neither the Whig party, the servile or the Free Democracy, take this ground, therefore we cannot vote for their candidates; and as the Liberty party does take it, that we commend that party and its candidates as being trustworthy in that respect.

No action was taken on the above resolutions.

HARRIET K. HUNT, M. D., of Boston, offered the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That if, in the present state of society, man prescribes as Physician for woman, in her sick chamber, he must also be pre-

pared to meet her in the Lecture Room ; otherwise, an unwillingness to meet her *there*, may argue a low state of morality in our Medical Colleges.

2. *Resolved*, That the present low standard of morals exhibited through the papers, calls loudly upon woman to lend a helping hand to amend these abuses.

3. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as our Editors are, in *one* aspect, our Public Teachers, and help to give tone to Public opinion : therefore, we regard their practice of *inserting in their Journals*, (for the sake of lucre,) *vitiating and demoralizing advertisements*, as in the highest degree reprehensible, and as indicating the need of a new medical infusion, through the woman element.

They were, with others, referred to the Business Committee.

S. B. ANTHONY then read the following resolutions, from E. C. STANTON, sent with her letter :

1. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of those States, in which woman has now by law a right to the property she inherits, to refuse to pay taxes, so long as she is unrepresented in the government.

2. *Resolved*, That the highest interests of the race demand that man and woman be educated together. This isolation of the sexes, in all places of business and pleasure, is crippling to the intellect of woman, and destructive of the best affections of man.

3. *Resolved*, That while we rejoice in the fact, that we now have physicians of both soul and body, from our own sex, we still feel the need of woman in the legal profession, whose intellect, sharpened by her own interests, may suggest more liberal interpretations of our present laws, or show the necessity of a new Code, far better and higher, more wise and just, than that which now disgraces our statute books.

4. *Resolved*, That justice requires that the property of woman should not be taxed throughout this State, to build and endow the People's College now proposed, unless woman be freely admitted to share equally with man in all its rights and privileges.

5. *Resolved*, That we rejoice in the recent temperance movement of the women of this State, and also at the treatment their delegates received from our clerical brethren, at the late annual meeting of the State Society. A few such encounters, will open the eyes of woman to the true character of the Priests and Levites of our day.

6. *Resolved*, That our present laws on marriage should be so remodded, that the wife and children of the beastly drunkard and gross libertine, may more easily escape from such degrading associations.

S. B. ANTHONY said, that she stood here as an agent of the Woman's Temperance Society. She thought that Society was an off-

spring of this movement, and she believed it entitled to the encouragement of this Convention. She said, that whenever the newspapers edited by women were established, the principles of women's rights were sure to progress. She desired to obtain the names of subscribers to the Temperance Society, and concluded by recommending the support of papers edited by women, and offered the following resolution :

*Whereas*, The Press is the most efficient means of enlightening and elevating public sentiment; and, whereas, there already exist in several of the States, excellent Journals, edited by women, for the promotion of these objects : therefore—

*Resolved*, That we will sustain these, rather than establish others.

C. I. H. NICHOLS, thought many papers edited by men, were spreading their principles into the family circle, and other places, where women's papers could never reach.

B. S. JONES said, that the paper of Mrs. Swisshelm was opposed to Woman's Rights, and was doing more harm than good, for that cause.

C. STEBBINS, was opposed to the introduction of the subject, because the State Temperance Society excluded men from becoming officers, or controlling the funds of the Society. She thought such a Society not in accordance with the principles of this Convention.

The PRESIDENT stated, that it was understood that the subject of organization should be taken up this morning, at an early hour; and at her suggestion, Mr. MAY read the following letter from ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD :

TO THE CONVENTION OF WOMEN, TO BE HELD AT SYRACUSE :

Not knowing, My Dear Friends, whether it will be possible for me to attend your Convention, I wish to say a few words to you on the subject of Organization, which I understand is to come up for discussion. It strikes me as very important that this topic should be thoroughly canvassed at the present sitting, and principles laid down which will serve as guides to our future course.

Organization is two-fold, Natural and Artificial, Divine and Human. Natural Organizations are based on the principle of Progression. Thus, the Solar System is governed by Laws which anticipate, provide for, and control a ceaseless round of changes. In obedience to these laws, by very slow degrees, the embryotic planet condenses into earth and rocks, and becomes fitted to sustain vegetable and

animal existence, first in their lower and then in their higher forms, ever providing for the untrammelled play of that Eternal Law of *Change*, which gives birth to, and nourishes the imperfect, only that it may bring it to perfection, and adorn it with that beauty which crowns the full maturity of every Natural and Divine Organization.

How *Change*, CHANGE seems the Omnipresent Stereotype of Nature. Look at the tree. At one time, nothing but an unsightly trunk and naked branches. Soon enrobed with verdure, it decks itself with blossoms, then casts them in frolic to the wind, and begins to push out the swelling fruit, which gradually ripens into ruddy maturity. This too it casts to the ground, and even its beauteous robe of green soon fades and falls: And, there it stands again, a bare, unsightly thing.

