

RIGHT AND WRONG

IN

BOSTON.

It is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one.—**LORD BACON.**

By-Ends. You must not impose, nor lord it over my faith; leave me to my liberty, and let me go with you.

Christian. Not a step farther, unless you will do in what I propound, as we.—**BUNYAN.**

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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BOSTON FEMALE
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
WITH A SKETCH
OF THE

Obstacles thrown in the way of Emancipation by
certain Clerical Abolitionists and Advo-
cates for the subjection of Woman,

IN 1837.

BOSTON:
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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

Agreeably to previous advertisement, the Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society was held at Lyceum Hall, Oct. 14th, at 3 o'clock, P. M. 150 present.

The annual report, written by the For. Cor. Secretary, M. W. Chapman, was read and *unanimously accepted*. It was then voted that it be published. Question on the manner of publication, whether in the Liberator, to economize the funds, or in a pamphlet form, was decided by voting that it be published under the direction of the Board.

At a meeting of the Board, the succeeding Wednesday, (open also to any members of the Society who might wish to make suggestions, or changes in phraseology,) it was thought best, by a majority of those present, that the part relative to the organization of the Free Church should be expunged; and the Board having no power to do this, it was thought best to refer it again to the Society.

At a special meeting of the Society, regularly called, at 39, Hanover Street, Oct. 25, at 3 o'clock, P. M., a reconsideration of the report was moved. It was read and discussed and again accepted, *but not unanimously*; and voted to be published at the expense of the Society.

Three weeks after, and while the last pages were in the press, the following note was handed to the Secretary, with the request that it might be inserted in the report. If it be thought by the Society, an improper course, to have made their report, the vehicle for this expression of opinion, the Secretary asks pardon for taking the responsibility of inserting it.

Nov. 17th, 1837.

While we give our cordial approbation to many of the sentiments of this Report—the love of freedom and justice constrain us to state that to some portions of it we cherish the most serious objections.

MARY S. PARKER,
C. M. SULLIVAN,
M. V. BALL,
L. M. BALL,
E. R. DAVIS.

The first part of the ...

The second part of the ...

The third part of the ...

The fourth part of the ...

R E P O R T .

THE members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society have convincing proof, that the principles and feelings which unite them are rapidly advancing, in the number and variety of the obstacles which they have been compelled, by following those principles, to encounter and overcome.

Whether we are led by them through mobs, judicial courts, or ecclesiastical councils ; whether we are brought in contact with law or theology ; whether opposition appears as mercantile or ministerial, clothed in the guise of ' light and love,' or in its unadorned deformity, may we be strengthened by Him with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning, to follow them with unfaltering constancy.

It is principally with the congregational ministry and their churches, that the principles of Christian Freedom have brought us into collision during

the past year;—Unitarian, and Orthodox congregationalists have both manifested the narrowness of an oppressive spirit. In order to understand the nature and tendencies of the present movements against freedom among the latter class, it is necessary to go back as far as 1835. It was from this denomination, the most influential in New-England, that much was expected by the friends of the slave at the commencement of their enterprise. They thought the principles of congregationalism were in unison with their own; and the opinion was confirmed by the ready acknowledgment of the members of this communion, that they were as much opposed to slavery as any one could be, but preferred the instrumentality of the Colonization Society, as it roused no bad passions or unchristian spirit. When, after much expenditure of reasoning on cause and effect, with exhibition of colonization facts, doctrines and sentiments, this society was removed from the position it occupied, as the insidious foe of the slave, Abolitionists were surprised that so few manifested any intention to aid them. They were looking, they said, for a more excellent and inoffensive way; and the machinery known in the records of anti-slavery offices, and associations of the ministry, as the 'American Union,' was devised. How it was planned and built, and how conductors were led

from it through the land, from Boston to Cincinnati, and from thence to Princeton, and from thence to New Haven, and how it was hoped that it would meet and soothe the consciences of the people; and how besides amelioration and mitigation of the sufferings of the free colored race, it might allay the desire which began to be expressed by the people of the country parishes, to judge for themselves whether the abolition principles were from heaven or of men; and how it might prevent the funds of the benevolent from being swallowed up by the chimera of 'immediatism'; all these, with other technics, we leave to be explained at large, by the future historian of the progress of freedom. The most clear-sighted among the Abolitionists, undeceived by the scheme, dealt with it after their fashion—immediately. A few sudden and heavy blows were sufficient. The reverberation of its hollowness was convincing to all who had not at first perceived, that its moving spring was hatred of righteous principles and effectual measures. The Abolitionists now began to realize how deep was the dislike of their enterprise. No wonder that it was so, for unregenerate man hates suffering for the sake of others; and any effectual action, it was seen at a glance, involved suffering in mind, body, and estate. Hitherto they had hoped that their pastors and other

influential members might yield, though they despaired of the *heads* of their church; but the increasing violence of the opposition destroyed the expectation of any immediate change.

It is painful to continue in the forms of communion, with those with whom we have so little in common, that their prayer gives no voice to the thoughts that burn on the altar of our hearts before God. The human soul naturally seeks sympathy, by a law of its being. The orthodox congregationalists felt the need of its consolations, and were drawn together by it from their respective churches. They hoped, also, to produce an effect on the religious community as an association, which they had failed to do as individuals. They wished, as far as in them lay, to withdraw the sanctions of religion from the slaveholder. They perceived that their voices, as individuals, were lost in the congratulatory hail, with which the wealthy slaveholding minister and professor of religion was received on his return to northern pulpits and firesides.

They wished also practically to embrace the great truth, which lies at the foundation of the teachings of Jesus Christ;—that all men, of whatever color or condition, are of equal value before God. Their moral sense was outraged by the settled scorn of these teachings, of which every

so called 'House of God' bears witness, by its very construction. They proposed to band themselves together as the first FREE congregational church. This measure was the signal for a storm of reproaches. They were 'destroying the peace of the church;'—'obscuring the prosperity of Zion;'—'grieving away the holy spirit;'—and 'hindering the glorious work of the Lord in revivals.' They were reviled for 'harsh language,' and hated for alleged 'want of love.' They decided, notwithstanding, to form themselves into a church, where no distinctions of caste or color should be painfully felt, and testified against the crime of slaveholding, by excluding the criminal from their communion table and from their pulpit. They requested the ministers of eighteen churches of Boston and vicinity, to assist at their organization.

Whenever Abolitionists declared, as some were wont to do from the beginning, that the American church is one of the main supports of slavery, they were thought to blaspheme. 'The church,' said the ministry, 'is the salt of the earth and the light of the world.' 'The ministry,' said the church in return, 'are the ambassadors of Christ, and the Lord's-anointed.' How important is it, said the Abolitionists on this occasion, that the

ministry should be with us; we cannot succeed in our enterprise but by conciliating them.

With this fear of man strong in their minds, did the committee of the Abolitionists address themselves to meet the powers they had evoked. After the opening of the Council, the Rev. NEHEMIAH ADAMS of Boston, rose to enquire, whether they avowed or disavowed the following as a reason for forming a free church in Boston.

‘ We need a new church constituted, which shall *exclude from communion* all persons who, in the eye of a vast majority of the Christian community, are guilty of living in known sin. The vitality of a large part of our churches is nearly extinct, because the *man-stealer*, the *fornicator*, the *false-swearer*, and the *intemperate*, are not excluded from the privileges of the children of God.’—*New-England Spectator*, Wm. S. Porter, Editor.

Deacon Gulliver, the chairman, replied, that though the writer of that extract was one of their number, yet he had written it as editor of the N. E. Spectator, and not as a member of the Free Church Committee. This reason, added Deacon Gulliver, *is not avowed by us*, for the formation of a free church. This (to say the least) *unfortunate* reply, appeared to satisfy the Council. The next step in order was to present the confession of faith, form of covenant, &c. for their approbation. With this the council were, as might have been antici-

pated, exceedingly dissatisfied, and they voted that the principles of which they particularly disapproved, were those contained in the following words :—‘ All persons who use or traffic in ardent spirit as a drink, all adhering masons, and all slaveholders, or those who are concerned in the buying and selling of slaves, shall be excluded from the communion table and the pulpit.’ Deacon Gulliver now tried to recover the important ground he had yielded, by requesting that a reference to their written documents might be inserted, as an answer to Mr. Adams’s question, in the minutes of the council. Rev. Mr. Blagden, from the South, reported to be a slaveholder, was by no means disposed to receive these documents as a satisfactory answer. He again put the committee to the *Question*, without success. Mr. Adams, the first inquisitor, finding that the committee still refused to *confess*, moved the dissolution of the council. It was thought by some of its other members, that an adjournment was preferable. The delay might afford an opening for compromise. Mr. Blagden, true to southern principles, declared he would listen to no argument, nor continue longer in the council, unless his question were answered by a distinct disavowal. Rev. Dr. Fay, Chairman of the council, pleaded ill health, and retired.

Mr. Adams again applied the *question* without eliciting any sufficient answer ; on which he retired

with the Rev. Mr. Blagden. They were followed by the Rev. Dr. Jenks: and the council, in wrath and perplexity, and some of the members, it may be hoped, with righteous indignation, adjourned till next morning.

It is painful to record that during the night, which might have been made, to use the expressive words of John Woolman, "a strengthening opportunity," the faith and courage of the abolitionists melted away. The weight of Ecclesiastical domination was heavier than they could bear. They sunk under the application of the question the next morning, thus solemnly proposed:— 'Do you distinctly, as a committee, **DISAVOW** the following as a reason for the formation of a new church in this city, viz. that 'We need a church constituted, which shall *exclude from communion* all persons, who, in the eye of a vast majority of the Christian community, are guilty of living in known sin. The vitality of a large part of our churches is nearly extinct, because the *man-stealer*, the *fornicator*, the *false-swearer*, and the *intemperate*, are not excluded from the privileges of the children of God,' **WHENEVER** and by **WHOMSOEVER** this statement may have been made?' In reply the committee '*fully and frankly disavowed such a reason altogether.*'

A message to that effect was sent to Rev. Messrs. Blagden, Adams, and Jenks, who, as well they might, resumed their seats with cordial expressions of satisfaction. They had gained their point. They had, in a manner, nullified the testimony of the proposed church for the time. They had the satisfaction of finding that he who had assumed the direction of the enterprise was feeble, if not untrue, and they had exercised their spiritual despotism unrebuked. It does not *appear* that the lay members had much weight in the council. Most of the debating was done in secret session.

The committee, after having been marched and counter-marched as the council pleased for the space of two days, were at length permitted to inform the waiting congregation, that 'with the distinct understanding that the council do not endorse the terms of communion,' and '*it being necessary to their* regular organization as a congregational church,' (!!!!) the council consented to examine as to the christian character of each individual; and being satisfied with the evidence they found to that effect, they voted themselves ready to proceed to the performances.

Thus was the proposed noble confession of the Christ that this age denies, frustrated, for the sake

of an 'invocation and reading the Scriptures, by the Rev. Mr. Blagden,—reading confession and covenant, by Rev. Dr. Fay,—consecrating prayer, by Rev. Dr. Jenks, and fellowship of the churches by Rev. Mr. Adams.'*

Many members of the society felt deep regret at the course chosen by the chairman:—a course which has this year terminated in the frankest antinomianism of abolition;—an attempt to substitute a word-confession of the *principle* of immediateism, for immediate *action*. Full of instruction are these examples; and when we are tempted to make the smallest concession of faith or *practice*, principles or *measures*, let us remember that 'those who do yield a hair's-breadth, do seldom win to their feet again.'

The pro-slavery public were but encouraged by the concession, to make further demands. An outcry was kept up around the free church, that its members were absorbed in one idea, to the neglect of other parts of christian duty.

This has always been an effectual string to play upon, for no man likes to be accused of monomania; and a resolution was suggested by Deacon

* Rev. Geo. B. Cheever and other acting members of the council, we believe were abolitionists, and would probably have lent their aid to the organization without demanding any sacrifice of principle.

Gulliver, and published in the N. E. Spectator, the organ of the free church, to this effect: That abolition was merely placed by it on a footing with the other benevolent operations of the day. Here was a second step yielded; though of this it may require more theology and metaphysics than we possess, to convince those who do not see that freedom is that precious possession, without which, *nothing*:—that the Almighty forces even heaven upon no man, but first made the soul free as the necessary preliminary to its salvation. We are thankful that neither theology nor metaphysics are necessary:—that we have had grace given us to see that slavery and benevolence are at open and constant conflict: and that in promulgating the principles of freedom, we are laboring for every other good cause.

The effect of these concessions was hardly perceptible at the time. Their effect within the church seemed confined to the hearts that suggested them. Abolitionists of all denominations felt the warmest interest in its success, and were frequent in their attendance on its Sabbath services: Differences of creeds were forgotten in the fulness of a spiritual communion.

All were anxious to co-operate in the erection of a building, and a general meeting of abolitionists was called on Monday evening, 6th July, 1835.

Francis Jackson, President—H. E. Benson, Secretary. After prayer by Geo. Thompson, Samuel J. May stated the object of the meeting, to be the erection of a building for free discussion, and illustrated the pressing need of such a building, by a reference to the masonic suppression of freedom of speech, and the recent treatment of abolitionists at the N. E. Convention, which, after occupying the Swedenborgian chapel one half-day, (and what is a half-day to an Anti-Slavery Convention?) were compelled in the midst of a christian city to a hall under the control of infidels; and this while \$100,000 worth of pews was owned by abolitionists in the city. Mr. Amasa Walker seconded Mr. May in a speech which was warmly applauded. Mr. Walker believed that in Boston, if any where, existed the moral power to carry forward every good work; though Boston was at present governed by an aristocracy—fewer dozens than it contained thousands of inhabitants, and it was the custom to carry every plan or proposal to these; and not unless they approved it was it thought best to undertake it. Whereas, continued he, all that is necessary is, that the plan be brought forward by respectable men, (which he explained to mean the good and honest of all classes,) and that the discussions respecting it be free. A gentleman (unknown) rose after Mr. Walker clos-

ed, and stated that without declaring what his own sentiments were, he wished to know whether the sect, whose popular name was Kneelandites, would be permitted to advocate their opinions in the proposed building.

The President replied that it would be consecrated to the consideration of every great moral question, and to the endeavor on every such question to ascertain the TRUTH. I think this ground broad enough. A gentleman rose in front, unknown to the President, and said, 'My name has been introduced into this assembly, and I wish to say somewhat respecting it. Abner Kneeland is of no sect. He has no followers. But I wish a direct answer to one question,—will Abner Kneeland be permitted openly to advocate his sentiments in the hall about to be built?' 'Sir,' replied the President, 'the building is to be erected as an arena where truth and error may grapple with each other, and presupposing that the decencies and courtesies of discussion be observed, **ABNER KNEELAND** may speak to his sentiments in it.' (*Very great applause.*) Mr. Thompson, after sketching the plan of the building and giving an estimate of the expense, said, 'Here is the last refuge of liberty, where we shall rejoice to see infidelity and christianity conflicting. We exalt Abner Kneeland above christianity by fearing to

let christianity contend with him. The hall shall be as much his as any man's—not to make ex parte statements, or to violate the courtesies or decencies of social order, but his for the purpose of bringing forward and defending his opinions,—for the purpose of free discussion respecting them. Mr. Garrison rose to concur heartily in the feelings that had been expressed by that meeting. What if Abner Kneeland was an infidel? 'A man's a man, for a' that.' It was unworthy the majesty of truth to use any foreign weapon against error. She should rely on herself alone. In all the churches at present, Mr. G. felt that the plan was wrong. The temples were places of merchandise, —the pews were knocked off at auction, like stalls in a market. But here would be a place where a man might hear the truth without being taxed for it. A committee of five were named, and the meeting was adjourned to such a time and place as they should appoint. Alas! those abolitionists who had a double interest in the success of the proposed building, quailed before the bold presence of Truth. They feared generally, to second in action the few who had so nobly proclaimed their confidence in her, though they had, in a moment of lofty enthusiasm, done so by their involuntary applause. Had our Master been on earth with us, we should have heard

him say, 'Oh ye of little faith! wherefore did ye doubt?' Faith as a grain of mustard seed, would have put the abolitionists in possession of a lofty platform in the midst of this city of unbelief, half Rome—half Tyre, from which their cry for the perishing slave might have pierced the ear and the heart of the people.

The next step of the free church was to obtain a minister. Deacon Gulliver and Mr. John S. Kimball secured the services of the Rev. Charles Fitch. Of his ministrations in behalf of the cause we will only say, that they gave but little offence to his clerical brethren of Boston. He, however, shared the odium of Garrison and the Mass. Society, for he had joined it knowing that it required no subscription to church creeds, or certificates of church membership.

