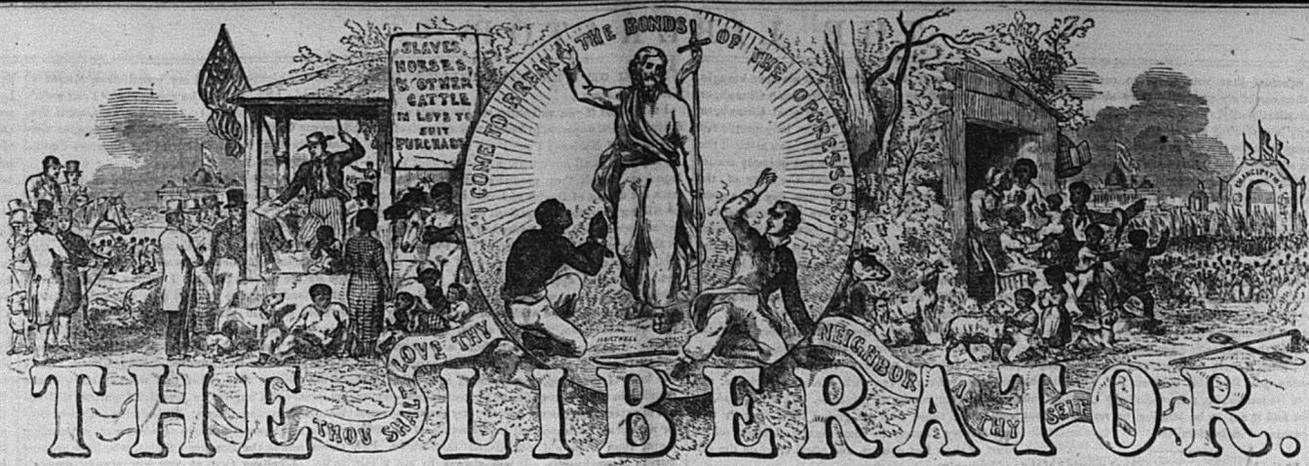


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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'  
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.  
— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.  
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# The Liberator.

The Duty of Massachusetts.  
SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH,  
Before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,  
January 28, 1859.

MR. PRESIDENT.—The subject which is presented to us in this resolution, I am glad to know, is one claiming no small share of attention at the present time, throughout the Commonwealth; and, indeed, not in the Commonwealth alone. We have had, as we were told yesterday, an example set before us in a neighboring State, in relation to this matter, worthy to be imitated by those who believe in the fundamental principles embodied in the Massachusetts Constitution, and in the American Declaration of Independence.