Look at the changes through which man passes, from infancy to childhood, to youth, to manhood; and then from maturity to the feebleness of age, until, at last, the spirit, absorbing into itself all the quickening power which once filled the body with life and activity, sunders the tie which bound them together, and rises into a higher life, a purer sphere.

Innumerable and intimate are the analogies between the inner and the outer—the Physical and the Spiritual world. Fixed laws govern the world of matter, organic and inorganic, the rock, the clod, the lofty tree, the exquisite and complex machinery of the human form—all are based upon the principle of decomposition and reorganization—a principle which contemplates and provides for continual *changes*. Hence these changes in structure do no violence to preceding states, but follow on as the legitimate results, the natural consequences of previous conditions—all are welcomed in their turn.

But Human or Artificial Organizations are not so. They are built upon the principle of *crystallization*—they *fix* the conditions of society—they seek to daguerreotype themselves, not on the present age only, but on future generations. They are to society what arsenic is to the body, *fixing* the condition of the stomach, it preserves it, but *destroys life*—stopping off all natural action in that organ, and forestalling all those changes which the welfare of the whole living fabric requires, it annihilates the vital principle itself. Hence the lifelessness of all organizations, as soon as the spirit of the age has died out of them, and re-organized itself in other forms, more befitting the requisitions of a new born era.

The world has witnessed a continued series of Revolutions and violent resistance to the insane effort to force upon men institutions which they had outgrown; when, if these Human Organizations had provided for that change of opinions—that birth of new ideas, which inevitably follows in the course of man's development, the natural unfolding of his perceptions, the bursting into bud, and blossom, and fruit, of the locked up energies of his intellectual and moral nature—how different would have been the result. A safety-valve would have been provided. Instead of the volcanic eruptions of human passion, which have deluged the world in blood; instead of Religious sects fighting down, with the faggot and the sword, the new forms of opinion which, in different ages, have grown upon the trunk and branches of Humanity, as naturally as the leaves and blossoms, and fruit appear upon the tree, at different stages of its development, the old ideas would have dropped off from mind, as quietly as the blossom gives place to the fruit, and the leaf shrivels and falls when the sap, at the approach of winter, recedes from the outer integument to solidify the woody fibre, and garners itself in the root, to prepare for the fresh efflorescence of another spring.

Human organizations are based upon *external* laws. Hence they fetter and distort expanding mind. Those only are at home in them who are dwarfed and shriveled by them. The free, growing spirit feels the fetter, and often with a maddening sense of bondage spurns the chain.

This natural law of *change*, the element of all Progress, is paralysed by that *crystallization* to which artificial organizations ever tend. Such organizations, instead of providing for these changes, which necessarily occur in the progress of mind, do but limit development, and cast the character in a fixed mold.

Having glanced at the distinction between Natural and Artificial Organizations, I will suggest some objections to the latter on the ground of their practical working.

1. Every Organization has its Shibboleth, its boundary line, its tests of membership. All are too narrow for Humanity.

2. The tendency of Organization is to kill out the spirit which gave it birth, through its struggle to preserve itself from those changes by which the increasing light of every age modifies the institutions of the past.

3. Organizations do not protect the sacredness of the individual.

Their legitimate tendency is to sink the individual in the mass, to sacrifice his rights, and immolate him upon the altar of some fancied good.

4. Freedom of thought is not nurtured and strengthened by Organization. Its office is to think for the masses, and cast public opinion in its own mold. It builds walls around itself for its own protection, thus enfeebling its members, by shutting out that natural and healthful collision with outside influences, which would quicken their own energy.

It is not to Organization that I object, but to an *Artificial one* only: one that must prove a burden, a clog, an incumbrance, rather than a help. Such an Organization as now actually exists among the women of America, I hail with heartfelt joy. We are bound together by the natural ties of a spiritual affinity; we are drawn to each other because we are attracted toward one common centre, the good of humanity. We need no external bonds to bind us together, no cumbrous machinery to keep our minds and hearts in unity of purpose and effort. We are not the lifeless staves of a barrel, which can be held together only by the iron hoops of an Artificial Organization. All we need, and all we ask, is freedom to think our own thoughts, and act out the promptings of our own inner being. Even as the vital principle continually re-creates the different organs of the human body, and presides over the harmonious co-operation of that seven-fold system of bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins, tissues and lacteal and lymphatic vessels which constitute one grand and perfect organism, so let the invisible power of Truth within us, re-create and enlarge our moral and mental organs for the reception of that new tide from the Ocean of Truth, which is now swelling around us to nourish the body of Humanity. So may it bear each of us onward in our daily life, assigning us our proper places, and appropriate functions, widely different, it may be, but still moving in perfect harmony, and co-operating with wise unanimity to accomplish the only legitimate end of any organization, the perfection of the Race, through the preaching and living of the Truth.

The present aspect of Organizations, whether in Church or State, or society at large, foretokens dissolution. The wrinkles and tottering of age are on them. And why is it so? God is determined to pull down what man has built up. Ichabod, is written upon all—

all of them, and deaf is he, who hears not the ominous whispering within the walls of this Babel, saying, "Let us remove hence—Let us remove hence."