That virtue which had been prevented from going out of the church and affecting those around, yet lived strong within. After some internal struggle, in which Mr. Fitch took the right side against Deacon Gulliver on the wrong, a noble stand was taken and maintained by a large majority against prejudice. They redeemed their souls from the infamy of making color a standard, instead of moral worth: and though their example is powerless as yet, upon those who immediately surround them, the knowledge and praise of it

have penetrated the hearts of thousands in other lands; and in sects most differing from their own, wherever the gospel of deliverance is preached, shall this precious offering which they have poured out at so great a cost be told as a memorial of them.

The opposing clergy, who had, when the undertaking was first proposed, exhibited such outward and visible signs of their disapproval, were now for the most part at rest in their mountain, apparently unconscious of the existence of slavery. They were relieved that so many of those who had troubled their false peace while in their midst, had gone out from among them. They were unanimous in their efforts to suppress discussion; and failing to do so in one instance, occasioned the Rev. Mr. Blagden to dissolve his pastoral connection with his people.

We cannot but notice the consistency of his course. The same consideration due to Mr. McDuffie as a Statesman, must be awarded to Mr. Blagden as an Ecclesiastic.

It appeared, at the commencement of the year 1837, that the world was far in advance of the church, in matters of practical righteousness. Freedom of speech was obtained in the Mass. Legislature, and much light diffused through the community by the publication of debates and

resolutions in the newspapers; which (with the exception perhaps of the *Liberator*) no man feels disposed to wait his minister's permission to read. In some places, the current ran so strong that the ministers were swept along by its force. Some of them swam bravely with the tide, trusting that they should soon be followed by their ministerial brethren: but it now began to be evident that a counter current was setting in. It was visible, in the manner of notorious opposers of the cause, towards such of its notorious friends as they deemed might be induced to help them to widen a way in which they now began to perceive that, sooner or later, they must go. We saw it in a coldness and shrinking of some ministers, with symptoms of coalition between them and temporizers and apologists.

At the Annual Meeting of the Mass. Society (1837, at the stable,) an effort was made by Dea. Gulliver to obtain subscriptions for the free church building. His course had never tended to advance him in the confidence of abolitionists. Many of our society perceived that his object now was, if indeed it had ever been any other, to make abolition subservient to the church. He shrunk from the idea of making the church, as every church is constituted of Christ to be,—an instrument for the abolition of all slavery. We inquired if indeed

his principles would enjoin upon him that the building should be absolutely *free*; no man being excluded for opinion's sake. For we felt that as men and societies are mutable, an engagement that it should be free to the Mass. Society was no security that it might not be barred, at some future time, against the truth on the subject of slavery. He replied that it should be free for the discussion of all moral questions. 'What did he consider moral questions?' we asked. He evaded the point—reserving, it seemed to us, the right of decision; but stated that the persons engaged in it were abolitionists, and that their character as such, ought to be a sufficient security. One gentleman, not aware how blighting had been the influence of Dea. Gulliver, nor how he had sunk the idea of abolition, pledged himself to aid the work if he should like the security. How wise he was to make this reservation will be seen hereafter.

We noticed at this meeting, further symptoms of alienation on the part of ministers. Rev. Mr. Woodbury, (brother to the secretary of the treasury,) who, at previous conventions, was first among the foremost, had before this been seized with doubts as to whether any but strict sabbatarians should be permitted to co-operate in the work of abolition; and was observed to be ominously

silent. A resolution to the following effect was introduced by H. B. Stanton.

Resolved, That the grant to this Society, by the Representatives of the people of this Commonwealth, of the use of the State House, in which to hold our Annual Meeting, is a keen rebuke to those churches in this city, who have refused to us the occupancy of their houses of worship, that we might plead in them the cause of two millions of American heathen—and is a decided proof, which we record with gratitude to God, that, although the political and religious aristocracy of Boston may oppose the progress of impartial liberty and righteous equality, the piety and democracy of the Commonwealth hate despotism, sympathise with the oppressed, spurn the gag, defend the rights of the minority, and advocate freedom of thought, of speech, and of action.

In allusion to this, the Rev. Charles Fitch made many remarks, which were exceedingly unsatisfactory to us. ‘Let us,’ he said, ‘not lose sight of the end of our organization as an anti-slavery society. Let us dwell less on our own wrongs and the danger that threatens, and think and say more about the infinitely more oppressive wrongs of the slave. I don’t like *this turning aside*, to inflict chastisement, deserved indeed, upon Boston.’ We saw that the enslaved had little to expect from a man who took this view of their case—who failed to perceive that their prison doors are, in a sense, the church doors. The ministry of Boston, the leaders of Church organi-

zation throughout Massachusetts, had drawn up their forces across the narrow path to emancipation; and earnest endeavors to effect a passage through them, he called 'turning aside.' We were startled to hear a man call himself an abolitionist, who did not see that slavery cannot be abolished till the protecting influence of ministers and churches is removed.

A critic in style might have objected to the harshness of his language. A hearer whose delicate sense of propriety was stronger than her womanly compassion, might have objected to some of his illustrations. But it has ever seemed to us unworthy those who feel for the bondman as bound with him, to 'turn aside' to criticise these. All weapons are useful in this cause, from the delicate scimitar to the rough two-handed blade. He dwelt on some cases of revolting criminality. As long as the pastoral office is claimed as a shield for wrong, we shall regret that publicity could not have been given to the names of the reverend perpetrators. He said he was in the habit of speaking on this subject in season and *out of season*. Would he had continued in that habit unto this day!

The conviction was deepened on our minds by this speech, among the other straws whose course we watched at this time, that what had been

gained in Mass. in the state, would be lost by the counter-currents sweeping in from Ecclesiastical sources, unless some measures were adopted to resist them. At this juncture we recollected the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, an orthodox congregational clergyman, formerly minister of Pine St. church, Boston, who, with his wife,* had early in the cause made great sacrifices for it. He had sacrificed the comforts and pleasures of a settlement in 'the literary emporium,'—'the paradise of clergymen,' as Boston has been called; with the high consideration which has always been awarded throughout the country to a metropolitan preacher, for the precarious support, toilsome life, and full measure of contempt which were then, more than now, the earthly portion of an anti-slavery agent.

He, if any man, we thought, could meet the coming emergency; and at a special meeting we resolved to raise \$1000 to sustain him as the agent of the Mass. Society. They accepted the proposition. We wished to remove every possible occasion of offence, and thought thus to avoid the flowers of rhetoric with which the pro-slavery press had so prodigally showered the path of Mr. Thompson. We believed Mr. Phelps to be as regardless of them as ourselves, but fearing they

* Mrs. Phelps was the first president of our society.

might prejudice the minds of some who would otherwise listen, we willingly conceded every thing but principle; and credulously thought his efforts might be more favorably received as an agent of the Mass. board, than as an agent of the society of Boston women. On his arrival, we perceived a decided mitigation in the manner of the Boston ministers of his own denomination. It has ever been observed, that from some yet undefined cause, it is harder to keep one's footing as an abolitionist in Boston than in any other place. Men and women, whose mountain stood strong when in other parts of the land, have felt it totter as they neared the 'cradle of liberty.' But in the mind of Mr. Phelps, we thought we perceived that rare combination of piety and logic, that would remain fixed amid temptations that might prove too strong for many an other. Delightful as are the approbation of one's public and the smiles of one's peers, his integrity appeared immoveable. Rev. J. H. Towne, who was called from the anti-slavery field to be the successor of Mr. Blagden, was not equally able to resist the subtle influence of the city atmosphere. The space which divides the foes of freedom on the left hand from her friends on the right, is but a hair's-breadth; and it was evident to the whole body of Boston abolitionists, that his sympathies

were drawing him to the left. His settlement in the city had been earnestly desired by them, for he was eloquent and prepossessing, and they doubted not that he would strengthen the cause. At the suggestion of abolitionists of his church, no applications were pressed for the use of their building while his election was pending, lest it should impair his chance of success. It is to be hoped that the mortifying results of all little policising dealings with regard to gospel truth, will cause them to be entirely abandoned by abolitionists. In the work of reformation, there is no strength gained by waiting. 'A more convenient season' is fatal to righteousness. Continual conflict with pro-slavery influences is our only chance of success ;—continual practical illustration of the principle of immediateism, our only means of gathering inward or outward strength.

Mr. Phelps, meanwhile, was lecturing in the neighborhood of Boston with great power and acceptance. Vigorous efforts were made to bring the outraged and insulted slave fully before the people. The grand difficulty, from the commencement of the cause, has ever been to give sufficient notification of discussions and lectures. The pioneers of the lecturer always had the mortification of hearing their neighbors and friends say, 'Why did you not let us know? we wanted to hear what your

lecturer had to say.' It should be observed that, to the scattered population of the villages, this giving notice from the meeting-house is the customary and only effectual resource ; and that even in cities, a large class of the people are more effectually informed of proposed meetings in this way than in any other. But the ministry too frequently acted the part assigned to the ' row of black extinguishers ' in Moore's Fable of the Guebres. At Cambridgeport, where Mr. Phelps had been engaged to speak, the abolitionists were greatly rejoiced, on the Sabbath previous to his appointment, to see the Rev. Robert Bernard Hall rise to preach. He it was, who, at the annual meeting of the Mass. Society, had opposed political action, arguing that a religious enterprise should be left in the hands of the church ; and they felt sure that he would aid a brother clergyman of the same denomination to collect an audience.

What was their disappointment to find their notice quietly suppressed. 'He respected the usages of brother Stearns's pulpit.' But as these are a part of the very usages that, as friends of the slave, they felt called to abolish, they could not but deem a pulpit having such usages 'false to its trust.'* They also had doubts as to the ownership of 'Bro.

* See Daniel Webster's Plymouth Speech.

Stearns's pulpit.' Sometimes it seemed to them to be his—sometimes it would flash into their minds that it was quite as much their own; and that *they* also were somewhat responsible for its usages. It was a knotty point, involving much metaphysics and more theology; but they felt that there was no avoiding the conclusion that Mr. Stearns's influence helped to uphold slavery, nor any shorter way of settling the question, than by reading their notices themselves, at the close of the service.

In multitudes of towns and villages, throughout the land, has the same obstacle presented itself. It is, in fact, the grand obstacle. It is the struggle of Freedom with Slavery for the ear of the people. It is an assertion of the right to know and judge *for themselves* on the part of the people, and an endeavor, on the part of the ministry, to substitute their own judgment as the ultimate decision. It is no petulant anger at the thwarting of a party purpose that makes abolitionists so constantly repeat these efforts:—They see, in these refusals to read anti-slavery notices, at once the symbol and the fruit of a deliberate determination on the part of the ministry not to labor for emancipation themselves, and those who would, to hinder.

In the city even the most long-suffering, thought it would be treason to the cause of their enslaved

countrymen, not to claim, in the name of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, the countenance and aid of the pulpit in their behalf. At the Rev. Dr. Channing's Church, where, year after year, the claim of equal privileges with others for the prosecution of their benevolent operations had been presented, and where, in 1836 a committee of vigilance had undertaken to shield the preachers of liberal Christianity from the disgrace of a retrograde movement towards popery, by themselves assuming the right to judge for the people what was truth and what was error, the struggle was still maintained. On one occasion, the Rev. Mr. Stetson, of Medford, was accosted by this committee, as he was in the act of receiving a notification of one of our meetings, at the entrance of Dr. Channing's church, and directed not to read it. The committee declared that the offering of these notices 'must be put a stop to.' But we felt that the right to offer a notice of our meetings was like the right of petition—inalienable. It is a part of our right of free discussion; nor may it be, without guilt, surrendered to church committees, parish meetings, ecclesiastical councils, or legislative bodies. We hold the right to do good from God. Were it the notice of a meeting to discuss the question of His being, a minister would be unfaithful to Christianity who should be-

tray such a doubt of her power as to suppress it. equally unfaithful, in a question which concerns the dearest interests of his children. The only plausible plea a minister has for refusal is, that *he* thinks the discussion likely to be disastrous in its consequences. What does the pope say more, against placing the scriptures in the hands of the people? A clergyman is free to choose, say apologists. ‘Free, but not guiltless in the sight of God,’ we reply, ‘in withholding either view of a disputed question from others.’

How many a kindly spirit has been called of late to this moral-strife for freedom, for principle, for the slave. How many a warm heart has been saddened to find nothing but enmity to his advocates in those who should themselves have pleaded his cause. How many a roused soul, in searching for the latent causes of such obduracy, has learned that associations of the clergy are battalions drawn up against freedom: and that from their secret conclaves, as from the inquisitorial cells and Vehmique courts of by-gone ages, proceeds an influence which neutralizes the efforts of the friends of freedom.

There are swift hours in life;—strong, rushing hours,
Which do the work of tempests in their might!
Which shake down things that stood as rocks and towers
Unto the undoubting mind: which pour in light,
Where it but startles! as a burst of day,
For which the uprooting of an oak makes way!

And this was of such hours with the presbyterianized congregationalists of New England. This was the beginning of an examination of the claims and character of their clergy, which will end only with a reformation hardly less startling or less needed than that of Luther.

It was in the year 1836, that the idea suggested itself to us of calling a general convention of anti-slavery women from all parts of the country. It is worthy of remark, how generally the same train of thought, in different minds, grows out of similar courses of action. Without any previous correspondence or acquaintance, we almost immediately after, received a similar suggestion from Lewis Tappan. This coincidence of opinion respecting women's duties, gave us great satisfaction. We diligently corresponded with other societies of women, and with individuals. The plan was approved by them, and the convention met in New York city, May 9th, 1837, composed of one hundred and seventy-four tried friends of the cause. They met on three successive days, and enjoyed a free and affectionate interchange of sentiment on the many important topics comprehended in the idea of abolition. The following is a condensed view of the states of mind which were the results of their discussions.

They approached the subject with the full con-

viction that the cause of the enslaved is the cause of God—the cause of Christ. They felt that the question is not one of treatment, but of principle; and they therefore claimed not merely kind usage, but renunciation of the right of ownership. They saw clearly that *interest*, political, commercial and domestic, is the occasion of the violent opposition which abolition principles have excited. They resolved never to surrender fugitive slaves. They felt that the right of petition is God-given, inalienable, therefore ought to be exercised to the utmost for the slave;—and they resolved to petition congress annually to abolish all slavery over which it has jurisdiction. They regarded those northern men and women who marry slaveholders, as identifying themselves with the system. They regarded women as solemnly called by the signs of the times and by the spirit of the age, to discuss the subject of slavery, so that they might be prepared to meet the approaching exigency as women and as christians. They resolved that as certain rights and duties are common to all moral beings, the time has come for woman to move in that sphere which Providence has assigned her, and no longer remain satisfied in the circumscribed limits with which corrupt custom and a perverted application of Scripture have encircled her; therefore that it is the duty of woman, and the province of

woman, to plead the cause of the oppressed in our land, and to do all that she can by her voice, and her pen, and her purse, and the influence of her example, to overthrow the horrible system of American slavery.

They earnestly recommended to all the followers of Christ to ascertain with fervent prayer, what God would have them to do in regard to those benevolent operations which are carried on by the hire of the laborer from him kept back by fraud, and to inquire through what channels their benevolence may flow to the heathen world without mingling with the streams which arise from traffic 'in slaves, and the souls of men.' They felt that slavery in this country is a *national sin*, so long as it exists in the District of Columbia and the territory of Florida; as long as the northern states surrender the fugitive to his master, refuse to repeal those laws which recognize and secure the usurpation of the master over his slave, and continue pledged to put down servile insurrection at the South; as long as the inter-state slave trade is carried on, and there are governors in our free states, who pronounce the free discussion of the subject of slavery to be 'a misdemeanor at common law,' and that we regard slavery to be a national sin, because congress has the

power to abolish it, just so far as it has exercised that power to create and sustain it in our land.

Many spoke as MOTHERS, solemnly urged by all the blessings of their own and their children's freedom, and by all the contrasted bitterness of the slave-mother's condition to the resolution of lifting up their hearts to God for the captive as often as they should pour them out in blessings on their own children, in a joy with which 'no stranger may intermeddle.' They resolved to guard with jealous care the minds of their children from the ruining influences of the spirit of proslavery and prejudice, let those influences come in what name, or through what connections they may.

Because they believed that the pure and Christian principles of peace commended themselves with peculiar power to the hearts of abolitionists; and because they felt that by publicly professing these principles, and engaging actively in their dissemination, they gave their friends at the South the best possible security that, in all their measures for the relief of the oppressed slave, and for his restoration to freedom, they should be governed by the forbearance and forgiving spirit of our Savior; therefore they recommended to mothers to educate their children in the principles of peace,

and special abhorrence of that warfare, which gives aid to the oppressor against the oppressed.