I have, in my going up and down in the land, very often had occasion to meet those who objected to what they called the sweeping condemnation passed by Abolitionists on the people of the Commonwealth, and especially on the political parties of the North, by reason of their complicity with slaveholding. I have been told—We are as much opposed to slavery as you are; we do not mean to do any thing to give strength to the oppressor's arm; and we do not feel that the severe censures passed upon us are deserved. I have replied by asking them—Are you ready to do this thing?—You say that you cannot reach slavery in Carolina and Virginia, and must not be condemned because you do not assent to it; are you ready to purify the soil of the Old Bay State from the contamination of slavery? Are you ready to say, that whenever a man sets his foot upon the soil of the Commonwealth, he shall be recognized as a man, and shall be treated as a man? And I have not always found them ready to say yes to this inquiry. If, in general terms, at the first propounding thereof, they would say yes, yet upon a closer cross-examination, upon a more minute specification of the measures necessary to attain the general object, they would often shrink from replying in the affirmative—sometimes assigning one reason, sometimes another, the whole, however, summed up in this—The Union and the Constitution. We cannot say to the South, you shall no longer claim your runaways upon the soil of Massachusetts—you shall no longer blot out the blood-stained footprints of Concord and Lexington with the foul tread of the kidnapper and slave-hunter—we cannot say this to the South, because the Constitution guarantees to the South the right to hunt runaways all over the North; to seize them wherever they shall be found, and to drag them back to slavery from the very door of the sanctuary of liberty they may have endeavored to find shelter in. No matter that we have proclaimed to the nations, as a self-evident truth, the equal, inalienable rights of all men; no matter that we are preaching from a thousand pulpits the doctrine of human brotherhood—that God, who made the world, hath of one blood made all nations to dwell on the face of the earth; no matter that our fathers stood for the defence of those principles in the day of trial and danger, perilling their lives on the high places of the field; no matter that they baptized their infant liberty with blood, on the spot where stands yonder granite column, telling of the deeds that were done for impartial freedom; no matter that the voice of musketry and artillery, from the banks of Concord rives and the Common of Lexington, spoke our defiant words of justice and humanity, in the very face of the tyrant's disclosure and menace—all that counts nothing, because, at a later day, the fathers consented to erase these glorious words of their earlier history, that they might find room upon the page, made black by the erasure, to write 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell'—to write a compact binding them to give the lie to the glorious declaration of a previous day, holding them to bring upon their own souls that very stain of complicity with tyranny which they deemed so dark a spot upon the character of their mother land and its government. We cannot, then, they tell us, be just; we cannot be true to the principles which our fathers announced in their declaration; we cannot be humane and Christian. There is the Gospel of Jesus, with the glorious example of the Good Samaritan, bending over the sufferer by the roadside, at the risk of no matter what peril to his own person or damage to his own interest,—with its high lessons of self-denial, self-sacrifice, and generous deeds of benevolence,—with its solemn injunction to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and take in the homeless wanderer, and recognize in every poor and suffering child of humanity, only the disguised form, but some the less real form, of Him who was the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person; of Him who, speaking now through the poverty-washed lips and now with the tongue of the noble bondman, says,—Inasmuch as ye have done deeds of kindness unto one of these my brethren, ye have done them unto me. We know it there; we read it every morning; we hear it every Sunday from our pulpits; we are aware that the injunction stands there, that the example is recorded there; that a glorious spirit is diffused all through that blessed Gospel, and we in the presence of God, angels and men, have entered into a solemn covenant that we will be true to that Gospel, that we will take that the man of our counsel, as the rule of our life, as the law of our spiritual existence and action. Yet, because our fathers made a bargain to secure certain political advantages, that they would repudiate this Gospel when its application demanded humanity to

the bondman, justice to the oppressed, therefore will we be inhuman to the bondman, unjust to the oppressed; therefore will we trample our solemn covenant with God, made in the presence of God, angels and men, under our feet; and that we may be true to a man-made Constitution, all black with iniquity and bloody with crime, we will be false to the most sacred obligations of humanity and Christianity.

I do not say that men answer me in these words. I am translating their answer out of the dialect of wily politicians and cunning sophists, into plain language, which the common people can understand. You and I know that my translation is a faithful one, lacking, it may be, the force which it would be desirable to impart to it, because the speech of man has no symbols to match the ideas and the facts with which we have to deal on this occasion.

Well, then, I meet the question as it is propounded, Has the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a right to refuse protection to the bondman, to refuse a recognition of his manhood, to refuse to repel the aggressions of the Slave Power, and the intrusion of the kidnapper within her borders? Has Massachusetts a right to self-conscience, and humanity, and God, for so poor a mess of pottage as is brought to her in the leaky vessel of the American Union, serving only, as it bubbles from the cauldron, hell-heated, to scald her own tongue with the dripping stream, and failing to satisfy her thirsting lip with the disappointing draught. (Loud applause.)

