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March 13. THE LIBERATOR. 43

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booing the theme of agitation, and proposing peace as a policy instead of truth and purity--an association whose members should propose to brand as a fanatic and disturber of their peace the man who proposes to mention the dreaded theme, or propose an assertion of opinion in regard to it--would be any thing but an association for the good of young men.'

Dr. Cheever proceeds to urge upon these slow and timorous young Christians the very consideration which Rev. Albert Barnes (in his recent work, 'The Church and Slavery') so energetically and repeatedly presents to the Church, as an inducement for her to lift up her voice against slavery--namely, the fear of being left in the rear by the certainly advancing movement of 'the world' upon this subject--which would be excessively disagreeable to bodies which claim not only to be in advance of 'the world,' but to be the very 'salt' which preserves it from corruption, the very 'light' which guides it towards safety. Dr. Cheever says--

'Now, whether the morality of slavery be a useless question or not, all the world--outside the Young Men's Christian Associations--will grapple with it; and such associations cannot preserve the respect of the community, if their one ruling impulse is the dread of agitation, and the fear of political reproach.'

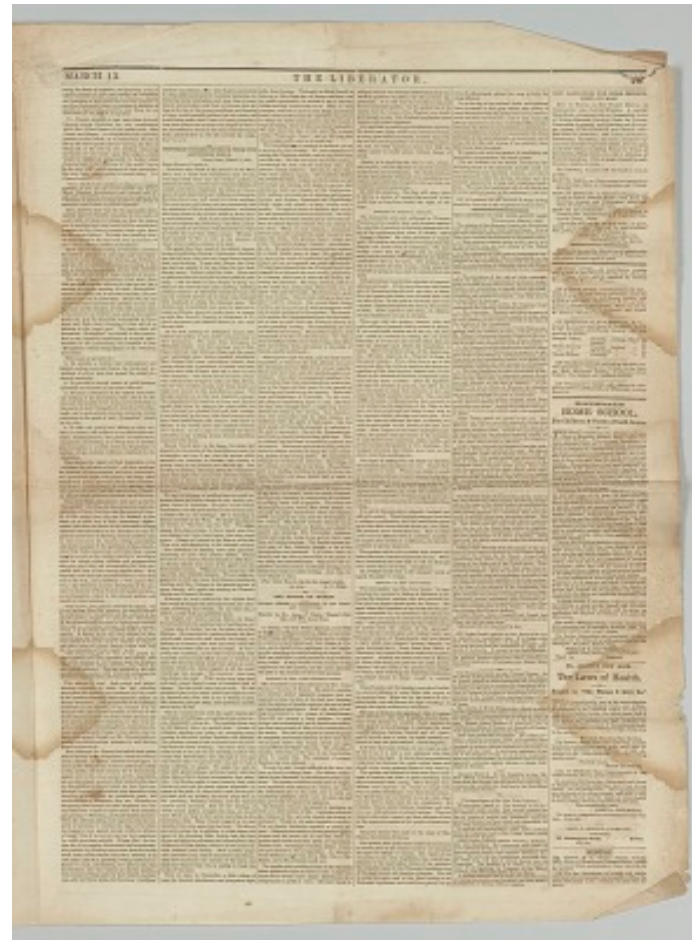
Now, however just may be the statements above quoted, (and we heartily subscribe to the truth of every word of them,) it strikes us that the young men in question have some cause both for surprise and complaint at Dr. Cheever's coming down upon them in this severe fashion. To make our meaning clear, we must advert to the object and mode of operation of the 'Young Men's Christian Associations.'

Their object is the recruiting of Orthodox churches by members gained from what they call 'the world,' which of course includes the churches not Orthodox; and the web of preliminary measures, tending to this end, is elaborate, far-reaching, woven with churchly skill, and attended with a large measure of success.

The rule of these Associations which gives them this practical sectarian efficiency is, that no one but a member in regular standing of some 'Evangelical' church (so-called) can be an active member, with the right to vote and to hold office. Those who are not church-members can have the privilege of the reading-room and the lectures, if they will consent thus to be ranked in an inferior caste, just as the colored people can hear the preaching and praying in Rowe street and Park street churches, if they will sit as inferiors in the 'negro pew.' The sects which call themselves 'Evangelical' are united in this Association by the ingenious contrivance of an equal representation in the government, two members of each 'Evangelical' church being placed on the 'Standing Committee.'

Their mode of operation is--

1. To provide a central and well-warmed and lighted reading-room and



library, the books and periodicals of which have first passed the ordeal of a church censorship.

2. To provide an annual course of public lectures, controlled and directed by the same influence.

3. To cause a statement of the objects and practical working of the Association, with a list of its officers and the locality of its rooms, to be forwarded to the pastor of each 'Evangelical' church in New England; and to post printed circulars containing similar statements in the porch of each 'Evangelical' church in this city.

4. To seek out young men taking up their residence in Boston, and endeavor so to direct their associates, boarding-houses, and places of employment, amusement and worship, as to bring them as speedily and thoroughly as possible, under one department or another of the sectarian influence combined in the Association.

