

Francis Lieber

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FREE CONVENTION,

HELD AT

Rutland, Vt., July 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1858.

of opinion may be safely tolerated, where Reason is left free to combat it."

JEFFERSON.

Truth and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free
encounter?"

MILTON.

begins by loving Christianity better than Truth, will end by loving himself
either."

COLERIDGE.

BOSTON:

J. B. YERRINTON AND SON,

21 CORNHILL.

1858.

HN 5A
1854
Fg

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1858,
By J. M. W. YERRINTON,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

LITHOTYPED BY COWLES AND COMPANY.
17 WASHINGTON ST., BOSTON.

Press of Basin and Chandler.

P R E F A C E .

THE following pages contain a record of the proceedings of a Convention held at Rutland, Vt., June 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1858, and are published under the supervision of a Committee to whom that duty was entrusted by the Convention.

The report embraces the discussions on all the questions of reform there introduced, nearly in full. In some cases, the speeches have been condensed, but never, it is believed, to the detriment of the arguments brought forward, certainly never with the intention to qualify the utterances of any speaker, however radical. Some debates upon points of order, or personal in their character, have been omitted. It is proper to say, also, that, except in very few cases, the speakers have had no opportunity to revise their remarks.

In theory, the principle of "freedom of speech" meets with universal acceptance in this country ; but, practically, it is rejected as dangerous or heretical, for no sooner is an honest effort made to afford every man and woman an opportunity to express their whole thought on any of the great questions which agitate society, than startled conservatism and frightened timidity cry out against it, and, branding it with some odious name, seek to crush it in its inception, or, failing in this, to belie and caricature its results. Thus it has been with the Convention whose proceedings are herein recorded. The country has been flooded with idle tales in regard to it, in which its objects have been misrepresented, and the character of those who took part in it grossly and maliciously assailed. These pages will tell the story of what it really was.

PREFACE.

n or woman is responsible for any word here uttered that
spoken by himself or herself. "It is truth," says Paley,
"that results from discussion and from controversy." Whatever
of truth there is in these pages will live ; for the rest, let it die!

"Get but the Truth once uttered, and 't is like
A star new-born, that drops into its place,
And which, once circling in its placid round,
Not all the tumult of the earth can shake."

JOHN LANDON,
JAMES M. W. YERRINTON, } *Publishing*
CHARLES F. HOVEY, } *Committee.*

FREE CONVENTION.

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE disenthralment of humanity from all such influences as fetter its natural and vital growth, is too evidently the condition of all Progress, and, therefore, the duty of Philanthropy, to need enforcement in this Call. The history of the past is beautiful only at the points where it records the encroachments of human freedom on the natural limitations or artificial tyrannies imposed upon thought and action. And the future is hopeful only in such proportion as it points towards a wise and well-grounded emancipation of the race from the *spiritual* despotisms that, on the one hand, now control *thought*, and the *civil* and *social* disabilities that, on the other, restrain *action*, into that free and pure life which both are yet destined to attain. Every Philanthropist, therefore, welcomes the increasingly manifest tendencies of the present age, to challenge the institutions that claim control over humanity, and to insist that those claims shall be appealed to the tribunal of demonstrable facts and rigid inductions, rather than to "the traditions of the elders."

The signers of this call desire to aid in carrying up this appeal. They believe the time has come when the friends of Free Thought in Vermont will find it both pleasant and profitable to take counsel together, and have a mutual interchange of sentiment on the great topics of Reform. That there would be entire harmony of *doctrine* and *symbol* among us is not to be expected, but it is believed that in *purpose*, we should "see eye to eye," and it is *purposes*, not *creeds*, that vitalize and harmonize effort.

With these convictions, we, whose names are appended to this call, do most cordially and earnestly invite all Philanthropists and Reformers in and out of the State, to meet in FREE CONVENTION, at Rutland, Vermont, on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of June next, to discuss the various topics of Reform that are now engaging the attention and effort of Progressive minds.

By a reference to the names appended to this call, it will be evident that it is not the project of any special branch or division of Reformers — having some Shibboleth of its own to be mouthed with provincial accent — but the unanimous movement of those who hail from every section of the great Army of Reform, and who have no watchword but *Humanity*. The catholicity of spirit and purpose which will characterize the proposed meeting is thus sufficiently guarantied, and the assurance well-grounded that every theme will be frankly and fairly treated at the hands of the Convention, and thus the interests of the largest philanthropy secured.

Come, then, friends of Free Thought. Come one, come all. Men of all religious creeds, and men of no creed, shall find equal welcome. And woman too, let her come; both to adorn by her presence, and strengthen by her thought, and give depth and earnestness to the action of this gathering in behalf of Humanity. Let her vindicate, by her own eloquence and zeal, the social position she is so nobly and rapidly winning for herself. The only common ground on which we seek to meet is, that of *fearless discussion*, and the only pledge we make is to bring a rational investigation to the solution of

every problem involving the social or religious duty and destiny of the race. In this faith, we hail all as brethren and co-laborers.

Further notice of the Convention, with a programme of its exercises, so far as can be previously arranged, will be published in the newspapers.

[Signed by JOHN LONDON, NEWMAN WEEKS, ALBERT LONDON, W. W. RUSSELL, of Rutland, and one hundred and fifty others, belonging to various towns in Vermont.]

The following circular was sent with the Call to a number of persons who, it was supposed, would be friendly to the object contemplated, and, with the call, embraces all the official correspondence on the subject:—

Progressive Friend:

We send you this circular, which, if you approve, please sign and return at an early day. Our object is to call a Convention, over the names of some thirty or forty earnest, hopeful friends of *Progressive Man*, and we take this method to get an expression of thy mind.

The call will be issued by the 10th of May to the friends in the New England and the adjoining States.

Respectfully,

Direct to

JOHN LONDON, } Rutland, Vt.
 NEWMAN WEEKS, }
 S. G. PERKINS, Castleton.
 THOS. E. WAKEFIELD, Fairhaven.
 S. B. NICHOLS, Burlington.

Rutland, Vt., April 24, 1858.

PROCEEDINGS.

IN pursuance of the preceding Call, a FREE CONVENTION was held in the town of Rutland, Vermont, on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, June 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1858, in a large tent, which had been provided for the purpose. The meeting was called to order at ten o'clock on Friday morning, by JOHN LANDON, Esq., who stated that a preliminary meeting had been held on the 4th of June, to make arrangements for the Convention, and called for the reading of the minutes of said meeting, which were read by the Secretary, Mr. J. R. FOREST, and accepted by the Convention.

The list of officers for the Convention, recommended by the Committee of Arrangements, was adopted, as follows:—

PRESIDENT.

JASON F. WALKER, Glen's Falls, New York.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Dr. H. KOON, North Bennington, Vt.

THOS. MIDDLETON, Woodstock, Vt.

ERNESTINE L. ROSE, New York.

JOSEPH ADAMS, Fairhaven, Vt.

M. L. SWEETSER, Middlebury, Vt.

G. F. KELLY, Danby, Vt.

MISS A. W. SPRAGUE, Plymouth, Vt.

R. B. FAY, Williston, Vt.

WM. WESTON, Burlington, Vt.

Rev. GIBSON SMITH, Shaftsbury, Vt.

H. C. WRIGHT, Boston, Mass.

SHERMAN THOMAS, Manchester, Vt.

A. KILBURN, Fairhaven, Vt.

P. P. CLARKE, Ira, Vt.

E. B. HOLDEN, North Clarendon, Vt.

SARAH A. HORTON, Sudbury, Vt.

G. F. HENDEE, Pittsford, Vt.

L. AMADON, Bellows Falls, Vt.

SECRETARIES.

WM. H. ROOT, Burlington, Vt.

J. R. FOREST, Winooski Falls, Vt.

L. CLARK, Jr., Addison, Vt.

N. WEEKS, Rutland, Vt.

A. B. ARMSTRONG, Dorset, Vt.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

ALBERT LANDON,

J. R. FOREST,

JASON F. WALKER,

N. WEEKS,
H. P. CUTTING.

The President, on taking the chair, spoke as follows:—

This is a Free Convention. It extends the largest liberty to the expression of individual thought. It proposes to afford an opportunity for the discussion of the various topics of Reform which engage the attention of Philanthropists. It proposes that that discussion shall be free, fair, fearless. We come together pledged to no symbol of doctrine. We have no Shibboleth to be mouthed with a certain provincial accent, as the test of fellowship. We shall discover very soon, if we are not altogether aware of it, that there is a great variety of sentiment among us. There will be many things in which we shall disagree; few perhaps in which we shall not. No symbol, political, social, or theological, could probably unite us. Let us see to it

that no symbol separates us, and then it will be small matter that we disagree in our forms of thought, or modes of action.

But I hope there is one thing in which we are united; namely, an earnest desire for the redemption of our common humanity from ignorance and all its attendant evils. This will give us all the platform of faith we need, here, and everywhere. We come here, I trust, under a pressing conviction that humanity is in trouble, and needs redeeming. The work of redemption is a difficult and complicated one, and requires unprejudiced minds and earnest souls on the part of all who would be agents in it. Party spirit and sectarian zeal will never help us much. The world has applied these agencies long enough and uselessly enough, in the work. It is quite time to seek to compass the work with another spirit. We must, first of all, not come to the work prejudged. We shall have various plans presented for our consideration, proposing modes of action in specific departments of the great work; and some of these plans will even propose to cover the whole ground. We are expected to canvass these plans, and express our opinions of their adaptation to the exigencies of the case. We must, therefore, first seek to attain a clear perception of the evils to be remedied, both in their magnitude and relations. And then we must require of all plans of reform, that they exhibit a rational and organic adaptation to the evils they propose to remedy. We must be *deep* thinkers, therefore, as well as *free* thinkers.

This is a free platform. Many things will be said upon it. Some of them we shall like, some we shall not. But if we came here to enjoy the opportunity of a free platform, let us accord the same privilege to our fellow. You are not yet free, if you propose to deny me freedom in all things wherein you have the spirit of liberty. No man is responsible here for the opinions or remarks of another. Nor is the Convention to be judged by individual expressions of sentiment. And here let me say that the Business Committee will report a series of resolutions, embracing the various topics of reform, designed as a basis for the discussions of the Convention. These resolutions are not to be regarded as expressing the sentiments of the Convention, nor even of those who may have written them. They were simply constructed with a view to present the several subjects they refer to, in a convenient form for the largest liberty of discussion. We object to being judged as a Convention by these resolutions, at present. All we claim or allow for this Convention now is, that it is a *Free* Convention. If, later in its progress, the Convention passes or rejects these resolutions, then such passage or rejection may afford good grounds of inference concerning the attitude of the Convention on these topics. But it is not the purpose of the Business Committee, nor, I apprehend, of this Convention, to stereotype thought, but to agitate it. As a Convention, we will be judged when we adjourn on all subjects on which we take action *as a Convention*; as individuals, we wish to be judged by what we say ourselves. Further than this we demur.

This is a Convention for Free Speech. We can scarcely secure this for all, unless each speaks directly, and to the point, and wastes no time in personal altercation and repartee.

Among persons of so great diversity of sentiment as may be expected to meet under a call for a Free Convention, there will also be great diversity of disposition and temperament. We shall need a large spirit of charity and forbearance. They who would be reformers of their fellows should always be charitable. He who has not discovered this to be the cardinal

This is so

spirit of reform has had as yet too small experience in reforming himself to qualify him to be a Redeemer for his fellow. Without a charitable spirit, we shall soon find ourselves in trouble here, and, for that matter, every where else. With it, despite the fears of our friends and the hopes of our enemies, we shall get on harmoniously amid the varied elements of this Free Convention, and profitably.

One word more. Although this is a *Free* Convention, we cannot get along without order. Freedom is not *license*. Let us evince that we have a better apprehension of the word. It is simply the largest liberty consistent at any given time and under any given circumstances, with the equal liberty of every one else under the same circumstances. Let us bear this in mind, and we shall avoid much trouble and confusion.

Finally, let us begin, prosecute, and end the work of this Free Convention as *free* men and women, remembering our responsibilities as well as our privileges, speaking freely whatsoever seems to us to be true, thus seeking to establish and enlarge the kingdom of Truth in our own souls and the souls of our fellows; for it is the *kingdom of God in us*.

Mr. ALBERT LONDON, Chairman of the Business Committee, submitted the following series of Resolutions.

AUTHORITY VS. CONVICTION.

Resolved, That the authority of each individual soul is absolute and final, in deciding questions as to what is true or false in principle, and right or wrong in practice; therefore, the individual, the Church, or the State, that attempts to control the opinions or the practices of any man or woman, by an authority or power outside of his or her own soul, is guilty of a flagrant wrong.

SLAVERY.

Resolved, That Slavery is a wrong which no power in the universe can make right; therefore, any law, constitution, court, or government, any church, priesthood, creed, or Bible, or any Christ, or any God, that, by silence or otherwise, authorizes man to enslave man, merits the scorn and contempt of mankind.

SPIRITUALISM.

1. *Resolved*, That the phenomena of what is denominated Modern Spiritualism, have abundantly demonstrated the fact that an intelligent intercourse between embodied and disembodied human spirits is both possible and actual.

2. *Resolved*, That the conviction of the possibility and actuality of spirit-intercourse is opposed to all despotism, impurity, and sensualism, and conduces to the inauguration of the only authority consistent with the human soul, or favorable to sound morality.

3. *Resolved*, That the present Spiritual movement has done much to arrest the tide of popular skepticism, and the material and sensuous tendencies of the Age, by giving the natural evidences of our immortality a clearer expression and a more demonstrative form.

WAR, AND DEATH PENALTY.

Resolved, That it is always wrong and inexpedient for man to take the life of man; therefore, capital punishment, war, and all preparations for war, are wrong, and inconsistent with the safety and best interests of individuals and of society.

MARRIAGE.

Resolved, That the only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman, and the only true home is the isolated home, based upon this exclusive love.

MATERNITY, AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN REGARD TO IT.

Resolved, That the most sacred and important right of woman, is her right to decide for herself how often and under what circumstances she shall assume the responsibilities and be subject to the cares and sufferings of Maternity; and man can commit no greater crime against woman as a wife and a mother, against his child, against society and against Humanity, than to impose on her a maternity whose responsibilities and sufferings she is not willing to accept and endure.

x Why not add: physically and sexually.

x *Whereas,* The assumed superiority of Man over Woman has held her in submission, and entailed slavery and dependence on the sex and misery on the race; therefore,

Resolved, That immediate steps should be taken to remove that error and its consequences, and place Woman politically, educationally, industrially and socially, on perfect equality with Man.

FREE TRADE.

Resolved, That natural justice, individual and social morality, the peace, material wealth and prosperity of Nations, and the spirit of human brotherhood, demand, that all international Tariffs be immediately and forever abolished, and that Governments, in all their various departments, be supported by *direct taxation*; and that America, as a Republican government, is particularly called upon immediately to lead off in this important reform, thereby promoting the best interests of its inhabitants.

LAND REFORM.

Very striking; and remarkably erroneous. why not extend it to wood, minerals &c. yet say's considering it a natural
Resolved, That the earth, like the air and light, belongs in common to the children of men, and on it each human being is alike dependant. Each child, by virtue of its existence, has an equal and an inalienable right to so much of the earth's surface as is convenient, by proper culture, to support and perfect its development, and none has a right to any more; therefore, all laws authorizing and sustaining private property in land for the purpose of speculation, and which prevent men and women from possessing any land without paying for it, are as unjust as would be laws compelling them to pay for air and light, and ought to be at once and forever repealed.

THE SABBATH.

Whereas, The Jewish Sabbath is confessedly abolished by the authority of the Gospel Dispensation, and

Whereas, The same authority sets apart no other day to be similarly observed; therefore,

Resolved, That all efforts of churches and priests to enforce an observance of a Christian Sabbath as of *Divine appointment*, is a flagrant violation of individual right, and must be prosecuted in a dishonest disregard of the spirit and positive teachings of the New Testament.

THE BIBLE.

Resolved, That nothing is true or right, and nothing is false or wrong, because it is sanctioned or condemned by the Bible; therefore, the Bible is powerless to prove any doctrine to be true, or any practice to be right, and it should never be quoted for that purpose.

MAN.

Whereas, Man, as a social being, depends on his fellow man for the cultivation and development of his physical, mental, and, moral powers; and, whereas, owing to the limitation and vicissitudes of life, he can accomplish but little for his own or future generations, therefore,

1. *Resolved,* That the duties of man belong to man, and the time, talent and means spent on or for any other purpose, are detrimental to human progress and a robbery of the race.

2. *Resolved,* That the moral law is the natural growth of a healthy condition of social life, and that a study of the nature of man and the relation he sustains to his fellow man can alone give him the knowledge of the laws to govern him rightly.

3. *Resolved,* That no system or creed can be useful that does not tend to the removal of ignorance, poverty, vice, and suffering, and promote freedom, intelligence, and happiness.

4. *Whereas,* The character of man is formed for him by the combined powers of organization previous to birth and influence after birth, therefore,

5. *Resolved,* That it is the highest duty of society to investigate and remove the causes which have a tendency to form inferior or vicious characters.

6. *Resolved,* That the time and devotion spent on religious service, can confer no benefit on an infinite and independent power, and can therefore be no virtue.

On motion, it was *Voted*, That all persons desirous of introducing resolutions for the consideration of the Convention, be requested to present them through the Business Committee.

On motion, it was *Voted*, That the resolutions presented by the Business Committee be printed for the use of the Convention.

On motion, it was *Voted*, That Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, of Boston, be employed to report the proceedings of the Convention.

On motion, *Voted*, That the time of speakers be limited to ten minutes, except in the case of those specially invited to address the Convention.

The hours of meeting were fixed at eight o'clock in the morning, two in the afternoon, and seven in the evening; and it was also determined that the forenoon session should close at twelve M., and the afternoon at five and a half, P.M.

Mrs. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, of New York, then briefly addressed the Convention. She said:—This being a *Free* Convention, and, as we hope, composed of *Free Men and Women*, and as we have no Pope to govern us, it is hoped that every question presented will be taken into consideration by all persons present, not as coming from a Convention belonging to some one else, but as from their own Convention; and when motions are put, all will bear in mind that it is their duty to vote, yea or nay, and give us their voice. It seems strange, yet it is true, that there are persons here who have come hundreds of miles to attend this meeting to promote the objects which they have at heart, yet, when a vote is called for, they keep silent, and we hear but one or two noes. If you do not vote, you are supposed to consent, for "silence gives consent." It is high time the ladies learned to say No. Therefore, if you mean yes, say yes; and if you mean no, say no; though you find yourself in a minority of one.

THE PRESIDENT. The ladies have been urged to *vote*. I hope, when occasion offers, they will *speak*. There is but one rule that I have somewhere read that will stand in the way, and that, we think, will not seriously oppress them. It is this, that woman shall not speak in the churches. Now, as this is not a church, you have full liberty to speak.

MR. THOMAS CURTIS, of Philadelphia, after reading some extracts from the Call of the Convention, said:—Many of us have come to this meeting with the feeling, that these sentiments are to govern us; let us ever remember that he who has most of the truth is the greatest servant; and he who knows how to do right is the servant of the right, and has no liberty to do wrong. Every question should be thus tested by every individual, and in testing it, remember that if we disagree, it is from our sense of right, and that the great end to be accomplished is, the happiness of mankind.

MR. H. C. WRIGHT, said—I wish to call attention to one Resolution:—

Resolved, That the time and devotion spent on religious service can confer no benefit on an infinite and independent power, and can therefore be no virtue.

What is popularly called the God-worship of Christendom is alluded to in this resolution. I assent to the resolution, and wish to make a few remarks upon it. Let us look at the common mode of worshipping God. You get together upon the Sabbath, at ten o'clock; the minister comes, and with a solemn countenance rises and says—"Let us *commence* the worship of God." How? By doing away war, slavery, intemperance, and all the evils which fill the land? No. But "let us commence the worship of God in the use of the following hymn." Then he makes a prayer; then follows an address to the people; then another prayer; and then he says "Let us conclude the service of God, by singing another hymn." Then you shut up your churches and close up your God there. You do not take him home to your houses, your stores, or your shops. You keep your God closed up in your churches through the week, and then open the doors and let him out again. One hundred millions of dollars are invested in houses for God in the United States, and

fifty-two days of each year are set apart for God-worship, and thousands of priests are employed to conduct that worship.

This is what they mean by worship. Now, I ask, does this expenditure benefit man? Is there any less drunkenness, slavery, or crime, in the land? I do not believe there is any the less of either. I attended a Convention of the people at Frankfort, some years since. The priests were there and began to quarrel as to what form of worship they should use in opening the exercises of the meeting. After disputing nearly half a day about the matter, a stern old peasant got up and said—"I think it is time to stop talking about worshipping God, and proceed to practical matters."

Who was it Christ selected from all Judea to represent his religion? Was it the priest or the Levite? Not at all. He let them all pass, and selected an infidel, a Samaritan,—for in the estimation of the Jews, the Samaritans were considered as infidels. The priest and the Levite saw a poor man in distress, but instead of relieving him, they passed by on the other side. The Samaritan came jogging along on his donkey, took up the poor fellow, placed him on his beast, took him to an inn, and told the landlord to take care of him, and when I come back, said he, I will pay you. That is what I call worship. All these outward forms and ceremonies are practically useless. To promote the happiness of our fellow-men, by doing away war, slavery, and intemperance, that is true worship. I cordially endorse the resolution.

MR. JOHN BEESON, said:—I wish to second this resolution. We are called a Christian people; we have a Tract Society, with half a million of dollars, that sends its volumes broadcast over the land,—a Missionary Society, that sends its missionaries to all parts of the earth to convert the heathen,—with what result? War and devastation fill the earth.

It is a fact, that the most Christian nations, so called, are the most warlike. Is this the religion of Christ? Is this the "Gospel of glad tidings?" In this view of the case, it is the duty of every man and woman to stand aloof from it. I find an account in the *Tribune* of a late battle with the Camanche Indians, in which it is stated that seventy-six Indians were killed, one hundred horses captured, and only one white man killed. This was called a running fight. It was, doubtless, a massacre. Such things are a disgrace to the country. I suggest that the prayers of the churches be requested for the widows and orphans of the slain, and that the Lord's prayer be not repeated till restitution be made to those we have injured. I hope to present this subject at some future time.

H. CLAPP. I wish to say a word in regard to the formalities of religious worship. Some time since, a man was to be hung. At the scaffold, the Lord's prayer was repeated, and the people said, *Amen!* If that portion of the prayer which says, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," had been answered, they would have all been hung in the twinkling of an eye. And what a spectacle they would have presented!

THOMAS CURTIS, of Philadelphia. I was pleased to hear Mr. Wright speak on this resolution. I had occasion last year to make an estimate of the cost of this God-worship in Philadelphia. Seven millions of dollars are invested in God-worship in that city, and the cost to society to sustain it amounts to one million six hundred and forty thousand dollars, each year. This is paid to save forty thousand sinners, for this number are connected with the different religious societies, and as the number does not increase, it takes one million six hundred and forty thousand dollars to keep them saved.

How do they worship God? Mr. Wright mentions prayer. He might have gone further, and told us how they pray. "O God," say they, "Thou art a great and good God, and we are the greatest scoundrels and villains on thy footstool, deserving of eternal damnation,"—and so this story goes on. All the time, money, and means that can be spared are wanted for this God-worship, and nothing can be spared for other purposes.

Now, what is the use of all this kind of worship? When men and women learn the idea that the best means of fitting themselves for another world is to be strong in the good deeds of this life, then they can enjoy the future.

THE PRESIDENT. Will Mr. Curtis tell us whether they are saved or not?

MR. CURTIS. They are saved from being any thing practical, from any thing good in this world. Like the one we read of, who, when the devil was cast out of him, returned and took seven other evil spirits—the last state of that man is worse than the first.

Mrs. E. L. ROSE. I am glad the President called attention to the question of their being saved. They are not saved in their own way, for if they were, they would need their churches and priests no longer. It must be on the principle of repent and sin again, that they keep their ministers and churches to save the people. I fully agree with the resolution and the remarks of Mr. Wright. I wish to say a few words on that resolution. The way I understand it is this—I need not go into a religious debate—if there is a God, or gods, they are infinite, and they are independent; they need no services from men; man can do nothing to do *them* any good; human acts would be entirely useless. Therefore, I say, no matter about religion,—take it for granted that it is true; no matter about gods,—take it for granted they exist. If they are infinite and independent, they do not need our services. But who does? You and I. We need each others' services, each other's kindness and love. It is but little we can do in this life. Man's time, talents, and means are limited. We have but little to spare to make man what nature, or God, if you please, designed him to be—intelligent, virtuous, and happy. I am opposed for one (I utter no thoughts but for myself,) I am opposed to all the creeds, systems, legislations, all the writings, printings, or acts of men with regard to any other being, except men and women here. If there is another life, I say the same. Let us do our duty to humanity here, and when we reach another state of existence, we will attend to the duties of that state. Act from the convictions of to-day. If to-morrow you change your opinions, utter them without fear of gods or men. Work for humanity, for in working for humanity you work for yourself.

This is called heresy, and the more particularly so if such heresies spring from the lips of woman. Truth is not the less true if it come from woman, an error none the less false if it purport to come from gods. War, slavery, and ignorance are produced by religion.

I will not take up any more of your time now, but would like to speak at some future time of the causes of these social evils.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet at two o'clock, P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at two o'clock. The "Harmonial Club," of Troy, sang an appropriate song, which was heartily applauded, after which HENRY C. WRIGHT took the stand, and spoke as follows:—

Chinese

3

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

To each human being there are two standards, by one of which the truth or falsehood of every principle, and the right or wrong of every act, must be tested, i. e.: his own conviction or the conviction of another, — his own soul or the soul of another. Each one must decide for himself as to what is true, and what is right, or somebody else must decide for him. Whatever dogma in theology, maxim in morals, or rule of faith and practice in commercial, social, or domestic life a man adopts, he must adopt on the conviction and authority of his own soul, or on the conviction and authority of the soul of another.

Are you a Christian, a Jew, a Mahometan, or a Brahmin? Your views of God and man, as set forth by your particular religion, are received by you because your own soul affirms them to be true, or because some other soul decides them to be true. Do you accept the Calvinistic idea of God, of man, of heaven and hell? You adopt the Calvinistic creed and live a Calvinistic life, because your own soul, or because the soul of another tells you to.

The Romanist goes to Mass, prostrates himself before a priest at the Confessional, counts his beads, crosses himself, uncovers his head in presence of a wafer, believes in purgatory, and the infallibility of the Pope and the Church, on the testimony of his own soul, or on the testimony of the soul of Paul, or Peter, or the priest, or of some person or persons of the past or present, outside of himself.

The Protestant believes that polygamy, concubinage, the stoning to death of sabbath-breakers, witches, heretics, and the slaughter of infants and children for the sins of their parents or the glory of God, and the stories of Samson and the fable of Jonah and the whale, were once all right and just and true, and sanctioned by a God of justice and truth, on the conviction of his own soul, or of the soul of somebody else. The Christian receives as true the story of the Miraculous Conception, the idea of the Vicarious Atonement, of original sin, of total depravity, and of an endless hell, on conviction or on authority. The Hindoo mother casts her own child into the jaws of a crocodile, and the Christian mother throws her neighbor's child into the still more merciless and bloody jaws of American slavery, at her own bidding, or at the bidding of another. The Mahometan consigns woman to the pollutions of his seraglio, and the American Christian consigns her to the still more fearful pollutions of slavery, impelled by the promptings of his own soul, or of the soul of another. The pirate consigns to an ocean grave those who fall into his hands, and the *American* Christian consigns to the more dreaded and more bloody grave of American slavery, the fugitive slave who flees to him for protection, at the instigation and on the authority of his own soul or of that of another.

Thus, in all our opinions, our words and acts, we are and ever must be instigated and governed each one by his own soul, or by the soul of another. As a law of life, Nature's God leaves to each man and woman but one alternative; his own interpretation of the true and right, or that of another. My soul commands me to go South; the soul of each and every other human being commands me to go North. I must obey one. The God that speaks in my soul commands me to shelter, to feed and protect the fugitive slave against all kidnappers, whether in the person of a president, a judge, a marshal, or of a private individual; but the God that speaks in James Buchanan, Judge Taney, Judge Loring, the United States Congress

and Government, commands me to thrust the wanderer in search of liberty from my door, and drive him back to whips and chains. I must obey one or the other.

Which *ought* a man to do? Love, obey, and worship the God that speaks in his own soul, or the God who speaks in the soul of Jesus, of Mahomet, of Moses, of Confucius, or in some other man, or church, or government of the past or present? Thus saith God, as *Moses* understood him, Suffer not a witch, nor an idolater, nor a heretic, nor a sabbath-breaker, nor disobedient children, nor a blasphemer, nor a manstealer, (a slaveholder,) nor a murderer to live; but, *thus saith God*, as I understand Him: Suffer them all to live, and by love, by forgiveness, by patience, by long-suffering, and by overcoming evil with good, win them to a purer and nobler life. Whose behests *ought* I to obey? Christendom commands me to receive the Bible, *as a whole*, as of Divine origin, as an absolute and final authority, and as an infallible rule of faith and practice, on pain and penalty of the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched; Mahometanism commands me to receive the Koran, and Hindooism the Shaster, in the same way, and under the same pains and penalties; but my own soul forbids me thus to accept them, and requires me to regard them, so far as their origin, authority, and infallibility are concerned, as I do other books; and this it requires me to do, or to ignore the office of reason and conscience, to prostitute my moral nature, to degrade my manhood, and forfeit my self-respect. Ought I, openly and on all occasions, to be true to the teachings of my soul, or to the teachings of Christendom, or of Mahometanism, or Hindooism?

The people of the United States, through their government, declare that the Federal Constitution is adopted to establish justice, and to protect and secure to all "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and require me to give it my allegiance; my soul declares that the Constitution, in regard to the colossal sins of War and Slavery, and the protection of life and liberty, is a "covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and that allegiance to it is rebellion against God. Whose declaration *ought* I to receive and obey? Is there an intelligent, honest and sane man on earth who would dare to assume the responsibility of telling me that I am morally bound to be subject to the authority and obey the behests of another, *in any relation of life*, when that other requires me to believe or to do what my soul forbids?

If there be those in Church or State, rendered so obfuscated and foolhardy in their intellectual and moral natures, by a blind and puerile reverence for and devotion to the authority of a book, a church, a priesthood, a constitution, a court, or of some individual reformer, warrior, or statesman, as to advise me thus to cast down from the throne of my manhood my own soul, and place the soul of Moses, of Jesus, of Paul, of Mahomet, of Washington, or of any other man or body of men in its stead, thus to snatch the sceptre of my life from the grasp of my own soul, and place it in the hand of some Church or State, of some priest or politician, I can only say to and of them, in the language of the Martyr of Calvary — "Father, forgive them, *they know not what they do*." Their task is a hopeless one. Church and State may consign my body to the dungeon or the gallows for spurning their unnatural and monstrous claims, and for trampling their authority beneath my feet; but my *soul* is my own, and this no power in the universe, outside of itself, shall overawe. Over its empire my own soul ought to hold, and *must* hold, an absolute and eternal control. Why? *Because my destiny depends on the decisions of my soul*. Man may err through ignorance, and still not

fall under self-condemnation. Use all the powers and means you possess to know the true and do the right, and then you will have the approval of your own soul. Though your decision may not accord with absolute truth and justice, yet having done the best you know how, you will stand acquitted by your own consciousness. What is it to me, in the great future of my being, what opinions of my principles or practices are formed by other men, or by the Church or State, so long as I am conscious of the approval of my own soul? Though all the universe, outside of myself, approve, if I condemn myself, their approval is nought to me; though all else pronounce me worthy an entrance into the kingdom of heaven, if I pronounce an opposite sentence on myself, it can be of no avail. Though all others decide that I deserve a seat at God's right hand, if my own soul assures me that I am deserving a place in the lowest hell, it will avail me nothing. So, should the judgment of all the universe, outside of my own soul, consign me to hell, and my own consciousness decide that I deserved a nobler, more exalted and happy destiny, I should still be in heaven. I must have regard to the authority of that tribunal only, whose decision is to determine my destiny. *My* soul, alone, is the arbiter of my destiny; therefore, its authority ought to be absolute and final in deciding what I shall think, say, and do.

Again: *I must be responsible, individually and alone, for my opinions and practices.* If, in obedience to an outward authority, I violate a law of my being, I must suffer the penalty. *Authority* decides for the soldier that he must shoot a fellow-man for sleeping at his post, or for desertion, and for the sheriff, that he must hang his brother as a traitor for seeking to change the form of his government; *conviction*, forbids them to do it. The power that requires of them this murderous deed cannot bear the responsibility, for it is a soulless, godless organization, and can feel no compunction, no regret; it becomes a nonentity, when blood is to be answered for. The man who shoots or hangs, though clothed with the authority of the State, must suffer the penalty of this violation of the laws of his sympathetic, social and moral nature. The soldier or sheriff may kill his brother man, and violate his right to life, but the deepest wrong is done to himself. He does an injury to his own soul, for which a deep and lasting repentance alone can atone. An external authority says to the father — "Stone your child to death for disobedience;" his own paternal heart forbids. Will the authority that requires the unnatural deed bear its necessary result? It cannot; the agonized father must bear that. An external authority commands me to pluck out my right eye, or cut off my right hand, to the glory of God, against the earnest protest of my entire being. I am obedient to that authority, and do the unnatural deed. Who is responsible? That authority loses nothing, suffers nothing; but I am minus a right hand, or a right eye: a poor, mutilated, decrepid man, made so through respect for and obedience to an external authority, and against the conviction and imperative commands of my own soul.

In responsibility, and in deciding what is true or false in principle, or right or wrong in practice, **ALONE WITH GOD**, has been the watchword of my life; alone with *my* God, not with yours; alone with the God that speaks in my soul, not with the God that spake in the soul of Jesus, or Mahomet, nor with the God that speaks in the Bible, the Koran, in the Church, the Priesthood, the Constitution, or the Government. The God that spake in Moses, Isaiah, Paul, Jesus; that speaks in the Bible, the Koran, the Church or State, is nought to me as an authoritative rule of faith and practice, — a law of life and a court of final appeal. God, as apprehended by the gentle

and heroic Jesus, was, to him, an object of supreme worship, whose decisions were the decisions of his own soul, and therefore final with him. But his God, or his idea, or conception of God, is nought to me because it is his. I am not amenable to God as apprehended by Jesus; his decisions have no weight, no authority with me, *because* they are the behests of God, as Jesus received him. I am under no obligations to what Jesus called God; I owe him no duties, he is no lawgiver, judge, or ruler to me; my soul can give him no respect, no reverence, no love, no worship, *because* Jesus esteemed him worthy of all love and worship. Because he was every thing to Jesus, it follows not that he must be or ought to be every thing to me; for he may have been the Alpha and Omega, the Great I AM, the All in All to Jesus, yet nothing to me as a rule of life, — a governing power. God, as apprehended in my soul, is the Alpha and Omega, the Great I AM, to me.

But suppose the idea of God, as received by Jesus, is identical with that received by me; then both have exactly the same God, both love and worship the same being; but Jesus does not receive my idea of God, *because it is mine*, nor do I his, *because it is his*; Jesus is as much bound to accept and worship my God, because it is mine, as I am his, because it is his. My authority over him is the same as his over me; neither has the least over the other. He is as much bound to receive my ideas of God and man, on my authority as I am to take his on his authority. "Thus saith Jesus;" "Thus saith H. C. Wright." As an authority to decide what is true and right, both formulas are alike; neither has any force. God, as Jesus understands him, is a law of life to him; God, as I understand him, is a law of life to me; and each soul owes and must yield allegiance to its own God, and none other. The Jew must have no other God before his God; the Mahometan none before his. The Christian must exalt the God of no other above his; but each must be true to his own God, and love him with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength.

God is to each one, practically, what he conceives him to be. Each one's conception of God will correspond with his *moral* organization and development; for God is love, not logic, and is apprehended by the heart, not by the head, in the moral, and not in the intellectual nature. "Blessed are the pure in heart," (not the giant in intellect) "for they shall see God." Make bright the heart, the love nature, and your God will be bright; but if your heart be foul and dark, your God will be foul and dark. Cleanse, then, and exalt your moral nature, and your conception of God will be pure and ennobling. Man's conception of God must necessarily correspond to his moral conditions, and the only way to give to men nobler and more exalted ideas of God, is to ennoble and elevate their moral nature.

Man's love and reverence for God are but the *echo* of his love and reverence for man. He that says he loves God while he hates man, is a liar. He that says, I respect God, while he shows his contempt for man by making him drunk, by enslaving, shooting or hanging him, or in any way desecrating and polluting his body and soul, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. How can he worship God while he dishonors and degrades himself and his fellow-beings by tobacco, by alcohol, by licentiousness, by war and slavery? He that loves man loves God. Those who most truly reverence man and woman, most truly reverence God; those who most tenderly and reverently cherish their fellow beings, most truly worship God.

Jesus selected the infidel and atheist of his day to represent his spirit and his religion rather than the priest and Levite. The Samaritan, without religion and without God, worshipped God, as Jesus said, helping his brother-man, who had fallen among thieves; the priest and deacon, in muttering

senseless prayers and performing idle ceremonies. So, those who are now denounced as infidels and atheists, worship God by helping those who are fallen among the thieves and robbers of our day, while priests, deacons, and churches worship him by baptism and communion, by singing and praying, and by reverence for days, houses, creeds, Bibles, and titles. Who most truly represent the spirit and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth?

Thus the individual soul, that must bear in itself the results of adopting any principle or of performing any action, ought to decide for itself what principle it shall adopt, what acts it shall perform, and what God it shall worship.

Again: when man submits to the guidance of an external authority, no matter by whom exercised, he is ever liable to be placed in a false relation to himself and to all around him. Conviction points east; authority west. If I yield to authority and crush conviction, I wage war with myself. A conflict is begun in my soul which can be ended only by the entire subjection of my body and soul to the will of another, or by the absolute and eternal triumph of my individual conviction over all external authority, as a law of life for me. My soul says that the miraculous conception, total depravity, and vicarious atonement, are untrue; the church and priesthood say they are true. I cannot obey both, for the decision of each is the antagonism of the other. If I reject the witness of my own soul, and obey the behest of ecclesiastical and priestly authority, I must live in an unceasing conflict with myself. I can know no rest. Therefore, a government of *authority*, as a substitute for one based on conviction, must end in unrest and conflict in each individual soul.

Again: efforts to subject the human soul to an authority outside of itself, must place each individual in a posture of antagonism to every other. In its very nature, the human soul must seek to cast off a government of authority. It does and must of necessity feel that its own behests are a safer guide than the enactments of any church or state; that its own conception of God is more true to nature than the conception of any other man, or of any body of men. Attempt to rule me by any authority or power exterior to my own soul, and you array all my powers in rebellion against you. I feel that you are unjust. Human nature wisely repudiates the assumption and exercise of all arbitrary authority, as well as subjection to it. All authority of man over man, whether claimed and wielded by individuals or by combinations, must, necessarily, be arbitrary and capricious; only the authority of each soul over itself can be fixed and permanent, and an ever-present controlling power. The man, or the set of men, that claims and exercises authority over another man, in any relation, wrongs himself as well as the cowering victim of his power. Witness *husbands*, who claim and exercise authority over the person or property of their wives; *parents*, who rule their children by authority rather than love; *priests* and rulers, who claim and exercise authority over men; the *officers of armies* and *slaveholders*, who claim and exercise the right to govern men by authority, — all are living witnesses to the fact, that those who seek to control men and women by authority, necessarily brutalize and degrade themselves, and all whom they seek thus to govern. The church or state that claims and exercises the right to rule men and women by authority, has in it the elements of anarchy and blood, for it must of necessity grow more and more arbitrary and absolute in its exercise of power, till it has lost all respect for individual conviction, and the authority of each soul over itself is merged in an absolute despotism; and conscience, intuition and reason are set aside,

and the behests of church and state, of Bible, constitution, or of some individual prophet of the past or present, are enforced by fines, imprisonment and death, as the only rule of faith and practice. Then comes bloody revolution; conviction defies authority; the individual soul spurns the despotism of organizations; God, in the individual man or woman, dethrones the God of all Bibles, churches and governments, and in the conflict, reason is darkened, conscience is palsied, the moral nature stunted or perverted, love turned to hate, kindness to cruelty, and the whole soul darkened or embittered, and man turned into a wolf or a fiend. Under a government of authority, order reigns only where the authority is absolute and unlimited over person, property, life, and liberty, and the last pulsation of the individual soul, panting to be free, is stifled in blood.

Again: slavery, with its unutterable horrors; war, with its fire and sword, its robberies, and its murders, its widows and orphans; the inquisition, with its tortures, its agonies and its burnings alive; what are all these but the natural and necessary fruits of external authority as a governing power? No man would ever be a slave or a soldier but under this imbruting dispensation. Four millions of men, women, and children are turned into brutes, and sold and used as chattels, in deference to the authority of the Bible and Constitution; the gallows must be sustained as the great instrument of salvation to church and state, because authority says, *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*—though the same authority repudiates the principle of *blood for blood*; one hundred thousand poor, friendless old men and women were hung, drowned, and burned to death in one century by the priests and churches, because authority said "Suffer not a witch to live." Millions have been slaughtered by Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan priests and churches, because their authority said of heretics and those who taught unpopular ideas of God and man, "Mine eye shall not pity them, thou shalt show them no mercy, but shalt utterly root them out, and blot out their names from under the heavens." Efforts to subject the individual soul to an external authority have dyed the earth with human blood, and whitened it with human bones. But in vain; the struggle still goes on, and was never better understood, and more boldly, heroically and successfully maintained, than at the present hour.

Speak and act from your own soul, not from the soul of Jesus; think your own thoughts, not the thoughts of Jesus, except as his thoughts become yours. So with your feelings. Never try to feel as Jesus feels; never seek to imbibe the spirit of Jesus because it is the spirit of Jesus, except as his feelings become a part of the love-life of your own soul.

So think, feel, speak and act *to* as well as *from* yourself,—that is, with reference to the inspection and approbation of your own soul. Think and feel only with reference to your own approval, then you will ever have a witness of your thoughts and feelings. Speak with a view to the decisions of your own soul; then you will never lack an audience. Live *unto yourself, not unto Jesus*; that is, live solely with a view to the approval of your own soul, and not of the soul of Jesus; then you will live in the presence of a Jury, whose verdict must determine your destiny.

It is of no account to me, whether Jesus, the Church, the State, or the community that professes to represent him, approve my inner or outer life, but it is of moment to me whether my own soul approves. I would approve myself to myself; or, what to me is the same, to God, as he is manifested in my soul, and not as he is manifest in the soul of Jesus.

Thousands of men and women, *in* and *out* of the body, are before and

around me. To all such I say, I am speaking and living in your presence, but I am speaking and living with a view to meet and obey the demands, and to secure the approving verdict of my own soul.

Henry C. Wright wields the sceptre of an absolute and eternal dominion over my destiny. His presence is ever with me. I cannot hide myself from his *All-seeing* eye — *all-seeing*, so far as my interior and exterior life are concerned. My prayer to God is, "thy kingdom come, thy will be done," (so far as I am concerned,) as they are revealed in the soul of H. C. W., not in the soul of Jesus, or Mahomet, the Bible, or the Koran. Through him, not through Jesus, God exalts me to heaven, or casts me down to hell.

From his decision I have no appeal. His judgment is final. His eye is ever upon me. In his firm grasp he holds the sceptre of my eternal destiny. To me, the thought is dear, but overwhelming.

Well may I, then, address myself to him; well may I live unto him; for I feel that *in him* I live, move, and have my being. I must secure his approval, or my soul can know no heaven. I must live with sole reference to his approval.

Thus situated, can you blame me for rejecting all Bibles, all creeds, all Constitutions, all Christs, all Gods, as *authority*, as rules of faith and practice, outside my own soul? Will you talk to me of an outward Authority as a law of life? Will you tell me that I must ignore the intuitions, the sympathies, the affections and decisions of my own soul, and substitute those of Jesus, or of a *soulless* corporation, as a rule of faith and practice? You add insult to injury in so doing. Go use your money, your industry, your power, not to impose on my soul the authority of Jesus, or of God in Jesus, in a Church, or a State, but to help me to *know myself*, and to be *true to myself*. Be not anxious to help me, or any one, to know Jesus and to be true to him, but to help me to know the laws of life and health under which I exist, and to be true to them. Seek not to establish the empire of Jesus over me, or of the Church or State, of the Bible or Constitution, of Priest or Politician, called by his name, but seek to establish the empire of Henry C. Wright over me. Bring me into subjection to the God that rules in his soul. Help my soul to a righteous decision on all the questions of life; on slavery, war, alcohol, tobacco, government, religion; on woman's rights, on marriage, on maternity, and then help me to obey them. Then shall I be all I can be, and all *my* God wants me to be, not all *your* God wants me to be, or the God of Moses or Jesus wants me to be.

By every man and woman, what he or she calls God is admitted to be the standard of truth and right, the only supreme authority, whose decisions are absolute and final. But all would have their God embodied and made visible and tangible in some living object, or relation. To the Jew, this supreme authority is embodied in Moses; to the Mahometan, in Mahomet, and to the Christian, in Christ. The Christian thinks any amount of time, labor, or money expended to ascertain the precise thoughts and feelings of Christ is a most profitable investment. To know how Jesus felt, thought, and spoke on any given question of life, the Christian thinks is all he needs to know. Is alcohol a deadly enemy to the life and happiness of man? How does the Christian answer to himself and the world this question? By an appeal to the *facts* that are ever before him? No; but to Christ. Does Christ authorize its use as a drink? If so, then it is not a poison, though the facts of nature, as seen and known in the past and present, say it is. *Facts* are nothing here; a word or an act of Jesus precludes all discussion. If he drank alcohol, or authorized it to be drunk, in a single

*And he
accepts
himself!
again
what is
himself!*

instance, then, though contradicted by all the facts of its history, it is not injurious to life and health!

Though all nature cries out against man for imposing on woman a maternity whose responsibilities and sufferings she is not ready joyfully to assume and endure—for subjecting her to the relation that leads to maternity without her wish; yet one word from Christ, speaking through Paul, (as it is said,) commanding the wife to be subject to her husband in *all* things, settles the question. The wife must subject herself to the agonies of maternity simply and solely because Christ tells her to submit to her husband, as unto God. Man cannot commit a greater crime against all that is pure and just than to subject a woman to maternity when her soul loathes it. He outrages the most holy and potent function of human nature. He can perpetrate no greater crime against his child than to subject its ante-natal development to the ever-present and ever-potent action of a heart whose every throb is a protest against its existence. Through his agency, the spirit of murder presides over its ante-natal education, instead of an intense, concentrated love. And how could man so outrage woman in any other way? The tenderest sympathies of her nature, her love, and all that makes her physically and spiritually a woman, and qualifies her to be the mother of the race, and the great arbiter of its destiny; these are all ignored, scorned, that man, in or out of legal bonds, may strengthen and gratify his sensualism. But all these outrages against the mother, the child, and humanity, man may perpetrate, because, it is said, Christ, in Paul, in Moses, or in somebody, says—“Wives, be subject to your husbands in *all* things,” and “be fruitful and multiply.”

Though the consciousness of every man assures him that man was “created for woman,” as well as woman for man—that man, as the highest manifestation of the masculine element of divinity, the God-man has no significance nor mission to man, and that, as *man*, he exists *solely* to meet a want in woman, and is, in turn, a helpless dependent on her as the embodiment of the God-woman,—yet all these facts of life must be set at nought, and our souls must be taught to bow to the authority of Christ in Paul, saying, “Woman was created for man, and not man for woman, and that woman must submit to man as unto God.”

President! You have been a Methodist minister, I a Presbyterian. Do you call to mind how we used to urge men to love Christ more than all things else; and to regulate their thoughts, their plans, and actions of life with reference to Christ, rather than to any other object? How we used to urge on men the duty to forsake all and follow Christ, and in affection, thought, and aim, hold father and mother, brother and sister, wife and child, second in power and influence to Christ? Sir, do you remember how, in accordance with such teachings, men used to go on their knees before Christ, as they received him, and solemnly and earnestly, and it may be with tears, assure him that they loved him, thought of him, and acted with reference to his comfort and glory more than to wife and children? What do you think of such teachings now, on a more correct and intimate acquaintance with the facts of conjugal and parental relations? Why, sir, there is not a man, there never was one, holding the true and natural relation of a husband and a father, who ever did or can think, feel, and act more with reference to the interests and glory of Christ than to the interest and glory of his wife and child. There is not a man in this audience, nor in Vermont, in such relations, whose consciousness does not tell him this is true. Is there a man in this tent, who is a husband, made such, not by a priest, but by that love

which is of God, and "which is God," who does not know that he does not and cannot feel, think, and act more with reference to Christ than to his wife? If he would allow himself to think at all, there is not a man among you, however you pretend to love Christ, who does not know that he loves his wife a thousand times more than he loves Christ, and that this *conjugal* love has a thousand times more power to regulate his plans and actions than that *Christian* love. The husband who is made such by love knows he has a thousand thoughts about his wife and her happiness and glory, where he has one about Christ and his glory. He knows that his wife is his *saviour* and the arbiter of his eternal destiny in a higher and more potential sense than Christ is. He sees and worships God in his *wife*, with a more concentrated and intense devotion than God in Christ. His wife, ever-living and ever-present in the depths of his soul, is a far purer, nobler, and more attractive incarnation of God than Christ is. Why, then, pretend otherwise? Why do ministers and churches so constantly and perseveringly perpetrate the falsehood of pointing the world to God in Christ and to Calvary for salvation? Why not point man to his wife, and woman to her husband, as the only "power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation"? For so they are each to the other, all of them being witness. The true husband, made such by love, not by law, by lust, or by convenience, has committed the destiny of his body and soul to the keeping of his wife; he has put the sceptre of dominion over his inner and outer life into her hands; and if Christ could not consent to dwell in his heart, in a secondary capacity, he would bid him depart.

So would the father and mother say of their child. No authority in the universe, were I a father, could make me feel, think, and act more to the interests and glory of Christ than of my child. My own soul would instantly trample on all such authority. My child holds a higher and more exalted place in my heart than Christ. I could not love Christ, if I tried, more than my child; I would not try, if I could. I would say to Christ—to that man called Jesus, who was murdered on Calvary—"My child holds a higher and more potent dominion over my heart and life than you do, and if you are not willing to dwell there and allow the child the supremacy, you can have leave of absence, and I am willing to meet the result. The child of my soul and body is of more importance to my present and eternal destiny than you are."

Such are the teachings of human nature; and though your great reverence for old forms of expression, and old dogmas touching Christ, as a Saviour, may be greatly shocked, yet the heart of every true husband and wife, and of every father and mother, placed in those relations by a true, *exclusive*, holy, conjugal, and parental love, echoes the truth of what I say. You see and worship God in these relations with a holier devotion than in Christ and Calvary. God speaks to you, in the sweet tones and words of your wife and child, with an authority more absolute than in the words that fell from the lips of Christ. Did he speak with authority? But not with an authority so tender, so thrilling, so imperative as that with which the wife and child speak. They say "*He* (Christ) spake as never *man* spake." It may be—but he did not speak, and could not, as a woman, as a wife and mother, can speak to the husband and father, and to the child. God, in flowers and stars, in earthquakes and in *silence*, speaks with power to the heart of man, but not with that energy and authority with which he speaks to man through his wife, his child, and the mother of his child.

Such is the deep, abiding conviction of my soul. In this, the soul of

every man and woman in this audience affirms the same. Your soul, Mr. President, affirms its truth. Tell me, then, why consider me a scoffer and a blasphemer for uttering what, in your souls, you feel to be true? Simply because your reverence for the authority of Christ is greater than for the conviction of your own souls. Authority has throttled conviction, and the God that speaks in your love for wife and child is dethroned, cast out and despised, to give place to the God that spake in Jesus. The God of nature, the God of love, who is revealed in all the ties that so lovingly and potently bind men and women together in all true relations, never did and never can ask us to sacrifice wife or husband, son or daughter, father or mother, or any true relation to him; but God, as revealed through Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, may. But be ever true to the holy love and sympathy, the voice of God, in your own soul, without regard to the God and teachings of Jesus, or of any other man.

Mr. President, the dispensation of arbitrary power and authority in church and state, and the God that speaks in Jesus, as an *authoritative* rule of faith and practice, must go down before the quickening, ever-potential energy of individual conviction. Natural affection, sympathy, intuition, reason and conscience will not always be sacrificed to the behests of arbitrary authority.

One word more, and I have done. The *immediate* abolition of all external authority as a law of life, and of all the systems of violence and blood, of war, slavery, licentiousness, of theft, robbery, murder, and piracy, that are based upon it, is demanded by justice and humanity. I affirm that every thief and robber, every murderer and pirate, every warrior and slaveholder, acts on the principle that each and every man, *at his own discretion*, may substitute external authority for internal conviction, as a law of life to each and every man. Again, I say, give us the means now expended to establish the dominion of external authority, to create and sustain the empire of internal conviction, to teach each soul to govern itself by just and natural laws, and we could soon be able to say to the warring elements of human life, "PEACE, BE STILL!" and there would be a great calm.

WILLIAM GOODELL, of New York, replied briefly to Mr. Wright, and put the following case in illustration: Suppose a slaveholder should come into this audience and take one of these little children, — black or white, no matter what the color, — and claim him as a slave, and undertake to drag him away from here; and suppose he should stand up and plant himself on the ground that he knew no rule but his own will, which God has revealed in him, and that he believed in the divinity of slavery, — I want to know if this audience would let that man take the child and carry him away into bondage? [Voices—"No."] I want to know if this audience would not rise up *en masse* and assert their authority over the man? [Voices—"Yes."] Then we have the principle acknowledged of the authority of man over man, — to this extent, that we shall see to it that every man is protected by law.

The Business Committee then submitted the following resolution: —

Resolved, That the present Spiritual Movement has done much to arrest the tide of popular skepticism, and the material and sensuous tendencies of the age, by giving the natural evidence of our immortality a clearer expression and a more demonstrative form.

A song was then sung by the "Harmonial Club," and Mr. S. B. BRITTAN, of New York, was introduced, who addressed the Convention as follows: —

ADDRESS OF S. B. BRITTAN, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am called to address this Convention on the subject embodied in the resolution which I hold in my hand, and which I will repeat, as some may not have heard distinctly, or fully apprehended its import, on the former reading:—

“Resolved, That the present Spiritual Movement has done much to arrest the tide of popular skepticism, and the material and sensuous tendencies of the age, by giving the natural evidences of our immortality a clearer expression and a more demonstrative form.”

You will perceive that the subject comprehended in the resolution is, **THE NATURAL EVIDENCES OF IMMORTALITY.** Nothing, I apprehend, can be more evident to the careful observer than the fact, that there has been of late a growing tendency to unbelief and general skepticism in reference to the great questions concerning the Immortal Life and Spiritual World. The question of an ancient writer, *“If a man die, shall he live again?”* comes up from the troubled depths of the human mind and heart in every age and country; and thousands, sitting in the obscure light of a doubting faith, have been unable to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Millions were swept away every year, like the seared leaves of autumn, into the grave, while man never ceased to press this great question. But still, in the judgment of the world, the occasional responses were vaguely expressed and of uncertain import. The trembling mortal called on all things, visible and invisible, for an answer; on the outward elements and the inward powers of the world; on the laws of nature, and on God, for a demonstrative and satisfactory solution of the great problem in which the whole humanity is so profoundly interested. But up to the commencement of the modern Spiritual Movement, nothing had occurred to silence the doubts of men, or to roll back the tide of popular skepticism that threatened to swallow up the common faith of the world.

Thus a materialistic philosophy, closely allied to sensuality, invaded all the walks of life. Its representatives sat in the legislative halls of the nation; they occupied the seats of popular learning; they held the keys to the temple of science; their seal was on the current literature of the time; and this Materialism, with all its repulsive features and darkening influences, even revealed its presence beneath the very altar of the Christian sanctuary. But since 1848, the manifestations of mysterious intelligent powers, through the elements and forms of the material world, through the forces and faculties of the human mind, and the organs and functions of the human body, have been rapidly increasing in force and frequency; and these phenomenal exhibitions of invisible power and intelligence have arrested the tide of popular skepticism, and contributed to fix in the public mind a deeper conviction that the immortal world and life are sublime and sacred realities; also, that the fundamental principles and legitimate claims of Revelation and Miracles, so called, (whether properly or improperly is not the question I now propose to discuss,) are compatible with the essential principles of being, and in harmony with the eternal laws of matter and mind. No one can reasonably dispute the fact, that the Spiritual Movement has presented the natural illustrations and proofs of immortality, and of our intimate relations to the Spirit World, in a much stronger light, and in a more lucid, expressive, and irresistible form. It is to a consideration of some of these natural evidences of the unbroken continuity of individual human existence, that I now invite your attention.

It appears to me that the essential laws of mind and matter afford some very clear and positive evidences of this truth. The material philosopher insists that matter is indestructible; but that all organic forms go back and are resolved into the simple elements that compose them. Notwithstanding the frequent changes which matter undergoes in the processes of the natural world, not a single atom is destroyed or annihilated; while all the ordeals that science has been able to institute are equally powerless to destroy a single ultimate particle in the Universe. All this I accept; and from the indestructibility of matter, and the broad basis of its undeviating laws,—as manifested through the ascending scale of perpetual motion, organic formation, and conscious life,—I shall reason for the inherent spirituality and the immortal identity of every rational being.

The most minute investigation will not enable the materialist to discover any form or element of the material world that is not *subject to law*. Every atom that floats in the atmosphere you breathe, not less than the great orbs that wheel their eternal cycles in the immeasurable fields of space, is governed by law. The laws of motion, organization and life are *universal laws*, and it is impossible to find a single ultimate particle that is left to lawless disobedience. Now, law is but the revelation of the plan and the process whereby the Law Giver—the Supreme Intelligence—works in the accomplishment of his designs. All the laws of the Universe reveal the characteristics of Intelligence. The natural theologian reasons from these premises to the conclusion that the Original Cause of all things possesses those attributes of mind which are indispensable to the existence of an intelligent purpose, and without which there could be no adaptation of means to ends. Every particle of matter in existence is thus perceived to be a tangible revelation of law. Every organic form is a proclamation from the invisible powers of life; and every conscious soul is the ineffaceable image of the Infinite mind. If the elements be indestructible, so are the laws that govern them, and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion, that not only the principles of motion and life, but the *intelligence* revealed in and through matter, is as essentially immortal as the external elements are indestructible.

It is well known that matter exists in various degrees of attenuation, some of the conditions and forms of the material elements being tangible to the outward senses, whilst others wholly escape the observation of the senses in their external exercise. For example, by the powers of ordinary sensation, you perceive the existence of the rocks, the earths, and the waters; but you do not see the air, and the still more sublimated essences that exist and pervade all grosser forms and substances. On the contrary, the imponderables are conditions of matter in which the elements are so exceedingly sublimated that though, perchance, everywhere and all-pervading, they are ever beyond this sphere of sensuous observation. Though invisible to mortal eyes, we acknowledge their existence, because we have witnessed the startling revelations of their presence and their power.

Now, if the elements of matter exist in these etherial states and conditions, I apprehend that there must also be organized existences, forever imperceptible by the corporeal instruments of sensation, on account of the extreme subtlety of the elements that enter into the composition and structure of their organic forms. Indeed, you all believe in one great realm of organized forms of life, all of which are beyond the reach of your physical powers of perception. You *know* that all matter and space swarm with innumerable living creatures, accompanied by the thrilling revelations of

pleasure and pain. By the construction and application of a delicate optical instrument, science has revealed the *minute creation*. In the light of this discovery, each separate atom becomes a walled city, while within the circumference of a drop of water an empire of being is mysteriously revealed. Thus by our researches into nature, with the aid of appropriate instruments, we have not only become acquainted with the etherial elements, and, to some extent, with the invisible forces of the Universe, but we have discovered a vast realm of organized being, and countless myriads of living creatures, whose existence would have been disputed to-day, had not Science stooped from her throne of stars to open the portals of the unknown world.

Now, if I do not wholly misinterpret the laws and analogies of nature, there must be a superior state of being, and forms of organic existence fitted to perform the functions of a higher life, answering in some sense to our conceptions of the Spirit World and its inhabitants. Without such a realm and such beings, there would seem to be an immense blank in the work of creation, which is incompatible with the laws of the Universe. If the more ethereal substances are subject to the law of organic formation, the conclusion that there must be a Spirit World is both natural and inevitable. Now, how does this law apply, respectively, to the denser and more rarified forms or states of matter? Is it only capable of taking hold of the grosser ones, or do the more sublimated elements first yield to its action? The truth is, it is impossible for the densest forms of matter at once to assume organic forms and relations. If you deposit a seed in an iron vase, or on the smooth surface of a rock, it will never germinate. *Matter in these dense forms and inferior conditions cannot be taken up and assimilated.* It is only when the elements exist in their more attenuated states, that the ultimate particles are capable of changing their positions and relations with the ease and rapidity which are indispensable in the process of organic formation. It is well known that the growth of vegetation — all the freshness of Spring, the glory of the Summer time, and the fruitfulness of Autumn — depends mainly on the assimilation of material elements taken up from the atmosphere, and which, in their inorganic states, are chiefly intangible. From these facts and considerations, it would seem that *the tendency of matter to enter into organic forms increases in proportion to the degree of material sublimation, and hence that the most ethereal or spiritual substances are most likely to be organized.* Thus the laws of matter and the analogies of nature appear to warrant the conclusion that there may be, and, indeed, *must be*, — to complete the economy of universal existence, — an invisible and Spiritual World, inhabited by beings whose forms are imperishable, and whose ever-unfolding faculties may be fitted to perform the superior functions of an immortal life. To this end do the lines of universal analogy lead us. The eternal principles of Nature, as revealed in all forms, inhere in the elements, not one of which is perceived to exist without law. The power of motion belongs to every world and to every atom. Moreover, a great, intelligent life-spirit pervades all the elements of all worlds, and if these elements are essentially indestructible, that spirit must be intrinsically immortal, and can never die.