I say that Massachusetts has no such right; and I say it conceding, for the present moment, that the compact is, in letter and spirit, what it is assumed to be; because, assuming it to be such, it is so grossly and monstrously immoral, so flagrantly at variance with the principles acknowledged by the Commonwealth as self-evidently true, such an outrage upon humanity and decency, that it cannot be a binding compact. No man can bind himself, no community of men can bind itself, by no matter what bargains, to do what God forbids, to do what conscience clearly and emphatically condemns. You tell me it is legal, this claim of the slaveholder; you tell me it is constitutional, this right which he arrogates to himself to turn men into brutes by the help of the government. I tell you I do not care for your terms 'legal,' and 'constitutional.' I might stand here and argue whether it is, in any just sense of the term, 'legal,' and if you quote Kent and Story, Marshall and Taney, I might, on the other hand, quote Blackstone, Coke and Vattel; and I might ask you, if legal authority is to stand, whether that legal authority which exists afar from the overshadowing influence of the slave system, is less likely to be affected by those evil influences, or that authority which stands in the very midst of this shadow, is dimmed and bewildered by it. But without stopping to inquire as to the fitness of the application of the term 'legal' to this claim of the slaveholder, it is enough for me to be able to apply to it the epithets *immoral, infamous, atrocious*. I say to a citizen of Massachusetts, Do you not believe that the slave is a man, and your brother?—and few are the citizens of Massachusetts, so hardy as to answer No! They tell us that even the Boston Courier is beginning to claim for itself a due deference to the manhood of the black man; and if the Boston Courier has found out that it is expedient to say this, you may depend upon it, that the Boston Courier knows that Massachusetts believes it is right; and if the Boston Courier believes it is right, who will face the Commonwealth of Massachusetts with the imputation upon its character, that it doubts the rectitude of what even the Boston Courier feels to be right? You admit, then, that the slave is a man, and your brother; you admit that he has the same essential and inalienable rights that you have. You would skulk away in Roger B. Taney's poor hiding-place, and pretend that when the Constitution was made, the public sentiment of the civilized world regarded the black man as 'having no rights which the white man is bound to respect.' But even if that lie were a truth, it would not help the case at all, for your obligation dates back to a period older than your Constitution; and a part of the indictment which is read against you, and to which you must plead in Heaven's court, if not on earth, is that you consent to a Constitution which accepted as its basis, and incorporated into its structure, that horrible blasphemy against God, and that insult to man, that any child of the Eternal Father is destitute of rights worthy of the recognition of every other child of that Father. I ask you, assuming that your Constitution was based upon this principle of essential wickedness, What right had your fathers to accept that Constitution as the supreme law of the land? What right have you, now that your fathers have so accepted it, and transmitted to you the tradition of allegiance to it, to accept that tradition, and ratify the contract which has thus been made with the powers of darkness? That is the question which the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts must answer. They may try to evade it to-day; they may try to dodge it to-morrow; they may try to silence it with the previous question, or a motion to indefinitely postpone in the State House; they may try to slur it over in the platform of the political campaign approaching; they may try to avoid it in the discussions of the political press; they may even put it out of sight in the homilies of the pulpit and the religious newspapers—but the question must be answered! It has been written out in the sight of men, it has been spoken in the ears of men, and there is no escaping it after that. The murderer who, meditating on his deed of blood, thought that,