They said, that as most of the merchants and editors of our large cities had done every thing they could, to close the door of access at the South, against abolition doctrines, by vilifying the characters and misrepresenting the motives of abolitionists, who had stood forth as the advocates of the oppressed American, whether bond or free; they therefore as their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, were resolved to do all that they could to open that door, by vindicating their characters from the aspersions which have been cast upon them, and standing side by side with them in the great struggle between right and wrong, freedom and despotism, justice and oppression, Christian equality and American prejudice.

They spoke of northern churches, united to southern slaveholding churches by the bonds of church-fellowship; and they dwelt on the duty of solemn rebuke, and the duty of women, as church-members, to pray their respective ecclesiastical bodies to declare slavery a sin. They deemed prejudice against color no less unholy. They determined prayerfully to inquire by what steps they should avoid unrighteous participation in the products of slave labor. They dwelt with delight on institutions of learning which, like Oneida in-

stitute and Western Reserve College, have practically uprooted the long-standing anti-republican prejudice against color. They enforced on each other's minds the duty of sustaining and visiting day, evening, and Sabbath schools, irrespective of color. Oberlin Collegiate institute received from them the tribute of heartfelt commendation. It stands alone in America if not in the world,—a school for HUMANITY, irrespective of sex or color. Southern members of the convention, before whom slavery had been exhibited in all its terrible distinctness, strove with all their energies to place its enormity clearly before the minds of their northern sisters. On motion of one of them, whose friends are now residents at the south, it was resolved, that the convention regarded anti-slavery prints as powerful auxiliaries in the cause of emancipation, and recommended that they should be multiplied a hundred-fold, that the speechless agony of the fettered slave might appeal unceasingly to the hearts of the patriot, the philanthropist and the christian. It was resolved on motion of a northern woman 'That as large funds are required in order to the rapid advancement of this cause, we consider it an imperious duty to make retrenchments from our own personal expenses, whenever in our power, that we may be the better able to contribute to such funds.'

The convention deemed it their duty and the duty of all abolitionists to encourage their oppressed brethren and sisters, in their different trades and callings; also to use their utmost influence to remove the disgraceful side-seats and corners set apart for them in churches. They thought the contribution of means for the purchase of men from their claimants, an acknowledgment of a right of property in man; inconsistent, and inhuman, unless accompanied by an absolute denial of the existence of such a right. They recommended to the South the noble example of the colored slaveholders of Martinique; the first instance of a petition to government from slaveholders themselves for the extinction of slavery. The wives and daughters of clergymen throughout the land, were entreated to strengthen their husbands and fathers to declare the whole council of God, touching slavery, fearing no danger or prejudice or privation, being willing to suffer persecution with them for Christ's sake.

The convention expressed grief and amazement at the deathlike apathy of some northern churches, and the unchristian opposition of others to anti-slavery efforts; expressing their conviction *that as long as northern pulpits are closed against the advocates of the oppressed, whilst they are freely open to oppressors*, the northern churches

have their own garments stained with blood, and are awfully guilty in the sight of God.

A punctual attendance upon the monthly concert of prayer for the oppressed was recommended to all whose consciences approve of appointed seasons of prayer. Finally, the convention pledged themselves to each other, laying aside sectarian views and private opinions, to UNITE their efforts for the abolition of slavery, seeking to be directed by divine wisdom; and to continue them until it should be effected.

A committee from the different free states whose women have petitioned congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and Florida, was instructed to convey to the Hon. John Quincy Adams, the grateful sense which the convention entertained of his services, in defending the right of petition for women, and for slaves, — qualified with the regret, that by expressing himself ‘adverse to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia,’ he did not sustain the cause of freedom and of God.

Feeling deep gratitude for the aid and encouragement and strengthening sympathy of the women of Great Britain, a committee was appointed to attempt to express it. An address to the women of the nominally free states, and another to free colored Americans, were issued

by the convention, with a circular to anti-slavery societies of women. From these excellent writings it may be hoped that multitudes will joyfully learn that they have duties and responsibilities as christian patriots and philanthropists, on the faithful discharge of which, greatly depends the welfare of their country and their race, and without a knowledge and love of which, their duty as mothers can be but imperfectly fulfilled. The delegates from our society were instructed to vote against the formation of a national anti-slavery society of women, and to exhibit the reasons which are strong in our minds, against the plan of a paper exclusively for women. The columns of all the publications of the cause are open to us. We owe our own interest in it, and much enlargement of mind for its prosecution, to a perusal of them. Why should they not be equally beneficial to other women? We prefer to aid their circulation. We think that the best hopes of the sexes are in each other; and that the plan of separate sources of knowledge, and separate means of mental and moral improvement is likely to produce a characteristic difference, fatal to the happiness and the usefulness of both.

It was resolved that a convention of anti-slavery women be held annually in some part of the United States till slavery is abolished, and that the

next be held in PHILADELPHIA, on the third week in May, 1838.

Thus ended the first general convention of women ever held in America: but its influences strike far into the future. Long after slavery shall have become a word to be found only in old books; long after the practice of separate meetings of men and women for the discussion of great principles shall have disappeared, it will be recognized as among the first of the grand series of movements which are to make this enslaved earth again a paradise.

We have spoken of notices of our meetings. The one which gave so much offence to the committee of Dr. Channing's church, was of a meeting to be addressed by two South Carolinians who had embraced the cause. It might have been anticipated that they would have met with a friendly reception, from those calling themselves the better sort, for they were highly connected. A circumstance, which even in republican New England, greatly allayed opposition before the Hon. James G. Birney, a Kentuckian and once a slaveholder, who visited it about the same time. Unfortunately, they were but women; though the misfortune of that fact was greatly abated by their being sisters of the Hon. Thomas S. Grimke.

They were listened to with gratitude and de-

light by our society independently of any of these considerations. We were anxious that others should partake of the benefit and pleasure of their lectures and hoped by the following letter to forward their plans in behalf of the slave.

BOSTON, June 7th, 1837.

TO FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES THROUGH-
OUT NEW ENGLAND.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS :

The purpose of this letter is to entreat, in the name of the Boston Female Anti-slavery Society, that you will afford every facility in your power to SARAH M. and ANGELINA E. GRIMKE, for the prosecution of their labors in the cause of emancipation.

With their names and characters, with their noble sacrifices, and with their published works, you are well acquainted ; and therefore there is no need that we should dwell on all the circumstances growing out of these, which so peculiarly fit them to dispense the truth, respecting the conflicting principles of freedom and slavery.

One thing we cannot omit to mention, which marks them as eminently qualified for the promulgation of anti-slavery principles—the elevated and christian point of view, from which they behold the condition of woman, her duties and her consequent rights. It is of paramount importance, that both men and women should understand their true position and mighty responsibilities to this and to coming generations. In all spiritual things, their functions are identical ;—both are created to be parents

and educators;—both for all the duties growing out of that spiritual equality here, and for communion with their Maker during their immortal life hereafter;—neither for helplessness or dependence—neither for arbitrary dictation;—each to obey the commands of God as responsible to him alone. Such is our view of the primary duties of our race. With respect to secondary pursuits—whether mercantile, mechanical, domestic or professional—the machinery of mortal existence,—‘the tools to whosoever can use them.’ All are alike bound to the free and strenuous exercise of such faculties as God has given them.

We could not confidently commend to your hearts, or receive unreservedly to our own, any who were grinding in the narrow mill of a corrupt public opinion on this point; but in view of the justness of their theory, and the faithfulness of their practice, concerning it, we earnestly entreat you, in the words of Paul—‘Help *these* women, who have labored thus in the gospel’—and thereby help us to manifest gratitude for the important aid they are affording to the anti-slavery enterprise. Help them to exalt the national character of our women—so inferior to that of the Maternal Ancestry, who, in 1620, ‘shot from their spheres’ in England, and stood here with their little ones, shelterless in the wintry air, that they might pursue their christian course unimpeded by sneers or ridicule, ecclesiastical mandates, or public outrage.

Let us help one another to repel the idea, that while the chief end of *man* is to glorify God, and enjoy him forever—woman is sharer of the like glorious destiny, ‘but as it were in sort or limitation.’

Dear friends, let us urge on you the importance of making available to the cause of freedom, the

scattered energies of your respective neighborhoods, by gathering together and seeking the co-operation of all whose interest for suffering humanity is leading them to ask, 'what shall we do?' The numbers of such, in every place, are small, in comparison with those who will undertake to dictate to you what you shall *not* do.

We are not entirely without experience. Trust us when we say, that we have found those the most effectual helpers, who come to us least encumbered by the trappings of this world, and unfettered from the thralldom of its ways.

Let there be no exclusive system adopted in our societies. Ask no one's sect, rank, or color. Whosoever *will*, let them come. If our worship be sincere, of the God who created our race free, and the Savior who came to redeem them from bondage, it will so appear in our active exertions for our enslaved countrymen, that the selfish, the hypocritical, and the unfaithful, will be compelled to hold themselves aloof from our ranks. There is no danger to be apprehended from the companionship of any others—for a holy cause purifies the heart, and enlarges the intellect, and directs the zeal, and refines and exalts the ideas of all who embrace it in sincerity.

We renewedly commend to you these our beloved friends, nothing doubting that they will receive from you that hospitality of the heart, which will be to them an assurance that they have not consecrated their lives and fortunes to the cause of christian freedom in vain.

In behalf of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. MARY S. PARKER, *President.*

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, *Cor. Sec.*

The Misses Grimke were women of genius and eloquence. They were humble and devoted Christians also, and therefore, free from the cramping-irons of the religious and fashionable world, by which genius and eloquence are so often paralyzed. On their appearance in New England, great alarm was manifested by the pro-slavery ministry.

The general association of Massachusetts clergymen, met at Brookfield, June 27, 1837. Among the influential actors in it, were the same whom we have seen in council over the affairs of the free church. They issued a pastoral letter, written by the Rev. NEHEMIAH ADAMS. The following we consider the parts best worth preserving in this connection.

‘The first topic upon which we would speak has respect to the perplexed and agitating subjects which are now common amongst us.

All that we would say at present with regard to these subjects, is this:—They should not be FORCED upon any church as matters for debate *at the hazard of alienation and division.*

Once it would have seemed strange even to hint that members of churches could wish to *force* a subject for debate upon their pastor and their brethren of the same church. But we are compelled to mourn over the loss, in a degree, of that deference to the pastoral office which no minister would arrogate, but which is at once a mark of Christian urbanity, and a uniform attendant of the full influence

of religion upon individual character. If there be a tendency in zeal upon these subjects to violate the principles and rules of Christian intercourse, to interfere with the proper pastoral influence, and to make the church, into which we flee from a troubled world for peace, a scene of 'doubtful disputations,' there must be something wrong in that zeal or in the principles which excite it. If any are constrained to adopt those principles and to use that zeal, we would affectionately and solemnly caution them not to disturb the influence of those ministers who think that the promotion of personal religion amongst their people, and the establishment of Christians in the faith and comfort of the gospel, is the proper object of their ministry.

II. We would call your attention to the importance of maintaining that respect and deference to the *Pastoral Office*, which is enjoined in Scripture, and which is essential to the best influence of the ministry on you and your children.

One way in which this respect has been in some cases violated, is in encouraging lecturers or preachers on certain topics of reform to present their subjects *within the parochial limits of settled pastors without their consent. (!!!!)*

Your minister is ordained of God to be your teacher, and is commanded to feed that flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer. If there are certain topics upon which he does not preach with the frequency or in the manner that would please you—it is a violation of sacred and important rights to encourage a stranger to present them. Deference and subordination are essential to the happiness of society, and peculiarly so in the relation of a people to their pastor. Let them despise or slight him and he ceases to do them good, and they cease to respect those things of which he is at once the minister and the

symbol. There is great solemnity in those words: 'Obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves:—for they watch for your souls as they that must give account. It is because we desire the highest influence of the ministry upon you and your children, that we now exhort you to reverence that office which the ascending Redeemer selected from all his gifts as the highest token of his love and care for his people.

III. We invite your attention to *the dangers which at present seem to threaten the FEMALE CHARACTER* with wide-spread and permanent injury.

The appropriate duties and influence of women are clearly stated in the New Testament. Those duties and that influence are unobtrusive and private, but the sources of mighty power. When the mild, dependent, softening influence of woman upon the sternness of man's opinions is fully exercised, society feels the effects of it in a thousand forms. The power of woman is in her dependance flowing from the consciousness of that weakness which God has given her for her protection and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the character of individuals and of the nation. There are social influences which females use in promoting piety and the great objects of Christian benevolence, which we cannot too highly commend. [We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of woman in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad; in Sabbath schools, *in leading religious inquirers to the pastor for instruction*, and in all such associated efforts as becomes the modesty of her sex; and earnestly hope that she may abound more and more in the labors of piety and love.] But when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection of her seem unnecessary,

we put ourselves in self-defence against her, she yields the power which God has given her for protection, and her character becomes unnatural. If the vine, whose strength and beauty is to lean upon the trellis work and half conceal its clusters, thinks to assume the independence and the overshadowing nature of the elm, it will not only cease to bear fruit, but fall in shame and dishonor into the dust.

We cannot, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and *countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers.*

We especially deplore the intimate acquaintance and promiscuous conversation of females with regard to things 'which ought not to be named;'—by which that modesty and delicacy which is the charm of domestic life, and which constitutes the true influence of woman in society is consumed, and the way opened, as we apprehend, for degeneracy and ruin. We say these things, not to discourage proper influences against sin, but to secure such reformation as we believe is scriptural and will be permanent.'

Almost every shade of opinion was manifested in the Association, respecting this letter; from Rev. Mr. Howe, who deprecated all such discussion by that body, to Rev. Mr. Blagden, who sincerely hoped the letter would be adopted. He felt a high degree of gratitude, that such a document had been so prepared, as to meet the wants of the times. We have sufficiently long borne, with such *severe trials*, as this letter is designed

to remedy. There were two points in particular, which he was glad to notice.

1st. PASTORAL INFLUENCE. The time has come for pastors to take a positive stand against encroachment on their office.

2nd. FEMALE INFLUENCE AND CHARACTER. There is danger, at the present time, of Women assuming the place and attitude of men as public reformers and itinerating lecturers.

Mr. Worcester, perceiving that some of the members were not pleased with the letter, attributed it to their ignorance of the wants of the times.

Mr. Fowler was not aware of any need of such a letter. Mr. Bennet said, 'this shows the ignorance of the remote brethren. Females are now lecturing publicly amongst us; and notices are repeatedly sent up to our pulpits.' Mr. Hawley took into consideration the feelings of the parties concerned; saying that if such a letter went into his section, females would feel much aggrieved. He was not prepared to give an opinion as to the justice or injustice of the charges, but could never give his consent to such a way of proceeding. Mr. Alvord seemed to be of opinion that this whole matter was out of the *appropriate sphere* of the Association.

Respecting this production we have only to

say, that whoever comes to us with such a message on his lips, is likened our idea of a nuncio of his holiness, than an Ambassador of Christ. It was by the continual and unchecked prosecution of such claims, that the pastoral *Lituus* of the Apostles became the crosier of the Romish clergy.

This general movement was seconded by Rev. A. A. Folsom, Rev. Hubbard Winslow, Rev. J. F. Stearns, and Rev. Parsons Cooke, in sermons to their respective congregations, which they caused to be published, and of which the following extracts, are the parts which will best show our sons, through what opposing influences their mothers passed, to free the fettered and the perishing.

FROM MR. COOKE'S SERMON.

‘It is made the duty of woman so far as religious assemblies are concerned, to learn and not to teach—to learn in silence. And then a reason is given for it; i. e. that it would be an unseemly usurping of authority, for one who should bear the marks of subjection.

‘Not only were women not permitted to harangue a christian audience, but they were not permitted to ask a question in public. If they met any thing in the public instructions which they could not understand or consent to, they must wait and confer with their husbands at home respecting it. It is treated not only as a wrong, but a ‘shame,’ a scandalous offence against propriety and decency. ‘It is a shame for women to speak in the church.’

‘Do any evade the rule on the ground that the word *church* is used, and therefore it does not apply to all religious assemblies. This is an evasion which is good only to English ears. The word here translated church, means assemblies of any character or description. It is equally descriptive of the small social meeting of men and women and the great congregation; of religious or secular meetings, where one stands forth to harangue an assembly. It is parallel with the word assembly, or meeting, and the prohibition is as broad as if *meeting*, had been the word. And as if the

apostle had said, it is a shame for a woman to speak in public meetings.