When the human mind was as yet too undeveloped to comprehend the sacredness of the Individual, the vast importance of exalting this above every thing else, and providing for the growth and unfolding of the spirit, *then* Human *Institutions* were exalted above *Humanity*, and the car of a State and Church Juggernaut rolled over prostrate victims, who, ignorant of their own inborn divinity, gave to it that honor which was due only to their own nature. The power of Organization has been deemed necessary only because the power of Truth has not been appreciated, and, just in proportion as we reverence the Individual, and trust the unaided potency of Truth, we shall find it useless. What Organization, in the world's history, has not encumbered the unfettered action of those who created it? if indeed it has not been used as an engine of oppression.

The progress of Humanity may be likened to the building of a great Temple, and Human organizations to the scaffolding erected around it. Do I hear you then say, "well, as no house can be built without a scaffolding, let us set up another tier, in order to do the higher work of the present age, and, if need be, it can be torn down by our children." But, my friends, houses are artificial, hence artificial means must be used to build them. Men have chiseled the rock, and baked the clay, and sawed the beautiful trees of the forest, to erect themselves houses and temples of worship: hence the necessity for the scaffolding and the ladder. But Natural Organizations need no Artificial arrangements. The Baobab builds its massive trunk, of ninety feet in circumference, the Pine of Oregon lifts its pinnacle of pride two hundred and fifty feet, crowned with never-fading verdure, without the aid of scaffolding or ladder. By degrees, the vital principle within adds one circle after another, in the construction of its body, and pushes out in every direction the tender shoots, which by gradual accretions become strong and spreading branches, and in their turn serve as the basis of other boughs. Even so the great tree of Humanity needs no scaffolding of Artificial Organization in building up itself in symmetry of strength. Let each individual be true to those natural laws which were designed by God to preside over our growth and development, and, in noiseless beauty would the new ideas of one age grow out of the old branches of another, even as the

blossoms push themselves out in spring, and silently give place to the swelling fruit, and this in its turn quietly drops as soon as it ripens into maturity—each and all in obedience to that Law of ceaseless change, in the world of Matter and the world of Mind.

The importance of this question of Organization can hardly be unduly 'magnified. How few Organizations have ever had the power which this is destined to wield! The prayers and sympathies of the ripest and richest minds will be ours. Vast is the influence which true-hearted women will exert in the coming age. O, that this influence may all pour itself through *natural* channels! As the rills flow from the mountains to the valleys, clothing them in verdure, and mingling their waters with kindred streams, so may our hearts well out with love, mingling their sympathies together, and under the guidance of spiritual affinity fertilizing all the valley of life. Not that woman's sphere is the contracted one of home only—far from it. In whatever sphere it is right that man should move, there woman may move also. No place is too high, and none too low, for her to occupy, if duty calls her into it. The Rostrum, the Pulpit, the Bar, the Bench, the Halls of Legislation, the Presidential Chair, the Throne—none are too high for her powers or her worth, if her mind be allowed free play and true development.

The world has yet to write and read the record of woman's deeds. As Mother, Wife, Daughter, Sister, her history is known by heart: and along the lower walks of life, and the hidden paths of sorrow, her noiseless step has left the footprints of blood. Man has promulgated the doctrine, that Office sanctifies the incumbent, and consecrates the deed; but Truth is the only sanctifier, fitness for Office the only anointing oil. Thank God, this is being fully understood, before the Political Rights of women are acknowledged. Office has been sought hitherto, mainly from motives of low ambition and pecuniary profit. The exaltation of self has been preferred to the rights and the good of the many.

Well has it been for woman, that she has *not* been permitted to mingle in the low strife, and base intrigues of political life. God be praised, that He has hidden us in the hollow of His hand, until this semi-barbarism is about to pass away.

The human mind is now being developed up to a true appreciation of rights, around the entire circle of human relations. When these are fully comprehended, the high places of power will be graded



down, and the low places of oppression will be filled up, by the aid of this new spirit level. Hitherto men have *courted* Office — they have cringed and fawned and knuckled and licked the dust, to obtain it; often buying it by the basest surrender of principle and manhood. The time is coming when Office shall cast these unworthy ones headlong, and shall court the true Nobility of Earth.

May we not rejoice in the conviction, that, when the eligibility of woman to Office is acknowledged, she will not be false to the trusts committed to her, but will enter upon it in the dignity of uncontaminated womanhood, and sanctify it by a wise and loving discharge of its high responsibilities.