Massachusetts, if not very loud and audible to the outward ear, yet clearly, distinctly, in tones which imperatively demand audience, the answer to this question has already formed itself into syllables which will scorch the soul which refuses to heed them. (Loud applause.) Massachusetts has no right! It is the common sense of universal humanity, it is the doctrine of religion and morality, it is the principle of law itself, which forbids obedience to an immoral injunction, compliance with the terms of an immoral compact. If I ask the men of Massachusetts, Will you ratify a bargain made by your predecessors to sanctify murder with the warrant of statute law and judicial precedent?—the men of Massachusetts will probably look at me with mingled astonishment and indignation, hesitating between the latter emotion for the insult offered, and the former that any man should dare to offer such an insult. And yet, if you are set to institute a careful comparison between murder and the chattelization of manhood—if against the single atrocity of the one crime you balance the complex and innumerable atrocities of the other, who is there of you that is willing to avow his belief that it is less immoral, less criminal, to sanction slaveholding, than it is to sanction murder? If any, for him I have this question: Bring the matter home to yourself, in such form as will set it closest to your most central consciousness, whether it be in imagining that you are to be the victim of the one or the other crime, or in imagining that some object of your tenderest affection is to be that victim. Fancy to yourself, for a moment, the alternative presented, whether the wife that you love, whether the daughter now blushing into beautiful womanhood, around whom cluster your strongest affections, and upon whom rests a father's purest pride, shall fall dead at your feet, and to-morrow be laid away in the safe sanctuary of the grave, with the sheltering clouds of the valley above her form, or whether she shall be grasped by the kidnapper and torn from your very presence, to be exposed for sale on the auction stand of the human flesh market, and be struck off to him who will bid the largest sum of filthy gold for the privilege of desecrating that sanctuary of the Holy Ghost, polluting that dwelling-place of the social and domestic affections, and turning that most beautiful specimen of fair humanity into the abode of impurity, and the scene of deepest degradation! Picture to yourself the presentation of that alternative, and then anticipate your own answer to my question; and in that answer hear your judgment of the comparative guilt of him who strikes the merciful blow of murder, and him who binds around his victim the poisonous coil of the slave's chain, blistering body and spirit together at every point of contact, festering to the core of the soul's inmost being with a corruption darker than essential impurity itself, and more terrible to bear than the fires of unending perdition. You have answered the question long before I have done asking it, and have been reproving me in your souls for lingering in my tardy and halting speech behind the unerring and lightning-like readiness of your response. Well, then, you have answered the question, whether Massachusetts has any right to give back the runaway slave to his master; for you know that all these sophistical distinctions which malice more than diabolical ingenuity whispers in our ears—you know that these are of no avail before the searching eye which looks to the very motive of our act, and sees that we are false to the convictions of our own souls when we seek the justification for our wrong in the color of its victim.

Grant, if you will, that the fugitive bondman coming from Carolina or Virginia belongs to an inferior race. I will not stop to argue that question now, but the inquiry might very well arise, why it is that this haughty Saxon race, so conscious of its own superiority, is so afraid to trust a rival race to compete with it on equal terms for the world's prizes? Concede that it is an inferior race with which we have to deal,—what then? Is that inferiority the justification for robbing it of that precious boon which the Father has bestowed upon it? Or, in other words, do you justify plunder by the poverty of its victim? Do you say that because the poor man has but one small ewe lamb, brought up in his bosom, while you have many flocks and herds spread over your rich estate, you may therefore feed your guests with the flesh of his lamb, and dread no coming of God's stern prophet on the morrow to make you condemn yourself with your own lips, and ratify the condemnation with the words—*Thou art the man!* You know it is no justification. The slave comes here and asks for protection. You know you owe it to him. Tell me you did not bargain it in the Constitution—what then? Why didn't you bargain it in the Constitution, and what right had you to refuse to bargain it to him in the Constitution? When a man comes from a distant land to ours and asks to be sheltered under the roof of our asylum for the oppressed of all nations, we bid him welcome, come from what quarter he may. Even Cass was ready to welcome Garibaldi from the wars of freedom in Italy, and the nation rises up with loud acclaim to greet the arrival of the Hungarian patriot; yes, and even far abroad in the harbor of Smyrna, far as the nation can reach out the arm of its power, it protects the refugee who has announced his purpose to become a citizen of our country. So there is the nation's own answer to the question of its moral obligation.

Now, have you any right to barter away the rights of your fellow-men, and can you barter away your own obligation? Remember, that when you make a bargain that you will not protect Martin Kossuth in the harbor of Smyrna, that you will not shield Kossuth from the myrmidons of Austria seeking him in the streets of Boston, that you will not shelter Garibaldi from the ministers of the Pope, you have not merely attempted to divest yourselves of a moral obligation, you have attempted to sell away that which does not belong to you—another man's rights. My right to be protected here upon the soil of Massachusetts is a right which God gave me, and not the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Suppose that before the Pilgrims landed from the Mayflower upon Plymouth rock, and gave occasion for the lifting up of that high strain of the English poet—