"Well," says the materialist, "it may be conceded that the laws of matter and the life-principle in the elements are as indestructible as the elements themselves; but this does not prove that man is immortal in his individuality. The laws of matter, as revealed in the *tree*, may be supposed to eternally exist; but we know that the same trees are not indestructible — we know that they perish. As distinct forms, they are annihilated forever, and

it yet remains for the speaker to prove that men survive the destruction of their bodies." That is true; and on this point, we may find conclusive evidence in the laws of *human nature* and the universal consciousness of the race. It is a well-ascertained fact, that the elements which compose the human body are being perpetually thrown off; and so rapid is this process of transformation, that the whole body is changed once in some seven years. Each physical form is thus disorganized and effectually destroyed. A new body is formed by the assimilation of other elements — the new body being organized under the action of the same indwelling spirit that fashioned the old one. But not a single *Man* is ever annihilated by this process. You are, *all of you*, the same individuals through every period of life. Those who have lived fifty years feel sure that they are the same men and women they were thirty years ago. Not one of you could be convinced, by any species of logic, that the lines of individuality have been obliterated or broken by time, and the process of material transformation. This indicates in a most significant manner, that the law which individualizes a man, does not attach alone or most essentially to his body. If it did, his identity would be lost as often as his body changed. If man were but a mere material organism, on which the elements and forces of Nature were left to improvise the pleasant harmonies and the mournful discords of this present life, *not one of you would ever live to be over seven years old*. This is a legitimate conclusion from the monstrous assumption, that our individual life is but the play of subtle material forces on the instruments of motion and sensation. If the corporeal instrument were *the real man*, it would follow of necessity that the sphere of consciousness, the faculty of memory, and every thing that is peculiar to men as individuals, would be blotted out of existence as rapidly, as frequently, and as effectually, as the process of material transformation is accomplished. But you perceive that it is not so. The man who has lived sixty years, has, by a natural process, been corporally destroyed ten times! yet he is still the same man, and has never once lost his identity. From this significant fact we infer, that *there is an internal or spiritual man*, which is the ultimate receptacle of all the impressions made on the external organs and faculties; so that our humanity consists in something else, and something more, than the one hundred and fifty pounds, more or less, of common earth. You cannot say, then, that *A MAN* exists when there is only *a corpse* in the way. That is not a man. It has none of the faculties, and can manifest none of the functions of manhood. The subtle element and the chemical constituents may be all there; the organs may be in perfect order and sustain their proper relations; but *the man is not there*. The house is tenantless, and the vital fires are extinguished. There is no glow on the cheek; there is no speculation in the eye; there is no power of vital or voluntary motion; there is no capacity for sensation or for thought. These faculties and functions belong to man; they go with him, and will not remain in the fallen temple with the broken and voiceless symbols of his departed life.

But it is not alone by this gradual process that the body is destroyed without invading the sphere of individual consciousness, and the powers of our inmost being. If you remove a member of the body entire, it will not circumscribe the sphere of consciousness in the smallest degree. I have conversed with persons who have lost their limbs on the battle-field, or by accident, and they have assured me that cannon-balls and the surgeon's knife are powerless to circumscribe the sphere of consciousness, and that not even sensation is suspended when the sensor nerves are destroyed. Some time since, a gentleman who had lost one of his lower limbs, assured me

that, the next morning after it was amputated, he attempted to leap from the bed on to the floor. Neither his senses nor his consciousness gave him any warning, and it was not until he had made an abortive effort, that memory came to his aid and reminded him of his misfortune. Thus, if the vital forces could sustain so many shocks, you might remove every limb from the body, and still the MAN would have the same abiding sense of *completeness*; he would feel a positive consciousness that nothing was wanting to secure the perfection of his being. Thus it is rendered obvious that *our individuality inheres in the spirit*, and that our identity cannot be destroyed or impaired by the disasters that overtake the body.

But there are other natural evidences of our spiritual nature and immortality. The fact that men often exercise the powers of sensation without the use of their appropriate physical organs, is, I conceive, a clear and indisputable proof of the spiritual nature of man. No one, who is well informed, will any longer venture to deny that Humanity has powers whereby some men enter into spiritual *rapprochement* with the interior principles, laws, and forces of Nature, and with the Spiritual Universe. There are many persons now living, who have power to look through solid walls, and who can see in darkness as well as in light. It is only necessary to secure a proper union of certain physiological and psychical conditions, to develop these powers in any well organized human being. Indeed, every one who has had a vivid dream — has had his hand clasped in that of a friend — has heard a familiar voice, or looked out upon a landscape, when the external organs were locked up as in a profound slumber — has had a revelation of the fact, that men may see, hear, feel and exercise all the powers of sensation without employing the external organs of sensation. It follows, therefore, that the powers of feeling, thought, and action, do not necessarily depend on the body. If, then, you were to strike this body out of existence — annihilate it — scatter the elements to the four winds — the spirit, *the man*, would still remain in the full possession and free exercise of all its immortal faculties.

There are reasons for presuming that man is immortal in his individuality that do not apply to the animal creation. I regard all the inferior forms that people the earth as only parts of the one great process whereby matter is so sublimated and spiritualized that it may enter into imperishable forms. Thus all the parts and processes of the subordinate creation are perceived to be but so many links in the great chain of progressive development, whereby the human spirit is made immortal. We perceive that the different species of animals soon develop and exercise all the faculties they possess, and to the highest degree of which they are capable. They reach an ultimate condition beyond which there is no further advancement. This is true of all corporeal forms; but it is not true of the human mind. That never reaches an ultimate condition. Its faculties are never fully developed in time. The highest human perfection is never realized in this world, and we can only conceive of it as among the possibilities of the distant future. This consideration, also, appears to justify the conclusion that there must be a continuous unfolding of the infinite powers and capacities of human nature in the great hereafter.

At no previous period in the history of the world was materialism so much troubled to defend its claims on rational grounds. The evidences of our immortality were never so conspicuous before, and the skeptical philosophers of the world stand aghast and are silent. When such men as Robert Owen and Dr. Hare, and many others whose minds are cast in similar moulds, who have resisted all the efforts of the Church for three-

quarters of a century, suddenly give way before the living and positive demonstrations of the spiritual nature and the immortal life, how shall the multitude of inferior minds stand up in defence of the old Materialism. They were firm in their unbelief, and had derived additional strength — were rendered unyielding and inflexible in their skepticism — by their practical and scientific training. When such men are forced to accept the truth they so stoutly denied, it is meet that common skeptics should investigate the claims of the subject or be silent.

I am here to-day to speak of the spiritual nature and the progressive immortal life of humanity. If the claims of the subject are not founded in truth, all our reforms are comparatively insignificant in their objects and ephemeral in their effects. I stand on this great globe, which, in the light of the material philosophy, (if I may associate the idea of light with such a system,) contains in its ample bosom all that remains of the departed nations. But I stand here to proclaim the resurrection of "every man in his own order." I do not believe that one has perished. The old Materialism would make the earth itself one vast tomb, and the visible heavens one stupendous monument reared above the mouldering remains of innumerable generations. If beyond the present world and the living generation there is nothing left but the ashes of all the past, we are all but creatures of a day, whose aimless life is terminated by an unbroken and dreamless sleep. If we are destined to wake no more, the oracles of Nature are ministers to lead the mind astray; our aspirations are falsehoods; hope is a cunning and cruel deceiver, and the Universe a magnificent failure, which suggests the most mournful contemplations.

But it is not so. This is not all nor the end of life. The essential laws and vital principles, manifested in outward forms, are the revelations of GOD IN ALL THINGS. Death is only an outward and local phenomenon that accompanies the development of higher powers of being; while life — eternal life — is the unchanging law of the whole Universe. Man stands on the confines of two worlds, the elements and attributes of which meet, unite, and centre, in his constitution. He may therefore be gratified to learn something of what is beyond and above the sphere of his present existence. While it is his prerogative to sway a sceptre over the earth, he follows the highest law of his nature in aspiring to heaven. Thus we perceive that from man, the chain of being extends downward and outward to the unorganized elements, and upward and inward to the attributes of Deity. Such is man. The physical and Spiritual Worlds are represented in him, and the presence of the Supreme Divinity consecrates these temples of clay. The Russian poet has expressed the idea in more beautiful and forcible language:

"We hold a middle rank 'twixt heaven and earth;
On the last verge of mortal being stand,
Close to the realms where angels have their birth,
Just on the boundaries of the spirit land.
I can control the lightning, and am dust;
A monarch and a slave, a worm — a God."

Thus, while I stand on the graves of the buried nations, I am authorized to proclaim the resurrection of all the powers of life; and while I behold the image of God in every one of you, —

"I feel my immortality o'ersweep
All pains, all groans, all griefs, all fears, and peal
Like the eternal thunders of the deep,
Into mine ears, this truth — THOU LIV'ST FOREVER."

Mrs. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, of New York. Friends, we have listened to a very eloquent discourse. Beauty in language, in description, and in voice, is always exceedingly pleasant to the hearer; but, at the same time, it does not seem to me to be enough. The last speaker, when he rose, said that it was absolutely necessary to bring reasons and arguments to prove the doctrines of Spiritualism. To do so, he has given us what he deems all the arguments necessary. Now, it is usually the practice, when a lawyer wants to present arguments to prove a proposition, for him to retain the strongest until the last; the heaviest gun is usually fired at the close; and as I have only ten minutes in which to speak, and of course shall not be able to reply to the whole speech, if I wished to, I shall have to let all his beautiful and flowery images pass to whence they came,—the air,—and simply take up one or two of the arguments. I will begin with the last one given, as the strongest, and that is Robert Owen. I never hear the name of Robert Owen, but I feel rising within me a sentiment amounting almost to reverence for that noble man. I have had the unspeakable pleasure of being intimately acquainted with him for years, and on matters of fact, such as can be demonstrated—on any point concerning the general intercourse between man and man, I would most implicitly take his word. But if Robert Owen should tell me that he had seen a mouse draw a three-decker through the streets of New York, I would say, “I cannot believe it.” “But am I not Robert Owen?” “Why, certainly; and I believe that you believe you have seen it; but that can be no authority for me.” [Hear! hear!]

Again, the great argument produced here was drawn from dreams. In dreams, we shake hands with a friend, we reason, we argue, we feel, we laugh, we cry,—therefore, we must be able to do all these things when we have changed this present existence, and passed from the stage of what is called life. I will take that argument up. I am, unfortunately, a great dreamer,—I wish with all my heart I was not; for while I dream, I do not sleep; and just to the extent that I dream, I do not sleep; therefore, that argument is no illustration of immortality at all, for when I do not sleep, I am awake, and when I am awake, I am alive, and when I am alive, I am not dead. [Laughter and applause.]

Another great gun was fired off,—and that is, the change of our bodies. Every seven years, you have been told,—and it is true,—the particles of matter that compose our bodies are changed. But how? Do we lay them off once in seven years, as we lay off one coat and put on another? Oh, no! We have on a coat of minute particles of cloth, and just as one particle is taken out, another particle is set in, and the coat remains whole. We do not change every seven years entirely; and therefore this fact cannot be taken as proof of the immortality of man, or rather, as proof of Spiritualism. If the body changed at once, there might be some analogy, though not much even then. But it does not. As the elements pass off, their places are supplied by others, and the moment they have taken their places, they assimilate with the whole being, and it remains, to a great extent, the same. But, in reality, it is not the same. Man is not the same when he is seven years old as he was the first hour of his existence; he is not the same the last seven years of his life that he was the first. The last speaker has probably believed in Spiritualism more than seven years; but suppose I take him back seven years, and then ask him—“Are you the same to-day, when you believe in Spiritualism, and from your belief in your feelings, and from your belief and feelings in your opinions, and from your belief and feelings and opinions in your actions, that you were seven years ago,

when you utterly disbelieved it?" Why, no! So that it is both true and not true; we are the same, and not the same. But in either case, does it prove Spiritualism?

But let me ask the question — Suppose that all we have heard here is perfectly true, is it necessary for us to know it, and to come here to be convinced of it? Millions of human beings have lived and died, and the speaker has told us that he does not believe a single one of these has been lost; and yet they did not know it. If Spiritualism is true, and we do live hereafter, and the millions of human beings that have existed, ignorant of the fact, also live, why, I ask, employ — I will not say *waste*, though I might — why employ our precious moments in discussing a subject which, at best, it is a matter of indifference whether we know or not? [Applause.]

But I will tell you what does make a difference. Suppose your child falls into a well, and while it is struggling in the water, a man comes up to help you take him out, — will you stand to convince him of the immortality of the soul before you pull the child out? I tell you, men are overboard; the slave groans in his chains; woman groans in her supposed inferiority and in her oppression; man groans in his ignorance; men and women groan in poverty; society groans in dishonesty, in falsehood, in dissipation, in vice, in crime, in misery. Shall we leave this out of sight, and argue the question whether a man lives after he is dead or not? If there were nothing else to do but to spend our time in mere speculation, I should have no objection; but the time is not ours.

Friends, fifteen years ago, a society of women was formed in New York, called the "Prison Reform Society." I attended one of the meetings, and a lady read a chapter from the Bible, and then knelt down and offered a long prayer. True to my own convictions of duty to humanity, I protested against it as an outrage. I said, "If any one wants to pray or read the Bible, I have no objection, but let her read and pray at home; but the moment we cross the threshold of this chamber, called together to do something for the relief of the poor convict, from that moment the time is not ours, even to pray, but to work." I will say the same to this Convention. If the Convention was not called for the benefit of man, it is useless; if it is, the moment we come together, the time is not ours to discuss the life hereafter and neglect the life here. Take the life here first in hand; investigate what it is; inquire into the duties of life and into the duties of man; see what we have to do; right it all; make the heaven that ought to be upon earth. Let us live — live and enjoy — in intelligence, in virtue and in happiness; wipe the tears from the eyes of distress; do away with poverty; do away with the stigma of crime and sin, of shame and misery. Demolish those monuments of ignorance and iniquity, jails, and houses of correction, and State Prisons; do away with them; show that there is no need for them; investigate into the causes that have made them necessary, and remove those causes, and replace them with others that shall make necessary, instead of prisons, palaces for man to dwell in, and then you can say, not only is this life beautiful, not only can we live happy here, but, at the same time, that it is really a pity to leave this beautiful earth entirely, and therefore there may probably be another life — but not before.

ELDER MILES GRANT, of Boston. Mr. President, I am not an uninterested member of this Convention, and I propose to define my position, before I say a word in relation to the subject before us. I am here as a friend to all present, but as an opponent to some of the points of Spir-

itualism. I am here a professed Christian, and a firm believer in the Bible. I wish you to understand me on this point. I have no doubt whatever that it is just what it purports to be, — so you will know where to find me during the Convention.

My friend Brittan, whom I love to hear speak, for he always speaks intelligently and understandingly, quoted a passage of Scripture at the commencement of his address, which is an interesting one: "If a man die, shall he live again?" I do not know whether he endorsed that language or not." If a man *die*, shall he *live* again?" I see no meaning in the expression, "shall he *live* again?" unless he has once died. The subject of immortality is the one particularly before us now, and if a man does not die, then there is no propriety in talking about his living again, and that Scripture is certainly meaningless. I declare boldly before the congregation, that I do not believe man is immortal — and yet I believe the Bible. So my position, you see, is different from any that has been taken yet. I have searched the Bible through, and can find no proof there that man is immortal. I have searched Nature through, with, I think, a little common sense and philosophy, and I find no proof there that man is immortal; and I am glad to stand here and call for proof that man, in his present state, has a particle of immortality about him. That is bold, I know; it is bold against some who believe the Bible, as against Spiritualists and even Atheists. I shall call, and call repeatedly, for proof that man is immortal in this present state.

My friend Brittan asks the question, "Can attenuated matter be organized?" This was a point not taken up by the last speaker (Mrs. Rose). He assumes that it can live. I will call for proof on that point. He remarked, that the more attenuated a material or etherial substance, the more likely it is to be organized. That being true, electricity and magnetism should be organized into being. Show me those beings, if you please! [Applause.] I admit them as agents or principles, and I might go on and say that other attributes of matter, or principles, should be organized on the same principle. Man is composed of various earthy elements, as we know, and in speaking of these and of the component parts of the man, he says, neither of these constitute the man. Now, sir, when the man has been organized from these various elements, and is afterwards disorganized, which of these elements is the man. Tell me, if these elements were not man before organization, by what philosophy shall we say that these elements, after disorganization, constitute man — either one of them? I read in my Bible of "mortal" man, but not of "immortal" man. I would appeal to my friend if it is not possible for me to strike him a blow sufficient to make him unconscious for a little time? Now, if there is in man a real being, a real entity, that cannot be affected by the condition of the physical organization, why does it not help him then, just when he wants help most? Well, sir, if a man can be knocked down and made unconscious, will not a heavier blow, which will crush his head to pieces, render him certainly as much unconscious as he was before? In other words, will that heavy blow, which crushes his head to pieces, bring him to life? I appeal to the common sense of the people; just look at that, if you please. I am here to maintain the opposite doctrine; and I am prepared to show that man is not immortal, in his present state.

To prevent misapprehension, allow me to say, that I believe in the resurrection of the dead, as the Bible teaches, and that man will live hereafter eternally. If I stick to my Bible, I must adhere to that position, for that

teaches me to seek for "honor, glory, and *immortality*." Do you think we would be taught to seek for that which we possess already? I am taught in the blessed Bible, if I may call it so before this congregation, that this mortal shall put on "*immortality*." I do not talk of putting on my coat when I have it on. The question still comes back to us, Is man immortal? If I go to my Bible, I find the origin of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the words of a certain being to the first parents, in the Garden of Eden, six thousand years ago, "Thou shalt not surely die!" If that saying was true, then my friend is right in advocating the immortality of the soul. But a higher being declares, "Thou *shalt* surely die." Who told the truth—the Lord or the devil?

A VOICE. "The devil."

ELDER GRANT. Very well; you may believe the devil, I will believe the Lord. [Loud applause, and a shout of "Amen!"]

MR. BRITTAN. I believe the declaration in the book of Genesis to which the speaker refers is—"In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." The question is, did Adam die in the sense in which the gentleman regards death on that day? And if he did not die on that day, did our Lord speak the truth?

ELDER GRANT. The question is an important one, and I am glad it has been put. "In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." We are told that it was a moral death, because Adam did not die a literal death on that day. In the margin we read, "In dying, thou shalt die." It may be taken in that sense: man began to waste away from that day. The Jews understood the day to mean a thousand years, and believed that if he had lived through that period, his punishment would have ended. But when we come to look at the original word, which the translators have rendered "in," we see that it may be translated "after," or "against." If they had used the word "after," it would have read, "after the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." It is certain that the Lord did not contemplate his death on that very day, because he told him, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

J. S. LOVELAND, of New York. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I do not propose to argue this question, because ten minutes is too short a time. I wish simply to advert to some remarks that have been made by the last speaker. The brother says, in the first place, that he has searched through the Bible, and does not find immortality there; and in the second place, that he has searched through nature, and has not found it there; which expressions mean, if they mean any thing, that he has so searched the Bible as to fully and thoroughly comprehend all of its meaning, and there is no affirmation of man's immortality, and that he has so searched nature as to so far apprehend all its principles, all its teachings, and all its forms, as to feel confident that in none of them is there a whispered utterance of man's immortality. If this be so, then I fall down and worship that man, as I would a God. Let it be said, however, that myriads of men, and women also, have searched that same Bible, and, he will not question, with as earnest devotion, with as believing prayerfulness, as himself, and they *have* found immortality there. I do not say this proves any thing, but simply that it shows that all men do not look through the same spectacles in looking at that book. And also, other men, he will not deny, as deeply philosophical, as acutely analytical and critical, have looked as far as they could into nature, not "through" her—for I judge, when the brother comes to think of it, he will never say again that he has looked.

"through" nature—and the further they have looked, and the more intently, reverently, prayerfully they have listened, there has come from every principle of nature, a voice which, falling upon the chords of their own awakened consciousness, has caused them to vibrate again and again with the soul-ravishing melody of immortality. And it is so to-day. A thousand soul-strings respond to-day in unison with that utterance, as it comes to them from the peopled spheres of invisible life, and from every tongue of nature, speaking around us in the great song of the universe, that eternal law. That is, it is so to them. I do not present it as an argument; I only reply to assumptions.

Once more. My friend, Mrs. Rose, thinks that the question of the life to come should be held in abeyance until we first attend to the life that is. This, perhaps, would be well, if we knew what the life that is really is. That is, if we were perfectly sure that the life that now is was measured by the bounds of what we term time and space, it would be so; but if the life that now is is but the embryonic manifestation of a life that is to run through the eternal ages, then it is of the last importance that that question should be settled; for if, when this life begins, there be principles operating which are to mould and make the destiny of that which is to come, then we ought to know it, if it be knowable, and every avenue of knowledge should be explored, and every labyrinth of possible speculation should be gone through and thoroughly scanned and scrutinized, before we sit down and say that the present, judged of as a finality, should be first settled, before the great future is so much as thought of, and that all thought of immortality is mere speculation. It is not so. The beating hearts of this audience bear me witness; and in their aspirations after a higher and a nobler life, they proclaim nature's grand argument, which nothing has been able to overthrow, that man, who lives now, will live on forever in the future.

WILLIAM GOODELL. In addition to what has been said by the last speaker, I wish just to throw in one idea, very briefly. We must first ascertain the truth concerning the immortality of man, before we can know any thing, to any good purpose, of the nature of man, of the responsibilities of man, and of the rights of man. If man is to die like the beast, then who shall say that he has any other rights than the rights of the beast? But if man be an immortal being, if he be destined to eternity, if he be a being of more consequence than all the other beings in this lower world, then his rights become sacred. No man, no community, can really understand their rights, or be in a position to maintain them, unless they have a deep and abiding sense of their future endless existence.

S. C. CHANDLER of Wisconsin. This discussion cannot but be interesting to the audience. As I have but a few moments, I shall not stop to give you an introduction. I wish to present, in addition to what has been said upon the materialistic view, some ideas that have not yet been expressed—that is, they have not been presented as distinct and separate ideas. If you and I believe in the immortality of man, we must discover his immortality from his organism, and from what we learn of its nature, its structure, and the laws by which it is governed—not only the laws which have given man existence as a distinct being, but also the laws that sustain him. Therefore, I wish to direct your attention to the machinery of nature that produces man and that produces what we term mind.

The Spiritualists, if I understand them, believe mind to be a distinct entity, and that what you are to call man proper, the real man, is his mind, and that his mind is an organism, an invisible, ethereal organism, that exists

as sensibly and really, as the body does. Let us examine, then, into this point a moment. Here are the particles of matter that compose the body; and as this body is composed, it has its separate organs, and these organs of the body, with all its functions, perform a certain office. The eye is one part of the body, that gives you vision; the ear is one part of this physical structure, that seems to give you the consciousness of sound; the nervous system seems to be the only part of the body that is sensible to touch. Now, then, if you destroy the eye, you destroy the consciousness of vision; if you destroy the ear, you destroy the consciousness of sound; if you destroy the nervous system, you destroy the consciousness of feeling. The fact, that when a man's arm is cut off, he is still conscious at times that he has an arm, does not meet the point. It is the force of habit. If you are accustomed to drink tea or coffee when you sit down to the table, you will call for it, instinctively as it were. It is the force of habit. If you do not receive the tea or coffee, if there is none provided, nevertheless, the force of habit calls for it. So in the use of the limbs after they are dismembered. But notice, the nervous system is the seat of sensation; so, if you destroy this, you destroy that part of man by which he thinks and acts.

I wish now to present this thought — that mind is the result of the spirit-life, operating upon the machine, or organism, and adequate to produce thought, whenever it operates upon it. To illustrate: I take you into a factory; I show you a machine adequate to manufacture cloth; I show you the wheels, the belts, the shuttles, and all parts of the machine; but there it stands. You say it does not manufacture cloth. Why? Because something else is necessary. What is it? It is something to move the machine. Now, I let on the water or apply the steam power to move the machine. Now it moves, and the result is, cloth is manufactured. I wish you to look at this point. It is not the power that produces the cloth, nor the machine, but it is both acting together. When you separate them, you destroy the ability to manufacture cloth. So it is with mind. You and I had no mind until we had a brain, and in proportion as that is defective, there is, necessarily, a defect in mind. Here, then, is the point: it is not the spirit, the life in man, that produces mind, independently, of itself, which I acknowledge to be immortal. I acknowledge that what you call spirit life, whatever the spirit is, is immortal, as the body is immortal, but not in its form. All matter is immortal; it never had a beginning, neither can it have an end. This has been the great error of all Christendom — the belief in the text: "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth." There never was a beginning of nature; all nature has existed from all eternity, and so with man. He never had a beginning, that is, in the principles and structure of his organism. They were in nature, but when they were put together, it was essential to have a various organism, in order to produce mind. When you separate, therefore, the power that moves upon the brain from the brain, you have no mind; otherwise, you might preach the immortality of the soul, and hence the preëxistence of man. Whoever does so, preaches the preëxistence of man. He must have existed from all eternity, because that life principle existed and extended to all the particles of matter that compose his body. Therefore, I say, that while the two parts of man, the spirit and the body, are united, and the spirit acts upon the brain, the result is mind; but when you separate them, it cannot produce mind, it must have brain to do it; it cannot produce sight, it must have eyes; it cannot produce hearing, it must have ears; it cannot produce feeling, it must have the nervous system; and as these are the body, when these go back,

man is as he was born. I do not say this is so ; there may be some means by which my identity shall be preserved — I hope there are ; but while I hope, I ask you to look at this point, and see if you can discover mind when you have not brain, and if it is not true that it is only when there is a full and free operation of the spirit life upon man's organism, that you have a perfect manifestation of the phenomena of rational life.

The PRESIDENT then stated that the resolutions which were before the Convention were not presented for the purpose of securing a vote upon them, but as embracing topics for discussion. They could be called up at any time, at the option of any individual, when the regular programme of the Convention did not interfere. With this explanation, he hoped the Convention would not object to waiving the discussion of the resolutions at present before them, to make way for the regular exercises of the programme.

The Business Committee then submitted the following resolution :—

Resolved, That under the Divine government, the law of progress, from the monad to the highest angelic society, is manifested by and through organization.

Another song was sung by the Harmonial Club, after which the Convention was addressed by JOEL TIFFANY, of New York, substantially as follows :—

SPEECH OF JOEL TIFFANY.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The subject which I wish to present to your minds under the present resolution, is the necessity and use of organization, in the individual and in the associated form. When we look at man as a physical, intellectual, social, moral and religious being, and study him in the light of each department of his nature, we find that in certain things all men are alike and all women are alike. Their physical natures are begotten under the same law, unfolded under the same government, perfected by the operation of the same principles ; and when we endeavor to ascertain what the law of creation, unfoldment, and perfection is, we find it to be the same in reference to every individual being ; so that, if they were to speak from the platform of their physical needs, they would all speak the same language. When we look at man as an intellectual being, we find that his intellectual nature is unfolded under the same law,—that he is made intellectually strong or weak by the observance or disregard of the same great fundamental truths or principles ; and hence, throughout the intellectual departments of their being, all men are much alike, and are to be unfolded alike ; and if I would perfect my intellectual nature, I must observe the same law that you must in order to perfect yours, and you must use the same that I must. When I look into my social nature, and inquire what are my social needs, giving rise to social aspirations and desires, I find they are the same as those of other men. When I come into any relation with a fellow-being, whether conjugal, friendly, parental, or filial, I find that that relation gives rise to an unfoldment of the same principles, the same sympathies, aspirations and desires, with those of other men, when they come into a similar relation ; and consequently, that I am to be unfolded in those departments of being as you are, and you are as I am. Hence, when we speak from the plane of our physical natures, we all speak the same language, because we are begotten and born under the same law, must render allegiance to the same government, and must be ultimated and perfected in it by the application of the same principles to each department of our nature.

Now, when I wish to investigate this great principle or law, I find another great principle made apparent—that if I am to be governed and ruled at all, I must be governed by that which rules in me. If I look into my nature, and find myself supremely selfish, I shall be ruled by whatever appeals to me through the sense of self-gain or self-gratification. You cannot govern me by the moral law until the moral law is ruler in me. You cannot make me obedient to any moral principle you may set up, until you have established a principle in my nature that recognizes its authority. Can any one doubt that I must be governed by the law that is in me; and if that law be one of selfishness and lust, that I must be governed by principles appealing to me through that? Hence, when we talk about governing man, it makes a difference where that man is to be found. If you find in him a selfish nature, where the law is, “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, life for life, limb for limb,” he must be governed by that law, for he recognizes no other, and he will obey no other; and while under the dominion of his selfishness and lust, he seeks his own self-gain and self-gratification, to the destruction of the equal rights and needs of his fellow. Hence, it becomes necessary that there should be a power somewhere to stand between the weak and the strong, the innocent and the guilty, and to protect that being who, in its weakness or innocence, cannot protect itself.

Now, then, if we find that a man or any number of men, are living under a rule of their nature that leads them to regard their own gain and gratification as supreme, and under that rule, that they trespass upon your rights to life, liberty and property, and violate every principle necessary to the unfoldment of your being, it becomes necessary that there should be some power, properly, judiciously administered, that should require such individual to pay respect to your equal rights and sovereignty. Suppose, now, we have come together this afternoon, for the purpose of discussing some of the many questions that may come before the meeting, and some individual comes in and assumes the right to dictate what shall be the character of the meeting and of our deliberations. Suppose he declares he will not submit himself to those rules and regulations which you have adopted, and therefore, you must either abandon the Convention, and leave him to do as he pleases, or he must come within the rules and regulations that govern the meeting. Is any individual to say that his will is to be supreme, as opposed to the will of those present here?—that five hundred or a thousand persons should have their purpose arrested, because an individual, through malice or any other motive, should see fit to come in and attempt to interrupt and destroy the order of the meeting? You see at once, that if a man who recognizes no law of justice and truth assumes to come into relations with his fellow-men, there must be a power somewhere that will make him observe that principle. The very principle of sovereignty in the individual cannot be maintained except upon the principle that we have a right to come together for a legitimate and proper purpose, to investigate those means necessary to the unfoldment of our physical, intellectual, moral and religious natures, and, being thus together, have a right to be protected in our effort at investigation; and the individual who should come in and set up his authority to defeat our purpose, would exercise that which he has no right to exercise,—and yet, he may have the physical power to do this, unless we put forth physical power to resist that encroachment.

Then I take this position: that the man, naturally under the rule of his appetites, passions and lusts, must be governed; he would not live long enough on earth to attain to the proper development of his physical, intel-

lectual, moral and religious nature, unless there was government, for his good. The law of Moses, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," I believe to be the principle by which alone the selfish man can be governed. Hence, in that department of society, there must be organization.

Upon the same principle, we go on a little further, and investigate the unfoldment of man in his social, moral and religious nature; and I wish to go on and show that the same principle of organization is necessary, in order to secure to us the best means by which we, as individuals, can be unfolded and perfected. The resolution declares that "all progress is through organization." We have come together here to-day in a "Free Convention," to discuss promiscuously promiscuous subjects, and we have got a pretty fair start! [Laughter.] Now, I have no doubt, that if there could be a sorting out here of subjects, it would be found that the questions could be discussed altogether more profitably, both to speakers and hearers. Under these circumstances, I wish to present to you this principle, which I believe to be necessary for the development and unfolding of your spiritual natures. I suppose you all occupy positions where you are satisfied that you have spiritual natures,—you do not stand with Mrs. Rose and some of the other speakers here to-day,—and if so, then you want to investigate those principles necessary to the development of those spiritual natures. Now, would it not be altogether more pleasant, in order that we may be enlightened upon that point, that we associate ourselves together in a Convention, for that specific purpose, and not discuss every question that ever was raised, or ever can be raised, from the time of Adam to the end of all time? I submit to you if, for the purpose of properly investigating a question, we could not arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion, have more light thrown upon the subject, by having that single question presented and discussed by those who had, in their investigations, arrived at that point where they felt it necessary to determine it for themselves? The principles of organization would leave all individuals interested in the subject to come together. How do we pursue this matter in other respects? Suppose we wish to investigate natural science—how is it done? Associations are formed to investigate each particular science. One seeks to investigate the science of geology, another zoölogy, another botany, another conchology, and so on. Committees are appointed by each association, and they investigate their several departments, and submit their reports. I submit if that is not a very judicious course to be pursued by those who wish to investigate these subjects? The very fact that they have associated themselves together shows that they felt the need of this association—felt it necessary to set apart times and places and means for carrying forward their investigations. An individual who is seeking to become master of any trade or profession, and who, for that purpose, wishes to avail himself of all the means that can aid him in attaining a knowledge of that subject, associates himself with other men who have the same object in view, and they go to work and form their libraries, their cabinets, their models, for study, and so on. They do it because, in their associated capacity, they can accomplish more than by each individual relying upon his own resources.

Now, the same principle is true in regard to all our investigations in science; we associate ourselves together for the purpose of making our specific investigations. So in moral enterprises. Here is our friend Wright and our other anti-slavery friends, who see a great evil and sin that needs to be overthrown; and each individual feels that he gains power by uniting with other men. Hence he calls upon all who think and feel with

him upon the subject of slavery to come up and unite with him, that they may overthrow this giant evil;—hence is formed the great American Anti-Slavery Society.

So you may examine through all the departments of intellectual and moral investigation, and you will find that men have learned to observe this principle, that if they wish to attain to excellence in any particular department, they must associate all their individual energies for that purpose, put forth all their power, and in this way they make progress.

Now, if you go back to the examination of the laws of nature, you find they are ever laws of association. From the time that the first particles of matter came together to lay the foundation for the universal kingdom, and thus formed the first solid bodies,—from that time to the present, every thing has been by association, by organization. Dig down to the primitive rock, and take the material elements of that rock, and endeavor to produce a higher form of vegetation, and you cannot do it. If you plant a rose stalk, it will not grow. Why? Because the particles of matter concerned in developing the beauty of that flower have not been associated in a higher form. But let the particles of matter that go into that rose go into a different organical structure, into one form and into another, and finally they will be prepared to receive the rose stalk, and by cultivation you get the double rose. All this is obtained by association and organization.

It is true, the first vegetable forms that appeared upon our earth were not the highest. First appeared the lowest forms of vegetable life; but because they were so, would you despise their organization? Do you inquire why the Creator did not give us the highest forms first? Simply because the law is, that the first organization taken from dead, inert matter, must be but one degree removed above it. Why can you not upon the granite mountain get your double rose? Simply because the particles of matter have not been organized and disorganized times enough. They cannot receive the vital force that will bring them, by the law of vital attraction, into the beauty of the double rose. But let them go through this process, until you have prepared the material from the decayed vegetation of the rose, and from those particles of matter, which have gone over and over again through this organization and disorganization, and directly the most beautiful double rose appears. Why not at first? Simply because the matter entering into its composition had not been organized and disorganized often enough.

So in human society. What are your first organizations? In the savage state, man appears as it were without any organization of society; every man sets up his own authority, and by virtue of that power, seeks to command his fellow; then men organize themselves into separate tribes, each warring upon the other. One tribe organizes and is dissolved, and in this conflict of tribes, their natures are unfolded, their intellects are developed, and by-and-by their moral natures begin to unfold, and they begin to learn that each man has the same nature. The first organizations are imperfect; but, imperfect as they are, they are developed on the same principle. Certain defects are revealed, which lead men to seek a remedy for those defects, and in seeking that remedy, they look deeper and deeper into the arcana of nature, and God is revealed to man in nature. So, notwithstanding all the organizations that have gone before us have been imperfect, and because of that imperfection have passed away, yet how much have they done for us? They have unfolded to us more and more man's nature and needs; they have revealed to us the necessity of some higher principle by which to

regulate and govern man, than that which has been incorporated into human government; they have revealed unto man the importance of looking beyond the transitory and finite to the imperishable and the infinite.

Now, then, if these organizations had not been going on from the first existence of society until now, we should not have learned these things. We look into the civil organizations of the various countries of the world; into the civil organization of Russia, for instance, and by seeing the practical effect of the principles which the Czar of Russia brings to bear in the government of his subjects, we discover defects in that organization, and we seek some means to remedy those defects. We go to England, and read the Constitution of that country, study its history, and its administration, and discover its virtues and defects. There we have "history teaching us by example," in recording the operations of that government, administered under such principles. We could not have learned by intuition the defects of the Russian system of government; we are obliged to depend upon experiment to reveal to us our needs and the means by which those needs are to be supplied; and when the British government was found incompetent to administer the affairs of a great nation in the west, this country rose up like a young giant, and flung off the shackles of the mother country, and established, not a perfect government, but a more perfect one than that which they had thrown off—one that would meet more perfectly the demands of the people. And here we are to-day, standing upon all the ages that have gone before, scrutinizing the history and administration of that government, and we find it wofully defective in the application of its great principles. But we should not have discovered the defects, if this attempt at organization had not been made. Those very defects make my friend Wright seek out a better way, and lead him to proclaim his principle of the authority of each individual soul.

Now, what we need is not to declaim against all organizations, because we have not attained to our highest state. We need to search out the defects of all past governments, knowing that we are still surrounded by men governed by lusts and appetites — by men who ignore all moral restraints — and therefore we need protection. They need to be protected from one another, and the virtuous, the weak, the innocent and the pure need to be protected from them.

What shall we do? Become discouraged, and say we will have no more government, no more organization, no more association? Is that to be the law? No. We shall never arrive at the highest and best method of governing mankind—I mean those who do not recognize the principles of truth, purity and justice as supreme—until we have made experiments enough to find the points we need to understand and incorporate into that government. Therefore I believe in the propriety and necessity of continuing our organization, taking advantage of all our past experience, and learning from the history of other nations and governments, and seeking to organize upon the highest principles of truth, justice and freedom; and whenever we find we have committed an error, make it our first business to correct that error.

So in regard to our religious organizations. These organizations, it is said, have sought to fetter the conscience of man, and therefore every thing like a religious creed or organization is denounced. Now, what I wish to say in regard to creed is this: every man who has a thought of his own will have a creed, in spite of all, and that creed may be so opposed to all others that it will contain but one article, and that is—"No creed." I have found

in society a class of individuals denouncing all bigotry based upon any creed, and of all bigotry, I have never found any equal to that by which they attempt to defend the doctrine of "no creed." You may take what position you please, whether it be a positive or a negative one, and you will make a creed of it. The difficulty is not in the fact that two men, believing alike, associate themselves together; the difficulty is, that you are all endeavoring to play Nebuchadnezzar—trying to make every man worship your image. That is where the great difficulty lies. When you and I have the spirit of truth, that rises up spontaneously from the soul, and shows us that we have needs, and leads us to seek the supply of those needs, and I think, by pursuing a certain method I can secure those needs, and you think by pursuing another you will attain the same end, it is not for me to require you to walk in my path, nor for you to undertake to make me walk in yours. But we can be agreed in this—we can be agreed as to what are the needs. If the Jew feels that he needs, in his aspirations to be obedient to the all-true, all-pure, all-just, and all-good, the highest idea that can represent the all-just, pure, true, and good, and that idea may be what the Jews call "Jehovah," the "I Am," so that when that name is pronounced, his knee bows before him, his tongue confesses, and his heart goes forth in its earnest aspirations after that Jehovah, you have no business to find fault that he calls him Jehovah. And when the Christian man bows before Him who becomes to him the outward manifestation of all that is holy, and pure, and true, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, so that when that word is pronounced, all that his nature can conceive or aspire after is called into action in his soul, and bows meekly and humbly before that holy name, and worships at its shrine, you have no business to taunt him or cast filth upon his symbol, to stain and defile that which had become to him the type of the all-true, the all-pure, and the all-good. If you do this, you do violence to his soul. Respect the aspirations and desires that dignify the symbol, even if you cannot respect the symbol itself, and bid him God-speed in the worship of that great symbol for which his soul hungers and thirsts. So you may go through all forms of faith, and you will find that each man enthrones the representative of his highest aspirations in the very centre of his heart, and bows down and worships.

Now, then, I may not require him to call his symbol by the name which I give to mine; but let me know that in his heart he is hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and I will bow down with him and worship the all-just, the all-pure, and all-good, in the light of my aspirations and desires; and we will both worship before the same principle, according as it is manifested in each of our souls. I say, then, that when we speak of individuals associating themselves together for the purpose of cultivating their religious nature, their highest, and holiest, and best, the difficulty is not in the fact that they have set up a creed or a symbol as the representative of that creed; but the difficulty is, that each man assumes the right, like Nebuchadnezzar, to set up an image somewhere in the plains of Dura, and require all nations, kindred, people, and tongues, "at the sound of the cornet, flute, sacbut, harp, psalter, and all kinds of music, to bow down and worship the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king has set up." There is where the difficulty lies.

Now, why need you and my friend Mrs. Rose quarrel about names? I wear a symbol upon my breast that represents my highest conception of the all-just, and pure, and good, and you have no business to quarrel with me because I wear it. It becomes to me a perpetual monitor, it suggests some-

thing valuable to me. I wear the symbol of the cross—representing the crucifixion of all the passions, appetites, and lusts of the flesh. It is none of your business if it becomes to me a sacred symbol, suggesting the necessity of mortifying the lusts of the body, and utterly destroying them. Revile me not for wearing that cross; you are not hurt by it, and it is of some benefit to me. It becomes a symbol that suggests better, higher, and holier thoughts to me.

The principle which I wish to lay before you is, that every one of you shall seek to obtain that symbol which shall become to you a living, omnipresent symbol of the all-pure, all-just, and all-good—no matter by what name you call it. If you get that omnipresent symbol, strive with all the energy of your soul to grow up into the likeness of all which it symbolizes to you. If you do not get that symbol, you will not have that which your soul may have and needs, and which will do much towards calling you up to a better and a higher life.

Now, then, for organization in a religious sense—for I am speaking in favor of organization. Suppose I find ten, twenty, thirty, or fifty men and women who think and feel as I do, who have the same aspirations, and who feel that they can gather together with me, and thus, by our mutual breathings forth, stimulate each other to higher, holier, and purer desires, and for that purpose we come together, and thus unitedly, with all our hearts and aspirations, breathe forth our desires to that great infinite source of all good—have you any objection to it? Have you any business to say one word against it? It is our business, when we come together, to remember that you have the same rights that we have. We have no right to disturb or denounce you. We have the right to show to you a better way by our lives, but we have no right or business to abuse, villify, or misrepresent you.

Now then, I show you this truth, and ask you to discuss it. I am willing to be thoroughly overhauled upon it, especially when I have the opportunity to reply. The great difficulty has been, not that men and women have embraced a creed, but that they have forgotten what the creed represents—that they have ceased to worship the spirit and fallen to worshipping the form. A Christian may be said to be guilty of idolatry, when, taking the individual, Jesus Christ, as he stands before the world, he forgets that which was revealed through him, and worships the man. When you abandon the worship of the spirit, you become an idolater. So when we take the Sabbath—if you please—a day set apart for rest, if you make use of that day to elevate and improve your condition, it is well kept; but if, neglecting all such uses, you merely keep it as holy time, bigotedly and superstitiously, you become as much an idolater as if you worshipped a piece of wood or stone. Just so with regard to all these outward forms of worship. If you overlook the spirit and worships the form, you become an idolater. It all sums itself up in this: if your worship is the aspiration of the soul to be perfect as God is perfect, to be holy, just, and good, as he is holy, just, and good, and you bid God-speed to every one, however he may differ from you in regard to forms, who is, like you, aspiring to be that, then you are in the right way; then I care not what your faith is, so that in your aspirations you are led to harmonize with the all-pure, all-true, and all-good. [Loud applause.]

A brief discussion followed with regard to the expediency of amending or abrogating the rule limiting the speakers to ten minutes, but without taking any action upon the subject, the Convention adjourned, to meet at seven o'clock, P.M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at seven and a half o'clock, by the President, and Rev. A. D. MAYO, of Albany, N. Y., proceeded to address the assembly, on THE BIBLE.

ADDRESS OF REV. A. D. MAYO.

Mr. President : — I have been invited to address this Convention, by its Committee of Arrangements, and am here to respond to your call. You have intimated your desire to hear my views on the *Bible*. I appear as a Free Christian Minister, before a Free Convention. I am responsible for no resolution that Convention may pass, or action it may take on any subject. But I am glad to appear at what I regard a call of the people, and contribute my part towards a correct understanding of the great facts of Religion that underlie society. With this preface, I invite your attention to some remarks on the subject you have chosen for my address.

The most important question to the religious development of our country is now *The Authority of The Bible*. Every doctrine of theology, every phase of ecclesiastical policy; every problem of private and public morality, is involved in its solution. It is a hopeless endeavor to reconcile the present confusion of religious affairs until we have arrived at some intelligent answer to these inquiries : — *What is the Bible; what is its Authority in Religion; what is the true method of its use?*

It may surprise many who suppose these questions permanently settled to be informed that never was there so much uncertainty upon them all as at this hour. The number of Christian believers in the world is estimated at two hundred and twenty millions. Of this multitude, the Roman Catholic Church includes one hundred million, the Greek Church sixty-six million, and the Protestant Church fifty-four million. The Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches, which chiefly sway the civilization of continental Europe, Christian Asia, and South America, and are strongly entrenched in Protestant Europe, the British Colonies, and the United States, teach one hundred and sixty-six million of people that the Bible is a Sacred Book, a Divine Revelation from God to man. But the Roman Catholic Church affirms that a Sacred Book requires an infallible interpreter to explain its meaning to mankind. Thus the Scriptures are taken into the keeping of the Priesthood, and given to the people in such manner as this inspired class, represented by the Pope, may decide. The Greek Church has never asserted this claim of infallible interpretation so completely as the Church of Rome; yet the free circulation of the Scriptures has always been discouraged, and the result is actually the same. The Bible in these churches practically means the creed of the corporation of Priests that rule these vast ecclesiastical establishments; and one hundred and sixty-six millions of Catholic and Greek Christians receive the opinions of a class of fallible men as the infallible word of God.

The Protestant Church, through all her sects that claim the title "Evangelical," affirms that the Bible is the infallible word of God, inspired throughout by the Holy Spirit, and, therefore, a complete and final authority on Religion. It also affirms the right of all men to read the Book, and protests against the assumption of Pope and Patriarchs as infallible interpreters; yet the Protestant Evangelical Church has constructed a creed which it declares the substance of God's Word, and denies the Christian name to

all unbelievers in this "plan of salvation." This Church says to fifty-four millions of Christians: Read the Bible; but if you deny its infallible inspiration, or decline to submit your human reason to its authority, or find any system of religion taught in it except the Evangelical plan of salvation, you are Infidels. Thus two divisions of the Christian Church openly claim the right to give an infallible interpretation of the Bible through an organized Priesthood, represented by Pope and Patriarch; and the third division proclaims a free Bible, but practically claims to be its infallible interpreter through the imposition of its exclusive creed. In either case, the unbeliever is punished by the utmost penalty the state of civilization will permit.

As a natural result of this assumption of infallibility by the three great leading churches in Christendom, multitudes of people in and out of their organizations are driven to an utter rejection of the Bible. A great number of those who support the Christian Church, not only reject the infallibility of the Book, but regard it as an absolute mass of theological fables. A larger number are driven from the church by this assumption, and constitute a great army who sincerely hate the Bible, and believe the world would be better off without it. This class is increasing in every division of the Church and every Christian community.

But out of this confusion of belief and unbelief is now arising a strong movement in favor of a scientific examination of the Bible. This movement is the legitimate growth of the Protestant principle of the authority of the individual soul in religious affairs. It originated, and has gained its most complete development, in the Protestant Church of Germany; but has now invaded the Protestantism of Great Britain and the United States. In Europe, many of its ablest disciples have retained their position in the Protestant Evangelical Church. In the United States, they have been driven into the various liberal churches and organizations and isolated positions which are the protest of America against the despotic Evangelicism that has hitherto ruled the land. In this party are enrolled a fair proportion of the world's most eminent scholars and thinkers of every profession, and it will bear comparison with any division of the church in respect to Christian character.

This party in Christendom declares that the Bible should not only be read by all men, but subjected to every test to which human compositions are exposed. It treats this collection of ancient documents like all other documents transmitted from antiquity. By a searching historical analysis, it endeavors to ascertain their origin, genuineness, date, and authorship. It examines the contents of the Book by scientific tests. Their history is tried by the highest law of historical criticism; their poetry by the best standard of poetic judgment; their philosophy by the most approved philosophical methods; their politics by the best political ideas of the time; their science is confronted with the whole array of modern discovery; the characters and conduct therein described are judged by the highest examples of manhood and womanhood; their systems of religion by the final test of all religions: *their ability to permanently satisfy the deepest wants of humanity.* While, on the one hand, the scientific method condemns that ignorant prejudice which would reject the Bible without examination, it as surely condemns that theological assumption of infallibility which would separate this series of books from all literature, and demand a prostration of human reason before them in the very act of examination. It claims that man is as competent to examine the Bible as any other phenomenon that attracts his attention in this world; and after the most comprehensive research of which

he is capable in the premises, must accept what commends itself to his nature as true, until further light appears.

The scientific interpretation of the Bible is yet in its infancy; practically not half a century old in Germany, it is dawning upon England and America. It would be premature for the most learned man to predict its final results. It may, however, be safely affirmed, that the popular theory of the Protestant Evangelical Church of the last century, that the Bible is verbally and infallibly inspired by God, is forever destroyed. This assumption will still remain the corner-stone of thousands of pulpits in Christendom, and large masses of uninstructed Christians will continue to be rallied by theological zealots for its intolerant assertion. But the theory is as dead as the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy in the highest circles of scientific religious thought. The ablest Evangelical thinkers are adjusting themselves to this inevitable fact. Swedenborg beheld its coming afar off, and fled from it into the covert of a double interpretation. The Orthodox divines are now every where engaged in fitting the Bible to science, and constructing new theories in which the infallibility of the Book shall be preserved after its plenary inspiration is gone. All these adjustments are temporary, because the true science of Biblical interpretation is yet in a process of formation. Much of the world's best mind and heart is now engrossed in this tremendous problem; and no man can safely decide what relation the Bible will finally assume to the Christian life of the nations.

But we apprehend no final damage to the fundamental truth of Christianity, or hindrance to the religious progress of the race. Erroneous systems about the Bible will die, but the truth about it will be a better thing for man than any error, however sanctified by the reverence of Christendom. The true attitude for every thoughtful man on the whole subject is, to assert the largest freedom of popular use and scientific investigation; to protest against the ignorant assumptions of religious and irreligious men; to obtain the best aids within his reach, and with their help study the Bible, and apply to his own life every precept and example the highest voice of his nature accepts as true and good; to avoid hasty theories and rash judgments on a subject where the greatest minds are least inclined to dogmatize; and to trust in God that this science of Biblical interpretation, like every other true science, will prove a blessing to mankind; remembering that religion derives its authority from no book, and that Christianity is fatally implicated in no Catholic, Evangelical, or Liberal theory; but both are rooted in human nature and share the immortality of the soul.

This is the only system of Biblical interpretation that will permanently claim the approval of the present age. As a minister of the Christian religion, I have studied the Bible in this manner, and arrived at certain general conclusions concerning it. I will briefly state the manner in which I use the Scriptures — not speaking for any sect, but as an independent Christian preacher, bound to impart my present convictions to my fellow men.

I believe that God dwells in every intelligent spirit and inspires every soul according to its capacity and fidelity to its highest faculties and convictions. I acknowledge many degrees, but only one kind of Divine Inspiration — *this direct presence of the Infinite Spirit in every human soul*. This influence is most evident in the religious experience of man, because religion is his most sacred interest. It is preëminent in some men because of their superior natural constitution and fidelity in its use. It is seen most eminently in those prophetic souls which are the true leaders of the race in religious ideas and examples.

In like manner, peoples, nations, races, are inspired by God, each according to its natural capacity and fidelity to its light. The races that have been most gifted with the religious conformation, have been the leading powers in the world's civilization. Humanity is perpetually inspired by the indwelling spirit of God; and the inspiration of all individuals and races is made to serve its highest necessities.

The final test of all inspiration is *the adaptation of its results to human nature*. Whatever truth permanently meets and satisfies my highest spiritual needs must be my religion; whatever ideas develop the best life of a people must be its religion; whatever faith receives the final and mature approbation of humanity, must be accepted as true until a better revelation appears. The chief record of the soul's religious inspiration is in the life of mankind; the books that contain the account of the different steps of its progress in religion are the sacred books of the world. The book we call the Bible contains a record of the highest religious experience of man.

The Bible is a series of sixty-six books, containing the best records extant of the Hebrew people, and the most reliable account of the origin of Christianity. It contains all that is essential to the comprehension of the religious character and ideas of that nation, which has done more for man than any people of antiquity. It presents the original principles and examples of that Christian religion which is the highest revelation of God to man.

The Old Testament is the Hebrew Bible. It contains thirty-nine books. The authorship of many of these documents is uncertain, and the precise date of their composition undecided. But it is certain that a century and a half before the time of Jesus this collection was received as the national Bible by the Jews; and many good scholars claim that it existed in its present form three or four hundred and fifty years before Christ. It is highly probable that after the return of the Jews from their exile, the Priesthood gathered the entire remains of the ancient national literature into a collection, which, by further additions and gradual use, became the Bible of the people. The Old Testament is, therefore, the most ancient literary remains of this remarkable nation. It contains their ancient chronicles, their code of laws, their poetry, philosophy, romance, prophecy and religion; constituting a most vivid picture of the national life. Though, of course, these documents must be treated like all other ancient literature, yet, after critical subtractions, they can be relied on for a singularly accurate picture of the Hebrew people. We may be unable to accept much of their contents; but there can be no doubt of the correctness of their information concerning the religious ideas of the Hebrews, the type of Hebrew character, or the style of civilization into which they flowed.

Read in this spirit, *to ascertain the religious value of the Hebrew nation to mankind*, the Old Testament is full of instruction. Of all the peoples of antiquity, none was so evidently inspired with elevated conceptions of religion as this. The unity and moral government of the Deity, and the imperative nature of human obligation, are its lessons for us. In no system of ancient religion were these facts so plainly and forcibly taught as here. There is more pure morality, exalted piety, and instructive example condensed in these thirty-nine documents, than in all the remaining religious literature of antiquity; and this little country of Palestine has, through its religious experience, moved the human race more profoundly and beneficially than any of the mighty empires of the old time.

But the lesson of this Hebrew civilization is to be learned aright only

when we study the Old Testament by the help of modern criticism, with the full use of our best reason and conscience, with perpetual reference to the higher Christian civilization in which we live. To read it as the verbally and infallibly inspired word of God; to break it up into texts, and use them to support modern systems of theology, or defend barbarous customs which have existed since the creation, because man is still a half-civilized being; to enforce Jewish ideas of science, politics, philosophy and society on a republican community; to found a Christian church on Hebrew ideas of religion, is not only to stultify the reason, but to outrage the conscience of this age. To insist on the reading of this Jewish literature in the common schools of America, or to use it without discrimination in the education of American youth, is to disown the higher truth God has given us. We do not wish to make America a Hebrew Monarchy, but a Republic founded on the Christian idea of Love. Use the Old Testament as the most instructive national literature of antiquity, and every page glows with inspiring lessons. But the inspiration is not in the book, it was in the Hebrew race, and the greatest souls it produced. The books are the records which tell us how this people achieved its success by loyalty to its best ideas of right, and fell to ruin when it violated the higher law of God; how men like Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, lived, thought, and wrote. To renounce our best ideal of character and civilization in behalf of this people is a sin against God and humanity; to affirm that this series of books is the infallible word of God, is to insult modern culture and common sense; to study the Old Testament in the light of Christian ideas is the privilege of every wise and religious mind.

The New Testament contains the most valuable documents produced during the first two centuries of Christianity, and is the most reliable account we possess of the origin and organization of the religion that now rules every civilized people. It contains twenty-seven books, including four biographies of Jesus Christ; one account of the early planting of His religion; fourteen letters ascribed to Paul; seven letters ascribed to James, John, Peter and Jude; and a poetical rhapsody on the triumph of Christianity, ascribed to John.

For the last fifty years, the highest thought of the world has been occupied with the critical examination of these books. Much that was once claimed for them has been overthrown, yet these facts remain, that certainly at the close of the second century, the most important of these documents were in use among the Christian believers; and from this period, less reliable but strong testimonies conduct us nearly to the age of the Apostles; that they are the best books thrown up by the first two centuries of Christianity; that from them an honest reader can ascertain the great ideas of Christianity, and the character of its founder and his earliest disciples. We may say, in short, that these twenty-seven books are the only satisfactory explanation of the origin of that religion which has converted the nations as fast as they have emerged from barbarism, and is evidently destined to be the faith of the human race.

As such an explanation, we must read the New Testament by the help of modern criticism, with the entire use of our reason and conscience, testing its ideas and examples by their actual result on mankind, and their power to satisfy the deepest needs of the human soul. The assertion that these books are verbally and infallibly inspired is a pure assumption, unsupported by their contents or any reliable proof. The inspiration is not in the book, but was in the soul of Jesus, and the great men who proclaimed and organ-

ized His faith. The book is the account of these characters related in the style of their age, and should be read with the exercise of the best modern judgment.

The Church has constructed a system of theology, called "The Sacrificial Plan of Salvation," and commands men to find it in the New Testament on pain of hell. It cannot be found in the book, even with the help of the Church theory of verbal inspiration. It certainly cannot be forced into the Scriptures when studied by the use of our best human faculties. The New Testament is therefore not responsible for that half-Pagan plan of salvation, which resolves God into an Oriental Despot, and man into a native demon, and Jesus into a shadowy myth, and this world into a prison, and the future world into a universe where the Deity and Satan govern rival provinces, and the moral creation into an eternal contradiction. This scheme is the conceit of the scholastic Theologians of the middle ages, the worst "Papal relic," handed piously down and enshrined in the Protestant Evangelical Church of to-day. The Christian believer in thirty thousand American Protestant Churches is now commanded to look at Christianity through this creed, as children gaze at the sun through a smoked glass, with a similar result, — that both the sun and the Deity appear in a state of lurid eclipse. [Applause.]

Therefore let no man be repelled from the New Testament by the idea that it is responsible for the sacrificial plan of salvation. Leaving that barbarous scheme with its defenders, let every man who would learn Christianity read the life of Jesus with the full exercise of all his faculties, and test his words and character by their effects on those whose lives are guided by his law of love. There he will find Christianity in its few simple ideas; the unity, spirituality, and paternity of God; the spirituality, native dignity, and immortality of man; the sanctity of human obligation; the omnipotence of love in the moral universe. There he will find Christianity incarnate in the character of Jesus; a character still ages ahead of the world's best civilization, which the greatest and purest souls most reverently love and follow. And he will not wonder that such a character, through this weight of ideas and example, should have become the best religious teacher to humanity, its saviour from superstition and sin, its brightest manifestation of God.

Having read up to some worthy apprehension of Jesus and his idea of religion, we can intelligently read of the planting of Christianity by its earliest Apostles. The chief interest in this history will centre about Paul, the best preacher and organizer of the faith. While the majority of the early friends of Jesus supposed his religion was only a new form of Judaism, Paul knew it was a universal form of religion, and with a marvellous executive wisdom planted it in the chief cities of the Roman Empire. Paul was not a doctor of divinity, or an ecclesiastical saint, but a great man of action, the early statesman who organized the Christian religion so admirably that in four centuries it scaled the summits of the Imperial Power, and became the state religion of the world. We must read his life and that of his associates, not to cut up their living words into a set of theological charms, but to ascertain what they thought and did, testing their ideas and characters by Him around whom they clung, like a group of loving children about a father's honored form. The best of them did not pretend to fully understand Jesus Christ or Christianity. Indeed, the New Testament tells what the contemporaries and followers of Jesus thought of him and his religion.

We have their estimate, and the additional record of eighteen centuries' experience of the operation of Christianity. The most intelligent Christian

to-day knows Jesus and his religion better than any man or woman of the primitive church.

The glorious range of mountains that has named Vermont is not best known to him who was born and has always lived by the base of its highest peak; but we who contemplate it from afar, can behold the long ridges, rooted in everlasting foundations, linking States with its azure chain, now dropping into lovely valleys, now soaring up to sublime summits, whence an ocean of tossing forests waves beneath the eye. So to the men of our latter days does Jesus tower above the eminences of time's grandest peaks of that mountain range of Christianity whence flow the streams that refresh the world; encircled by the widest horizon, gilded earliest by the rising sun of God's eternal love. [Loud applause.]

Such is my view of the Scriptures. I read the Old Testament as the best record extant of the life of that Hebrew nation which was inspired to preserve the highest form of religion in ancient times. I read the New Testament as the best record extant of the life of Jesus and the early history of Christianity. I believe these are human records; yet I believe they can be relied on for the great facts and examples of both the Hebrew and Christian religion. My Bible is the Life of Jesus. My religion is the idea of God, man, duty, and destiny, which I find in his words and life; and I value the Bible as the earliest literary record of this religion of spirituality and love. Standing in America to-day, I observe two facts: one stream of Christian literature widening down the ages from the New Testament; one stream of Christian life pouring from the age of the first Cæsars, of which this literature gives the only adequate account. Such an idea of religion as pervades this literature, such a type of character as comes of this life, were never before felt as a power in the world. They are the glory of the present and the hope of the future. Civilization is bound up with the prevalence of such facts as the spirituality and paternity of God; the spirituality and immortality of man; the omnipotence of the law of love. I follow these streams back eighteen centuries to where they arise from one matchless character. Centuries above our present civilization, I study that character with ever new reverence and delight. While I prostrate my soul before no being that has dwelt in clay, I find in what I comprehend of Jesus enough to fill me with a reverence for Him second only to that I pay to God. I cannot discover error in his teaching or a flaw in his character, though he never claimed infallibility. The man who sets him aside is bound to furnish another character whose doctrines and example will stand the shock of eighteen centuries and still blossom in the dewy freshness of youth. As I read his best words, I find the explanation of literature; his life solves the darkest problems of human experience. The best in me responds to Him; and the deeper I sink towards that awful and lovely spirit on whose waves my bark of life rocks evermore, the more do I feel united to his wondrous soul. In Jesus do I behold the highest example of that inspiring presence of God which, absent from no spirit, has culminated in Him; that man may have his own nature is of God Almighty; his sole virtue the dutiful communion with the infinite spirit; his destiny an eternal approach towards Him who is above all, through all, and in all; the one ineffable Love.