It is well for woman that she has participated so little in the exercise of that power which has hitherto ruled the destinies of mankind. Well did the Prophet select its symbols from ferocious beasts of prey, whose nature is to rend in pieces, trample down and devour. The world's history is a record of oppression and wrong—her mighty deeds, the triumphs of brute violence. The Animal part only, in Man, has been developed up to the *reigning* point, hence woman, being the weaker, has always held a subordinate place, as necessarily as weaker nations have sunk in the scale of National Greatness. In past ages, when Might swayed the scepter, all weakness, whether National or Feminine, was overwhelmed by it; but now, that Man's Spiritual nature is unfolding under the rays of the Sun of Righteousness—now that he is beginning to apprehend that intellectual and moral power are the only legitimate Monarchs—now that the long looked for era is approaching, when the "Son of Man" is to reign, (the "Son of Man," a symbol of man's *spiritual*, just as the *wild beasts* are symbols of his *brutal* nature,) mere physical or mental weakness will no longer be oppressed, but will call into exercise the noblest faculties of human nature, developing the moral by the ministrations which are called for by the necessities of those who are in "low estate." Just as parents watch over and supply the wants of their offspring, providing for their moral and mental development, so will Governments minister to all the wants of *all* their subjects; even as the root of a tree sends out its sap to the *smallest* shoots, more abundantly than to the sturdy stock, so will Governments protect and nourish those who need it most. And as Physicians and Nurses watch over the sick, and aid in their recovery, so will Governments watch over the morally diseased, and aid in their recovery from degradation and crime.

It is a beautiful coincidence, that just as the old Epoch of Despotism and Slavery, Priestcraft and Political intrigue are dying out, just as the Spiritual part of Man is rising into the ascendancy, Woman's Rights are being canvassed and conceded, so that when she becomes his partner in Office, higher and holier principles of action will form the basis of Governmental administration.

ANGELINA G. WELD.

August 25.

MARY SPRINGSTEAD moved that the Convention proceed to organize.

E. OAKES SMITH thought we were already organized as a National Convention. She thought it would be well to form State Societies.

P. W. DAVIS did not like the idea of being bound by a Constitution longer than during the sessions of the Convention. It might be well, however, to recommend the formation of State Societies.

H. K. HUNT was opposed to the formation of Societies. She thought spontaneity was the great law of nature. She spoke as a Physician, and thought there was an attraction between those who believed in similar principles, sufficient to draw them together.

C. I. H. NICHOLS said that the duty of organization was to collect the fragmentary particles.

E. OAKES SMITH was in favor of some organization. There was much to do, and much had been done, to bring the present Convention together. She had frequently been met by the inquiry, "what are you going to do?" and had frequently heard the hope and expectation expressed, that an organization would be formed.

E. L. ROSE paid a high compliment to the communication of Mrs. Weld — said she agreed with Angelina, and her friend, the Doctor. Organizations were like Chinese bandages. In Political, Moral, and Religious bodies, they had hindered the growth of man. They were the incubus of our nature. The moment a man has intellectual life enough to strike out a new idea, he is branded as a heretic. It was true that men must sometimes combine, to effect great purposes; but she was decidedly opposed to organization. She would be pardoned for alluding to herself—she had never been guilty of doing so before, to the same extent. Circumstances must now plead her excuse. She was the same as every other human being born into a sect. She had cut herself loose from it, and she knew what it cost her, and having

bought that little freedom, for what was dearer to her than life itself, she prized it too highly ever to put herself in the same shackles again.

A LADY of Syracuse, whose name the reporter could not learn, said organization and order were necessary. They had all been kept in order, by their excellent President.

E. L. ROSE—We all acted freely and spontaneously in that matter, and, because she had our confidence, we elected her unanimously. We have been brought together by the magnetism of the cause. If you have a permanent organization, you cannot be free. Even Lucretia Mott herself is not free, for she belongs to a sect.

Mr. JONES made an able speech in favor of organization. He was pleased to hear from Mrs. Weld, but did not think her letter touched the subject before the Convention. He believed the Convention had a right to organize whenever it was thought desirable. It was his opinion that the time for National organization had not yet arrived, but it would be proper to form State organizations.

E. OAKES SMITH alluded to the organization of the Jesuits, which she insinuated had worked much mischief to the world. She thought we might organize, and take the ground from the Jesuits, and work for good.

C. I. H. NICHOLS favored organization, as being the means by which to collect and render operative, the fragmentary elements now favoring the cause.

Rev. Mr. PRYNE, of Onondaga, in a speech of some length, advocated organization.

On call of Mrs. DAVIS, persons were found to be in attendance from the States of New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Ohio, New Jersey, and from Canada.

Mrs. D. then presented the following resolution, and as a substitute to the resolution to form an organization :

*Resolved*, That this National Convention earnestly recommends to those, who are members of it from several States, and to those persons in any and all of our States, who are interested in this great Reform, that they call meetings of the States or the Counties, in which they live, certainly as often as once a year, that they may consider the principles of this Reform, and devise measures for their promulgation, and thus co-operate with all throughout this nation, and the world, for the elevation of woman to her proper place in the mental, moral, social, religious and political world.

LUCY STONE said, like a burnt child that dreads the fire, they had all been in permanent organizations, and thus dreaded them. She had enough of thumb screws, and soul screws, ever to wish to be placed under them again. But still organizations of some kind were necessary. The Anti-Slavery organization was not to last forever. When its object was accomplished, it would cease to exist: and so with Woman's Rights organizations. They outgrew the good that was good for their fathers. They did not want such an organization as would turn them into a petrefaction, or leave them as specimens of "fossil remains." But she thought the time had not yet come to form an organization. When the idea became incarnate, then they might seek to construct a platform. She did not feel they were ready to organize. All they could do now, was to agitate the public mind. They could not put timbers together, and build a goodly structure, till they knew what materials they had.