They sought a Faith's pure shrine,  
Aye, call it holy ground,  
The spot where first they trod;  
They've left unstained what here they found.  
Freedom to worship God!

suppose that before that event, when this continent as yet a wilderness, was untrodden by the white man's foot—go back, if you will, to a still earlier period, before the red man had come here from the forests where he had chased his game, and suppose that some wanderer from a civilized land had been drifted to these shores by adverse gales, and had met here, borne unwillingly from some other region of the civilized world, one like himself, a solitary refugee from the fury of the tempest, what were their obligations? Not constitutional—for they had made no Constitution; not legal—for they had enacted no law; not arising from any compact, or covenant,—for they had entered into none. What were their mutual obligations? When God wrote upon the soul of man the law of his social nature, put into him the power to feel for and with his suffering and imperilled fellows, to hear the mandate commanding him to help the suffering and the endangered. Now, can you repeat that Constitution of God by any of your man-made compacts? Can you rob that solitary wanderer from England, we will say, of the right to the protection of his fellow-wanderer from France or Germany, by making a bargain that it shall not be given? I owe you a debt; can I cancel that debt by simply writing under the obligation which attests it that I shall not recognize it henceforward? Certainly not. Until, then, you can cancel the obligation of simple humanity to simple humanity, the obligation of kindness and mutual benefit and protection, you cannot get any right whereon to base your constitutional compact to give up the runaway slave to his master. (Applause.) You come together, not two individuals, drifting hither from opposite regions of the earth, but multiplied to twenty millions, and yet every one under this same obligation which God had fixed upon the first individual man who set foot upon these shores;—you come together, each bound by that divine law, and can you any more shake it off by the multitude of your concurrence than could the individual effort of the single solitary wanderer? If a house is built of blocks of granite, it is a granite house, no matter what incantations are muttered over it, no matter what inscriptions you engrave upon its front. Whatever is inherent in the individual constituents of the collective mass is inherent in the mass itself; and therefore the obligation to protect every man who sets his foot upon your soil, is as perfect when you have formed a Union and Constitution, as it was when one man by the side of another stood in need of help, when one man by the side of another had power to help. You can never escape from that obligation.

What is the making of a government? Simply this: the construction of a machine more effectively to do that work, the doing of which was every man's duty before the government was made. Suppose I owe a man an obligation to reap his harvest upon the prairies of Illinois, and when I go to look at it, I find there is an immense range of territory covered by the grain, and I say—Here is a mighty obligation; what shall I do? I can never reap down that field with the old sickle my grandfather used on the hills of New England; I can never lay that harvest even in the swarth with the cradle I used in my early manhood; I must devise some other means to accomplish it. So I sit down, and, tasking my Yankee ingenuity to the utmost, I build in the recesses of my mind a reaping machine, and then I drag that reaping machine out of the subtle chambers of the brain and incarnate it in wood and iron, and there it stands palpable and practical before me. Now I have released myself, forsooth, say our learned statesmen and profound jurists, from my obligation; because I have made a machine that can do in one day what would have taken me six months to accomplish! Do you believe that? No; the making of the machine is to be justified by the use to which it is put; and that use is the fulfillment of my obligation. Government is made to protect the rights of the governed. That is not, I think, one of the modern, ultra, radical, anti-slavery, Garrisonian obligations. I think we read it in a document once regarded of some authority, in this country, at least—that the purpose of the institution of government is to protect the rights of the governed. Now, I ask you, is the slave one of your governed when he comes to Massachusetts or not? If not, then you have no right to govern him, but must leave him to go and come when and where he pleases. If he is, then you have bound yourselves to protect him by your government, in the simple fact that you have made a government. You have only transferred to it, as the instrument of your action, the obligation which already rested upon you, by virtue of God's decree, written in your very souls.