‘Even if it were true, that some woman in an assembly had more talents than all the men present, the excess of her talents, so far from making a reason why she should display them, would make it a still stronger case of usurping authority over the man. Take a familiar case. A few years ago the community were shocked by the preachments of one Fanny Wright, in favor of infidelity, and universal licentiousness. Now what was it, in this case, that constituted the outrage upon the feelings of the community? Was it her infidelity? That was bad enough; but all that is held forth constantly without awaking any of the peculiar abhorrence, felt in this case. Was it the trampling on those domestic institutions in which woman has an interest so deep and sacred? It might have been partly this. But this is often done by others, and the report of it scarcely goes beyond the reach of the speaker’s voice. Was it the unblushing licentiousness which she promulgated? This doubtless aggravated the horror which we had of the whole affair. But **AFTER ALL the MAIN SHOCK to the good sense of the world was caused by the fact that she was a woman—a woman standing forth as a public lecturer.** And the shock so far from being mitigated was increased by the masculine powers of intellect which she wielded. The very fact that she could hold listening thousands in deep attention, and wield a mastery over the strongest passions of the populace, was her deepest condemnation. On that account so much greater the light against which she sinned, so much greater the powers which she prostituted, and so much the higher was the authority which she assumed over man.’

‘Till such flagrant breaches of decorum become more common, (which day may God avert,) the female preacher may be sure of crowds to hear, for reasons like to those which would insure her many eyes to see, if like the public stage dancer she were to entertain them with improper exposure of her person. But neither the gratification of feasting the public curiosity, nor any usefulness possible by such means, can compensate for the injury she is doing to herself as well as to the world. Stripped of every womanly attribute, is that woman, who has become public property by such a rude protrusion of person and character on public theatres and such chosen familiarity with the tongue of common fame. To an unsophisticated ear, the term **FEMALE ORATOR**, in whatever cause the oratory be displayed, or with however much purity of private character associated, has a sound too nearly allied to another that may not be named. And all approaches to the character of a female public speaker, proportionally detract from the honor appropriate for females.’

‘Dark will be the day when the public taste becomes so vitiated as to suffer the cause of christian benevolence and the interests of Christian truth to be sustained in the harangues of female orators.’

We are reminded by this Sermon, of the words of Rabbi Eliezur—‘Perish the book of the law, rather than it should be expounded by a Woman.’

FROM MR. WINSLOW’S SERMON.

‘The sacred writers have intimated that her constitutional susceptibility and ardor, so valuable when wisely directed and so evil when misguided; her spirit of impulse and action, her passion for novelty and adventure predominating over cool discretion and cautious judgment—as seen in the case of the first transgression—is one essential reason why God requires that she shall ‘learn in silence with all subjection,’ and does not ‘suffer her to teach nor to usurp authority over the man.’

But this law of female subjection, implanted in the human constitution and enjoined by God, is misapprehended, perverted or abused, in all but Christian nations.’

‘The same act which would be modest and delicate in a man, would not always be so in a woman; while on the other hand what may be very bold and energetic in a woman, might be very tame in a man.’

‘Here then is a promiscuous assembly, not an exclusive meeting of the church, and the apostle teaches us that here she must not only be in silence, but must even have on the then customary badge of modesty and subjection.

Such then are inspired views respecting female delicacy and propriety, respecting her becoming deference to the other sex, and her appropriate reverence and homage to her husband.’

‘But oh how fallen from this high elevation is she, when, impatient of her proper sphere, she steps forth to assume the duties of the man, and, impelled by false zeal with conscience misguided, does as even man ought not to do—when, forsaking the domestic hearth, her delicate voice is heard from house to house, or in social assemblies, rising in harsh unnatural tones of denunciation against civil laws and rulers, against measures involving political and State affairs of which she is nearly as ignorant as the child she left at home in the cradle, against churches and ministers, perhaps her own pastor, and certainly all who dissent from her views; expecting to reform politics and churches, and to put down every real and supposed evil in them, by the right arm of female power, and clamorous for the organization of female societies for this specific object; not slow to anathematize all who do not submit to her dictation, in the stereotype phraseology of certain modern charity, as ‘time serving men,’ and ‘canting hypocrites;’ and withal very sure that the world will never go right till women take the lead.—

What a sad wreck of female loveliness is she then! She can hardly conceive how ridiculous she appears in the eyes of all sober, discreet, judicious Christian men, or how great the reproach she brings upon her sex. Despite of gallantry, her power over the minds of men is then at an end; she must henceforth 'fight as one that beateth the air.' Men will smile or pity, and let her pass on; for to expostulate or argue they will soon find to be in vain, inasmuch as she is certainly right, has nothing to learn, and is bent only on teaching.'

'To perform deeds of personal charity and kindness to the destitute and afflicted; to converse modestly or to employ the pen upon subjects which engage her mind and interest her heart; to assist in the circulation of approved religious tracts; to act the part of a personal or a private teacher, whether secular or religious; to engage in small social circles of her own sex in the duties of devotion and of Christian conversation; to solicit charity for approved benevolent objects, by private application—deeds like these, if performed with the spirit and manner which become her, appear to be comprehended within the sphere which the scriptures assign to the female sex; and I know of no female virtue on which they necessarily encroach.

But when females undertake to assume the place of public teachers, *whether to both sexes or only to their own*; when they form societies for the purpose of sitting in judgment and acting upon the affairs of the church and state; when they travel about from place to place as lecturers, teachers, and guides to public sentiment; when they assemble in conventions to discuss questions, pass resolutions, make speeches, and vote upon civil, political, moral, and religious matters; when they begin to send up their names to gentlemen holding official stations, gravely declaring their own judgment in regard to what they ought to do, and informing them, with solemn menace what they have themselves determined to do, if they do not yield to their wishes—even to repeat the expression of their sentiments until they *do* yield; when they attempt the reformation of morals by engaging in free conversation and discussion upon those things of which the apostle says, 'it is a shame even to speak;' when they encourage meetings and measures like the above, either by their presence, countenance, or service;—in short, when the distinguishing graces of modesty, deference, delicacy, and sweet charity are in any way displaced by the opposite qualities of boldness, arrogance, rudeness, indelicacy, and the spirit of denunciation of men and measures, so that they give any just occasion for being denominated, by way of distinction, 'the female brethren'—it is then no longer a question whether they have stretched themselves beyond their measure and violated the inspired injunction which saith, 'Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection, but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.'

'The world has had enough of Fanny Wrights; whether they appear in the name of *avowed infidelity*, or of *civil and human rights*, or of *political economy*, or of *morals and religion*, their tendency is ultimately the same—the alienation of the sexes, the subversion of the distinguishing excellence and benign influence of woman in society, the destruction of the domestic constitution, the prostration of all decency and order, the reign of wild anarchy and shameless vice. Thomas Paine could not desire better disciples; nor would it much concern him in what name or cause they might profess to appear, since the ultimate effect is one and the same.' (!!!!!)

FROM MR. STEARNS'S SERMON.

When I see ladies of talent, and learning, and refinement,—ladies whose accomplishments and virtues would have fitted them to stand in the first rank among their own sex, stepping out of their sphere, to enter upon stations and offices which have heretofore been regarded as appropriate to men, it forcibly reminds me of the parable of Jotham contained in the ninth chapter of Judges—'The trees of the wood went forth on a time to anoint a king over them. And they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honor God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? And the trees said unto the fig tree, Come thou and reign over us. But the fig tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou and reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the *bramble*, Come thou and reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow.'

'That there are ladies who are capable of public debate, who could make their voices heard from end to end of the church and the senate house,—that there are those who might bear a favorable comparison with others as eloquent orators, and who might speak to better edification than most of those on whom the office has hitherto devolved, I am not disposed to deny. The question is not in regard to *ability*, but to *decency*, to order, to Christian *propriety*. Of one thing I am certain, they would find it hard to convince most of those whom they would emulate, that the course was either amiable or becoming. For if an effeminate man is always despised, no less so, as nature herself teaches, must be a masculine woman.

My hearers must pardon me for speaking thus explicitly. The advocates of such principles and measures have, in times past, been confined principally to the ranks of unbelievers, whom no pious and

respectable female would desire to encourage. But when popular female writers, and women professing godliness, begin to take the same ground, *it is time for the pulpit as well as the press to speak plainly*. I verily believe, that should the practice I have censured become *prevalent*, and the consequent change in the treatment of females, already anticipated by some of its advocates, take place in the community, the influence of ladies, now so important to the cause of philanthropy and piety, would very speedily be crushed, and religion, morality and good order, suffer a wound from which they would not soon nor easily recover.'

'Your persuasions are a power which man cannot easily breast himself against. The still influence of woman disarms him, and he is charmed to submission before he is prepared to resist.

Beware, then, how you forfeit your peculiar advantages. Beware how you do any thing to diminish that delicate and *chivalrous* respect, which the feminine character now commands from all who are not lost to every principle of honor.'

'And he assured, ladies, if the hedges and borders of the social garden should be broken up, the lovely vine, which now twines itself so gracefully upon the trellis, and bears such rich clusters, will be the first to fall and be trodden under foot.'

FROM MR. FOLSOM'S SERMON.

'The legitimate effect of being converted to the popular measures of the Abolitionists, (popular, I mean, among a certain class—not with the great mass of the people,—God forbid,) is a neglect of some of the appropriate duties of woman. She seeks relaxation too often from her domestic obligations, and in fine, looks upon family affairs as of secondary importance. Her time, she is apt to think, can be better employed than to devote it to her own peculiar household concerns, and therefore, she becomes a sort of travelling agent for those who make it a business to lead captive 'silly women.' She leaves her own children to become slaves to their 'appetites and passions,' while she interests herself with wonderful zeal in the cause of the southern negro. She is, then,

'Bred only, and completed to the taste
Of fretful appetite—to sing—to dance,
To dress, to troll the tongue, and roll the eye,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Woman's domestic honor and chief grace.'

But the effect of this corruption extends still further, and poisons the soul, embitters the affections, and exasperates the feelings. She, who is naturally amiable and modest, by having her mind filled with the peculiar spirit which characterises the most clamorous among the Abolitionists, is imperceptibly transformed into a bigoted, rash,

and morose being. Nor is this all. Self-sufficiency, arrogance and masculine boldness follow naturally in the train.

As Eve experienced to her sorrow the consequences of disobedience, so will you, who step aside from that simplicity, and those modest manners, which ornament your sex, reap the bitter fruits of folly. The respect of the wise and good you cannot have, but their pity and contempt you must unavoidably incur, while out of your sphere—the willing dupes of crafty men.'

'When I have witnessed before now, on various occasions, in the hall of State, as well as in the private room, the collection of females around some distinguished haranguer on the subject of Abolition—when I have seen these *modest* beings join in the shout of applause, and in the earnest cheer, I have thought of the descriptive language of the prophet Isaiah—'And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.' 'Only let us be called Abolitionists, and we may act the public part without disgrace or shame.' 'We may speak, write and lecture on the subject of 'equal rights,' 'political economy,' or 'national justice,' only let it be understood that these all have reference to the great question of slavery, without transcending our proper rights and duties.' This, my respected friends, is a vain and worthless plea—a weak and inapplicable excuse. Nothing, no, nothing of the kind will ever justify you in departing from the simplicity of the gospel of your Lord and Master.'

'If it is not permitted unto women to speak publicly upon the subject of religion, it verily is *no part of their right or privilege to be heard upon the subject of slavery*. If it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church upon one topic, it is no less shameful for her to raise her voice upon any other theme. And in all instances of the kind, females go counter to the established opinion of the world, and the express commands of Holy Writ. Hence they ought to be looked upon as 'busy bodies, speaking things which they ought not.'

The 'simplicity of Christ' peremptorily forbids those practices, to which we have alluded, as it does all interference in the concerns of State, on the part of the female portion of the community. It is unbecoming the dignity of the feminine class of society to importune the National Court, year after year, upon the difficult subject of slavery. Still more irreverent and unbecoming is it to threaten incessant application, until Congress shall grant the *state prayer of the misguided petitioners*, who are made up of all classes, characters and colors.

From such improprieties, may reason and good sense deliver you all. May a suitable regard to your own character and sex deter you from entering upon the inappropriate and unlawful duties of public life, or from seeking unenviable notoriety after the way and manner of some.'

On the appearance of these Sermons, that part of the world, which in a moral conflict, is amused by looking on, did not fail to observe, that different denominations had found a way of laboring *against* abolition efforts, without imagining themselves responsible for each other's religious belief.

Appearances indicated, that the political press did not intend, very vehemently, to oppose the efforts of women, in behalf of the slave, and therefore, the pro-slavery ministers, and their organs, the religious periodicals, were obliged to be doubly active. The Religious Magazine and Family Miscellany, published Mr. Winslow's sermon entire, with the following note by the editor, Professor E. A. Andrews:

'We can scarcely suppose any of our readers to have been so far removed by their situation, from the prevailing agitations of society, as not to have observed some of the causes now operating to deteriorate the female character. On a former occasion we alluded to the injurious tendency, in this respect, of the system of education pursued in many female seminaries. We might, with the same view, invite attention to the voluminous report of an Amazonian Convention recently held in New York, but for the present it may be sufficient to refer to the bustling and obtrusive applications which are now daily made in this city, by an organized company of females, to obtain signatures to memorials designed to instruct the Congress of the United States in relation to their duty. If the lady of the house, on whom these 'female brethren' call, declines to give

her name, they demand the reasons for her 'declinature,' and proceed to exercise 'the inalienable right of free discussion,' concluding their tirade with a request that the domestics be called to give their signatures. We are glad to perceive that the public are not only aware of the evil to which we have alluded, *but are waking up to the means of repressing it.* The following extract from *the Pastoral Letter of the last General Association of this State, will show the view taken of this subject by that enlightened body.* *

This gentleman had intimated, in a previous number of the Magazine, his conviction that many slaveholders were doubting the correctness of the principles, on which they had rested the defence

* What a picture of the United States is here presented to the world! ONE MILLION of wretched women at the South, lying at the absolute disposal of others, to be flogged, bought and sold, or treated with yet more dreadful indignity;—their family relations utterly set at naught;—the very suckling torn from its mother at will, the husband compelled to scourge the wife of his bosom, should caprice so dictate;—some fifty thousand other southern women ready to buckle on the armor of their brethren, to do battle for the maintenance of these heart-rending practices;—some women of the North, joined by two of their southern sisters, striving, in prayer and sacrifice, to avert God's impending Judgments, by repentance, and calling on others to repent;—and the clergymen of Massachusetts, with their religious periodicals and their Family Magazines—where are they? Giving the sanctions of Christianity to the enslavers, and 'waking up to the means of repressing' these exertions of woman for the enslaved! God be praised that noble exceptions are multiplying. Some are 'waking up,' not to shame and everlasting contempt, but to shine by turning many to righteousness.

of their system. He received a letter from a southern correspondent, of which the following is an extract :

‘ With an extensive acquaintance, and more extensive correspondence, I venture to assert, that, with the exception hereafter mentioned, *there has not been a single convert on the subject [abolitionism] in the southern States; that there is not a resident of them, religious or irreligious, who is not PERFECTLY SATISFIED WITH THE RELATION AS IT EXISTS; that there is not a single male slaveholder who is not ready to defend by force of arms his rights, nor a single FEMALE who would not BUCKLE ON THE ARMOR of her husband or brother to defend these rights.*’

‘ It is but justice to remark,’ says Professor Andrews, ‘ that the author of this letter is a gentleman of high and honorable character, distinguished even at the South, for his liberal hospitality, a humane master, and, what is far better, an active, enlightened, and we doubt not, sincere and humble Christian.’ (! ! ! !)

‘ The exception I allude to,’ continues the Professor’s southern correspondent, ‘ is the Misses Grimke. The effect of this is entirely done away by the general notoriety that exists, of the unfortunate hereditary insanity which prevails in that family.’

The Misses Grimke immediately contradicted this falsehood, in a letter for the Religious Maga-

zine, which Professor Andrews inserted with the following comment : "For our own part, we fear that the verdict of any respectable coroner's court, in view of the course pursued by these ladies for some time past, would be, as in other cases of suicide when committed by people previously respectable, 'temporary derangement.'"

As far as the pastoral letter and the subsequent action of the clergy are personal to Sarah and Angelina Grimke, every one of us is prepared to say, 'Whenever *your* names and property and reputation are thus nobly perilled, it is pleasant also to me to peril mine.'*

Happily these women waited for no man's approbation, and deprecated no man's wrath. They only sought opportunities to plead the cause of those who are appointed of man to destruction.—They discussed the subject of slavery at Amesbury with Massachusetts men who upheld it, to the great satisfaction and edification of the people there. They lectured to overflowing audiences at Boston, Lowell, Lynn, Newburyport, Andover, Worcester, Salem and fifty-two other towns; in many of them repeatedly. It was a singular situation in which they were placed—overwhelmed

*We now remember and apply the words of James Cropper, when speaking of George Thompson, he says, 'had I such power to imprint truth on the hearts of men, I should not dare to stay at home.'

with pressing invitations from the people in all parts of the State, even to the remotest counties, while they were openly reviled by the ministry.