They declare the object of their Association to be 'religious, the salvation of souls'; all their meetings, for business, for improvement and social intercourse, are opened and closed with prayer; the clergy often attend their rooms, and take part in their exercises; they hold a prayer meeting on every Monday night throughout the year; and the name of Rev. Nehemiah Adams stands prominent on their list of life-members.

Now, since these Associations were got up by the 'Evangelical' churches, for the enlargement and multiplication of those churches, and the (assumed) benefit of the young men who can be induced to join them, or to enter any of their preparatory departments--and since the action of the Associations is kept identical with the action of the churches by the ingenious contrivance of allowing church members only to vote--and since Dr. Cheever (being a prominent and active manager of the operations of those churches in New York) knows very well that those young men have acted in this matter exactly in accordance with the church whose children and propagandists they are--they may not unreasonably feel both surprised and hurt at his turning against them. And especially will they feel surprised and hurt when they read in his book, just published, ('God against Slavery,') the following accurate description of the pro-slavery character of that church and pulpit and prayer-meeting piety, which is the avowed pattern and model for their imitation:

'Just so now, men pray for revivals of religion, but if any brother from the country, too simple-hearted to understand the atmosphere and the currents of the prayer-meeting, happens to pray for the deliverance of the oppressed and the slave, a feeling runs through the room as something strange, ill-judged, unmannered, as if fanaticism has appeared bodily in the assembly. If slavery be in any way referred to, they remark upon the injudiciousness of such preaching, how certain it is to put a stop to revivals of religion, and drive away the pious, praying hearts that long for the outpouring of God's spirit.' p. 85.

'Our young men look in vain to our pulpits for that sympathy with the oppressed and affinity with the native impulses of the human heart for freedom, which true religion always possesses, and which the true gospel cultivates. They are repelled by the cold, sanctimonious caution with which all enthusiasm for freedom is banished from the sanctuary.' p. 86.

This witness is true! Both pulpit and prayer-meeting--especially in cities, but also generally throughout the country--are confirmed by long habit in the practice of keeping silence upon the subject of slavery themselves, (thus acquiescing in its indefinite continuance,) and objecting to any censure of it by strangers who join in their exercises or by any of the small minority in their own body whose attention has been drawn, by external influences, to this most important subject, as a disturbing force, a contrarious element, something quite foreign to their piety, their religion, their gospel, though, as Mr. Cheever justly remarks, true religion always possesses it, and the true gospel CULTIVATES it.

Now, although Dr. Cheever has lashed these young men so terribly in the Independent, (there are columns of his articles, in various numbers of that paper, as severe as the brief extract we have made in the middle of this article, and their censure, be it remembered, applies only to the voting members of the Association, who are also church members,) they undoubtedly stand (in this relation to slavery which we have been considering) in exactly the position most agreeable to the churches of which they are constituent parts, and whose runners or drummers they are. If fidelity to the precept and example of their employers be a virtue, they have a right to expect from their churches the greeting--'Well done, good and faithful servants.' Now, Dr. Cheever, being more sagacious than the majority of ministers in reading the signs of the times, has begun to turn against slavery a little in advance of them. But if he were as just as he is sagacious, he would give those unlucky 'Young Men' the further aid of his superior discernment and his authoritative position, by pointing out to them that the church itself, under whose banner they have enlisted, is no safe guide; that it is, precisely, coming under her influence so much, and imbibing her spirit so far, that has led them into this wicked pro-slavery position; that, instead of being made by their church-membership safer and better guides for the young 'worldlings'

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of their acquaintance, that very church-membership is a disqualifying element for beneficial leadership, introducing worse temptations and vices than it counteracts and excludes; and that, of the two, their sitting at the feet of the young worldlings, and learning of them, would probably produce less evil result, and would bring parties into a state of better preparation, than their present one to receive the religion of Jesus--the manifestation of love in the heart towards God, by daily, practical love in the life towards the neighbor.--C.K.W.

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WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE LECTURING FIELD.

Lyons, Iowa, March 2, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

You have often heard of the pioneers of the West. They were a hardy and enterprising class of men, who came amid these vast and desolate prairies in advance of others, and who have created conditions of comfort and refined enjoyment for others, at the expense of much

deprivation and suffering to themselves. But they have been well repaid for their sacrifices. They now possess rich farms, and are surrounded with the necessaries of life in profuse abundance; and those who have chosen to do so have added to these, luxury and refinement. Well, in the Anti-Slavery cause, I am now emphatically pioneering,—like Paul, preaching the gospel of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' where its Christ has not been before named. Whether I shall succeed in this as well as the pioneers of whom I have spoken, remains to be seen.

The people here have heard of the infidel, treason-loving, Constitution-burning, Garrisonian Abolitionists, but till now, they have not heard them expound their own doctrines. I came into Illinois last October, but was unable to do anything for the Anti-Slavery cause. Politics ruled the hour. There was no place nor time not occupied by some political gathering. I left the State in utter despair of doing any thing for the slave till this great seething, bubbling political cauldron of hell-broth should be taken off, and its contents served out to those who had sold their manhood to obtain the unsavory mess. The election over, I concluded once more to make an attempt on Illinois, some six weeks since, in company with Mrs. Lucy N. Colman, of Rochester, N.Y., who is an earnest and faithful laborer in the Anti-Slavery field.