That, then, is our answer to those who talk to us about the Constitution. We contend that inasmuch as slaveholding is the violation of all human rights, that inasmuch as the refugee has a right to leave it behind him, and seek freedom elsewhere, if he cannot find it at home, and inasmuch as he has come to Massachusetts, and is within the reach of her protection, he has acquired thereby a right to that protection, and we cannot divest ourselves of the obligation to give it to him.

But then, they tell us the Constitution, nevertheless. What, I ask, is the relative authority of a Constitution that man makes, and a Constitution that God makes? What is the relative authority of an absolute moral obligation, and a mere conventional obligation? One would think there need be no labored answer to questions like these; and there would not be, if the men had not suffered their minds to be begoggled by the false teachings of politicians and priests. When Boston pulpits can enunciate the infamous and blasphemous doctrine that we must obey the statutes enacted by a constitutional Legislature, whether wise or unwise, just or unjust, and when the doctrine that there is any Higher Law is repudiated by political parties and scouted by political leaders, and denounced as heresy to be punished by political death, it becomes necessary for us to teach the very rudiments of political morality, it becomes necessary for us to tell new truths so plain that we might almost tremble in the utterance, as insulting the understanding and moral sense which we address; but so it is.

Now I ask—because I do not mean to go at length

into this argument—but one question: What is, after all, the source of your obligation to obey the law of the land? Why, you say, because the constituted Legislature has enacted it. But that only puts the question one step further off. What is the source of your obligation to recognize the authority of the constituted Legislature of the land? In other words, what is the source of your obligation to obey an enactment because it is a legislative enactment? Oh, you will tell me, it is your right and duty. The instant you make use of that word duty, you make your appeal to somewhat within me that takes hold of my moral sense, which takes cognizance of duty; and my inquiry is, whether I am bound to obey the dictates of my moral sense or not. If I am not, then no matter how you make it clear that my moral sense requires it, I sweep away the statute and the moral sense together, and tell you it does not please me to obey either. But if, to avoid that conclusion, you say, I am bound to obey the dictates of my moral sense, then I ask you, what must I do with your statute when that conflicts with my moral sense?—and you have already answered me, in assuming that I am bound to obey my own conscientious conviction. That is, you say, that to deny my right or obligation to obey my own conscientious convictions, is virtually to strike at the very foundation of allegiance to your government.