Mr. GOODELL rose and expressed a desire to present to the Convention some thoughts on the same subject, but he was called to order by the chair, who stated that according to the programme of the Business Committee, addresses would now be delivered by two trance speakers.

Mr. GOODELL said he supposed this was a meeting for free discussion, and he came here for that purpose.

S. S. FOSTER wished to know if the Convention had voted that they would devote the evening to communications from the other world.

The PRESIDENT said, that the Convention had appointed a committee to prepare the business that was to come before it. That committee, in the performance of their duty, had submitted a programme for the day, and he hoped that the Convention would adhere to the programme, or discharge their committee.

The remainder of the evening was occupied by addresses from two trance speakers,—Miss HELEN TEMPLE, of Bennington, Vt., and Miss A. W. SPRAGUE, of Plymouth, Vt.,—and by songs from the Harmonial Glee Club. At ten o'clock, the Convention adjourned, to meet on Saturday morning, at eight o'clock. [See Appendix, p. 178.]

SECOND DAY—SATURDAY.

FORENOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at eight o'clock, and the President announced the programme for the day, and that, in accordance with it, the ten-minutes' rule would be in force until ten o'clock.

The President then introduced Dr. H. S. BROWN, of Clarendon, Vt., who spoke to the first resolution of the series:—

Resolved, That the authority of each individual soul is absolute and final, in deciding questions as to what is true or false in principle, and right or wrong in practice; therefore, the individual, the church, or the state, that attempts to control the opinions or the practices of any man or woman, by an authority or power outside of his or her own soul, is guilty of a flagrant wrong.

DR. BROWN said—I wish to dissent from the principles laid down in that resolution; and in doing so, I wish to present laws to regulate the intercourse of man with man, individual with individual. We have met here in a Free Convention, of all minds and ways. There is the Woman's Rights idea here; there is the Anti-Slavery idea here; there is the Working-Men's idea here; there are various ideas, all represented in this Convention. It was got up for this especial purpose. We have met to exchange thoughts upon all these various questions which agitate the public at this time. What I wish to do now is to present some laws for the consideration of this Convention, that we may make a foundation. How shall we combine the different elements of this Convention, and make a whole that shall be powerful? Where shall we strike? For what object? Where is the best place to strike? How shall we proceed, and what shall be the regulating movements of that procedure? Many persons have addressed the Convention upon this subject, and they think we should go against the pulpit, against the Bible, and against religion, in a certain popular sense. I wish to say that I do not believe the most powerful, the most potent, and the most effective blows can be struck in that direction. I believe that they must be struck in a different direction. Let me say to this Convention, that in my estimation, if we would strike the heaviest blow at wrong, we must strike

where we feel the wrong. When a person comes to me for taxes, I want to know what they are for. What is the tax-gatherer here for, with the demand, — "I will take your person or your property — I will appropriate it to a certain purpose!" What is that purpose? "Why," he says, "to sustain the government." Well, then, is it not of the utmost importance that we have just government? Shall I not begin by saying — "We must have a just government." And each of us is interested, because we pay for the government; and shall we not make a just one? That is what I wish to say here. We have laws. Laws are said to be the "perfection of reason." There is no perfection of reason in human nature. We must abandon all such fanciful ideas. We must come down to this, that law is a science; and our legislators, under present arrangements, cannot use the perfection of their reason, nor have the light to make the best laws. When the geologist, the botanist, or the astronomer, wishes to map out his laws, he goes into his silent room or study, where there is no club law, as in Congress, no previous question, as in legislatures, and no bribery, such as we sometimes hear of, to influence his judgment, and there investigates and defines his laws. But under our present arrangements, you know we must vary from the true law; but if we retire to our studies, then we may bring forth a science. If I fail to tell you what is true in this matter, I want to put a plan before you for you to consider, and correct, adopt, or reject, and put something better in its place.

We are all agreed in this one matter, — that there is something wrong in the laws. Well, if there is something wrong there, let us right it. We are all taxed to pay for these wrongs, and that is a potent stimulus for us to seek out a remedy. Now, if I begin here, it seems to me that I need only touch the pockets of every person present, with their consciousness of right, and I touch their feelings, where every man is interested; and so I begin a system. Now, to see what is the law which I would propose.

In the first place, all citizens must have certain qualifications to become voters; that principle is pretty much settled on the right plan here. Now, I come to the qualifications of voters. This is an important principle which we have in our laws, where I think there is a necessity for a change; and I put this law before you, not as the correct law, but to be considered, and made right if it is wrong. Now, I will read the first proposition in regard to voters:—

"All citizens of twenty years of age and over, who have resided in the State one year, and in the town, precinct, or ward, six months previous to offering their votes, and are residing there at the time, of sound mind, and not criminals, and who can read and write, shall have the right to vote, and have the right to hold office in the government, when legally elected."

There is one proposition. Is it a proposition that lays the foundation for a government that is right? That is what we want. Shall we have persons twenty years old as voters? Shall we require them to be able to read and write? Shall we have them of sound mind? — and so on. Here, then, is the first proposition, and I lay it before the Convention for their consideration.

Now, we know we often have voters who are not entitled to vote. We need to have a law by which the voters may, with the greatest accuracy, be known; that is to say, to prevent frauds in election. Here is a wrong; let us plant a law against it. This being the idea, I put this law down, to see if we can plant it against that wrong, in such a way as to prevent the wrong.

HENRY C. WRIGHT then took the floor, but yielded it to Mrs. JULIA BRANCH, of New York, who spoke to the following resolution :—

Resolved, That the only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman, and the only true home is the isolated home, based upon this exclusive love.

ADDRESS OF MRS. JULIA BRANCH.

Mr. President :—I wish to make a few remarks in regard to this resolution.

To my mind, it means nothing, or is entirely incomprehensive. I am aware that I have chosen almost a forbidden subject, forbidden from the fact that any one that *can* and *dare* look the marriage question in the face, and openly denounce the marriage institution as the sole cause of woman's degradation and misery, is an object of scorn, of suspicion, and opprobrious epithets.

I ask of that now, as I did formerly of the church, is it so sacred that it cannot be questioned? Is it so absolute, in truth, that it defies argument?

Lucy Stone said to me, at the recent "Woman's Rights Convention," held in New York,—“The marriage question will and must some day be discussed.” I asked, “Why are you not willing that it should be discussed now and here?” She did not think it a proper place; their platform was not a free one; they wished the rights of woman settled in regard to voting, *then* that would settle all other rights.

I asked, “How can she have the right to vote when she has not even the right to her name in the marriage bonds!” She said, “It is a mistaken idea that woman is obliged to give up her name and take that of her husband by the ceremony. I have not given up mine, and no law can compel me to. I call myself Lucy Stone, and shall always.”

How would it have been with Mrs. Blackwell, if she had kept the fact of the marriage ceremony a secret, and gone to a hotel with the intention of staying a few days with Mr. Blackwell, signing her name Lucy Stone? Would they have been permitted to occupy one room? What do you suppose would have been the astonishment of the virtuous landlord at such a proceeding, and what would have been his answer? Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell, and every one else, knows the act would be sufficient to denounce her, in the eyes of society, as an infamous woman.

The marriage ceremony is necessary to keep woman virtuous and respectable, and all intercourse with man out of its holy rites renders her an outcast and a thing to be despised. Is it because she is naturally wicked and vicious, that bonds are placed upon her? Has she no nature that may not be proscribed and estimated by *man law-makers*? Has she no inborn right that belongs to herself? As she stands before the world now, she has none. She has not even that kind compliment that is paid to man in the Constitution of the United States, “that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights.” And to the marriage ceremony, I say, she is indebted for her wrongs, her aching heart, her chains, her slavery. Woman must strike the blow, if she would be free, and become the equal of man.

You speak of her right to labor, her right to preach, her right to teach, her right to vote, and lastly, though not least, her right to get married, but do you say any thing about her right to *love, when she will, where she will, and how she will*? Yes, here is a stipulation for her in this resolution.

She is to have an isolated household, with an exclusive conjugal love. This is very pretty in sentiment, and Moore beautifully expresses it in his "Fire-Worshippers":—

"Oft, in my fancy's wanderings,
I've wished that little isle had wings;
And we, within its fairy bowers,
Were wafted off to seas unknown;
Where not a pulse should beat but ours,
And we might *live, love, die alone!*
Far from the cruel and the cold, —
Where the bright eyes of angels only,
Should come around us, to behold
A paradise so pure and lonely."

But this will not do for practical life, where man and woman work from ten to eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. The working class are by far the larger class, and the isolated household is the worst place in the world for them. The man comes home to his meals, which are set on the table amid crying children, and the sickly, desponding face of his wife; there is no social life; even the exclusive conjugal love which bound them together in the marriage ceremony, has long since settled into the mildest form of friendship. The enthusiasm, and ardor, and poetry, and sacredness, are forever destroyed by the daily familiarity in the isolated household. Just as woman is isolated and confined within the narrow limits of a home, just so will her offspring be narrow-minded, bigoted and selfish; just as she is free in her thoughts, her affections making her home wherever she chooses, just so will her children be broad and expansive in their ideas, noble, and great, and honorable in virtuous deed, benevolent in heart, and tolerant in all things, however opposite to them, because they feel within that they have not only the perfections, but imperfections of humanity.

We have lived in the ideal life too long; we want something practical. We have planted rank weeds, and are cultivating them with as much nicety as we would beautiful flowers. We have gone down into hidden lore and lived in the ages of the past, as though the present was too weak to bear the weight of our thoughts. We crawl on our hands and knees in the childhood of knowledge, fearing to rise lest the weight of *our brains* should topple us over. We live in dead men's graves, waiting for some angel to roll away the stone and give us life and liberty, in individuality.

Let me draw a picture of the isolated home, and one that came under my own observation. See the woman with a careworn face; long lines of grief have made deep furrows; her thin hand and shrivelled figure, her dejected, weary air, her desponding tones, tell of something that must lie heavy at the heart. Surely, never Christ bearing the great heavy cross up to crucifixion could feel the deep woe that presses against her soul. "Ah me!" comes with a sad sigh as we lay our hand upon her head. Tell us, we say. And she throws open the inmost recesses of her soul, and tells the story of her life; how she aspired to be great from childhood — how noble thoughts took possession of her — how she loved, and married the object of her love — how dear the first-born of her heart grew to her — how it died, and she clothed herself in the habiliments of woe, and shut out the light of day in her heart, and sat down alone at home, without friends, or hope, or consolation — how other children came to her, but they did not fill the void — the black veil was drawn down forever between her and happiness, and pinned to the soul by the arrow of affliction — there was no sympathy in the world,

and she longed to lie down in the grave and rest. We brush away the tears and bid her hope; hope has died out; we speak of husband and children; they have no sympathy.

"Are you willing," we ventured to ask, "to look for one moment into your soul?" "I have always tried to do right, but circumstances were against me. My husband has long since ceased to love me, although he presses upon me the necessity of bearing children whenever he pleases. My children are perverse and wayward, and I don't know what to do with them. Some people go right through the world always light-hearted and happy. I never saw an unhappy day until I was married." "But of yourself; have you never thought of a plan whereby you might be relieved from these troubles?" "Oh, yes, of many; but I have no right to think or speak my sentiments, for I am married; if I do, my husband says it is better for me to attend to the domestic affairs, and he will do the thinking. He deprives me of female friends, because women love to gossip; of male friends, for the world might talk about it; besides, he says a mother ought always to be at home taking care of her house and children, and providing for her husband's wants, and I have nothing but death; when that comes, I shall go where every thing will be bright and happy, and my soul's longings will be satisfied."

Now I ask, what is that woman's life? Is she what God intended she should be? No! She was made fair and beautiful in childhood, given those noble aspirations to cultivate in the garden of her soul, given as seeds for the dew and sunshine to ripen into beautiful flowers. What did she do with them? *Sold them with herself* at sixteen, when she entered into the marriage contract, and thus bound down her soul forever. In her isolated household she threw away her life, and added to the too-many already children, thrust into the world half made up—children of chance, children of lust,—abortions who feel that they have no right to existence,—children of disease, whose tainted flesh and running sores are a disgrace and an everlasting reproach to the morals and purity of any community.

Byron cursed his mother for his deformed foot; and there are thousands and thousands of children cursing the sacred name of mother for their deformed mental and moral conditions.

Mrs. Gage, Mrs. Rose, Mr. Wright, and others, go back to the mother's influence; I go a step further back, and say it is the marriage institution that is at fault. It is the binding marriage ceremony that keeps woman degraded in mental and moral slavery. She must demand her freedom; her right to receive the equal wages of man for her labor; *her right to bear children when she will, and by whom she will*. Woman is not totally depraved. She will never abuse one right that is given to her, and she will never step aside from her own nature. If she desires to go to the ballot-box, it is because there is a wrong somewhere, and she takes that way to right it. If she desires to become a lawyer, it is because there are laws to be redressed and made better. If she desires to preach, it is because she feels the woes and afflictions of humanity. If she desires rights, it is because she needs them. I believe in the absolute freedom of the affections, and that it is woman's privilege—aye, her right—to accept or refuse any love that comes to her. *She should be the ruling power in all matters of love*, and when the love has died out for the man who has taken her to his heart, she is living a lie to herself, her own nature, and to him, if she continues to hold an intimate relation to him. And so is man's relative position to woman; when his love has died out, and he continues to live with

his wife on any consideration, he strikes a blow to the morality of his nature, and lives a life of deception, not only to her and society, but he is responsible for all the crimes that his children, born under those circumstances, are liable to commit.

A gentleman said to me a little time ago, "My wife is a woman's rights woman. She talks of her rights, and I allow it, but she really has none. I am her husband, she is my property; and if I do not like a thing I say so, and I do not consider she has any right to dispute it; I do not hold any argument, for I consider my will law. But if I loved a woman, and was not bound to her by the marriage ceremony, I should not think of disputing her will or wishes, for fear she would show me the door, and I should have no alternative but to go out of it; her will is absolute, for I have no claim upon her, and she is justified in all she does; so it is necessary to guard myself and movements, in order to retain the love and respect of the woman I love."

What a pleasing prospect is this for the wife, who is rearing her children in her isolated household, and imagining her husband immaculate in thought as well as actions, and respecting her in the sacred office of wife and mother! Why should woman tame herself into calm submission, and be the slave, and toy, and plaything of man? What is marriage? Is it the linking together of two loving hearts in holy sacred union? No; seldom the case, when compared to the many thousands upon thousands of marriages of convenience. Women are bought and paid for as the negro slave is. She is estimated as a thing of barter, for a man counts the cost of his intended wife as deliberately as if he thought of keeping a cow, a dog, or a pig, *wondering if it will pay*. Now, what are the rights and privileges of women in the marriage institution? It gives us the privilege to become *Mrs. Brown* instead of *Miss Smith*; that is an honor, no doubt, as it relieves woman from the stigma of *old maid*! It gives us the privilege of being supported and attending to domestic affairs — the privilege to see that the dinner is served at the proper hour for a hungry husband — the privilege oftentimes to sit up alone half the night to let that husband in from a delightful concert and oyster supper that he has enjoyed with Mr. Jones and his beautiful wife. Then we have a right, — and listen, women of the nineteenth century, — the marriage institution gives you one right, one right that you have not perhaps hitherto valued: *it gives you the right to bear children*. It is not a privilege, it is not an inheritance that your nature craves, but it is the law of wise men, who know very much better than you do *when you want a child, and when you ought to become a mother*.

Now, I say again, that resolution is incomprehensive. Love is not dependent on reason, or judgment, or education, or mental acquirements, or society, or control of any kind. It is an inspiration of the soul. It is a holy, sacred emanation from the most vital part of our natures, and to say when or where it shall be limited or restricted, is a violation of our individual rights.

I may have taken an extreme side of the question, but only offer my views as my own, and wish that the resolution may be put in a more definite form, stating what conjugal love is, and to how few or how many an isolated household may be limited. I will read a resolution that I think would bear more directly upon the marriage question: —

Resolved, That the slavery and degradation of woman proceed from the institution of marriage; that by the marriage contract, she loses control of her name, her person, her property, her labor, her affections, her children, and her freedom.

HENRY CLAPP, of New York. Mr. President, I have not risen for the purpose of discussing the marriage question, but for the purpose of asserting everybody's *right* to discuss it. I have had experience in different reform movements for these twenty years, and have made myself somewhat familiar with the history of the world for a little longer period even than that, and I have found, in every instance, whenever any new subject of discussion is brought up, the Church and State, the political parties, all the respectability and about all the standing in the community, ready to say — "Hands off! That topic shall not be considered!" I do not hesitate to say, that the most touching spectacle I have witnessed for twenty years — a spectacle which would have led me instinctively to take my hat from my head, and, if necessary, my shoes from my feet, in the view that I was treading holy ground, is the spectacle I have just seen, a woman, — a noble, virtuous, high-minded, delicate woman, — caring as much for her reputation as you care for yours; having something more than a man's regard for his reputation, because a man can do pretty much what he pleases, and his reputation remain unscathed, provided the fact is unknown; but a woman, carrying with her a woman's reputation, that cannot be breathed upon without being destroyed, that cannot be looked at without being broken, that cannot be suspected without her being driven into the haunts of vice, — for a woman, I say, with a woman's sensitive nature, with a woman's delicate reputation, to stand here upon this platform, before all these people, and, if need be, before the world, and assert her right to discuss the marriage question, — to insist that marriage, as now understood, is slavery, — to assert that any institution is false in its nature that employs the element of coercion, is a noble, a magnificent spectacle; and yet, ladies and gentlemen, I know it will cover that woman with scorn; I know that on the wings of mighty winds it will go all abroad that she is a bad woman. Why? Because she dares to say what she thinks on the question of marriage. Why not? No matter what I think about it; I will not condescend to explain what I think about it; but I will say, that it is something very base, very mean, to deny any person the right everywhere to discuss and consider it.

One word more and I sit down. It is this: No subject is too sacred for discussion. The lady who has just addressed you, and others here, have suffered from the institution which they discuss. They came to ask if there is no remedy for the evil which they suffer. They ask you if they should not discuss it. Let us not be afraid to discuss any thing, war, slavery, intemperance, the different forms of religion; for men are now finding out that it will do to discuss every thing; and I only rose to say, that it seemed to me something very great and noble, that a woman should dare to come up here and say precisely what she thought upon this subject; and as others have thoughts upon it, and as we need more light upon it than upon any other, I hope that it will be thoroughly discussed, and that nobody will be afraid of it.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER moved to amend the resolution under discussion, by inserting after the words, "one man and one woman," the words, "based upon the principle of perfect and entire equality," so that the resolution should read as follows: —

Resolved, That the only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman, *based upon the principle of perfect and entire equality*; and the only true home is the isolated home, based upon this exclusive love.

Mr. FOSTER advocated his amendment. He remarked — I wish to say simply this, that if you will look at the matter, I think you will find that a very large proportion, at least, of the objections to the marriage institution, presented by the last speaker, grow out of the fact of the absence of this equality between the parties. Woman enters this relation to-day, not as the equal partner of her husband, but as the property, the slave, the chattel personal of her husband; and out of that inequality grow those ten thousand times ten thousand evils that have not been overstated here to-day. No, Mr. Chairman, a thousandth part of the evils of married life have not been presented to our consideration. I agree, in the main, with all that has been said upon that point, and I think there are few, if any, more important subjects for us to discuss here to-day than this question of marriage. The whole country groans and travails in pain to-day. Our sex suffers more than the other. I believe man is a greater sufferer from this tyranny and inequality in the marriage relation than woman; for I can say, as Cowper said on another question: —

“I would much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on *her*.”

I would rather take the position of woman to-day in the marriage relation than man, as I had rather be the sufferer of the wrong than the inflictor. In the long run, the perpetrator of the wrong is the greater sufferer of the two, as well as the greater criminal. But give us true marriage, and will you find any evils in it? My experience says no. To me the marriage relation is the glory of this fallen world. I have found no evils in it. I have tried the blessedness of single-blessedness, and I have tried the blessedness of wedded life, and to-day, to me, with Milton, this institution is the only one untarnished — in its true condition; and it is to me the only type of a perfect paradise. Others tell a different experience. What is the reason? Mr. Chairman, I have tried the experiment under different circumstances. The day I entered the marriage relation I made a solemn vow, not to God, not to my wife, but to my own soul, that never would I regard her in any other light than as my equal partner — equal in every thing. Was I the owner of a dollar? — it was half hers. Her happiness was to be to me, as I asked that mine might be to her, the first great object of my existence. Thus passing through life, I have found marriage all that I ever expected, and a thousand times more. I believe that this will be the experience of every man and of every woman that will enter upon a true marriage. But every man is a tyrant in his own family, and every family is a little embryo plantation, and every woman is a slave-breeder, — in the eye of her husband is a slave, and the breeder of slaves, — and hence comes all the trouble. My first proposition is this: that we try the experiment of marriage under true and favorable circumstances, in which the parties shall enter into the relation on an equal footing; then, if it does not work well, I will go for an experiment of a different kind.

But our sister has told us of the evils of married life. Well, suppose that relation is dissolved as it exists to-day — what is that woman to do? Has she improved her condition? Where are her children, the dearest objects of a mother's love? I say the remedy is worse than the disease. I say, to abrogate the marriage relation is to make the world a hell in advance. I am with our sister in her view of the evils, but I am not with her in her view of the remedy. I go for an amendment of the resolution, and if that plan does not work well, then I will go for something else.

Mr. TIFFANY. I do not myself perceive that the amendment is necessary. In other words, I think that the expression "conjugal love," when properly understood, implies all that language can express. My objection is, that people do not distinguish very clearly between love and lust; and that "free love" is only another name for free lust. That we may understand that this is so, I propose to lay down a plain and simple distinction, that ought to be observed by every man. The difference between love and lust I understand to be this: the individual who, in the unfoldment of his nature, feels a need which calls for an appropriate supply, is under the influence of an impulse which is symbolized by that word "love." But when, disregarding nature, he seeks the gratification of desire, he then departs from the true love sphere, and enters that of lust. Now, then, in the relation which men seek to enter with the other sex, the motive is oftener to secure self-gain or self-gratification, than to supply any absolute need. What is the usual motive that prompts a man to get a wife? He wants some one who shall attend to his domestic affairs and administer to his comfort. Therefore, in his self-love, he is seeking something to administer to his gratification; and when he marries a woman, he marries his estimate of her use, and may have no love for her independent of her use. The consequence is, that after having lived with her a few days, he finds her not exactly so useful as he expected, and gets tired of her, just as he would of a horse or an ass that did not answer his purpose. Now, are we to call this love at all? It was only *self-love*, at best.

So with woman. Here is a woman who wants a husband. She does not want to walk the lonely path of an "old maid." She wishes to marry a *use*; and she finds a young man that promises to supply that *use*. But do you call that love? It was love of self. Thus they unite upon the plane of use, and love of self is manifested through use. And that is what the world calls "conjugal love." Do not degrade the term, "conjugal love," by associating it with any thing of this kind. The true love is where man, in the exercise of all the faculties of his manhood, feels a need that can only be answered by woman, who shall become to him, so to speak, the counterpart of his masculine nature, of his manhood. When he finds the individual that becomes to him all that a woman can become, his whole soul goes out towards her; and when she, seeking to supply the need she feels, finds in him the embodiment of all the desires of her womanhood, they unite, and become one; and so both souls, going out to seek a supply for their needs, have united, not upon one plane, but upon every plane, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious. All that his soul can demand of woman is found in her who stands to him as the full embodiment and representative of her sex, meeting all his soul's demands; and they two become one. Talk about "equality" between man and wife! That implies separation; that implies distance, which can be measured. They are no longer two, but one. The wife becomes to the true husband the medium of inspiration between him and the higher heaven; she becomes to him the medium of inspiration, not to gratify his lust, but to fit his soul for a higher state. Man, when he unites his soul with woman, in a true conjugal union, becomes a part of herself, and becomes to her the medium of inspiration uniting her to God's existence, strength, and power, as she inspires him with God's love. He is the medium to unite her with the outward, and she the medium to unite him with the inward; so they are no longer two, but one.

Mr. FOSTER. Which is the one?

Mr. TIFFANY. Both, both! [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. Who owns the form?

Mr. TIFFANY. Both—both make one. [Applause.] I speak now of both. The man is no longer the half of the scissors, and the woman the other half; they unite together and make the scissors. [Laughter and applause.] Now they are prepared to cut whatever comes in their way. Talk about inequality of development, when souls are thus united! The woman cannot move a step towards heaven without dragging her husband with her.

[The President here called "Time," but, by a unanimous vote, the speaker's time was extended, and he proceeded.]

"The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife;" and whatever of strength and power flows into the husband will flow into the wife. I cannot stop to talk about inequality or unequal development.

Now, those men who are in the condition of experiment, in the very shell of humanity, know nothing about love, and never will know, as long as they are so much in the external that they cannot determine its true character; and the sooner such persons, who are trying to find a boot that will fit, are caught and caged, the better. Whatever abuses there may be in the marriage relation, they are not created by the institution, but *notwithstanding* it. When men and women come together on the plane of lust, it is not because they are married that they do it, but *notwithstanding* they are married. The remedy is not to break down the restriction, and let the man and woman loose, to try on all God's creation. [Laughter.] That is not the remedy; but go to work on that man; teach him what is true, pure and holy; take that woman, and speak to her soul, and call her out of that sense of use; bring her up to the plane of a pure and holy life, that she may make a better choice. But while they both remain in this low sphere, and, like a pair of ill-matched birds, try to tear each other's eyes out, I feel like saying to them, as the judge in Ohio said to a quarrelsome man and his termagant wife, "We can't afford to let you apart; you will catch somebody else." [Laughter.] When I hear of such an one who has got caught and caged, I feel like exclaiming, "God be praised! we have got one out of the market!" [Applause.]

Now, what do we need here? Let us look and inquire a little. The defect is not in the institution. Had it not been that men and women were lustful, and disposed to abuse their relations, and trample upon every thing pure and holy, it would never have been necessary to have the institution of marriage. The man developed and redeemed from sensualism, feels that his nature is redeemed from the law; he feels not its force; but as long as that idea rules in his breast, you must continue the law over him. If you let him up, he will fall on every one in his way, and rob them of their rights. The pure-minded man or woman feels not the evil of these galling chains; it is only the one who needs to be restrained that feels it. Consequently, let the individual be redeemed from this state. Let this desire, that goes out after the "leeks and onions and flesh-pots of Egypt," be purified, and he will not complain because he cannot get the flesh-pots of Egypt. I say that your institution of marriage will exist, and ought to exist, until men and women are brought up out of their sensual natures, and developed out of this plane that leads them to seek association for purposes of self-gain or gratification. While men are in this plane, do away with the marriage institution, and the abuses will become universal. A is caught and shut up with one woman, and he there indulges his passions with the woman who is called his partner. Remove that restriction, and he will go

forth and exercise them with all others, and much that now tends to hold them in check will be removed.

Mr. TOOHEY. If a man has made a blunder once, by what gift of prophecy do you say he will make a blunder the second time?

Mr. TIFFANY. By history and the result of experience. I never knew a man do better the second time.

Mr. CLAPP. Then what is the use of Christianity?

Mr. TIFFANY. Show me the abuse of Christianity, and I will show you its use. Show me the man who practices Christianity, and I will show you its wisdom. Show me the man who professes it, but does not practice it, and I will show you its folly.

Mrs. ROSE. As a woman's-rights woman — nay, more, as a *human*-rights woman — I cannot but throw in my mite on this great and important question that has been started here this morning. We have had a glorious and glowing description of true and genuine conjugal love; such love as has been brought about by the affinity of mind and soul and spirit, without the admixture of any thing external; a true matrimony, but not a matter-of-money. That description was beautiful; from my whole heart do I agree with it and accept it. But, my friends, facts are stubborn things, and we have not only to look at and investigate into what ought to be, but what is. And what is? Just what has been stated here this morning by a woman (Mrs. Branch). Here I must say that I do not know what her views are about the remedy, and, not knowing them, I cannot say whether I agree or disagree. I did not understand, as Mr. Tiffany did, that she meant to let loose the untamed passions either of men or women; if she meant that, I totally and utterly disagree.

Mrs. BRANCH. I did not mean it in that light.

Mrs. ROSE. That is right. But I will speak to the resolution. The resolution of Mr. Foster is to add the word "equality." Mr. Tiffany thought it was not needed, because the words "conjugal love," described all that was necessary. But does that exist? I go beyond the influence of woman, — I go beyond it, and below it, and above it. I know the influence that woman has on her children, and I know also that the cause of the degradation in which she exists is because ignorance and usurped authority have placed upon her the stamp of inferiority. It has had a tendency to keep her inferior, and the result is, that we, her offspring, are all inferior, and, therefore, I want to proclaim the principle of equality between the sexes. Bring up woman, as Mr. Tiffany expresses it, aye, and man too, to feel the law within them, and they will regard that law in others. But as long as they do not, they require laws, and as long as they require laws, we require them based upon perfect equality for husband and wife. Educate woman, bring her up, and enable her to become an independent being, the same as man. Cultivate all her powers, physical, mental, and moral; infuse into her the principle of confidence in herself. Cease to tell her from childhood, to look up to man only as her protector. No human being can ever be protected, who is not able to protect himself. History has demonstrated that it is dangerous to a people's welfare to place one human being in the power of another, whether that other is called king, priest, president, or husband. Proclaim her as the perfect coequal with man; enable her to carry out the great ends and aims of her existence, the same as man does; and then we shall have true conjugal love, but not until then.

Therefore it is, that I, for one, have never introduced the question of marriage into our Conventions, because I want to combat in them the injustice

in the laws. When that injustice is done away with, when woman is recognized by all as the equal of man, she will receive similar education, and have similar rights, and whatever may be found wrong after that in the laws, no fear but that it will be righted. All we ask, so far as the laws are concerned, is, Give us the same rights, chances and privileges that man has, to education, to industry, to property, to station in life—in married life as well as in single life. In marriage, we want property protected for both alike. We have been told that there is no inequality between husband and wife, because they are one. Yes, they are one. Blackstone has said, that man and wife are one, and as the laws are made, that one is the husband. [Laughter.] Mr. Tiffany says, they form, both of them, the pair of scissors; but the pair of scissors belongs to the husband, and the wife cannot claim them; she has no right to cut with the instrument to which she has given her half,—nay, more, of which she has furnished the whole! Then tell me about “conjugal love!” It seems like talking about the man in the moon. There may be a great man in it, but we do not see him. Give us a telescope, and we may see; and we want a telescope to see the rights which women now possess.

My heart is too full to enter upon this subject. We have been told—or the inference to be drawn from the language was—that only vicious persons were dissatisfied. I regretted to hear such an expression fall from the speaker's lips, and I hope he did not know what he uttered. Do you know who are satisfied? They are slaves, who, on account of having been subjected to slavery so long, have ceased to feel the galling chains on their necks. Do you know who are dissatisfied? Those that feel the love of freedom burning within their breasts. They are dissatisfied, and for what? For themselves only? I hardly ever allude to myself, but I will now. I am a married woman: have been married over twenty years; have a husband, and, as far as individual rights are concerned, I have as many as I ought to have. But I do not thank the laws for it. And why? Because it happens that my husband is “a law unto himself,” and, being a law unto himself, there is no need of any other law; and, therefore, we might say, Abolish all laws, because there is one who is a law unto himself. But what are laws made for? Not for my husband, nor for myself either; but for those who recognize no law but their own passions and lusts, and their own rights, at the expense and sacrifice of the rights of every one else. Do you ask me where they are? Better ask me where they are not—and I will tell you of two in my house. For the good the law is not needed; for the bad it ought to be a good law. A bad law makes bad men worse. Hence we want equality of rights.

F. W. EVANS, of the Shaker Community at Lebanon. I feel thankful, my friends, that I have lived to see the time when the subject of marriage can be brought before a free Convention, and when the human mind has become so disenthralled from sectarian prejudice and bigotry, that it can entertain opposite sentiments and views relative to that important subject.

What are the ordinary elements of marriage? Man and woman. What is the ordinary fountain of marriage? God, the Creator. Why so? Because, as I firmly believe, God, the Supreme Being, of all other organized agencies, is himself male and female; thus he possesses the first principle upon which the marriage institution rests; God himself is male and female—dual. And here I would say, that I fully concur in the views expressed by Mr. Mayo, last evening, in regard to the Bible. I do not believe the Bible to be the word of God, but simply a record of the high spiritual and

religious experience of the best part of the human race. I say, then, referring to this record, when God said, "Let us make man in our own image, in our own likeness; so God created man in his own image and in his own likeness; in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them; and in the day that he created them, he called their name Adam—one;" as friend Tiffany has expressed it, and very justly, they two are but parts of the same being. The man is not a man without the woman; the woman is not a woman without the man. They are parts, I say, of the same being, and are necessary to the complete happiness of each other. Why, then, talk about man's rights and woman's rights, as though they were independent parties each of the other? They are both equally at fault. There is a fault in the marriage relation, as is admitted on all sides. There is the trouble. As one of the writers of Scripture history expresses it, "Whence comes wars and fightings, but of your lusts, that are in your members?" There is the fountain. Now, crucify these lusts. Not purify, as friend Tiffany says, but *crucify* the old man, with all his lusts; then you will put the axe to the root of the tree, then you will go down to the bottom of the evil. Then you will know where you are, what you are, and what you should be.

Look again at the Scripture record, for which many entertain so great respect; look at the fall of man, represented under the symbol of eating the apple, an act of disobedience, an act which, in itself, was perfectly innocent. What harm was there in eating apples? We have all eaten apples—a good many of us in the same way that Adam and Eve ate the apple, and have experienced the same results in our own persons. What was it? When they were in the garden, Adam and Eve were naked, and not ashamed. By-and-by they were tempted by the serpent. One of our common serpents? Nobody believes it, in our day, that is anybody. [Laughter.] What was it, then, that tempted them? It was the sensual, animal nature. How did that tempt them before there was evil in operation? In God is male and female. There is the fountain of use. Every thing proceeding and emanating from God is use; his very thoughts are use; his every act is use—utility. So when he made man in his own image, male and female, the object was that they might reproduce their species. That was the use for the reproductive powers with which they were endowed. But when they were tempted, they experienced pleasure, a sensation that was agreeable in their use, and they were tempted to repeat the act, for the sake of sensual gratification, without reference to the use thereof. "We have all sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." All mankind have gone wandering after the beast. They have been led away by the serpent gratification—sensuality. They do things for the sake of the pleasure of doing them, without any reference to utility. Here lies the sin—not in the act of reproduction, but in the act of self-gratification, without reference to reproduction. I speak plainly, because I feel that I am speaking to men and women; which is more than I could say if I was in some places. [Laughter and applause.]

MR. WRIGHT. Our friend speaks of the distinction of sex in God. I would ask what is the particular use of sex in God? I believe in the doctrine, but I would like to have his explanation.

MR. FOSTER here moved to rescind the ten-minutes' rule, but the motion was lost. Mr. Evans's time, however, was extended.

MR. EVANS. Friend Wright asks what is the use or the utility of sex in Deity. It seems to me a question easily answered by our own experience; for we are created in the image of God. We find the use of male and

female, every one of us. Our happiness depends upon the two. What idea could we form of the happiness of any being who was constituted solely of either male or female? The one represents power—the intellect; the other represents the affections—love. “God is love,” “God is a devouring fire,” the Scripture says. Again, “Our God is love.” Woman is the representative of love. Now, my friends, when Adam and Eve ate the apple, as was represented, the curse was pronounced. The earth was cursed for the sin of man, and the curse was pronounced upon the woman: “I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire (or lust) shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee”—because he is the stronger. Because he is the stronger of the two, therefore he should rule over her on that plane. This is verified in the whole history of the human race. Go where you will, woman is degraded, oppressed, “ruled over” by the stronger animal—man. Especially is this the case in what we term uncivilized nations.

But, my friends, there is hope. “There is balm in Gilead, and a physician there.” There is hope for all this trouble in the flesh—a remedy. I thank God that there is a remedy; that there is hope; that there is salvation, redemption; that God has sent a messenger into this world to open a way out of this trouble arising from the marriage relation! I say, I thank God that a door has been opened, an unexpected door of deliverance. Many are looking for the second coming of Christ. What does the prophet say to them? “Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord, (the second coming of Christ.) Woe unto you, for the day of the Lord shall be darkness, and not light; a day of trouble, and anguish, and desolation.” To what? To the sensual, animal man, because it would bring, not purification to this sensual, serpentine, animal nature, but *crucifixion*. *Death* is the end of every generative man and woman. “In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.” Die to the life of God, of truth and purity in the soul; but beyond that there is another death—there is death to the old man, the old Adam and the old Eve; and then comes the resurrection. What is that resurrection? A remedy for all the troubles of the marriage relation—a life of virgin purity.

J. H. W. TOOHEY. Mr. Chairman:—I am glad this question has been presented, and is now up for discussion, since the *word* marriage has come to be associated with, if in fact it is not at this time a synonym for, social discord and sexual abuse. I hope, therefore, the subject will be thoroughly investigated, that we may understand its nature, relations and bearing, and, if possible, give some thoughts of a *constructive* character to harmonize its present outstanding issues. The *subject* is worthy of it, and the age demands it, and *all* that is required of us is to extend to its examination the same candor and fair dealing we award to other departments of life.

I regret, however, that I am compelled to differ from Mr. Tiffany—the more, as I find myself often agreeing with him in his efforts to unite religion and reform; but the statements he has made upon this subject, and the logic he has used to enforce his conclusions, convince me that he has spoken somewhat at random, if, indeed, he was not unconscious of the tendency of his argument. The proof of this is in the inevitable consequences of his logic, since Mr. Tiffany puts an end to all improvement, by *ignoring* experiment as a *corrective* element in marriage. *Civilization being the result of observation and experiment*, why limit and contract improvement in this department of life, by investing custom and law with positive and

final authority, when *all* such assumption is at the expense of the aspirations of the soul and the genius of reform? Why keep a man in bad and corrupting relations, because he made an error in judgment, in investing himself and another with characteristics of body and mind not theirs? Why, sir, to do so is to make *final* the tyranny of ignorance, and make *positive* the barbarities of feudal law. The idea, therefore, of converting the institution of marriage into a prison, where all the unclean and untamable of society are to be "caged" and kept, may seem *prudential* to Mr. Tiffany; but constructive reason and an enlightened conscience will be slow in attaching any importance to his conclusions. It is *no* assumption, therefore, to say, that Mr. Tiffany's argument, in spirit, method, and tendency, is opposed to the soul of progress, and unfriendly to the purposes of this Convention. Indeed, I am at a loss to conceive how a full believer in the depravity of the race could have been more persistent in presenting the selfishness of men and women, as a plea for ignoring the claims of reform, and discrediting Human Nature, than Mr. Tiffany has been, while arguing against the change of partners in marriage. This assumption is personal in character and suspicious in spirit, both of which do violence to unitary science and human reform.

If the general assumption of Mr. Tiffany is defective, his historical pretensions are equally unfortunate, for the following reasons:—

1st. It is *defective*, because the experience of the race has not only authorized changes in married relations, but *prohibited* marrying within certain degrees of consanguinity; and the evidence for this change is positive and final, speaking as it does in the name of Science, Religion and Law. Accordingly, no sane man will call in question the wisdom that prohibits the marriage of blood relatives, since the excesses and results of such unions have long since culminated and made their tendency manifest in the dirty habits and scrofulistic persons of "the Georges of England."

The sustaining facts of these and other illustrations authorize the conclusion, that scrofula, idiocy and insanity are the natural results of all "blood-marriages." These, however, have been sanctioned in other ages and nations, and ecclesiastic authority and all-powerful custom recognized them as natural and lawful. Nevertheless, *facts* have grown up in the ages, and are now recognized by science as the representatives of certain phases of physical and social life; and these facts, speaking in the name of humanity, condemn the practice, and the law that sanctioned it.

2d. But if Pathology proves Mr. Tiffany's assumption defective, Physiology will demonstrate his conclusions to be pernicious; since it is now conceded, that *LIKE temperaments*, marrying "*in and in*," beget in two or three generations, imperfect, sickly, and diseased children, most of whom become subject to the taint of scrofula and consumption. Thus Pathology teems with evidence to convince the mind that all neglect of a fitting *adaptation* in the parties to the institution and relations of marriage, ends in premature decay and unnatural death; and Physiology makes the evidence authoritative and final, in demonstrating the *presence of law*, while explaining the principles which underlie these phases of life.

These statements resolve themselves into fact and demonstration, soon as we address ourselves to life, as any one will find, who will give a week's attention to the subject, in any town or city in the United States.

Observation and science thus agreeing, Mr. Tiffany's historic assumption melts into thin air, with nought to support it, but the fact that humanity is not perfect and infallible. As for the abuses and perversions of sexism, in-

cidental to all transition periods of history, and *always* more or less present in society, it were enough to say, that no sane man will expect an absolute or *unmixed* good, while men and women are ignorant, and incapable of providing for themselves.

The *facts*, however, that correct the argument of Mr. Tiffany, will correct and purify the conduct of other men, so that in time, the marriage institution will become "a thing of beauty, and a joy forever." Let it be understood, therefore, that the defects and errors of marriage are incidental to the progress of the race, but capable of modification and correction. But this correction will come only when a knowledge of the laws of life enters into and helps to magnify the value of a healthy and harmonic existence; since sin is everywhere and always, much more the child of ignorance and weakness, than of selfishness and strength. As a primary fact, therefore, it should be remembered, that the marriage of LIKE temperaments develops disease, and *tends* towards early death — though the parties should come, the one from New York, and the other from Hindostan. Much might be said in addition, to show that the conservative policy that ignores alteration, amendment, or reform in marriage, is insensible to its own needs and the present condition of society; but it is hardly necessary to extend remark, when the *defects* of our so-called civilized life are made more or less apparent by every speaker on this platform.

It may be well to say, however, that destruction is *not* construction, any more than to decry reform is indicative of wisdom; and, therefore, I suggest that a middle ground must be discovered between the Free-Loveism of the age, and the conservatism of old institutions, which will mediate between, and, if possible, harmonize the two. I make this suggestion, believing, as I do, that the marriage relation is natural and eternal, and necessary to familyism, and the existence of society. At the same time, *I protest against all law* that attempts to perpetuate such evils as I have alluded to, and I will ignore its authority, as an act of religion and humanity. This language, so earnest, positive, and revolutionary, expresses the honest convictions of many, who have remonstrated with conservative friends, appealed to the good sense of society, and petitioned its law-makers, hoping thereby to correct public opinion, and alter the present laws on marriage. These men and women are now no longer isolated and exceptional; but united and determined in their issue on the "legal bond," that makes marriage a punishment, home a prison, and children the living witnesses of their parents' sorrow, discord, or shame; all of which *perversions* of use and beauty tend towards, if they do not end in, death, — Physical, Mental, Moral, Spiritual, and Social.

The speech made by Mrs. J. Branch, and the remarks made thereon by other members of this Convention, more than authorize these statements; but the following, from "a declaration of principles, believed and advocated by the PROGRESSIONISTS of Battle Creek, Michigan," will prove that the genius of reform is constructive and orderly, as well as destructive and revolutionary: —

"MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. Duality in Unity, being the divine method by which influxes and incarnations manifest themselves in nature, as negative and positive are the necessary agents in creation and government; so does the male and female in the human family compose the parts of a complete *oneness*, and find their purest enjoyment in the intertwining of their affectional natures. '*Variety* in love,' therefore, is unnatural and brutalizing, as it tends to blunt the finer sensibilities of the soul and debase man's nature. The office of the sexes being thus sacred, marriage *should* be sacramental. But

when persons living in married life find it impossible to live together in harmony, they having done their best to neutralize difficulties and subdue antagonisms, *divine harmony and spiritual order* require that such relations should end. A *discriminative divorce law*, therefore, should exist in every State and nation, the duties of which should be executed by legally appointed and *thoroughly qualified officers*."

This declaration outlines the only way to mediate between the extremes the discussion has arrived at; and believing it to be constructive, I submit it for consideration. But in submitting it, it should be borne in mind, that public opinion must be corrected, prejudice subdued, ignorance enlightened, that the moral sense of society may culminate in creating the necessary offices and laws for the prevention of crime in the marriage institution, as in other departments of society. This will not only meet the needs of society, but save us from hearing the painful, disgraceful and corrupting revelations more or less common to all divorce trials. When, sir, this is done, and it shall come to pass, "in the course of human events," that men and women shall love "mercy rather than sacrifice;" when persons entering marriage shall come prepared to meet the responsibilities of the office, as well as enjoy the pleasure of its relations; when, in short, the race is educated and fitted, by virtue of discipline and culture, to become fathers and mothers, *then* religion and law will go hand in hand to the enrichment of science and the glory of progress. Then social unions and domestic joys will harmonize the minds and purify the spirits of men and women, making them fit members of the institution of marriage, which will thus become the "Holy of Holies" to the race. In the meantime, while ignorance is our birthright, and prejudice the result of association; while honest and humane teachers are few, and physiological knowledge is ignored; in brief, while society authorizes customs, and education and religion (?) tolerate fashions injurious to purity of mind and health of body, so long will marriage be associated with social discords, family sickness, sexual infidelity, and domestic immorality; for the correction of which, human prudence, common justice, and social harmony demand that discriminative divorce become a practical part of common law.

Mr. TIFFANY explained his position in regard to marriage, substantially to the effect that those who were fitted, by the purity of their state, to enter into a true marriage relation, had no need of the law, for they were "a law unto themselves." He believed they were capable of coming into that state, when they had purified themselves of their lusts; but while they were under the dominion of those lusts, there must be a civil law. In conclusion, he said he believed woman was in every respect man's equal and, in the highest and best sense, his superior, and ought to have all the rights he has, and a good many more.

Mrs. ROSE here took the Chair, at the request of the President, and a song was sung by the Harmonial Club. A somewhat extended discussion followed with regard to the manner in which the Convention had been conducted, at the conclusion of which Dr. GARDNER, of Boston, moved that the programme of the Business Committee be dispensed with, and that the discussion continue, under the ten-minutes' rule, but the motion did not prevail.

Mrs. ROSE then announced that the next business in order, according to the programme, would be the discussion of the subject of "Woman's Rights," and introduced Mrs. ELIZA W. FARNHAM, of New York.

Mrs. FARNHAM introduced her remarks with the following series of resolutions :—

Resolved, That it behooves us, as persons professing free thought and righteous purpose towards the highest welfare of society as well as of individuals, to look frankly and courageously in their face the monstrous evils which grow out of the wrong and wicked generation of human beings ; and that merely to continue working, however zealously and tenderly, for the reform of such persons, after we have idly suffered this irreparable and greatest wrong to be done against them, were a weak and sinful waste of the powers to know and to do with which God has beneficently endowed us.

Resolved, therefore, That we will diligently search into all the means and conditions by which the good of our race may be thus primarily secured, and trusting that a wise and pure God has incorporated into his works no laws or elements which pure and earnest men and women may not only learn, but worthily and profitably teach, we will seek to unfold to both the knowledge and truth whereby they may be brought to act faithfully and wisely in the relation of parents as well before as after the birth of their offspring.

Resolved, That we regard the weight of this responsibility as resting upon woman, and believe that she can never fill the measure of her duty till she is inspired with a consciousness of her higher powers and corresponding rank in the scale of being ; till she is freed from the oppression of unequal laws, the slavery of mental darkness, vanity, and selfishness in which she has been trained, and is made truly free and wise, both as a woman and mother ; and that for these ends, grand and unattainable as they may seem to many, we believe no miraculous interposition is necessary, and no impossible effort demanded on the part of those who may receive and teach the truth, but that here, as elsewhere, we shall find that our dear Heavenly Father hath been beforehand with us, and has already more than half accomplished the great work in the susceptible, intuitive, spiritual nature which he has bestowed upon woman. Therefore,

Resolved, finally, That this paramount claim upon the intelligent, progressive life of the age and country is thus to instruct woman in the grandeur of her great natural office ; enlighten her, and through her instrumentality, to make man sensible of the fearful consequence of her enslavement in it ; to encourage and strengthen her to demand as her and her children's indefeasible right, that freedom and control of her person in the marriage relation, which alone would make her to consult her nature, and its physical and spiritual capacities, to assume at any time the office of mother ; and that, in the acknowledgment of the rank and freedom herein claimed for her, we see the only source of a spiritual, enduring and harmonial civilization, as well as the hope of a nobler race than has ever yet occupied the earth ; that we regard humanity at present as more the offspring of its father than its mother, by reason of the fact that man has been the positive power on all the planes of life which we have yet passed, and we can only look for its essential advancement above the intellectual and material refinement, which, so far is the expression of the masculine, by the embodiment in it of the intuitive life, harmony, tenderness, fortitude, integrity, purity, and love, which are the characteristic elements of the feminine.

ADDRESS OF MRS. FARNHAM.

I am aware, ladies and gentlemen, that I labor under great disadvantage in presenting my views here, inasmuch as I have no educated public sentiment to which to appeal. I feel and believe that God has made woman organically superior to man, as he has made her spiritually superior ; that as she represents love in her spiritual nature, which we all conceive to be the highest, and in which we all acknowledge her to be superior, she represents also in organic life corresponding qualities ; and as mother, in which department of organic life, the woman stands at the top of creation, she is the crowning work of this material world. In regard to the marriage question, it seems to me that many of the difficulties which our friends find surrounding this subject are the inevitable result of the emancipation of woman, which seems to me nothing alarming or disorderly. Some of you are acquainted with the water-cure treatment for disease. You see patients sometimes resorting to the water-cure, to all appearance in tolerable health ; the body is all fair and smooth, and perhaps you fancy that it is half a

notion that they need any cure at all. But the physician commences his applications to them, and in a few weeks, the skin that was so fair and smooth, becomes a mass of corruption. All that was bad and impure within is coming out; and perhaps you think, in your shallow judgment, that the water-cure doctor has put the disease in, instead of taking it out. It seems to me that our present social condition corresponds to that. Woman has been patient, and submitted to her condition in the marriage relation during all the ages in which she has regarded herself, and been treated as man's inferior. During that time, there was a good deal of peace in the domestic relation. People thought it was all right. The marriage institution, and the laws regulating it, were established, and almost everybody said well. But it is not so when women begin to find that they have other relations than they ever suspected; and you will find that disorders will come; there is no hindering them; for, as I understand it, the spirit of freedom, entering into the hearts of men and women, *will* produce rebellion against the chains of slavery; woman is beginning now to feel herself to be a power in the social and in the civil world, to some extent. What I claim is, that she shall have a power in the intellectual world, where most of us are disposed to deny to her a position corresponding to her position in the spiritual world. I claim for her superiority in the intellectual life, in which man has heretofore been almost universally considered the superior. But I do not believe that the logical faculty is the highest department of the intellect. I do not believe that, in the ages to come, this is to be the highest exhibition or proof of intellectual power; and in this sense, I look for the intellectual, as well as the moral and religious light, in the ages to come, to receive a material modification from the development and presence of womanly life and power in them. To my apprehension, this question will begin to take a settled form just in proportion as communities and individuals are prepared to study into the organic life of man, and learn from that what is included in the spiritual, and see and accept — what people always will accept — the physical work of God as proof of what he means in the spiritual. If I could convince you, as I could convince any persons capable of sitting down and examining certain anatomical facts, that by a law which is inevitable on all the inferior planes of life, woman is superior, that she possesses the more complex physical life, and in virtue of that, God has indisputably declared that he places her at the head of that scale of life, you would be induced to inquire into the proofs of woman's physical superiority; and having attained that by any means, you would be ready for women to claim for themselves the position without which society must be always chaotic and disorderly.

Our difficulty is, that we dread we are going to step off the great continent of truth. Convince a man that he has that under his feet, and there is no man so selfish and depraved that he will hesitate to go on. There is no man who does not feel that God is truth, and if he has Him under his feet, there can be no failure in his operations. I regard it as the great work of society and of nations, to educate woman to receive the idea, and incorporate it into her life, of her superiority — of her claim, consequently, to the fullest development and most active exercise of all the powers that God has given her; and that, not that she may be strong to build railroads, or dig a great shaft through the earth, but that she may attain to the power which is the fruit of this development for a higher purpose — for the embodiment of it in humanity, through her children. I believe that an ignorant, undeveloped woman, must bring forth fruit corresponding to her condition, as the crab-

tree brings forth fruit after its kind; but the enlightened and cultivated woman, like the crab-tree when carefully pruned and grafted, will bring forth cultivated fruit. The fact that the development of the mother is represented in her offspring, is the highest fact that man can take into consideration; and it behooves us, first of all, to consider how women are to be educated into the exercise of their highest powers.

I have proved the force of these facts to many persons in the course of the last year, and I believe that to-day, with the force of the truths I have, I could go into the Five Points in New York, and take a class of women, — the lowest I could find, — capable of becoming mothers, and so educate them that they should never, after the day they had seen me, bring such children into the world as they had before. I know this, not because I am eloquent or gifted, but because truth is all-powerful, and this truth appeals to the innermost, dearest life of every woman. The soul of every woman answers to that appeal — I know it! She feels that she represents God to humanity, and that humanity, born without her, is to that extent, born "without God in the world."

I do not wish to occupy the time of the Convention any further. I believe there are other speakers who will address you on the same subject.

H. C. WRIGHT addressed the Convention as follows:—

Mr. President,— There are two resolutions before this Convention, relating, one to marriage, and the other to maternity. In my estimation, no subject can be presented more deserving our most serious attention; for the character and happiness of individuals and families, and the destiny of the race, in the body and out of it, are more directly involved in these two subjects than in all others. The empire of woman as a mother is like the empire of God, absolute in power, eternal in duration. Through woman, as a *mother*, the law of health or disease, of life or death, is engraven on the body and soul of every human being. Woman, as a true mother, is invested with a more hallowed beauty, and a brighter glory, than if she wielded the sceptre over an empire on which the sun never sets. As a husband and father, and as a wife and mother, — when brought into these relations by a true conjugal and parental love, — man and woman are, indeed, the noblest and most perfect embodiments of the Divine. How much more noble, than when viewed as king or queen, as priest or politician, as voter or office-holder!

But, what is *marriage*? On this, as on all questions discussed in this Convention, each one is responsible for his or her own utterances, and for none other. The Convention is not responsible for what I say. I utter my own thoughts, and as to *matter* and *manner* would secure my own approval, without asking whether others approve or not. Marriage as it ought to be, and marriage as it often is, — a *true* marriage, — a *false* marriage, — what are they?

True marriage. There are two great, leading elements in Nature; the *masculine* and *feminine*. This distinction of sex extends through all animal and vegetable life. God, as apprehended by me, is masculine and feminine, and in this great Life-Principle of all things, that lives in all life, and vitalizes all things, the blending of these two elements is perfect, — the *twain* are *one*, — the God masculine, and the God feminine, the God-man and the God-woman, are one in feeling, thought, purpose, will, action. This being, is our heavenly father and our mother. In man, the masculine element of nature, or the God-man, and in woman, the feminine element of nature, or the God-woman, are more perfectly and fully manifested than in any other ani-

mal on the planet. A "true and natural marriage," in the language of the resolution, is the blending of these two elements as embodied in human form, *according to the laws of nature that were designed to govern their union.* The simple question at issue is, *what are these natural laws?* For I shall assume that, in the government of this element, or attribute of humanity, nature has, as in every thing else, prescribed certain fixed and just laws, which cannot be violated with impunity.

The first law of marriage, as fixed by nature, is, *monogamy*, or one man to one woman, and one woman to one man, exclusive of a third party. The relation cannot exist between one man and two or more women, nor between one woman and two or more men. The man who lives with two women as wives, or the woman who lives with two men as husbands, take themselves out from under the law designed to govern the blending of the masculine and feminine, in the human type, and put themselves under the law of brute beasts. They are moral monsters. Nature repudiates polygamy, by whatever name called. That *exclusiveness* is the law of nature appears (1) from the fact that the number of each sex born is nearly equal, the difference, if any, being in favor of the males; more males than females being born by some four or five in a million; so that, if either is entitled to more than one, the woman is to have two or more husbands; (2) and no man or woman, in seeking a wife or husband, where a conjugal love exists, has a thought of more than one. *Exclusiveness* is the feeling of each, in that relation, where a true conjugal love exists. In all ages and nations, even among polygamists, conjugal love in the heart of man points to one woman as a wife, and concentrates itself on her, and finds perfect rest and fulfilment in her. So in the heart of woman in regard to man. Man seizes and appropriates to himself other women for convenience or for sensual gratification, but the love and worship of his soul, as a husband, are given to one, and only one.

The true and natural marriage consists in a *love* between the two souls. It is not in the *ceremony*, but in the love that blends the two souls into one. If there is no marriage before the ceremony, there is none after; the ceremony cannot make a man a husband, nor a woman a wife. A deep, holy, exclusive love alone can do that. This love is a necessity of our being. Every man is made to be a husband, and every woman a wife, and without this consummation, neither can ever be what they were designed to be, and are capable of being. Woman, as a wife, is a necessity of man's nature; man, as a husband, a necessity of woman's—as is air, or food. Man loves woman as a wife; woman, man as a husband, because they *must*, not because they *will*, or promise, or are commanded to do it. Man can love nothing at the word of command, and as a duty. He must love what is loveable, he cannot love what is not loveable. "My dear," says the man to one he calls wife, "I feel it my solemn *duty* to love you; God commands me to love you, and I solemnly *promised* to love you, and I will try to do my duty." Poor fellow! He finds it hard work often. Better not try to strain out your love in that way. But to every husband I say—"Make yourself loveable to your wife, and she will love you; she cannot help it; but if you do not, she will not love you, she *cannot*, and she is not to blame." Wife, do you wish your husband to love you? Then make yourself loveable to him, and he must love you. In the ceremony, never promise to *love*, but promise to make yourself *loveable*, each to the other. A man's effort to make himself loveable to his wife will be in proportion to the value he puts upon her love. Such is the philosophy of a *true* marriage. It is *love*, not law, nor lust, that constitutes a natural marriage.

A false, or sham marriage. A man and woman meet together, for the first time, in a ball room, a social party, a singing school, or a circus. Each smiles and winks at the other. They put on their very best and prettiest in dress and manners. They dance together, they chat together—about flowers, pinks, roses, stars, novels, and Mr. So-and-so, and Miss So-and-so. They take a walk by moonlight, or a buggy ride, and find out that each is essential to the other, and confess to undying love. They get a license to be married. They are not yet husband and wife before God nor man. So they stand up before the priest, and he, in the twinkling of an eye, makes him into a husband, and her into a wife. How? He simply says to the man—"You take the woman you hold by the hand to be your wife; you promise to *love her*, to *protect* her, to *provide* for her, and to *keep with* her till death shall separate you." "*I do*," whimpers the poor, besotted creature. Then he says to the woman—"You take the man you hold by the hand to be your husband; you promise to *love him*, to be *true to him*, to *obey* him, and *keep with* him till death separates you." "*I do*," faintly murmurs the poor, ignorant, bewildered creature. "Then," says the priest, "before God and these witnesses, I now pronounce you to be husband and wife, and what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." He should have said, "what God hath put asunder, let not the priest put together." Then, the HONEY-MOON! That soon goes down, and the darkness of a living death settles upon those hearts; not even a *moon* ever rises again on their wedded life. Poor, besotted, ignorant creatures! They knew nothing of each other's physical, intellectual, social, or moral conditions. How could they? Yet they have chosen to tread the hard, stony path of life in the most intimate relations, without love, without mutual respect, and the end is positive indifference, or contempt. God pity the millions of such deluded creatures, thus entombed alive in a loveless marriage, through ignorance, or rashness. They are not to blame. They know no better. They could have no holier view of marriage; for who ever taught them? Parents are dumb; the school is dumb; the pulpit is dumb. How should they know their true needs each in regard to the other?

Free Love? The *Tribune*, the *Times*, and the priests and politicians that follow their lead, denounce this as a "Free Love" Convention. The very men who, in various ways, sustain, propagate, and perpetuate the adultery, the concubinage, the polygamy, pollutions, and incests of slavery, and of Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon, crying out against "*Free Love*," or what they call that, as the damning sin of the world! I wonder—was Abraham a Free Lover, having his own sister for a wife, and a lot of others to boot? Was Jacob, with two sisters and their two maids for wives? Was David a "Free Lover?" Was Solomon? Yet, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and the priests tell us Abraham was the "chosen of God;" David, a "man after God's own heart;" and Solomon, the wisest man that ever was, or was to be. Such, truly, are not the men to teach the world a purer standard of sexual morality. But what is meant by this cry of "Free Love?" As well talk of free *hunger*, or free *thirst*, as of free love, as a sentiment, as the life of God in the soul of man. There is no freedom in conjugal love; it is a necessity; a fixed law of life to the soul; a law or necessity that points to an exclusive relation between one man and one woman, as the only true, natural marriage. It is a relation in which no third party can possibly take a part, except to put the relation upon a public record, as an *historical* fact. This should be done by government, and this is all human

government can do. Just let it keep a record of all marriages, as it does of births and deaths. There can be no oppression, no outrage, no sin, in a true and natural marriage. But all is sin, all is outrage, all is oppression, all is monstrous, when a man and woman live as husband and wife, without a love that absorbs each into the other, and makes the twain one—as God is one. All else is prostitution, licensed or unlicensed. Only in such an exclusive love-relation can woman rightly and nobly enter into the relation of a mother. When love, guided by wisdom, constitutes the marriage, man would never outrage woman by imposing on her a maternity whose responsibilities and sufferings she is not able nor willing to assume and endure. Of all woman's rights, her right to decide for herself how often and under what circumstances she shall assume the responsibility and endure the sufferings of maternity is the most sacred and important. **MATERNITY, AND THE RELATION THAT LEADS TO MATERNITY**, should ever be regarded by man, as a husband and father, as the most sacred of all subjects. It is so, by every pure and noble man; for he feels and knows that on these two relations depend his own individual development and happiness, the purity and happiness of his home, the health and character of his children, and the destiny of the race. O man! reverence the rights of thy wife in regard to maternity, and the relation that leads to it. Consecrate thy manhood, in all its purity, strength, and nobility, to the elevation and happiness of thy wife and thy offspring. Woman! respect this noblest and holiest function of thy nature. As the mother of the race, the great law-giver of the future, respect thy nature and thy mission. Die, rather than subject thyself to maternity, *or to the relation that leads to it*, when thy nature recoils from it. Let not the curses of an **UNWELCOME CHILD** fall upon thee. Die rather than give existence to children thou dost not want. Shun the crime of *Ante-Natal* murder. Be true to the pure and noble instincts of thy wifely and motherly heart. Then mayest thou aid man to a truer and nobler life in his relations to woman, and save thyself from the doom to which ungoverned passion, *in* and *out* of legal marriage, now so often consigns thee.