Of our first meetings in Livingston county, Mrs. Colman has spoken in her recent communication to The Liberator. We came from Livingston to Whiteside county. Our first meetings were in Sterling, a new and very thriving village, and the county seat, containing some twelve hundred inhabitants. Mrs. Colman had some anti-slavery friends here, among whom was a gentleman of wealth and intelligence, and, what is better than all, a heart in love with humanity. Our friend Jacob Powell is a bachelor, and his house is kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Brown, who are very excellent people, and whose hearts are warm and earnest in the Anti-Slavery cause. The friends received us in the most hospitable manner. We immediately felt ourselves at home, and, like the apostle Paul when he came to the 'place called the Three Taverns,' we thanked God and took courage. I am quite sure, by the way, that Paul's taverns must have been better houses, and cheaper, than those in Illinois, or he would never have thanked God for three of them; one at a time is certainly all that is endurable, to say nothing of any devout aspirations connected with them.

Friend Powell gave us his home, his team, and himself, for the service of the Anti-Slavery cause, for a fortnight; and sure I am, that the success which attended our meetings in Sterling and vicinity is greatly owing to his generous and efficient aid. Our meetings in Sterling were large, filling the court-house night after night with earnest and attentive hearers. And many a hearty 'God bless you!' we received from anti-slavery men, who have become quite sick of the weak and wavering course of the Republican leaders in Congress.

We had the pleasure of meeting here our much esteemed friend and fellow-laborer in the world's progress, GILES B. STEBBINS. He gave us his hearty coöperation, and did good service in the cause by some excellent talk in our meetings. He is lecturing to literary societies in the West. We heard him deliver his lecture on 'The New and the Old.' This ranks among first-class lectures. I have heard some that were better, but I have heard many that were much poorer. I hope our lyceums in the East as well as the West will avail themselves of his valuable services.

Our collections in Sterling were quite generous, amounting to more than twenty dollars. Friend Powell is very anxious that the American Anti-Slavery Society should send some of its agents into this field another season. Who ever may come, may rely upon him as a valuable assistant. We are under engagement to hold one more Anti-Slavery meeting in Sterling, and Mrs. Colman, at the earnest request of many friends, will speak on evening on Woman's Rights and Woman's Wrongs.

Although we were confined by the terrible flood that swept off bridges and submerged roads, for a fortnight, to Sterling and vicinity, yet our time was, I believe, most well and profitably spent.

At length, the waters having fallen, our friend Powell undertook the perilous task of getting us, not "tother side of Jordan," but on the other side of the Elkhorn. He succeeded in passing through the flood which made across the road beyond the bridge, by driving on a narrow path, with the water three feet deep, and on either side ten feet in depth. It was a pretty nice operation, as the water was so thick with mud that the eye could afford no aid; a variation of three feet from the track would have given us a submersion which the veriest Baptist in all the world would say was enough. We, however, 'went over this Jordan dry shod.' Well, we are now upon good soft mud, where there is more of vexation than of danger. But our perils were not yet over. We had sloughs to pass, or go round, which one might as well be drowned and done with it as to attempt to pass. We, however, did pass them, and arrived in Lyndon about noon, all safe.

This is a country town, with the usual number and description of buildings,--a meeting-house, store, tavern, blacksmith's shop, &c. The meeting-house was in full demand when we arrived there. A series of religious meetings was going on, occupying every evening in the week, except Saturday and Monday. The minister consented that we should have the meeting-house for these evenings. The slave must take what is left, so we put out our handbills, headed 'No Union with Slaveholders,' and although it was past one o'clock when we got our bills out, yet we had a large collection of people. We spoke the word to them with great boldness, and were heard with that deep silence which always accompanies close attention. On Monday night, it was intensely dark, with flurries of rain, and the streets almost impassable by reason of the mud--O, what mud!--and yet the people came, and our meeting was much larger than on the preceding Saturday evening, and the interest seemed much increased. Had not the meetings of which I have spoken occupied the time, we should have felt it our duty to have given more time to this interesting field. Many friends begged us to visit Lyndon, if we came again into the State. We did not get much money, for in addition to other causes, the agent of the American Bible Society had just been along, and taken, in collections and subscriptions, fifty dollars, to aid that Society, which is in the most intimate relations with slavery. Most of these people who paid this money believe themselves anti-slavery. They have money for the enemies of the slave, but little have they for him who is smiting to break the bonds of the slave.

Next we came to Unionville, a little village of some five hundred inhabitants, and lying about eight

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miles from Lyndon. We found no friend Powell to take us to this village free of charge, and there was no public conveyance; so we had to pay a man two dollars and fifty cents to take us on. Here we were strangers, and had to go to a poor, dingy, comfortless hotel, whose landlord had the marvellous impudence to charge one dollar and a quarter a day for the privilege of staying where to stay was hardly endurable. We saw upon the sign of this hotel the ominous words, 'Preserve the Union!' and we felt that this did not augur well,--and so it turned out.