The idea of a woman's teaching was a startling novelty even to abolitionists, but their principled and habitual reverence for the freedom of individual action, induced them to a course unusual among men; to examine before they condemned. Only a short examination was needed to convince them that the main constituents in the relation of teacher and taught, are ignorance on one side and knowledge on the other. They had been too long accustomed to hear the Bible quoted in defence of slavery, to be astonished that its authority should be claimed for the subjugation of woman the moment she should act for the enslaved.

The example and teachings of the Grimkes' wrought conviction as to the rights and consequent duties of woman in the minds of multitudes.—Prejudices and ridiculous associations of ideas vanished. False interpretations of scripture disappeared. Probably our children's children, our sons no less than our daughters, will dwell on the memory of these women, as the descendants of the bondman of to-day will cherish the name of Garrison.

Anne Hutchinson found among the ministry a Mr. Cotton who appreciated her noble purposes:—

Sarah and Angelina Grimke were not without active friends and approvers from the same class of men.* Of this number was the Rev. Henry C. Wright; a man of remarkable frankness and honesty of character. From strong opposition to abolition, he had become an advocate of the cause, and had acted for it among children, possessing a peculiar power of adaptation to their capacities.

It is singular that men who had in so many instances shown themselves of a clear-sighted and prophetic spirit, should not have foreseen that in addressing the children of pro-slavery parents with the design of implanting anti-slavery feelings, a man must of necessity lead their minds to a higher than parental authority. No less singular is it that in the attack on a system inwoven with Church and State, they should have considered a man unfitted for the work because he appealed from the decisions of both to a higher tribunal.

What are the minutia of Mr. Wright's opinions we do not distinctly understand. We only know that no man has shown himself in word or deed more faithful to the cause of the slave: and it tells unfortunately for the moral courage and christian consistency of the abolitionists, that while

*Neither were there wanting among the laity, men who like Sir Henry Vane, were not ashamed to learn of a woman.

they joyfully saw all who had powerful sects to sustain them, pleading the cause in their own way, they should have manifested intolerant feelings towards individuals who were without that support. It seemed to be forgotten, in regard to the views of Mr. Wright, that if they were *true*, they would strengthen and support his abolition principles; that if they were mere eccentricities, they would take no hold on the minds of others. That if they partook of the nature of dangerous error, there was pressing need that they should be brought to the light of truth, that they might be destroyed by her power.

They complained of want of caution and discretion; and when asked for proof they referred to heretical opinions. They complained of the narrowness of men who refused to peril favorite missionary and temperance plans, by connecting themselves with the abolition cause;—they censured the methodist body, who, falling into the error of Coke and Asbury, had required pledges of their young licentiates to touch no subjects but such as were generally acknowledged to pertain to Methodism;—and with the same breath they were frequently heard to condemn anti-slavery lecturers for touching any subject but abolition. The proslavery public arraigned them for paying their money to support the errors mingled with the

truths their agents propagated. Instead of fearlessly announcing the intention to employ such agents as they pleased, too many "began with one accord to make excuse." Instead of feeling that whosoever had pleaded the cause effectually had done it "not as unto them but unto God," too many thought that they possessed the control of an agent's life, in consideration of the sum of \$400 per annum; and were therefore responsible for every expression of his opinions.

These symptoms of intolerance, less, perhaps, the fruit of their own minds than a reflection of the minds of the opposition, were manifested not only by here and there an individual, but appeared in the shape of resolutions in two or three societies. A new society at Bangor, passed the following :

Resolved, That while we admit and maintain the rights of free and full discussion on all subjects, yet, in our judgment, individuals rejecting the authority of civil and parental governments ought not to be employed as agents and lecturers in promoting the cause of emancipation.

In excuse for this society it may be remarked, that it was within the atmosphere of a Theological Seminary.* Had the proposition been thus

* The Faculty and Professors of Theological Institutions have generally throughout the anti-slavery conflict thrown their influence against freedom.

expressed,—‘ Resolved, that in our opinion, individuals rejecting the doctrine of universal salvation ought not to be employed,’ &c. &c. it may be doubted whether it would have been so readily adopted.

This was a time of trial for the cause ; and forasmuch as ‘ every universal truth which we express in words, implies or supposes every other truth,’ under its principles it was clearly seen that others than slaves might claim shelter. Its collateral bearings had always been more odious than its direct effects. It impinged on venerated abuses at every step, notwithstanding the well meant efforts of its friends to contract it to the smallest possible compass to avoid the shock of collision. If the rays of the principles diverged, the whole land warmed and stirred under them in a manner that was appalling to those of little faith. If they were brought to a focus, they bore with scorching power on individual spots, which produced an effect equally terrific.

An instance of this was seen in the cases of the Rev. ELIPHA WHITE, a Massachusetts man who had become concerned in slaveholding ; and the Rev. G. W. BLAGDEN, whose pro-slavery course had in so many previous instances been apparent. ‘Common fame’ had pronounced him a slaveholder : but common fame, though a sufficient au-

thority for citing a layman to appear before an ecclesiastical tribunal, is hardly admitted as such by ecclesiastics, when it arraigns them before an anti-slavery public. The "divine rights" of clergymen were outraged by an enquiry repeatedly made of Mr. Blagden in the *Liberator*, respecting the fact. When, as will often happen in moral conflicts, certain men come to be considered as personifications of certain principles, if one is touched, a thousand spring to their arms. That part of the community who call themselves, par excellence, the religious public, were strongly convulsed. Many who had *imaginarily* wept with the distant slave, now felt the swell of indignant sympathy for the present oppressor.

At this critical moment, when, all minor impediments and blinding obstacles being removed by seven years of anti-slavery effort, the N. England Ministry were seen of all men, in the attitude of full communion with the southern slaveholding ministry, inviting them to their pulpits, suppressing anti-slavery notices out of regard to their feelings, requiring anti-slavery agents to await their permission to enter the "rural parishes," and extending all the sanctions of Christianity to slaveholders:—at this critical moment, it was "the hap"* of Rev. Charles Fitch, and Rev.

* See Dialogue between By-Ends and Christian : *Pilgrims Progress*.

Joseph H. Towne, (and three other clergymen but little known in the cause,) ‘to jump in their judgment’ with the greatest enemies of the cause, respecting the principles of action by which it had till then been conducted.

They privately circulated a call for a new anti-slavery organization, and issued an appeal or protest as ‘clerical abolitionists,’ which might have well been entitled, sequel to the pastoral letter; so earnestly did it deprecate the violation of pro-slavery usages; so deeply did the signers appear to feel, with the Rev. Mr. Blagden, that “the time to take a positive stand against encroachments on PASTORAL RIGHTS had fully come,” and so deeply were they wounded by the harsh language of abolitionists,* their “base, vile, lying, slanderous, ferocious attack” on Messrs. Blagden and White,† and their uncourteous, nay unchrist-

* Mr. Fitch is the author of a pamphlet, ‘Slaveholding weighed, &c.’ which, with Mr. Woodbury’s Speech on the guilt of the church and the ministry, we recommend to the perusal of the unawakened.

† In the Presbyterian General Assembly, Mr. White spoke as follows:—‘If the General Assembly have a right to assume the powers asserted in the resolutions now on the table, they may say that my Presbytery shall not hold slaves. Let them do that, sir, and their authority will be disregarded. Yes, sir, let them do it,—and, my word for it, they will find they have PRESBYTERIANS to deal with. No, sir,—my Presbytery at the South will NEVER—no, NEVER GIVE UP THEIR RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES to this Assembly, nor to any other Assembly than the “General Assembly of the First Born in Heaven.”’

ian trampling on the usages of a "brother's pulpit," by presenting there the claims of the suffering and the dumb, in the shape of anti-slavery notices. They accused abolitionists of hostility to other benevolent enterprises; and feared lest themselves, and men *like* themselves, should be driven out of the cause by such misconduct, to weep in secret places for the poor slave. In this there was nothing novel; but neither Mr. Fitch nor Mr. Towne appears to have been sufficiently well read in the earlier history of the cause.

Rev. Mr. Woodbury, of Acton, addressed to them a letter of thanks, in which he suggested the great variety of opinions entertained by other abolitionists, on other subjects, as a reason why an orthodox clergyman should 'leave off lifting.' The two appellants amended the idea by proposing that these *others* 'should go out from amongst' *them*, and accompanied the proposition with the declaration that 'the Massachusetts Society must have a new organ,' instead of using the columns of the *Liberator*.* The *New England Spectator*, once the organ of the free church, had passed under the control of Deacon Gulliver—

* The Mass. Society had, at its last anniversary, chosen to sustain this paper for the year, with the understanding that they claimed no control over the editor, Mr. Garrison, in consideration of so doing.

the Editor, Wm. S. Porter, was 'not prepared to say that the appeal (of their minister) was not needed.'

This triumvirate, which had long been employed, each according to his gifts, in stifling the outgoings and effects of the abolition spirit in the free church, strenuously labored to produce the belief, that not only the abolition members of that church, but "nine tenths" of all others were favorable to the newly-invented "clerical abolition." They were not mistaken in supposing that nine tenths of the clergymen in N. England would look favorably on the appeal:—their mistake lay in supposing that the clergymen were the representatives of the abolitionists. They knew the disposition of the Theological Institution at Andover, from which thirty-nine candidates for the ministry immediately joined them;—they *thought* they saw Mr. Birney, the new secretary of the national anti-slavery society, with one hand in that of Dr. Channing, and the other clasped by Dr. Woods, and the moment seemed to them a favorable one to devise a sort of anti-slavery-made-easy, which might supersede the difficult requisition of repentance and its fruits.—The public sympathy for trampled millions which had with so much difficulty been disengaged from the colonization and union plans, was now about

to be absorbed by a suffering clergy. If abolitionists had not been awake to the exigency, the free spirit going forth to unbind the captive, would have been seized and fettered, no more to produce "agitation" in the torpid bosom of the church.

Thanks to the vigilance and fidelity of Oliver Johnson, Amos A. Phelps, and William Lloyd Garrison, the danger is, for the present, and only for the present, averted. We refer to their able replies to the appeals, protests, and letters of this period, for further illustration of the present perils of the cause. For ourselves, we consider this 'Boston Controversy' as a mirror in which every place, where abolitionists of several years standing are to be found, may see its own state reflected.

Political partisans have failed to make a tool of the cause: church partisans can hardly hope to be more successful, unless through the unfaithfulness of abolitionists.

In laboring for the conversion of the pro-slavery party as citizens, abolitionists at first shrunk from making themselves of no reputation. It was painful and restraining to them to be called incendiaries, insurrectionists, disunionists, amalgamationists, and monomaniacs. These epithets having lost their power, the same party are now, as

church men, sounding a higher-toned tocsin. The cries of 'Sabbath-breaker,' 'peace-man,' 'woman-preacher,' 'infidel,' 'heretic,' and perhaps (if the pro-slavery spirit can be sufficiently disguised under the cloak of zeal for parental authority,) '*parricide*,' will ring so loud that the christian constancy of individuals may fail.

As the cause rolls on, sometimes one of its constituent parts will be offended, and sometimes another;—now a quaker, now a congregationalist, and anon a methodist or a baptist, will feel the galling of their respective organizations: but as they value the preservation of these instrumentalities whereby they would accomplish their day of labor for their Saviour and their brethren, let them not permit them to be abused to the service of despotism. The cause of God and entire humanity is weightier than the cause of any subdivision. 'On whomsoever this stone falls, it shall grind him to powder.'

We have glanced backward, along the church and ministerial policy of the last three years, the better to understand our position and fulfil our duty. We find that at almost every step we have taken towards the slave, our progress has been impeded by the same obstacle. As church members, we have been hindered by the ministry:—as women, we are hindered by the ministry:—as ab-

clitionists, still comes a 'clerical abolitionist,' to prevent, as far as in him lies, the vigorous prosecution of our efforts.

The question now before N. England, however veiled and disguised, is simply this; are ministers who defend slavery from scripture, and the apologists of such, worthy or not, of the confidence and support of a christian community? The question now before abolitionists is *not* what are the peculiar religious views of Mr. Garrison,—or which is most blameworthy, the 'clerical abolitionists' or the editor of the *Liberator*: the question is of vital consequence to the slave;—felt to be so through every vein and extremity. It is, 'shall we change our principles, our measures, and our instrumentalities at the suggestion of the oppressor!' 'Yes,' answer the clerical abolitionists; and the temptation which made them unfaithful, is ever at work on every heart in the cause. The merchant, who would be bold for the right every where but on 'change, or in his place of business—the editor who speaks every where but in the columns of his paper,—the woman of fashion, who denies in the drawing-room what her heart acknowledges in its secret chambers, and shrinks from signing a petition in the face of opposing friends,—the church-member who dreads division of the church,—the member of an anti-slavery

society who forgets that truth is the only ground of union, and who, dreading a division in the anti-slavery ranks, trusts to the yoke of organization, after the bonds of sympathy are sundered,—who perils the cause by admitting anything but abolition faith joined to abolition works; and who, in his compassion for a sinning brother, would remove the true old land-marks of the cause, that he may appear to be yet within its pale;—all these, if they yield, are in the spirit of ‘clerical abolitionism’ as truly as the clergyman who dreads collision with the slavish usages of his association. The only difference is, that this latter claims that his *cloth* should exempt him from remark or censure. But is his ‘customary suit of solemn black’ a more valid plea than the far-famed ‘*broadcloth*’ of Boston? He says he is the herald of Christ, and as such claims peculiar consideration: it is a dangerous step he takes when he compels a comparison between his claims and his character. No less dangerous is his position that a necessary qualification to plead the slave’s cause is church-membership, if at the same time he bids those who fearlessly maintain that cause to keep silence in the church.

As there is no royal road to mathematics, so there is no clerical road to abolition. The principles are too pure to admit of caste, even though

it were the high Braminical. A general may not file the abolitionists to the right and left, and enter at literal beat of drum, nor may a clergyman claim to be speaker as in a church meeting, by virtue of his office, nor may a woman plead her sex's pernicious privileges or pretended disabilities.

Our position, as an anti-slavery society of women, calls for special remark. It is not necessary for us, at this late day, to declare our theory with regard to the sphere of woman. It is sufficiently evident in our practice. We entreat all women, for the sake of the perishing, to examine this subject attentively, for we see that women generally, cannot become other than abolitionists in the abstract, till their sentiments respecting the rights and consequent duties of woman are the growth of their *own* minds. The women of the north will not be so cold, in a cause so ennobling and holy, when they shall have life in themselves, and walk not slavishly by permission, but freely by inward determination. And it will be so ere long. In all parts of the world are arising teachers on this subject, or rather the called of God, to suggest the idea of a truth which each mind must for itself discern—ordained of God to present a problem for every mind to work out. We refer those who wish to examine it, to the writings

of Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Harriet Martineau, Aime Martin, and to the address of James A. Thome to the women of Ohio.*

The customary Bible argument for the subjection of women is even more easily confuted than the Bible argument for slavery.

Scripture has generally been presented to woman through a distorted medium. She is fettered in body and in mind by commentators and translators and partial reasoners, but by revelation never. What is the sphere and duty of woman, it rests with each one for herself to determine; and to do this, she is aided by a revelation which it rests with each one for herself to interpret. The most absurd dogmas have been laid down for us. But dogmas lose their power from the moment we know them to be false. Made free in Christ Jesus, shall we receive the spirit of bondage again to fear?

This is no digression. It is time gained to the slave to enlarge the sphere of action of his liberators.

Women of New England! we are told of our powerful *indirect* influence; our claims on man's

* We name these writings not as authorities, but as the best aids to the examination of a subject hitherto strangely neglected; and in intimate connection with one that is beginning to arouse the land—the technically called Moral Reform question.

gallantry and *chivalry*. We would not free all the slaves of Christendom by indirection; *such* indirection. We trust to be strengthened for any sacrifices in their cause; but we may not endanger our own souls for their redemption. We may not do evil that good may come. Let our influence be open and *direct*:—such as *our* husbands and brethren will not blush to see us exercise.

Let us be so open, so truthful, so fearless and so kind hearted, as to keep free from the impending evil of an anti-slavery *cant*. It is one thing to cry, ‘Let our motto be onward in the cause of the poor slave,’ and another to make an actual advance. It was one thing to say a year since, that the church and the ministry were supporting slavery; and it will be quite another thing to stand the shock consequent upon their possible determination to support it, now that seven years’ labor begins to *tell*. It is one thing to say, let us not turn aside from the poor slave bleeding under scriptural and patriarchal lash from the hands of McDuffie and South Carolinian ministers; and another thing to cross the path of the General Association of Massachusetts as they are urged backward in fellowship with such into the thick darkness of prelatial ages, by PROFESSOR STUART and Rev. Messrs. BLAGDEN, ADAMS and WINSLOW. It is one thing to name a southern slave-

holder with open disapprobation, and another to question whether men in high standing among ourselves be slaveholders or not. It is one thing to testify loudly against slavery as far off as South Carolina, and another, quietly and kindly to tell one's own minister that until he ceases to practice against the anti-slavery cause, one cannot worship under his ministrations.