Mrs. FRANCES D. GAGE, of Missouri, was then introduced, and addressed the Convention upon the following resolution:—

Whereas, The assumed superiority of Man over Woman has held her in submission and entailed slavery and dependence on the sex, and misery on the race; therefore,

Resolved, That immediate steps should be taken to remove that error and its consequences, and place Woman politically, educationally, industrially, and socially, on perfect equality with Man.

SPEECH OF MRS. F. D. GAGE.

My Friends,—I wish to speak to this resolution. It will seem, I know, like beginning to lay the foundation of the house after the superstructure has already been built; for in the speeches we have had this forenoon, there has been an ideal picture displayed before you of the superiority of woman, and of true marriage, and other things, which is all very beautiful, and much of which I have no disposition to dispute. But I must deal with this matter as it stands before me; I take things as they are; for it seems to me that we have had very little of that kind of dealing so far.

First, then, upon this resolution. "The assumed superiority of man over woman has held her in submission, and entailed slavery and dependence on

the sex, and misery on the race." One of the great men of this nation, — Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, — in one of his admirable speeches, makes this assertion — I quote his idea, perhaps not his exact language — that Bonaparte, by picking out the tall men of France for his armies, reduced the French people two inches in their stature; and that the English government, by deciding that no Roman Catholic should teach school, under pains and penalties, reduced the Irish fore-head two inches, and added the same to the hind-head. I do not pretend to assert that Mr. Mann is right; but if it is meant that the degradation of one class can so effect the whole body of the people, cannot these same statesmen see that when they place the whole half of humanity — or the whole of humanity, taking Mr. Tiffany or Mrs. Farnham's ideas — in the sphere of inferiority, they must produce terrible effects upon the whole community? What have they done for woman? Placed her in an inferior position; taken away from her every political right and privilege. We stand before you to-day, without one vestige of political right, and were the men of Vermont to vote us upon the auction block, as the men of Missouri have voted my sisters, as white as I am, we should not find a stand-point from which to resist one particle of this encroachment.

The Constitution of the United States has no word that by any torture of language can be construed into an exclusion of woman from the right to protect herself in society by law (I am speaking of laws now, not of imaginary things, for laws are potent); but it leaves it to every State to make its own laws; and "the people" of the States, as they call themselves, (in violation of that clause of the Constitution,) who are *men*, and who are always quoting that clause of the Constitution which guarantees to every State in the Union a Republican form of government, have made laws which have not given "a Republican form of government" to a single State in the Union. They say, "We, the people," have done this, &c. Who are "the people"? I must follow the record. Webster and Worcester say that "people" are a body of persons that compose a community; a community is a body of persons living under equal laws; a person is a human being having a body and soul. Now, I ask you, how many "people" in Vermont or Massachusetts have bodies and souls? In the Northern States, the "people" are the male citizens, twenty-one years old and upward, and nobody else; in the State where I live, they are the free *white* male citizens — and these comprise the whole "people" of the United States; — showing you that to the women of America there is not left one vestige of political power to protect themselves in any right they may have. But this is not all. "The people" have ignored their own acts. New York, for instance, says, no person shall be taxed without representation. I think Massachusetts has some such law, and probably Vermont, though I have not been here long enough to examine your laws. But the State of New York taxes every woman who has one dollar of taxable property, and she has no right to protect herself. So with all the States of the Union, whose laws I am acquainted with.

I speak of these things because they are great, startling facts, and bring before your minds the idea of woman's inferiority.

But in giving us this right to be taxed, man has given us one plank of a platform on which to stand on an equality of right. We pay out our money for all the purposes of government. If I happen to own a dollar of property, man insists that I shall pay for the support of the infamous slave system, that drags the mother to the auction-block, and separates her from her husband and children, destroys the isolated family, and every thing beautiful

in society, and plunges the whole community into wickedness and wrong. Yet I have not one particle of power to resist, except my "woman's influence" — as if man had not as much influence as woman, and all the power besides! I must be taxed, too, for the support of the army and navy, and have no power to resist. My woman's nature is set aside, and man, through his strong physical force, compels me to do a work at which my soul revolts.

Again, I am taxed to support prisons and penitentiaries. What are they for? Ask the men who fill them what brought them there, and nineteen-twentieths will answer, "Intemperance." And yet, throughout the length and breadth of the land, you will find a grog-shop on every corner; and I must pay my tax to support that evil — to support the judiciary — to support the criminal code — with no particle of power to resist the evil, except my personal influence; and then, when I go out to lecture on this subject, to teach women what I consider their duty, man meets me with the sneer — "You are out of your sphere!"

Men say to us that their laws are just. Only a day or two ago, I had a long discussion with a man who asked, "What, in the name of God, can women want that they have not got?" First, I want the right to myself; for man has made a law and placed it upon the statute-book, that if I wish to enter into the conjugal relation of life, I must consent to certain regulations which man has made, without consulting any woman whatever. First, I must give up myself to the man; for, as Mrs. Rose says, the old common law says the man and wife are one — the existence of the woman is suspended, consolidated in that of her husband, under whose command or direction she does every thing. It is Lord Eldon, not Blackstone, who says the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband. We have thus two authorities. Blackstone says the existence of the woman is suspended; Eldon says the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband. Let me suppose a couple want to be married. I will say they love each other supremely; that they have studied each other's characters for years, and want to come into this holy relation, what must the woman do? Consent to be consolidated, suspended, to surrender her legal existence, in most of the States. With this, her person comes wholly into the hands of the man. You have heard a good deal about maternity to-day. Here is the origin of much of the wrong that exists in connection with that function, in the law of marriage, that suspends the woman in the man, and gives her no power of resistance. Under the old law, the husband had the right to correct the wife, if he did not use a stick bigger than his thumb; and the stick is sometimes used pretty freely even now. [Laughter.]

Next, I want the right to my own earnings. Until within the last eight years, there was not a State in the Union that gave the wife her own earnings; and in proof of this let me say, that in 1854, Massachusetts made a law expressly to set aside the common law, declaring that a woman should have the right to her own earnings, if she carried on business in her own name, and to put money in the savings banks, and draw it out; because the banks found it expedient to have such a law, for sometimes, when the wife had drawn out the money, the husband sued the bank, and collected it a second time. Missouri has made a law, that if a man, through drunkenness or worthlessness, fails to provide for his wife, so that she shall be compelled to labor for her own support, she shall have the right to her own earnings! Is not that a beautiful law, in this noon of the nineteenth century? Only the drunkard's or the worthless man's wife is to have this

right; the law presupposes that all other men will be good, and just, and fair; so that it gives rather a premium, I think, on crime, and the woman who can force her husband or induce him to take a good dram now and then, and become worthless, will secure a little right to herself! A woman cannot sue or be sued, in most of the States, without the consent of her husband, no matter what the provocation may be. If she be injured in person or property, and suit is brought, the damages become his. I knew a case like this: a woman prosecuted a stage coach company for damages, she having had her jaw broken by the upsetting of a coach, and recovered three thousand dollars. Her husband received the money, — for the stage company promptly paid it over, — and as he did so, he turned to his companions and said, "That is the easiest way of making money I ever knew. Who wouldn't have his wife's jaw broken for three thousand dollars?" [Laughter.] You laugh, my friends, as if this was a singular case, but I tell you the same principle is acted out about you every day of your lives, and if you have watched as carefully as I have, you have seen the last pocket-handkerchief that would bring money, taken to the grog-shop to be exchanged for rum. In some of the States there is a law which gives the wife the right to her own wearing apparel after the husband's death; which proves that before his death she never was entitled to her wearing apparel! So that a married woman has no right, either to her own person or her own property. Indeed, she has no right to her own conscience; for any crime which she commits, by his consent or command, he pays the penalty for, unless it be death or the State prison. Whenever it comes to that, the magnanimity of man has stopped — made a pause. He concludes that it is magnanimous for him to pay any penalty short of this; but that it will be magnanimous to let her hang on her own hook, and go to the penitentiary in her own person. [Laughter.] Hence her conscience is under her husband's control, for if she commits the crime under his authority, she is not responsible any more than the minor. No wonder you find fraud and deception among women, for what else can they do?

Last of all, woman is not entitled to her children. The law declares the father the natural guardian of the child. Was there ever monstrosity equal to this? The father in California, or Australia, perhaps, when the child gives its first cry, and yet he declared the "natural guardian" of the young existence!

In most of the States, a man may will away every child he has. In Pennsylvania, I see, a man did it. It is the common law of the land, and only here and there, some speciality prevents this horrible injustice. I knew a man who was so magnanimous, when he lost all his property by the revulsion of the times, as to take a dose of laudanum, and man-like, die, leaving a wife and five children; and he made a will, by which he gave every one of them away, even to one not yet born! Think of the power of the law that gives the husband this right, and then ask us, if you can, to wait until we reach that sublimated state about which we have heard, before we complain!

A man may send his daughter to a brothel to gain money to pay his dram bill; it has been done over and over again. A man may put his son to any calling, no matter how debasing, and the mother's prayer is useless. Does she go to a court to complain? — what does she meet? A man-judge, a man-jury, a man-sheriff, a man-lawyer, men in every department to meet her woman's nature, and not a woman to speak one word in her behalf. And yet, you ask us to be content! and, women, you fold your

arms and say, "We have rights enough!"—"Our husbands let us do just as we have a mind to!" Yes, your husbands "let" you; the very word explains your position; but you cannot do it under our present laws, unless they "let" you.

But here comes up a lawyer and says to me, "A woman has the right to one-third of all the property of the husband." How? Has she any control over it while he lives? "Oh, if he wants to sell it, she can refuse to sign her name." What then? She has no right to her own earnings to sustain herself, if he chooses to create antagonism in the household, because he cannot have his own way; and she is compelled to sign away her thirds, because she has not the ability to stand before him and say, "I must not and I will not."

Is this third hers when he is dead, by law? No. She is probably left without one article in fee simple, unless it be a little bit of household property. In some States, they are so good to woman as to declare that she may have one table, six chairs, six knives and forks, six plates, six cups and saucers, one sugar bowl, one cream pitcher, and twelve spoons! [Loud laughter.] Down in Illinois, she may have all the carding and spinning wheels, and weaving-loom, a cooking-stove, *and the pipe thereof!* [Renewed laughter.] She may have so many hogs, *and the pork thereof*; so many sheep, *and the wool thereof*; and all the woven cloth which she has manufactured in the house. She may have sixteen dollars' worth of household furniture; and she may have her husband's old clothes in almost all the States! [Laughter.] And even for this, the woman must have men appraisers come into the house, and tell how the thing shall be done. I never heard of a female appraiser, when a disputed estate was to be settled.

So, through the entire range of these laws, I find injustice. A man may make a will, and will all his property away, except his wife's right of dower; which means that she shall have an interest in this right of dower during her natural life, but not one cent to will away or to do good with, except what she can grasp out of it. Suppose it be a lot of wild land on your mountains—what will it be worth? What she pays out for taxes? I have known many a woman compelled to pay taxes on property she had no power to sell, and no power to help herself in the world.

A man may make a will giving away the property of his wife before her marriage. I have heard of such wills. One of the great men of the North,—I think it was a Van Rensselaer,—made a will, willing to his wife a diamond ring, *given to her by her mother*, while she remained a widow; but if she married again, this diamond ring, given to her by her mother, was to go to his daughter Mary? I am dealing in facts, my friends.

Look at your divorce laws. I do not know what they are in Vermont, but I do know what they are in Missouri, in Illinois, and in other States, and we are talking for all the States, and we have come from all the States to attend this Convention. In one of the States, if a divorce be granted for the fault of the woman, she shall leave her husband, without her dower, without any thing; but if it be for the fault of the man, she shall have the widow's dower, and he shall have the other two-thirds. That is, if he commits the crime, he is to have two-thirds of the property; if she commits the crime, she is to have—nothing! That is man's justice to woman. Who is to blame for it? Is it you or I, or generations long gone by?

Now, what is to be done to correct all this? Are we to leave woman under these laws, and allow man still to execute them? I hear the answer from hundreds, perchance—for my ear has grown quick in hearing—

"Why, man will right all these wrongs." And again comes the answer, "No man but a mean man will do any thing like this." I tell you, a man can be no meaner than the law which gives him the sanction to do such things. But we are asked to trust to the men to right all these wrongs. Do you men trust each other? The Republicans, the Know-Nothings, the Whigs, the Democrats, all unite together, and do not trust anybody but themselves. And yet people who thus unite together, with cool impudence ask one-half the human race, and that half, too, the one they are always telling us is so much purer and better, so much holier and more beautiful, in all their relations of life, than the other, to trust them;—calling each other scamps, but showing themselves to be good men, wherever women are concerned! [Laughter and applause.]

"I would not," said a learned judge to me last week, "I would not, for my life, give any sanction to the idea of dragging women into the position of men in the politics of the country. It would utterly destroy all morality and virtue—we men are such brutes." "My dear sir," said I, "I am tired of having 'brutes' make laws for me; and if I am so much purer and better, let me help make my own." [Applause.] I have no time to argue the question whether woman will be elevated or depressed by this, but I have this one word to say—in my own soul, I demand to stand in a position where I can protect myself; where the law, made by another, shall not coerce me into measures I abhor, without at least a struggle on my part to resist it. For my own soul's sake, I demand to be heard, and to use my power and influence in all the great moral questions of the age. It is not enough that we have what the world calls smiles and graces. We see that these have not won the world into the light of truth, though we have been trying eighteen hundred years, and if we go on for eighteen hundred years more, as we have in the past, we shall get humanity very nearly up to the level of the Hottentot. [Laughter and applause.] Why, my friends, even the North American Indian mother who has raised a brave, has a right forever after in the counsels of her nation, and no chieftain, however grand or great, dares dispute her power and influence there; and, I fancy, if there are any "braves" in New England or anywhere else, *we* have had something to do with raising them, and it is time we took our places by their sides, to help harmonize humanity into love for the right. [Applause.]

We have heard a great deal of talk about the love principle in woman. Our friend, Mr. Evans, repeated the oft-quoted text, "God is love"; Mr. Tiffany asserts the love principle in woman; Mrs. Farnham asserts it; and I honor it. But what is love? Let me repeat Mr. Evans' text—"God is love"; and if we have more love than man has, then we are better fitted to make laws, better adapted to harmonize humanity than man, with his cold reason and power. Let us come nearer to the Deity; and if man's physical power is needed, and if his reason is necessary, let us unite reason and love together for once, and see what it will do. As old Martin Luther said to the priest who told him that it would never do to give the people information, "I say, let us try;" so I say, "let us try what love and reason together can do in making more just laws."

I was met with the question, from a friend from the grand old mother country, here—"You claim political equality with man: would you go to war?" I answered, "I do not believe in war." His reply was, "We must take things as they exist." "Then," I answered, and I answer emphatically here, "let me go to war, if war must be. Man boasts that he is intellectually greater than I, and physically stronger than I, and he can make

a better living for the children than I. Let me go and be shot down, if necessary, and let him take care of the children." Did you ever think of that, my friends? The wife lays her husband a sacrifice on the altar of her country, and agrees, with all the weakness of her woman's nature, which you are always telling about, to take the responsibilities and duties of a man, and journey on through God's appointed years alone, that you may send her husband to war, to fight some unrighteous battle, to extend the area of slavery, to make other wives and children widows and orphans, in more senses than one. If we must have war, I will tell you how I would carry it on. I would have the women go out in solid phalanx, with their children in their arms, and put the men in the centre, and say to those who marched against us as enemies, "We do as we would be done by,—the oldest principle of morality in the world. And as we would not be made widows, and have our children fatherless, so we would not make your wives widows and your children fatherless. But here we stand; and if you choose to go over our bodies, do it, but not otherwise shall you reach the better half of our nature, our husbands."

Like Mrs. Rose, I have a husband who is "a law unto himself." I have never suffered, but the sunlight of love has given me light to see the oppressions around me. I would stir up discontent in the heart of every woman, until she arouses herself, and asserts the dignity of her womanhood,—until she stands forth the untrammelled thing which man claims she has the right to be,—until she elevates her own nature, and gives to her own mind and body, and every faculty and power she possesses, its utmost development, for the good of herself first, and for the race afterwards, and refuses to allow herself to be made the dwarfish creature she now is. And while woman is thus cramped and fettered, man must be degraded. Can you have a bold, noble manhood, while you have not a single particle of independent womanhood in the country? No! There is not a woman who does not feel that she can do nothing without freedom of action; and while we have to fight such battles as we do now to gain even an inch of foothold, to gain even the right of speech, which is denied over half the territory of the United States, I feel that none of us can assert that we are free anywhere; we have not even free speech.

"But," cries out some one, "in all the ages past, we have never had any instance of man's placing woman on a political equality with himself." What if you have not? In all the ages of the past, perhaps, you have never seen such a Convention as this; but you have set the precedent, and I hope there will be a great many more. John P. Hale has said "This is no age for following precedents, but for forming them,"—and I respond to that sentiment.

"New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
He must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires, we ourselves must pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key."

I hope every woman here within the sound of my voice has received a seed of discontent that will take root; and if the heel of oppression con- temns and spurns it, it will but be buried the deeper in the soil, and sooner or later the sun of truth will give it life; it will live and grow, the spire will spring up of itself, and press onward and upward, until a great tree shall

stretch out its arms, and the whole nation shall come and shelter itself beneath its shade. [Loud applause.]

Some one has just handed in a resolution, which I will read : —

Resolved, That the progress of humanity demands that every man and woman in this assembly sign a petition, to be presented to every Legislature in the United States, asking that women shall have equal rights with man.

Mr. EVANS. Friends, I stand before you on this occasion for the purpose mainly of stating some facts. I know that you are a people who want facts as well as theories. The speaker who has preceded me has stated to you some very important and practical facts, having a bearing upon the subject under discussion. I belong to an order of people who are similar in sentiment to myself, who have reduced to practice the principle of the equality, if you please, of the sexes—that is, equality in order. They have reduced to practice, for seventy years, the principle that woman has the right to govern her own affairs, in her own order, as much as man has the right to govern the affairs of his order ; and I put it to you for consideration, whether you will ever find the true remedy for the difficulties that have been mentioned here to-day until you begin with the theology. The religious sentiment is the most powerful in man and woman, and until that is put in operation, and the theology arising from it corrected, it is my impression that your labors will be in vain.

While you are taught, and millions believe, that the Deity is composed of three men—three male beings—who have coalesced together to govern all creation, what is the necessary consequence ? Why, that man has the right of governing all creation. Hence, in all our churches, whether they be Catholic or Protestant, you find no government recognized but that of the man. The Catholic Pope is a man ; the female is not represented. Our Protestant Popes, Luther and Calvin, they were men ; the female was not represented. In all our churches, which have their popes, there is no female represented. Is not this a fact ? Hence, in all our secular governments, the same principle is carried out—man rules and governs, as has been set forth here to-day.

Now, my friends, I put it to you for your consideration, whether we must not begin at the foundation, the first principle ? Let us be as sure that we have got a Heavenly Mother to look up to, to sympathize with us, to feel for us, as we have been, that we have got a Heavenly Father, of whom we hear so much. Why is it, that whenever God is mentioned, it is always as a great and powerful man ? Why is this ? Where is the truth of it ? Where is its foundation in nature ? Do we not find, in the people before us, male and female ? Do we not find that in the creation, in all the works of God, as we call them, every thing stands before us in the order of male and female ? “Like causes produce like effects.” Whence comes the feminine element ? Where is its fountain, its source ? Where is the original type of woman ? It is in nature. It is in our Heavenly Mother, that I proclaim here before you to-day, that I just as much believe in, just as much pray to, as the child believes in the existence of its mother. Do your children believe only in a father ? Do they ignore the mother ? Are they ignorant of the feminine element ? Not at all. It is the mother that ushers them into being ; it is the mother that nurses them ; it is the mother that clothes and feeds them, and attends to their daily needs. That is the fact. Now, mothers and sisters, teach your children that so sure as you exist, so

sure have you got a fountain from whence your existence proceeded as women. These little ones are capable of understanding you. I spoke once at a meeting of Progressive Friends in Pennsylvania, where there was an assembly expressly for children, and a beautiful meeting it was. These children were spoken to by friend Samuel J. May, an eloquent speaker and a beautiful man. He talked to them of God, and illustrated to them, from the family order, how they certainly had a God, a Heavenly Father, to whom they must learn to look, in whom they must believe, because they had an earthly father, who loved them, watched over them, and supplied all their needs. He illustrated this in a beautiful and simple manner, and I followed him, and appealed to those children if they had not there present, or at their homes, mothers, who fed, clothed, and cared for them, as surely as they had fathers. The little children responded "Amen" to it. They understood it; they believed it. I then told them that so sure as their earthly father was a type of God, their Heavenly Father, so surely was their earthly mother a type of their Heavenly Mother; and I believe they understood it. Truth is simple; the youthful mind receives it readily. Have more faith in your children. Teach them simple truth; teach them a true theology; cease the propagation of this unnatural theology, with which the world has so long been cursed. Begin to teach the simple truths of nature; illustrate and confirm these truths by the great Bible of Nature, that was written before the book called the Bible was ever thought of. Hence the Apostle Paul says, "The invisible things of God from the foundation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead"—male and female. Now, if the invisible things were clearly seen in the works of God, then there is the place to refer to.

THOMAS CURTIS, of Philadelphia. I was very glad to hear the remarks of Mr. Evans, not because I believe that there is a male God and a female God up-stairs somewhere, but because it illustrates a very important position with regard to woman's rights, namely, the perfect individuality of woman. We have had some speakers here who have taken the ground that women are equal to men, and therefore that they should have their rights. Another ground has been that women are superior to men, and therefore they should have their rights. I think there is ground which stands behind all this. We do not declare, among men, that because one man is equal to another, therefore he has rights, but that he has rights because he is an individual of the human race; and on that ground I think it is sufficient if we admit that woman is a member of the human race, and has all the rights and all the privileges which pertain to human beings in society. Now, I want to say to you married women, when your husbands come to you and say, "My dear, you and I perfectly sympathize with each other; you and I are one; you and I are united together and form one perfect being," they are humbugging you. [Laughter.] You and your husband are two individuals. It is not necessary for your happiness that you should think alike on every thing; it is not necessary that you should act alike, or walk in the same paths of daily life; but it is necessary for your happiness that each man and woman, whether married or unmarried, should exercise their own individuality; that they should think for themselves and act for themselves. Why, if man and woman, together, when married, form a pair of scissors, what becomes of Henry C. Wright's idea that the authority of every human soul is supreme? It is annihilated at once. When you find, young women, (I am referring now to young unmarried women) — when you find a young man who comes

to you and says, "My dear, you and I are perfectly sympathetic; you and I are one individual, and designed to remain so through all this life and through all other possible lives"—take my word for it, he is humbugging you! [Laughter.] You are a fool if you believe him! I know a great many people who preach these doctrines, but whose practices are far different. They find a young woman with whom they assume to have this perfect sympathy and oneness, but as soon as the consequences which they wish to follow from that sympathy have been obtained, they go to some other woman, and talk to her in the same strain; they are continually changing their "sympathy" and "oneness" from one object to another! If the man feels attracted by sympathy to the woman, and the woman to the man, let them unite themselves together, to devote their individual strength to the purposes of use. If they want to build a house, let them unite as both may best agree, and build it; if they want to enter into any other work, whether it be having children or any other purpose connected with the family or marriage relation, they can do so,—unite together as two individuals, and maintain their perfect individuality. Our friends, Mrs. Rose, and Mrs. Gage, have told you that they are married. So am I, although I have not been married twenty years, as they have been. I married myself to my wife, and she married herself to me, upon the express understanding, not that God sanctified it—we did not want God in the matter—not that it was sanctioned by magistrate or priest, because we cast that idea aside as none of their business—but because we saw that we could in marriage fulfil our highest and best use, and carry out our happiness to the fullest extent. When we were married, we expressed that sentiment, and when we agree to separate, we shall accomplish that separation without the help of God, or priest, or magistrate—we don't want the consent of either of the three—we do not want to be united because God unites us, and we will not be separated because God separates us. We will act upon our own judgment and opinions; each respecting the impressions, not which I state, or which she states, but the impressions which are for both, and which are the common property of all, and as such to be used both by men and women. Let every man and woman, in the marriage relation as well as out of it, understand that they are not half a pair of scissors, but whole pairs, cutting out their own work. It does not matter what kind of work it is; they are both a perfect pair of scissors, calculated to do a perfect work, and as such can do their work and do not require to get husbands or wives to help them do that work, but each is required to do his or her own work.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this Convention instruct the Business Committee to prepare, as they have thus far done, a programme of exercises for the Convention, designating the order in which the general topics of discussion shall be taken up; and that the speakers who shall thus be appointed by the Committee to introduce topics, shall be limited, like voluntary speakers, to ten minutes, unless the time is extended by vote of the Convention.

Resolved, That the several schedules of the Business Committee, thus prepared, shall be the guides for the Chair in directing the debates of the Convention.

These resolutions, after some discussion, in which Messrs. Chandler, Wright, Foster, Clayton, and Cutting took part, were adopted, after which the Convention adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at two o'clock.

The President announced that, in accordance with the programme submitted by the Business Committee, the discussions of the afternoon would have reference to the question of slavery, and that in compliance with the resolution adopted at the forenoon session, the speakers would be limited to ten minutes, unless the time was extended by vote of the Convention.

The resolution on slavery in the regular series was then read, and the President introduced PARKER PILLSBURY, of Concord, N. H.

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :—We have more important business than to spend our time in complaining of the arrangements for these meetings; but it appears to me that we have been compelled to listen to pretty long harangues, coming from this world or the other, and not always of any great practical interest to the objects of this Convention; and now, I do not know why it is that I am so unfortunate as to be limited to ten minutes, when I certainly conceive that the subject on which I am to speak is of vastly more importance than any other that can possibly come before the Convention, with the exception of the questions pertaining to woman and the social relations. Certainly, slavery is the sin and crime of our country. Disbelief in immortality is not the sin nor the crime of the country; nor am I aware that there is any alarming degree of unbelief on this subject of immortality; and what I have to say this afternoon must have reference to the affairs of this world, I being rather more conversant with its affairs than with those of any other, and I do not choose to wade beyond my depth, nor to soar so near the sun, that, like the old divinity, my waxen wings shall be melted off. I fancy we have vastly more important business than settling the condition of our friends in the future; and there are in our country four millions of *living* bodies and souls, about whose condition there can be no question, especially in this audience. The interest I feel in this meeting, and the pleasure I have in speaking in it, comes mainly from the fact, that I fancy it to be an assembly of earnest, and, in some degree, liberated spirits, not fearing to enter upon the discussion of any question having relation to human happiness and human progression. I am not particularly interested to know what you think or believe on the subject of slavery, nor on the subject of man's rights and wrongs and responsibilities; that you are earnest, and, in some degree, awakened souls, is enough for my purpose.

Now, then, I want to say something about the subject which has been assigned me. I would rather it should have been assigned to some one else, and that I, if I spoke at all, might be permitted to speak on another subject. There is one subject, on the prosecution of which, when the time comes, I am willing to enter, and lay aside that to which I am now directing the energies of my life, and that subject is Woman, and the Social Relations; and I would enter upon that now, and leave the technical cause of Anti-Slavery in other hands, were there a platform on which I could stand, or did I feel quite competent to the construction of such a platform. But not finding such at present, and not feeling competent myself to construct one to my purpose, I confine myself to the technical question of slavery and its overthrow. But I can conceive that the cause of woman may be presented in

such a light, and under such conditions, as that it, like the rod in the hand of the ancient Hebrew, should swallow up all other questions; but that time has not come yet; so I shall say what I have to say in this Convention mainly on the subject of slavery.

A resolution has been introduced, which, to my mind, is an excellent basis, in the main, on which to found two or three others, and it seems to me that it is not much but a basis, and that a fabric such as I can rear upon it will be of far more importance than the original resolution of the Committee:—

Resolved, That the two great pillars of the slave system of this country are the State and the Church—the former as represented by the two great political parties, the Republican and Democratic; and the latter by the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches, and the American Bible and Tract Societies—not one of which has ever yet repudiated the principle that man may breed, buy, sell and hold his fellow man in absolutely brute slavery.

Resolved, That voluntary support rendered to any of these organizations, whether by voting for their candidates to office in the State, or accepting of their offices, as the Constitution and Government of the United States are now interpreted, or by sacramental communion with slaveholders, their abettors, or any who will commune with slaveholders, or their abettors, is to take the side of the oppressor against the oppressed, and to stain the souls of all who do it with the sin and guilt of slavery.

Resolved, That the American Union was a crime in its formation; and, as might have been expected, has proved a curse ever since—based as it was upon the monstrous doctrine that half the people *might* hold slaves, and that the other half *should* aid them; and not only aid them, directly as well as indirectly, but give them a superiority of power and prerogative in the government, in proportion as they multiply the number of their victims.

Resolved, That the only terms we should present to the slave States are, immediate emancipation of every slave, or immediate dissolution of the Union; and any party or church, based on a lower principle, or enacting any policy that should tolerate slavery, as at present existing, for a single day, is utterly unworthy the support of any lover of Liberty or friend of Man.

I do not know, Mr. Chairman, as I can make a better address to this audience than to read these resolutions to them. They have not been hastily drawn. Every portion of them has been well considered. I think I should have no hesitation in encountering any amount of opposition to them in the field of free and fair discussion. I know there is a difference of opinion in regard to some of the sentiments contained in them. I think, however, that difference arises more from an incorrect knowledge of the slave system of our country and our own relations to that system, than from any other source or cause whatever, and that there is enough of the spirit of liberty burning in the bosoms of the people of Vermont, and in New England, New York, and the Western States, to sweep that system out of existence, if the people were but aware of their own relations to it. But the grand difficulty is, there is yet in the minds of the great mass of the American people, an entire misapprehension as well upon the character of that system as upon the connection subsisting between themselves here at the North and that system. We are told we have an anti-slavery party—the Republican party. I respect every anti-slavery pulsation that beats in the heart of every individual composing that party. Nay, more; I believe that what little of conscience there is remaining in the political parties of our country—and I am aware it must be a very infinitesimal quantity, if not a negative one altogether—has drifted naturally enough out of the old parties into this, which is called by the respectable name of the Republican party. But then, what are the designs and object of that party? The overthrow of slavery? Why, I stand here to affirm, that the Democratic party does

not, and the old Whig party did not, in its palmyest days, take such pains to avow its fidelity to slavery, where it is, as does the Republican party. In the last Presidential campaign, the Republican party doubtless had strong hopes of success. I had no such hope, and the result has shown not only that they did not succeed, but that they did not deserve to succeed. What have we been told by one of the most prominent leaders of the Republican party, in the most conspicuous place where a politician can ever stand — I mean in the Senate chamber of the United States? In a defence of the Republican party which was made by a Senator from New England, he distinctly declared that even John C. Fremont was not the choice of the party. Why? Because he was too much a lover of liberty and too averse to the extension of slavery over other free territory? Not a word of it. But, on the contrary, he told the country, what we did not know before, that they did not select John C. Fremont until they had consulted the slaveholders, and found it vain to hope to find one of them who would accept the nomination. I want to ask this audience if they were aware that the Republicans voted for Fremont only because Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, an avowed slaveholder, refused to accept the nomination? Now, we are told, in the Senate of the United States, by one of the staunchest Republican politicians of the country, that Mr. Clayton was consulted, and declined the nomination. On what ground? "Why," said he, "We dare not trust you of the North." What does a Southern man mean when he talks about trusting the North? I need not stop to explain it. Every body understands, that when Senator Clayton made that avowal, he meant, "We are afraid you are too much tinctured with Abolitionism in the North, and therefore we dare not trust you." And then, what does our New England Senator say? He says, in consideration of that fact, we must bring our principles of policy where the slaveholder will accept them, — an avowed slaveholder, a slaveholder determined to be a slaveholder, — and when we have done that, then, he says, we shall find the slaveholders ready to stand on our platform, and accept a broad national code of principles that shall include both South and North.

Of whom do you suppose I am speaking, Mr. Chairman? Not of Charles Sumner, for what I am quoting was uttered within about seven months from the time when he was stricken down by the bludgeon of a South Carolinian bully, and laid senseless and bleeding on the floor of the Senate Chamber of the United States; but stranger yet, Mr. Chairman, those words were uttered by the colleague of Charles Sumner, Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, standing in the yet almost undried blood of his colleague, and uttered, too, principally to South Carolina, from whence the brutal blow had come, that so nearly sent Charles Sumner to a higher court, and to other scenes than can be found in this lower world.

Now, says the resolution too much, when, in the Senate Chamber of the United States, the representative man of the Republican party makes such bold and daring avowals as these? — and shall we call that any other than a slaveholding party?

Take another man, perhaps still more illustrious; — I mean John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, — a candidate for the Presidency once, who consented for the time being to postpone his own claims and aspirations in favor of John C. Fremont, — and what did he tell us? In so many words, that the only party in the land, in whose hands the slave system of the South would be perfectly safe, was that same Republican party!

I have neither time nor strength for a long discussion of these resolutions,

even if the patience of the audience did not tire; therefore it is that I have come directly to the subject, and taken these two as the most illustrious names furnished by the Republican party, in order to illustrate its position and character. And if there be any Republican present who dissents from the position I have taken, or from the statements I have made, I have simply to say this, that I have Mr. Wilson's speech in my pocket, and can read the declarations; and, what is more, a page or two "of the same sort," like the man's razor strops, only a little more so. [Laughter.] I will not dwell any longer on that point.

There is another pillar contemplated in the resolutions, which I conceive more important by far than the Republican party; for, bad as are the politics of the country, I do not think they are quite so corrupt as the religion of the country. We have just passed through an overwhelming revival of that religion; and in what did it culminate? The best and largest representative of it, is the American Tract Society. I speak of it because it includes among its supporters and its office-holders members of the various evangelical denominations in the country. And now, what have we just seen? That same American Tract Society coming together in the city of New York to hold its recent anniversary. It began by thanking God for the wonderful manifestation of his presence in the recent revival of religion over the country; it sung a doxology in long metre to "God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," for this signal and striking manifestation of Divine power; and then it proceeded, by a majority of ten to one, to declare its determination, not only not to publish a single word of rebuke against slavery, but that it would not say it would not publish tracts in favor and in support of the system! There is the culmination of this revival! The American Tract Society, its best exponent, by a majority of ten to one, reaffirming all its former policy, and declaring, indeed, that it might possibly do worse!—that is, begin to publish tracts in support of slavery! Why should it not? Dr. Adams, of Boston, prominent on the Publishing Committee, has himself published a book in which he declares that when he was travelling in the South, and saw the condition of the slaves, and especially their religious advantages, he could not but exclaim, "Would that all Africa were here!" And then he goes on to say, in illustration, that if whole villages and tribes of native Africans could be brought to this country, and placed under the influences of the gospel, as enjoyed by our slaves, Ethiopia would sooner stretch out her hands to God than the most sanguine believers in prophesy now dare to expect! It was in keeping with that declaration of this illustrious member of the Publishing Committee, that the society should refuse to tie up its hands against publishing tracts in support of slavery. Why, according to Dr. Adams, the Atlantic telegraph is to be of no importance, unless it can be made broad enough to waft all Africa to this country, and place them under the lash and the Bible at the same time. But I will not stop to speak of the American Tract Society any longer.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has passed through a process which it calls division, and they have made their Northern members believe they have now separated themselves from all participation in the crime and guilt of slavery; and all over New England, I have encountered Methodist ministers who face me down in my meetings, with the declaration that there is not a slaveholder nor a slave in the Northern Conferences. [*A voice*—"They do it wilfully."] Now, it seems to me, that, as somebody says, it takes uncommon sinners to commit uncommon sins, so it takes uncommon

liars to tell uncommon lies. I do not know of any other body of men but ministers, who would risk their reputation in a falsehood to compare with that. [Applause.] What have we seen? Last year, the Methodist General Conference held its session at Indianapolis, Indiana. It commenced its sessions on the first day of May, and ended them the first day of June. A large part of the time was spent in the discussion of slavery. The Bishops themselves published, over their own sign-manual, a full denial of that assertion to which I have referred, and thus gave the lie to half the Methodist ministers I have known in all New England within the last few years; for they say, in their public declaration to the General Conference, that they have both slaveholders and slaves in a large number of the Conferences of which the General Conference is composed; and I find, on looking over their Book of Discipline, that there are five Conferences, almost the whole of whose territory is in the slaveholding states, and, moreover, that several whole slaveholding states are within the borders of the Northern Conference; and, more than that, they declare distinctly, that they are in union with slaveholders; and when a proposition was made in that body to amend the Discipline by striking out certain passages, or by such changes as should separate the denomination from all connection with the system in the future, that proposition was by a large majority voted down; and when it was proposed to introduce an amendment to the Discipline, declaring, almost in the words of the Declaration of Independence, the right of all men to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that, too, was voted down.

The other day, the Southern General Conference met down in Alabama, and mark the difference! That body went deliberately to work and struck out of the Book of Discipline every thing relating to slavery, and only eight members of the whole Southern Conference were found who dared avow a wish to retain it. There, I think, is a fair exposition of the position of the Methodist Church as regards the question of slavery.

I do not deny that there are many anti-slavery men, and women, too, — more women than men, — in the Methodist Church; but what is its governing influence? In the first place, it is the clergy; in the second place, it is the pro-slavery portion of the clergy, and not the anti-slavery portion. In one of the pastoral letters of the Baltimore Conference, — a large part of whose territory is in the State of Pennsylvania, — it distinctly declares to the members and officers of that Conference, clerical and others, "We are not, do not design to be, and never have been, abolitionists," but, on the contrary, that they never ordain a candidate for the ministry without asking him, on the one hand, "Are you a slaveholder?" If he says "Yes," they reject him; but, on the other hand, they ask him if he is an Abolitionist, and if he answers "Yes," they also reject him. Now, the question is one of such particular construction, and so peculiar in its nature, that there can be no misapprehending what is meant by that equivocal course. So, I say, bring the Methodist Church up to its declarations, resolutions, reports, and other published matter, and it stands convicted, on the one hand, of close adherence to the slave system, and on the other, of the most daring and defiant lies and hypocrisy.

I will not stop, Mr. Chairman, to speak of the other denominations in particular, — not that the Methodists are worse than they, or they less guilty than the Methodists. I wish to refer to the revival of religion through which we have just passed. Let me treat this audience to a single page of American ecclesiastical history. It is not yet taught in our theological seminaries, but when you appoint me a professor in one, I intend it shall be.

From 1830 to 1840, we had almost one continued series of revivals of religion — did we not? Have you forgotten the events of 1830 and 1831, which were counted years especially of the right hand of the Most High? — when the number of church communicants doubled, and the number of ministers and candidates for the ministry increased in the same proportion — when the wilderness of the West budded and blossomed like the rose, as they told us, and churches sprang up where even log-cabins or wigwams had not stood before; when, as the people of Athens said, at one time, “It is easier to find a God in our city than a man,” you could say of the Western forests, “It is easier to find a house for God than a house for man,” and much better ones when you did find them; and all over the land, the atmosphere was redolent with the praises of the new converts, and your very mountains seemed to be bathed in millennial glory. But do you remember that it was just at that time that in Mexico, a neighboring Republic, with a Roman Catholic Church and a Roman Catholic faith, they were abolishing the slave system, and smiting down its altars, as it was hoped, forever? They had no revival; they had nothing to boast of in that regard; but, prompted by humanity, in obedience to the genius of the nineteenth century, they laid their hands upon the Dagon of Slavery, and slew him before all heaven and the sun. We, meantime, were reviving religion, and revived it until we added half a million new converts to the church, and half a million weeping victims to the already swollen ranks of the slaves, and in all those years of revival, not one solitary slave received his freedom as the result. They became, in millions, so we are told, the freemen of the Most High. But what was the effect on the plantation? Many a bankrupt planter found his property doubled in value, because a converted slave is worth fifty per cent. more than one in the “gall of bitterness.” [Laughter.] All over the South, wherever slaves are sold, the highest recommendation that can be given them is to say that they are *pious* slaves. God in the slave sells fifty per cent. higher than the slave “without God and without hope in the world.” I heard a missionary say one day, that among the Burmese, where he labored, they made gods, and sold them at the stores and shops. I have here in my pocket an advertisement I cut from a Brazilian paper, in which an enterprising merchant (I fancy he may be a Yankee from Vermont) advertises, with special reference to the Christmas holidays, Holy Ghosts of silver, a dollar each; Holy Ghosts plated, for fifty cents each; and a large variety of tin Holy Ghosts for seventy-five cents a hundred. [Great merriment.] Now, Mr. Chairman, that is worthy of a Vermonter, is it not? I do not know who could do it better, but we of the Granite State might do it as well. What a revelation have we there! But I remember well how this missionary to whom I refer — it was the Rev. Mr. Sutton, of the Orissa mission, whose name is familiar to some of you no doubt — made his audience weep when he told them the people in that heathen land could sell their gods in the market — so degraded and so debased were they. But, Mr. Chairman, it takes us, in the midst of a revival, and after a revival, to sell the Almighty God, in the persons of his children, fifty per cent. higher than before the revival! It takes us to do that — not the Catholics in Brazil, not the Burmese nor the Hindoos, but the baptized communicants in the Christian faith.

I was going to give you a page of history, and I will detain you but a moment longer. This is what I was coming at. I said that in that ten years, we had a continued revival, but no emancipation of slaves; on the contrary, if you look at the census, you will see that when it began, we had

two millions of slaves, and when it ended, two millions and a half. But that was not all the story. Do you remember the history of the next year? Do you remember the seizure of Texas? Do you remember the objects for which it was seized? — in order that the reeking altars of Moloch might be rebuilt by Protestant hands, that had been demolished by Roman Catholic faith and love. Do you remember the bloody butchery of seventy-five thousand Mexicans, by these same Protestant hands? You dignify it by the name of war, and call it, the Mexican war; it was a bloody massacre of seventy-five thousand human beings, whose crime was that they had laid their sacrilegious hands on the bloody and blasphemous altar of Slavery. That is history. We entered upon the work with many prayers, and after we had murdered seventy-five thousand Mexicans, the Church got down on her hypocritical knees before High Heaven, and thanked God that “Mexico is now open to the Gospel”! [Applause.]

This is no caricature; it is plain, unvarnished history. And you murdered those seventy-five thousand human beings; you seized their lands, you have builded up those bloody altars, and now you thank God for the great extent of your Empire. That is the history of the revival and its results. But it did not stop there. Onward still the career of blood must sweep, until, in 1850, you enacted the Fugitive Slave Bill, that entirely annihilates the principles of Christianity, and made that a crime which God commands, and that a virtue which God and all nature forbid.

Mr. Chairman, I said when I began, that this was the most important subject that could come before this Convention. What is the sin of this nation? It is not unbelief in the immortality of the soul; it is not skepticism in regard to the abstract doctrine of the love of God for his children here and hereafter. I rejoice in the discussion of that subject. I hope the day is just upon us that shall herald over the two continents the glad tidings that they are now bound together by nerves that shall vibrate through the ocean, and throb over the continents, running our errands with ten times the speed of lightning. I would add to this, if I might, a spiritual telegraph, that should extend through the whole spiritual universe. But, I say this, neither one nor the other is of any moment to the poor slave mother, who to-day sees her babes sold at auction with the beasts of the stall; and I have said, and I affirm it here, that those who are the most engaged in gazing away into the clouds for other worlds and future existences are not apt to be much troubled with the sorrows of this. Therefore it is that I am out of all patience sometimes, when I see, as here last evening, hour after hour used up and passed into the great eternities, bearing no better record than the utterances of lisping girls, whose good intentions no man questions, but whose capacity for public teaching, in a crisis like this, is certainly also not very questionable. I do not speak thus because I would cast reproach upon the subject of Spiritualism. I am glad to meet its disciples here. Among my personal friends are numbered some of its most distinguished advocates. I trust they, and I, and you, sir, will go onward and upward together, not only through the realms of space, but the epochs of duration, until we shall have vastly transcended the present position of the highest archangels, who tune their harps before the Eternal Throne. But I will not become so enraptured with anticipations of that kind, as to allow my ears to be stopped or my heart hardened against the cries and wailings of four millions of slaves. Let us go after them, Mr. Chairman, and give them, too, these bright and glorious hopes, and lift them up to what joy and light this world and this existence affords; and after we

have done that, we will tell them, and the rest of the world, that in this age of discovery, we have penetrated other spheres, and taken the census of other planets and other systems. But until that time, let us not be so concerned with the things of the other world as to leave these poor bondmen in all their woes. Then, as our friend Mrs. Rose told us yesterday, here is not only the slave to be emancipated, but here is woman to be disenthralled, here is labor to be elevated, ignorance to be instructed, and humanity to be restored to the felicities of this world, as the best preparation for the higher and holier joys of that which is to come. [Loud applause.]

The Harmonial Club sang "The Good Time Coming," after which the Convention was addressed by WM. GOODELL, of New York city.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM GOODELL.

Mr. President:—The subject of slavery has been before this nation for more than a quarter of a century, and it is now high time that something effectual was done, or, at least, begun to be done, to bring this great question to its final decision. I have drawn up a few resolutions, which have been before your Committee, expressing the views which I wish to introduce to your attention. It will be perceived that they cover the ground, in part, occupied by the resolutions previously read, and yet they come to a point somewhat different in the result:—

Resolved, That the holding of human beings in chattel slavery is a sin against God, an outrage upon man, and a crime against society. It should therefore be rebuked by religious teachers, condemned by ecclesiastical bodies, opposed by Missionary, Tract, and Bible Societies, excluded from religious fellowship, and church membership. It should be prohibited and suppressed by civil governments, under the severest penal sanctions. To these ends it should be perseveringly preached against, lectured against, legislated against, until driven into non-existence by the execration of mankind.

Resolved, That since the crime is a national crime, tolerated by the nation, protected by the nation, fostered by the nation: since it poisons the nation, debases the nation, and is in process of enslaving the nation—therefore the nation (involved in its guilt, burdened with its curse, and endangered by its existence) is bound by the strongest considerations of humanity, justice, religion, liberty, patriotism, moral principle, and political necessity, to suppress all the slavery in the nation, and that this duty and necessity are "before and higher than all constitutional sanctions."

Resolved, That the nation, by its Declaration of Independence, and by the declared objects of its Constitution, as set forth in its preamble, has solemnly pledged itself ("appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of its intentions") to establish a government "for the security" of the "equal and inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—a government to "establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty"; that the obligations thus voluntarily recognized have never been and never can be annulled; nor can they be honored by any measure short of a national abolition of American slavery.

Resolved, That the Constitution forbids slavery in the States, by forbidding bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and laws impairing the obligations of contracts; that it provides for and requires national abolition, by securing the habeas corpus, the right to "life, liberty and property," except as "deprived" of them "by due process of law;" the rights of religious liberty, and freedom of speech and of the press," exemption from "unreasonable searches and seizures" (all which define a Republican government), and, finally, by requiring that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government."

These are the remedies that have been proposed for slavery. Our fathers strangely imagined that if they could but prohibit the African slave trade, the speedy abolition of slavery would follow as a matter of course. Their mistake is now apparent to us all. So far from abolishing slavery by the prohibition of the African slave trade, the result to-day is, that slavery

has increased; and not only has slavery increased, but the slave trade itself has been but nominally, not really, abolished. This trade, so far from being abolished by the prohibitions of this country and of Great Britain, is carried on to a greater extent now than it was when Clarkson, and Wilberforce, and Granville Sharpe commenced their agitation on the subject. The slave trade to-day is carried on to a greater extent than it was in 1808, when, by the joint action of Great Britain and the United States of America, it was prohibited by law. In 1845, a very elaborate examination of this whole subject was entered into by the British Houses of Parliament, and the facts I have stated were then ascertained and authenticated. You understand perfectly well that all the tendencies of our government, at the present time, are to a reopening of the African slave trade, by the repeal of the prohibition of 1808, and you understand, too, that there are indications that the British Government itself is beginning to waver, in its work of attempting to abolish the slave trade while slavery remains. Up to 1845, it was proclaimed that not only had nothing been done to suppress the traffic, but that it had steadily increased up to that time. Vain, then, are our expectations of getting rid of slavery by abolishing the slave trade.

But there was another project proposed, which, as some of us remember, five-and-twenty years ago, was confidently looked upon as the great means of getting rid of slavery, and that was, forsooth, by the process of African colonization. I need not enter into the history of that delusion. You all understand that that process is as nothing, but a drop in the bucket, compared to the annual increase.

In our own times, and within the last ten years, there has been another experiment, and what is that? The experiment of limiting slavery, — of making slavery local, and liberty national; the experiment of conceding the constitutional right of slavery in the original slave States, but denying its right to extend itself into new States or territories. This experiment has been going on since the year 1848, when the Liberty party — with the exception of a very few, who have adhered to the original organization, upon the principle of abolishing slavery — was merged in the Free-Soil movement. The great mass of the friends of liberty, in 1848, gave up direct action for the abolition of slavery, so far as political action was concerned, for what was supposed to be, by the wise and great men of the nation, a wiser and more prudent policy. It was said we must first limit slavery, and then, perhaps, some of them said — some of them avowed no such intention — it will be time enough to take up the work of abolishing slavery; and this work has been in progress ever since.

But in regard to this experiment, I should go further back still. This effort was commenced before the foundation of our present government, or about the same time. In 1787, the famous ordinance was passed, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory, which includes the present Northwestern States. It is to this that we owe the existence of freedom in Ohio and the States west and northwest of it, and that has been the sum total of its achievements. From that time to the present, the policy of limitation has been more or less prominent. A number of statesmen in the old Democratic, National Republican, and Whig parties were in favor of such a movement, and so expressed themselves, in various ways, and at the time of the Wilmot proviso, you know there was the beginning of what might be called a Northern movement for the non-extension of slavery. You understand the fate of every one of these enterprises; every one has proved a failure. There was a time when every party in the North was in favor of that plan.

There was a time when the House of Representatives adopted the Wilmot Proviso, but it failed in the Senate; and finally, by the joint action of both Houses, the whole thing was thrown overboard. Then came the Free-Soil party; then came the Free Democracy; then came the Republican party. The motto was, "No more Slave States." They adopted the principle, and laid it down as the platform of their Republican party, that slavery should not be admitted into a new State — that no new slave State should be admitted into the Union. That was the flag of the old Free-Soil party. That went on for four years as the platform, and four years more, under the new name of "National Democracy," something like the same thing was advocated. But when the Republican party was organized, in 1856, it was found expedient, very quietly and stealthily, to drop that portion of the platform, and the doctrine of "No more Slave States" was given up at the Pittsburg and Philadelphia Conventions, and the rally was made simply upon the territories, and more especially upon the territory of Kansas. "Free Kansas" was then the motto, in opposition to the Nebraska Bill, by which the Missouri Restriction had been repealed. The confident anticipation then was that a rally would be made which would carry a majority of the people of the States in favor of that measure; but the result is before you.

I need not further pursue this matter. The point to which I ask your attention is this: that all efforts to prevent the extension of slavery, while permitting it to exist in any part of the country, have proved failures. I know it may be said that the fate of Kansas is yet undecided; but it is decided, so far as national action is concerned, — so far as restriction is concerned; for the House of Representatives adopted English's Bill, which was a formal annunciation of the doctrine of no federal restriction upon the subject, and simply referred the question back again for the action of the territory. So we may say that experiment has been tried, and found a failure. There is no more reason for us to expect a restriction of slavery, while the institution continues, than the abolition of the African slave trade while slavery continues. There is no more reason to expect that the enterprise of limiting or restricting slavery by federal action — by the action of any political party, which shall make that its object — will be successful, than there is of removing it by the action of the Colonization Society. The one experiment is as demonstrably and totally a failure as the other.

Where are we, then? We are brought to this specific point, exactly: If slavery continues, its extension must continue; if slavery continues, the African slave trade is to be revived; and in view of the decision in the case of Dred Scott — in view of the action of the State of Virginia, which is now in litigation with the State of New York on this very subject — in view of the declaration of President Buchanan himself, in regard to the operation of the Constitution in carrying slavery into the territories — in view of the principle laid down by Judge Taney in the Dred Scott decision, and in the declarations of Southern journals, I find it the openly avowed principle of the present Administration, to carry slavery, by the force of the Federal arm, by the Constitution of the United States, as they construe it, into every State of this Union. I suppose, up here in Vermont, you feel very little alarm upon this subject; but I beseech you to reflect again. It is easy to say that slavery can never come into this State, but it is easier to say it, than to prevent that result. Allow the principle that slavery can exist, and what do you have? The argument is simply this, and it cannot be answered, let me say: if slavery exists in the States by the Constitution of the United States, — and that is admitted by almost everybody, admitted over and over

again by the Republican party,—then it exists, by the Constitution of the United States, in Kansas. If it exists by the Constitution of the United States in Kentucky, then it exists by the Constitution of the United States in Indiana, and so on through every State of this Union. And that is the doctrine of our Supreme Court, and of President Buchanan.

Now, what I have to say is, that there is one way, and but one way, by which this result can be averted, and the tide of slavery rolled back. What is that? Simply to deny that the Constitution under which we live tolerates slavery. Once admit that it tolerates, and you admit that it protects slavery. Admit that it protects and tolerates it in one State, and of course it protects and tolerates it in every other State. If there must be no national abolition of slavery because it would be an infringement upon State sovereignty and State rights, then the same doctrine applies to the slave trade. If the State of Georgia has the right to hold slaves; if slaves are property there; if the Constitution of the United States recognizes that property there, then of course it recognizes the right of the people of Georgia to introduce slaves from other States; and upon the same principle by which President Buchanan and Judge Taney, and the men of the entire South, assert that the Federal Constitution carries slavery into Kansas, it carries slavery into every State of the Union. And when the laws that prohibit the introduction of slaves from Africa are repealed—as is likely to be the case in a short time,—and you have cargoes brought into New York and Boston, and sold there, and you have to protect such sales and protect the holding of those slaves by the arm of the Federal Government, sustaining the decision of the Supreme Court, you will understand this matter better than you now do. There is no help for that. All that is before us; it is coming upon us; indeed, it is already upon us, could we but open our eyes to see it.

There is but one remedy. And what is that? It is such an interpretation and application of the Constitution of the United States as shall deny the legality and constitutionality of slavery in every State of this Union; such an application of it as shall demand of the Federal Government that it abolish slavery in every State of this Union. There is no other possible remedy for it, as a nation. There may, perhaps, be a remedy for it in this State and that State, but there can be no remedy as a nation. If this nation is to remain a nation, there is but one remedy, and can be but one; and that is, such national action as shall abolish slavery.

I am aware that to many this may seem a new doctrine, and yet it is not. This doctrine has been proclaimed from the beginning, but the great tide of public sentiment has rolled in a different direction. The Constitution of the United States has been claimed as the shield and protector of slavery; but it is not so. "It is not in the bond." There is nothing of the kind there. What is the Constitution of the United States? Its powers, objects, and aims are all concentrated in its first paragraph, ordinarily denominated "The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States," but which in reality is not only a portion of the Constitution, but is its all-commanding portion; for it is an established principle of common law, it is a well-established principle in the explanation of the meaning of any statute, that its preamble, its title, if you please, whatever the declaration itself be, shall control the interpretation of the instrument; and so it is in all other contracts known among men,—wherever you can find clearly expressed the design, the object of the instrument, there you have the clue by which to unravel all the intricacies and disputed points which may arise in regard to the expla-

nation and application of that instrument. This is a principle laid down by the great writers on the common law.

Take our Constitution of the United States, and what do you find there? You find, "We, the people of the United States"—mark the language!—"We, the people of the United States"—not, "We, the people of the States." And mark the language still further: "We, the people," not, "We, the *white* people." There is nothing of that there—neither the words nor the idea. It is the Constitution, declared to be, of the people of the United States; and, as a matter of historical fact, Judge Taney to the contrary notwithstanding, colored people *did* participate in the legislation of the States at that time—in all of them but two, Southern as well as Northern. Colored people did participate in the adoption of the Constitution itself, in a number of the States. As a matter of historical fact, and as the document itself reads, when the Constitution says, "We, the people of the United States," it means *all* the inhabitants of the United States; of course it does; and that, of course, liberates every slave in the beginning.

Now, what is the object? Among other things, "to establish justice." Is slavery "justice?" is it consistent with "justice?" Can "justice" be "established" without the abolition of slavery? Of course it cannot. But this is not all. "To establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do make and ordain this Constitution for the United States of America." Mark again the language: "Do make and ordain this Constitution for the *United States of America*." This is not restricting it to the territories. Now, there are men, intelligent men, legislators in this nation, leading men in the Republican party, who will tell you that the Constitution of the United States provides for the territories, but not for the States.

[At this point Mr. Goodell was interrupted by calls of "time," and a motion was made that the ten minutes' rule be suspended, but it was lost. Mr. G. said he could not believe that it was the design of the audience to choke off the discussion of the only practicable way of removing slavery, and expressed the hope that he might be allowed to complete his argument. Some discussion followed, and the question was again put, with the same result—the Convention refused to suspend the rule.]

JOHN BEESON. I stand before you as the representative of the Aborigines of this country. It is the first time they have ever had a representative in any Convention of Reformers since Reform began. In their behalf, I want to read a preamble and resolutions, to be discussed whenever the Convention shall see fit to call them up:—

Whereas, Oppression and aggressive war are as incompatible with a true civilization as they are with a true Christianity; and, whereas, these agencies are used to carry out what is supposed to be the destiny of the Red Man's race; therefore,

Resolved, That it is incumbent upon the advocates of reform and human brotherhood to maintain the inalienable rights of the Indian as well as those of any other people.

Resolved, That a united national effort to save the remnant of the tribes within our territories, as purposed by the Indian Aid Association, is called for by the aggressions to which the Indians are subject, as well as by the humanitarian spirit of the age we live in.

Mrs. ROSE. Friends,—This morning, I said that in so far as I am a Woman's Rights woman, I felt it my duty to throw in my mite in behalf of that right which we claim as women. Now, I would say, as a Human Rights woman, it gives me great pleasure to be able to say a few words in

favor of that universal principle of human rights, which shall exclude no one — neither sex, nor country, nor color.

I need not speak to you here about the wrongs of slavery. I hope and trust there is not a being before me who has a shadow of doubt in his or her mind as to the wrong in principle, and the pernicious effect in practice, of slavery. Human slavery! Who can fathom it? Who knows what human slavery is, in all its length and breadth? If we had here the African, just imported from his native land, with the chains yet corroding on his neck and limbs, he, indeed, could tell us what slavery means. Tell us — how? Would he need argument? — would he need logic? No, friends; all the logic that could be conjured up would fall like so many drops of water in the presence of those clanking chains. They would tell what slavery is. But I need not speak on that subject; for I have presumed, and do presume, that every heart bleeds when the thought is suggested, that a human being, created with the same powers, endowed with the same faculties, for the same aims and ends of life, is subject to the power, aye, the *irresponsible* power, of any other human being; but I will say a few words with regard to the remedy.

I was exceedingly glad to hear the resolutions of Mr. Goodell, not only because they appeared to me strong, and the principles good, but because he accompanied them with the remark, that it is high time something effectual should be done for the poor slaves. But I must mention a different impression which a sentence of his yesterday produced on my mind; and as I did not, and do not, wish to do him injustice, I am glad that I did not take it up until I had heard him to-day. In reply to Mr. Brittan's remarks yesterday, I said that in my estimation, to use our limited lives and power and means to break the chains of the slave, to elevate woman, to do away with ignorance, and with poverty, were infinitely more necessary than to speculate about the future. Mr. Goodell said that it was not so; that it was more necessary to begin with the inquiry whether man is immortal or not; for, said he, if we find that he is not immortal, that he dies like the brute, then he may live like the brute, and we have nothing to do with it. My very soul revolted against that outrage upon humanity. Whether we live hereafter or not, we live here, and so does the slave. I am most happy to know that our friend does not carry out the obnoxious doctrine he mentioned yesterday. Now I will go back to the slave, for I have digressed.

What shall we do to get rid of slavery? Our friend has alluded to the various methods that have been tried, and he has truthfully proclaimed their failure; and the great question is to-day, as it ever has been, what is to be done? Before suggesting the remedy, our friend told us that the Constitution was not a pro-slavery Constitution, and, not being a pro-slavery Constitution, slavery is wrong. Why, we know that. Whether the Constitution is pro-slavery or not, slavery still is wrong. It reminded me of the case of a man who was once, by some mistake, cast into prison. He sent for his lawyer, and when he came, he asked him what he had been put in there for. He said that he did not know; that he had violated no law, so far as he knew, and had committed no crime. "If that is the case," said the lawyer, "they had no cause against you, and they cannot put you in prison." "But, my dear sir," said the man, "I am in prison." The slave is in the same condition. The Constitution of the United States is for him, the people are for him; there is no reason why he should be in chains; but he is in chains; do you not hear them clank? Aye, they clank in every

heart as well as in every ear. What is to be done? To proclaim that slavery is not in the Constitution? You might proclaim it from now to eternity, and the Constitution would never redeem the slave. It depends upon interpreters, like the Bible; and were it not that the Constitution, like the Bible, is so dark and equivocal, that it requires all the different interpreters to decide upon its meaning, then the evils of which we now complain would not exist. What is to be done, then? Let the North rise like one man, and let them say, "Constitution or no Constitution, Bible or no Bible, slavery is wrong." The slave is a human being; and, as a human being, he has human rights. Human rights are older than all written books — Korans, Shasters, Bibles, Constitutions. As men have written them, men can unwrite them and rewrite them again; and it is much easier to make a new garment than to patch up an old one: and if the people in the so-called free States really understood and loved freedom, they would say so.