Rev. Mr. MAY — It seems to me that the resolution proposed by Mrs. Davis, covers the whole ground that we need to occupy. What we want is a system of action, and co-operation. Meetings should be held—County meetings, State and National Conventions, to bring the friends of this great reform to know each other, and to make provision for the support of the instruments by which this reform is to be effected. Able and eloquent lecturers should be sent throughout the country, appealing with the living voice to the common sense and conscience of the people. Elementary tracts are to be prepared and published, in countless numbers. The admirable reports of the Conventions held last year, and the year before, are very useful in their way; and, I trust, we have been creating here, the past three days, materials for a similar publication, that will be read with interest and profit. But we need something not so voluminous—short, elementary tracts, adapted to those who are beginning to inquire on the subject. There is probably not one woman in a thousand, perhaps not one in ten thousand, who has well considered the disabilities—literary, pecuniary, social, political disabilities, under which she labors. We must, then, have tracts, an abundance of them, upon all these topics, that may be scattered broad-cast over the community. These shall fall as good seed—some of them, no doubt, on stony places, where there is not much earth to quicken them, or amongst thorns, where they will be soon choked; but others, no doubt, will fall into good ground, where they will spring up, and

bring forth fruit, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold. We only need co-operation enough to set these instruments at work, and keep them a going, and the fallow ground will be broken up, and the seed sown, and then the harvest, which we so much desire, may be confidently looked for. The rights of women will be recognized; ample provision will be made for their education, education as liberal and thorough as that which is provided for the other sex; and a free access will be allowed them to any departments of business or labor, to which they may be inclined, as a means of self-support, and for which they may see fit to qualify themselves. I hope Mrs. Davis' resolution will be passed.

LUCY STONE — I abhor woman schools, and negro pews, and for the same reason. There are Colleges already built and endowed, with excellent apparatus and Professors, and they have room for more students. It would be a foolish outlay to build others, so long as these are not full. What we want, is to gain admittance to these.

The substitute was then unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT.—National Conventions are to be called as heretofore.

The resolution on the Bible argument was then called up.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK hoped it would not pass. It rested altogether on a historical basis, about which different opinions would always be entertained. To go back to any particular era for a standard of truth, is to adopt an imperfect standard, and impede the progress of truth and goodness. Truth is necessarily progressive, and all the means of its attainment which ever have existed in any age of the world, exist now, in the action of the perfect and unchangeable laws of Deity, and are as accessible to us, as they have been to those of any period.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN—The question is, whether the Bible does agree with nature. If it can be shown that the Bible harmonizes with truth, why should we not do so? Why should not the Convention do this, whatever may be its idea of the Bible?

Rev. Mr. HATCH, Congregational Minister—The question is, whether this Convention recognizes the paramount authority of the Bible. There is a contrary impression abroad, and from what has now taken place, there seems to be grounds for it, and it is likely to do this cause great injury.

PRESIDENT — That question is not before the Convention. We come to affirm great fundamental truths, and all we find in the Book

to corroborate these truths, we gladly receive. We have as good a right to use our ability in bringing Jesus and the Apostles to confirm our opinions, as the several Divines have to use their ingenuity to bring the Bible to bear on their peculiar views.

Rev. Mr. HATCH — That is not the question. What I wanted to know is, whether this Convention recognizes the Bible, or not?

PRESIDENT—This question has not been considered, and, therefore, is not decided.

C. I. H. NICHOLS—I have been a member of the Baptist Church, since I was eight years of age, and my faith is based on the Rock of Ages.

E. L. ROSE—Acknowledging and claiming, as I do, perfect human freedom of thought and expression, from the fact and conviction that human belief does not depend on our voluntary inclination, I cannot have any objection to any one's interpreting the Bible as he or she thinks best; but I object that such interpretation go forth as the doctrine of this Convention, because it is a mere interpretation, and is not even the authority of the Book—it is the view of Miss Brown only, which is as good as that of any other minister, but that is all. For my part, I reject both interpretations. Here we claim human rights and freedom, based upon the laws of humanity, and require no written authority from Moses or Paul, because those laws and our claims are prior to even these two great men. The different interpretations of these books, have caused different sects, as the different interpretations of the Constitution have caused different political parties. Let us keep aloof alike from political and religious intrigues. Of all the pangs that ever tortured the human mind or body, those resulting from this cause have been the most horrible—mere differences of opinion, and differences of interpretation, not self-evident truths—every one claiming to grasp truth, but none having it.

The Convention then adjourned till the afternoon.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

President in the Chair at two o'clock. Minutes read by L. F. FOWLER, Secretary.

Persons reported themselves in attendance from nine of the States.