In these days of choice words and fair professions, we have been led by the notorious absence of corresponding deeds, to bestow some thoughts on phraseology. Would that every man might speak in his own tongue. The all-important use of speech is to convey meaning.* Mr. Garrison wields a powerful instrument. He sunders at a blow, what another divides by continued efforts. *He* says of men, 'they are traitors, and must be drummed out of the camp.' We say of the same men, 'they are unfaithful to the cause of the slave, and it is wrong for us to suffer it to be supposed we think them faithful.' The *idea* is identical. Power is often sacrificed in seeking for 'holiday and lady terms.' He who speaks to an unconscious people, in the moment of peril, must

* We utterly reject those forms of speech which seem to have been invented to conceal meaning. When a man says, 'I still hold the principles of the abolitionists, but abjure their errors of practice,' he means, if he means ANY thing, 'I love their principles and hate their measures.' He is an abolitionist in the abstract.

not begin like a lecturer on classical literature,—‘Ladies and gentlemen.’ He must utter the short, strong, stirring word, that turns back the flight. In a literary and critical point of view, Mr. Garrison, when the time serves, is second to no American writer. Posterity will find out, *that*, Milton, in his own day, was known only as ‘a foul-mouthed controversialist.’ We find fault with no man, because (as Ben Jonson says of Lord Bacon,) ‘his language is nobly censorious.’ We rejoice when the cold-hearted casuist apologises for oppression, to see how

‘MIND smites him, with her wing of words!’

We often hear *apologies* for Mr. Garrison’s ‘harsh language.’ It is said, ‘we must pardon something to him who first raised this standard.’ Is it of choice then, that he calls gentlemen ‘men-stealers,’ and ‘traitors?’ He has no choice—he is *bound* to do it, if such be his deliberate conviction. No office, not even the pastoral or gubernatorial, should shield a criminal from recognition as such. To say otherwise, is to recognise the divine rights of kings and priests. It is idle to prescribe the ‘Christ-like,’ in language. They comprehend but little of the infinite fulness and all-sufficiency of Christ, who do not see that the epithet Christ-like, covers every variety of expression, from rending

invective, to those words of gracious and gentle tenderness which men are wont to call womanly.

It is idle to talk of 'leaders.' In the contest of morals with abuses, men are but types of principles. Does any one seriously believe that, if Mr. Garrison should take an appealing, protesting, backward step, abolitionists would fall back with him?

It is a revealed truth, of course, therefore, a philosophical necessity, that whenever a strong voice is heard crying through the wilderness of this world for reform, the man who gives it utterance will be hated:—and all who listen and repent will be hated also, for his name's sake. Let them not strive to shake such odium. Their Savior left them the true example, when he submitted to the baptism of the bold, uncompromising John; saying, thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.

The year has been to us one of instructive experience in its bearings on the subject of religious liberty;—one so linked to civil and personal liberty, that they cannot be separated. Our Society is composed of women of every religious sect and of every shade of opinion. Thanks be to God, by whose appointment of circumstances it is we differ, the most entire toleration prevails.

We know that the cause of truth and freedom is perilled, if a single soul be cramped in the ex-

pression of opinion, or hindered in pleading the slave's cause, because his plea is tinged, (as to be of any avail it ought to be,) with the coloring of his individual mind. We should be more deeply shocked, that one holding ultra peace principles, or not thinking the Sabbath an institution binding on Christians, should be, by the other members, considered disqualified to promulgate anti-slavery principles, than if the same intolerance were practised on the representative of the most powerful sect. We shall none of us relinquish our individual religious opinions—we shall none of us assume each other's responsibilities.

Our common cause appears in a different vesture as presented by differing minds. One is striving to unbind a slave's manacles,—another to secure to all human souls their inalienable rights;—one to secure the temporal well-being, and another, the spiritual benefit of the enslaved of our land. Some labor that the benefits, which they feel that they have derived from their own system of theology, may be shared by the bondman,—others, that the bondman may have light and liberty to form a system for himself. Some that he may be enabled to hallow the Sabbath day, by rest and religious observances,—some that he may receive wages for the labor of the other six. Some are forcibly urged to the work of emancipation, by the

sight of scourged and insulted manhood, and others by the spectacle of outraged womanhood and weeping infancy. Some labor to preserve from torture the slave's body, and some for the salvation of his soul. Here are differences; nevertheless, our hopes and our hearts are one.

The business of the anti-slavery societies, has been to erect platforms, from which those who felt moved to do so, might preach deliverance. For ourselves, we shall never assume their personal responsibilities. As long as they preach deliverance, we will sustain them to do it, though they offend Unitarians, by speaking in the name of a triune God, Presbyterians by non-conformity in the matter of 'fate and free will,' or all the rest of the world, by non-conformity in general. The support which this consistent adherence to the *principles* of Christian freedom, gives to the *cause* of Christian freedom, is greater than any which can be afforded by gold, silver or majorities. No one can much advance the cause, who has not mental perspective enough, to present what is common and questionable among all sects, as the foreground.

We may be permitted to quote a passage from our report of three years since :

' We pray that this question may fulfil a perfect work in every soul it reaches; that it may remain a

searching question ;—that the numerous unpopular questions with which it is connected, may continually come up with it as it is borne onward ; so that up to the final triumph, the act of joining an anti-slavery association may be, as it has hitherto proved, a *test act*.’

But joining an anti-slavery society is no longer a perfect test act. Many have joined them, to whom sympathy in sectarian doctrines, is more necessary, than sympathy in confessedly indivisible principles. ‘Happy is he,’ says Carlyle, ‘who, when a symbol loses its significancy, knows how to substitute another in its place.’ The test in New England, for the present moment is, What think you of ‘Clerical Abolitionism?’

The proper—the only antidote to slavery is freedom. The work is doing in every heart. The spirit of God is striving mightily with this people. Men are blindly praying for revivals, at the moment that they are resisting and grieving it away. ‘Have I been so long time with thee and yet hast thou not known me, Philip?’ None but the free can unbind the fettered. Up to the very accomplishment of our purpose, the struggle will be as it has ever been, for freedom to use existing instrumentalities ;—such as the treasures of language, both spoken and printed, the moral power of association, the labors of woman :—for freedom to remove obstacles ;—such as Colonization, American Union, and ‘Clerical Abolition.’

We have marked the progress of the cause, amid the perils it has had to encounter, during the year 1837, with intense watchfulness, that no opportunity might escape us of aiding it by word or deed. This 'watching unto prayer,' we regard as a more imperative duty than any other, because a preparatory one.

At the beginning of the year, we subscribed for fifty copies of the *Liberator*, which have been circulated in towns, where the principles of freedom had hardly been discussed. Their effect will be best shown by reference to the appendix: * one assurance among the many we have received, of the power of truth plainly expressed, and of facts forcibly stated. We trust it will be in our power, the coming year, to circulate the *Liberator* more extensively. After one of Mr. Stanton's eloquent addresses, before our Society, we raised \$100 to aid the operations of the National Society; lamenting the smallness of the sum.

The duty of petitioning has been a laborious one. Our address and forms of petition have been thoroughly circulated in Massachusetts, and extensively throughout New England. † Forty-five thousand signatures of women, against the annexation of Texas, have, to our knowledge been transmitted to Congress; and as many more will be thrown in, the coming session, for

* See Appendix I.

† See Appendix II.

the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is thought that this number by no means includes all that have been forwarded. We feel that we may confidently affirm, that no woman of Massachusetts will cease to exercise for the slave, the right of petition, (her only means of manifesting her civil existence,) for which Mr. Adams has so nobly contended.* Massachusetts women will not forget in their petitions to Heaven, the name of him who upheld their prayer for the enslaved of earth, in the midst of sneers and wrath, bidding oppressors remember that *they* too were woman-born, and declaring that he considered the wives, and mothers, and daughters of his electors, as also his constituents.

What immediate effect would be produced on men's hearts, and how much they might be moved to wrath before they were touched with repentance, we have never been careful to enquire. We leave such cares with GOD: we do so, with confidence in his paternal providence, for what we have done is right and womanly.

In raising funds we have been aided by many societies in different parts of the State. May we be so faithful, self-denying and diligent and judicious that they shall never repent of having made us their stewards. We reckon in the funds of

* See Appendix III.

this year \$600, the product of a sale of useful articles of our own and our friends' manufacture.— Much has heretofore been said against Ladies' Fairs, by those who are justly displeased at the manner in which they are sometimes conducted. All the objections we have heard, respect improprieties of management, and therefore may be obviated. Surely if merchants and traders may buy and sell for their own benefit, we may buy and sell for the benefit of the slave. A Fair is not a *malum in se*, unless the same can be proved of the acts of sale and purchase. We propose, during Christmas week, again to have recourse to this means of raising money, as it is the most effectual means we can command. We do so the more readily, as it has been at the same time, a means of exciting and increasing a general interest in the minds of our friends. We have received from friends in Scotland, England and Ireland, thoughtful and affectionate proofs that they have us and our cause in continual remembrance. In behalf of the slave we thank them for their zealous co-operation and sympathy. We are united to them, by the firmest of all ties—those which bind christians to the accomplishment of a righteous purpose.— How much do we not owe them—these tried friends of our father-land, for their active exertions and their ardent prayers. We hope the time

is not far distant when he who has already so faithfully represented them in America, our beloved friend George Thompson, will again visit it, and be received, not as before, in a manner we would fain forget, but with the blessings and the thanks of repentant multitudes.

The cause has received immense accessions of numbers. Among the perils of the slave may now be counted perils among false brethren. If we labor not with more and more diligence and fervor, and sympathetic and unalterable constancy, the cause will degenerate under our eyes, from a principle into an institution—from a feeling into a creed—from a social worship of the God of righteous mercy, into a decent adhesion to an anti-slavery society. We must not for a moment see freedom wounded in the house of her friends, without raising a voice of earnest remonstrance. No idea of expediency should seal our lips. It is the TRUTH which is mighty. It is the only light; let us hold it up then, and though we lack skill and logic and the training of the schools, it will, notwithstanding, prevail.

When clergymen plead usage and immemorial custom in favor of unutterable wrong, and bid us keep silence for courtesy, and put the enginery of church organization in play as a hindrance to our cause, and not as a help, our situation calls for far

more strenuous exertion than when, in 1835, the freedom of the women of Boston was vilely bartered away in the merchant-thronged street. Our situation is as much more perilous now, as spiritual is more dreadful than temporal outrage. We have no means to strengthen and nourish our spirits but by entertaining and obeying the FREE spirit of God. Its influences are like the manna of the Hebrew sojourners in the wilderness; and may not be husbanded like earthly sustenance.

Finally, dear friends, co-workers with us for the freedom of three millions—a generation—in bondage, with their innumerable posterity!—let us keep our own hearts with all diligence, for out of *them* are the issues of freedom and of life. As yet, our judgment is unimpaired by hopes of the favor, and our resolution undamped by the fear of the host who oppose us. As yet, our hearts are not darkened by the shadow of unkindness. We listen to clerical appeals and religious magazines and the voices of an associated clergy, as though we heard them not, so full on the ear of every daughter among us, falls the cry of the fatherless and those who have none to help them,—so full in every motherly heart and eye rises the image of one pining in captivity, who cannot be comforted because her children are not.

During the review of the past year, how constantly have we felt that our cause is now hallowed by the remembrance of the dead. We have lost the visible presence of one for a double portion of whose spirit we fervently pray. May the manner of her life and of her serene departure be to us a continual admonition. For her beautiful example of truthfulness and love, of moral independence and lofty principle, of strenuous and unremitting exertion and Christian humility, 'we know how much we have to answer for to God.' We may not *always* penetrate the cloud and darkness that surrounds the councils of the Almighty and All-wise; but *here*, the eye of christian faith enables us to discern that 'having in a short time fulfilled a long time, her soul pleased the Lord, *wherefore* hastened he to take her away.'*

Boston, October 25, 1837.

* See Appendix IV.

NOTE TO PAGE 15.—The information relative to the form of organization of the Free Church, may be found in the N. E. Spectator; at that time the organ of the Free Church.

The Abolition Meeting respecting a free building, took place a short time previous to the organization.

**OFFICERS OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-
SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR 1837--8.**

President.

MARY S. PARKER.

Vice President.

CATHERINE M. SULLIVAN.

Recording Secretary.

MARTHA V. BALL.

Treasurer.

LUCY M. BALL.

Foreign Cor. Secretary.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

Domestic Cor. Secretary.

ANNE WARREN WESTON.

Counsellors.

T. SOUTHWICK,	EUNICE DAVIS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	MARY G. CHAPMAN,
SOPHIA ROBINSON,	CAROLINE WESTON.

**Anti-Slavery Societies of Women in Mass., with the
Names of their Secretaries.**

- Amesbury and Salisbury.* Miss Betsey Linscott.
Andover. Mrs. Susan Johnson.
Ashburnham. Mrs. Gilman Jones.
Athol. A. M. Hoyt.
Boston. Miss Anne Warren Weston.
Boxborough. Mrs. Ebenezer Hayward.
Bridgewater.
Cambridgeport. Mrs. M. Chamberlain.
Danvers. Mrs. Isaac Winslow.
Dorchester. Miss Sarah Baker.
East Bradford. Miss Ellen B. Ladd.
Fall River. Miss Sarah G. Buffum.
Fitchburgh. Mrs. Eliza Gill.
Franklin. Elizabeth Pond.
Groton. Miss Elizabeth Farnsworth.
Haverhill. Miss Harriet Minot.
Hingham. Mrs. Edward Thaxter.
Lowell. Mrs. George Mansfield.
Lynn. Miss Abby Kelley.
Millville—Mendon P. O. Miss Abby Pitts.
Newburyport. Miss H. S. Stickney.
New Bedford. Miss Elizabeth C. Taber.
North Leicester. Eliza Earle.
Plymouth.
Reading. Mrs. Lydia P. T. Bancroft.
Roxbury. Mrs. John Jones.
Salem. Miss L. L. Dodge.
South Reading. Miss M. A. Avery.
South Weymouth. Mrs. Eliza T. Lord.
Sudbury. Miss Mary Rice.
Uxbridge. Miss S. Judson.
Weymouth and Braintree. Mrs. H. C. Fifield.

APPENDIX.

I.

———, Sept. 30th, 1837.

My dear friends of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society :

I shall ever feel grateful to you all, for the blessed aid you have given us in the anti-slavery cause, by sending those five copies of the Liberator. It is evident they have been doing good in this place. One young man—the very corner stone of influence among the young men of the church and Sabbath school, has acknowledged that Garrison's answers to the 'Clerical Appeal,' and especially to Woodbury, has satisfied him of the righteousness of our cause, and he declares that henceforth he will sustain us at all hazards. So great is the fear of the pro-slavery part of the people, that our minister preaches against us on the Sabbath; and on the tenth of this month, he employed ———, of ———, who preached against us, on account of the division anti-slavery was making in the church in this place; and he even directed us 'to WAIVE what we considered to be TRUTH AND DUTY, in order to keep peace in the church;' but these false arguments are met in the conference, when our good anti-slavery young

men lead ; and my husband told our minister a day or two since, that they might preach him down as much as they pleased in the desk, but, he would sustain himself out of doors, till the cloud disappeared and the *sun*, and not here and there a flash of lightning, enlightened the world.

The Misses Grimke, (God speed them,) did us much good, by making our barn a Temple of free discussion, and of Christian principles.

I shall have a little money for you, to remunerate you in part for what you have done for us ; go forward my dear sisters ! regard not ' black cloth or broadcloth,' but honor all who wear plain truth, as their garments, and you will have husbands* of hon-

* Alluding to the petition to Congress, of ladies of Halifax, Va. ' that the northern ladies, who petition for abolition might be provided with husbands at the public expense.' (!!!) The following is a resolution of the husbands and fathers of Bristol County, Mass., from which went 3000 women's signatures against the annexation of Texas, and 2800 for abolition in the District.

' Resolved, That we are gratified at the interest in the *domestic relations of women*, recently manifested by ' ladies of Halifax County, Va.' in their petition to Congress, ' to provide certain of their sisters at the North with suitable husbands at the public expense ; ' and that while we protest against the man-jobbing aspect of their proposition as unwomanly, inhuman and heathenish, we still hope that their interest in the subject will not cease, until the thousands of sisters in their midst, (whose entire domestic relations are, by law and custom, trampled in the dust, without even the poor right of prayer for relief,) shall be welcomed to the rank and rights of womanhood, and the hand of female violence, that now so often plunders them of husband and children alike, and glories in its shame, shall be cheerfully extended to protect and defend the hearts and the hearths it now so inhumanly and wantonly desolates.