We immediately put ourselves in motion to get up a meeting for the evening. We were successful in getting the Wesleyan church, and at two o'clock had our bills out. We did not expect much of a meeting, but through the dark and the mud they came, and gave us a large audience. The fact is, those bills, with their glaring capitals, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS,' awaken much attention, and all the people are burning with desire to see two live specimens, male and female, of the Garrisonians. Our audience was made up of ministers and laymen, lawyers and doctors, Democrats and Republicans, black, white, and mixed,--a large meeting and a goodly. We spoke to them of the faith that was in us, and presented the evidences of its truth. We were heard with the liveliest interest, but it was evident before we closed that the interest was not entirely in our favor. When we had finished, a Democratic lawyer arose, and expended the usual amount of gas upon the terms, 'Our glorious Union,' 'stripes and stars,' 'treasonable designs,' 'fanatics,' 'incendiaries,' &c. &c. He spoke forty-five minutes, and we rejoined in a much briefer space of time. He replied, and we spoke a few words of benediction, and the meeting closed, and, as we supposed, our work in Unionville. We had been informed that the Wesleyan church was engaged for a rehearsal the next evening, preparatory to a concert which was to come off the evening following the rehearsal. We were, however, followed to the hotel by a young man, whose heart was all aglow with anti-slavery life. He desired us to speak the next evening. This we were willing to do, if any place could be obtained. Our young friend, James Garlick, said he would see if some arrangement could not be made, and report in the morning. He succeeded in getting the Congregational house for the rehearsal, so that we could have the Wesleyan church, as on the preceding evening. We immediately put out our bills for the evening. Henry Boyer came in, and kindly took us to his own cheerful home. O! what a sense of delight thrills one's whole being, when lifted from one of these holes, and placed in the midst of beauty, comfort and friends!

Although the night was dark, and the roads almost impassable, so deep was the rich, adhesive mud, yet the meeting-house was filled to its utmost capacity. There must have been near five hundred people in attendance. Soon after we commenced speaking, it became evident that there were some dozen or more persons in the house who had come for the purpose of disturbing and breaking up the meeting. These men were not inhabitants of Unionville. In this town, not a drop of intoxicating liquor is sold. But these low men were brought from a neighboring town to disturb and break up the meeting. Poor creatures! they were intoxicated with the vilest whiskey, and maddened with the spirit of their party. But the good people of Unionville succeeded in restoring order, and we proceeded. One of the Democrats proposed that we should divide the time with them. This we refused, but told them we would be generous, and we were so. The lawyer again took the floor, and proceeded to deliver himself of nearly the same sounding phrases as the evening before. We answered his harangue as we deemed it deserved. The feeling of the meeting was strongly in our

favor. Friend Boyer gave us a standing invitation to make his house our home whenever our cause should lead us again to visit the town.

From Unionville, we came, after much delay,--for the railroads are in a horrid condition, in consequence of the flood,--to Fulton, where we found it impossible to get up a meeting, in consequence of a protracted meeting which was in progress. We crossed the Mississippi to Lyons, where after much trouble, we obtained the large school-room where the Baptists preach one part of the day, and the Universalists in the evening. The Baptist minister informed me he should on Sunday preach on Baptism, and refused to appoint our meeting. The Universalist clergyman kindly gave up the house to us, and we had a very large and spirited meeting. The Baptist minister denied some of Mrs. Colman's charges, so far as his denomination was concerned. I, of course, knew all about it, and was able to present him to the people in any thing but a favorable light. This room was engaged for lyceum lecture on Monday evening, or we should have held one other meeting. As it was, we were obliged to leave.

This whole West is ripe for the reaper's sickle.

As ever, A.T. FOSS.

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THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

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HEARING BEFORE A CONVENTION OF THE JUDICIARY
COMMITTEES.

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Speeches by Rev. James F. Clarke, Wendell Phillips, and Mrs. Lucy Stone.

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A hearing was had Friday afternoon, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, before a Convention of the Senate and the House Committees on the Judiciary, relative to the Political and Civil Rights of Women, and in behalf of the petitioners to the Legislature for extending the right of suffrage to women. The Hall was well filled, a good proportion of the audience being ladies. A large number of the members of the Legislature was also present, and the closest attention was paid to the remarks of the several speakers.

REMARKS OF REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

The committee was addressed by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE of Boston. He said the question as to whether further legislative measures were not required to bring the laws of the land into harmony with the advance of popular opinion, was one of great and increasing importance. Shall the right of suffrage be extended to the women of

Massachusetts? They did not propose a hasty measure. A great change was contemplated, and it should come slowly, but there was no need of delay in the consideration of the matter. They did not propose to use the language of complaint, but would endeavor to show that there was no good reason why women should not enjoy equal political privileges with men. The principle of equality, which lies at the base of our Constitution, seems to require this. The argument of property taxation was here adduced.

Women, he said, though amenable to the laws, can have no hand in making them. The reform contemplated is one demanded by the advanced public sentiment. The speaker reviewed several acts of enlightened legislation with reference to women, and asked the Committee not to stop here, but to carry out consistently principles which were not new, but had been previously recognized by legislators.

The feminine element was needed in legislation as well as in the other matters of life. Legislation affects all the relations of life, and why should this element be excluded? Would it not make legislation merciful? Was not female legislation required to protect women? Reference was made to several outrages against women, and the recent one in this city, which the speaker said would more than likely go unpunished. Present laws encouraged brutality against women, and gave license to acts of oppression. An ignorant, brutal Irishman could vote, but a Mrs. Dix, a Mrs. Ripley, and a Mrs. Peabody could not.