MARTHA C. WRIGHT, Secretary, read a letter from J. R. JOHNSON,

of Syracuse. He was necessarily absent from town, but was with the Convention in spirit. The letter concluded by offering three resolutions.\*

E. OAKES SMITH, from the Business Committee, reported several resolutions "recommended by the Committee to be published as the voice of this Convention." She said, that a multitude of resolutions had been presented, which would be published as the views of individual members. The Committee had selected from the number, those which they believed embodied the principles of this Convention.

She then read a series of resolutions, several of which have already been published and adopted.

B. S. JONES, the PRESIDENT, E. O. SMITH, L. STONE, and THOMAS M'CLINTOCK, discussed the question at considerable length. They were finally accepted, and laid upon the table, and the Convention proceeded to the discussion of the resolution offered by ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

Rev. JUNIUS L. HATCH, of Mass., came forward, and made the only coarse and ribald speech of the Convention, which was received with marked disapprobation by the entire audience.

The PRESIDENT reminded the Convention that they should not compromise their dignity, because the speaker did his.

Rev. Mr. HATCH gave his idea of female loveliness. It consisted in that shrinking delicacy which, like the modest violet, hid itself until sought — that modesty which led women to blush, to cast down their eyes, when meeting men, or walking up the aisle of a church — to drop the veil, and wear long skirts, instead of imitating the sunflower, which lifted up its head, seeming to say, "come and admire me." He repeated the remarks made, near the door, on some of the speakers.

The PRESIDENT hoped he would keep in order, and not retail the vulgar conversation of his associates.

He went on further, in a similar strain, until the indignation of the audience became universal. The President said, he had so outraged the feelings of the Convention, that he could not be permitted to go on.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN then proceeded in support of her resolution

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\* The Letter and Resolutions have not come into the hands of the Committee.

on the Bible: We have been asked what we mean by the Bible? We do not mean the Mahometan Bible, but the Book that commences with Moses, and ends with Revelations. Now, what construction are we to put on this Bible? Is it the infallible rule of faith and practice? I think it is. No member of the Convention is responsible for my views. One speaker said, this morning, that our cause was based on the law of right—the equality of humanity itself. It is true that if there were no God, or no Bible, the rights of woman would be the same; and, though we believe the Bible is in harmony with this idea, we do not base it upon the Bible. As a Convention, we do not commit ourselves to theological opinions. But still there must be some right interpretation of the Bible.

ERNESTINE L. ROSE said, claiming, and granting, as I do, perfect freedom of thought and expression, I can have no objection whatever to Miss Brown's expression of her opinion on the Bible, provided only, I am not required to acquiesce in it, if I do not agree with it; and I do not. I object to the resolution, not that I do not think Miss Brown has not as good a right to her interpretation of the Bible, as any other Minister; but if we accept it, it is after all only her definition, and not the meaning of the text. But there is no time for such discussions; we have met here for nobler purposes than to discuss Theology. We need no such authority. Our claims are on the broad basis of Human Rights, irrespective of what Moses, Paul, or Peter, may say. Those who have nothing better to do, may dispute about these authorities. It has done mischief enough. All the hatred and persecutions between sect and sect, man and man, have arisen from the different interpretations of passages which can have no meaning in themselves, or there could be no doubt on the subject—each interpreter claiming to be the true Oracle—the Pope claiming to be the greatest, instituted an Inquisition against every other interpreter. A Book that is so ambiguous, as not to convey any definite idea, can furnish no authority to this Convention. I therefore move to lay the resolution on the table.

The PRESIDENT vacated the Chair, and spoke briefly in opposition to the resolution. In the early days of Anti-Slavery, great pains were taken to show that the Bible was against Slavery: opponents coming forward, the time of Conventions was too much occupied by the bandying of Scripture texts. Other occasions than those, were therefore judged best for such discussions. The advocates of Emancipa-



tion found their business was to affirm the inherent right of man to himself and to his earnings—that none had a right to imbrute him—that it was essentially sinful, and that slaveholders were men-stealers. These being self-evident truths, no argument or outward authority was needed to prove it. We already see the disadvantage of such discussions here. It is not to be supposed that all the advice given by the Apostles, to the women of their day, is applicable to our more intelligent age; nor is there any passage in Scripture, making those texts binding on us.

A gentleman then quoted: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable, etc." Does not this apply to the latest period?

LUCRETIA MOTT said, in reply: If the speaker will turn to the passage, he will find that the word "*is*," being in italics, was inserted by the translators. She accepted it, as in the original, "All Scripture *given* by inspiration of God, is profitable, etc." She claimed some familiarity with the Scriptures, and should have no objection, at a suitable time, to discuss this question. She concluded by moving that the resolution be laid on the table. Unanimously carried.

L. STONE, from the Business Committee, reported the following:

*Resolved*, That this Convention invite the present Central Committee to retain their membership, and that at least one member be added from each State represented here, in person or by letter, that a general co-operation may be secured, for the promotion of the great object of this Convention, and the necessary measures be taken to procure another National Convention, in a suitable place, about a year from this time, with the understanding that no action of this Committee shall be considered as authorized, unless it have the sanction of at least two-thirds of the Committee.