Resolved, That woman, when she pleads for the oppressed, and labors to meliorate and relieve their condition, acts worthy of herself, and of her high duties as an intellectual, moral and accountable being.'

The following resolutions were passed by the Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society.

or, with whom, after gathering in the household harvest of righteousness, you will set down at the thanksgiving feast of equal rights, produced by free labor, and seasoned with love and good will to all mankind. I am your friend,

In the bonds of sympathy,
H———— N————.

II.

Address of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society to the Women of New England.

The true descendants of the pilgrims cannot fail to cherish in their inmost souls, the principles of Christian Freedom:—the children of the far-sighted founders of New England cannot fail to perceive that while, under any pretence, one human being is held in slavery in a nation of which they form a part, their own freedom is in peril. Every dictate, therefore, of Christian philanthropy and self preservation, is, to strive for the extinction of slavery.

Who have power to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and to prevent its further progress by forbidding the introduction of slaveholding Texas? Our northern senators and representatives, who form

‘Resolved, That the praiseworthy zeal and self sacrificing spirit manifested by women in the cause of abolition, have essentially aided in its promotion and are worthy of the highest commendation.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the efforts made to arrest the philanthropic exertions of woman in the cause of abolition, by raising a cry respecting the ‘appropriate sphere of women,’ we have the utmost confidence in their unwavering adherence to principle, and believe they will not be deterred from continued exertion by such attempts.’

a majority in Congress. Why do they not use this power? Because they are not sure that it would meet the wishes of their constituents. Who are their constituents? You: women of the North! You, with your husbands and brethren, are their constituents. Remember that the *representation of our country is based on the numbers of the population, irrespective of sex.* Let us not forget that our representatives are *now* borne down by southern violence, and require our utmost aid to enable them to act according to their consciences. What then will be their condition under the increase of violence, and the multiplication of arrogant demands, which must grow out of such an accession of power to the South, as the annexation of a slaveholding territory large enough to constitute five slave States, each as large as Kentucky? In vain is it said, this is nothing to us. Have we not a COUNTRY, and is she not dishonored before all the nations, by her inconsistency and shameless violation of faith, in refusing for 30 years, to acknowledge the independence of Hayti with its 900,000 of inhabitants, and its extensive commercial relations, while she sends a vile and refuse population of only 30,000 to take possession of Texas—aids them with arms and troops to revolt against Mexico, acknowledges them to be an independent people—and is preparing at an extra session of Congress, to annex them to herself, that she may increase her profits in SLAVES? Is it nothing to us that Mexico and the Indian tribes should unite against our country's aggressions?—that our husbands and our sons should be drafted from our household-floors, to encounter the storm of fire and blood that will sweep along the south-western border? Is it nothing to us if the north,—called on by those in Congress, who will *then* have the power and the disposition to use it, at once to defend them and to OBEY,

should dissolve the national connexion? Is it nothing to us, if, amid the wreck of States—*United* no more, brother should battle against brother and friend against friend? *Our* brothers—*our* friends? And is it indeed nothing to *us* that the scourged and trampled negro, A SLAVE NO MORE, should take advantage of the crisis to make *his* being felt, and rise to the shedding of blood on every southern threshold!

However ignorant, thoughtless, or negligent others may be—and though we may eventually be obliged to mourn over their negligence in desolation and ashes,—let us free our souls from self reproach: let it sink deep into our hearts, that the unutterable destruction that sooner or later awaits our country, unless slavery be abolished, is as certain as that God judges and punishes nations, in this world, according to their evil deeds.

While this truth is warm in our souls, let us reflect that *conduct* is the test of sincerity, and that we are upholding slavery *in the most effectual manner*, if we keep silence when an opportunity offers of lifting up our voices against it. Sustaining, as we do, all the relations of womanhood, we cannot but be shocked at a system which debases woman to a brute, by making her an article of property, keeping her in ignorance and heathenism, buying, selling, scourging and dividing her from children and friends at will. But if we are not enough shocked at its existence to pray both secretly and *publicly*, of God and man for its extinction, we are partakers of the sin; and may God forgive our hypocrisy, and humanize our hearts!

Let us now resolve to cast aside all the temptations of indolence and selfishness;—to deem it a dignifying privilege to redeem our leisure hours from frivolity, by laboring with unremitting constancy to unite

the hearts and voices of others with our own, for the immediate abolition of all slavery over which Congress possesses jurisdiction. Let us count it but a small thing to toil thus voluntarily through the dusty summer, knowing there are in our country, hundreds of thousands among those who are scourged to unrequited toil, who would 'count it joy enough to perish, being free' We are not idly spending our strength for nought. It is for the honor of our country! for the welfare of our children, and their remotest posterity; that their inheritance of civil and religious liberty be not vilely cast away! It is for millions of our enslaved countrymen, and for the bondmen of all future generations! It is for the fundamental principles of Christianity, wherein lies our salvation.

One single hour devoted to the consideration of this subject, will show its mighty tendencies through all time—will demonstrate that the present moment is giving its coloring to the far eternity!

In view of this crisis, unparalleled in the world's moral existence, let us go up, in the spirit, into the councils of the nation, and ask in the name of God and the human race, for the freedom of the 7000 in the District of Columbia, and for a strenuous effort to avert the wrath gathering against that day of wrath which shall witness the annexation of Texas.

Let every woman into whose hands this page falls, INSTANTLY, (for the work must be done before the extra September session,) prepare rolls of paper, and attach one to each of the annexed forms of petition; and with pen and ink-horn in hand; and armed with affectionate, but unconquerable determination, go from door to door, 'among her own people,' that every one of them may have an opportunity of affixing her name to these four memorials:—and the

benediction of God and good men, and the grateful intercessions of the enslaved and desolate, be round about every such tried friend of humanity, in its extremest need!

By order of the Society,

MARY S. PARKER, *President.*

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, *Sec'y.*

June, 1837.

Forms of Petition and Remonstrance to the Congress of 1837.

The undersigned, women of deeply convinced of the sinfulness of Slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, do most earnestly petition your honorable body, immediately to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and also to put an end to the slave-trade in the United States.

We also respectfully announce our intention, to present the same petition, yearly, before your honorable body, that it may at least be a 'memorial of us,' that in the holy cause of Human Freedom, 'We have done what we could.'

The undersigned, women of thoroughly aware of the sinfulness of Slavery, and the consequent impolicy and disastrous tendency of its extension in our country, do most respectfully REMONSTRATE, with all our souls, against the annexation of Texas to the United States as a slaveholding territory.

The following will show the manner in which our petitions are at present treated in the United States Congress:—

Scene in the House of Representatives on the Presentation of a Petition for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade at the Seat of Government.
—From the National Intelligencer of January 9, 1837.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, said, he would have the honor of presenting to the house the petition of 228 women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents; and as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading the petition. It was not long, and would not consume much time.

Mr. Glascock objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr. A proceeded to read, that the petitioners, inhabitants of South Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress—

Mr. Pinckney rose to a question of order. Had the gentleman from Massachusetts a right, under rule, to read the petition?

The Speaker said, the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a statement of the contents of the petition.

Mr. Pinckney desired the decision of the Speaker as to whether a gentleman had a right to read a petition.

Mr. Adams said, he was reading the petition as a part of his speech, and he took this to be one of the privileges of a member of the house. It was a privilege which he would exercise till he should be deprived of it by some positive act.

The Speaker repeated that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a brief statement

of the contents of the petition. It was not for the Speaker to decide whether that brief statement should be made in the gentleman's own language, or whether he should look over the petition, and take his statement from that.

Mr. Adams—At the time my friend from South Carolina——

The Speaker said, the gentleman must proceed to state the contents of the petition.

Mr. Adams.—I am doing so, sir.

The Speaker.—Not in the opinion of the chair.

Mr. Adams.—I was at this point of the petition—
'Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatever'——

Loud cries of 'Order, order.'

Mr. A. proceeded.—'Do most earnestly petition your honorable body'——

Mr. Chambers of Kentucky rose to a point of order.

Mr. A. proceeded.—'Immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia,'——

Mr. Chambers reiterated his call to order, and the Speaker told Mr. Adams to take his seat.

Mr. A. proceeded (with great rapidity of enunciation, and in a very loud tone of voice.)—'And to declare every human being free who sets foot upon its soil.'

Mr. Chambers insisted on his point of order, and the Speaker again, with great earnestness of manner, told the gentleman from Massachusetts to take his seat.

Whereupon Mr. A. yielded the floor.

[The confusion in the Hall at this time was so great that scarcely a word could be heard by the reporters.]

The Speaker presented, in writing, the substance of his decision, that it was not in order for a member to read the whole petition if objected to, but that he had only the right to make a 'brief statement of the contents thereof.'

Mr. Adams said, he proposed to withdraw his appeal, in order to save the time of the House, if the gentleman from Kentucky would permit him to complete his 'brief statement of the contents' of the petition. It was indeed so brief, that to read the petition in its own language was the briefest statement that could be made.

Mr. A. then read from the petition, that the petitioners 'respectfully announced their intention to present the same petition yearly before this honorable body, that it might at least be a memorial in the holy cause of human freedom, that they had done what they could.'

These words were read amidst tumultuous cries for order from every part of the House. And order having at length been restored,

Mr. Adams withdrew his appeal.

We would particularly direct the attention of every woman, whose eye this page reaches, to the District of Columbia, containing 7000 slaves, besides being a great depot. Packets, fitted up as slave-ships, sail regularly from thence to New Orleans, the great slave-market of the far South-west, from whence they are transferred to the sugar plantations, where their average life is seven years. It is good *slaveholding economy* to work and starve them to death in that time.

The regular dealers in the District are LICENSED BY OUR GENERAL GOVERNMENT. The following, ex-

tracted from a conversation between one of our members and a woman of color, will help to show WHAT IT IS that they are LICENSED TO DO.

'Oh if I could only get my child! She is 14 years old now if alive. When I was sold to New Orleans, I was sixteen. My master let me carry her to the wagon that was waiting for me, a quarter of a mile down,—then he took her, poor little thing, only a year old, off my arm, and Woolfolk drove me off to his prison. I have had three children since, but nothing can make up for that one. I was six weeks there, and oh, the dreadful life it was. We were made to be very still, and the men ironed up at night. Woolfolk did'nt like, I think, to go down amongst them himself, but always, while I was there, he sent an old woman, Mrs. Green, and she would go down amongst them, with her apron full of irons, and do it. The men would bear it better of her. The nights were the worst—hot and crowded, and not a sound allowed. I have seen the mothers seize their little children by the throat and almost strangle them, for when a child cries in the night they flog the mother in the morning before all the men—they never mind that. One poor fellow turned his head away not to see such a disgraceful sight—they flogged him well, for his *insolence*, they said. Could'nt he look at what they did? they would teach him. Sometime before I went there, one of the women told me a man tried to escape. He got out at a high window and let himself drop into the yard; but the walls were high—he sprung up and fell back—Woolfolk *harked* the dogs on him—they dragged him limb from limb about the yard. My husband used to come to see me whenever he could. Sometimes he got a chance, sometimes not, but never near enough to talk. I saw him in the house, before we

went on board the vessel. Woolfolk hoped I should persuade him to go off with us, for he was a first rate blacksmith and would sell very high in N. Orleans; so he brought him in, and set a chair for us both, and left the room. Though we had so much to say, and had'nt talked together for so long, we could'nt find one word. He cried, but I could'nt. At last I told him not to go, but get back to his master before he was missed. Woolfolk gave us all a dollar, big and little, (he always does every one he sells,) and we were crowded on board. Suffering enough; but I won't stop—we got to N. Orleans at last, and when we got out on the wharf there, I fell down. There I lay, I could'nt get up—if I had strength, I had'nt the heart; I wished I might die. A man came along and bought me. Come, says he, I'm from the North, and don't like this business altogether, any more than you do; get up and do your best, and I'll give you your freedom some time or other. The very word seemed to bring me to. I did cooking and washing at his farm-like kind of place, some way from the city a long time, and he kept his promise. But my poor child! I heard Burditt Washington praying and begging to the meeting at Congress Hall, for money to buy his children. *I thought if I was only a man*, to get up and beg for mine! but a woman has'nt half the chance.'

True, poor oppressed one! We, too, in many things, 'are in bonds as bound with you!' But thanks (under God) to John Quincy Adams, *we CAN* rise and plead unceasingly for your child.

III.

We have this year received communications most grateful and encouraging to our hearts, and assistance in raising funds, from ladies of Liverpool, Manchester and Darlington, Eng.,—from ladies of Glasgow, Scotland,—from Ladies' Juvenile Association in the vicinity of Dublin, Ireland. We subjoin such of them as have not before been presented to the different N. E. societies through the medium of the Liberator. To these dear friends all our hearts reply as one—'I thank my God upon every remembrance of you.'

To the Members of the New England Ladies Anti-slavery Societies.

DEAR FRIENDS,—As members of a small association formed in this town, to promote the education of the negroes in our colonies, we wish to assure you of the deep interest we feel in your much more arduous labor of love, as regards your colored population, both free and in bondage.

We have received with much sympathy the accounts which from time to time have reached us of the opposition and persecution which you have experienced. Yet we trust none of these things will discourage you in your great work ; but that, whilst you see the necessity of continued prudence, and caution, and wisdom in all your exertions, you will nevertheless be enabled to go forward with increasing zeal in the cause of suffering humanity,—remembering that, as all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution, so all who will arise to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed, and to seek justice for those who cannot seek it for themselves,

shall expose themselves to opposition, calumny, and misrepresentation,—but this is the badge of discipleship, and we trust it will not cast you down.

We heartily congratulate you on the rapid and amazing progress which your cause has recently made in the United States generally. We hear of fresh societies springing up in almost every direction, with a zeal and energy which we trust are excited by the Author of all good and will be crowned with his blessing.

We would also encourage you by the result of that long and arduous struggle, which the friends of humanity in this country sustained for the rights of the negroes in our colonies. A result, which (though it has not embraced in its measures all they could have wished) has abolished slavery entirely in some of the islands, and which, if the regulations of this government are carried into effect as we trust they will be, will soon prove its extinction in the whole of the British possessions.

The difficulties you have to contend with are indeed much greater than were ours. Yet the same Omnipotent hand, which, in the one instance, was stretched out for the deliverance of the oppressed, can overthrow for you every barrier, and accomplish his purposes of love and mercy, in answer to the prayers of his believing people.

Above all we would desire to encourage you in your endeavors to raise the religious and moral condition of your free colored people, and may the God of all grace give you to see the reward of your labors, in the improved state of public feeling regarding *them*, and in the removal of that galling yoke of bondage which embitters the lives of so vast a number in your Southern states.

With warmest desires that the blessing of God may rest on all your labors and crown them with

success, we would bid you take courage, and trust in him. In behalf of the Liverpool Ladies' Negroes Friend Society.

ANNE CROPPER, *Secretary.*

Liverpool, April 4th, 1837.

—
Glasgow, 7th Month 22d 1837.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Herewith thou wilt receive fifty copies of the third Annual Report of the 'Glasgow Emancipation Society,' and fifty of the Report of the 'Ladies Auxiliary.' By the latter thou wilt see that the communications from the Ladies of New England, have been received and duly appreciated, and that we have taken great liberty with 'Right and Wrong in Boston;' indeed we wished, in advocating the cause of the American slave, and the American anti-slavery Societies, to allow our friends there to speak for themselves; knowing that nothing we could say could have so much weight. It is with great interest we read and circulate all the information we can obtain of your movements, and the progress of the cause generally,—and are from time to time filled with gratitude and astonishment at the amazing rapidity with which it advances.

We have been indescribably shocked and grieved at the horrid disclosures recently made by Joseph Sturge and others, of the cruelties still inflicted on our own fellow subjects in the West Indies; and are determined to rest no longer till the system of apprenticeship is abolished, and slavery forever banished both in name and reality from the British Dominions.

We have great hopes in the tender mercies of our young Queen, and are preparing petitions to her to

confer immediate and unconditional freedom upon all her subjects.*

We intended to have prepared a box of work and sent it towards the end of the year,—but understanding you were to have a sale or fair sometime in autumn, and wishing to appear at it, (however humbly,) we have hastily collected a few articles,—and hope shortly to forward another box of something of the same kind to another society. As those now sent have been mostly prepared within three or four days and some of them the contributions of children, they are perhaps neither so suitable for packing to send such a distance, nor so valuable as we could have wished.

The portrait of George Thompson is far from being what it should be, but as it bears some resemblance we send it. The painting was very good but

* The following will show with how much energy this idea was acted upon.

LADIES' PETITION TO THE QUEEN.