The speaker next considered some of the objections raised against the right of women to vote. It had been urged that it would create family disturbances by a disagreement in political views. He knew many in-
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telligent women who radically differed from their husbands in questions of politics, but who yet lived harmoniously. It is said they do not wish to vote, and do not understand politics; but the speaker was of the opinion that the women of New England were intelligent enough to vote. New England supplies the whole country with school mistresses.

It is said that it would injure the feminine character. No doubt some injury would come of such a measure, as every great reform necessarily involves some evil; but we are not the guardians of the feminine character, and our daily experience shows that they can boldly appear in public places without danger of insult.

Finally, it is urged that the idea is new, strange, and singular; and this objection is only to be overcome by discussion and investigation. The Pacific Railroad and the Transatlantic Telegraph were regarded as mad schemes upon their first inception, but now they are considered entirely practicable.

So with this question. The time will come when it will be a matter of wonder that one half of the world have so long been denied the right of suffrage.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Committee was next addressed by WENDELL PHILLIPS, in his

usually terse and eloquent manner. He asked the Committee to distinctly separate the object of the petitioners from what is usually called 'Women's Rights.' He then proceeded to explain how. We borrow our social idea of woman from the Eastern and Greek ideal of civilization. We have trodden under foot the Eastern idea of secluding them, but the moment we undertake to go farther, conservatism flies in our faces. Our statutes grow out of the feudal law that woman, being physically incapable of going to war, must be excluded from the world.

Self-government was the first principle of representative government. If the poor class can take better care of themselves than the rich can take of them, then can woman take better care of herself than man can take of her. It was cruel to set twelve men to try a woman. England recognizes the idea by the practice in India. When a person is tried there, six Hindoos and six Englishmen are put on the jury.

There are, said the speaker, between nine and twelve millions of property held by women in Boston. If you would strike a woman out of the tax list, then you would be consistent in striking her out of the ballot list; if you do one and not the other, then you belie the principle upon which the Constitution is based. Throw away these dregs of the feudal system. We have outgrown it. Why let it linger in the case of woman? If we allow her to go in the street, and allow her to do so much in the various occupations of life, then let us go further, and, in obedience to the demands of the times, inaugurate a principle and lay down a system. Don't let legislation halt after the question of property, but allow her to assert her rights in those vital questions of law and politics by which property is guarded. The one half million of women in Massachusetts have as much to do in influencing the legislation of the State as the men, and he is a fool, and had better be sent back to the common schools, who does not know this. It is true, she does not influence the laws so directly, and with so much profit as she would if the laws were right. With respect to the matter of property legislation, the speaker said nine-tenths of the humanity on your statute books came from selfish wealth, and partly to protect the property of rich daughters. The meanness of money has written more laws on that statute book than anything else.

The right of suffrage was not based on intellect. The meanest man can throw one vote. Daniel Webster could do no more. Woman has intellect enough to be punished, and has enough to consent to the laws. If she injures her feminine delicacy to be at the ballot-box, it injures it just as much to go to the House of Correction. What if she does not differ from man? Agassiz is not Webster; he could not understand a constitutional argument; a woman may be more of a poet than a lawyer, but poets are not disqualified from voting.

It is said if this principle is adopted, husband and wife will quarrel. Three hundred years ago there was a religious qualification, and the world stood aghast at the idea that woman should choose her own faith. Her husband must choose it for her. But no harm could come of different views in questions of polity; he hoped there would be a difference, for the independence of private judgement.

The speaker said he did not claim that woman was better than man, but the complement of man. When she is introduced into this hall, it will be forty percent. better than it is to-day. (Laughter.)

Mr. Phillips closed with a few eloquent words of appeal for justice to woman.

REMARKS OF MRS. LUCY STONE.

The next speaker was MRS. LUCY STONE. In commencing, she expressed a feeling of diffidence in following the eloquent speakers who had preceded her. But who but women should speak for women? She came before the Committee to-day to ask that the principles enunciated by our forefathers, that all men are created free and equal, be carried into practical execution. 'No government is just but that which derives its powers from the consent of the governed.' Yet in the face of this great and radiant truth, two thousand women of Massachusetts had been denied a right which they claimed, because, forsooth, no more had asked for it. Every State from Maine to Minnesota had covered its statute books with injustice to women. Allusion was made to the case of Harriot K. Hunt, who every year paid her tax under protest. Allusion was also made to the general laws relating to women, their subjecting and degrading tendencies, if husbands should be brutal enough to exercise them.

Massachusetts, said the speaker, next after Louisiana, stands in advance of every State with respect to its property laws. Might she be the first to do complete justice, and add thereto the right of suffrage, to protect the rights conferred by the former!

She saw no force in the argument, that if women were allowed to take part in politics, family dissensions would thereby be created. Every aspirant for office finds it to his advantage to cultivate the most amiable relations between himself and all voters; and if his wife were a voter, he would certainly endeavor to keep her good-natured. (Great laughter.) It is said that many women do not want to vote! If this be so, it is only a new argument why they should have the right. It shows that long-continued subjection has deadened the spirit within them, and should nerve every generous heart to help them up.