In pursuance of resolution, the Central Committee was constituted as follows:

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH, Brooklyn, N. Y., *President*.

PAULINA W. DAVIS, Providence, R. I., *Secretary*.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston, Mass., *Treasurer*.

SARAH H. EARLE, Worcester, "

MARY A. W. JOHNSON, Philadelphia, Pa.

W. H. CHANNING, Rochester, N. Y.

GERRIT SMITH, Peterboro, "

J. G. FORMAN, Nantucket, Mass.

MARTHA H. MOWRY, Providence, R. I.  
 LUCY STONE, West Brookfield, Mass.  
 ABBY K. FOSTER, Worcester, Mass.  
 PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, N. Y.  
 J. ELIZABETH JONES, Salem, Ohio.  
 WILLIAM STEDMAN, Randolph, Stark Co., Ohio.  
 EMILY ROBINSON, Marlborough, " "  
 ABBY H. PRICE, Hopedale, Mass.  
 WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Boston, Mass.  
 LUCRETIA MOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 ERNESTINE L. ROSE, New York City.  
 ELIZABETH C. STANTON, Seneca Falls, N. Y.  
 ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, Bellville, N. J.  
 ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, Henrietta, N. Y.  
 HARRIET K. HUNT, Boston, Mass.  
 MARTHA C. WRIGHT, Auburn, N. Y.  
 C. I. H. NICHOLS, Brattleboro, Vt.  
 CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Plainfield, Conn.  
 ADIN BALLOU, Hopedale, Mass.  
 SARAH H. HALLOCK, Milton, N. Y.  
 JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, Kennett Square, Pa.  
 BETSEY FOSTER, Illinois.  
 JOHN NEAL, Portland, Maine.  
 C. M. SEVERANCE, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 MELISSA J. DIGGS, Pa.  
 O. S. WAIT, Rockwell, Bond Co., Illinois.  
 MRS. CHAPEL SMITH, Pa.  
 ELIZA STUART, Baltimore, Maryland.  
 SYBIL LAWRENCE, Michigan.  
 LYDIA P. SAVAGE, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 MOSES MARTIN, Pembroke, "  
 GEN. PAINE, Milwaukie, Wis.

The PRESIDENT proposed the designation of the place of holding the next annual Convention.

E. L. ROSE proposed that it be held in New York City, being a central location, and easy of access from all parts of the Union. There would be better reports there, and she was sorry to say New York was very ignorant.

Mr. JONES proposed Cleveland. There was more liberality in the West, and there were one thousand inquirers there, for every one in New York.

MARTHA C. WRIGHT—If there is more liberality in the West, then New York needs such a Convention as this the more.

E. O. SMITH—Yes : for the whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.

C. I. H. NICHOLS, thought it was better to go where there were most hearers.

E. L. ROSE said, New York State was the first to give an instalment of Woman's Rights.

P. W. DAVIS—No : there are two States before her, Rhode Island and Louisiana.

LUCY STONE thought that they ought to go West. The people of Indiana and Illinois would come to Cleveland to meet them half way. Only a few years ago, a cause as holy as theirs could not find a room in New York.

It was finally resolved to hold the next meeting at Cleveland, the time to be fixed by the Central Committee.

The Convention then adjourned till evening.

#### EVENING SESSION.

Hall full to overflowing.

The PRESIDENT called to order.

The resolution last evening offered by E. L. ROSE, was unanimously adopted.

The resolutions offered by Dr. HARRIET K. HUNT, this forenoon, and which were then discussed, were unanimously adopted.

PAULINA W. DAVIS said, the reason why the Convention did not have a Phonographic Reporter, was, that they had no opportunity to publish any more than they now report. The Tribune had been liberal : but it was a political paper, and gave the foreign news. We need an organ.

P. W. DAVIS then read a Prospectus for a Weekly Paper, at two dollars per year, to be published at New York, and edited by E. OAKES SMITH, and to be called THE EGERIA. She pressed the importance of a paper, in which they could explain their principles, and defend themselves from attacks.

C. I. H. NICHOLS spoke of the courage with which the cause had been defended by several country presses, at the cost of pecuniary sacrifice, in some cases. She made a strong appeal for vigorous support of the country press. She went on to say, that it was to a country press she owed the formation of a character for humanity, more than to any other single agency, except the Bible.

E. O. SMITH was in favor of a paper. She would withdraw her name as the proposed editor, and leave it to the Convention to name the editor.

Mr. MAY spoke strongly in favor of encouraging and aiding the local press, in the advocacy of the cause, by writing for them—ladies and gentlemen. He would be glad to see an organ; but care should be taken in reference to expense.

P. W. DAVIS said, articles had waited for weeks, and sometimes months, in the office of the Tribune, before publishing. The answer was, "Your articles can wait." This must be so. If Mrs. Smith can be persuaded to edit the paper, it will start with a high literary reputation. The Westminster Review says of Mrs. Smith's work, "Woman and Her Needs," that it is the ablest work that has been written on the subject.