But I am told the dissolution of the Union would follow. "Dissolution of the Union"! Where is the Union? Echo answers, "Where?" Freedom and slavery can have no union together. Do you doubt it? Go, any one of you, across Mason and Dixon's line, and say that your soul is your own, and you will find it out. I will mention a fact. Four years ago, I was in Washington, where I spoke on the Nebraska Bill — against it, of course. From there I went to Alexandria, Virginia. There I spoke on the Woman's Rights question, — the first evening on the educational part of the question, and the second, on her civil and political rights. While speaking on the subject, I replied to the argument which is often brought up in opposition to our claims, namely, that the ladies say they have rights enough. In my reply, I said that history has demonstrated the fact, that he who is the most willing and submissive slave, give him the power, and he will be the most implacable tyrant. I mentioned the word "slave," not in connection with slavery, but simply in connection with the subject of woman's rights; but it was enough. It aroused the whole audience. The papers came out the next day, and said, "Mrs. Rose spoke very well, until she undertook to meddle with our institutions, and if she comes here again, the people will have to protect themselves." Courageous South! Chivalric South! A little woman utters the word "slave," and their institutions are in danger! [Applause.]

Mr. GOODELL. Mrs. Rose misunderstands what I said yesterday. I did not mean to say — *of course I did not* — that it was no matter what became of the slave in this present life, provided there was no future. My idea was this, and all history, as well as all philosophy, will corroborate the idea: the moment you have taken away the dignity of man, the moment you have taken away his immortal nature, and moral character, that moment, in the popular estimation, he is reduced to a brute, and he cannot have his liberties maintained.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, Mass., then addressed the Convention, speaking to the resolution on slavery in the regular series:—

Resolved, That Slavery is a wrong, which no power in the universe can make right; therefore, any law, constitution, court, or government, any church, priesthood, creed, or Bible, any Christ, or any God, that, by silence or otherwise, authorizes man to enslave man, merits the scorn and contempt of mankind.

SPEECH OF S. S. FOSTER.

Mr. Chairman:—I hope we shall feel kindly towards each other, for we cannot reform the world by introducing the spirit of love and kindness, until that spirit finds a lodgment in our own hearts; and however we may differ one from another, owing to our blindness, I hope we shall give the world this evidence, namely, “that we love one another.”

Sir, this Convention was called as a Reform Convention, and claims to be a Reform Convention; and we, as members of this body, claim to be reformers. What, then, is the first work of reformers? Is it not to reform themselves? How can we impart to others that which we do not ourselves possess? What we have, we can give; but how can we give what we have not? Until we have first reformed ourselves, we can not reform our neighbors. Then, again, if we are intelligent reformers, we must begin with ourselves and with the community in reforming the worst evil first. Why strain at a gnat, while we are all the time gulping down camels? [Laughter.] I hold that, as intelligent men and women, we must begin, with the community and with ourselves, where the greatest crimes begin, and having reformed them out of the way, we can reach the lesser ones; but we can never remove the lesser ones, until we have removed the greater.

Sir, what is the great sin of this nation to-day? It is standing with an iron heel upon the palpitating hearts of four millions of native-born Americans. Do you realize that we have in our midst, four millions of brethren and sisters who are forbidden by the laws of the Republic to learn the alphabet?

Mr. BEESON. Four millions and a half, Indians as well as slaves.

Mr. FOSTER. That only makes it worse. I repeat it; in this nineteenth century, a nation, that every seventh day goes on its knees before God, thanking him that we live in a land of Gospel light and civil and religious liberty, denies, on pains of stripes and imprisonment, its own Sacred Scriptures to one-seventh part of its population,—and we are to talk about a belief in immortality, are we? We are to discuss the question whether spirits in the other world can communicate with us, are we? Sir, while we stand here, there are four million native Americans, every one of whom has been plundered of every farthing he ever earned, and his race robbed of all it ever produced. The slave population has earned thousands of millions of dollars, and yet, altogether, they are not the possessors of a solitary farthing. It has all been clutched by the government of which we constitute some of the main pillars. The government of our country, instead of protecting these men against robbery, has invariably protected the robber against his plundered victim,—has it not? These are the circumstances under which we are assembled to-day,—and that is not the worst feature by any means. We have heard a great deal upon this platform on the subject of woman's wrongs, and my heart has bled as I have listened to the recital. But the darkest shade of this dark picture is yet to be presented to this Convention. Do you know that there are two millions of women in this land, for whom to lift a hand against their ravisher is a capital offence? Such is the law of this nation. It not only withdraws all protection from them, but it makes it a crime for a woman to lift her hand against the ravisher, and threatens instant death to her father, brother, son, or husband (in the eye of God,) if they shall dare to protect her against the foulest ruffian the sun ever shone upon! That is American law, in the middle of the nineteenth century! That is Republicanism! This is a “model Republic;” this

is a "Christian" nation; this is a nation studded all over with churches, built professedly to the living God; and this exists in the full sunshine of the belief in that Bible that our friend Mayo, even, told us last night, had done so much for civilization. The nation that above all others boasts of its belief in the infallibility of the Bible, makes it a State Prison offence for us to teach its sacred contents to our brethren! Under these circumstances, it seems to me that our spiritualist friends ought not to be impatient if we devote one full session to the consideration of this greatest of all crimes.

My heart has been pained and sunk within me as I have listened to the discussions which have been going on before this audience. While the speakers were talking of the affairs of the other world, all ears were open; but the moment an appeal was made in behalf of four millions, every one of whom has been plundered of every right that God gave him, that moment, all attention was diverted from the platform, and there was conversation and laughter all over this vast audience.

Mr. Chairman, there is one feature of this black system to which I must call the attention of this audience. The office of mother has been alluded to on this platform, and it has been extolled to the very highest degree. We have been told that there is nothing on this earth that has such a perfect resemblance to creative Deity as the mother. But do you realize that since you sat upon this platform yesterday, at this hour, over four hundred American mothers have been robbed of their new-born babes, every one of whom has been thrown into the market as a chattel personal, torn from its mothers' arms and sold to the slave-trader, just as I take the calf from the cow and sell it to the butcher. And yet, we pretend to venerate woman as mother! We are talking about her noble position in the community as mother, and the next day selling her on the auction-block, with cattle, swine and mules! — herself and her new-born baby to different owners, to be sent to different States of this Union, never to meet again until they meet in the world of spirits! And that is American law! There is not a political party in the country, with the exception of a little handful of men scarcely known beyond the State where they originated, that does not swear by the living God, they will execute that law, at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. JOHN LONDON. We are all anti-slavery here. We are ready to act.

Mr. FOSTER. I am told that you are all anti-slavery here, and ready to act. In God's name, why don't you act? I ask the gentleman to answer that question — "Why don't you act?"

Mr. LONDON. We don't send any doughfaces to Congress. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. No; but you send men whose hearts are as hard as flints against the appeal of the slave mother. [Applause.] You have yet to send the first man who will make an effort to abolish the slave system.

Mr. LONDON. We will give the pound of flesh, but no blood.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; and what is that flesh? It is the four millions who are held under State laws; and there is a Vermonter who tells us he will give up the four millions to slavery, but no more. [Laughter and cheers.]

Mr. LONDON. No, sir; we will give them the pound of flesh, but not a drop of blood.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but that pound of flesh is the slave. Understand that, my compromising friend. [Laughter.]

Mr. LONDON. I would not perpetrate a pious fraud in order that good might come.

Mr. FOSTER. No, but you would perpetrate an *impious* one, — swear

to support a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," because your father made it. There is no piety about this fraud, my friend. It is all from the bottomless pit, from beginning to end. There is no hidden cloven foot about it. The iniquity was never concealed. From the outset, every vote has been for the Southern kidnapper, and you have not had a party in existence in this State, or in any other, — with the exception to which I have referred, — that did not propose, not only not to protect the slave in Carolina, but not to protect him even on your own soil.

A VOICE. The Republican party are doing, while you are talking.

MR. FOSTER. Doing what? Hunting slaves? [Laughter.] Tell me what else you are doing. Down on all fours, hunting slaves! [Laughter and applause.] Yes, in the language of the editor of one of the most influential papers of Massachusetts, who, speaking of the slaveholder, says, "We are his hounds. Up to Mason and Dixon's line, the slave-owner hunts his victim with dog and gun; but on this side, he sends his biped hounds in pursuit of his victim, — that is, the members of the Methodist Church."

Now, I appeal to the gentleman who said you were ready to act, whether you can show the record of any action in your past lives that is not in favor of slavery.

MR. LANDON. I think there can be no question, if we were called upon to act, but that you would see a recognition of the "higher law" here.

MR. FOSTER. I call upon you, in the name of four millions of slaves, to go to work; first, to abandon all support of the government; and, secondly, to create a government, which, when it comes into power, shall free every slave in this land.

A VOICE. It can be done to-day.

MR. FOSTER. Can you *begin* it to-day? Where is the evidence of it? Show me the party that proposes it, for I want to go and worship at the spot where it was formed! It shall be my Lexington and Bunker Hill. But if you do intend to do it now, you will act in opposition to your sworn pledges. You have taken an oath to serve the devil! Do you intend to break it and follow Christ? I tell you, my friends, Christ spurns all such followers, and so do I. If you are going to swear to support the devil, then follow him, and I will have some respect for you, as a good, faithful devil. [Loud laughter and applause.] But if you swear to support the devil, and then attempt to serve Christ, like him, I will spew you out of my mouth, because you are neither cold nor hot.

I stand here in the name of four millions of slaves, to demand of every man and woman that they shall put their heel on the government of this country. Do I ask too much? [Voices — "No, no."] Tell me if I ask too much, when I ask you to put your heel on a government that robs four millions of human beings of every day's work they perform, that robs them of the spelling-book and of the Bible, of the marriage and family relations, and the right to their own bodies?

Some will say, "This will result in blood." Very likely it will. What of it? I ask you, is not every one ready to spill oceans of blood, if necessary, to secure his own freedom?

MR. LANDON. Did I understand Mr. Foster to complain that the slaves do not have the Bible? Does not the Bible enjoin submission to their masters?

MR. FOSTER. Yes, submission to their masters, and *resistance* to their masters. Christ says, "Call no man your master upon earth." He forbids a

man to be a slave. I hold it as much a crime to be a slave as to be a master. I hold that these women have no business to be slaves. Shame on you, sisters! Why do you not go up to the ballot box at the next election, in solid phalanx, and demand your right to vote? [Applause.] You will have it! Tell those miserable men to stand back; that you are going to take possession of your rights, long plundered from you; and I warrant you every one of them will skulk out of the way. I marvel you have not done it already. If I were not a non-resistant, and my wife felt with me, I would walk arm in arm with her to the polls, if I had to wade knee deep in blood. You pretend to be Spiritualists, and believe in a future life; and yet, you are so attached to this, that you dare not repudiate this pro-slavery, man-thieving government, because it may cost a drop of blood, a scratch on the face! You believe in Spiritualism? Why, I have more Spiritualism in my little finger than you have in your whole bodies. With all my non-resistance, I do not shrink from the thought of blood as you do. What is life compared with character? What matters it to me how I die, so that I die battling for the right? I have got to die some time. Death can never be more welcome than to-day, if my work is done. Is there not a brighter and better world beyond? Why are we so attached to the low, vulgar things of time and sense? Why are we willing to grope along here, hugging to our bosoms our own property and our own dear rights, while we look coldly on and see every seventh man, woman and child in the nation deprived of every right? What is the use of my life, I ask, if I have got to stand by and see the dwellings of my neighbors consumed by fire, and fold up my arms in stoical indifference? I do not know what material my fellow-countrymen are made of. No man ever had to argue the question of slavery to me a moment. It is enough to point me to my neighbor's dwelling on fire; it is enough to point me to the slave. There is no need of an argument to show me the duty of going to his relief. I cannot help going. The cry of fire starts me at once from this platform, and the only questions are, Where is the fire? and, Where are the engines? So tell me, There is a slave, and you have done all that is necessary. The response comes back, Where and how can I reach him? I want to fix every eye on the southern slave. And let me say here and now, that I never intend to lay aside the question of slavery, come what may. I never intend to turn my eye from the slave until the last shackle falls. I may die in this conflict; but one thing is certain, I shall see the slave free before I die, or I shall die confronting, with all the power I can command, the community that supports the government that enslaves him and binds him in his chains.

I have done now what I came here to do. In my humble way, I have lifted up my voice in behalf of four millions in bonds. I leave the responsibility with you; and God is my witness, if you go down to the grave with this crime upon your souls, my soul is clean of your blood.

THOMAS CURTIS, of Philadelphia, called attention to the concluding portion of the resolution, which declares that any God, who, by silence or otherwise, authorizes the enslavement of man, merits the scorn and contempt of mankind. Mr. Foster had asked how the people of Vermont could be quiet when they knew the slaves were thus wronged? He (Mr. C.) would carry the argument still further, and ask this God, who was so much talked about, why, if he had all the power that was claimed, he did not go down South and put away slavery? Was it any wonder that the men and women who worship this God did not abolish slavery, when he, who is

said to be all-wise to know how, and all-powerful to do, did not do it? According to Mr. Foster, the people of Vermont ought to go to work to abolish slavery. If the Bible was worth any thing, God was more powerful than the people of Vermont; and if he was more powerful, then he ought to do just as much, in proportion to his power, as the people of Vermont were expected to do in proportion to their power.

H. C. WRIGHT. Mr. President,—Twenty-five years ago, it was the general sentiment of this nation, that if a text could be found in the Bible to sanction slavery, it is right to hold slaves; that if God, through Moses, Isaiah, Paul, or Christ, pronounced slavery right, it is right; that God could, by an arbitrary record, convert a truth into a lie and a lie into a truth, justice into injustice and injustice into justice, right into wrong and wrong into right. So by a mere word, God could make war and death penalty right and expedient. So in regard to slavery.

The resolution asserts that no power in the universe can make slavery right. No matter what the Court, the Constitution, the Bible, or the Church says—no matter what *Christ* says. The right or wrong of slavery depends not on the word of the Bible, or of Christ. No power, though called God, can make it right for man to enslave man. The Bible, Christ and God are, practically, to each man and nation, just what they conceive them to be. As conceived of by the American church and clergy, and the American Union, God sanctions slavery—and it is maintained that the government, in sustaining and propagating slavery, is only carrying out the will of what this nation and church worship as God.

The resolution asserts that the Bible, the Christ and God of the American church and nation are to be treated with "scorn and contempt," because they sustain this colossal crime. I was once asked, "Would you enslave a man if God told you to?" "No," I said. "What would you do?" asked the man—a priest. "I would say to *such* a God, Get behind, Satan—thou art an offence unto me," was my answer. God, as he sits enthroned in the hearts and heads of American Christians, priests and politicians, is the great citadel of American slavery. No man, familiar with the history of the past twenty-five years, in regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, can doubt this. If the people were once entirely convinced that *their* God was opposed to slavery, they would cease to sustain this wrong. The church and clergy have not dared to denounce slavery as a sin, *per se*, for fear, as they say, of fighting against God.

I deny the right of God to enslave man. God has no more right to do wrong than man has. God is under fixed laws of truth, justice, mercy, and liberty, as well as man. A lawless God! A world ruled by a lawless God! The God of Nature has not only no disposition, but has no right to enslave man. You may be sure that your conception of God is utterly false, and that you are a worshipper of a devil, if God, as you apprehend him, sanctions slavery or war. Better no God, than a God of war, and battles, or of slave-holding and slave-hunting. There is more reason, more humanity, and more dignity in worshipping God as represented in a crocodile, a shark, or an annaconda, than in a slave-holder. There is more purity, and sound sense, and morality, more of true divinity, in the worship of Juggernaut, of Jupiter, Bacchus or Venus, than in the worship paid by the American church and people to the God of American slavery. An Anti-Slavery Atheism is a far more pure and ennobling religion than a pro-slavery Christianity; and an Anti-Slavery anarchy more just, humane and conducive to human welfare, than a slave-holding and slave-hunting government. The

worship of Venus, Mars, Bacchus, and Mercury, among the Greeks and Romans, never led to such disgusting licentiousness — such monstrous incests — such thefts, robberies and murders, as the worship of the God of slavery, as it is sustained in this nation. Until the people learn to treat with scorn and contempt all Constitutions, Bibles, Christs, and Gods that sanction slavery, and fall back on the “self-evident, inalienable truth that all are born free,” they can never put on that armor which is mighty to the pulling down of this strong-hold of iniquity. I will never appeal to any Constitution, Bible, Christ, or God, *outside* of my own soul, in an argument against slavery. Bible or no Bible, Christ or no Christ, God or no God, every human being, by virtue of a law of his being, knows slavery to be wrong, when applied to himself. And he that knows it is wrong when others enslave him, knows that it is wrong when he enslaves others.

The people of this nation see and worship *their* God in THE UNION. The Union embodies God to them; and to save the Union they hold *four millions* as brutes and chattels. One shout is ever going up from this nation: “The glorious Union!” “The God-ordained Union! It must and shall be preserved!” Pulpit, platform and press are ever shouting, Nine cheers for the Union, and for the God of the Union! Yet the most insane, fanatical Democrat among you would not give up himself nor his child to slavery to save the Union.

This reminds me of an incident in connection with a lecture on this text: “*Is the Union for man, or man for the Union?*” The place was in a large hall in a Western village; the time, the Sunday before the last Presidential election. The town was in great excitement. Bitter and fierce was the conflict between Republican and Democrat — Fremont and Buchanan. I had a large audience before me, and all were greatly excited. “Is there one in this assembly,” I asked, “who would give up a man to slavery to save the Union? If so, let him speak; I would like to see his face.” One man, sitting before me, near by, cried out, “*Yes, I would.*” He was a leader of the Democratic party. I knew him and his family. He had two children, about ten and eight years old — Minnie and Fannie — one sitting on his right, the other on his left, leaning their heads against him. “What,” said I, “would you consign a fellow-being to slavery to save the Union?” “Yes, I would,” he cried out. “Look, my friend,” said I, “at your two young daughters sitting by your side, would you give them up to be sold like beasts, at auction, to be consigned to the pollution and lash of the brothels and plantations of the South, to save the Union?” He shuddered — looked round at little Fannie — she smiled in his face; then he looked at little Minnie, and she looked up and smiled in his face so lovingly and trustingly. The man shook like one in an ague fit, a voice of horror burst from the depths of his father’s heart, and he said, “I’D SEE THE UNION IN HELL FIRST.” “I knew you would,” I said. “Where, then, would you see it before you would consign your neighbor’s daughters to such a doom to save it?” There is not a man in this Convention, nor in all the North, who would not see this Union in hell before he would consign his young daughters to slavery to save it.

Down, then, with all Constitutions and Unions — down with all churches, religions and Bibles — down with all Christs and all Gods, that cannot exist without enslaving or killing men! Let man be sacred! Perish all Bibles, Christs and Gods, that would desecrate him!

H. B. STORER, of New Haven. I would speak on the subject of slavery, also, and not confine my remarks entirely to one species of slavery. I be-

lieve, sir, there is a slavery that would prevent us from speaking, in a free Convention, upon any other subject, perhaps, than negro slavery. Now, sir, I speak of that kind of slavery which tends to prevent free discussion in regard to any subject upon which men are in ignorance. I will read one of the resolutions that are before us :—

Resolved, That the conviction of the possibility and actuality of spirit intercourse is opposed to all despotism, impurity and sensualism, and conduces to the inauguration of the only authority consistent with the human soul, or favorable to sound morality.

Mr. Chairman, while I deeply sympathize with the slaves of the South, I also sympathize with those who, here in Rutland, here in this Green Mountain State, and all over New England and throughout the land, are subject to a slavery that I consider infinitely worse than the bondage of the African, namely, the slavery to a belief, that the children we love are consigned by God, in a future world, to a torment that shall never end. The fact that children are torn from their parents and sold on the auction-block, has been introduced here as one of the greatest wrongs and injuries that can be inflicted on humanity. But what is that, compared with the idea that children are taken from their parents, and are, for all eternity, consigned to hell, and separated from those nearest and dearest to them? Therefore I assert that the subject of Spiritualism has a direct and immediate relation to this question of slavery. It is asked, "Are we to gaze upon the stars, are we to question the spiritual world as to its business and inhabitants, when we see our own flesh and blood consigned to slavery?" I feel, as regards slavery, that it affects you and me to-day as much as it affects the people of the South; and I believe there is as much injury done by ignorance and misconception in the land, as there is injury to humanity in the Southern States. Consequently, I would have a very full expression on this subject; and I say that all reformers should so subject their own passions as to be able to come together and discuss any subject with kind feelings towards each other, believing that they are all striving to vindicate humanity, and that they are all brothers.

There is one other point. It has been said that the Bible is kept from the Southern slave. Spiritualism proves that although the Bible may be kept from the slave, yet a living inspiration may reach to him to-day; that those great principles recorded in the Bible may come to-day to the Southern slave, and nerve him to resist oppression, and bring him out from the bondage in which he has so long groaned. Therefore, I believe the influence of the spirit world is upon the slave, and upon the master of the slave. To-day, conversing with a friend in the Convention, I was told that he had in his house a gentleman from the South who had recently liberated all his slaves, and was induced to do so by modern Spiritualism. That was practical abolitionism, and I attribute it entirely to the influence of the spirit world.

H. P. CUTTING, of Castleton, Vt. I suppose, Mr. President, that the very fact that Spiritualism exists is reason enough that it has a right to be. That it has a good mission to perform, no one can doubt who takes an enlarged view of things. But I do not feel so much interested in Spiritualism as I do in the philosophy of human freedom,—that is, the freedom which pertains more directly to the liberation of the human mind from its bondage to dogmas, and the human body from its bondage to masters. The question has been put, but I do not see that it has been at all answered, By what means can we possibly liberate the human mind from its tram-

mels and the bondman from slavery? It seems to me that there are two or three fundamental truths, which, if we were taught them, and they were faithfully developed in us, as pure and living principles, would be direct stepping-stones by which this might be accomplished. These truths are so very obvious that, as Coleridge has somewhere remarked, they seem to lose all their power of truth from the fact that they are common. But they do not lose all their power of truth, and if this nation had been educated by the church, by the clergy, by the academy, and by the common-school, by our legislators, and by our lives, into a conception of the idea of the Divine Paternity, I am sure that this idea would do more to abolish mental and physical bondage than all others combined. This idea of the Divine Paternity, fixed in the human soul, is the very first stepping-stone towards the abolition of slavery. And this must be done. There must be, of course, silent undergrowths; there must be culture; there must be sown, in the first place, certain fundamental principles. Man must look at principles; the human mind must be educated into the truth. I claim on the score of this truth of the Divine Paternity, that it will have a powerful influence in sweeping off completely those theological lies that sprang up in the middle ages, in regard to God, and remove human despotism as well as divine despotism, if such ideas have found place in the human soul.

If there is anybody who denies God as father, of course no reasoning from that premise will have any force with him. But I take it for granted that you believe with me, as a fundamental truth of physical and of spiritual philosophy, that God is a father; and being a father, an unchanging friend to every soul and to every animal that is created,—from the humblest insect that flies in the air or floats in the stream, to the highest archangel in heaven.

Now, then, what is the deduction from this fundamental truth? This other necessary truth follows—the Brotherhood of the Race; a very simple, common-sense doctrine, that has been preached, in one form or another, ever since Plato argued with the sophists of Athens, but which was endowed with life and spiritual power by the Savior. It follows, that, God being the Father, Mankind are Brethren.

Now, I presume to say, from the fact that I have been born and bred in Vermont, and know something of these glorious hills, and a little of these glorious souls that are before me, that this idea of the Divine Paternity and the Brotherhood of the Race may be reduced to practice. It is not an abstract idea, but a practical one; and not only the old philosophers, but the common people, can understand it.

Now, then, what I want to come at is this, that this doctrine of the Divine Paternity and the Brotherhood of the Race be taught clearly, distinctly, in a positive manner. The common sense of humanity—and I respect the common sense of humanity—will comprehend it; and if you were to write a creed to-day, and in that creed were to embody certain fundamental things, this is the one I should take hold of, among all the planks in any philosophical platform, soul, body, mind and strength. I believe in man; and I not only believe in man, but I believe in woman. Men and women are one, to-day and forever. This is the Humanitarian creed; and it grows necessarily out of that first premise, namely, God the Father, all Mankind Brethren; therefore we are bound together by ties that can never be severed with impunity. "If one member suffers," says the old Apostle Paul, "all the members suffer"; and if there is a child under God's sweet heavens, that is forever to sink, either in this world or the world to come, that little baby,

not a day old, it may be, will drag all humanity down to hell with it. For this is the mission of humanity; we have all got to go somewhere, and we shall go together, thank God! [Applause.] The Orthodox clergy assert that only "the elect" will go to heaven; the "chosen ones" alone sing sweet psalms to God. But who will be in hell? Plato, Socrates, and the long line of statesmen, martyrs, saints, and heroes — where will they be, according to the popular theology? All in hell! If that is their destiny, God send me to hell, for I would rather go to hell and be a man, than go to heaven and be a sneak, or something worse! [Loud applause.]

Here, then, are two tangible facts — the Divine Paternity and the Brotherhood of the Race. Therefore, men and women, we are one common race, destined to one common home, somewhere, at some time. The human race cannot be divided, and, therefore, I as much believe in the final abolition of slavery, as I believe the earth is performing its diurnal and nightly revolutions. Brother Foster, God bless him! has led the van, and spoken the great natural truths of humanity. In those truths we are strong; when we reject them, we are weak; and I have been led to make these remarks simply for the purpose of bringing out some tangible principles, certain real things, that we can all understand, as Coleridge says, by the senses, if not by the pure reason of Kant.

ICHABOD MORTON, of Plymouth. I want to say a word about slavery. The slavery of the soul is worse than that of the body. I have been in the slave States, and have talked with the slaves there. They say the bodily labor is no great burden to them, but the enslavement of their souls is what they dread. Now, how many innocent little children, who would go to Jesus Christ, and live a life of brotherly love, if they could only have the idea set before them, are being enslaved by Sunday School teachers? They are being taught the dogma of "salvation by the atonement," which is not in the teachings of Jesus. Now, I want to ask you if you will not exercise brotherly and sisterly love, and carry out that great principle, that God is the Father of all mankind, and show the world that you live in brotherhood with all, in the family, in the town, in the State? — and will you not cease keeping laborers in ignorance, with no opportunity to develop their souls? The great majority of them come into the world as animals, and live and die as animals, not having the God-like power developed by the true means of education, which will, in the coming time, be afforded them.

MR. CHANDLER. There was one point suggested to my mind by the remarks of my friend Mr. Wright, in reference to the American Union, to which I wish to refer. The last portion of the resolution on slavery says, — "Therefore, any law, constitution, court or government, any church, priesthood, creed or Bible, any Christ, or any God that by silence or otherwise, authorizes man to enslave man, merits the scorn and contempt of mankind." I wish to speak to this point — mental slavery; the ecclesiastical power that binds, not only four millions, but more than sixteen millions, in these United States, in the chains of mental slavery; and this same ecclesiastical power is linked in with bodily slavery, as well as mental. While, then, your attention is called to the God of the slavery of the body, I wish to call your attention to the ecclesiastical God, and ask this audience, "If you reject the God of a nation that enslaves the bodies of men, will you not also reject the ecclesiastical God of the nation, that enslaves the minds and souls of men? — this ecclesiastical God, that tells you what ideas you shall possess of him, what you shall find in the Bible and what you shall not find there, and

what you shall think in relation to yourselves and your present and future destiny?" You know that the bell calls together these sixteen and more millions of people, every Sabbath, and you see the streets teeming with men and women, on their way to the various churches and temples of worship, where they dare not think a thought for themselves, on the subject of God, nor upon the various branches of reform and education which we wish to get before the people, because the ecclesiastical chain is there riveted from Sabbath to Sabbath, and they are taught that they must reverence the minister and the Church, and must limit their aspirations, as well as their sentiments and views, to the doctrines of the Church, and to such teachings as they there receive.

Now, then, I call upon you to set aside that ecclesiastical authority, to break the shackles that bind your minds down, and forbid you to tread in the paths of mental freedom. The resolution involves this: That if a Church, or a priesthood, or a God, shall be taught in such a manner as to sustain slavery, whether of the body or mind, you are to reject it; and I call upon you to reject the ecclesiastical God, that binds men in mental slavery, as well as in bodily slavery, that their chains may be broken, and that you and I may engage in the great work of reform. If the ministers would take hold of this, if the mental freedom was enjoyed that should be, in every town, and city, and State in our land, what an impetus would be given to every moral reform movement! Then you would see light breaking like a clear summer's morning, then would this whole country present before the world the spectacle of a tabernacle of righteousness and truth, and of the progress of liberty, such as the world has never seen, and which these reform movements are all adapted to bring about. Yes, my friends, if you will unite in these efforts for mental freedom, and for the spread of the great truths that are connected with human happiness, in all the relations of life, you will have obeyed the true God of the Universe, and of your nature.

MILES GRANT, of Boston, spoke to the third resolution of the regular series. He said:—My friend (Mr. Storer) who spoke in favor of Spiritualism, says Spiritualism exists—consequently, it is right. Slavery exists—consequently, it is right! Will he stick to that logic? Sin exists—consequently, sin is right! Wrong exists—consequently, wrong is right! [Laughter and applause.] Is that sound logic? It is not to me.

Allow me now to read the fifth resolution in connection with this:—

Resolved, That the only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman, and that the only true home is the isolated home, based upon this exclusive love.

I endorse that. I was delighted with the remarks of Mr. Tiffany this morning, but there were others who took exceptions to this resolution, and argued against it. In order to bring the matter before you, I will read an extract from some remarks made by a lady in a Convention held in Ravenna, Ohio, July 4th and 5th, 1857. This brings the point directly before us, to see whether Spiritualism tends rather to sensualism or to purity. She said, "To confine her love to one man was an infringement of her rights." If I understand the spirit of some remarks made this morning, they were similar to that. "Although she had one husband in Cleveland, she considered herself married to the whole human race. All men were her husbands, and she had an undying love for them. What business was it to the world whether one man was the father of her child, or ten men?" Is that "tending to purity," Mr. President? "She had the right to say who should be the father of her offspring."

Mr. CURTIS. Is that a just and fair report?

Mr. GRANT. I have the report from the best authority.

Mr. WRIGHT. I was at the Convention, and heard every word that was said, and I pronounce that report a miserable caricature. I would say, furthermore, that there was a long correspondence in the Cleveland papers on the subject, in which the lady denied all these extravagant and monstrous statements.

Mr. GRANT. Does the report give a wrong impression?

Mr. WRIGHT. It does.

Mr. GRANT. Very well; then drop it. I will read a resolution which has been before us to-day:—

Resolved, That the conviction of the possibility and actuality of spirit intercourse is opposed to all despotism, impurity and sensualism, and conduces to the inauguration of the only authority consistent with the human soul, or favorable to sound morality.

Allow me to quote from Mr. Joel Tiffany. He says, as reported, "After all our investigations for seven or eight years, we must say, that we have as much confidence that there are lying spirits, as we have that there are spirits at all. The doctrines they teach are mostly contradictory and absurd." I wish to ask if this is in keeping with the assertion, that the only genuine authority consistent with the human soul comes from spirit intercourse? Is this, sir, our only authority? "There are those who have become, and are becoming, victims to a sensual philosophy, (Mr. Tiffany may correct me if he never said it,) under the influence of what is termed Spiritualism." "Spiritualism, in a very large class of minds, tends to beget a kind of moral and religious Atheism." Have we heard any thing of that kind here? Have we been exhorted to cry out against the worship of the God of the universe, and cry him down? If I turn to the old book called the Bible, somewhere about the fourth chapter of the first of Timothy, and the first and second verses, I read—"Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, *giving heed to seducing spirits*, and doctrines of devils." . . . "Forbidding to marry." [Loud applause.]

HORACE SEAVER, of Boston. If I am not out of order, I would be pleased to make a few remarks on the first resolution:—

Resolved, That the authority of each individual soul is absolute and final in deciding all questions as to what is true or false in principle, or right or wrong in practice; therefore, the individual, the church or the State that attempts to control the opinions or the practice of any man or woman, by authority or power outside of his or her own soul, is guilty of a flagrant wrong.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman,—There is a principle involved in this resolution which seems to me to lie at the very foundation, and which, in fact, is the corner-stone, of all slavery, political, social, and mental. It is the idea of *authority*, whether it be from that old book to which our friend has alluded, whether it be from the Church or the State, whether it be from any quarter outside of one's own individual consciousness. That is the principle, I maintain, that is at the foundation of all the slavery we see among us—whether it be the slavery of the politician, or of the Church, or of the social system. When a man reads, in the old book our friend has referred to, that the chosen people of the Lord may buy and sell bondmen; when he reads there that women must keep silence in the churches, and if

they want to know any thing, they must ask their husbands, who very often are *know-nothings* [laughter] — I mean literally, not in a political sense [renewed laughter] — what wonder is it that we have negro slavery in the South, and social slavery here in the North?

And, by the way, ladies and gentlemen, mind is of no particular sex. We believe that women have minds, and this being a fact beyond dispute, as you have seen demonstrated from this platform, what reason is there to suppose that they should not exercise their minds, as well as we of the other sex? When there is, in fact, so little mind exercised in this community, there is no danger, Mr. Chairman, that we shall have too much mind; that, if we allow the ladies to express their opinions freely, as you have heard them most beautifully and eloquently expressed from this platform to-day, we shall have too much knowledge in the community. It cannot be, therefore, that the principle which subjects them to social inferiority is a correct principle, because you know very well, without my telling you of it, that the mother forms the character of the child, and that, in order to have intelligent sons and daughters in the community, the mothers must themselves be intelligent.

Mr. Chairman, we have heard considerable said to-day in regard to the slavery at the South. I trust nobody here wants any kind of slavery. This is not the place, among the green hills of Vermont, where Ethan Allen and his gallant band of Green Mountain boys struck a successful blow for liberty, in connection with the men of Bunker Hill, — this is not the place, I say, to talk of any thing except freedom, — freedom for all, irrespective of color, sex, or creed. But, sir, in spite of all the associations connected with these green hills by which we are surrounded; in spite of all the professions of the American people, we have, to this day, but comparatively little freedom, and the battles of the Revolution have accomplished but half their mission, until we are mentally as well as politically free. We have secured some political freedom — I mean for such of us as have white complexions, and are sound in the faith; but with regard to mental freedom, we are to the present hour almost literally in bondage to this potent spell, *Authority*. Men and women really dare not think for themselves, because they are fearful of some book or some church, some sect or some creed, that stands in the way. They would pass in the community for “the thing, the simple *thing*, that others think, and not their honest, independent selves.” We want men and women who can do their own thinking, who will not pin their faith on the sleeve of the politician, nor of the minister, but will take counsel from their own consciences, regarding that as the superior guide through all their lives; saying, with the great poet, —

“What conscience dictates to be done,
Or bids me not to do,
This teach me more than hell to shun,
That more than heaven pursue.”

But see how it is now in the community; see how it is in regard to the class to which I belong. I am one of those “unfortunate” people (so considered) who are called Infidels. I take the name because it belongs to me; because it represents the opinions I honestly entertain; and I contend that every man who sincerely and honestly entertains any opinion, and expresses his views courteously and civilly, ought never to be ashamed of that opinion, and never conceal it. We have a right to think

and express our opinions in regard to religion, as well as to every other matter. If you, for instance, are Christians, very well. Keep your own thoughts, if you believe they are correct ones. I am the last person in the world who would throw a straw in your path to deprive you of any of your civil, political, and social rights and privileges. But I contend that I have the same right to be an Infidel or an Atheist that another man has to be a Christian. If it is contrary to the Bible, and contrary to God, let him see to it, in his own way and time; but it does not belong to any one here or anywhere else, to tell me that because I do not believe in religion, I am to be deprived of the rights and privileges of other human beings. I contend that to be a man, is greater than to be a Christian, and that it is a higher and nobler thing to stand for the rights of humanity, than to maintain any creed or all the creeds that the fertile brains of theologians ever invented. [Applause.] To my mind, there is nothing superior to humanity, and to the rights and privileges belonging to it. I claim that I possess the same rights as those who believe differently from myself; and so far as "spirits" have any tendency whatever to break down the partition walls that now divide the country into sects; whatever tendency they may have to liberalize the public mind, and demolish the Dagon of superstition and priestcraft, let them come forward, whether spirits in or out of the body, and help us. And if there are spirits in the other world, (*I cannot "call spirits from the vasty deep" — if I could I would, for it will require a great deal of help to break down the bigotry and intolerance that surround us on every hand,*) if there be spirits existing in the world about us and in the illimitable world above us, let us have their aid, for we want all we can obtain, and it cannot be given in a better cause than the cause of humanity, in removing the bigotry and intolerance set up by the various sects throughout the community, and establishing this great and true doctrine of the rights and privileges of all mankind. Whenever that object shall be accomplished, ladies and gentlemen, we shall have secured the freedom we need.

Although I am an Infidel myself, I have no fault to find with my brother who believes in Christianity, who believes in the Bible, and believes that in the future he is to be happy. There is so little happiness in this world, that I have no objection to a heaven hereafter, if only for the purpose of affording some happiness to worthy people who, in this world, have nothing but misery and perdition. Religion has made of this world, almost literally, a hell, and if there be any liberalism that can make a heaven for any portion of humanity, or for all of us, I have no objection on the score of any misanthropic views I have in relation to this matter. I cannot believe it, yet I have no objection to any one's believing it who can. But while we live in this world, let us do something to secure a heaven on earth; and if we can have a heaven here to go to heaven from, we shall be sure of this, at least; we have got two heavens, and so we have a double advantage over the church, which, at the best, can give us but one. And, friends, if we devoted half the time, patience and trouble to improve this earth and make it a place of happiness, that we devote to the church, it seems to me that we might have a heaven on *this* side of Jordan, and so be sure of that, whether we are to enjoy one on the *other* side or not. But, however that may be, I have no fault to find with Spiritualists, in so far as they are endeavoring to liberalize the community; and though we cannot expect all men and women to believe alike, yet when the time shall come that the people of this community can express their views upon religion without suffering legal and social persecution and prosecution, as they do in Boston — without being disfran-

chised and outlawed on account of their religion, perhaps then we shall have attained to as much perfection as is possible in this world, and the Millennium, about which so much is said, will have arrived.

Mr. WRIGHT then moved the appointment of a committee of three on Finance; which motion was carried, and the President announced Messrs. John Landon, Newman Weeks, and Thomas Curtis, as the committee.

The Convention then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at seven and a half o'clock, HENRY C. WRIGHT in the chair.

After a song by the Harmonial Club, GEORGE SENNOTT, Esq., of Boston, delivered the following address:—

WOMAN'S PART IN REFORM.

For many hundred years, the noblest hearts and loftiest intellects of mankind lived in a splendid dream. They dreamed that among the hidden things of Nature lay a substance so potent and benific, as to charm away poverty, pain, disease, and death itself. And so, for ages, the purest and wisest of mankind deliberately sacrificed their wealth, their health, their liberty, the free breath of heaven, and all the delights of life, and advisedly braved the rage of a superstitious rabble and the jealousy of a vindictive priesthood and the power of an irresponsible despotism, if only they might wrest from Nature, into no unworthy hands, that mighty secret that would relieve the suffering, repress the wicked, and arm the good man's hand with the power of a liberating God.

Like them, our noblest men and women have also dreamed a glorious dream. It was no philosopher's stone, no fabled elixir of life, they sought to wrest from Nature; but they dreamed that in the infinite beneficence of God a living idea, prolific with benedictions, existed, which could arm the pure heart with power to heal the nations. In the far future they saw its divine forces realizing what the Prophet beheld from the Mount of Vision. No shadow of slavery,—no stain of war,—no trace of intemperance, or violence, or fraud—but they beheld the green, regenerate earth glow in the beams of the millennial sun, and on its broad and motherly bosom bearing the sinless, happy, countless tribes of man. And so, at an early day, the noblest souls that ever breathed American air deliberately gave up public honors, and the applause of men, and many a sweet and precious social tie, and offered their fair fame to the slanderer's tooth that was broken on the name of Parker, and their necks to the rope that went round the throat of Garrison, and their bodies to the dungeon that broke the heart of Torrey,—if only they might find the glorious means of making all men free and happy.

I cannot believe that God made such men and women in vain. I cannot believe that such glorious hopes are never to be realized. I do not believe that social evil is eternal and incurable. And in the freedom of woman—that last and best development of your reforming ideas—I behold the long-looked-for means of regenerating man. It harmonizes with all your other plans; it disagrees with none; it promises more immediate practical benefit than any; it is the point where, after marching bravely through the whole rugged land of reforming effort, and from experiment to failure, and from

failure to victory, you first behold the rosy light of the "good time coming" tinging the frozen summits of Conservatism's *un-Delectable* mountains.

There are five different manifestations of human selfishness, which cause about five-sixths of all human misery as directly as fire causes a burn. It is against those manifestations that all reforming effort must, of necessity, be directed. Those who ask you to begin reform by extirpating selfishness in the individual, often figure social evil as a tree, of which individual selfishness is the root; and they ask you triumphantly why you do not begin at the root instead of cutting at the branches. They are misled by their comparison, which they mistake for an argument. Social evil is not like an ordinary tree. It is more like the Indian fig tree, of which every branch, turning away from the light of heaven, becomes a root itself, and spreads darkness over the land from its own independent vitality. Each demands the axe for itself. The five different manifestations of selfishness are:—First, *National Selfishness*, which destroys man in the state; second, *Ecclesiastical Selfishness*, which destroys man in the church; third, *Commercial Selfishness*, which destroys man in the community; fourth, *Social Selfishness*, which touches that of the nation on one hand, and that of commerce on the other, binding iniquity to iniquity; and, fifth, *Domestic Selfishness*, which destroys man in his family—the worst and frightfullest destruction of all. Of individual selfishness I shall say no more than this, I never expect any reforming effort from a person whom it taints.

And first, our reformers looked at the selfishness that rules the *State*; that makes the strong nation steal its feeble neighbors' land and murder its poor people, and justifies the villainy under the name of war. And they cried out against war through all the peace societies, and in great peace conventions, which did not prevent the countless murders at Sebastopol; no, nor even the infinitely small *pretence* of a desire to commit murder at the Clifton House. But the work was not thrown away after all; and an administration which abandons the principles of Thomas Jefferson to do the deeds of William Walker, which turns its back on the majestic wisdom of Jackson, and the unbending patriotism of Benton, to follow the despotic instincts of a renegade in politics, a charlatan in statesmanship, a *cuistre*, in literature, ready to "crush out" all who feel a just contempt for him; an administration, I say, willing under such guides to go to war in Cuba or Nicaragua for the extension of slavery, or on the ocean for the defence of the slave trade, is held back, gnashing its teeth, by an influence it can neither resist nor comprehend. William Lloyd Garrison and his noble associates understand it. They watched its silent influx more than twenty years ago. And men in high station, though they have not nice culture of mind to see the absurdity of duelling, nor fine sensibility of conscience to feel its wickedness, have yet regard enough for that strong influence to refuse to fight a duel. I wish they had also good manners enough not to provoke one; but I suppose we must not expect too much from a *male* member of Congress. This is a great advance in twenty years.

Then they looked upon the *Selfishness that rules the Church*; not the Christian world; not the body of Christian believers, but the small organizations that infest both; and they despised the narrow spirit and feeble understanding that dreamed it had shut up the great river of the water of life in its poor little Orthodox pitcher; that profanely transforms the God of the Universe into a jealous spy upon an omnipotent devil; that foolishly requires a modern Yankee to abandon his culture and his common sense, and to convert his soul into a caricature of that of some ancient Jew; that

wickedly undertakes to make science lie in order to agree with Moses, and will not let a scholar draw a free breath in a church lest the expansion shake the rickety scaffolding of its theology. They felt in their souls, they saw in their intellects, that Christianity was sense, not nonsense, and that the word of God was too sacred to be submitted to the patching of a small Andover tinker; that the Father offered his children love and life, not a body of divinity, and expected cheerful hearts and good works rather than long faces and a knowledge of the catechism. Then they were disgusted with the meanness that coaxes the pennies out of baby hands, nominally to convert the distant heathen into Christians, — really to convert nominal Christians into sanctimonious swine in a costly sty, called a Mission House, and behind the convenient screen of a Missionary Board. They saw and loathed the selfishness that makes one doctor of divinity, a man of large talent and little heart, shut himself up and thank God — “*his*” God — that he takes no interest in any of the moral questions of the day; that makes another take a South-side view of robbery, lust, and murder; that makes another willing to send his mother back to slavery, and inspires him with the happy idea of refusing his benediction to a peace meeting in a Christian church in Boston during anniversary week, and saving it to refrigerate his own parishioners; that hurries laymen up from striking the balance sheet of a cargo of coolies to a place on the anxious seat, and sends them, hot from trying to cheat men on ‘Change to trying to cheat God in a business men’s prayer-meeting. They looked on this ecclesiastical selfishness and loathed it, and came out of the churches, leaving little Christianity behind them. It is true that they thus deformed the church, but they certainly helped to reform the world. See what good they have done in this community. Twenty years ago, a “come-outer” was a name to hoot at — a singularity; now they hold conventions. Then, only a man like Pierpont spoke against slavery and drunkenness, to the horror of hearers whose views of life were usually taken through the bottom of the tumbler. Now, you can get three thousand ministers to sign anti-slavery documents or temperance memorials, or even to advocate a foolish liquor law, as if men could be *forced* to be good. Then, clergymen like the Rev. Nehemiah Adams were the rule. Now, it is the exceptional clergyman who consistently takes a South-side view of slavery, and a hell-side view of God. They have so liberalized and Spiritualized the churches, that an old-fashioned revival is possible only during a money crisis, and while business is flat. And thousands of young men and women, liberated by their precept and example from the shackles of iron creeds, that *prevented* a good life and choked out holy thoughts, are rising up all over the land to live the higher life and to call them blessed.

Next they looked at the *Selfishness of Commerce*, that whitens the ocean floor with the bones of slaves; that grinds up a thousand English cottages to make one Manchester mill; that keeps a thousand girls down to the starving point to feed one Lowell factory; that fills our houses of correction with petty thieves who steal a coat, and throws the dazzling fence of legal subtlety around the great thief who steals a million, and hardly abandons him even after he robs the mail; that makes his fellow-swindlers buy up God’s harvest for a lying promise, and so grow richer by exploiting and pauperizing all around them; that drives woman from the trades and professions to the needle, and from the needle to the street; that poisons the old woman’s cup of tea; that poisons the laborer’s rum, — as if it needed poisoning; that poisons the sick mother with adulterated medicine — aye, and the little baby that can hardly swallow, with its devil’s milk. And our

noble men and women did their duty here also, and organized Protective Unions against it, and Equitable Stores, and experimental Phalansteries, and other feeble defences, which did not amount to much. And when famine's hand fell heavily on its victims in another land, they filled great war ships with provisions, and sent them on strange errands of peace and mercy, saving many souls alive. There were other steps, though short ones, in the right direction, and they left their traces. We have had our last great money panic. Taking all things together, there was more integrity, which is mercantile honor, exhibited last fall and winter, than was ever known before in other panics. There were a few great swindlers, who stole largely and ruined many; but the great mass remain sounder and honest than ever before.

Then they looked at the *Social Selfishness*, stronger than all the rest, which keeps every sixth person in Democratic America permanently barbarized. That they hated, and struggled heroically against it for more than twenty years in the anti-slavery societies. With these, they have so revolutionized the public mind, that it is almost possible to talk common sense and justice in the extreme North without being lynched therefor. And though slavery still subsists, and is apparently stronger, I think it is only in appearance. I feel that it has but a short lease. The saintly women and martyr men of this Protestant litany have cloven down a thousand companion evils around it. They have set the world on fire from the fervency of their own free spirit, and guide and control every moral enterprise, wheeling them all into the battle lines of freedom!

Lastly, they looked upon the *Selfishness that rules the Family*, — domestic selfishness, — and found it the mother and nurse of every social sin. True, they did not find woman exactly a slave under its influence. In all this country, only a few thousand Pennsylvania German women, of a low breed, are made to follow the plough, and shovel manure for their husbands; and not one of them is yoked up with the cow to draw the cart, as once in France. No New England woman, that I know of, is forced to pick up the filth of the streets like her Liverpool sister, or to hoe the corn, or bring home the firewood on her back. No daughter of a white American mother is laid in wait for, knocked senseless and dragged to her future home by her lover, like the girls of Australia. But it comes after all to about the same thing. It certainly is not because a woman is free that she is taught from babyhood that all God made her for was to be an appendage to some man. And when she believes what she has been so carefully taught, and feels that she must be married at any rate, it cannot be her independent condition that compels her to conceal her affection from the man she wants, and to take the man that asks her. If women, no matter how it happens, are compelled to choose between any sort of marriage and neglect, or even starvation, what difference is there, in principle, between that sort of compulsion, and knocking her down with a club? Surely, none at all. The Australian savage courts with a club and applies his violence to the body; the civilized egotist courts with his *purse*, and applies the violence to the mind. The result is precisely the same — a hated marriage-bed, and an unwelcome, inharmonious offspring, to plague the world with physical and moral maladies.

Here, while considering Domestic Selfishness, at once arises the true method and universal means of hastening all reforms. Here you for the first time lay healing hands upon the great sympathetic nerve of society. It is the family that originates and shapes the individual, not the indi-

vidual the family. The Social, Ecclesiastical, and National condition take existence and form from that ; and the wonderful spectacle of one half the human race, bound where they should be freest, and unable to help themselves or the other half, forces upon the mind the whole subject of the rights of woman — aye, and of the wrongs of man, resulting from her false position to him. Give me the *family*, and you may have the State and the Church, if you want them. Here you will find the ideas and the instruments, the direction and point of departure for every plan through which this world may grow.

Now, the part which women will take in reforms depends entirely upon their freedom. Let them be dependent, as they are, and you will jog on as you do, and grow old in *trying* to do and to be. But turn your energies for only six months to getting them their freedom in one State, and I do honestly believe that more will be done in the ten years next thereafter than has been done for the fifty years last past. The very first thing it will do, whenever it is tried, will be instantaneously to double the force and halve the time by which social evil is to be killed.

To illustrate clearly what I mean by this, let us suppose a case. Let us suppose that a race of men existed who believed as an article of faith and practice, that one whole side of the human body ought to be tied up in a bag for life. Let us suppose that the tying up commenced at the age of fourteen, that the habit of moving on one leg was confirmed at the age of twenty, and that from the twentieth year to their last day not one of them could move easily without the aid of a companion. Can there be a doubt that the strength of the whole body would decay? Is it not clear that such a race of madmen would extinguish more than half their natural forces? If, now, a few persons had bravely determined to bear the constraint no longer, and had freed themselves from the binding, can there be any doubt that their example would be universally followed? And if those who had learned to walk took compassion on the rest, and held conventions in every town to persuade them, and hired pedestrians and trainers to carry them on, what would be thought of the men who should try to prevent *that*? What would be said to the fools, if any were found, who should say that walking was of no use; that a man could get on just as well, and be just as happy and respectable if he never walked at all; that learning it merely made men unsteady; that if every one learned to walk, no one would stay at home, but would break up the old hobbling home circle, and spend all their time walking about with strangers; that God and Nature had made the right leg stronger than the left; and that it was flying in the face of Providence to try and make one as strong as the other; that hobbling was a good old institution, at the foundation of social order, and that if walking were indiscriminately taught, one side would run away with the other, and throw both the human body and the body politic, into indescribable confusion? Now, all the objections I ever heard against the freedom of woman are just as sensible as these against locomotion, and sound exactly like them. I am sure, I do not propose to answer them. I take it for granted that women ought to be free. If "all men" in the Declaration of Independence does not mean "all women," too, the law books have always been wrong. Lawyers have a set of rules for the construction of statutes, I believe, one of which, I am informed, is that every word importing the masculine gender only, may be applied to females as well as males. And surely, no one will think of applying any *narrower* rule than that to a thing so much broader than a statute as is the Declaration of Independence. All mankind, there-

fore, are born equal. It is a self-evident truth. It asks no aid from argument, and I should as soon undertake to prove by argument that all mankind are born. The benefits of the example of one State, for one year, would sweep all *objections* away forever, and some of the *objectors* along with them. All men would then see what they are now so strangely blinded to, namely, that woman is to man what one side is to the other; that when he hampers her, he ties himself, when he vexes her, he injures himself; that they cannot progress independently, but whether they hobble or run, they must go on together. Woman's equal right to freedom with man, is the simplest, justest thing in nature, and when it is obtained for one community, all the rest will wonder that they ever were so foolish as not to liberate *one of the forces of nature* to do their work for them.

There are some rights which women can *take*, if they choose. In science, in literature, in theology, in art, and in business, they can take high places if they choose to try. The women who are afraid to try, must be let alone until they acquire courage. But there is one right which woman must be helped to; and that is the right to vote. I cannot speak of all the consequences which will spring inevitably from their acquisition of equal political power with man. The subject is boundless, and my time is limited. I shall, therefore, arbitrarily select three things that will certainly be done; the doing of any one of which will mark this century illustrious to all coming ages. These are, 1st, *Putting justice into the law*; 2d, *The establishment of true marriage*; 3d, *The abolition of prostitution* — an ugly word, which I shall use but once.

Justice will be put into the law in consequence of a new theory of crime. We make our amendments now after one theory, while our law is founded on another. It is sometimes asked, with great simplicity, why law should hang a man, if its object is to reform offenders? Now, the present system of law has no such object. There is only here and there a statute in the vast heap — *stuck* in like a cut flower in a pile of pig iron, not *growing* in — which contemplates reform even by implication. The whole system is consistent enough with itself, and with the barbarian instincts of its founders. It does not intend reform — it intends revenge; and cries out for blood in savage old Saxon speech. Conscientious jurors make a choice of evils, and commit perjury rather than murder. We have grown vastly more humane than our laws. But women will serve on juries by and by, — indeed, they might *now*, for all the law there is against it, if they would get their names on the list. By and by they will sit in the Legislature; even now, though they cannot vote, there is nothing to prevent their being voted in.

When that time comes, do you think that men will pine away in jail for costs they could not pay if they were out? Do you believe that men and women who know the name of God only to swear by, who were brought up to be thieves, and taught to steal as other children are taught to read, will be fastened in solitary chambers, and starved and whipped like dogs into submission? Do you think that no discrimination will be made between the poverty-stricken wretch whom hunger impels to steal, and the moral idiot who thinks crime is good, and the deliberate villain who sins against his breeding and his judgment, and makes selfishness his only rule? I do not. The law will not be patched, merely. Its principle will be altered. It will be changed from *Vengeance* to *Justice*; and then our kind amendments will not fit, as they do now, like hands of flesh to wrists of wood. We shall have asylums, not jails; houses of reformation, instead of houses of correction; hospitals for incurables, instead of State prisons for life; and this will

certainly be a very striking benefit to man ; for in the criminal lists, the men outnumber the women, five to one.

There is another principle of the law, of very great importance, which will be revised, I think. It is the principle, that by marriage the wife's identity is lost in that of the husband. The consequences are very momentous, and meet you at every turn. Nothing short of its entire excision will do you the slightest service. All your homestead laws and separate estate statutes amount to nothing. Just where you least expect it, and always where it will hurt you most, the inexorable principle steps in and kicks your poor exception out of doors. When that principle is abolished, I do not believe an idle brute could take away the earnings of his industrious wife and spend them on vile companions. I have known such cases. I know two such cases now. I do not think a man could get drunk every day for three years, and force a wretched creature to live with him, when her soul loathed him. I know of such cases. I do not think an angelic woman—a born Love, an incarnate Use and Beauty—could be trampled under foot by a madman for twenty-one months ; starved, neglected, and bereft, till she was compelled to fly, and then, in the very morning of her days and the prime of her beauty, forced to live alone for ten long years, until the tardy law relieved her. Such a case actually happened not many years ago. I do not think a woman, after working for twenty years to build up a living for her husband, will be obliged at his death to be dependent on his will, or else put up with what are facetiously called her *thirds*, or deprived of the guardianship of her own children, if she choose to marry again.

Next will follow the establishment of a true marriage. The freedom of woman will redress the greatest wrong of man—that wrong he now suffers in his relation of husband. Until he fills this relation with *one* wife, and in true marriage, he is a *male*, not a *man*. This, the conjugal union of one man with one woman, and for life, is the most sacred of all human relations. There is no other so sacred. There is no other so permanent. There is no other so important, both for this world and for the world to come. It sweetens, exalts and purifies life ; it fills with the light of hope and love the hollow eyes of death. Tampering, interfering, ignorantly meddling with this relation, is the curse and error of reforms. Blindly and rashly entering into it, stubbornly refusing to allow mistakes in it to be corrected, is the curse and error of society. In a free society, the independent woman will see to it that real marriage will be the rule, and sham, or physical marriage, the unfortunate exception. In the present state of society, a true marriage is a most fortunate accident. Reformers are not the only ones who say so. Everybody, every day, laments the rash, unhappy couplings which constantly take place. Everybody feels that, under our present system, man grows and woman decays. He has an elevated character ; he has a forcible intellect. He marries ; his wife is by nature as forcible and elevated as he ; but *he* goes into the world. He learns in the conflict of his fellows to know and care for the great principles which dignify life. He is full of its difficulties, its sympathies, and rewards. She cannot follow her husband ; it is indelicate ; it is improper ; it is beyond her *sphere*. And so the victim of cant dwindles her soul to her circumstances, as the vast bulk of the genii in the Arabian tale, which filled the sea and the sky, shrunk into the vial of Solomon. Her endowments, naturally equal to his, *become* inferior. She is reduced to a secondary place in his mind, if not in his affections, and who is *now* injured ? Why, the husband. He has a right to have one side of his soul as strong and as noble as the other. Cant

forbids the education and the exercise which alone can make it so. He dwindles to her stature as she dwindles to her circumstances, and if not, society, more cruel than the ancient Italian tyrant who bound together the living and the dead, first strikes his other self, and then binds him for life to the paralyzed object which he must always pity, but can never cure. Under these circumstances, affection dies. It dies, and the man dies with it. O blind and stupid world! that imagines woman may dwindle, and man not die — that thinks Josephine may be made little of and put away, and Napoleon not perish in exile! When shall simple justice make this earth a heaven? Surely as the Lord liveth, not until women are free, and marriage is true.

Permit me to introduce the last and least agreeable division of my subject, by telling you one history out of many hundreds, that are equally true, but which you will never know: —

About four years ago, a bright, handsome, intelligent girl, a farmer's daughter, left the little brown homestead in the heart of a valley in Vermont, for the great city. She was hardly eighteen, and the eager heart of youth wearied of the solitary mountains. She had an aunt in the city, married to a mechanic, and she stopped with her. After two or three weeks of constant searching, she obtained work in a shirt-store. And here the strong, healthy, growing young woman, used to exercise in the mountain air, was shut up for twelve hours a day, day after day, in a dark, ill-ventilated, closely-heated room, with a dozen other girls. Her day was spent in sewing, trying to forget that she had the headache, and trying not to listen to such conversation as she had never heard before. Her nights were passed in a lonely attic, the only chamber her aunt could afford, where her rest was broken by the disorders of a poor neighborhood. It was long before she earned two dollars a week, and then she was five or six weeks behindhand on her board bill. The clothes she had brought with her were old-fashioned, and caused much observation and some sneers.

At length her aunt's husband lost his work, the narrow means of the poor household became still narrower, and the proud-spirited girl, unwilling to be a burden, left them. Her scanty wages were not enough to support life; and hard work, close confinement, insufficient food and mental anguish, threw her into a fever. One or two of her shop-mates took her to their poor boarding-house, and nursed her till she got well. Then where was she to go? What was she to do? She could get no work; she could get no credit. She had not the means to return home, if her pride did not prevent her; and she could not be a burden to the two poor girls who had already done their utmost.

Well, benevolent men, whose shirt collars are so white that you cannot see the tears that fell among the stitches; well, dear ladies, who have young daughters you love, and hope to see happy mothers, that daughter took the only course you left her.

Five months thereafter, those fine blue eyes looked round the lofty walls of the highest criminal court in the great city, with a wild, unutterable anguish — a look that made me think of a frightened hare, more than of a human creature. There was no other woman's face in all that crowded hall. The learned judge sat on his lofty bench a great way off. She saw nobody but him — silent, cold; poor man, he had heard many dreadful stories that day, and was probably thinking of his dinner. The District Attorney was looking up the statute — *the Law* — that was to choke the heart out of this poor abandoned child. The lawyers were looking over their

papers, and the crowd was gaping as it always gapes when a woman is to be tried. The clerk asked her to stand up. She did so mechanically, while he read in the clear, monotonous voice of long habit, the awful indictment of which neither she nor any of the mere spectators understood one word. At last the reading was over; the kind constable beside her spoke for the poor distracted creature, and said she pleaded not guilty. It was not true, for she said nothing; but may the innocent falsehood rest lightly on the good man's soul! He has two little daughters of his own.

"Have you any counsel?" rang through the room, in the clear, dignified tones of the presiding judge.

For the first time the unhappy girl found a voice; and in a tone of anguish that shook the heart said:—

"Oh, sir, I want my mother! Let me go home to my mother!"

The learned judge dropped his pen, his spectacles suddenly became very dim, and wanted a great deal of wiping. The District Attorney fell back into his seat as if he was shot, and let the heavy statute book fall into the paper basket at his feet. The impartial jury fidgetted about in their seats, and one or two, of the very sternest and savagest aspect—it is curious how that class of gentlemen always get caught just so—were very busy pretending to wipe their noses, looking fiercely round the while, as if to knock down any one who should dare to think they were crying.

At this juncture, greatly to the relief of everybody, a young lawyer arose and announced himself as counsel for the prisoner. A word or two with her brought the human look back into her beautiful eyes. He seized the mysterious "indictment," and perused it with very great attention. In a few moments he found a "flaw"—which means, as I am informed, that some of the mysterious and incredible gibberish which the law declares necessary for the explanation of his or her crimes, to every man, woman, and child over seven years, had been accidentally left out on this occasion, by the learned gentleman whose duty it was to pile it together. After a lively discussion of a quarter of an hour or so, the solemn voice of the clerk was heard saying:—

"Harriet Lane, the court order that you be discharged, and go without day."