‘ We are informed that the signatures to this petition in England, amount to 400,000! We have no doubt the number from Scotland will be as great, *in proportion to the population*, if not even greater. We are unable to state the aggregate, as yet, of the signatures received by the ladies of Edinburgh, to their petition. Neither can we announce the total number appended to that from the Ladies of Glasgow. We know, however, that upwards of *twenty thousand* females have subscribed it within the city; while thousands of signatures are daily pouring in from the surrounding country.

In the year 1833, when Mr. Buxton presented the last Ladies' petition, subscribed by only 187,000, *four porters*, if we mistake not, assisted the honorable gentleman to carry it into the house of commons. When completed, therefore, we may safely predict, that this will, as the petition of the females of the United Kingdom, be altogether unparalleled for size, in the history of petitioning. The heart of our young Queen, it is to be hoped, will be impressed by its prayer on behalf of the suffering Negroes. Who knows but our amiable Sovereign *may* be ‘ come to the Kingdom for *such* a time as this ? ’

Glasgow Chronicle.

the expression was spoiled in the printing,—perhaps we may be able to send a better likeness before long.

A large edition of A. E. Grimke's appeal with an Introduction by George Thompson has been printed and extensively spread; it is the best for its size, on the subject, I have met with. I cannot understand why 'Friends' should keep in the back ground in this cause in America now-a-days. Here, they are everywhere first among the foremost,—and I never heard one of them here find any fault with the writings or proceedings of the American abolitionists. I expect this will be favored to New York by James McCune Smith who hopes to obtain his passage home in the cabin of the New York,—having been more than once rejected on account of his complexion,—by a letter in the appendix to the G. E. S.'s report thou wilt see the estimation in which he is held here. I trust he will enter the abolition ranks at home never to desert till victory is won. Hoping to have occasion to address thee again soon, I now conclude with an assurance that any communication from thee or any of thy esteemed associates will be most acceptable to the members of the society in whose behalf I write, and remain with affectionate esteem thy friend.

JANE SMEAL, JR.

From the Seapoint Ladies Juvenile Association, Auxiliary to the 'Hibernian Negro's Friend Society,' to the American Ladies, united with them in the hallowed cause of justice and humanity.

DEAR SISTERS: It is with feelings of thankfulness that we now address you, and esteem it a peculiar privilege, that we are permitted to take a part in the great work of Negro Emancipation.

You will, we are sure, be happy to hear that on the 19th of this month, we formed a 'Ladies' Juvenile

Association,' Auxiliary to the 'Hibernian Negro's Friend Society,' assisted by George Thompson, that able and zealous advocate of the enslaved African.

Though we are at present a small and youthful band, we trust that our prayers and efforts may be blessed, and that the little stream of our endeavors in so merciful a cause, may in its course, continue to increase, till, from a great river, it shall become a mighty sea, by which Freedom and Gospel light, shall be conveyed to the fettered Slave. We rejoice to hear of your unwearied patience and perseverance on behalf of the poor Negroes; we sympathise with you, and earnestly desire that by the aid of the mighty 'you may leap over the walls' of opposition which surround you, and we would encourage you to a continuance in your benevolent exertions.

We assuredly believe that the unceasing endeavors of our dear friend George Thompson, will not be in vain, but should he not be permitted to see the full fruit of his labors, we trust that the feelings of sympathy and compassion which he has sown in our hearts, may take root and increase, to the glory of Him in whose sight the soul of the Slave is as precious as that of his enslaver.

Dear Sisters, we have little to give, but we are willing not only to devote a portion of our time to work for those, whose cries, we believe, have reached the ears of the 'Lord of Sabaoth,' but we will joyfully deny ourselves those indulgences, which, when ignorant of the degraded state of the wretched African, we did not consider wrong.

We feel ashamed to acknowledge that until now, we were unacquainted with his real condition, not only in America, but in our own Colonies. Our feelings are now aroused, our sympathies awakened, and we long for the day when 'the bonds of the af-

flicted shall be broken; and when both the Oppressor and the Oppressed shall, through Divine Grace, unite in praise to that Redeemer, who came on earth 'to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.'

United in one common cause and in the bonds of Gospel love, we, for the present, affectionately bid you farewell.

Signed on behalf of the Association.

JULIA JACOB, *President.*

DOROTHEA JACOB, *Cor. Sec.*

(Septem'r) 9th mo. 5th, 1837.

IV.

[From the *Liberator*.]

Died, in this city, Miss Ann Greene Chapman, daughter of Henry Chapman, merchant, aged 35 years.

Among the great multitude of intrepid and virtuous maids and matrons, who have espoused the anti-slavery cause in this country, with a sympathy which is commensurate with human wo, a zeal which burns with quenchless ardor, a courage which outfaces all dangers, an endurance which is proof against every shaft of ridicule and scorn, and a benevolence which finds replenishment in ceaseless distribution, no one could have been taken from our ranks of greater loveliness and worth, nor scarcely any one of more real devotedness and service to this 'holy enterprise,' than our deceased friend. In her character, all the elements of goodness seemed to combine in rare and beautiful proportion. In doing

good, she was instant in season and out of season, without ostentation, and with Christ-like compassion and tenderness. In gentleness and energy of spirit—in steadfastness of purpose, in clearness of apprehension, in maturity of judgment, in activity of zeal, and in strength of principle, she was conspicuous among her sex. As a member of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, she contributed largely toward that reputation for moral intrepidity and generous aid which it has so extensively acquired, both in this country and in England. It was her privilege and joy to be one of those heroic women, who were so basely assailed by the mob of ‘gentlemen of property and standing,’ in this city, on the memorable 21st of October, 1835. On that trying occasion, she displayed a noble contempt of danger, a placid front, and an unflinching trust in God.

We have been permitted to copy the following extract from her Will, which she made a short time before her death, and which beautifully exhibits the temper of her pure mind, and her regard for the anti-slavery cause.

‘On the 1st of February, 1837, I, Ann G. Chapman, of Boston, feeling myself clear in mind, sound in judgment, and in good health, do make my last Will and Testament.

Whilst I live, I have solemnly devoted myself to the cause of Truth, Justice, Freedom; and dying, I would yet bless it, in its onward course.

Believing that the American Anti-Slavery Society is most beneficial to the slave, and is advancing rapidly the coming of Christ’s kingdom, I leave to its Treasurer, Mr. John Rankin, or his successor in that office, the sum of one thousand dollars for the use of the Society.

To the Samaritan Asylum, one hundred dollars.

To the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, one hundred dollars.

I trust that when the hour of death comes, my mind will be, as it is now, convinced that the way to serve God, and secure his favor, is by making the cause of his oppressed children my cause. And then I shall not have lived in vain.'

The following tribute to the memory of Miss Chapman is from the pen of Mrs. Child :

On Friday, the 24th of March, ANN G. CHAPMAN, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry Chapman of Chauncey Place, bade farewell to this world of shadows ; or rather, to use her own quiet expression of Christian faith, she ' went home to a good Father.'

In her, the Female Anti-Slavery Society has lost one of its brightest ornaments and dearest friends. The remarkable serenity of her character was not so much the result of temperament as of principle.— She had all those generous and quick susceptibilities that belong to the most delicate construction of mind ; but, instead of concentrating them upon herself, they flowed forth, a perpetual fountain of love to the whole human family. She had in a remarkable degree those clear and comprehensive perceptions of duty, which are at once the result and evidence of great purity of heart and tenderness of conscience. Though educated in a sphere of society that often tends to narrow the sympathies, and fetter the spirit with conventional forms, she loved to minister to all of God's creatures, and was gently firm in her opposition to all systems, theories, and customs, that tended to trample them in the dust.

In the Songs of the Free, there is a beautiful hymn of her composition, containing the following characteristic verses :

‘ O Father, give us power and love,
A sound and perfect mind,
That we may firmly do thy will,
And thy sure blessing find.

We know not where the future leads,—
What may our trials be,—
But calmly still would follow on,
Guided by light from Thee.

Her last thoughts were devoted to the cause of abolition. She entreated her surviving friends to labor for it, as a fitting exemplification of the great central truth of Christianity—the universal brotherhood of the human race.

The affectionate gratitude of the Society will mingle with their sympathy and prayers for her excellent and bereaved parents. Long will they remember the gentle and true-hearted one, who gave so liberally, while she modestly concealed the hand.—Through coming seasons of trial, and perchance of peril, they will recall the example of her, who renounced the world with such sweet cheerfulness, and gladly incurred contempt and ridicule in the sacred cause of truth and freedom.

Her more intimate personal friends can never forget the expressive sweetness of her look, when any one addressed her—the kind and prompt attention—the quick but quiet comprehension of all that needed to be done—the calm self-sacrifice, and unostentatious activity, with which all her duties were accomplished. In the distance of years, they will remember her as a strain of very sweet music in a discordant world.

The inscription on her coffin was most appropriate: 'Her soul pleased the Lord, therefore hastened He to take her away.'

At a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That our feelings impel us to express to the family of our departed friend, ANN G. CHAPMAN, our deep sympathy with them, and to implore for them and ourselves divine comfort and direction.

2. Resolved, That if at any time, from the feebleness of our faith, we should falter in promulgating the holy principles of truth and love, of which the result must be freedom, we will endeavor to gain strength for renewed effort, by the contemplation of the character of one who sacrificed for them her ease, and strength, and time, and friends, and reputation, and good name, and counted it all joy.

MARY S. PARKER, *President.*
MARTHA V. BALL, *Secretary.*

TO THE MEMORY OF ANN GREENE CHAPMAN;

WHO DIED MARCH 24th, 1837.

'Vergiss die treuen toden nicht!'

Dear sainted one! how calmly turns my mind to vanish'd days!
With what a deep delight I dwell on all thy words and ways;
Thy bright sweet smile, thy beaming glance, thy open tranquil brow,
With what a life-like vividness they greet my fancy now!

* 'Forget not the faithful dead.'

Thy voice so clear and musical—I seem to hear the tone
 In which thy lips were wont to make the bondman's cause thine own,
 I yet can hear the fervent words, impassioned and sincere,
 So full of love and earnestness, so free from doubt and fear.

How oft in hours of anxious thought, in moments of dismay,
 Thy glowing hopes have shed a light around our onward way!
 Strong in thy own calm purposes and aspirations pure,
 However dark to others, the path to thee was sure.

Oh! thanks be unto God for all the memories of the past!
 Thanks for the life so good and true, and steadfast to the last!
 Thanks for the death so calmly met! thanks for the radiance shed
 Around our future pathway from off thy dying bed!

When our own hour of parting strife at length draws darkly on,
 Will it not comfort us to think that thou the fight hast won?
 O wilt not thou, dear spirit! then, once more to earth descend,
 And, though to us invisible, thy blessed influence lend!

I will not say to thee, 'Farewell!'—'tis but a little while,
 Before my eyes once more shall meet that sweet and gentle smile;
 Before my ears once more shall hear the music of thy voice,
 While clothed in immortality, thy spirit shall rejoice.

ANNE WARREN WESTON.

March 27, 1837.

FROM THE REFORMER.

If we could ever be justified in giving a special obituary of any person, the *earnest* character of Miss Chapman has more than ordinary influence. The deceased was one of the few females that take an interest in the wide world's welfare. She labored and sympathized with those who wish to leave the world better than they found it. She was active with those who believe that our good state of society can yet be improved. Her soul yearned for a more equal distribution of the essentials of human

happiness. Liberty, political—social—religious, was the sweetest meditation of her mind, if we except her confidence in the purposes of Him who wisely orders all things, to establish through chosen agents its blessings on earth. She loved humanity! And this is greater than all sectarian prejudices that freight the minds of most females, and lock up the richer endowments of the female character. She chose the good part, to be useful in this world—the sure preparation for another.

**Preamble to the Constitution of the Boston Female
Anti-Slavery Society.**

Believing slavery to be a direct violation of the laws of God, and productive of a vast amount of misery and crime; and convinced that its abolition can only be effected by an acknowledgement of the justice and necessity of *immediate emancipation*,—we hereby agree to form ourselves into a Society **TO AID AND ASSIST IN THIS RIGHTEOUS CAUSE AS FAR AS LIES WITHIN OUR POWER.**

[From the *Liberator*.]

LINES

*Written on reading the famous 'Pastoral Letter' of the
Massachusetts General Association.*

So, this is all—the utmost reach
Of priestly power the mind to fetter !
When laymen *think*—when women *preach*—
A war of words—a ‘pastoral letter!’
Now, shame upon ye, parish Popes !
Was’t thus with those, your predecessors,
Who sealed with racks and fire and ropes,
Their loving kindness to transgressors ?

A ‘Pastoral Letter,’ grave and dull—
Alas ! in hoof and horns and features,
How different is your Brookfield bull,
From him who thunders from St. Peters !
Your pastoral rights and powers from harm,
Think ye, can *words* alone preserve them ?
Your wiser fathers taught the arm
And sword of temporal power to serve them.

O, glorious days—when Church and State
Were wedded by your spiritual fathers !
And on submissive shoulders sate
Your Wilsons and your Cotton Mathers.
No vile ‘itinerant’ then could mar
The beauty of your tranquil Zion,
But at his peril of the scar
Of hangman’s whip and branding-iron.

Then, wholesome laws relieved the Church
Of heretic and mischief-maker,
And priest and bailiff joined in search,
By turns, of Papist, Witch and Quaker !
The stocks were at each Church’s door—
The gallows stood on Boston Common—
A Papist’s ears the pillory bore—
The gallows-rope a Quaker woman !

Your fathers dealt not as ye deal
 With 'non-professing' frantic teachers—
 They bored the tongue with red-hot steel,
 And flayed the backs of 'female preachers.'
 Old Newbury, had her fields a tongue,
 And Salem's streets, could tell their story,
 Of fainting woman dragged along,
 Gashed by the whip, accursed and gory !

And will ye ask me, 'why this taunt
 Of memories sacred from the scorner ?
 And why with reckless hand I plant
 A nettle on the graves ye honor ?
 Not to reproach New England's dead,
 This record from the past I summon,
 Of manhood to the scaffold led,
 And suffering and heroic woman.

No—for *yourselves* alone, I turn
 The pages of intolerance over,
 That, in their spirit, dark and stern,
 Ye haply may your own discover !
 For, if ye claim the 'pastoral right'
 To silence Freedom's voice of warning,
 And from your precincts shut the light
 Of Freedom's day around ye dawning :—

If when an earthquake voice of power,
 And signs in earth and heaven are showing
 That, forth, in its appointed hour,
 'The Spirit of the Lord is going !
 And, with that spirit, Freedom's light
 On kindred tongue and people breaking,
 Whose slumbering millions at the sight,
 In glory and in strength are waking !—

When, for the sighing of the poor,
 And for the needy, God hath risen,
 And chains are breaking, and a door
 Is opening for the souls in prison !—

If then ye would, with puny hands,
 Arrest the very work of Heaven,
 And bind anew the evil bands
 Which God's right arm of power hath riven :—

What marvel that, in many a mind,
 Those darker deeds of bigot madness
 Are closely with your own combined,
 Yet ' less in anger than in sadness ' ?
 What marvel, if the people learn
 To claim the right of free opinion ?
 What marvel, if at times they spurn
 The ancient yoke of your dominion ?

Oh, how contrast, with such as ye,
 A LEAVITT'S free and generous bearing—
 A PERRY'S calm integrity,
 A PHELPS'S zeal and Christian daring !
 A FOLLEN'S soul of sacrifice,
 And MAY'S with kindness overflowing !
 How green and lovely in the eyes
 Of freemen are their graces growing !

Ay, there's a glorious remnant yet,
 Whose lips are wet at Freedom's fountains,
 The coming of whose welcome feet
 Is beautiful upon our mountains !
 Men, who the gospel tidings bring
 Of Liberty and Love forever,
 Whose joy is one abiding spring,
 Whose peace is as a gentle river !

But ye, who scorn the thrilling tale
 Of Carolina's high-souled daughters,
 Which echoes here the mournful wail
 Of sorrow from Edisto's waters,
 Close while ye may the public ear—
 With malice vex, with slander wound them—
 The pure and good shall throng to hear,
 And tried and manly hearts surround them !

O, ever may the Power which led
 Their way to such a fiery trial,
 And strengthened womanhood to tread
 The wine-press of such self-denial,
 Be round them in an evil land,
 With wisdom and with strength from Heaven,
 With Miriam's voice, and Judith's hand,
 And Deborah's song for triumph given !

And what are ye who strive with God,
 Against the ark of His salvation,
 Moved by the breath of prayer abroad,
 With blessings for a dying nation ?
 What, but the stubble and the hay
 To perish, even as flax consuming,
 With all that bars His glorious way,
 Before the brightness of His coming ?

And thou, sad Angel, who so long
 Hast waited for the glorious token,
 That Earth from all her bands of wrong
 To liberty and light had broken—
 Angel of Freedom ! soon to thee
 The sounding trumpet shall be given,
 And over Earth's full Jubilee
 Shall deeper joy be felt in Heaven !