E. L. ROSE said, the proportion of the press on the side of our cause, is at present small. But she feared a paper could not be sustained. Still, she would like to see one. Yet she thought it not well to have the Convention act. If every lady would have one silk dress less, a year, we should have a paper.

P. W. DAVIS said, if a stock company of two thousand dollars was formed, the paper could go on.

The PRESIDENT said, this ought to be done, and not leave the other undone. She was in favor of a newspaper devoted to this reform, and alluded to the value of the Anti-Slavery papers.

P. W. DAVIS said, five hundred dollars was already pledged. If they could get two thousand subscribers pledged, they could start. She asked for pledges to get twenty subscribers each.

Mr. JONES cautioned against expenses — they were always double what was expected.

Mr. MAY offered the following resolution, which was seconded and accepted:

*Resolved*, That this Convention regards with lively interest the proposal to establish a paper, that shall be an organ of the Woman's

Rights Reform, and commends it to the general and cordial patronage of all who are interested in this reform.

LUCY STONE said, we were misrepresented on almost all sides—and women are repelled from joining in a movement the most magnificent ever launched since Creation's morning. She made an eloquent and touching appeal, as to what truth, resolution, and energy, in a paper, would accomplish. It depended on the friends of the reform.

Mr. MAY's resolution was adopted. He announced that over two hundred and sixty dollars had been taken at the door.

The PRESIDENT called for the report on publication.

Mr. MAY was in favor of publishing in Syracuse, and reported the following Committee on Publication :

LUCY STONE, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, LYDIA F. FOWLER, W. L. CRANDAL.

The PRESIDENT had already appointed Rev. S. J. MAY, as Chairman. Mr. May said he was willing to work till the cause became popular, then he would go at something else.

The resolutions, by E. C. STANTON, were read.

Two objected to : the one in reference to the Woman's State Temperance Society, and the other, commencing with a reference to the fact, that there are now female physicians for both soul and body.

The other three were read.

HARRIET K. HUNT made inquiry as to the People's College.

S. B. ANTHONY said, both sexes were to have equal advantages. The next meeting of the Society, for the adoption of the Constitution, will be at Seneca Falls, 13th of October. The payment of twenty-five cents, makes a person a voting member.

Mr. MAY spoke of the great success of the Schools in Massachusetts, where boys and girls were admitted.

The PRESIDENT spoke of a High School, for boys and girls, in Nantucket, which was eminently successful.

Dr. CUTCHEON said, the McGrawville College was the only institution, of a high character in its range of studies, which gave equal privileges to females. He advocated this plan, at length.

All the resolutions presented by E. C. STANTON, except the one in reference to the New York State Temperance Society, were adopted.

E. L. ROSE spoke to the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the young women of our land be warned against the fallacies contained in Horace Mann's Lectures, delivered at vari-

ous times and places, for their especial benefit; and that they be very cautious how they accept such sophistries for truth.

I am glad that such a resolution has been offered. I listened to those Lectures — aye! listened with saddened and oppressed spirit, that a man of his age and position, should stoop to such false assertions, and sophistries, for the sake of popularity. I would willingly have given him Twenty-Five Dollars, (though in this competitive State of ours, few have any money to throw away, and my husband is a mechanic, who works for all he gets,) could I have had an opportunity to answer him. But I could not get that opportunity, so I had to do the next best thing—write him a letter on the subject, and review his Lectures. His sentiments were unworthy of a Man—much more of Horace Mann. But, as, probably, few here have heard or read these Lectures, I will not urge the acceptance of the resolution, but move to lay it on the table.

It was announced that E. OAKES SMITH would deliver a Lecture; but it was nine o'clock, and she declined.

LUCY STONE gave a glowing farewell address, thanking the audience for their attention, and the interest they had taken in the proceedings. [At the request of Miss STONE, the report of this speech is omitted.]

The PRESIDENT made a few appropriate remarks, which were received with deep interest.

Mr. CUTCHEON offered the usual resolutions of thanks to the President.

The PRESIDENT had a word to say; she had no liking for these votes of thanks. We no doubt all felt thankful that the Convention had passed off so satisfactorily; and she was thankful that she had been able to perform her part better than she expected. Let that suffice.

The Doxology was sung to the tune of Old Hundred.

Whereupon, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

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NOTE.—The Publishing Committee regret that their limit of space does not permit the publication of all the Addresses and Speeches entire. It has been difficult to select from the multitude of gems placed in their hands. Large portions of written Addresses, well worthy of publication, they have been obliged

to omit — while, as there was no Phonographic Reporter, the extemporaneous speeches are mere fragments of the original.

They have done the best they could, under the circumstances, and comfort themselves with the thought, that the thousands who heard will not soon forget.





## WOMAN'S RIGHTS TRACTS.

The following series of Tracts is now in press, and will be ready for sale in a few days, at the prices named below :

No. I. A Discourse on the Rights and Condition of Women. Third edition. By SAMUEL J. MAY. Single copy, 6 1-4 cents ; by the hundred, \$3 00.

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