She immediately fainted away. By the time she had recovered her senses, the court was adjourned, and the two savage-looking gentlemen were travelling around among the crowd, making everybody give them a dollar apiece. The collection—no small one, I assure you—was tenderly and delicately placed in the sick child's lap. A hand of the size and color of a smoked ham gently lifted her from the bench into a carriage, and the fiercest looking of the gentlemen—he was the foreman—took her home to his good little wife. That was the first time that I ever understood why Mrs. Foreman thought her husband so good looking. I am sure I perfectly agreed with her.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, is it not plain, that when women take hold of the various trades and professions in freedom just as the men do, such things as I have told you will not happen *quite* so often. Do not we all see what fills up the street at night, with sights and sounds that startle even a careless man, and make a good man shudder and cry? All these painted women that make you shiver so, dear madam, when they swear, (for they *will* swear when they get drunk, you know)—all of them were happy little girls once, just like sis, the pet. But they had nothing to do then or afterwards. It was not thought ladylike to do any thing but sew, and even then

there were almost two sewers to one spool of thread. "But they are vile, unprincipled creatures." Are they? It may be so, but fervently do I hope that none of *our* dear ones will ever have their principles put to the starvation test. Fine principles are the finest things in the world, and will be always in beautiful order, if you are never obliged to try them. So keep yourself independent, by all means my dear lady. Do not refuse us your good word, we may return it to you in the shape of a piece of property, at some future day. You have a bright-eyed little daughter I notice; she is very busy, active, and good at a bargain already. She will make an excellent merchant, if you only let her, and will not have to marry for a living; a thing which ought to shock dreadfully a lady of your rigid principles. Your husband may die, you know. I sincerely hope he will not, but, if he should, as he lives on his salary or close up to it, what would you do in the present state of woman's employment? Ah! my dear madam, there is not a pair of eyes in all that infernal choir, just screaming round the corner from which the thrice accursed street was not as distant once, as it is now from you!

Grave people, who are very regular in their lives, and who have always been grave and regular, have great and just weight in society, in consequence of this very steadiness. Their observations are listened to with a respect which is derived, not from the justice of the observation, but from the respectability of the speaker. Now, routine of any kind has a tendency to make even a keen man dull. So you may judge what work it will make with a gentleman who, as the college boy said of his stupid chum, is good because he does not know any better. They appear to think, sometimes, that the world is a large church, where everybody behaves with the utmost steadiness, and where things always happen just as you expect they will. An observation made by such a person, in such a frame of mind, may do you great mischief, if you believe it, because it is not unfrequently pure trash. Here is an example: "The cause of Public Vice is passion, uncontrolled by principle." Now, this is a sounding phrase, which contains one very common-place truth, and besides that, a monstrous lie. For though the man's crimes *do* spring from unprincipled passion, it is a fact as well known as any fact can be, that on the part of the woman, there is no *passion* whatever. To say otherwise is a libel. Women are not sensual; they abhor sensuality, and when they become independent, it will be one of the first things swept away, whether in marriage or out. The unfortunate women who are the traders in this vice abominate it; they are driven to it by necessity, and to keep from starving; and you could take eight thousand out of the ten thousand from the streets of New York to-morrow, if you would only assure them of a decent, living employment. One week of woman's freedom to choose her own business, will do more to kill this vice than has ever been done before in a century.

Yes, the vice of cities can and will be cured — but not by moral reform societies. They are very respectable organizations, and do much good, but you will see them check public vice about the time that you see yourself reducing the flow of Niagara with a large and very bright tin pan. Niagara, however, can be reduced, if you take the right way to do it. Terrific as it is, it is made up of single drops of water. Seize them in the quiet valley or in the nooks of the distant mountain; let them follow every little declivity that leads to the lake; if they incline toward the Mississippi when they start, build a little dam across their track and *make* them go the other way; in short, force them out of every other channel but the St.

Lawrence, and sure as death, you will find them at or near Niagara. But take the pains to open new channels for them. Do not force them all into one. Let some of them spread out into pretty domestic lakes of beauty, and some marry into silver streams of use, and your great, roaring, ruinous fall will not run dry, exactly, but your lovely drops of pure, pellucid dew will not all of them dash over its frightful plunge, to be churned up among its filthy foam.

So shall our Heaven-suggested cause reduce this murderous social fall, whose every dizzy drop is a once innocent human soul; so shall independent woman open for her sex new channels of happy, harmonious existence; so shall her lovely innocence grow lovelier still in the clear vales of plenty and fertility hollowed out by her unfettered energies; so shall her exquisite purity, as natural to her soul as dew to violets, grow clearer and clearer in the streams of useful, active, united life, until, spiritualized by the fervent heat of the Divine sun, she rises on wings of Love, into celestial radiance, and adds new glories to her native heaven!

Another song was sung by the Harmonial Club, after which Mrs. MARY DAVIS addressed the Convention.

ADDRESS OF MRS. MARY DAVIS.

Friends,—I cannot forbear saying a few words on the great subject which has just been so ably presented to your notice. I shall detain the audience but a few moments with what I have to say, for others will doubtless follow me who can do better justice to this theme. This subject—Woman's Rights, Woman's Influence, Woman's Mission, in this world of ours—is one which more particularly claims our attention just at this time, than any other that could be presented to our notice. This is my opinion, and it seems to me it must be the opinion of all who thoughtfully consider the condition and the needs of the human race. Bold words have been said to you on this platform on this subject; bold words will yet be said. I trust all who listen will go away from this place with deeper thoughts upon their minds concerning the destinies of woman, and, through her, the destinies of the human race.

It is thought by some, perhaps, who are present here to-night, that woman is inferior to man; indeed, I believe this sentiment has practically been expressed before you on this platform. I need not argue this point. It makes no difference whether woman is inferior or superior to man, so far as her rights are concerned. If woman be a human being, if she be adorned with those qualities that distinguish the human from the brute creation, then is she entitled to consideration as an absolute entity—an individual, responsible, immortal being. But it is better to have one fact, one demonstration, than a great deal of speculation; therefore, I will call your attention to the fact, that twenty-two years ago, a woman came from across the waters to this our land. An exile from a foreign clime, she came with her soul burning with love for the human race, and with all the disadvantages of being unacquainted with our language, with all the disadvantages of having scarcely any acquaintances in this new land, to which she came as a stranger, with all the disadvantages that clustered around her pathway as a reformer, that woman stood before the American people and nobly proclaimed the everlasting Gospel of Freedom. She was the intimate friend and companion of that noble martyr to human freedom, Frances Wright;

she joined hands with that brave and true-hearted woman, and fought the battle of humanity. You have heard from that woman [Mrs. E. L. ROSE] to-day. She has again spoken to this people the words of truth and freedom, and noble words of love for humanity. She is not the only one. Another woman I know, who has been the mother of eight children. That woman has, year after year, struggled through all the disadvantages that crowd around the mothers of families in middle life; that woman, holding a babe upon her arms, has written noble poems, and sent them out to the world; that woman, standing in her kitchen, over her work, has written "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," and sent them forth to be published, that humanity might have the benefit of her great talents, struggles and labors; and while she labored, her thoughts have flowed into songs, which have been sung by many who delight the world with their music. That woman [Mrs. F. D. GAGE] has spoken to you to-day. Aged as she is, she comes as the noble representative of Womanhood, to inspire your souls with the greatness that fills her own.

With such women before you, — with woman, uneducated, but breasting all obstacles, and carving her way to position, fame, and influence, and working in the great cause of humanity, — with such women before you, is it necessary for me to argue this point to this intelligent congregation? I rejoice that this audience is made up, in great part, of women. There are women here with the seal of intellect upon their brow; there are women here who give the lie to that insinuation of inferiority on their very faces. Women! be encouraged! Never allow yourselves to droop under any such imputation as this. Remember that you have souls within you filled with energies and powers that may be used for the benefit of this great human race. Remember that to you belongs, more than to all the world besides, the mission and the power to enstamp great and noble thoughts upon our humanity. I rejoice that the great subject of marriage has been introduced to-day in connection with that of woman's rights, and also that the important subject of maternity has been presented here from eloquent lips; and I would beg of this congregation to consider well each of these questions, that they may be wiser in the future. I ask you, with such examples of womanhood before you, can you be content longer to allow the statutes that degrade woman to remain upon your statute-books? Those statutes have many of them been laid before you to-day, — statutes that degrade humanity, deform woman, belittle her nature, dwarf her intellect, and destroy her physical vitality, so that it is impossible for her to live that life, noble, pure, true and godlike, that nature designed her to live on earth, to say nothing of the nature she is to impart to her offspring.

Remember that one point, the remuneration that is paid to woman, which was spoken of by our brother and friend just now. Industrial avocations are all closed, or nearly all, to woman, and in those few avenues that she has access to, she is denied that remuneration that her brother receives for the same kind and amount of labor. What said our brother of the results of such niggardly conduct on the part of those who govern society? Women are driven into the low haunts of vice, which disgrace our civilization. Woman, in her noble womanhood, deprived of her beauty, deprived of her love and her humanity, she who was once bright and beautiful, worthy to be taken to your heart, my brother, now stands at the corner of the streets, with the oath of the inebriate upon her once rich and ruby lips. What a picture is this! This stain and this crime exist in our civilization. Sisters! think of it. Brothers! labor as you have never yet labored to in-

duce our law-makers, and those who regulate our social enactments, which are more potent, if possible, than legislative laws, — labor to induce them to raise the right hand in defence of woman; to reward her for her industry, that she need never be driven, with all her pure and womanly instincts, with all her capabilities and affections, with all her power to influence the human race, for good, for virtue, for happiness, for holiness, — that she may never be driven into such sinks of degradation, vice and crime. Is it not a sight over which angels might weep — these fallen ones of our humanity? Shall they not be rescued? Shall not those young and beautiful women who have not yet fallen, be saved from so terrible a fate! They must be. There must be a change in our social regulations, so that our beloved and beautiful ones, our daughters, who cluster around our firesides, and linger and dwell in our hearts, shall be preserved from this profanation of their holy natures.

Again, woman, as was also said by our brother, is driven into marriage by this same system of social despotism. *Driven into marriage.* Think of that! That union, which should be the holiest, which may be pure and immaculate; that union which may be cemented, built up, during all the years of our earthly existence, and extended into those beautiful spheres beyond the grave, — that blessed union is sacrificed to this unholy God, Mammon; that union is degraded and polluted by the fact, that woman is driven into it by the power of society, — driven into it for a home, for a position, when the only true basis of marriage is love. Fathers! mothers! teach your daughters this, that if they marry, they must marry for love, or they will consign themselves to a perdition that will be unendurable. Teach them this, and then train their hands to cleave their way by industry in those avocations which will ensure them remuneration; and then go forth and teach society that they must be remunerated.

Look at those avocations in which woman is allowed to take a position. School teaching! This is the profession of woman; it is not of man. Man uses school teaching as a stepping-stone to something higher and better, more lucrative, more congenial; woman is condemned to this avocation, whether she like it or not, or has been, to a great extent. But even in this, she receives not more than one-third the remuneration that is received by her brother for doing the same kind and amount of labor. In the city of Rochester, a few years since, the Superintendent of Public Schools recommended, in his report, that more women be employed in the public schools, because they were much better teachers than men, *and could be obtained a great deal cheaper!* Think of a recommendation like that! Woman thus trampled upon, thus robbed of her own natural advantages and rights. A report advocating the expediency of employing woman in the public schools, because she could be employed cheaper, *and yet would teach better than men!* Thus it is throughout society, woman is driven out from industrial avocations, and sent adrift upon the broad world, to secure to herself a position and education as best she may.

Now, in regard to this question of education, woman receives, under the best circumstances, not one-half the training that man receives, in the higher seminaries for education. Is this right? Woman, who is mother of the race, who is to produce the men and women of the future, she, the first teacher of the young, she, the one who makes the earliest impress upon the moral nature, she, who needs to receive the best training, mental, physical, and moral, that she is capable of receiving, she is denied even the advantages for education that man receives. How is it in our farming dis-

tricts? How is it with our farmers, who have sons and daughters to educate? The sons, of course, are allowed sufficient pecuniary assistance to take them through college; the daughters are turned off with a few shillings, to cleave their way as best they may to the scanty education they can get by hard labor, by working for their board, by doing all sorts of menial labor, and then, worn out in body, discouraged in spirit, they leave these educational institutions to take upon themselves the responsibilities of wives and mothers. What mothers are these! Can you recommend them as those who are to improve the next generation and the world? This must not be. Woman must be educated and trained. She must not be made to think that she is going to get married, and therefore she need not receive education. This has been the error all through our farming districts, and in our cities. Woman has been taught to think that because she is going to get married, and have children to take care of, she need not be educated. Now, I say, that because woman is to be the wife of man, because she is to be the companion of legislators, because she is to be the mother of the future, therefore she should be educated, thoroughly, entirely, — physically, mentally and morally.

One word further in regard to education. There are some institutions in our land that claim to give women equal advantages with men in every department of culture. Such an institution is Antioch College, Ohio, over which presides Horace Mann; another is Oberlin College, Ohio. These are good institutions; they have given to woman advantages which she has received in scarcely any other institutions throughout all our country. But have they done all? Has Antioch College, or has Oberlin College, given to woman the proper training in what we call the highest department of education — Oratory? They have not. Neither of these institutions has ever granted to woman the privilege of being trained in this great art; and yet, without this training, without any training such as young men have received from these colleges, there have gone out from these institutions women who have put to shame the Professors in those colleges; women, such as Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, who have stood before the world and proclaimed the equality of woman with man, — proclaimed the everlasting truth of nature. And such women there will be; — women in whose souls burn the fires of freedom, which must burst forth, notwithstanding the edicts of colleges, states, and governments. Woman will, she must, speak the thoughts that go seething through her brain, and give utterance to the emotions that fill her soul.

Now, I wish to call your attention to one point in regard to the law. Woman in the marriage relation is deprived, in the first place, of the right to her own person. There is a passage in Judge Reeve's work, reading somewhat after this manner: "It is the law that a wife cannot so contract as to bind herself. Her contracts are said to be void in law. The reasons on which this rule is founded, are two; first, the right of the husband to the person of his wife." Think of that! the right of the husband to the *person* of his wife! "This right," the judge goes on to say, "*is guarded by the law with the utmost solicitude!*" Do you know what has been the result of the enforcement of such a law as this upon the people of the world, during the centuries of the past? There has grown up with the marriage institution, which it is said should be kept pure and holy, a system of legalized prostitution. This system gives the husband unbounded license to sensual indulgence, and degrades him to the low level of mere animal life, giving lust a fatal predominance and perpetuity. It robs woman of beauty, health,

and vigor, turns the loveliness and sweetness of her nature into bitterness and discontent, changes all her love to loathing, and sends childhood into this broad, bleak world, an unwelcome intruder at the hearthstone. Our friend Henry C. Wright has written a work on this subject, "The Unwelcome Child," which I hope you will all read. I say, this system sends childhood into the world an unwelcome intruder at the hearthstone, filled with disease, and cursed with the heritage of evil, pain and misery. Think of this! You have no right, friends, fathers, mothers, to bestow life upon an immortal being, who, being brought into the world, is to be miserable, to be sick, to be wretched, to curse his or her existence. Beware how you take upon yourselves this responsibility! Beware, you law-makers, how you allow a law to stand upon your statute-book, that gives this fearful power to the husband over the person of his wife! Look abroad over the land, and see how many homes are filled with unwelcome children, in consequence of the abuse of that power by the husband; unwelcome to the mother and to the father, but particularly to the mother, who is suffering all the care and responsibility of this great office of maternity. Should not our laws be regulated? Should not woman be taught to feel that she has the power in her hands to rid herself of these dreadful fetters? I tell you, sisters, that you have in your own hands the power that must and will rise up in opposition to these oppressive statutes; that will rise up in opposition to the psychological influence, even, of those who now have control over you as husbands.

I speak not of those who, as Mrs Rose said this morning, are "a law unto themselves." I rejoice to believe that there are many here to-night, who are thus "a law unto themselves." I speak of those who are sensual; who are lustful; who have no high and pure ideas of the nature of woman; who have no high and pure ideas of the nature of childhood; who have no regard for the responsibility they take upon themselves, when they introduce these innocent beings into this world unbidden. I speak of the gross, the vicious, the wicked; those who do wrong because their natures are perverted by the influences imparted through their parents, or by society, after they came into this breathing world. There are vicious men, — men who spend their days in riot, and their nights in dissipation. These men come into the presence of pure-minded, and pure-bodied women, whom they call their wives, — these men, besotted, imbruted, whom you, my brothers, my respectable brothers, would not spend an evening with, in any place, go home to the presence of their wives, (think of it!) and society compels the wife, not only to spend her evenings with such a man, but to lodge with him, and become the mother of children by that imbruted husband! What wonder, then, that the majority of men sink below the level of the brute!

Woman! you have the power to resist such iniquities, and you should do it, for the sake of your living children, and for the sake of those who are yet unborn. Let your children be brought into the world with pure bodies, with loving hearts, and with happy and healthful souls, so that they may become ornaments to society, so that they may go rejoicing through this world, and build up characters which shall brighten to all eternity.

I believe there is "a good time coming"; I believe that the words which have been spoken here to-day by Mrs. Farnham, by Mrs. Rose, by Mrs. Gage, and by Mrs. Branch, will have their effect, for they have been uttered from sincere souls; and I believe there is indeed a better day coming for the whole human race, when woman, in the exercise of her high and holy prerogative, will introduce a diviner life for man upon the earth, will bring him up into an atmosphere of spirituality, and truth, purity, holiness, and perfectness of character.

"When from the lips of Truth, one mighty breath
 Shall like a whirlwind scatter in its breeze
 The whole dark pile of human mockeries,
 Then will the reign of Mind commence on earth,
 And starting fresh, as from a second birth,
 Man, in the sunshine of the world's new spring,
 Shall walk transparent, like some holy thing."

The Committee on Finance submitted a report, recommending that an admission fee of ten cents be required for the forenoon and afternoon sessions of the Convention on Sunday, which recommendation was adopted.

The President then held up a piece of blank paper, which he said was the programme submitted by the Business Committee for the next day — signifying that there was to be a perfectly free platform.

The Convention then, at half-past nine o'clock, adjourned.

THIRD DAY—SUNDAY.

FORENOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at nine o'clock, the President in the chair.

On motion of Dr. GARDNER, it was *Voted*, That until ten o'clock, the speakers be limited to ten minutes, and that no extension of the time be allowed.

ICHABOD MORTON, of Plymouth, read a series of resolutions which he advocated in a brief speech. He said that the good Father of us all had planted deep in the human soul the desire for heaven; but with all the powers given us, little lower than those of the angels, He had not given us any knowledge to know the way to heaven; but He had communicated that way by Jesus Christ his Son. That way, however, was one of the "Lost Arts." A living Christian had not been known since the first or second century of the Christian era. Instead of living the truths which Christ taught by his words and his life, we had had all sorts of mysticisms, and the efforts of priests and churches and sectarians to harmonize Moses with Jesus Christ. They might as well attempt to harmonize fire and ice. Moses made known a partial God; a God of the Hebrews, and who gave to that nation all the rest of mankind, to be their slaves. He made known a being who is the God of war and slavery. Jesus Christ made known a God who was the Father of all Mankind, and when we fully apprehended the words he taught us to pray, "Our Father," we should recognize every man and woman as our brother and sister. Jesus Christ was the model which the Father had given us by which to form the character of a Christian. And why was not the model followed? Because human nature is so constituted, that wherever men are born, they follow the example of those who are highest in influence and position about them, and seek to reach heaven by the path in which they walk; and they can know no other way until they have it pointed out to them in the life of a fellow being. The reason why no man or woman had been a Christian, was because Jesus Christ had not been lived over again in this body and in this life. When we followed the model which God the Father had presented us, there would be Chris-

tians. If a man wanted a beautiful church or ship, he employed an architect to make the model, and if the workmen did not follow the model faithfully, the contract was void. When we followed the model which the Divine Architect, in his infinite wisdom, has given us, in Jesus Christ, his Son, then we might be one with Christ, and one with the Father, — branches of his vine, bringing forth his fruit.

What was to be done to bring this heaven upon earth? Something besides a knowledge of the teachings of Jesus was necessary. The good Father had made every thing subject to invariable, just, and righteous laws. Man, the noblest work of Diety on earth, is subject to laws, which, if he disobeys, he must suffer for his disobedience. The laws of the human being must be known, before we could become children of God. What man, however great his acquirements, had ever studied the laws of God relating to every organ of the body and power of the mind? That science had yet to be learned, that mankind may be trained in the knowledge of the laws of God, and to the development of every organ of the body and every power of the soul.

Mr. TOOHEY. Among the remarks made by the friend who has just left the platform, was this startling declaration, — that the knowledge of the way by which to become a Christian was among the “Lost Arts.” I do not know but that, in the strict sense of the term, this may be true; yet hoping that we are entering upon a state of things by virtue of which we shall restore, not only the key to the Christian character, but the Christian character itself, as well as the virtues that spring from it, I present a resolution to you upon Free Trade, which I hope will bring out a full discussion upon a subject certainly demanding a free canvass : —

Resolved, That natural justice, individual and social morality, the peace, material wealth and prosperity of nations, and the spirit of human brotherhood, demand, that all international tariffs be immediately and forever abolished, and that governments, in all their various departments, be supported by *direct taxation*; and that America, as a republican government, is particularly called upon immediately to lead off in this important reform, thereby promoting the best interests of its inhabitants.

As I am not much acquainted with the political aspects of the subject, I do not intend to bring them up. But, believing that we shall grow wise and humane just in proportion as we rely upon the integrity of human nature, in proportion as we rely upon natural, inherent rights; and believing that, up to this time, we have suffered in proportion as we have allowed suspicion, or any of the mechanical safeguards that gather around the instinctive cupidity of our nature, to operate upon our minds, — believing that we suffer in proportion as we magnify the one and discredit the other, I therefore move that the resolution be adopted, as in some sense the conviction of the Convention.

WILLIAM ROBSON, of Warrington, England. I hope it will not be deemed presumption in an Englishman rising to second that resolution. Our country, as you are aware, has carried out that principle to a very great extent. I am not sure that I can state, with perfect truth, that it has been carried out in every point and particular; but I think I can state that there is no article of manufacture in England, which the English people make and sell in the open market of the world, that is subject to any tariff whatever on its introduction into England. Now, as a friend to Free Trade, as one who, in some small degree, contributed to the triumph of the principles of Free Trade in England, at the time of the abolition of the Corn Laws, I

would respectfully submit to you a few thoughts in furtherance of the resolution that has been proposed.

I suppose that you will concede to me that a lie is a lie, whoever speaks it; that it does not matter whether the lie is told by one person, or by a thousand, or by a nation, or by the whole world ["Hear, hear,"]; that if it is a lie, no resolution can make it true. I believe that you will all agree to that proposition. My second proposition is, — and you will all agree with me, — that a nation is composed of individuals, and that whatever is right or wrong for an individual is right or wrong for a nation, and that whatever is right or wrong for a nation is right or wrong for an individual.

Now, then, I claim the privilege of humanity — the right to exchange any manufacture of mine with any person on the face of the broad earth who chooses, of his own free will, to buy it of me, and I deny that any individual has the right to interfere with that exchange. Suppose, for instance, I have some goods that I wish to sell to Mr. Hovey, and he chooses to buy them of me. I say that my friend Mr. Wright would have no right to interfere and say, "You shall not sell those goods to Mr. Hovey, unless you give me a portion of the proceeds." He can only make that demand on the ground that both of us agree that it is right and proper that he should have a part of the proceeds, — and you will see that it would be rather difficult to convince us that that was the case. Now, I say that the same principle holds good as between nations: that if you, as Americans, choose to sell your wheat to England, and England chooses to buy it, no government has the right to step in and say that you shall not do it unless you give that government a part of the money.

The excuses that are offered for the establishment of tariffs are two. The first is embraced in the word "Protection." This "protection" means the giving of a bounty to every individual manufacturer to supply a given article. Of course, if a whole nation chooses to say to one of its members, "We think that the manufacture of such and such goods is so much benefit to all that we are willing to pay you a sum of money to carry it on," they have the right to do so; but if any member says, "I do not regard it in that light," then the majority have no right to compel him to pay his money for that object. I say again, that no government has the moral right to deny him the privilege of buying that article in the cheapest market of the world.

The second excuse is, Revenue; that is, Expediency; — and in a world where principle never governs, of course, to practical men, expediency means a great deal. Revenue must be had for the State. It is a very easy matter to collect revenue at the custom-house; so, almost all nations adopt the custom-house idea. Now, then, I appeal to your common sense. America wants a certain amount of money for governmental purposes. Who pays this money? It is perfectly clear that only those pay the money who have it. Those only pay the revenue to the State who have the means of paying it; and, therefore, any custom duty that is levied on a given article is paid by the consumer at the end. How much easier, then, it would be for the consumer to pay his share of the taxation at once to the government, rather than to let it go round through the custom-house. This is the more direct and simple method of doing it.

Another point. The only just principle of taxation is, that every man shall pay according to his ability to pay. No man's necessities should be taxed. I deny the right of any government to tax any man or woman and take from him or her that which is necessary for subsistence. All taxes

should come out of the superfluities of those who have them. If I have ten dollars, Mr. Wright one hundred dollars, and Mr. Hovey one thousand dollars, Mr. Hovey should pay one hundred times as much as I, and Mr. Wright ten times as much. The principle is perfectly clear, that every one should pay according to his ability to pay; and ability comes out of the superfluities of life, and they should be paid for proportionately. Now, all custom-house duties fail in this principle. The poor man pays just as much on his tea, coffee and sugar, as the richest among you.

I say that the principle of taxation is unjust, and I appeal to your moral sense if it is not so. If men should pay taxes according to their ability, direct taxation, in proportion to ability, is the only right principle. Then, this principle, if adopted, would render fraud almost impossible, it would throw open your ports to all the nations of the earth, it would reduce the cost of the articles which you buy, and tend to make all mankind one common brotherhood, the sons of one common Father, and the disciples of Truth and Love.

Mr. TIFFANY proposed to amend the resolution, by striking out all after the word "*Resolved*," and inserting as follows:—

"That reforms, looking to the moral elevation of individuals or of society, to be successful, must have their basis in religion."

Mr. TIFFANY said:—This has been called a Convention of Reformers; and we have as great a variety of reformers in our society, as we have varieties of character to institute and suggest them; and every man here, myself among the rest, booted and spurred, mount our reform hobby, and complain if we cannot ride our nag round the ring and let the people look. I purpose now to put in a nag that all can ride; and, therefore, I present this question of Religion. I have no desire, at this time, to make a speech, but I would draw out from the audience their ideas of religion. I will throw out merely a suggestion, which I wish you to understand as expressing my views.

I make a distinction between what a man thinks as to the manner of accomplishing any particular result, and what the true man desires in reference to the accomplishment of a result—between the means by which a man proposes to attain an end, and the end proposed to be attained.

I mean by "Religion," that truth which I believe necessary to enlighten the world; and I wish not only to know that truth, but to practice it in my life. When I wish to present to the world the idea of purity, I wish to present that idea through my own daily life, by becoming the embodiment of it. When I wish to present to the world a true representation of justice, I wish to aid that representation by the manifestation of justice incarnated in my life and character. When I have that desire which shall make me wish to be all-pure, all-just, and all-good, which shall lead me to strive to become, in myself, the incarnation of every virtue, and when I make that the burden of my life and of my aspirations, and try every thought, and feeling, and act, by that inward revelation of what is true, and pure, and just, I then become religious. No matter whether I believe in one God or ten Gods, so far as the outward faith is concerned, provided that the being who becomes the object of my soul's worship is that which represents the pure, true, just and good, after whom my soul hungers and thirsts,— "panteth as the hart panteth for the water-brooks." If I am in that state of aspiration, I am a religious man, in its true sense. So then, when I make use of this term "Religion," it is not in a sectarian sense.

I want the command to come home to every man who rises to speak upon any question—"Physician, heal thyself!" "Cast out first the beam

out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

This principle of absolute truth, purity, justice, and right, is the great object of my individual aspirations. If I pay more attention to my own faults; to that which separates me from the all-pure and all-true; look more into my own condition; be more earnest to put my own heart right than the hearts of others,—it will do more to reform the world than all the denunciations I can pour out from now till doomsday; will do more to remove slavery, intemperance and lust from the world than all reformers thundering forth to the end of time. So I say to all reformers, if we wish to regenerate the world, we must begin in our own hearts and affections. Try them by the absolute standard of truth, purity and righteousness, and see to it that we come up to that standard; and when we have thus reformed ourselves, and become a light before the world, speaking not only by the tongue but by the life, we shall not be obliged to come out and be called a poor despised band, each man trotting out his own hobby, and riding it round the ring, that the world may gaze on it. For one, I only desire that you and I, as true reformers, shall first see to it that we have in our own souls that aspiration after the all-just, all-good, all-pure, and all-holy, that shall make us love truth, justice, purity, and righteousness more than all things else.

H. C. WRIGHT. Mr. President,—The resolution before the Convention relates to the restrictions put upon the intercourse of man with man, by governmental organizations. I have a bushel of corn; you a yard of cloth. I want your cloth; you want my corn. I want to exchange my corn for your cloth. You consent to an even exchange. But you live in England or China. We violate no principle of justice or morality in the exchange; we interfere with no man's rights. We greatly benefit ourselves, without any injury to another. We simply wish to exchange our industry; I have the power to produce and to furnish you what you want, you to furnish me what I want.

We exchange the fruits of our labor, and each returns to enjoy what is obtained of the other. But, before I can use your cloth, or you my corn, in steps a third person, in the shape of a soulless, godless government, and seizes my cloth, and either robs me of it, or compels me to pay for it twice over. That third person expended nothing to produce the cloth or the corn, yet he strips me of my cloth, and you of your corn, and compels us to pay him for the goods of which he had robbed us. This is called laying a tariff, or duty on industry. The pretense is—to support that third person (the government), or to protect my industry. I claim it as my birthright inheritance to carry my industry where I please, and to exchange it for what I please, *provided* I wrong no man in so doing.

The reform sought by this resolution is, the immediate abolition of all tariffs and customs—all restrictions on the kindly, social, religious, literary, and commercial intercourse of man with man, around the world. It says, "Natural justice, individual and social morality, the peace, wealth and prosperity of nations, and the spirit of human brotherhood," demand this. All tariffs, whether for the support of government, or the protection of home-industry, are opposed to justice, engender strifes and wars between nations, impoverish individuals, build up an aristocracy of wealth, tend to exalt wealth above justice and humanity, promote nationalism, and annihilate the spirit of brotherhood among men. Standing armies, and navies, state religions, and the horrible corruptions of governments, would cease under a system of direct taxation. Seventy millions of dollars have been

expended by this government the past year, to establish slavery in Kansas and to compel the friends of freedom to bow their necks to slave-hunters and slave-breeders. Fifty millions of dollars more are asked to consummate the deed. This had never been done had the government been supported by direct taxation. Three dollars per annum are levied on every man, woman and child in the nation to enable James Buchanan, and his fellow tools of kidnappers, to extend and perpetuate slavery. Nations will employ their bands of hired and trained assassins (called soldiers) to murder innocent men, women and children, while the people supply them with means by *indirect* taxation. The only way to avert the horrors of a military despotism in this country is to abolish all tariffs, and supply the means of government by direct taxation. This is the only way to correct the corruptions of governments. All tariffs are unjust, therefore inexpedient.

All attempts to regulate the social or commercial intercourse of individual man with man, by governmental organizations, must end in despotism or in anarchy. Such organizations have no souls, no reason, no conscience, no God, no responsibility; they are invariably and of necessity regardless of individual justice, truth, love, honesty, and mercy. By precept and example, they debauch individual and social morals — having no respect for the life, liberty, prosperity, or happiness of individuals. They all claim a right to murder or enslave individuals, at their discretion, and for their interest. If governments be thus corrupt, as they ever have been and must be when supported by tariffs, how are individuals to be made to respect life and liberty? The people are made appendages to the government, not the government to the people.

Mr. Tiffany, in his substitute, asserts that all reforms must be based on religion; intimating that this resolution does not base this free-trade reform on religion. The reform proposed in the resolution is based on natural justice, the peace of nations, social morality, and human brotherhood. If by religion, as a basis of reform, he means something aside from these, his religion is a sham, and the less there is of it the better. A reform, based on justice, morality, peace, and brotherhood, has its foundation in the heart of God, and needs no other basis.

One word more. I am glad this subject of free-trade has come up today. It is *Sunday* — called the *Holy Sabbath* — *God's* day. If this be any more the Lord's day than another, which I do not think, this is the very day to discuss free-trade, for it is a *holy* subject — the Lord's holy cause. He who pleads for free-trade, pleads the cause of God. How? He pleads the cause of *man*, and whatever concerns the virtue, the elevation, and happiness of man, is dear to the heart of God. Whatever is for the good of man, is for the glory of God. Man owes no duties or obligations to God, aside from those which he owes to himself and fellow-men.

Mr. BEESON. We have had a great deal of talk here about humanity, and about the phenomena of Spiritualism, and the development of the needs, wants, and destinies, of all humanity. We have had some allusion to the Paternity of God, and the universal Brotherhood of man. We have had every class of humanity up here, pretty much, but one of the most important classes that ever lived in this country — I mean, the owners of the continent. Our speakers will talk about negroes, and Mexicans, and Russian serfs, and almost everybody else, but the poor Indians are overlooked, as if they had no rights at all. Mr. Tiffany has introduced religion; but he has omitted to speak of the great definition of religion, about which there is no dispute. All will agree, that "pure and undefiled religion" is

this, — “to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction.” Now, I want to call your attention to a great nation, which does not “visit the fatherless and the widows,” but which manufactures them by thousands, and leaves them to the most aggravated torture that the human mind can imagine. I call your attention to a single fact. Agents were recently sent to Rogue River, Oregon, my late residence, to gather up the remnants of the Indian tribes. They found one tribe with ten men and seven widows; another with twelve men, and forty widows and children; another with ten men, and sixty-five widows and children. There is a class of widows and orphans, that appeal to these benevolent countenances for sympathy in their affliction.

In the New York *Tribune*, lately, was an account of a battle with the Indians, which says it was a running fight, in which seventy-six warriors were killed, and three hundred horses captured. There are more widows and orphans, the objects of your Christian sympathies.

When I look upon these benevolent countenances, — these women with tender hearts and these men with the love of justice imprinted upon their brows, — I know that they must protest against these things. I know that when they hear of these things, and learn that they are true, they will lift up their voices against them. I know the reason why you have left these people in the hands of thieves and robbers, and passed by for years, like the Priest and Levite, on the other side, is because you have not been sufficiently acquainted with the facts. You have thought that the Indians were destined to perish, and it did not matter how soon. It is in my power to place before you facts that shall convince you that there is no natural tendency to decay. The only reason why the Indians decrease, is because *we kill them*, — the same reason which has thinned our forests, and exterminated our wild beasts. But do you not know that the forests were felled by willing hands, and that the wild beasts have perished by the rifle of the huntsman? If you had wanted to save the forests, it would have been in your power to save the whole of them. Your land could have been filled with wild beasts, if you had chosen, and had felt it your interest and duty, to have it so. Well, it is your interest and duty to save these fellow-men.

I arose, Mr. Chairman, merely to say a few words, hoping that I might have another opportunity, in the course of the day, to present this subject more fully; and I beg that you will allow me to have an opportunity to speak in this cause, for I know that this Convention will send forth its voice in behalf of that oppressed and persecuted race, and that voice will start other voices, in other States. I know that you will not consent to this murder of these people in cold blood; I know that you will protest against it; and I know that if you do protest against it, it will be stayed.

Mr. CURTIS moved to amend the resolution, submitted by Mr. Tiffany, so that it should read as follows: —

Resolved, That there is no religion which is worth any thing, that is not based on reform. [Applause.]

Mr. C. said, I offer the amendment for this reason. Mr. Tiffany tells us that every man rides his own nag, and displays it accordingly. I have no objection whatever to this, but I like to have every man's nag have his own name attached to it; and I think to call any man's nag by the name of “Religion,” shows a great want of charity, for I look upon the name as one of the blackest and most scoundrel-like names that can be chosen. There has never been a sin or a wickedness perpetrated on the human race, that has

not been justified, perpetuated and sustained under the name, and by the authority of, religion. God help me, whenever I call any thing I do by the name of religion! I should be very sorry to do it.

I want to speak on the question of Free Trade. If I make inquiry into the condition of those nations which are surrounded by custom-houses and tariffs, on the continent of Europe or anywhere else in the world, I find that just in proportion as these separate nations and communities are thus divided by custom-houses and duties, so have they fought and suffered, and so are they in debt in consequence, and now struggle for their liberty from debt and oppression. Just in proportion as we remove these custom-houses and tariffs, do we remove the possibility and probability of war, and consequently, we get rid of all the evils which appertain to war. You know it would be impossible to make a war between Vermont and any of the neighboring States; but it is very possible in Europe. There are little communities in Europe, not half or quarter the size of Vermont, who have as much interest in knowing about each other, as you have in knowing about the next State, and whose interests are one, as yours are, I think, but yet they are fighting and quarrelling continually, simply because they do not know each other. Just in proportion as the principles of Free Trade are understood and carried out, will the people of different countries be brought together, and all the blessings which result from this intercourse be obtained. There is no state in Europe, except England, where men could be brought together from different parts, in a Convention such as this, and freely express their opinions on men and things, on government and religion. Why? Simply because of these tariffs, which have kept the people in ignorance of the desires and wishes of each other. They do not know what they want; they do not know what their neighbors want in the next country, whom, often, they are trained to hate. My friend who spoke to you (Mr. Robson), whom I am proud to recognize as an Englishman and a fellow countryman, knows very well that even in England there would be a difficulty, to some extent, in holding a Convention like this, but on the continent, it would be utterly impossible.

Dr. GARDNER said he had heard a very general desire expressed that Andrew Jackson Davis should address the Convention at some stated hour, and he would therefore move that Mr. Davis be invited to occupy the stand at two o'clock in the afternoon, to address the Convention on any subject he may choose, without limitation of time.

Mr. DAVIS said he should be very sorry to have any such exception made in his behalf. He wished to take his chance with the rest, and when he got the floor, if the audience saw fit to extend the time, let them extend the same courtesy to him that had been extended to others. He had enjoyed his silence as much as others had enjoyed the speeches they had made.

A lengthy discussion followed upon the motion, in which a number of speakers took part, but it was finally carried.

JOHN LANDON then offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the retention or introduction of the teaching of any of the creeds of the sects of Christendom in our common schools, where sciences are now taught, ought immediately to be abandoned.

A song was then sung by the Harmonial Club, after which Mr. Tiffany again took the platform, and said:—I believe we are now back again upon the question on the amendment proposed to the resolution on Free Trade, "that all reforms not based on religion must fail." If I understand my

friend Wright's objection, who followed me after my remarks on the introduction of this amendment, it resolves itself into this: there is no such thing as absolute justice; it only exists as man's idea, and as men differ in their ideas, therefore there is no standard of justice, and when we talk about justice, we talk about an ideal thing, and one that varies accordingly as men differ who talk about it. Is there any such thing as justice absolute? [Mr. Wright — "Yes."] Is that dependent on our idea of absolute justice, or is it independent of our idea? [Mr. Wright — "Yes."] Is there any way of attaining to it, so that we shall know we have it? Is there any such thing as truth absolute? [Mr. Wright — "Yes."] How shall I get it? That is the question. Is there such a thing as purity absolute? [Mr. Wright — "Yes."] How shall we know it? These are questions I want brought before this Convention. We are talking of injustice in national and social relations. Very well; if there is an absolute standard, how shall we find it out? I get up and speak, and you say, "Oh, that is *your* idea." You get up and speak, and I say, "Oh, that is *your* idea." Very well; can we get beneath an idea on this subject? Can I arrive at any means by which, independent of your idea and mine, I can dig down deep to that foundation of eternal truth and justice, and know that I am there? — where I can know myself, and know that God is in me, and speaking through me? Is there such a place, such a state, such a condition? That is the question I want to submit. Or are we to go on, each man according to his own theory or idea, setting up his standard, and looking for nothing beyond his idea?

Now, I have a simple proposition to submit, which covers my definition of religion; which rises above all ideas upon this subject, and becomes the great fountain and well from which all true ideas on the subject of justice and right must spring. With this aspiration of my soul to become, in myself, absolute in my truth; absolute in my purity; absolute in my justice, whether it shall pluck out my right eye, or cut off my right hand, or take my life, I will stand up for justice, according to my highest light and holiest aspirations. When, nailed to the cross, and near my death, you pass by, reviling me and wagging your heads, I cry out, from the very innermost of my soul, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!" And if I find in my soul a spirit that would cause me to turn round and denounce you, I know I have not that love in my heart — I know that there is selfishness ruling there.

When I speak of religion, I mean this: you must, and so must I, so live and act, as to desire, in your inmost souls, in all you think, speak and do, to become absolutely pure, true, just and good; and having that desire, make use of all the light in your power, and, seeing what is right, do it, cost what it may. This kind of vitality, this kind of earnestness, this kind of reform, I need, to make me an Abolitionist, a Temperance man, a friend to the poor Indian; to make me a Peace man, to cause me to be up and doing in every work where humanity calls for labor, because my heart will go out with all its strength and power to give expression to that principle of love in the soul.

We talk about being under the influence of sympathy, and we are appealed to, by the sympathy that stirs our hearts at the spectacle of human suffering, to do thus and so. I seek a deeper, a holier, a more substantial love than can be based on sympathy. I want a love as deep as the love of God, as unchangeable and immutable; I want a justice in my soul based upon my belief of the eternal relation of all things; I want a purity in my

soul that shall lead me to go unblushingly before my Heavenly Father; that shall teach me to keep within me a clean heart; to purge me as with hyssop, that I may be clean. That is the spirit I want, and that I call Religion; you may call it what you please.

I agree with my friend Foster, and thank the man who points out the blemish he wants to rub off. The man who points out my error is my best friend. The question is often asked, whether a man is saved by works or by faith. When I work in reference to the gain I am to obtain, whether in escaping hell or winning heaven, I am working on a selfish basis, and not from the highest and holiest aspirations of my soul. What I want is this, to keep my eye upon my own soul; see what rules there; see whether truth, purity, and justice are absolute in me, or whether I can be induced to sell them for power or for gold. If truth, purity, and justice are enthroned within me, then, when I come into *rapport* with my Father in heaven, I can lie down and sleep and rise up and work; I must work; I die if I do not work; because the Divine in me must work in and through me.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I claim to be brother Tiffany's best friend, according to his own definition; [laughter] and therefore oppose his resolution distinctly. My first objection is, that I do not like its having been offered as a substitute for a resolution before the Convention. Perhaps a majority of the Convention want both these resolutions. Let us, then, not kill one, by the introduction of this, so entirely different. My second objection is, that the amendment is meaningless, and his confessions to this are abundant. In the first place, he tells us that reform must be based upon religion; and then he asks us to tell him what religion is. Now, if he did not know what religion was, to say that reform is based upon religion, is to say what he is not authorized to say. When he can clearly explain to me what religion is; then how reform is based upon that religion; then how we are to place this instead of free trade, — then I shall be prepared to support his amendment; but not until then.

Mr. TOOHEY offered the following preamble and resolution: —

Whereas, Isolation and antagonism tend towards and beget egotism; and, whereas, most of the systems of education now in vogue are fragmentary in conception, and defective in *natural* method; therefore,

Resolved, That we recommend the facts and principles of physiology and phrenology as fundamental to the science of life and a unitary education; both of which demand the emancipation of the body from the bondage of disease and sickness, that the mind may be the more effectually freed from ignorance and error.

Mr. T. advocated the resolution. He said: — Mr. Chairman, in the conventions and associations it has been my privilege to attend, I have found the same difficulty to characterize them which we have here encountered, — a difficulty prolific of dislike and discord, — owing to the difference of education and local prejudice. This naturally tends towards conflict and begets antagonism, developing feelings and passions, that have, in one form or another, lived through the "conflict of the ages," and the "battle of the churches."

In order to meet this necessity, and correct the resultant state of things, it occurred to the speaker to draft the resolution read in your hearing, affirmative of facts and principles, all of which outline, if they do not authorize, a reliable and unitary Anthropology — the science of man and woman.

This will combine the various views and methods of the past — of history and life — thereby doing justice to all. It seems to me we are now simply beating the air, and must continue to do so, so long as we continue to be

destructive and partial rather than constructive and catholic in our philosophy. In fact, it becomes a matter of astonishment, when we remember that convention after convention has been held, in which men talk and speculate, criticize and condemn, without seriously addressing themselves to the affirmative and constructive side of life; much less inquiring into the scientific aspects of the race's development. I hope, however, the time will come when our reform meetings will ask, Has science done any thing for the race's progress? Is science humanitarian and religious? And if so, can science be made *practical* in developing the body and educating the mind? For one, I believe the revelations of science are numerous and important, and as nature is plastic to the all-conquering mind of man, they must continue to accumulate, and, sooner or later, be made the basis of intellectual, moral, and social philosophy. Let them, therefore, be recognized by all reformers and the friends of human progress.

These thoughts, Mr. Chairman, are simply introductory to some reflections I wish I had the time to offer in full on the physical education of the young. As it is, I can but recommend the statement of the resolution, asking for it an attentive reading. I am not, in saying this, vindicating the speculative views of physiologists or phrenologists, but recommending the *facts* and *principles* of these departments of science, as they authorize a thorough and more practical education — that our boys may in time become men, as our girls women.

By my experience as a boy, I know what the sufferings of boyhood are, and wish I had the time to say what my soul feels on the subject; for they are in many cases the victims of popular ignorance and public opinion. It cannot well be otherwise, so long as society remains ignorant of the laws of life, and the relations which physiological education sustain to human and spiritual culture.

Believing in the proper education of the young, I appeal to you for them, that they may not receive the whippings, aye, the raw-hidings, it has been my fortune to get during boyhood. I ask for them a more convenient avenue of communication, and a more agreeable medium for the cultivation of the memory and the acquiring of knowledge than a closely confined schoolroom, with occasional punishments from the toe of the boot or the back of the hand.

I knew these forms of so-called correction are fast becoming obsolete; but they are still sufficiently popular to merit attention, and particularly so, in families where health of system and strength of constitution make the boy and girl occasionally rude and troublesome.

This is a different class from the boys of putty and the girls of dough we meet with in the every-day relations of life; a class of boys and girls with *nub* in them; who, having within them the elements of a noble and a heroic manhood and womanhood, manifest character, and are therefore called *pests*, and often become the *plagues* of the family. This fact should be recognized and borne in mind, for nearly every man or woman, who has towered head and shoulders above their fellows in the ages, have become distinguished by ignoring, rather than following, the education of the times. They too often have been truants from school, and heretics to the social custom that sent them there. True, they may not be commended for this, the more as they often have nearly driven their mothers crazy, and sent their fathers to lunatic asylums.

If, however, we would avoid such natural results, we must correct the defects of an *un-natural* education, by creating institutions of learning and

methods of culture truly calculated to develop the body and harmonize the mind. I know we have few, if any, of this class in society at present; but I hope the better Genius of the Age will soon inspire the benevolent and philanthropic to establish such reform schools. I plead for them, in the name of humanity, in the name of the great future, whose glory is over us — as we are legislating for the one and creating the other — in these and similar Conventions. I plead, since the deficiency is made manifest, that the defect may be supplied. And I am happy to say, in this connection, that an effort has been made in New York State to modify the popular system of schooling, so that instead of sitting six hours a day, *three* only shall be spent in study; the rest being devoted to well-directed physical exercise and social recreation. You may ask — Why this change? Simply because, as the child is father to the man, *all* neglect or misdirection of the former brings sad and evil consequences to the latter; because no child can sit *six* hours per day, day after day, week after week, with impunity. The proof of this is in the pale, flabby, defective beings we have around us. In fact, you hardly find blood enough in a man's body now-a-days to sustain the impulse or inspiration that would prompt him to shake hands. Indeed, I might ask, without becoming impertinent, who thinks of shaking hands in a warm, friendly way? *Few* — for the popular form is a species of jerk, more resembling the gesture of a pump-handle, than the warm greeting of an earnest and loving heart. [Laughter.] Need I ask, therefore, why the friendly embrace is unfashionable, and the tender caress neglected? No! for it must be self-evident, on a little reflection, that the affections and the passions must die out, when the health is defective and the blood watery. Never was saying more true, than when Ralph Waldo Emerson remarked — “Give me *health* and a crust, and I will give you inspiration.” The opposite of this, however, is true of us in most particulars; for arms and legs have, for the most part, gone out of use — only as the former aid in ornamenting the body and feeding the face, and the latter carries the owner to the nearest railroad depot or omnibus. Pedestrianism, running, walking, wrestling, swimming, and all the physical exercises for which the ancients were famous, by us, in this fast age, are forgotten or ignored.

This should be altered altogether, that *every* part of the muscular system may receive a systematic and symmetrical cultivation. Art, speaking in the name of beauty, demands it; humanity implores it, and the genius of progress commands that custom give place to wisdom; theory to practice; that indolence and inactivity may be swallowed up in bodily health and spiritual earnestness.

Again: Much has been said to-day about religion — abstract and metaphysical; but can you find, or do you expect to get, religion in *sickness*? If you do, you should not, for they are antagonistic to, and inconsistent with, each other. You may, indeed, find a person enjoying the *sentiment* of devotion while prostrate on the bed of sickness, but all such piety and religion is isolated from, and exceptional to, the practical relations and duties of life. I know the value of suffering, as an element of culture, and the good that at times springs from it; but the man who magnifies sickness *per se* into a *direct* manifestation of God for the correction of the individual, is not only ignorant of the philosophy of the age and the revelations of physiology, but he teaches a theory at once injurious to society and the individual.

I recommend physiology and phrenology, therefore, as the right hand and left hand gospel of physical and practical life, believing that the time is not far distant, when science and religion will go hand-in-hand for the healing

of the nations. And let this be our consolation and answer, when asked for the *corrective* remedy for existing physical evils.

ELDER GRANT. I am here as the friend of all present. Wherein I differ from others, I wish to differ in kindness. I profess to be a reformer, like others; I profess to be a Christian reformer; and perhaps I am the only one upon the stand who firmly believes the Bible; I do not know that this is so, but I am not ashamed to declare before the congregation, that I believe the Bible. I am here, on a general, kind, impartial invitation to hear the different advocates of reform, and if I do not agree with them, to state my objections in kindness; and I think, sir, it is no more than fair that those who believe in the Bible and in Christianity should have an opportunity to advocate the Christian religion and the Bible, and the God of the Bible. Hence I speak a word.

We have been told this morning that Spiritualism embraces all reforms. If this be so, and it is a true system of reform, I wish to join the Spiritualists. I am not a religious bigot; to such a charge, I plead "Not guilty." I love liberty and justice, in their broadest sense. I was much pleased with the remarks of my friend Tiffany. I believe in all true reform, all true religion. I do not care much how you put it; if true reform, it is embraced in true religion; true religion is embraced in true reform. I like the Bible definition of it very well:—"Pure and undefiled religion is"—what is it?—"to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and live unspotted from the world." I think Mr. Tiffany will not demur to this definition.

The worth of a reform and its importance depend upon its doctrines and its practices. In resolution number five, we read;—"Resolved, That the only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman, and that the only true home is the isolated home, based upon this exclusive love." This reads well; but there is a point which I intended to introduce yesterday, which I will now bring out, in connection with a part of resolution number three—"that the conviction of the possibility and actuality of spirit intercourse is opposed to all despotism, impurity and sensualism, and conduces to the inauguration of the only authority consistent with the human soul, and favorable to sound morality." Now, sir, let us remember the resolution concerning marriage, which I have just read, and I ask, What constitutes marriage? When is the time of my marriage—when my love commences, or is it when it is sanctioned by the proper authorities? Why, you all know what constitutes marriage. I read in the papers—"MARRIED—At such a time, Mr. and Mrs. So-and-so." What does it mean? That they began to love then? No; they loved long before that. This resolution reads—"The only true and natural marriage is an exclusive conjugal love between one man and one woman." The "marriage" consists in the "love." Perhaps some present are not aware that the repeal of all marriage laws is recommended. This resolution looks to that.

I ask another question. If I am married according to the common custom by the laws of the state, when am I unmarried? When, by legal action, I am separated. But if I am married when the love commences, when am I unmarried? When the love ceases. What is the result? I can go and choose another wife. My friend Wright tells me he is the only standard for himself, and will admit no authority from God or man. Well, as my love ceases for that companion, in consequence of some misfortune, I am unmarried; because I was married when the love began,

and therefore, when that love ceases, I am unmarried, and I go and seek another.

I brought out this point yesterday, and stated some facts that were called in question. I will repeat them again, and call for proof to the contrary. One of the lady speakers at a Spiritual Convention held in Ravenna, Ohio, said that "to confine her love to one man was an infringement of her rights." The same idea, as I understand it, has been expressed here. "Although she had one husband in Cleveland, she considered herself married to the whole human race. All men were her husbands, and she had an undying love for them. What business was it to the world whether one man was the father of her child or ten men? She had the right to say who should be the father of her offspring." This, sir, is carrying out most legitimately that resolution, for if I became married when the love began, when the love ceases, as love constitutes the marriage, I am unmarried, and may choose another companion, and so on. This is "Free Love."

Again, in relation to doctrines, I ask, What are the doctrines of Spiritualism in relation to the creation of man? We have a philosophy of creation from the spirit of Thomas Paine. He tells us that man was made or sprang from the monad, and gradually rose up until he became man. Our Bible declares that God formed man of the dust of the ground. Which shall I believe?

Another point. What is the doctrine of Spiritualism with regard to Deity? "God is not a person," says the spirit of Thomas Paine, "but a principle;" and I am prepared to quote from others who declare that God is not an entity, not a being, but a principle; consequently God does not exist as a being any more than the law of attraction, which brings the apple to the ground.

Mr. STORER. I have thought that perhaps it would be well to offer a few remarks upon the resolution now before the Convention;—the one proposed by friend Tiffany; and I would speak upon that portion of it which bases reform upon religion. I agree with both parties in this discussion. I infer that, inasmuch as all things are progressive in nature, there must be constant reformations going forward, owing entirely to this religious law, that outworks through them; hence, that in order to come up to my most intimate relations with the infinite, I must undergo a series of reformations, which have taken place in me from the time I was conceived, or from the time I was brought into this objective world. I look also upon these grand old mountains as being under the same laws; I look upon these great masses of vapor, that are piling their aerial summits above these green hills, and I recognize the fact that they, too, obey the same laws to which I owe allegiance. Hence, there is a religion peculiar to them and peculiar to myself.

Perhaps it may appear to some that man does not yield that allegiance to his nature that these mountains do. Why? Because of his will; because it rests with him, by his own interior promptings to decide how long it shall be before he makes those progressive strides that will bring him into a realization of his highest and best.

Now, when I look upon men engaged in the various branches of reform, I look upon them as engaged in one common work, to bring men up from a lower to a higher position. But the point at which I desire you to look is, that each individual soul must work according to the promptings of his own religious nature; he cannot be governed by any that pertain to these mountains, or to these vapory forms we see above us; he is responsible to those promptings of his own nature, that he, as an individual, holds to the Infinite Author of all; consequently, sir, although he may compare his

religious promptings with those of other men, yet he must make other men's religious convictions his own, before he can act justly in them. He cannot yield to authority; but he may and must investigate the opinions of all others, and so far as they conform to his own convictions, so far can he act upon them. And this is what I mean by individual authority. It is not an authority that takes away from man his liberty; but it is an authority that unites him to another. My religious promptings bring me into relation with God; but I can only know God as the embodiment of the highest idea of justice and goodness which I can conceive, through the feelings and reason. Hence, you bring before me the God to whom our brother Grant yields obedience,—the God revealed in the Bible, as I understand, the God of Moses, and the same God, we are told, the God of Jesus of Nazareth; I see such discrepancies in his character, that I cannot accept him as a unitary being. I say, the God of the nineteenth century, the God of my own soul in the nineteenth century, with all the light that I can obtain concerning him, is the God I worship, and the God to whom my religious nature owns allegiance.

Whence comes the wrong done to the individual? Is it not in violating the convictions of your highest and best? and is there an individual here who can assert that he has never sinned against his highest and best convictions? If there is, then is there one here who needs no repentance; then is there one here who does not feel the promptings of higher aspirations. But I do not believe it. You all acknowledge that you have sinned; and although you may have been taught, theoretically, that there is no sin, yet the intuitive perceptions of man tell him that he does not do as well as he can, and he is prompted to become pure, and to yield allegiance to all the demands of his nature, as that nature and the good of his fellow-man require. I therefore hail those who believe in faith, which I term religion; and I hail those who engage in works, which I believe in as the offspring of faith. I hope to be saved through faith, that brings me in relation to God, and through works, that enable me to take hold on man, and lift him also to God. [Applause.]

The following resolution on the Education of the Young was then read:

Resolved, That the greater portion of the evils, miseries, and crimes existing in society, arise either directly or indirectly from radical defects in our systems of instruction; and that it is the duty of every friend of permanent reform to direct their first and best efforts to the moral, physical, and spiritual development of the young, upon a broader basis of personal and entire religious freedom.

The usual hour of adjournment (twelve o'clock) having arrived, Mr. Foster moved that the forenoon session be continued one hour, which motion was carried.

On motion of Mrs. Farnham, the ten minutes' rule was suspended.

J. L. D. OTIS, of Marlow, N. H., was then introduced, and spoke as follows:—

ADDRESS OF J. L. D. OTIS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I stand before you to-day as a delegate from the New Hampshire Spiritual Union Association. My name has been given to the Spiritualists of the country as a new convert, and I wish to tell you *to* what I am a convert, and *from* what I am a convert.

I have been, for the last eighteen years, at the head of various scientific and literary institutions; I have belonged to that class of religionists who

denominate themselves Methodists ; and I come up here to-day as a Bible man, a Bible Spiritualist. I come up here, if I may so express myself, to be another defender, with brother Miles Grant (for I can call him a brother), of the Bible. But I do not come up to be a defender of "the letter" only, "which killeth," but of "the spirit," which "maketh alive." [Applause.] And yet, within the last few weeks, throughout the length and breadth of the Methodist kingdom, there has gone out the cry, that I have become an infidel ; and I suppose my brother Grant will call me an infidel. Why ? Because I do not, never did, and never can, believe that my Father, who is a perfect being, a perfect God, ever found it necessary to violate his laws, in order that this world might be created, and the things that are therein. I take the spirit of the Bible. I believe that God is a Spirit ; that man is a part of the Infinite Eternal One, and that his *spirit* is created in the image and likeness of the Father, and not the poor, frail, decaying casket. I am called an infidel, then, because I do not believe that a perfect God ever made a perfect law, and then found it necessary, as an omnipotent being, to violate that law, for the sake of carrying out his designs among men, or on the face of any of his planets and revolving systems. I believe that God created the heavens and the earth, as my brother A. J. Davis believes it, — as he has said to us, out of a mass of matter which is, like God, eternal, — by natural laws, and caused the revolving worlds each to assume its appointed place, and perform its appointed revolutions ; and I believe the seven periods of time spoken of in the first chapter of Genesis may well each have been sixty million of ages, for we read in that good book which you and I believe, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. Why, then, may not sixty million of ages have been as one day, so long as it is but one period of time ? I am called an infidel because I will not accept the *letter* of the Bible. I am called an infidel because I believe God is just what he says he is ; just what all Nature proclaims him to be, — perfect in goodness, perfect in love, infinite in power ; because I do not believe that that God — that merciful, that kind, that glorious God — ever did or ever will command the sun to stand still, that man may protract the hours of butchery. [Applause.]

But I rise, Mr. President, to speak upon a resolution that has reference to the educational interests of our country. I believe in all these great reforms which have been so ably advocated here, in this great throbbing ocean of mind, into which I am willing to cast my pebble, in the hope that a little ripple shall be made that shall bear some fragment to the shore of practical utility. I am willing, sir, to listen to other reforms, but I believe, in my soul, that this Spiritual movement is the foundation on which all reforms must rest ; for, sir, no man or woman can be a true Spiritualist who does not believe, in all sincerity, in the total abolition of all slavery, whether of the mind or the body. I have long been one of that class who have labored with brother Pillsbury, and I regretted to hear a man for whom I entertain so much respect, arise, and having acknowledged the sincerity of those who speak in favor of Spiritualism, call in question their ability to address you. I regretted it ; and while I honor the man, and honor the work in which he is engaged, I cannot honor that feeling, whether expressed by him or any other, which would make this any other than a perfectly free Convention. But, sir, these things are to be expected at this day. Let us read the resolution :—

Resolved, That a great portion of the evils, miseries, and crimes existing in society arise either directly or indirectly from radical defects in our systems of instruction.

Here, then, lies the defect. At the root of the tree lies the poison. I have been a teacher long; and, I say it with regret, I have too long taught the doctrine of emulation, for the sake of excelling. I have too often, with others, been into the schools of my country, and said to the little boys and girls assembled there, "Perhaps here is the future Governor of New Hampshire, the future President of the United States." I did not think, as I now think, that I was thereby cultivating the love of fame, one of the basest passions that actuate the human mind. I did not think I was training those boys and girls in a way that would lead them to strive to rise that they might put their feet upon the neck of their unsuccessful brother or sister; but so it was, and you know it. And I have been into schools, too, and have told the little boys and girls, "You must study, that you may acquire knowledge, and when you grow up to be men and women, you will thereby acquire wealth; and if you do not, you will have to be hewers of wood and drawers of water." And what principle of selfishness did I thereby inculcate? Why, avarice,—the meanest and basest of human passions.

Now, as my time is limited, I will say but one word. I have come into new light. I intend, in future, when I go among little boys, or big ones either, to tell them they must do right, because God is right; that they must love each other, because they are children of God; and that they must do good, because *their own happiness* will consist in doing good. I have restrained, in a measure, (I must say it, though I have tried not to do it,) — I have restrained, in a measure, those under my charge in their religious belief. Hereafter, I shall say to no man, to no child, "Know the Lord;" but I shall endeavor to teach the principles of universal knowledge, which will lead men to find God within them, and through them, and all about and above them.

It is the duty of every friend of harmonious reform to direct their first and best efforts to the moral, physical, and spiritual development of the young, as well, it may be said, as to the mental. I am not here to find fault with your mental systems of instruction, but with your physical and moral I do. We are about establishing in New Hampshire, with your assistance, — and I came here to claim it, — an institution for the dissemination of a higher and more glorious system of education. We meet at Claremont, on the sixth of July next; and let every one who is in favor of a true spiritual development; every one who is in favor of a perfectly anti-sectarian education, upon the broad basis here laid down, — entire personal and religious freedom, — let them come, and hear what is to be said there; and let them come prepared to take shares in that stock, and thus aid in the establishment of such an institution.