The speaker was inclined to think that man's treatment of woman was from a spirit something more akin to reverence than wrong. They thought it indelicate and improper for women to mingle with men in public assemblages; but they should remember that if men are too bad for us to go with, they are too bad to make laws for us. (Applause.) In Canada, women attend business meetings, and vote *viva voce* with reference to school matters. They are treated with entire respect, and their influence is seen in the improved manners of the people at those meetings.

Eloquent allusion was made to the story of Mrs. Patten, the heroine of the sea.

The speaker then spoke of the numerous movements in various parts of the country in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women. The report of the Committee in the Ohio Legislature was entirely satisfactory to the most ardent friend of the principle. The minority report in the Wisconsin Legislature was of the most earnest and sanguine character. The bill to secure this right went to the third reading in the Nebraska Legislature, and would have passed, but the
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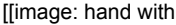
time of adjournment arrived too soon to have the thing effected.

As in the day of our national doubt and darkness, there is wanted in this great reform men willing to come bravely forward and pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and as men come and pile up a monument of stone on Bunker Hill, to commemorate the deeds of our forefathers, so shall a monument hereafter be erected to commemorate the brave defenders of this great principle--a monument, not of stone, but of men and women of an ennobled race, little lower than the angels.

We simply ask, said the speaker, in conclusion, not protection, not generosity, but simple justice.

[We are indebted to the Boston *Journal* for the foregoing sketch of the admirable speeches made on this interesting and important occasion, and which were listened to with the deepest attention and the warmest approval by a large and enlightened audience. We trust the Legislature will do all that it can to secure political justice to the petitioners.]--*Ed. Lib.*

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 All petitions for the removal of Judge Loring should be now sent to the Legislature *without delay.*

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THE DECISION IN THE DRED SCOTT CASE.
WASHINGTON, March 6, 1857.

The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case was delivered by Chief Justice Taney. It is a full and elaborate statement of the views of the Court. They have decided the following all important points:

1. That negroes, whether slaves or free, that is, men of the African race, are not citizens of the United States by the Constitution.
2. The ordinance of 1787 had no independent constitutional force or legal effect subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution, and could not operate of itself to confer freedom or citizenship within the Northwest Territory on negroes, not citizens by the Constitution.
3. The provisions of the Act of 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise in so far as it undertook to exclude negro slavery from, and communicate freedom and citizenship to negroes within the northern part of the Louisiana session was a legislative act exceeding the powers of Congress; and void and of no legal effect to that end.

In deciding these main points, the Supreme Court determined the following incidental points:--

1. The expression, 'Territory and other property of the Union,' in the Constitution, applies in terms only to such territory of the Union possessed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

2. The rights of citizens of the United States, emigrating into any Federal Territory, and the power of the Federal Government therein, depend on the general provisions of the Constitution, which defines in this as in all other respects the powers of Congress.

3. As Congress does not possess power itself to make enactments relative to the persons or property of citizens of the United States in a Federal Territory, other than such as the Constitution confers, so it cannot constitutionally delegate any such powers to a Territorial government, organized by it under the Constitution.

4. The legal condition of a slave in the State of Missouri, is not affected by the temporary sojourn of such slave in any other State, but on his return his condition still depends on the laws of Missouri. As the plaintiff was not a citizen of Missouri, he therefore could not sue in the courts of the United States. The suit must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

The delivery of this opinion occupied about three hours, and was listened to with profound attention by a crowded court room. Among the auditors were gentlemen of eminent legal ability, and a due proportion of ladies.

Judge Taney stated the merits of the case. The question was whether or not the removal of Scott from Missouri with his master to Illinois, with a view of a temporary residence there, worked his emancipation. He maintained that the question depended wholly on the law of Missouri, and for that reason the judgment of the Court below should be affirmed. Judge Capron believed the Supreme Court has jurisdiction to decide the merits of the case. He argued that Congress could not do directly what it could not do indirectly. If it could exclude one species of property, it could exclude another. With regard to the Territories ceded, Congress could govern them only with the restrictions of the State which ceded them, and the Missouri Act of 1820 violated the leading features of the Constitution, and was therefore void. He concurred with his brother Judges that Scott is a slave, and was so when this suit was brought.

Several other Judges are to deliver their opinions to-morrow.

[[short dividing line]]

On Saturday Judge McLean delivered his views in the Dred Scott case, after arguing that slavery is limited to the range of the State where it is established by municipal law. If Congress deems slaves or free colored persons injurious to a Territory they have the power to prohibit them from becoming settlers. The power to acquire Territory carries the power to govern it. The master does not carry with him to the Territory the law of the State from which he removes. Hence the Missouri Compromise was constitutional, and the presumption is in favor of freedom. Dred Scott and his family were free under the decisions of the last 28 years.

Judge Curtis dissented from the opinion of the majority of the Court as delivered by Chief Justice Taney, and gave his reasons for the dissent.

Judge Curtis maintained that native born colored persons can be citizens of the State and of the United States. That Dred Scott and his family were free when they returned to Missouri. That the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory was not as the majority of the Court expressed, limited to Territory belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, but has been applied to five subsequent acquisitions of land. That Congress has power to exclude slavery from the Territories, having established eight Territorial governments without, and recognized slavery in six, from the time of Washington to J.Q. Adams. These opinions occupied five hours in delivery.

Judges Wayne, Grier, Campbell and Daniel had papers expressing their views on certain opinions of the Court, but did not read them.

Adjourned till the time fixed by law.

[[short dividing line]]

[[image: hand with finger pointing right]] Judge Curtis's opinion in the Dred Scott case is regarded as exceedingly able. It is better even than the excellent opinion of Judge McLean. All the great lawyers here are enthusiastic in the eulogiums of its merits. It cannot be too highly praised. It is an impregnable breastwork of solid granite against the political heresies which have taken possession of the federal judiciary.--
[[italized]] Washington corr. Boston Daily Advertiser. [[/italized]]

[[line]]

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. In the House of Representatives this morning Mr. Adams of Lowell offered an order instructing the Committee on Federal Relations to consider the expediency of instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to propose an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, electing Judges of the Supreme and Inferior Courts by the people for a term of years.

Mr. Couch, of North Bridgewater, offered an order for the appointment of a special committee to consider and report what measures should be taken in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. Messrs. Couch, Hudson, of Lexington, Lee, of Charlestown, Hale, of Boston, and Ranney, of Boston, were appointed on the part of the House.

Both these orders are very proper. Mr. Adams proposes a practical measure, which will probably have sooner or later to be undertaken, unless the country is prepared to submit without resistance to the infamous decision of the Court. A systematic agitation, to get rid of the Supreme Court, [[italized]] as at present constituted, [[/italized]] must now be undertaken, in conjunction with the other aggressive measures against slavery.--[[italized]] Boston Telegraph of Tuesday. [[/italized]]

[[short dividing line]]

ALBANY, March 9. In the Assembly to-day, Mr. Foot offered a resolution, appointing a committee of three from the Senate, and five

from the Assembly, to examine and consider the decision in the Dred Scott case, and report thereon.

[[line]]

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

WASHINGTON. March 6. The decision of the Supreme Court made to-day, that colored persons are not citizens of the United States, and that Congress has no power to impose any restriction upon the spread of slavery, has been heard and commented on here with mingled derision and contempt. If epithets and denunciation could sink a judicial body, the Supreme Court of the United States would never be heard of again.

Chief Justice Taney's opinion was long, elaborate, able and Jesuitical. His arguments were based on gross historical falsehood and bold assumptions, and went the whole length of the extreme Southern doctrine. He held that the Constitution was made only for white men, and that it carried slavery into the Territories. The decision, as it stands, is ample to head off all legislation by Congress on the slavery question, and effectually bridle the free States.

A distinct decision will be made the moment a case involving the question can be raised, and then the nationalization of slavery will be complete.
[[/column 5]]

[[column 6]]

NEW HAND-BOOK FOR HOME IMPROVEMENT--BY MAIL.

HOW TO WRITE; A NEW POCKET MANUAL OF COMPOSITION AND LETTER-WRITING. A popular Hand-Book, embracing hints on Penmanship, choice of Writing Materials, Practical Rules for Literary Composition in general, and Epistolary and newspaper writing, PUNCTUATION and PROOF CORRECTING in particular; with Letters of Business, Relationship, Friendship, and Love; illustrated by numerous examples of genuine epistles, from the pens of the best writers; including Forms for Letters of Introduction, Notes, Cards, etc., and a collection of Poetical Quotations. Price, in paper, prepaid by mail, 80 cents; muslin, 50 cents.

The following, in press, will be issued as soon as possible:

HOW TO TALK; or Hints toward a Grammatical and Graceful Style in Composition and Debate. 30 cents.

HOW TO BEHAVE; A Manual to Etiquette, and Guide to Correct Personal Habits; with Rules for Debating Societies and Deliberative Assemblies. Price, 30 cents; muslin, 50 cents.

HOW TO DO BUSINESS; A Guide to Success in Practical Life, and Hand-Book of Legal and Commercial Forms. Same.

One dollar will pay for the four works, in paper, and \$1 75 in muslin.

They will be sent to subscribers, postage prepaid, as fast as issued, by
FOWLER, WELLS AND CO.,
142 Washington, St., Boston.

[[short double line]]

DIED--At Somerville, March 1st, of inflammation of the brain, ROBERT
ROBERTS, son of Benjamin F. and Adaline Roberts, aged 12 years.

[[double line across column]]

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] FALL RIVER.--An Anti-
Slavery meeting will be held at Fall River on Sunday next, afternoon and
evening, which will be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and HENRY
C. WRIGHT.

[[short dividing line]]

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] ANTI-SLAVERY
CONVENTION IN MILTON, N.Y.--An Anti-Slavery Convention, under
the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at
MILTON, (Ulster Co.) N. Y., on SATURDAY afternoon, and Sunday,
March 21 and 22. OLIVER JOHNSON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and
AARON M. POWELL will be in attendance.