I am glad we have met on this day; for I am one who fears not to consecrate God's holy day by doing good. I am here to pull the sheep out of the pit into which it has fallen, even if it is the Sabbath day. I will close by reading another resolution, and call upon Mrs. Walker, of Burlington, to second it: —

Resolved, That our sons and our daughters should be educated upon a platform of equality, and that separate schools for the sexes are conducive to evil.

ADDRESS OF MRS. D. M. F. WALKER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:— It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise to second this last resolution. Twenty-three years ago, I stepped upon the teachers' platform; but I now find it too limited. I wish for one more plank in that platform. Permit me to read this resolution again:—

Resolved, That our sons and our daughters should be educated upon a platform of equality, and that separate schools for the sexes are conducive to evil.

The dollar question—this mighty American Dagon—has come in between us and the light of truth and justice, and so eclipsed our eyes, that, when about to educate our children, we ask ourselves this question, "Will it pay?" That is, will they be enabled to make *money* by it? Hence, we have two platforms of education, one for our sons, and another for our daughters. For the time has not been when it would "pay," in this sense of the word, to educate our daughters. But, let us give our daughters the same mental culture which we give our sons, and the time is not distant when it will "pay." Just so soon as woman is educated to fill a position, so soon will new and higher positions be left vacant for her to fill; and there is no danger here, that woman will unsex herself. The truly educated woman will as certainly find her level amid the whirl of society, as will water find its level in the ocean's bed.

In our opinion,—and we have had some observation and experience in this matter,—it is a great mistake to separate the sexes during their school-days. We are aware that we are stepping on forbidden ground, but we speak from our highest convictions of truth. Men and women hold a God-given relation to each other; they were designed by their Creator to walk the same paths of life together; their joys and sorrows, their comforts and cares should be common stock. They should be mutual co-laborers for the good of mankind, and such they *must* be when the school-days are finished and they step out upon the platform of active, real life, or the death-warrant to all progress and reform is sealed.

But oh, how unfitted for this! Take the illustration of the scissors, to which some of our brothers have alluded. Suppose you have a capitalist here who wished to invest twenty thousand dollars in the manufacture of scissors. With one half the money he builds a shop here at Rutland, puts in his workmen, and they forge, and temper, and file, and polish, and finish one blade of the pair of scissors, and throw it into a box; with the other ten thousand dollars, he establishes a concern in Boston, puts in his workmen there, and they go on and forge, and file, and polish, and finish the other blade, and throw it into a box. By and by the boxes are sent to Portland, and the blades riveted together. Do you wonder that the scissors put together in that way do not cut? [Applause.] I do not. But that is the way (pardon me for saying it, but it is my experience, and it is only by experience that we arrive at the truth,) in which we educate our sons and our daughters.

Look for a moment at the education of our daughters, as compared with our sons. Hers is called finished before she has arrived at the stand-point which would honorably admit our sons to college. This is about the sum total of a fashionable female boarding-school education: A little geography, a little history,—that is, she gets a few disconnected facts about the discoveries of Columbus, the revolutionary war, the battle of Bunker Hill, etc., packed into her head without order; tastes a little of mathematics,

which she generally spits out; studies botany without ever dissecting a flower; astronomy till she cannot tell one star from another, or read understandingly the common almanac; gets a lisping of Italian; a smattering of French; goes far enough in Latin to decline *bonus*; writes half a dozen compositions on "friendship," and "home," "spring," "summer," and "autumn;" indites a few school-girl epistles, full of undying affection; perpetrates a sonnet to a moon-beam or a butterfly; practices a little music; works little worsted dogs and roses on footstools; daubs a little in water colors; receives a diploma; is *graduated*, and then,—what? Goes home, to "come out," and set up for matrimony! [Laughter and applause.]

Now we ask, in all soberness, if this is not a true picture? And do you wonder, when our daughters are run through such an educational mill, that they are so *admirably* fitted to be helpmeets for men in all the sterner duties and realities of life? We say, then, the separation of the sexes in our schools is a radical defect in our system of education. One of the most unruly, unrefined and debased schools with which we were ever connected, was a female seminary of high stamp, in a large New England city. We know there are exceptions, and we say not this to cast aspersions on female seminaries, but simply to show the legitimate results of an unnatural system of education. Nothing is more erroneous than the idea that the development of unhallowed passions results from a commingling of the sexes in our institutions of learning. Nothing of this nature need be feared, while their intercourse is governed by the same rules of etiquette which are everywhere observable in good society; on the contrary, a refining, reforming and elevating influence is the result. It is, we believe, a conceded point, that no feature in college life is more disastrous to the morals of young men, than the monastic one, and many a man is bankrupt here, before his collegiate course is finished. Whoever lives to see the day when our college doors, our law and medicine schools, and all our higher institutions of learning, are thrown open alike to our sons and daughters, when each shall walk into our temples of science arm-in-arm under the same archway, each stand side by side on the same rostrum, will see the dawning of a millennial morn in education and morals.

One thought more, and I am done. This element of aimlessness of purpose, in female education, shuts down on her soul like an incubus, paralyzing all effort, and cramping all energy. How can our daughters become scholars, without an object in view worthy of this effort? For *what* are they educated? Echo answers, "What?" They are educated for no place in particular, hence they will have none. Give woman her rights, on the same platform with man, and she will have an object; educate her, and she will have her rights. The two are inseparably connected—the object and the motive to scholarship—and mutually react upon each other.

This aimless education, without length, breadth, or depth, will never develope woman's powers. She should be taught to know her own strength, and no longer be considered a minus quantity. We have been in the rule of subtraction long enough; it is quite time the signs were changed back to their original value. [Applause.] Give us an education which shall fit us to become mothers, and the *educators*, the drawers-out and developers of the mental resources of coming generations. We need, and we must have, for our girls a more vigorous, more practical education; one that shall develope strength and resolution of character, shall give expansion to the mind, power to the will, ambition to the hope, purpose to the soul, and energy to the life. [Loud applause.]

A song was then sung by the Harmonial Club, after which the Convention adjourned, to meet at two o'clock, P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at two o'clock by the President.

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, of New York, took the platform, and read the following resolutions :—

Whereas, the historical fact is undeniable that novel signs and mysterious manifestations have been intimately associated with the inception and subsequent inauguration of every moral dispensation, therefore—

Resolved, That we hospitably welcome all the well-ascertained phenomena of so-called modern Spiritualism, and cordially commend them to the careful and candid investigation of the truth-loving and intelligent. Furthermore,—

Resolved, That, while publicly avowing our unqualified confidence in such well-ascertained phenomena, as being both timely indications of a New Era and evidences of a higher existence, we at the same time proclaim them (the facts of Spiritualism) as neither supernatural nor miraculous, but as beautiful operations and legitimate developments of man's spiritual constitution.

SPEECH OF A. J. DAVIS.

I do not purpose, Mr. President, to occupy much time in the discussion of these resolutions, but it seems to me to be an undeniable historical fact, that, intimately associated with all religious dispensations, have been certain spiritual awakenings; a certain fertilization of the religious and spiritual sentiments of mankind; also, that in keeping with such fertilization and such exaltation of feeling, there have been external manifestations, showing the working of interior causes, potential and intelligent. I say, that is the undeniable historic fact. The Genius of Human History presides over all human judgment; and when we arrogate any skepticism against that testimony, we have not only the laws of nature to contend with, but the concurrent convictions of all good men and women, from the foundations of human history, to this hour. It is an undeniable historic fact, that when any old dispensation retires from the stage, a new one is heralded by certain notifications that strike the senses; that act directly upon the external and internal nature of man; that rouse his intellectual and moral nature to an apprehension of principles, by and through what, in their ignorance, men have called "miracles," or the mysterious operations of yet more mysterious and distant agents. It is our happiness, in this age and day of the world, to discover that it is not mysterious or supernatural action on the part of any external agents, but that it is the general, the inevitable operation of that vigorous vital force within the constitution of our nature, which testifies not only of the vast past of man, but at the same time stands prophetic on the summit of all human hope and reason, the indication of a certain and glorious future. This force is what religious people call God; it is what intelligent people call the law of nature; it is what the scientific man calls the natural proclivity of humanity; it is what the historian calls the testimony of God speaking through human history. And in all sections of human history, the historic fact is, that as one dispensation retires from the stage of action, another is introduced, I say, by these various external indications.

For example: When Pythagoras felt his power, and the people heard that power, then came the conviction, not only to his mind, but simultane-

ously into the minds of those in that region of the world, that Pythagoras was the begotten of the gods; that his inspiration was not strictly mundane; that it was not, strictly speaking, religiously supernatural, but that it was something which, in these days, we call spiritual. And from the days of Confucius to the days of Theodore Parker, there is an unbroken chain of human conviction, rising mountain high above all the analysis of the highest reason, in favor of that primitive and simple conviction of the mind of man.

You will understand that Moses, as a man, as a historic personage, might be questioned; that his existence might be made a matter of controversy; but, as Mr. Mayo said, in such chaste, and beautiful, and explicit language, there is, beside the question of the person, an undeniable historic daguerreo-type in human history of some such work in our nature as the Mosaic dispensation,—a dispensation of force; that which looks, not to the highest, but to the ordinary faculties of man for acceptance and demonstration. Now, in keeping with the dispensation called the Mosaic, history has left to us a record of actual intercourse said to have been experienced between those who were leading that age and the agents behind the clouds, behind or above the mountains, beneath the vision of the burning bush. No matter how crude or ridiculous it seems to the outward apprehension, there is a chain of undeniable concurrent testimony, which not only harmonizes with all contemporaneous testimony at that period, but, at the same time, which is endorsed by all such history among the Medes, the Persians, the Chaldeans, and the Phœnicians. The Greeks, in various parts of that country, had the same kind of experience, which we call, in these days, "spiritual."

Again, when the personal existence of Jesus is called in question, we are not at all diverted from this investigation, nor from a belief in the vitality of a system which had its birth at that age of the world; and when it had its birth, there came sounds and signs, and various manifestations, which were received as corroborative of the grand purposes which that person, and others connected with him, had to accomplish for the benefit of mankind. Whether they were mistaken or not is not the question; whether Christianity is a consistent system, or whether, in spirit, it is merely to be regarded as beautiful, is not the question. The question is, whether it is not matter of history, that when that system came into existence, there were manifestations from what are called in these days "spiritual" beings. All who have investigated this question, are familiar with that controversy. They know that history is in our favor, and so it is. When we come to think of Paul, or Peter, or James, or John on the isle of Patmos, the question is not whether what they said is of any consequence to the race in this day and age, but the question is, whether they had not just what they professed to have received,—inspiration from agents once inhabiting the world but now above it. They say they had; they all testify to it; and it harmonizes with the rest, from first to last.

Again, Martin Luther considered his strongest impulse to revolution to have been imparted from a source like the lightning from the point of thin clouds. Walking in the fields, contemplating those grand old mountains of Germany, he at that moment witnessed a flash of lightning, and felt, at the same time, a flash of thought, which burning its way through all prejudice, roused his soul to the Reformation.

The same thing is true when we come to speak of Calvin, of Melancthon, or of Fénelon. The same thing is true of all reformers, in all ages of the world. When I discover that John Wesley, who inaugurated that portion

of the religious dispensation denominated Methodism, was at the time the hospitable entertainer of unseen and strange powers and agents in his house, I have again a repetition of that same testimony which Matthew gives us, and, as I understand, the shepherds testified to, when they heard the songs of angels over the valleys and mountains of Judea.

When we examine the private history of John Murray, the founder of Universalism in this country, we find that he also was led to these shores, and to a certain place prepared for him, by inspirations which we call spiritual. I find, also, in referring to the man called in these days, "Swedenborg, the fanatic," the Swedish expounder of what he considered the interior sense of the Bible, that he, too, testified to his internal experience, and that, also, was in harmony with all that went before him in human history, and all that has occurred since. Ann Lee, the mother of the Shakers in this country, the centre of light around which they have organized, or, at least, the fountain from which the first people drank that inspiration, was lifted and upheld, as all others have testified they were, by agents from beyond the clouds.

All human history is alike. It is one unanimous testimony in favor of the idea that every dispensation has been intimately associated, at the time of its birth, with these mysterious manifestations of spirit power. It is something more than a mere question of human testimony. There is a genius in human life which, more than individual testimony, goes to endorse this uniformity of experience. I will not dwell upon that; but I will say that in these days we have ascertained, by means of strict and careful investigation, that these men and women were not deceived, or, at least, that in all probability theirs were genuine cases of inspiration—inspiration from agents once living in human flesh, but which, by being subjected to the chemical process called physical death, have been disenthralled, launched on the broad sea of future existence, with the power not only to think better thoughts, and to feel nobler sentiments, but with all their characteristic avocations, which, like telegraphic lines of communication, lead them instinctively and joyously back to the haunts of life on the earth; and wherever, in Germany, or in Scotland, or in Ireland, or in this country, they have found a house where the conditions were in harmony with manifestations, they have made it; and in spite of human ignorance, there has been, so to say, a sort of apostolic testimony, not only from human history in this life, but from human history in the future world, to the one great, glorious, undeniable fact, of the present and future being, intimately and indissolubly united.

Now, in these days, examining these matters carefully, we are free to set aside all supernatural belief. We are not fettered with any belief in an abstract God, or in any power in the universe to subvert, or invert, or transcend, or in any way to infringe upon, the well established order of these laws which regulate both the natural universe and the great spiritual empire to which we are tending. We find, on the contrary, that Spiritualism is a great Emancipator. It has a liberalizing influence; and through facts, well ascertained, we have discovered that our existence after death is not a ghostly, ghastly existence, but a natural, organic, palpable, measurable, relative existence, as much in harmony with objects and substances as the present. We have, therefore, discovered that spiritual manifestations are not only a key by which to solve man's spiritual constitution as he is, but prophetically to solve his constitution as he is to be. It is not only emancipating us from the superstitions of the past, but it is restoring to our bosoms and to the confidence of our reason, the testimony of all human history, and faith in our human kind. We are not obliged by these facts, but.

we are impressed in consequence of them, to put faith in our common humanity,—to believe that the religionists of the past, though they had many superstitious and mythological errors, were at the same time, earnest and actually inspired persons by means of this communication between the inhabitants of the spirit land, and the inhabitants of the earth. It is to me, as it is to hundreds and thousands in this country, a source of perpetual joy. It clothes all things with a living light, and gives instinctive happiness to what before appeared dead and damnable. It has, in the first place, destroyed all idea of a God of hate. You observe that Spiritualism has destroyed, first, the fear of God; second, the fear of the devil; third, the fear of hell; fourth, the fear of dying; fifth, the fear of Mrs Grundy, and her relatives. [Laughter and applause.] We find ourselves on the broad road to everlasting construction, and the building up of everlasting freedom. Spiritualism comes to each and all who have accepted it by means of a careful and truth loving-investigation, as this Emancipator from the fear of God, of the devil, of hell, of dying, and of Mrs Grundy. So you will understand that the old conceptions of God are passing away like the fogs of the morning from the mountain tops. You will understand that now men do not fear, but learn to love, the uniform and immutable manifestations of that interior Mind.

Spiritualism has revealed to the world a new conception of the infinite Being; it has, at the same time, extirpated from the human mind all those mischievous and killing superstitions concerning that infinite Holiness. You may have heard the story of the Irishman, who, having been converted to his church, was taken sick, and brought to the point of death. When in that condition, so near death's door, that he "could almost hear the creaking of the hinges," the priest was called in to administer "extreme unction," and prepare him for his journey through the dark valley, and his appearance before the Judge of all the universe. It was all done; but the Irishman, somehow or other, began to recover, and was soon able to sit up. Visitors came to see him, and the priest hearing, two or three days subsequently, that his patient, who had been so near the judgment-seat, was recovering, thought he would go and converse with him concerning his state of mind while in that condition. So he called on him, and said he, "Patrick! you came very near the door of death and the bar of God." "Yes, sir," said he. "I came to inquire, Patrick, whether you were not afraid, after all that was done for your soul, to meet your God?" "To meet me God, sir? Oh, no; it was tother chap!" [Loud laughter and applause.] I consider that anecdote as a complete illustration of the great danger of humanity. No man is to fear his God; but the next fear that comes up, in the experience of superstition, is the fear of the devil. Spiritualism goes directly against that superstition also, and while it attacks all the old conceptions of the Divine, it at the same time dislodges that mythological personage from the confidence of human souls.

And so it is with the idea of eternal punishment. Spiritualism has been the means, within the last ten years, of producing the most extensive improvements in the old fabrics of hell. [Laughter.] Hell has undergone the most extensive alterations and improvements, in the church and without, in human creeds, and in poetry and sermons. Spiritualism has been the divinity of this reformation and reconstruction of old superstitions, previous to their total abolition from the mind of man. Hence, if you will listen to the Orthodox sermons from the thirty-five thousand clergymen of this country, you will discover that in five out of eight of the sermons preached, some-

thing of the new and higher gospel is to be heard. They say less about the fear of God, and more about the love of Him; less about the fear of the devil, and more about the actual necessity of goodness. And you will discover, also, that the fear of dying is passing out from men's minds. That process, which any person can go through with in fifteen or twenty short minutes, has been considered by the church the whole end and aim of human existence; the turning point between time and eternity; the place where a man's position is fixed for all future time. But Spiritualists discover that death is but an incident to the great fact of existence. That discovery is of greater importance to humanity than twenty scientific discoveries by scientific men, who are picking their teeth with the tails of trilobites. [Laughter.] I tell you that this sagacious investigation, on the part of scientific men, of the fossils of a past age of the earth, is of no sort of importance, when compared with the discovery of Spiritualists that death, that great shock, heretofore, to all human relations and human consciousness, is but an incident in our existence; but a vibration in a chord of infinite harmony. That discovery has lifted more brows, lightened more countenances, caused more hearts to warm and beat with happiness, than all the scientific discoveries of a different mark, for the last quarter of a century.

And so in regard to the despotism of opinion. Spiritualism has led, I say, to the almost total abolition of the fear of Mrs. Grundy. The despotism of opinion, greater in this country than the despotism of Church or State, is also being overcome and banished by the searching powers of this new and better gospel. So that men and women are being emancipated hourly, momentarily, from all the superstitions of the past.

I wish to speak of Spiritualism, therefore, as a question of vast importance, as being connected with no supernatural, or miraculous, or incomprehensible scheme of religion, but as a beautiful and natural scientific fact for man's supreme consideration, which not only rolls up the curtain of all the past of our world, but also unveils before the present, the grand and beautiful future. It is true. Those ladies and gentlemen who are skeptical upon this question, are simply occupying a negative position. They do not know that Spiritualism is false, they simply do not believe it is true; that is all. I say, until they have had our evidence, and seen what we have seen, and heard what we have heard, their negations amount to nothing more than negations, in view of the positive testimony accumulated mountain high in all portions of the American continent. Spiritualism is but ten years old, and already it has more followers, more warm and earnest believers, than Christianity had after it had been taught five hundred years in the East. More hearts are open to the new dispensation to-day in America, and its vast principles of reformation and freedom, than Christianity had for its reception up, perhaps, to the days of Charlemagne. I say, this is worthy the consideration of all present. No humbug has ever succeeded without systematic effort; but Spiritualism totally ignores organization. It has progressed thus far in spite of all human opposition; every man was found a skeptic, and by virtue of investigation was made a believer. This is the fact; and Spiritualism to-day is brought forward, not by the systematic exertions of any class of men or women, but it comes like the waves of the sea, in consequence of that momentous power of intrinsic momentum treasured up in its vast and mighty depths.

My belief in Spiritualism is simply the door to my acceptance of the various reforms for which this Convention has assembled; and I trust that to you all Spiritualism is a broad and glorious triumphal archway leading in

all directions into freedom, and a universal enjoyment of a heaven in the world. Here we are, — the friends of woman, the friends of man, the friends of the enslaved, in body and in soul, the friends of education, the friends of the universal abolishment of capital punishment, the reformation of the prisoner, the universal emancipation of man from all those various incidents of his nature, as far as the law of progress can be made applicable and effective in his onward and upward growth. Spiritualists, therefore, are at first interested in the phenomena, next in the sentiment, thirdly and lastly, in the principles which come floating over those sentiments, and which lead to these vast and glorious results.

I do not wish to detain you longer. I rose simply to bring before you this discussion, and I leave the floor to a free and careful investigation of this subject, on the part of all who choose to speak upon it. I say :—

“God of the mountain, God of the storm,
 God of the flowers, God of the worm,
 Breathe on our spirits thy love and thy healing,
 Teach us content with thy Fatherly dealing,
 Teach us to love thee,
 And love one another,
 Brother as brother,
 And make us all free.
 Free from the shackles of ancient tradition,
 Free from the censure of man on his neighbor,
 Teach us each one to perform our true mission,
 And show us 't is Godlike to labor.”

Mrs. FRANCES D. GAGE then read the following original poem, which was loudly applauded :—

ARE WE TRUE?

AN IMPROMPTU.

Are we true,
 Are we generous to each other?
 Each receiving every other
 As we would a friend or brother,
 Who may have a view
 Which our eyes may not discover,
 Clear to him — yet dimm'd all over
 By a mist, like yonder mountain,
 Rising from a rill or fountain
 In the valley down below,
 Sending up its vapor slow?

Are we true?
 We may have a brighter vision,
 In some quiet spot elysian
 To his eye unseen;
 But to us 'tis richer, fairer,
 Softer, sweeter, happier, rarer,
 Than his mountain green.

Are we true,
 If we spurn him, harshly, coldly,
 When he tells us, calmly, boldly,
 Of his mountain home?
 He sees not the mists that shroud it
 From our eye, and all becloud it,
 Nor from whence they come.

If we're true,
 We shall ask the sunlight glorious
 Of the truth to shine victorious,
 Ever coming, ever new,
 Ever scattering mists of error,
 In their many forms of terror,
 From our clouded view.

Are we true ?
 Then in harmony we'll travel,
 Till these mysteries we unravel ;
 Hand in hand we 'll go,
 Smiling at our former folly,
 At our dismal melancholy,
 From a cause we did not know.
 Thus dispelling, in true kindness,
 All the causes of our blindness
 Which oppressed us so.

If we're true,
 He will learn to know our fountain,
 And will lead us to his mountain ;
 Then should mists still come between,
 Each will go to meet the other,
 With the kindness of a brother,
 Till no mist shall come between.

Thus be true,
 And our world will soon be brighter,
 Care and toil be burthens lighter,
 Feuds and foes be few.
 Every chain be burst asunder,
 War will cease its fearful thunder,
 And our foes, amazed in wonder,
 Ask what paths we've trod
 Thus to reach the wished-for heaven
 After which so long they've striven,—
 The heaven of Right—The God.

The Harmonial Club then gratified the Convention with another song, after which Mr. LOVELAND briefly addressed the audience. He said :—
 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :—It was a saying of Pope, that

“Happiness is our being's end and aim,”

And for that end

“Hope springs eternal in the human breast ;”

and in each one of the number composing this vast assembly glows that ever-living, ever-outreaching hope for happiness. That ever-living hope or desire for happiness is the fountain, so far as human nature is concerned, of all the multifarious ways by which human beings seek after happiness, and seek to carry out what are termed Reforms.

I wish to offer a few remarks in relation to the true philosophy of Reform, based on the following resolutions :—

Resolved, That true reform cannot be successfully prosecuted without a tolerably accurate knowledge of the principles which underlie the true method thereof.

Resolved, That though the common, or partial methods of so-called reform may result in incidental benefits to individuals and society, they nevertheless occasion much mischief which the true method would escape.

[That is, true reform takes in every thing which can possibly enter into the human conception as a means by which human happiness can be secured, and not one single isolated or particular thing.]

Resolved, That true reform is general, not particular — constructive (that is in the vital sense) not destructive; and has its basis in the interior or spiritual, and not in the intellectual or external nature of humanity.

There are two stand-points occupied by reformers; the theological, which involves one kind of philosophical, and the really philosophical stand-point. The theological supposes and affirms that all things were constructed by an intelligent Creator, perfect; but that they have got out of order. Starting upon this basis, and affirming that things are out of order, and were therefore made wrong by the intentionality of some person or persons, they are to be at once made right by making them over. The other theory, which embraces the idea that the universe is a living thing, inspired, animated, moved, made and re-made continually by an imposing, omnipotent, essential potentiality, takes a different view.

The common method, starting from the assumption of wrong intention, and hence wrong action, is necessarily complaining, is fault-finding; it cannot possibly be otherwise. Hence, it must, perforce, from its position or stand-point, be denunciatory, and speak from and through the combative and destructive elements of human nature. It cannot be otherwise. Hence all we hear coming in that way proceeds by a natural necessity from the stand-point thus occupied. It is to make things over; it is to destroy things which are assumed to be in themselves, in toto, in spirit as well as in form, entirely and wholly wrong. On the contrary, the philosophy of reform, based upon man's spiritual and interior faculties, or the aspirational and religious part of his nature, is allying itself to, and holding communion with, the eternal life-spirit of the universe; and, conceiving the whole movement of this universe as the outgoings of that vital power, sees nothing to be in itself essentially wrong, essentially and inevitably evil, but good everywhere; and that the institutionalisms of the world, past and present, instead of being in themselves intrinsically wrong, are the several rounds of the ladder of progression and ascension, on which humanity has successively placed its feet, on its onward march to gain the goal of its aspiration — happiness for the race.

Hence, the true idea of reform, in few words, is a love of culture, — the stimulation of that which corresponds to the highest idea of humanity at any given period; not by crushing and destroying the institutionalisms that now exist, but working in them, as far as possible, until, like the dying limbs of a growing, vigorous tree, they drop off, or the tree reaches a condition where they can be securely lopped off by the pruning knife of a discriminating, observing wisdom, animated by the impulsiveness of an inspired humanitarian love, — a love which takes in the whole human race as one family, with branches in different stages of growth, but possessing a common nature and destiny, and hence common ends, and aims, and views. It labors for the growth of this grand humanitarian tree, and instead of savagely seeking to cut down the tree itself, and the forms which that tree has assumed, it would call down the sunlight of heaven upon it with more focal power, that it may communicate its life-giving influence, and that through its leaves it may drink in its vitality, and, vitalized and invigorated by that same influence, it may go on, until the increasing growth of the highest branches, that shall bear the best and noblest fruit, shall so far obscure the

scraggy and crooked, the thorny and prickly branches, that have borne the unsightly fruit of man's early stages, that they shall cease to grow, and at last naturally and inevitably die, and the tree grow onward continually.

This is the true idea of reform, as presented in a few words, and very imperfectly, from the Spiritualistic stand-point,—from the stand-point of man's spiritual nature; and when it is seen, comprehended, and understood, by the truly philosophic mind, then all the various platoons of the reform army will fall into their several places, and instead of mutual conflict and strife, there will come into play the wider humanitarian feelings that recognize each man as a brother, each woman as a sister, and under that divine inspiration, they will move forward in one combined, solid phalanx against the innumerable methods by which ignorance seeks to perpetuate itself and its follies.

The Harmonial Club then favored the audience with another song, after which the President introduced FREDERIC W. EVANS, of the Shaker Community at Lebanon.

ADDRESS OF F. W. EVANS.

My Friends,—Being introduced to you as a Shaker, it may be proper for me, in the first place, to remove from your minds some little misconceptions you may entertain respecting the views of the people called Shakers. It has been generally supposed by the Orthodox world, for a great many years, that ANN LEE was worshipped by her followers, the Shakers; that is the point on which I wish to speak first, and to state that there is no more truth in that than there would be in the statement that you worship George Washington.

Another point is this: It has been generally supposed by the public that the Shakers, as a people, condemn the institution of marriage, *per se*. This, also, is a mistake. We do not condemn the order of marriage, on its proper plane, but simply deny that it is a Christian institution. We are called "Shakers." The term was first used in derision, by those who were opposed to the people to whom it was applied, in their early days; but we now accept it as a very significant title. We remember that an inspired writer says, "And I will *shake* not only the earth, but the heavens also, that all those things that can be shaken may be shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken [by the truth] may remain." Now, my friends, I think that the various classes of reformers here assembled are shaking the earth; they are shaking earthly governments, earthly organizations, all earthly institutions, civil, religious, and political. You are all *Shakers*. [Laughter.] This is an assembly met together for the very purpose of *shaking* the institutions of society, in their now corrupt form. We are more particularly interested, my friends, as a body of people, in shaking the old theological heavens that have so long ruled this world of ours,—to what purpose you are pretty well instructed, judging from the remarks I have heard from this platform, and the manner in which they have been received, and with the great majority of which I perfectly concur.

One of the first ideas of which I wish to speak is of a theological character. One of the pillars, I may say, of the old heavens, is the idea of God entertained by the Orthodox world. It is generally held—I was so taught in my youth—that the God described by Moses is the God of the universe; that he created the myriads of systems and worlds that we see floating

in space; came down to this little earth, to a particular part of it, moulded together some of the dust, breathed upon it, and made a man. My friends, how many are there here present this day who are not prepared to throw away the Scriptures entirely on the one hand, and are also not prepared to throw away the honest convictions of their souls, that do not agree with those Scriptures, on the other? How many, I ask, are there present, who are in a state of perplexity and confusion of mind, in a measure arising from this very idea of that which has been interpreted *out* of the Scriptures, but which is not taught *in* them? The God of Israel, the God of the Hebrews, is not taught as being the only God, the universal Deity, throughout the Scriptures. He was "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob." By the by, when Moses inquired, at a later period, who he was, he answered, "I am that I am." Moses knew that before. At a still later point of time, a further revelation of God was made to the human mind among the Hebrew people, under the name of Jehovah: "By my name, Jehovah, was I not known." The word Jehovah is of feminine termination, and represents God as dual—male and female. It was the Jewish idea; and this word or term was considered so sacred as never to be uttered but in a whisper. At a still later period of time in Jewish history, Jesus of Nazareth revealed God in the character of a Father. There was a still further development.

I wish to call your attention to this progressive development of the idea of Deity, which is not yet completed. When he was revealed as a Father, what did that imply? By the by, we hear about a Son, but did you ever hear the theological teachers mention any thing of a Mother? I never did until I heard it amongst the Shakers. There is the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but no Mother. Very strange that there should be a Father without a Mother, or a Father and Mother without some offspring, or an offspring without Father and Mother. Let us be consistent in our theology, as well as in things pertaining more particularly to earth. Why not be as reasonable, use as much common sense, in our theological ideas, as we do in cultivating a farm? I know of no reason. I was a Materialist, belonging to the very same school with friends who are now on this platform, when I first went among the Shakers. I had been so for five years previous. I supposed myself invulnerable to all evidence as to the existence of a Spiritual, much less to the existence of a Supreme Being. But I met with evidence among that simple people, that "fanatical" people,—for I verily believed them to be the most ignorant and extremely fanatical people on the face of the earth,—that compelled me to believe that there was a God; that there was a spiritual world; that that spiritual world was filled with intelligent souls, as is the one in which we live. And, more than this, I was compelled to believe that there was an inter-communication between these two worlds existing among that people; that the door was open into the spiritual spheres, and that communications of thoughts, feelings, and sentiments passed to and fro between souls in and out of the mortal body. Evidence compelled me to believe this. It was not necessary, nor would it have been of any use, to say to me, "If you do not believe, you shall be damned; if you do believe, you shall be saved." I could not believe or disbelieve at my option; that was a matter over which I had no control. But when I was the recipient of evidence that compelled me to believe, I did believe. There is no merit in belief; there is no demerit in unbelief. If the soul is honest and true to its convictions, true to the evidence that it does receive, I say there is no merit or demerit in the simple act of belief or unbelief.

Twenty-seven years ago, I found a body of Spiritualists, and I have resided among them up to this time. Eleven years before the Rochester Knockings took place, a revival of Spiritualism occurred amongst the people called Shakers. They had gathered in a good many from the world, who had been taught the great truths in regard to spiritual things. This had had its effect upon society. By and by, a new manifestation suddenly broke out among the children. Little children were taken under the operations and exercises, half a dozen at a time. I have seen them go into visions—be in gardens filled with flowers, catching birds, talking together, playing with one another, picking flowers, smelling of them, manifesting all the childish delight which the same little ones would have done in a natural garden. I have seen manifestations that it would not be lawful as yet to utter—the time has not come. I saw Spiritualism go through distinct stages among that people. The first degree or stage was to remove every doubt from the minds of those who had recently been gathered in, and the children. These had not been baptized so deeply into spiritual elements as the founders of the society. They needed, they required, a deeper baptism for their own souls, and they received it. Such was the nature of the manifestations in the first degree, that they produced a perfect conviction, and removed every doubt. They assumed such forms and shapes as were adapted to every state and condition, to produce and induce the most entire belief in spiritual communications. All the operations or manifestations of the first degree were simply of the nature of evidence, to produce belief. And let me mention that there was a great manifestation of love, harmony, good feeling, and every thing calculated to delight and rejoice, to comfort and bless the souls of those who were the recipients of it. It was shut up in the society. They stopped their public meetings; they withdrew within themselves, they closed every avenue to the world without. Why? Because they were already unpopular enough, in all conscience, and if these things had been known at that time to much extent, I question whether it would not have been the cause of the demolition of the society, such would have been the pressure from the Orthodox world without.

After the first stage had closed, and conviction was effected, another degree began. That second degree was of a different character. Now commenced, my friends, from the spirit world, from our spiritual friends with whom we had come into *rapport*, a searching work of judgment. The youth, the children, the novitiates, in and among the people, who had been convinced of the reality of spiritual communications, were now required to come to a close and searching self-examination, in their own souls, respecting their own condition, moral and spiritual. Every evil habit of mind and body they were prepared to take cognizance of, was called to their attention, and pointed out by their spiritual friends. Judgment began at the house of God. It was a day of work and judgment, I assure you. It was a work of close self-examination with every soul of us; for none of us escaped the heart-searching, penetrating, soul-quickening operations of these invisible friends. Our very thoughts were laid open before us; our motives were analyzed; our conduct was noted as in a book; every thing was open. We found, by experience, that all our thoughts, all our actions, could be read to us at night out of a spiritual book. The object, my friends, of this work of judgment, was to bring the people called Shakers to their own standard of right and wrong; it was to bring every individual to the standard in their own souls; for it was taught to us, and always has been by the spirits, that the time had come for the new covenant that you read of;—"In those days,

I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel." What is that covenant? "This is the covenant I will make with them in those days: I will put my law in their hearts, and in their spirits will I write it. No one shall need to say to his neighbor, Know the Lord, for they shall all know Him, from the least to the greatest." This is the teaching of the spirits to us.

A friend has asked me if I found my faith on Ann Lee? As much as I found it on one of your mountains. So far as her faith is like my faith, it is well; but I found my faith on no authority. If Jesus Christ uttered a given sentence, that is not true because he uttered it; he uttered it because it was true; and if true, it must rest upon some principle, and that principle can be shown to-day, to an intelligent, understanding mind, or else it is of no force to any such mind. Therefore I have no stones to throw at those who disbelieve, for until such time as the evidence has accumulated upon them to cause them to believe, I am not their judge.

We believe, my friends, that the human race is destined to go through four planes of progression:—the physical plane, the moral plane, the intellectual plane, and the spiritual plane. These constitute the dispensations that friend Davis referred to. The antediluvians were on the physical plane; Abraham inaugurated the moral plane; Jesus, or rather his Apostles, introduced the intellectual plane; Ann Lee has inaugurated the spiritual plane. On each of these planes, my friends, we believe there is *en rapport* with those standing upon it, a spiritual order of intelligences. Those on the physical plane are in connection with an order of spiritual beings, and they have a God who rules over them. They are governed by physical force; they need it on that plane. They require a government adapted to the plane on which they stand, as friend Tiffany very beautifully illustrated the other day. Those on the moral plane can be governed by moral means; those on the intellectual by intellectual means; and those who progress to the spiritual plane can be governed by spiritual influences, and spiritual laws. Each of these planes, then, has its corresponding spiritual sphere; that sphere contains its own heaven and hell both, and all who die and leave the body on a given plane, go to a life in the spiritual sphere, according to the state and condition they are in when they leave the body, which state and condition is not eternal and fixed. The laws of progression extend beyond this mundane sphere. All souls that ever come into existence will have an equal opportunity to come to a knowledge of the truth on every plane, and obey or disobey it, whether in this world or in the other. That is the Shaker doctrine.

Now, my friends, the God of Israel was a God adapted to the plane of that people,—a tutelary divinity, a spiritual being, above the Jews, but yet nigh unto their own state and condition; which fact is easily proved. If you read the record a little carefully, you find that although, by the exercise of his power, he delivered the Jews from their bondage, yet, encountering the rebellious opposition of the people continually, he by and by became wroth with them, and he swore unto Moses that they should never enter into his rest,—that is, that they should never reach the land of Canaan,—and only two ever did; all the rest were killed in the wilderness. At another time, he became so angry with the people that he decided to destroy them all at once, and take Moses and make a great nation of him. Moses counselled him not to do that,—advised him better. [Laughter.] He stated to him that if he did, the nations around would say it was because he had not the power to deliver the people; and his counsel prevailed. This Moses "talked with God face to face, as a man talketh with his friend, or

as a spiritual medium talks with the spirit conversing with him. Moses and the one hundred and seventy elders of Israel, went up and talked with God. They saw God, the God of Israel. Yet, my friends, when you come down to the next dispensation, that which Jesus inaugurated, he tells us different from what we should naturally infer from that story. He declares that "no man hath ever seen God on earth." "The only begotten Son, that was in the bosom of the Father," he had revealed him, but he did not say he had seen him.

Jesus of Nazareth! Who is he? What is he? Is he God? Is he one of the triune Gods? No, my friends; Jesus of Nazareth is one of our own race; "the man Jesus,"—by which term he is designated some eighty different times in the Scriptures. But I admit that his birth was not what we should term earthly; for I believe there is a law, a natural law and a spiritual law coöperating together, by means of which not only Jesus, but many who preceded him, were of supernatural parentage on the father's side. Every nation had then its tutelary divinity; they had their revelations from that divinity; they had their Bible, which was the record of those revelations, and it was the Bible to them;—the best book that they had, the best teaching they ever received. It was their law; by it they were justified or condemned, as we have been by the Bible hitherto.

Now, my friends, I want to speak to you of Jesus of Nazareth. We believe that Jesus came; was born on the earth, and came to the age of maturity; that he learned the carpenter's trade, and went round among the people and got his education. By and by came John the Baptist, baptizing the people in the river Jordan, unto Moses,—unto repentance for transgressions of the Mosaic law. Among the rest came Jesus. "They came to John, and were baptized in Jordan, confessing their sins." When they had sinned against Moses, there they confessed their sins, and repented and forsook them, and, if they heeded John's instructions, brought forth fruits meet for repentance. He brought them back to Moses; he was a teacher unto Moses. Jesus came among the rest; confessed his sins, if he had any; was baptized by John in the river Jordan. He had been circumcised before; was born of woman under the law; was circumcised under the law, lived under the law, was baptized into repentance under it; confessed his sins, if he had committed any, against Moses. But when he came to John, John found he was a more righteous man than himself, and he said, "I have need to be baptized of thee, rather than thee of me." He found, on coming into close communion with him, into the confidential relation of confessor, that he had been the most righteous man, according to the Mosaic standard. When Jesus came out of the river Jordan, a spirit was seen to descend from heaven and alight upon him. I believe, my friends, that spirit was from the fourth heavens, then for the first time opened to the inhabitants of earth; that that spirit was of a higher order than had ever come into connection with the human race before,—higher than the God of Israel. Do you understand? Here was a new opening, then, to a new order—a spiritual order.

Now, I want to call your attention to the practical effects, for that is what you want. What was the practical effect of this spiritual visitation? This was the Christ; the Lord from heaven; the quickening spirit; not Jesus of Nazareth; not a man of flesh and blood, but the Lord from heaven, a quickening spirit, the Christ, descended upon Jesus of Nazareth, and baptized him into the four divine elements. That Christ was only one of those four heavenly elements. There was the first appearing of Christ, then, my friends, to a man.

The second appearing of Christ was to a woman, eighteen hundred years afterwards. Now, what was the character and form of that spiritual visitation? What were the peculiar principles evolved? Something that you can put your finger upon. One of the principles then developed in Jesus of Nazareth was Non-Resistance — that is the opposite of war. Another principle developed in Jesus was that of no private property. "Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple" Another principle was virgin purity. "Except a man forsake father and mother, wife and child, and houses and lands (private property), he cannot be" — not a good man or woman, but — "he cannot be my disciple." He may be a good man on the plane below, but he cannot be a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth. Separation from the world was another principle. Yea and nay, instead of swearing, was another. These were Christian principles. Jesus Christ was the only Christian the earth ever produced until Christ made his second appearance in Ann Lee, and revealed the same principles, and formed the same character, and established the second Christian church on this earth.

[The speaker was here interrupted by calls of "Time," and after thanking the audience for their kind attention, he took his seat. In order to the completeness of the speech, what he purposed further to submit to the Convention is here given, from his own manuscript.]

Christ, the second Adam, and Eve, was the author and finisher of the faith of Christianity, and in Jesus Christ was the first Christian church, which was perfect and prolific, spiritually, just so far as Adam was perfect and prolific naturally, before Eve was brought forth. Christ dual, male and female, was a super-mundane being, from the fourth heaven, and was the agent of the new revelation to Jesus; the leading truths of which were, first, the immortality of the soul, which Moses never taught; and second, the resurrection of the soul, — these being two distinct things; the former being the mere continuous, physical existence of the soul after death; the latter the quickening of the germ of the new, spiritual life in the soul, consequent upon, and succeeding to, the death of the first Adamic or generative life, which can only be effected by the faith and the cross of the second Adam, Christ.

As all the future powers and faculties of the natural man are germinal in the infant, so the life and faculties of the future spiritual man are germinal in the soul of the natural or old man, and these are never quickened except by the same power that destroys the *life* of the old man — the desire of generation, "I wound and I heal, I kill and I make alive." These are the two lives that Jesus alluded to when he said, "Whosoever will save his *life* shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his *life* for my sake shall find it and keep it unto life eternal." The prophet Isaiah, speaking of Jesus, says: "His life was cut off from the earth, and who shall declare his generation;" meaning that his earthly life, which supports the work of generation, was cut off, as would be, also, the earthly life of every true Christian; and Jesus himself said, "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life; no man taketh it from me, but *I lay it down of myself.*" Thus the beginning of Christianity was the end of generation — of the world — in Jesus.

"Ye are they," said the Apostle, "on whom the ends of the world *have come*" already. The same Christ said it that creates souls anew in Christ Jesus; causes them to "forsake and hate father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, and their own (generative) life also."

This hitherto paradoxical and hard saying of Jesus we simplify upon the above premises, affirming that all these characters can be hated, without the least enmity against the original man and woman, or any human soul.

It is the generative life in man and woman that induces them to assume the character of *husband and wife*; the same life that impels them to become father and mother; hence result the *children*, who are *brothers and sisters*; all of whom require, desire, and (if they can) acquire houses and lands, to support the earthly relation thus formed. All these can be forsaken and hated without hating the persons of the original man and woman, or of the children.

It is the earthly, fleshly relation that must be hated by all who would become followers of Jesus, — Christians, “children of the resurrection,” of whom Jesus said “they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in Heaven.”

The second great principle of Christianity exhibited in and by Jesus, was brotherhood — the abnegation of selfish, private property. Jesus and his Apostles held all their temporal possessions in common, he affirming that except a man forsake all that he had, he could not become his disciple. This the rich young man refusing to do, went sorrowfully away. This explains why a camel could go through the eye of a needle easier than a rich man could enter into the kingdom of heaven, formed by, within, and among his disciples.

The third important Christian principle in which Jesus was indoctrinated by his heavenly guide, Christ, was non-resistance. Hence Jesus taught his followers, “love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you.” War was abolished, for the Son of Man came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them; — “He that takes the sword shall perish with the sword.”

The fourth Christian principle: Jesus refused to take any part in earthly government. He mortified his ambition and love of rule, and refused to be either a divider, a judge, or a king.

The fifth principle was a *sinless* life. His name was called Jesus because He should save His people from their sins. “Which of you,” He asked the Jews, “convicteth me of sin?” No man or woman on earth fully carried out these cardinal Christian principles, until Christ made His second appearance to Ann Lee, and reproduced in her as a woman the same character that distinguished Him as a man. This, in Jesus alone, was all the characteristics of a perfect Christian. The apostles stood upon, and formed a church upon, a little lower plane than the church in Jesus; they were children or sons of Godly adoption only, not really, having no spiritual mother as Jesus did have in Christ.

The apostolic, pentacostal church, approximated a virgin life, community of goods, separation from the world, simplicity of language, non-swearing, non-resistance, freedom from physical disease, and a sinless life. This was the Jewish Christian church — the Temple of God — and was composed exclusively of Hebrews, being one degree below the church in Jesus.

The Gentile Christian church was founded on a still lower plane, for it retained marriage and private property under restrictions and modifications derived from the Mosaic laws, to which the Gentiles had never been accustomed, and were subjected to self-denial in many respects; that was all they were able to bear, being restricted to one wife, and taught the true end and object of marriage. Unto these the apostles wrote in their epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Romans, Phillippians, &c., as unto carnal and

not unto spiritual, feeding them with the milk of self-indulgence, instead of the meat of self-denial, because they were not able to bear it.

When Constantine was converted to Christianity, he founded and became the heathen head of the Roman Catholic church, which was founded upon a very much lower plane than was even the Gentile Christian church, from which it was distinguished by its gradually assuming the supreme power and control of all civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, adding to the un-Christian institutions of private property and marriage, the introduction of war as a permanent element of Christian theology, using the sword not only against the external enemies of the church and state, but as a means of conversion to Roman Catholic Christianity; and also turning the same sword against the internal enemies of this mongrel church by the establishment of the inquisition, based upon the absurd idea that faith, or want of faith, is the result of will and not of evidence, or its absence; by monopoly of the elements of existence, particularly of the earth and its produce, by oaths and by slavery, which were incorporated into the church as a part of its theological creed. This Roman Catholic Christian church is the beast that John saw, which combined the wild, destructive characteristics of the bear, the leopard, and the lion. And John says: "I saw another beast rise up out of the earth, after the first beast which rose out of the sea, having two horns like 'a lamb' (Luther and Calvin), but spake with the mouth of a dragon." This was the Protestant Christian church, formed on a still lower spiritual plane than the preceding, and was the "image of the first beast," and it exercised all the power of the first beast, war without and persecution within. In no one important practical principle of life did the Protestant church differ from the Roman Catholic church that preceded it. Both of them held to marriage, private property, union of church and state, ambition, oaths, persecution, war, slavery, monopoly of the life elements in its most aggravated form; salvation, an unmeaning something to be possessed in some distant, unknown world, but gained and secured in this, by means of water, bread, wine, blood, and belief in the cruel murder of the best Man the earth ever produced; or faith in the wooden cross as the instrument of His destruction; and as churches, have been nearly destitute of the gift of healing physical infirmities, as well as of all other spiritual gifts that were possessed by the primitive church in Jesus, and to a great extent in the apostolic church itself.

That the Protestant Reformation effected a revolution for the better, we do not question; nor that even Roman Catholicism itself is an advance upon mere heathenism; for the laws of progress will assert their supremacy in all human affairs. But, tried by the standard of Jesus and His true Christian principles, Luther and Calvin were both what they subscribed themselves, "damnable men" and miserable sinners, and their Babylon churches, Catholic and Protestant churches, have "become the habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every hateful and unclean bird." But we will pass from the contemplation of the great whore of Babylon and her little Protestant harlot daughters to the subject of spiritualism. John says: "I saw an angel come down from heaven having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory." This is spiritualism, after whom another angel followed, crying with a loud voice, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen!" This is the effect of Spiritualism. Wherever it enters into a family, village, city, or nation, it shakes the old theological heavens, and produces great confusion among the traffickers in all manner of things, "in slaves and souls of men," who "preach for hire

and divine for money ;" and a communion between the two worlds is being fully established and demonstrated to the most progressed class of minds.

And in the Shaker, or second Christian church, there is a re-revelation of all the principles of the true church in Jesus. A celibate life, community of goods, separation from earthly governments, abolition of oaths, of war, of slavery, of poverty, and a sinless, innocent life.

Mrs. E. L. ROSE then took the stand, and commenced an address upon Education, in its broadest sense, but, owing to the lateness of the hour, she spoke but a very few moments, and gave way for the adjournment, intimating that she might resume the subject at the evening session.

The Convention then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at half past seven o'clock, by the President.

After a song by the Harmonial Club, the following resolution was read :—

Resolved, That the special influence of Spiritualism in correcting and reforming religious belief, is one of its strong and commanding recommendations, and commends itself to the best judgment of all religious minds.

MR. MARKHAM. Mr. President, I will intrude but a few moments upon the time of the Convention. As I am informed that it is necessary I should speak to a resolution (though I should rather speak to a *principle* than to a resolution), I will take as a basis the following :—

Resolved, That the earth, like the air and light, belongs in common to the children of men on it; each human being is alike independent; each child, by virtue of his existence, has an equal and inalienable right to so much of the earth's surface as is convenient by proper culture to his support and perfect development, and none have a right to any more; therefore all laws authorizing and sustaining private property in land, for the purpose of speculation, and which prevent men and women from possessing any land without paying for it, are as unjust as would be laws compelling them to pay for air and light, and ought to be at once and forever repealed.

The principles contained in that resolution, I believe to be just and truthful principles; but there is nothing embodied in the resolution to show why they are true; and I have heard nothing from this platform, since I have been here, by which, as it appears to me, we can ascertain whether the principles are true or not. Highly as I have been interested in what I have heard from this platform, great as my confidence is in the good that will be produced by what has been said here, I must confess that I have heard nothing said that furnishes a safe and reliable basis for reforms. I desired to get the floor after our brother Loveland this afternoon, because he had said that it was to the spiritual nature we must look for the foundation of all progress. I do not know that I comprehend exactly what he understands this spiritual nature to be. Perhaps I am not a spiritual being like him. But this much I do know, that I am a being, and I claim to be a human being. I claim to have human wants and human necessities. They are inherent in me by virtue of my humanity, they are consequent upon my being; and I hold that these necessities are the standard by which to measure my inherent rights; and I hold that it is the same with every other being. If there exists in me an inherent necessity for the fruits of the earth, I have the inherent right, by virtue of those necessities, to such fruits. If

these fruits are not produced spontaneously, sufficient to supply all those wants in me, and in every brother and sister of the human family, and we are not provided with the means by nature for producing such supplies, there is some defect in the natural arrangement of things. So far as I have been able to learn, there never has appeared any such defect. To me, there has always appeared to be a natural and sufficient supply, or the means for producing such supply, for every natural requirement of every human being. So I take it, that the reason why the doctrine in this resolution is enunciated, is because every human being comes into existence with a necessity for the fruits of the soil, or a certain portion of them. I take it for granted, that that necessity is the natural basis of their rights. I take it, then, for granted, that any necessity existing inherently in the individual is the only true standard by which to measure the rights of that being.

This appears to me to be a perfectly natural and just standard, — a standard at which no one can complain; for I believe it is impossible to find, in the whole realm of the universe, a necessity existing in any being for any thing which shall require the sacrifice of the rights and happiness of any other being. It would appear to me to be just as inconsistent — and it would be certainly consistent with the popular doctrine — to say, that there existed in the human mind and being, a necessity for the gratification of some part of the being which required the destruction of the happiness of some other portion of the being. I hold such an idea to be false. If there is any such appearance, I hold it to be evidence that the being is imperfect in its development, not in its nature. I hold that the highest enjoyment that can be given to any faculty of the human soul is just what the creative power designed should be given to that faculty. The only standard that I ever knew by which to measure elevation in the scale of being is the susceptibility of enjoyment. We rank man at the head of created beings, simply because he has more susceptibility for enjoyment than any other. But the whole sum of human susceptibility is made up of items, and each of these is an individual item, just as an individual being is an item in the great family of man. Each of these has its right to gratification; but this right does not extend to an infringement upon the right to happiness of another; and I hold that the fullest enjoyment of which each individual faculty is susceptible makes no such demand. It appears to me to be perfectly clear, and I think that it will be perfectly clear to every individual who honestly sets to work to live up to the idea, that the most perfect enjoyment we are susceptible of, is to give to every want of our nature the fullest enjoyment that we can give to it, without infringing upon the happiness of any other.

You may call this selfishness, if you please; I am not so much afraid of authorities but that I dare dispute the idea of action from disinterested motives. I am one of those, if not the only one, who dares to say to the world that I do not believe there was ever a human being on the face of this earth, or any other, or that there ever will be a being, who will perform any act but from a desire for happiness. I believe this has been the one moving principle in all time, and will be in all time to come. Although you may suppose, on first seeing the declaration, that you know thousands of cases to the contrary; look at them carefully, and do you not find that wherever there has been a sacrifice of one enjoyment, the sacrifice has been made to secure some other enjoyment that seemed to be called for more strongly? Has it not always been a choice of evils? Have you not suffered a wrong in one direction to secure a greater blessing in some other? I believe that is always the case.

ELDER GRANT. I will introduce a resolution. Of course I can only have time barely to refer to it:—

Resolved, That communications purporting to come from departed human spirits proceed from demons, and lead directly to skepticism, sensualism, and a rejection of the doctrines of the Bible.

I do not introduce this resolution for the sake of being on the opposite side; I introduce it because those are my sentiments, and as all others speak frankly in relation to their sentiments, it is expected I shall do it. As I have before remarked, I am here as the friend of all, but the opponent to some points of Spiritualism. I was deeply interested in the remarks of my friend Davis. I honor him as an honest, sincere man. I claim to be the same. Let us compare notes.

I admit the physical and intellectual phenomena claimed by the Spiritualists. I have no controversy with them on those points. But, as was wisely remarked to-day, there must be a cause adequate to produce an effect; and when we admit the existence of physical and intellectual phenomena, we admit that there must be some powerful agent or agents to bring them about. It is claimed, on the part of Spiritualism, that these agents are the spirits of our departed friends. This, as you see by the resolution, I deny. It is claimed by others that it is all trickery. That I deny as boldly as the Spiritualists do. I cannot believe that our fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, have all turned out mere tricksters, to deceive their companions. I have a higher opinion yet of my race than that.

I remark now, in opposition to the position of the Spiritualists, that these agents are not the spirits of our friends. I make this remark on the authority of the Bible. You know I profess to be a Bible man. I may be called upon to give reasons from the Bible. I can do it—limiting myself, however, to a few passages.

For instance, the Bible says, "The dead know not any thing." I believe this. The Bible declares, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest." This is in harmony with other passages of Scripture. Says David: "Thou takest away their breath; they die, and return to their dust;" "in that very day, his thoughts perish." I turn to the account of the creation of man, and I read, not that the Lord God formed man a "*monad*," or lower order of animal, and that he progressed to a man,—show me that progress from the lower order of animals up to man somewhere,—but the Bible declares that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Now, if I adhere to the Bible, what is man? Let us see. We read that "the dust shall return to the dust, but the spirit to God who gave it." What is that spirit? It is the same word that is rendered "breath" in the original. David says, "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their *breath*, they die, and return to their dust." I behold a man as he approaches the hour of death. I see him wasting away,—growing weaker and weaker; and sometimes the body outlives the mind,—until he breathes his last. I see a man prostrate upon the earth: he lies senseless there, perhaps motionless, and we say he is dead; but, perhaps by some action of the surgeon, he is brought to life, and again apparently lives. But suppose, instead of calling in the surgeon, I take an axe and chop his head off,—does that bring him to life?

I am aware that I am combatting the popular theology, as well as Spiritualism. They will both stand or fall together; and if they stand, the Bible will go down, — I will admit that. In the Norwalk disaster, where so many lost their lives, there was one woman who was pronounced dead; but the friends were so anxious to restore her, that they persevered in their efforts until she respired again. Question — what returned? Was it the woman that came from the spheres, or, as theology would have it, from heaven or hell, and so the human machinery was set in motion again?

The Bible teaches, I think, if I can understand it, that nothing leaves man at death but the "breath of life." The Bible declares that that breath of life is common to both man and beast. Well, then, taking this position, what is the cause of these manifestations, intellectual and physical? I answer, they are *demons*. But what are demons? Says Mr. Beecher, in his work on Spiritualism, these indications proceed from demons. Mr. Beecher, what are demons? "They are spirits of wicked men." Then I would like to ask Mr. Beecher how these spirits of wicked men get out of hell, where they have been put in torment. It must be quite a respite to get out and come and visit their friends. [Laughter.] Either give up the idea that at death, or before the judgment, men go into torment, or else admit that they have broken out. [Laughter and applause.] I come back to the question — What are demons? I answer, *They are fallen angels*. I am called upon for proof. I appeal to the good old Bible. Remember my stand-point — it is the *Bible*. The Bible teaches me that there are angels. I believe in angels, and believe they are ministering spirits, sent to minister to those who are heirs of salvation.

But I am told that angels are spirits of men. I deny it, on the authority of the Bible. "But does not that say that there were angels who looked like men? — that some have entertained angels unawares, when they entertained strangers?" But I learn that man was made "a little *lower* than the angels." Does not that show that angels existed *before* men?" I learn that man, at the resurrection, shall be made "equal to angels."

MR. FOSTER. I learn that these demons, of which the speaker has been telling us, when they were cast out of heaven, were bound in chains, and I want to know how they got out. [Laughter.]

MR. GRANT. Very good, friend Foster. I like the criticism of truth; it never fears investigation. As I was remarking, there are two classes of angels, according to the Bible, — those who are called "ministering spirits," who are sent to minister to those who are heirs of salvation, and those who are called "evil angels," "demons," "unclean spirits," who addressed the Saviour when upon earth. Now, to my friend Foster's question. The Bible declares that those angels who sinned were cast down to hell, as it reads in Peter, the only place in the Bible where the word "Tartarus" is rendered "hell."

Now, what is the meaning of Tartarus? I am prepared to answer the question. I will refer to those who wrote in the times of the old Christian writers. They tell us, in substance, that Tartarus is the airy regions of this world. Says Dr. Ramsey, an able and learned writer, "The word Tartarus means, according to Greek writers, in a physical sense, the bounds or verge of this material system." One thing is certain, they were upon the earth, and conversed with Christ; and when he declared that he was the Son of God, they were the first to declare, "We know thee who thou art — the holy one of God." He rebuked them. They were then in *Tartarus*, where they were cast, and he was talking to them upon the earth. Therefore, Tar-

tarus, as the old Greek writers declared, is the airy regions of this earth. St. Austin says, concerning these angels, "After their sin, they were thrust down into the misty darkness of this lower air." And, sir, they have not got out of Tartarus yet. [Laughter.]

QUESTION. Your Bible says that God gave this world to Adam in a pure state. What business had the Almighty to send them down to this atmosphere, after giving the earth to man?

ELDER GRANT. What business have you to send men to prison?

Parkhurst says, "On the whole, *Tartaroun* in St. Peter is the same as to *throw into Tartarus* in Homer; only rectifying the poet's mistake of Tartarus being in the bowels of the earth, and recurring to the original sense of the word as above explained, which, when applied to spirits, must be interpreted spiritually, and thus *Tartaros* will import that God cast the apostate angels out of his presence into the blackness of darkness, where they will be forever banished from the light of his countenance, . . . as truly as a person plunged into the torpid boundary of this created system would be from the light of the sun, and the benign operations of the material heavens."

I might go on with quotations to any amount. If you want more proof, I have got it from old writers, that Tartarus means the airy regions of our world, upon or above its surface. Hence the "prince of devils," Diabolus, is the "prince of the powers of the air."

What is the great power employed in their communications? I ask my spiritual friends. They tell me electricity, animal magnetism, or gas, or something,—they do not care what I call it. I believe the statement of the Spiritualist on this point. There are some who deny that there are any communications at all, because they are partly physical; and as any class of men who understand the laws of magnetism, can produce some manifestations, they say it is all simply physical. I challenge them to account for all of the intellectual phenomena that are presented through these mediums.

Had I time, sir, I would like to go back to the beginning, and trace Spiritualism from the time of the fall of man down to 1858. But I am told the communications in the Bible came from the same source. I am prepared to meet that point; but I cannot do it now. I come back to those demons. I read in the good Book,—“Now the spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils.” Now, if this Book is true, that must come to pass. It is only recently this has got into the church. They endeavored to introduce it in the time of the Salem witchcraft, and Spiritualists declare it is the same thing; but they put the witches to death, and thus put it down. Now it has got into the church, and the church has more to fear from it than from all the efforts of any thing outside of it. And all this is founded upon one doctrine,—the doctrine taught in Eden,—the very first great lie,—“*Thou shalt not surely die.*” There is the foundation of the Catholic purgatory, of prayers to the saints, of the doctrine of eternal misery (which the Bible does not teach, but the doctrine of eternal destruction), and of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

There, sir, we are proud to meet,—philosophically, biblically, in the light of common sense, anywhere, any class of candid men.

Mr. SENNOTT. When Christ came into this world, and taught his peculiar doctrines, the Jews, or some portion of them, said he had a devil. His answer to them was: “How can a house divided against itself stand?”

The spirits, I should think, might answer the same charge in the same way; for, certainly, the doctrines they teach cannot be called the doctrines of devils.

ELDER GRANT. I was speaking of the foundation of the doctrines of Spiritualism, the Catholic purgatory, prayers to saints, eternal misery, and the barbarous practices in heathen countries of putting relatives to death, that their souls may go up and wait upon the soul of some distinguished man recently deceased. These are some of the fruits of the doctrine which I charge home upon the great seducer, mentioned in the first part of the Bible, when he declared to our first parents, "Ye shall not surely die." I maintain that he addressed the conscious part of man, be that what it may; we also maintain that our Heavenly Father addressed the same part when He said, "Thou shalt surely die." I asked the question, when I first spoke, referring to this passage, "Which told the truth—the Lord or the devil?" I heard it lustily responded, "The devil"; nobody said the Lord told the truth. There it stands; one or the other of them lied. I stand here in defence of God and the Bible; and it is going to turn right on this point.