[[short dividing line]]

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] MEETINGS IN DUTCHESS
CO., N. Y.--AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN B. ANTHONY; Agents of
the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Pleasant Valley, Saturday evening, March 14.
" " Sunday, " 15.
Clinton Corners, Tuesday evening, " 17.
" " Wednesday " 18.
Clinton Hollow, Thursday " " 19.

[[short dividing line]]

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] CHARLES SPEAR will
deliver his third Lecture next Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock, in the
Lyceum Hall, Mercantile Building. 16 Summer street. Snbject: The
English and American Prisons.

[[short dividing line]]

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] WILLIAM C. NELL will
deliver an anti-slavery lecture at Feltonville, on Wednesday evening,
March 25.

[[double-line across column]]

[[bold]] HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL,

For Children & Youth of both Sexes.

THIS School is located in the pleasant and quiet village of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., within two hours' ride of Boston, Worcester and Providence,—a place admirably fitted for an Educational Institution which is designed to combine with intellectual training proper attention to the physical health and comfort, and a watchful regard to the moral and social culture of those who may share its privileges and opportunities. Its success, since it has been under the superintence of its present Principals, together with their former experience, and general qualification for the position they occupy, increases the hope and the belief that they may prove themselves worthy of the confidence and patronage, not only of their friends, but of the friends of a true and comprehensive education, and of the public at large.

The design of this School is to educate in the highest and best sense of the term; to exalt substance above show, attainment above accomplishment, merit above appearance, *being* above seeming; to make neither parrots, puppets, nor pedants, but *thinkers*; to aid in the formation of a symmetrical, harmonious, substantial character; to fit its pupils for any truly honorable calling, and for solid usefulness in life. Hence, the superficialities, mockeries, and shams, that so often characterize popular and fashionable boarding schools, will be studiously avoided and *thoroughness* rather than extent—*quality* rather than quantity—will be carefully regarded.

Parents and Guardians desirous of finding a pleasant and comfortable HOME for their children or wards while prosecuting their studies, where they will be well cared for, and kindly treated—where they will be removed from the evils and temptations of common society, and from the corrupting power of prevailing wickedness—where they will be nurtured in virtue, humanity and pure religion, will find here an unusually favorable opportunity of realizing their wishes.

As this Institution is thoroughly Reformatory and Progressive in its purpose and spirit, it must necessarily rely to a very great extent upon the friends of Reform and Progress for its prosperity and support. To all such, its claims and merits are respectfully and confidently submitted.

To those desiring it, the names of persons who have had children or wards at the School, and of others competent to judge in the matter, will be given, on application, for purposes of reference and particular information.

The next,—Summer Term,—of this Institution will commence on Wednesday, April 15, 1857, and continue twelve and a half weeks.

For further information and particulars, see large Circular—to be obtained by addressing either of the Principals., Hopedale, Milford, Mass.

WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD, }
ABBIE HAYWOOD, } *Principals.*
March 13 3wis3wos

[[line across column]]

[[bold]] DR. ALCOTT'S NEW BOOK

[[short dividing line]]

The Laws of Health,
--OR--
Sequel to 'The House I Live In.' [[/bold]]

THIS is unquestionably one of the most complete and valuable Physiological works ever written. It is designed by the venerable author not only as a book for the family, but for the school-room, and is well worth ten times its cost to any family in the land. The Author and publisher are daily receiving the strongest testimonials in favor of this admirable book.

President Hopkins, of Williams College, writes thus to the author:

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, Dec. 22, 1856.
DR. ALCOTT--DEAR SIR--You have been a public benefactor, a pioneer in a great work, and I have no doubt have prevented untold suffering. A wide circulation of the 'Laws of Health' cannot fail of being greatly useful.
Sincerely yours,
MARK HOPKINS.

John D. Philbrick, Esq., Superintendent of the Public Schools, Boston, speaks as follows:

DR.ALCOTT--MY DEAR SIR--I have read your 'Laws of Health' with great satisfaction, and I say to my friends, "Go and do likewise." I have just put a copy into the hands of a college student, and wish a copy of it might be put into the hands of every student in every college, seminary and school in the land.
Most respectfully yours,
JOHN D. PHILBRICK

The work is comprised in one handsome 12mo volume. Price \$1.

[[short dividing line]]

[[italics]] JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY [[/italics]]
PUBLISHERS,
117 Washington Street, - - - Boston.
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[[line across column]]

[[bold]] DENTIST. [[/bold]]

D. MANN, M. D., Surgeon Dentist, formerly MANN & MELBOURNE,
Summer Street, resides at 13 Avery Street, and attends to those who

wish for his services

[[image: line drawing of hand pointing right]] For the convenience of
invalids and others, who may not conveniently visit a Dentist's Office, Dr.
Mann will attend at the residence of those who desire it.
[[/column 6]]

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Smithsonian Institution

National Museum of African American History and Culture

The mission of the Smithsonian is the increase and diffusion of knowledge - shaping the future by preserving our heritage, discovering new knowledge, and sharing our resources with the world. Founded in 1846, the Smithsonian is the world's largest museum and research complex, consisting of 19 museums and galleries, the National Zoological Park, and nine research facilities. Become an active part of our mission through the Transcription Center. Together, we are discovering secrets hidden deep inside our collections that illuminate our history and our world.

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