Now, I am asked, "Is this consistent with Spiritualism? Do they not teach good doctrines?" I answer, every doctrine they teach is opposed to the Bible, without exception. That is bold, is it not? Bring the proof to the contrary. Every doctrine they teach is contrary to the Bible. First, they teach that there is no God, as a *being*, but that he is only a *principle*, in all things. Secondly, we have no fear of him in the judgment to come, or from any thing he does, any more than from the law of attraction. Thirdly, they teach that Christ, our Savior, is no more the Son of God than any other man; and if any dispute this, I do not believe there is a Spiritualist upon the ground who will stand up and allow me to question him for two minutes, who will not admit what I have stated. They claim that he was a great *medium*, and admit that he was in advance of his time. That, you know, is in opposition to the Bible. Fourthly, they declare that he will not come back to this earth, which he declares positively he will do.

I am told that the spirits give good counsel, good advice. If I were a demon, and wished to deceive, I would work in the same way; I would first get your confidence. I am somewhat familiar with this. I am acquainted with a devoted woman and her husband, who lived in South Boston recently. This devoted woman went to a Spiritualist circle. When she was there, it was said—"We must have prayers. The spirits say we must pray and read the Scriptures." That is good, the woman thought, of course; and so they went on, step by step, till passage after passage was said not to be correct, and finally the whole is laid aside, and the book rendered obsolete. Let them begin with another, perhaps a deist, and they will lead him on to atheism. I do not care where you begin; it is a step forward in error,—the Bible being my standard.

How do you know good from evil? Try it by the Bible. I take the Bible as the *only* rule of faith and practice; therefore I believe these spiritual manifestations are from demons. What is their object? To convince the world that their great leader told the truth when he said, "Ye shall not surely die." If they can make us believe that our friends are not dead, what follows? That they are immortal, and Satan told the truth. Yet the Bible declares that he was a liar from the beginning. This is the prime doctrine he introduced to the heathen world. He got the Pope to decree that the soul was immortal. Said Luther, in his defense, in 1530, "I let

the Pope make such decrees as that the soul is immortal, with all those monstrous opinions found in the Roman dunghill of decretals."

William Tyndale, who gave us the first printed edition of the Bible in English, believed that the whole man sleeps until the resurrection morning. So I might go on; but what does *the Bible* teach? That teaches that "the dead know not any thing." If any man will bring me a passage which teaches that the dead are alive, I will own I am wrong.

I have examined the Bible. I find "immortality" mentioned five times as an object to be sought for. "Seek for honor, glory, and *immortality*." How? "By patient continuance in well-doing." There comes your reform. "*Well-doing*." I go with you for that. Again: "This mortal shall put on *immortality*." What is that? My Spiritualist friends deny that "this mortal shall put on immortality." That is the Scripture doctrine; "and this corruption shall put on incorruption." Now, sir, the word rendered "spirit," if I am taken on this point, in the passage, "The spirit returns to God who gave it," is found four hundred and three times in the Old Testament;—it is from the word *ruakh*, and is not once rendered "soul" in the Bible. The corresponding word *pneuma*, occurs three hundred and eighty-six times, and is not once rendered soul. This shows that the word "soul" and "spirit" are not synonymous.

MR. SPRAGUE. Mr. Chairman,—I am highly pleased with the frankness of the gentleman who has just addressed us. I wish to inquire, does Spiritualism teach what Mr. Grant and its enemies affirm? I wish to inquire whether Spiritualism does not confirm the Bible and the Bible Spiritualism, and therefore they are to be considered synonymous? I wish to know whether the Bible may not be construed to convey a totally different meaning from that which is commonly put upon the letter of the Bible?

Our friend who has addressed us, tells us he believes the Bible, and yet he has told us to-day that he believes in one God. He knows, if he knows any thing, that the first time the word rendered "God," is mentioned in the Bible, *Elohim*, it means gods; therefore he is a Polytheist, if he believes the Bible. [Applause.] He tells us God created all things. Yet the Bible says, "*In the beginning*, God created the heaven and the earth." It was all done "in the beginning," then, else there is a contradiction. He tells us that Satan spoke in the Garden of Eden. The Bible says it was a serpent. Mr. Grant does not believe the Bible, then. Mr. Grant tells us Satan told a lie. The Bible says that God said—"In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." Yet it is said of that Adam, that he lived nine hundred and thirty-seven years. Now, who told the truth? Mr. Grant believes the Bible!

Mr. Grant believes the Bible, and yet believes in demons. And what are they? According to all languages, "demon" means a tutelary God, a guardian spirit. Now, if Mr. Grant believes in demons, he believes in tutelary gods as well as in a plurality of gods. If he believes the Bible, he believes that it is the dead who are raised. I ask, when are they raised? "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living!" and as Moses, as Abraham, as the prophets, were in the kingdom of God, therefore they lived. Mr. Grant believes that the resurrection is past, and yet I am told he is at work to burn the world up; but if he knows any thing of the Bible, he knows there is not an expression in it which endorses the idea that the world will ever come to an end.

Now, if he believes the Bible, he has got to believe all these contradictions, and many more.

He tells us no spirit has returned from the dead. But yet Christ was on the mount with Moses and Elias—were they dead? Mr. Grant tell us that angels were created above men, therefore, first. The Bible does not say so. Men were created “a little *lower* than the angels;” for, when they become angels, they go up above us. Now, I ask, are men angels? Three came to Abraham, and they were men; and when they went to Lot, the men and the angels did eat together. Men are angels; and I will inform Mr. Grant that Gabriel himself, according to Daniel, 9: 21, was a man:—“The man, Gabriel.” Now, if Gabriel was an angel, the same angel came to Zacharias and Elizabeth, and announced the birth of Christ. “The man, Gabriel,” an angel, did communicate. [Applause.]

Mr. Grant tells us the spirits of the dead know nothing. Now, we are to inquire, do spirits communicate, according to the Bible? I go to the Bible, and I find it written—“Ye have come to an innumerable company of angels, . . . to the spirits of just men made perfect.” And though spirits, according to Mr. Grant, do not exist nor communicate, I read in Hebrews (2: 2,) of “the word spoken by angels.” In 1 John 4: 1, it is written—“Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God.” Now, if they do communicate, we are to try them; if they do *not* communicate, how can we try them? “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God.” Ministering spirits do communicate that; therefore, they are of God. Now, if the Bible tells the truth, then we are to try all spirits; but if they do not communicate, as I have already said, how can we try them?

When we go into an examination of the results of Spiritualism, Mr. Grant tells that it leads to licentiousness, and almost every vice. He has spoken much about God. God is a being, he tells us; not a principle. Now, a being, if he have no personality, is infinite; if he have a personality, he is limited. Mr. Grant believes, therefore, in a limited God. [Elder Grant—“No.”] He says “no;” but he cannot escape the logic. I defy him to do it.

Now, if spirits do not communicate truly, where is the truth? Go where you will, and you will find throughout the Scriptures more discrepancies, even, than you can find in spirit communications. But spirit communications, being according to Scripture, are to be tried by the rule of the Scriptures. When we so try them, and they are found to be of God, then we are to believe them; and those who say that “Christ has come in the flesh are of God.” [Applause.]

Mr. TIFFANY. Ladies and Gentlemen, — When I stand here, or Mr. Grant stands here, to tell you what the Bible teaches or means, I want you to understand that we both mean that the Bible teaches thus and so according to our understanding of it; and if we are infallible in our understanding, we may tell infallibly what it means, but if liable to err, you only have the opinion of erring men.

Now, I wish to say to my friend that the Bible has nowhere intimated that angels or demons are any other than the spirits of departed human beings. The Bible has nowhere intimated that there is any such thing as a personal Satan or Devil. That word Devil, or Satan, is a Hebrew common name, signifying simply an adversary, or antagonism; and our clergy have left the word Satan in the translation, that they might get up a denominational devil. That is the way the word “devil” originated. It is a word that symbolizes all the principles of antagonism that arise in individuals and in society. The word translated “angel” means “messenger,” or

"ministering spirit," and the word "angel" is retained simply because the translators wished to maintain the idea that they are a different order of beings, and that gives Mr. Grant an opportunity to say that demons are another class of beings.

The Elder says "the dead never know any thing." I believe that, among the Jews, there were laws punishing necromancy with death. What is necromancy? It is foretelling future events by consulting the spirits of the dead. Now, I should like to know how much you can learn by consulting the spirits of the dead? The offence was considered to be a real one, and therefore it was punished with death. I would like to inquire of Mr. Grant whether he thinks that law was a sham? Certainly, if the spirits of the dead were unconscious, they could not be consulted, and future events could not be foretold by consulting them.

But to pass directly to the point. I will affirm, with reference to spiritual beings, that nowhere does the Bible intimate that there are any other spirits than those of human beings; but I affirm that angels are called "angels" when spoken of in reference to the missions they have performed; but spoken of as men, as individuals, when spoken of out of that office or mission. Therefore the "angels" that came to Lot were called men; and when the neighbors came around Lot's house, they demanded that "the men" should be brought out and delivered unto them. They were called "angels" in their office of advising Lot what was to be done. I suppose Mr. Grant will not deny that the Bible says what it means on that subject. So "angels" came to Abraham and Sarah. When described as individuals, they are called "men." "And lo, Abraham lifted up his eyes; and lo, three *men* stood before him." But, on the communication of the mission, then they were called "angels." So, take the case of Manoah. When the angel came to tell the wife of Manoah what should take place in reference to her son Samson that was to be born, she called him "a *man* of God." "A *man* of God came unto me, and his countenance was like the countenance of an angel, very terrible." And when he appeared the second time, she went to her husband, and said, "Behold, the *man* hath appeared unto me that appeared the other day." And Manoah went after his wife, and when he came to where the angel was, he said, "Art thou the *man* that spakest unto the woman?" And he answered, "I am the *man*."

So you may go through the whole of the Old Testament, and you will find this to be the fact—that where they are spoken of in relation to their mission, they are called "angels," signifying "messengers;" but where the same persons are spoken of as individuals, they are called "men." Sometimes they are called "gods," and then they are spoken of as "angels;" and again as "men," referring to the particular position they occupy.

But this mere verbal criticism amounts to nothing; and does not indicate any wisdom on the part of the individual who takes it up.

So you may look into the New Testament. For instance; some of the Evangelists state that "angels" came to the sepulchre; others say they were "men." Mark says they were "two young men." Luke says they were "young men in shining garments," and, in giving an account of those who appeared at the ascension, speaks of them as "young men in shining garments."

I wish you to understand, that when we find in the New Testament these beings spoken of as angels, it is simply because of the fact to which I have alluded, that the Greek translators have tried to make it out that angels are a different class of beings. But they appeared in the human form, they

spoke the human language, and addressed themselves to the human understanding. Again; they never exercised any spiritual faculty that does not belong to man. If the Elder can find any such case, I would like to have him refer to it.

But that is not all. He wanted to know if the dead ever knew any thing. I will refer him again to the time when the Sadducees came to Jesus and propounded a question, and he answered them by saying — “Have you not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.” Mark the words! Not, I was; not, I have been; not, I will be; but “*I am.*” Now, “God is not the God of the dead;” but Abraham is dead, and Isaac is dead; — how do you get along with that? “He is not a God of the dead, but a God of the living, for all live unto him.” The dead “*live* unto him,” not, will live in the future, but *now* “live unto him.” If the Bible language means any thing, that is conclusive.

Not only that, but, as it has been remarked, if one man who ever inhabited the human form is found to have been alive, after having left the human form, that proves that all men live, unless it can be shown that this was an exception. Now look at the point. Did not Moses die? How came Moses alive?

MR. GRANT. “He rose from the dead.”

MR. TIFFANY. How do you know he rose from the dead? The Bible does not say so. Does the Bible say so; and if so, where? The Bible does not intimate that he was raised from the dead.

Furthermore, there was what claimed to be the spirit of Samuel. How came he to get up? The Bible says the woman of Endor called him up at the request of Saul. Somehow he was within hearing distance, and came, or else the Bible does not give the fact as it was. Still further, when we come to Revelations, it is there affirmed that when the messenger, or angel, that showed John certain things came forward, and John was about to fall down and worship, he said, “See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets.” Now, says Elder Grant, and those of his school, “That does not mean that he was the spirit of one of the prophets; it means that he was the servant of John and the servant of the prophets.” But if he will notice the construction, he will see that the passage cannot be thus interpreted.

But I come to another thing, and say in regard to these angels, that not only do they appear in human forms, speaking human language, exercising human faculties, called “men” when spoken of as individuals, but I infer that there is no room to interpolate another class of beings between men and God, and Elder Grant cannot get any room. There is no chance to interpolate another order of beings between God and man, who was created in God’s image, and endowed with all the faculties that can be conferred upon him. “So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.” Furthermore, man is endowed with all the faculties that can fill up the space between him and God, because he is capable of coming into the highest possible knowledge — to wit, the understanding and knowledge of God; capable of coming into the highest possible communion — to wit, into communion with God; capable of coming into the nearest possible relation with God — to wit, that of being a son of God. Now, wherein could God endow angels with any faculty that man does not possess? I stand here to challenge all the world to hint at an intellectual, moral, or religious faculty that an angel, or any other being,

could possess, that is not possessed by the human spirit. Therefore, when we look at the Bible, and find it describing man as created in God's image, as capable of coming into the knowledge of God, and the love of God, and communion with God, and of becoming the son of God, I inquire, what ground is there for supposing that there is any being between man and God? I affirm again, that God himself cannot create a finite being in any other way than by having the finite begotten by the finite, and thus developed up, the less perfect to the more perfect. There is no other way by which an angel can be produced but by being begotten in the human form, and brought up through human unfoldment.

You and I are created of the dust of the earth, but how is it done? God does it by the operation of a law that prepares the matter. Why was man's coming so long postponed? Geology, which is the science of God, has recorded upon the face of material existence the fact that ages upon ages have gone by from the time of the first animal and vegetable forms; that the order of progression is upward, gradually approaching nearer and nearer to the human type, until at last man appears upon the earth — so far as outward manifestation goes, but little above the animal in form. I grant that God made him, but he had his own method by which he created him, developed him, and brought him up. I affirm of this body of mine, that I have derived it from the earth, which is earthy; I affirm of this spirit of mine, I have received it from God, which is of heaven. Not that my spirit ever came up through the animal kingdom, but my body did. God knows, and I know, that my body did come through the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and came up to that point where it might receive the incarnation of the immortal Spirit, which took possession of this body.

PARKER PILLSBURY. Mr. Chairman, — I want to say this: We have here a large company of earnest, practical, working men and women, in the cause of humanity; and I protest against their time being wasted by two gladiators, discharging the small shot of texts at each other by the hour together. When, I want to know, in the name of humanity and common sense, is the Bible ever to be settled as to its meaning? If we have nothing better to do than to enter into this controversy about words, in the name of humanity, let us adjourn, and go out and find better business. Some of us have come more than a thousand miles to attend this Convention, at great expense both of time and money; and is this the entertainment to which we are to be treated? Two men stand here renewing a controversy now fifteen hundred years old, and no nearer the end than the day when it began. And when my friend, Mr. Grant, whose conscientiousness I respect, undertakes to speak in behalf of the Bible, and in behalf of the Church, what does it amount to? The Church does not like *his* interpretation of the Bible any better than it likes the interpretation of the most skeptical spirits to be found in this whole assembly. About twenty years ago, a young man went down from Vermont to Boston, in pursuit of business — a very proper and very laudable object.

[At this point, the speaker was interrupted by cries of "Down, down," and loud clamors on the part of a portion of the audience, who seemed determined that he should not speak. The President appealed to the audience to preserve order, and when quiet was in some degree restored, Mr. Pillsbury continued.]

I respect, Mr. Chairman, your good intentions, and I honor very highly the course you have pursued throughout the Convention, and at its close, I intend to offer a vote of thanks for the fidelity and integrity and honorable

fairness with which you have presided over its deliberations. But I tell this rabble around me, if they think they can clamor me down, they mistake me altogether. I have stood where brickbats and stones flew around larger than any of your fists without quailing, and I shall not be frightened by any thing that may happen here.

I insist that I am perfectly in order. We have extended the time of these speakers again and again. For pity's sake, how long do they want to throw these texts at us? If they must fight, I advise them to go to the marble quarries, or to some field at a respectable distance from the tent, and fire off these Bible revolvers all night, if they think best, — and I commend them both to a Kilkenny cat victory. [Loud laughter and applause.] I stand here to fight the earnest battle of life, and I do not want my time frittered away by this everlasting jargon. Thousands of men, wiser than both of these together, [laughter,] have wasted their lives over the meaning of these texts, and only proved how big fools they were at the end of it. [Renewed laughter.] We have come here in behalf of the cause of humanity. There are millions of slaves on the plantations of the South, and in your parlors and in your kitchens at the North; and you working men of Vermont, who are clamoring in this unreasonable and most dishonorable manner, are counted by your Southern masters only "the mud-sills of society, greasy mechanics, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists." Are you the Green Mountain Boys of whom we have heard so much? [A Voice — "We are."] Then I hope you will turn out bastards, or it were better Molly Stark had slept a widow and died childless to boot! [Roars of laughter, and prolonged cheering.] I have heard of Vermont as the "Delectable Mountains" of the country; and I supposed, when the ark of Freedom had been deluged in the vortex of slavery, that here, at last, on the green hills of Vermont, there should be found a Mount Ararat, where it might rest, and the cause of Liberty be saved as the forlorn hope of the world. But are you, in God's name, the best defence that the cause of Freedom has in whom to trust?

Mr. Chairman, — I wish not to impose myself or my remarks upon the Convention. I rose to protest against this useless, and worse than useless, waste of words about things which, no matter who is right, Tiffany or Grant, they are both wrong in this waste of time. And as for their mere theories, I wish at least our friend Tiffany would have self-respect enough not to enter the lists against one whom, I am sure, he must feel, that if he were to demolish him, the game would not be worth half the powder, to say nothing of the shot. (Laughter and applause.) Why, when our friend Grant enters the lists in behalf of the Bible, I fancy the Church must regard him as the merchant did the young man from Vermont, of whom I began to speak. He went down to Boston to seek for employment, and as he approached the store of a merchant who had an unfortunate impediment in his speech, he said to his clerks, "There is a greenhorn coming; call him in, and we will have some fun with him. I will ask him if he can tell why Balaam's ass spoke." So they called the young man in, and the merchant began, in his stuttering way, "C-c-c-an you t-t-t-ell" — Here he broke down, and one of the clerks said to the young man, "He was going to ask if you could tell why Balaam's ass spoke?" "No," said he; "I was not there; but I guess his master stuttered badly, and so the ass spoke for him." (Loud laughter and applause.)

I think we had better now go back to the great work of Humanity, and leave the Priesthood to settle this war about texts.

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can 't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

We have better work, and more important work, than this endless jargon about texts. What do you Spiritualists care what these texts teach? You have got to meet every question on other grounds. Suppose Mr. Tiffany annihilates Mr. Grant—does Spiritualism rely upon texts alone? If so, you had better banish it from the world. On the other hand, suppose Mr. Grant triumphs, is Spiritualism dead? I say, let us go back to more important work, and show ourselves worthy of our high parentage, as descendants of the brave men who fought the battles of the Revolution. [Applause.]

ELDER GRANT. There are some points that I ought to say a word about, lest the congregation misapprehend my position. I grant my friend Tiffany all he says about “messengers,”—that is, that the word “angels” means “messengers.” I make no plea there. There may be “messengers” sent by men, or by the devils, for I read, “the devil and his angels,” or messengers; or by the Lord, since I read, “the Lord and his angels.” I grant him that “angel” and “messenger” are synonymous. He makes the point of angelic ministrations an important one; and so, indeed, it is. Can that point be sustained—that angels are the spirits of men? If it can, my Spiritualist friends may then claim the Bible on their side to a large extent. I grant that man was made “a little lower than the angels.” My friend argues that God cannot make beings between men and angels, because man was made in His image. According to that, the Son of God was certainly nothing but man; the Bible teaches he was something more.

Allow me to quote from the old writers on this point. I will refer back to Thales, that Greek philosopher, 548 years before Christ; and I ask him about demons, whom I claim are a class of angels, on the authority of the Bible. Let us see if he thinks they were the spirits of men. He says: “Demons are spiritual beings, who had never been embodied as men.” Let us see what Plato says about this matter: “The demons hold a middle place between God and man.” Other heathen writers believed the same. Let me make one or two extracts from the Christian writers in the first ages of Christianity. Let us see what they thought demons were. Tatian, who died A.D. 170, says: “The demons who govern men are not the souls of men. They were ejected from the heavenly life.” The Bible says they were cast down to Tartarus, or “hell.” I refer also to Turtullian, who makes demons the authors of the fall of man. We have the testimony of heathen and Christian writers, as well as the Bible, that demons hold a middle place between God and man, and consequently angels hold a middle place, because those are represented as fallen *angels*. “Man was made a little lower than the angels.” I am told by my Spiritualist friends that there were no angels until some men died; but, remember, man was made a “little lower” *at the commencement*.

My friend says that angels, when they have appeared upon earth, have sometimes been called men. I grant it, sir. When they appeared to Abraham, they are called angels, and afterwards spoken of as men. These angels certainly had organisms, for their feet were washed. I find the Bible exhorting—“Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.” Now, Mr. Chairman, I claim, on the authority of the Bible, that angels resemble men in their organisms, in their forms, and in their shape, so that they have sometimes

been mistaken for men; but nowhere in the Bible are we taught that the spirits of men are angels, or that the spirit of any man ever appeared to any other man. I call for the Bible proof. I repeat it: The Bible nowhere teaches, that the spirits of men, or departed human spirits, were ever called angels, or ever appeared to men. Angels, when they have appeared upon earth, have appeared in their own persons, in every case recorded in the Bible, and never manifested themselves through a *medium*. Demons, or fallen angels, have almost invariably manifested themselves through some medium. For what reason? To make us believe that our friends are not dead. I am told they imitate the voice; the ventriloquist will do that. They imitate the hand-writing,—many counterfeiters will do that. They represent the person,—play-actors will do that, and many times in the same scene. Cannot demons do as much as men, to say the least? I am referred to the passage in Revelations, where John speaks of falling down at the feet of an angel. That angel had *feet*, which does not go to prove that he was in that disembodied state that some of my friends may claim. The angel, addressing John, said, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets." He did not say, I am one of thy brethren the prophets. Suppose he did; Elias and Enoch were translated, and did not see death; he might have been one of them. But he does not intimate that he is one of the prophets. The old translation reads (take Tyndale's first edition of the English Bible): "I am thy fellow-servant, and the fellow-servant of thy brethren the prophets." That is the full rendering of it. He is not only the fellow-servant of John, but had been the fellow-servant of Daniel and others; for, says he, when on a visit to Zacharias, "I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God." "Daniel calls him 'the man Gabriel.'" I grant it. So demons, whenever they appear in form, appear like men. We were told they had physical organisms. Where did they get them? Every physiologist knows that no material part of man leaves him at death; where, then, did these spirits of our friends (as they are claimed to be) get their physical, tangible organisms, that can be felt as sensibly as we feel the hands of our friends? They do not take them with them. All that is claimed is, that they take an ethereal form, for they must take that if any, for no material part leaves the body.

"I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead but of the living." I wish my friend Tiffany had begun at the beginning of the subject, and given us an interpretation of it. The Saviour was pressed by the Sadducees, who denied that there was any resurrection of the dead,—observe, the subject is not the resurrection of the *living*, but of something that is *dead*,—"And Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God; for in the resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven." Who rises? He is speaking of the woman who had seven husbands, and the Sadducees wished to know whose wife she should be when they rose from the dead. Says Jesus, "when they *shall* rise from the dead, (something that is *dead*, I remark again,) they neither marry nor are given in marriage." Again: We learn we shall be made "equal with the angels." Equal with *ourselves*, sir?

MR. CURTIS. I have here three resolutions, which I think it is important should be presented to this Convention at this stage of its proceedings. I simply desire to read them, and leave them in the hands of the Convention:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Harmonists, of Troy, for the sweet songs with which they have enlivened the proceedings of our sessions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the President thereof, for the fidelity and impartiality with which he has presided over its deliberations.

Resolved, That this Convention tender its thanks to the people of Rutland for the hospitality with which they have entertained us; and that we can but treasure its grateful recollection, as a most striking proof that differences of opinion on the vital points of reform which have called this Convention together, do not interfere with the kindly sentiments of that common humanity on which, as reformers, we build our hopes of human redemption.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to make a single remark on one of the resolutions — it is that which proposes a vote of thanks to the presiding officer of the Convention. It will be remembered by those who were present at the early part of the Convention, that I felt called upon to take exception to the course of the platform in regard to the conduct of the meeting. In doing so, I was understood to reflect upon the integrity of the Chair. It is very possible I did so reflect, for then I was laboring under the impression that there was a disposition, on the part of those who had the control of this meeting, to crowd out some subjects that seemed to come legitimately before it, under the call, and which, to me, were of all subjects the most interesting and important; and under the influence of that impression, it is very likely that I expressed myself more strongly than even the circumstances would warrant to other minds. But I now wish to say, in the presence of this audience, that I believe I was mistaken in supposing there was any disposition to crowd from this platform any question properly and legitimately before us. I think there was a mistake, in the early part of the Convention, in crowding off the expression of views dear, not to me, but to those of our opponents who believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. I regret this mistake, and I know it will be used powerfully against the Convention. But I wish to give it as my opinion now, and I shall give it everywhere, that there was no intention to deny free discussion; that it was an honest mistake on the part of those who had had but little experience in conducting a free meeting, — a mistake which I have been highly gratified and delighted to find has been fully repaired and atoned for in this latter part of the Convention; for I believe no man has had more freedom than he who stands most directly opposed to a very large majority of those who compose the Convention.

The question being put, the resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

On motion, it was *Voted*, that Charles F. Hovey, of Boston, John Landon, of Rutland, and J. M. W. Yerrinton, of Boston, be appointed a committee to prepare the proceedings of this Convention for publication.

The Convention then adjourned, *sine die*.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS TO THE CONVENTION.

FROM JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

HAMORTON, CHESTER CO., PENN., 6mo., 12, 1858.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, JOHN LONDON:

The circular and invitation to be present at the contemplated "Free Convention," were duly received. It would afford me no inconsiderable pleasure to comply with the request, but other engagements will prevent. I am, however, no platform speaker, and could contribute but little to the interests of debate. As a minister in the Society of Friends, when a young man, I deplored the exclusiveness of the sect, and longed for a larger liberty than was considered expedient by the body. The struggles for more light caused the shutters to open, and some of us sacrificed our connection with the church, rather than be denied the privilege of pleading for the slave. We were thrown over the battlements, supposing our society enjoyments in religious communion at an end.

We have realized the fulfilment of the promise, "He that layeth down his life for my sake and the gospel, shall find it." We issued a call for an Anti-Sectarian Association, based upon the religious element in man. Many came at our word, and from that hour, we have steadily grown stronger in number, and in a sense which is greater than *numerical* strength. Our late yearly meeting of PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS was attended by thousands, and the most excellent order characterized its deliberations. I here enclose a general epistle for the Convention, and earnestly desire that you may be guided by wisdom and truth, carrying in your hands both the torch and the hammer. He is but half a reformer whose only mission is to destroy—we must build the beautiful and the true, as well as dash in pieces the images of a false theology, which are constantly being substituted for the blessed religion.

The people will yet learn to discriminate between "theology and religion;" the one is a beautiful flower, the other, the botanist's imperfect description of it. We must separate between religion and the documents which have been put on record about it. Our weapons should be peace, and our arguments, love. These are invincible, and through the blessing of God, will hasten the triumphs of a redemption from the curse of creeds, which already draweth nigh.

"Tho' the cause of evil prosper, yet the Truth alone is strong,
And albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong."

Very cordially,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, HELD AT LONGWOOD, CHESTER COUNTY, PENN.,
FROM THE 30th OF THE 5th MONTH TO THE 4th OF THE 6th MONTH,
1858.

*To the Free Convention of the Friends of Progress, to be held at Rutland,
Vermont:—*

BELoved FRIENDS,—We prize very highly the privilege of corresponding with
(14)

sincere and earnest minds, who, like ourselves, are impressed that religion, divorced from humanity, is a scourge to the human race.

We are animated in receiving your call and the words of encouragement it breathes. We say to you, in our turn, Work on; let your faith be exhibited by deeds of Mercy and Love. Multitudes have yet to learn the nobility there is in labor. When they receive the divine anointing, they will learn, through obedience to divine laws, that labor is an ordinance of Heaven for the elevation of man. Experience satisfies us that the anti-sectarian character of our association is a constant source of vitality. Our distinctive idea we have found it useful frequently to repeat—"THEOLOGY IS NOT RELIGION." Bockinger, a learned French writer, said of Sakia, a reformer among the Hindoos—"He did not invent a system altogether new. He merely pronounced *strongly and clearly* that which many of his cotemporaries had obscurely felt. He made himself the representative of opposition to Brahminism, which had existed sometime among them." So it was with us at the beginning of our movement. We set forth our conviction that churches, however high their pretensions of authority derived from God, are only human organizations, and the repositories of only such powers as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of whom they are composed, or derived from the laws of our social nature; "that too long have the common people been deluded with the idea that the church holds a mysterious organic relation to the Infinite, a relation distinct from that existing between the soul and its Creator, and conferring special powers and prerogatives; that no error has done more than this to debase and enslave the mind of man, to fetter his godlike powers and make him the ready instrument of superstition and priestcraft;" "that this is the most vicious element of Popery, from which our Protestant sects are not yet delivered." Time proves to us that we were not alone in these views, but that they had been entertained by many hearts, who only waited an opportunity to express them.

We should be humble and grateful for the privilege of living and working in the present period of the world's history. We hope to be preserved from a spirit of egotism, for the most devoted and earnest lover of truth has contributed but a very little towards producing the present great awakening. "The hand of a child may set in motion a rock nicely balanced on the edge of a precipice. The rock may be thrown from its place and hurled with irresistible velocity into the valley below. Thus divine truths are poised so nicely, that comparatively insignificant means may hurl them with powerful effect upon the head of error. But as the rock finds the valley from its own intrinsic weight, and not from the feeble force which set it in motion, so does truth reach its results, not from the feeble hand by which it is wielded, but by its own inherent, mighty power." We respond to the sentiments of a beloved correspondent, who said to us, "We are in the midst of the most important era in the life of Christianity. Neither the period when it detached itself from the Jewish ritual under the leadership of Paul, nor the time when it shook off the scarlet cloak of Rome by the strong arm of Luther, were crises so important as ours, when it is slowly and painfully disengaging itself from the creeds and ceremonies that were the natural expression of the middle-age culture, and clothing itself anew in the forms of thought and life appropriate to a world already made a family by the telegraph, and modified in all its habits by an advancing intelligence and freedom."

Our meeting this year has been large beyond all precedent. We have had the acceptable presence and co-operation of a number of well-known and beloved co-laborers,—among them, Theodore Parker, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew Jackson Davis, and Mary F. Davis.

On the first day, the house was densely crowded in all its parts, and thousands who could not gain access, notwithstanding the threatening aspect of the weather, stood in the yard, and were addressed from the vestibule. The immense crowd, all standing, gave earnest attention.

Our Committee on Education reported, in substance, that in consequence of the late financial pressure, they had been unable to take any definite steps towards the organization of a seminary of learning; but they were united in the opinion, that the contemplated institution should preserve the family relations

and character sufficiently to secure the pupils from those immoral influences and violations of physiological laws which so frequently undermine the moral purity and the physical health of the students in our colleges and universities.

Our committee, appointed last year for the purpose of holding meetings, produced a very satisfactory and encouraging report. Conventions held by them in divers places were often attended by overflowing numbers, who invariably gave kind and courteous attention to the anti-sectarian and reformatory sentiments which were uttered.

We have appointed a new and larger committee this year. The Committee on Testimonies produced reports on Slavery, Caste, Co-equality of Woman, Temperance, the Evils of Tobacco, Education and other kindred subjects. Differences of opinion sometimes occurred, but the most fraternal spirit characterised our deliberations.

We desire you may be favored with the spirit of wisdom, and be guided in your councils, so that you will make the world better for having labored for its redemption.

We should be pleased to hear the result of your deliberations, to be read at our next yearly meeting.

Cordially, your friends,

Signed on behalf of the Yearly Meeting,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,	} <i>Clerks.</i>
OLIVER JOHNSON,	
SIDNEY PEIRCE CURTIS,	

FROM THE YEARLY MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS, HELD
AT JUNIUS MEETING-HOUSE, NEAR WATERLOO, FROM THE 6th OF JUNE
TO THE 8th OF THE SAME INCLUSIVE, 1858.

*To the First Annual Convention of the Friends of Human Progress, to be held in
Burland, Vt. :—*

DEAR FRIENDS:—Through the bountiful love and guidance of the Infinite Parent, we are again drawn together to enjoy sweet intercourse and exchange fraternal greetings.

The beauties of Nature's spring-time, now rounding into summer, the warbling of birds, softening toward harmony, the deep, solemn, earnest accents of truth swelling from universal mind, all teach us lessons of love, tolerance, truth, justice and wisdom. The actualization of these in life, we verily believe, will introduce to earth the bright millennium of love or heaven, so long sought and earnestly prayed for by the religious world since Sinai thundered, and a Jesus exemplified the law, "*Love ye one another.*"

We meet on a platform as broad as the capabilities and sympathies of the human soul, believing that the illumination from the fountain of truth to each finite being is necessarily limited and partial in its character—that, as in the human economy, one can see, hear, taste and feel more than another, so in spiritual things, we discern truth with various powers. Hence, we meet thus together in these yearly conferences, faithfully believing, that in giving that which we possess of intellectual power, whether it consist in revelations new or old, we are receiving also other thoughts coming from a different stand-point; thus enabling us to sound the foundation of our building, whether it be truly built on rock, yea or nay.

We have now, for ten years, been mingling together in these annual convocations, each year more and more confirmed in the belief that they are truly the open door to the weary wanderer midst creeds and confessions of faith, ceremonies and formal observances, to enter a freer life, where the beautiful and true can alone find a resting-place.

We feel that we are but on the threshold of this work. It was nursed in weakness, but every added day evidences the fact that it is growing a power in

the religious world — not a power of the excommunicatory Bull, the wild burning fagot, or the more modern discipline; but a power of love and good will, teaching men that to revere God, we must first revere his representative — God in man. It is a *power*, inasmuch as men are drawn away from the image worship of a Moses, a Jesus, a Paul, or a Revelation to ages past, and directed to our everyday's experience, to find prophets by the way-side of life, who will teach us with more power than Moses as a law-giver, Jesus as a teacher, or Paul by his epistolary power. A *power*, because it comes down to the humanities of our day, without regard to ancient precedents, and endeavors to make religion of practical use *now*, rather than a theoretical problem to be worked out in the mythical future.

We send forth this our greeting to you, feeling that by this means we may keep the chain of sympathy and good feeling ever bright and ever perfect.

We feel encouraged in the fact that organizations similar to this are springing up numerously over our country. We give to all these the fraternal hand; and to you, who are on the eve of your first gathering, we trust that the blessing of an Infinite Father may be with you in all your deliberations.

Our meeting, just closed, has been in every sense a good one; a spirit of kindness and affection attended our deliberations throughout. Though not so large in numbers as similar meetings in neighborhoods more thoroughly imbued with the progressive element, it was great in that intellectual vigor so necessary to healthy growth.

The discussions on the various topics brought before us were marked by unusual interest. That on the *true* and *false* religion, brought up by a series of resolutions on religion and the late "Revivals," elicited an earnest and free exposition of sentiment against the shams and pretensions of the so-called religious world. While the meeting was ready to discriminate between the true and false in the late "Revivals," they utterly repudiated the idea that any miraculous, spasmodic effort of this character could be of any permanent value, believing that perfection in spiritual things was to be obtained only by earnest continued effort, and strict adherence to the whole *moral law*, ever keeping the mind open and free to receive truth from whatever source it presents itself.

The question of Woman's Rights and Wrongs was brought before us in an able Address by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton. The meeting entered warmly into the consideration of this all-important topic. Other subjects of great moment claimed our attention, for a full report of which we refer you to our forthcoming printed report.

In the ministrations of our beloved friends and co-laborers, Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., Philip D. Moore, of New Jersey, Thos. M'Clintock, of Easton, Pa., Chas. Mills, Eliza Clark, Wm. H. Fish of Cortland, Elizabeth C. Stanton, and others, our spirits were strengthened for still greater effort.

Grateful to the ever-living Parent of life and immortality for his guidance, we separated with confidence in each other and a determination to engage in earnest prayer, by manly and exalted lives, to extend peace, good-will, light and liberty among men.

Signed, on behalf and by direction of the Waterloo Yearly meeting of the "Friends of Human Progress,"

JAMES TRUMAN,
FRANCIS A. HANCOCK, } *Clerks.*

ADDRESSES BY TRANCE SPEAKERS.

On the first evening of the Convention, as stated in the Report, addresses were delivered by two trance speakers, (Miss HELEN TEMPLE, of Bennington, Vt., and Miss A. W. SPRAGUE, of Plymouth, Vt.) The substance of these addresses is here given.

Miss TEMPLE, (a young lady of fourteen years of age,) commenced her address with the following verses:—

Not here, not here, will the spirit stay,
But it wings its flight for the world away;
Not here, not here, 'mid the deep'ning gloom,
Would our spirit stay, in the shades of the tomb.

Not here, not here, where sorrow rolls
Its dark'ning waves o'er care-worn souls,
But far away, in the world of light,
Would we chant the songs of life so bright.
Yes, far away in the land of love,
Would we sing our songs, in climes above.

Not here, not here, shall we find our home,
Where the waves of sorrow and death shall come;
Not here, but far above, far away
In the portals of light, of brightest day,
Our spirits shall roam in the climes of the blest,
And be with the loved ones, for ever at rest.

Not here, not here, would our spirit stay,
To error and darkness for ever a prey,
But, winging its flight to the world of pure love,
Chant the sweet songs and anthems above.

Man and his Destiny! Let us look back for a few moments through the haze and mist of antiquity, through the dim, receding twilight and darkness, — yes, let us look back to the time when man grovelled through this earth as an undeveloped being in darkness. Yes, Mind at that time, chained by its fetters of ignorance, chained by its fetters of darkness, looked forth upon the surrounding scenery, and reasoned from Nature's theories, as it understood them. Every man, existing wherever he will, will worship at the shrine of some God, and in worshipping at the shrine of that Deity, he judges of that God as he would judge of himself. Then let us look back to the past ages of man; let us look back through the misty, hazy, dim distance, and reason from the unfolding of Mind in that dim age.

Man is termed the breath of Deity, and such a breath he surely is; and that breath can never exhale in the surrounding atmosphere. It is as everlasting as the principle of Deity itself. Mind, from every part of this wide earth, speaks this great truth — that it is an emanation from an everlasting source, enshrined, for a time, within this material frame. We have stood, as you stand, within the world, and, looking back, we know that we are parts, offshoots, branches, from the one tree of existence, — branches from that mighty tree of everlasting life, from the deep soul of Deity. And as such a branch, we took up our embodiment in human form, performed our mission upon this earth, and passed to another clime.

Gaze at Moses, for instance; place him upon this earth to-day, and who, we ask you, would receive him? Take him, as he existed so many years ago, in the misty twilight of antiquity, and place him here, and he would instantly be hung as a murderer. You can see, then, how mind has developed, how the soul has unfolded. Moses reasoned from the principles of God as he would reason from the principles of a material being. Every man judges of God as he judges of his brother man. Moses, when he heard the thunders of Mount Sinai, reasoned that God was angry, and, taking his tables of stone, he came down and stood in the midst of the Children of Israel, and, seeing them worshipping at the shrine of other gods, he cast aside the tables of stone, saying, "God is angry!" Friends of truth, is the Everlasting Spirit, whose laws are unchangeable, ever angry? Is he subject to the petty passions that inflame men's minds? Is he subject to those darkening influences that blind the interior portals of the human soul? No, he is a power

"Too wise to err, too good to be unkind."

See the teachings of Jesus!—that beautiful branch of humanity, which possesses within itself all the attributes of that form of God which you worship to-day. Jesus brought forward the beautiful teachings of his interior nature, but how many have received them? How many received them in those olden times? How many of those who were imbued with the sectarianism of that age came forth and listened to his doctrines? Few indeed.

Again: look back, as we do, and see Mind as it exists to-day, and see the similarity between the two periods. How few there are who listen to the teachings of Jesus, as they are uttered to-day! How few there are who gather into their souls the beautiful and blooming flowers of everlasting life! And why is it that Mind, as it develops, does not receive those truths to-day? Sin has been in the world. Sin has influenced the mind. And from what does sin take its rise? Ignorance is the fertile soil in which is planted the seeds of sin. Then gaze upon Mind, in slavery, in bondage, and ask yourselves, What is it that binds it in slavery? What matters it whether the chain that binds your soul to-day be golden or iron, if it is the chain of slavery? Mind has dwelt so long in the shadow and in darkness, that the breath of God cannot reach it, in its swift progress from the bowers of heavenly light.

But man is developing. When you look back eighteen hundred years, and contrast man's condition at that time with the present, you see how he has been developed. Follow the mighty chain of progress, and let every link of that mighty chain bring to your soul a deeper knowledge than you have ever known—the knowledge of life eternal. Yes, Mind, unfolding, developing, bringing forth sweet flowers of hope, to-day blooms upon us, though yet clouded with the shadows and mists of antiquity. In the churches, we hear the clanking of the chains of bondage to ignorance and superstition. What shall tear away that chain? What shall free these souls, that they may dwell in happiness, and not in the darkness in which they now exist? Mind, as it develops, speaks to you to-day. We have dwelt within the form as you dwell; but the icy hand of Death has rested upon us, and we have passed to another world; and we have come back to-day to roll the stone from the sepulchre of the old theology of antiquity, that your souls may be free as the winds of heaven. Yes, it is the mission of spirits, it is their embassy, to come back to you and tear aside the drapery of midnight darkness from your souls, that you may feel the inspiration of God, and angels weave their silvery drapery round your souls.

Look at Mind to-day. Follow us, and gaze upon the churches to-day. There are minds striving to free themselves from the fetters of darkness and superstition. To such, our priests and ministers exclaim in thunder tones, "Do not investigate, do not reason, or you will draw around you the teachings of the devil!" Friends, look upon your churches to-day. Where are the teachings of evil?—for we cannot term it the devil. It is evil principles, evil shadows that fall upon your souls. Then look at your churches to-day. Fear not to investigate. "Knock, and it shall be opened to you." Knock at the door of reason, and the silvery drapery of angels shall float over you, and they will roll back the eternal gates, that you may enter in. In the churches you are taught that you are depraved beings; that this mind that is in you is chained in everlasting chains. It is bound in chains, but not everlasting chains, for the spirits of angels shall tear asunder the chains of your souls; they have unfolded their glorious pinions, and you shall be clad in beautiful drapery, and walk through the broad and beautiful portals of reason.

Yes, to-day these teachings go forth that would make you believe your souls *totally depraved*. Look within yourselves to find the breath of God. His laws are unchangeable—"the same yesterday, to-day and for ever"—"without variableness or shadow of turning." Then look within your souls, and ask of your interior nature, "Where is that breath that was said to have been given to man in the Garden of Eden?" Can it be that the kingdom of his Satanic majesty has overcome the kingdom of Deity? No; God's kingdom is everlasting; and though evil may spring from the planes of ignorance, and that breath may have been smothered in its sulphurous smoke, yet the atmosphere is undergoing a purifying process, the darkness shall flee away, and the voice of God shall speak in its sublime majesty to the soul—"Let there be light!" and there shall be light.

Mind, developing, unfolding Mind, — can it be that you are totally depraved? — the breath of God — a portion of that Spirit — an offshoot from the Eternal Existence. No! In every soul that exists to-day is a spark of Deity. We may look, for instance, upon the murderer; search him in all his life, follow him through his development, and there are good theories, there are sparks of that everlasting love, within the depths of his soul. If but a breath, a spark, it cannot be that the kingdom of his Satanic majesty shall overbalance that spark. No, it is eternal; God's laws are unchangeable, and that spark, dimmed and almost lifeless here, shall, in the spirit world, be unfolded and developed through the spiritual process. Development, progress, shall never end, for if they should cease, man would instantly lose his individuality; consequently, progress shall never cease, but that spark in the depths of the human soul shall unfold and develop, through an interior process, until it brings us forth to pure and everlasting life.

Then look within the spirits of your children at home. Look within the infant minds that develop on earth. Watch the influences that are thrown around them. Can it be that you will gaze upon them and say, God has doomed so many to hell and chosen so many for heaven? Reasonable, is it not, that God should have formed so many human souls, so many portions of Himself, to be punished everlastingly? Is this the destiny of Mind? No! Unfolding through an interior process, developing through a beautiful law of progress, the soul shall yet stand upon the mountain summits of truth, and gaze upon the theories that exist around.

God said, years ago, when this earth was said to have been made, "Let there be light! and there was light." And to-day that majestic voice rolls through the universe — "Let there be light!" and there is light. Where do you suppose, my friends, this light is going to fall? Not alone upon the Infidel and Universalist, but it falls behind the pulpit. Friends of truth, gaze upon these beings, who are hid by the solemn robes of the sanctuary, who stand in the shadow, and profess to be pure and holy, saying to their brother-man, "Stand aside; I am holier than thou." The light shall shine upon them, and there shall be no shadow: for man's destiny is not to dwell for ever in this shadow. He is to be unfolded, and to bring forward, from the depths of his nature, from the deep springs of everlasting life, the crystal waves of truth eternal. Cast a pebble upon the lakelet's bosom, and circle after circle will go round until the whole is one mass of circles. Is the pebble lost for ever? You cannot see it, perhaps, but yet, if you were to go below the blue waves, there would be found the pebble. So, in the blue waters of the lake of mentality falls the pebble of truth from the omnipotent hand of Jehovah. It cannot be that it is lost eternally. No; go below the blue waves, and you will find it resting upon "the sands of time." Principles are never lost. They may have been agitated, — for agitation is the beginning of wisdom, — but the pebble is not lost; it rests upon "the sands of time." Mind! thy destiny is ever onward, grasping from the hand of an omnipotent Deity the beautiful flowers of everlasting life. Let us, with the hand of reason, clasp the silvery lilies that grow by the heavenly founts, bind them into an everlasting wreath, and twine it around the brow of Truth, and it shall exist eternally.

In the unfolding of mind, we find many things that it is good for us to investigate and demonstrate, if we would learn truth, everlasting truth, from the souls of men. Then let us learn from truth, having reason for our only monitor. If we reason through the teachings of another, it does not do us the good that the unfoldment of our own thoughts would. Never, friends, lose your own individuality. Never let that go, for if you lose your spiritual individuality, every thing on earth is lost.

Friends, have you ever watched the building of some mighty ship upon the seashore? Go forth and look upon the timbers, as they are bolted and riveted together, A person not knowing the process by which a ship is constructed, gazing upon these timbers, might say, "What good will it ever do? It is nothing but an abstraction." But wait a few days, and then see the men as they gather together and launch that ship upon the mighty waves. The ship of Spiritualism has stood upon the bank, and men have gazed upon it and said, "Of what use is it? It is only an abstraction." Wait a little time, and gaze upon it again and again, and

by and by, men shall gather together and launch it forth upon the dashing waves of time. Its destined harbor is the port of Eternity, and it is freighted with the flowers of truth from the spirit-world. Then wait a little while before you decide that Spiritualism does no good. Wait until you see its white sails fill, and as it floats away over the bounding waves, then form your opinion.

Man is destined;—yes, *destined*, for God knows all things; and if that Infinite Spirit knows all things, certainly we are destined. Then let us go through these fields of Infinity. Remember we are finite men, consequently cannot examine the Infinite. Looking around, we may see we are free to act for ourselves. There are truths continually unfolding in the book of Nature. Nature is the best Bible we have ever found. In Nature, we find demonstrated the truth of your Bible to-day. Yes, the Bible is the prelude, while the voice of Nature is the grand consummation. Mind! look forth over Nature's field! Be free! Read from each truth that exists around you, gather each flower that exists, and twine it into a beautiful wreath around your spirit's brow!

In order to be happy, you must have a principle upon which to rest. You must have a standard, place it upon the mountain-top, and strive to reach it. Grasp for ever after the sunlight: reach forward for the standard you have placed above you. When you seek a religion, seek it not in its external form, but let it be from the interior, for from the interior the external proceeds. Remember this; when you seek religion, let it be the "pure and undefiled religion" of the spirit. Worship God, "who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth," and in this worship shall you find happiness. The frail bark of Mind is setting forth upon the wide sea of eternity; the dashing waves are bearing you to the eternal world; far away in the dim distance are voices of men in the shadow, calling you back to the old creeds of darkness behind. Listen not to their cries, for far away in the worlds of light, a voice is calling that will lead you to happiness eternal.

It is true, when we look around us, we see that we must first learn how to live in this world. The great mistake of mankind has been in trying to learn how to die. We have heard children in the public schools, when they have been asked what their great object should be in life, answer, "To learn how to die." Friends, have you got to learn how to die? No; learn how to live. This is the standard, and not how to die. There is no death. There may be a parting of the spirit and the form, but there is life in this form, even after the spirit has left it. This form, placed within the sepulchre, crumbles back to its native dust, and each creation existing below it draws off to itself part of the human form, while the soul, everlasting, immortal, learns, in the spirit world, how to live there as it learned here how to live.

In reading the Bible, we meet with a certain parable which tells us of the servants who had certain talents confided to them by their master. One says, "My master is an austere man, that taketh up that he layeth not down, and reapeth that he did not sow," and accordingly he took his talent and hid it in the ground; but the others worked out the beautiful mission they had to perform. Look on earth, and see the consummation of that parable. See men taking this beautiful reason and rolling it in a napkin, and laying it in the sepulchre of antiquity, saying, "God is an austere God, that taketh up that he layeth not down, and reapeth that he did not sow." But the time shall come when he shall say, "You too, depart from me into darkness." But you cannot depart from the spirit, though you may from the principles that surround you.

Our mission is not to tear away your foundation. We take the truth for our foundation: upon it we build the beautiful structure of true development in the other world. Remember that, and that we take the truth and blend it in one harmonious action, like the blending of the waves of the ocean,—deep, sublime, majestic in their mighty sway, chanting for ever the anthems of Mind, unfolding its deepest principles on this earth around us, lit by the smiles of our heavenly Father.

There are various qualities of mind, too diversified for us to dwell upon now, as our time and space are brief. But we must tell you, before we depart, what an infidel is. To some, the idea of an infidel is a horrid thought. What is an infidel? Too often has the question been sent forth, "Who can you spiritualists

count, but Infidels and Universalists?" Infidels and Universalists! which is worse, the man who believes God a wrathful being, punishing two-thirds of his creatures for ever and for ever, or he who believes him the unchangeable spirit that Nature teaches him to be? Infidels have been rejected by the churches; ministers have stood forth and tried to convince them of what they term the truth. But they have retained their infidelity, and resisted all their efforts, because they could not show any reason to them. They have been asked, "Why do you not believe?" The reply has been, "Belief is a matter of proof. Until we have evidence clear and plain, we never can believe." Spiritualism, then, has done one work that the churches could not do—it has brought in those who are termed Infidels and Universalists.

Man's destiny is to live everlastingly, throughout the labyrinths of the other world. The truth that lies around you to-day, let that be manifested in your souls. The truth of to-day is the shadow of that which shall be demonstrated hereafter. Then fear not, O mortal! Fear not, O mind! Man's rest consists not in quitting action for ever; it is fitting itself for its sphere; and that is man's immortal destiny. With the blessing of the spirits, which shall rest upon each man, may you go onward, working out this destiny for ever!

ADDRESS OF MISS A. W. SPRAGUE.

Freedom of thought—freedom of speech—and freedom of action, are sentences that pass from mouth to mouth, and from lip to lip, and are echoed from every hill and mountain and valley, and sometimes echoed even in the depths of the human soul. Yet, echoed as they are echoed, spoken as they are spoken, there is an emptiness in the very sound. The spirit of liberty, the principle of freedom, lives not in the human soul, save in a dim, twilight state. It is of God, and must live in the human soul, but yet his nature is not as noble, as great, as beautiful, as truthful, as it may be, as it will be, as it must be, when Humanity stands forth in its native dignity and says, "I will be free!" The fiat of the nation may go forth, saying, "Thou art free;" and if it comes only from the outer, the shackles are binding the human soul still. But if the human soul sends out its fiat, if it comes out nobly from its very depths, and speaks the word Freedom, it echoes from land to land, and from sea to sea, and freedom finds her true and rightful place in the human soul.

Freedom is the subject that we would present to you at this time. Even as we gaze from our higher home, even as we cast aside our heavenly robes, that we may give you heavenly truths, do we strive to infuse into your souls the principles that you speak in words only. We come unto you, O men, and as you are able to receive us, as you can understand that which we speak unto you, do we strive to infuse into your souls a love of that principle of freedom that shall make mankind one harmonious brotherhood. Man, in order to be free, must understand the principles of life, and the relation he bears to things around him. You cannot be free when the elements have dominion over you. There is a kind of bondage that is true freedom. When a superior man, with great and glorious truths, has you in bondage, and with the mighty spell of genius and intellect chains your very soul, then are you noblest and most free. Though you are spell-bound, yet it has freed you; it has burst the shackles of ignorance, and sent your mind soaring far away through the vast realms of thought, to gather in the great and glorious ideas of infinite truth. We say you must be ready to receive truth, ready to stand and listen, ready to feel it in the depths of your soul, and ready to practise it, also, or you are not free.

Now we come unto you, saying, What is this principle, and how should it act upon the present occasion? Mind has gathered to mind, like atoms floating through space. Mind has come forth, and the body has obeyed its will, and you are gathered into conclave together. And for what purpose? Have you not gathered to learn what is right and true in every department of life, and listen unto every word of wisdom that may come from the lips of any man, and to every voice that may speak, in its own way, to your interior, according to its development and your own? If you have not gathered for this purpose, you can-

not receive truth nobly. You must be ready to receive truth, no matter if it lays bare your soul before you; else you have not been made fit for the truth, and you will not find it. The elements of discord will be in your minds, and your souls shall not be baptised with the true spirit of inspiration, that ever descends upon harmonious minds, from the infinite fountain of light and truth.

Now, shall there be any question whether you shall ask if there be a future life or not? Shall any say, "It is not well for man to ask whether he is immortal until he shall do his practical duties in the earth-life?" Shall any say, "Let the captive go free, burst the gyves from the slaves, take poverty away from the world, let every one be blest with enough and to spare, let ignorance be enlightened, in this world, before we raise the question of the immortality of the soul?" Do you say that all these things should be attended to before man asks himself—"In what relation do I stand before God?" If you do, you might just as well go back further, and say, "Man may not inquire about God at all. Let him do right for the sake of right, love goodness for its own sake, never worship God never pray to God, never ask about the hereafter, but do his work in the present life." If man were sufficiently unfolded to do this, how much greater would he be to do it of his own accord? We say, if man were sufficiently noble, then he would say, Even if this present life be all, I will live truly, I will deal nobly justly, with my co-workers, with those who are my fellow-laborers here, and I will make the paths of earth more bright, that others may enjoy them after me. We say, if man was developed enough, if Manhood and Womanhood stood up in their own dignity, each man and woman would say, I have attributes of mind and soul, and I will use them nobly, even though I enter the depths of hell; and though no heaven awaits me, and though no God ever thunders on Sinai or walks in the Garden, to tell me his law, I will do my duty nobly, because I see its truth and nobleness in my own spirit. We say, that when man reaches this point, it will not be necessary that any shall speak of the errors of a past theology, of slavery, of prostitution, or of that bondage of the human soul that now bathes Humanity in blood and binds her in chains—chains of sin and vice, more galling than any that ever man placed upon the physical body.

But you see humanity as it is, and society as it is, and if you would reform it, you must take the best way. You must not tell man he is a God, for he is not; nor that he is angel, for he is not. He stands in this probationary age; and though there are at times bright and beautiful aspirations in his soul, when angel robes seem wrapped around him, and a starry crown upon his brow, yet there are other times when the mark of the fiend appears upon his countenance, which seems to mirror the dark scene below. We say, you find man just what he is. If he was all bad, totally depraved, it would be of no use to persevere in the effort to set him free from the chains of vice and sin. But much as man's tendencies seem to be downward, much as circumstances seem to turn him downward, he has noble aspirations in his soul. Though they may seem to slumber, yet the time will come when they shall burst into life, and man stand forth a being almost deified.

Then, we say, the principle of right, the love of truth, is in the soul. Now, can any thing be done to bring it out? In this lies the whole question. Not, can any thing be done to make him right; but can any thing be done to appeal to the highest and noblest that is within him? If any thing can be done, then it should be done. Now, it has been the great question with most men, imperfect as they are, "Will it pay?" This seems to be the great idea, and men have been taught to do right in order to escape suffering or receive a reward. Now, you go to men with a beautiful theory, saying, We would make you so love the right that you shall do it from inclination,—not as a task, not as a duty. If you say to them, You shall live for ever; your life is a great progressive life, and just as you do nobly here, so shall noble things be in the future; by your own actions you work out your own happiness or misery,—if you can demonstrate that they have this immortal life, it gives them one incentive to action. Then they will listen to the aspirations of their own souls, and by seeing the beauty of a higher life, they will be taught better how to make all beautiful here.

Now, we do not come unto you showing the beauty of the spirits of heaven, to

make you in love with them, but we show them as models. If you see a beautiful life, are you not led to think, "Would that mine were like it?" The soul, set free from its bondage, hears the clanking of the chains of the prisoner and of the slave with a harsher discord than ever before, and asks itself, "What can I do to set the captive free?" And then it sees the importance of arousing the same feelings in others, and says, "I will awaken the beautiful in men's hearts. I will go forth, not with fire and sword, and blood, and torture, the rack and the inquisition, but in the spirit of love, and in the mighty power of truth, and waken such an intense desire for the heavenly life in the souls of men, that they shall work nobly for it in the present."

When man thinks God is a revengeful and wrathful deity, how can he help wishing to be revenged upon his enemies? Who blames man that he hangs his brother between heaven and earth, when he has been taught to believe that the Almighty God, infinite in power and wisdom, will in a moment plunge him into a burning pit, and save him never? Who blames man that he lifts his hand against his brother, and sends forth his legions to battle, when he deems that God has done the same, and punishes men with everlasting torture, while he only punishes them for the present time? Now, we say, if we can teach man to love a God of wisdom, and truth, and beauty, he will say, "My brother, I forgive thee; go, and sin no more."—"The Almighty God has not condemned thee, neither will I." Never until men have truer ideas of God, truer ideas of the future, can this be done. Never until these ideas are recognized, can men join hands, and the basis of reform be laid upon a true foundation,—never! They may reach their hands forth and clasp each other in a brotherly grasp, but unless their souls go out in all these great reforms, speaking, not for one particular idea, but for humanity, and for all the ills of humanity, in its every form, and asking that light and wisdom may break from the Bible and Nature, and from those beautiful and higher forms that have passed away,—never until then can men be truly united, and come up to the help of humanity against the mightiness of that imperfection that lies deep in human nature.

The true reformer lays his hand upon the human soul. It is beautiful to go to the captive's dungeon, inspired by love, and he who does it, shall receive peace and happiness into his soul; but he who goes into the soul that has known sin, and, speaking loving words, wakes it to truth and beauty, and through the truths of the life beyond, learns it the truth of the present, he shall receive a yet greater blessing. [An improvised Poem concluded the Address.]

RESOLUTIONS.

The following Resolutions were presented to the Business Committee, by the persons whose names are prefixed to them, and did not come before the Convention:—

By S. B. BRITTAN:

Whereas, The development of the Spiritual Idea and the progress of the great Reformation of the Nineteenth Century have done much to reveal the inherent necessities and capabilities of human nature, and, at the same time, to expose the numerous defects in the existing modes of instruction and the whole system of scholastic training; and, whereas, the excessive exercise of certain faculties and their appropriate organs, to the neglect and suppression of others equally essential to the full and harmonic development of a perfect Manhood, is the prolific source of physical debility, mental imbecility and social inharmony; therefore,

Resolved, That we recognize the necessity for a more simple, natural and practical system of education, which shall invest every department of useful knowledge with irresistible attractions, while it secures the free normal exercise and the harmonious development of all the human faculties and affections; and that every intelligent and well-directed effort to realize the great demand of the time

in this respect, deserves the serious consideration and the cordial support of every rational Spiritualist and true Reformer.

Resolved, That DR. HASKELL, of Rockford, Ill., who has already displayed his self-sacrificing generosity by appropriating a large share of his fortune to this important object, has furnished a conspicuous and noble example, which other Spiritualists of ample means may follow with incalculable advantage to Humanity.

Resolved, That we regard with especial favor the praiseworthy efforts of DR. O. H. WELLINGTON, of Jamestown, N. Y., to establish such a Progressive School as the increased light of the Present and the possibilities of the Future obviously suggest and demand; and that, in the judgment of this Convention, his present enterprise deserves prompt encouragement and a generous patronage from all who are interested in the early discipline and the complete education of the rising generation.

BY J. P. MENDUM:

Resolved, That reformers can never have a fair field and open fight with error, so long as they countenance the custom of usury, either in the form of rent or by taking interest on money.

Resolved, That God helps those who help themselves, and as he was never known to help any one who did not possess that qualification, therefore, we recommend that all reformers learn the importance of self-reliance.

Resolved, That a disbelief in immortality does not degrade the man or woman holding such disbelief—neither is a belief in the doctrines of inspiration a guarantee of superiority of intellect or character.

Resolved, That the belief in a supreme, intelligent, over-ruling Providence, or God, is a detriment to the progress of all reforms; its tendency always has been to destroy the confidence of the human race in its own powers, and instead of relying upon itself for support and success, to look to God for assistance, thereby causing many good projects to utterly fail.

BY F. W. EVANS:

Resolved, That the institutions of private property, of war, of slavery, of riches and poverty, and of marriage (physical reproduction,) are not elements of the perfected Christian system.

Resolved, That Christ has made not only his first appearance to the male, but also his second appearance to the female part of the human race.

BY MRS. F. D. GAGE:

Resolved, That the words *male* and *white* should be stricken from our statute books, and laws should be made to have an equal bearing upon every human being.