But I pass on to another consideration. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is to be called on, through its Legislature, this winter, to enact that no slave shall be taken back to bondage from his jurisdiction. I can easily suppose that the objection will be urged there which we hear elsewhere—the Constitution and the Union! I have shown that the Constitution, where it conflicts with the moral law, is not and cannot be binding; that it is not only our right but our duty to trample upon it; but I have this further reason, that the party in interest against the claims of justice and humanity has already forfeited even its apparent claim upon the ground of the compact of the Constitution. Whenever men make bargains, they make them with the understanding of mutuality—there is not only a benefit, but an obligation on both sides of the bargain. If I say to you, this farm shall pass into your possession for so much money to pass into mine, and you give me your note of hand and receive the deed, when the time comes for the payment of the note of hand, if you refuse to pay it, I am under no obligation any longer to recognize your right to the property, but have a right to use such means as will be effectual to bring that property back into my possession; or, if the note is to be paid before the deed is given, I have a right to refuse the deed. (Applause.) You all understand the principle well enough, and I think you already know enough of our relations to the Slave Power to see the application of that principle in the case before us. The bargain, we are told, was this; that for certain considerations, we of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will give up to the slaveholder his fugitive from slavery. Well, so the bond, if it do not exactly so read, has been, by common consent, interpreted. But, in the first place, the bargain rested upon these considerations—that, whatever rights were guaranteed to us in the Constitution, we should be permitted to enjoy without molestation; and, second, (if not expressed, yet necessarily implied in the absence of any terms extending the obligations further,) that we should not be obliged to surrender slaves carried from any part of the earth that was not covered by the terms of the compact. Now, in both of these particulars, the Slave Power has violated the terms of its compact, and has thus released us from our obligation, if it were possible that a compact so immoral could impose any obligation at the beginning. The slaveholders have not been true to the terms of the bargain we made. The Constitution has guaranteed to us the privileges and immunities of citizenship, go where we will within the compass of this Union. If I go to Carolina, I am a citizen of the United States, and, by virtue of my citizenship, I have a right to free speech and a free press, and to use my moral and religious influence in favor of whatever my moral and religious nature tells me I ought to endeavor to promote. I have a right, then—just as good a right in Carolina as in Massachusetts—to assail slavery with all the weapons of the moral armory; I have a right to call upon the people of the South, in the name of justice and Christianity, in the name of humanity, in the name of sound policy, in the name of good economy, to abolish the slave system; I have a right to say that it is unjust, anti-Christian and inhuman, and that it is emphatically unneconomical. I have a right to show its waste of the energies of the people, its waste of the resources of national wealth, its violation of the essential rights of human nature, its opposition to the laws of God and the teachings of Christ. Can I do it? Will Carolina let me do it? I go there with the Constitution spread all over me as my shield of protection, I go there with my legal rights piled up before me as an impregnable fortress of defence, and one breath dissolves it into nothingness, and crumbles the parchment into thin particles of impalpable vapor. Where is my constitutional protection, if I dare to speak for humanity, for truth, for justice in a court of justice? If I dare to undertake the application of Christianity to the daily life of Carolina, if I even dare to quote 'Poor Richard's Almanac,' in application to the wasteful and desolating system of slavery, I do it at the peril of my life; and the very best fate I can hope is the privilege of going into instant banishment from the territory of the sovereign empire of Carolina. Well, I come home to Massachusetts, and the next day,—having been banished by Carolina from her soil, in defiance of the terms of the compact,—I turn round and catch Anthony Burns, and tying him hands and feet, hurry him back into Carolina bondage! Even waiving the question of the original immorality of the compact, am I bound, having been robbed of the benefits that were to accrue to me, still to bear all the burdens that were imposed upon me? I tell you, no.

I might go on and recite one particular after another in which the Constitution has been violated by the Slave Power, not under the influence of passion, not in moments of high excitement, but deliberately, systematically, on a preconcerted plan, and with an unanimity that speaks the Slave Power so complete as to leave no possible doubt of entire harmony of

sympathy and feeling, and concert of purpose and action.

Now, who will tell me, in the face of these undeniable facts, that might be piled one upon another—like Pelion upon Ossa, until the whole land should be shadowed by the very darkness which would brood over it,—who will tell me that, nevertheless, we are bound to abide by the terms of the Constitution?

But, as I said, the Constitution carries with it another obligation on the part of the pro-slavery party, and that is, not to attempt to stretch its application beyond the limits originally understood. Yet the Slave Power has done that. It has carried to Texas what was meant only for the Atlantic States; it has carried over to the territory of Louisiana, and the States carved and to be carved out of it, and it is trying to carry to Cuba, and Nicaragua, and Sonora, and I know not how many other provinces and islands of continent and sea, that obligation which was originally understood as limited within definite boundaries. Now it has no definite boundaries. The domain of slavery is bound only by the possibility of slavery-extension. If you know where that limit is, then you can tell me what is the limit to which the Slave Power would carry the obligation to give back runaways, and to do whatever other pro-slavery work it sees fit to exact from us. I deny the competency of one of the parties to a compact to extend the application of its terms in this manner. But if you tell me that it is not extended simply by the action of one party, but by the consent of all parties; if you tell me that, although Texas was admitted unconstitutionally, and Louisiana obtained unconstitutionally, (so admitted by Jefferson himself, when he made the purchase,) yet the North has made the act constitutional by tacit consent, by the ratification of acquiescence, I answer, very well; I grant it, for the sake of the argument; but then, what follows? Why, that we are not living under the Constitution our fathers made in 1787 to 1789; that we are not living under the Constitution which Washington administered and Jefferson violated when he bought Louisiana; which, if it had been in force, Polk would have trampled under foot when he admitted Texas, in defiance of the Constitution, which confers the privilege of admitting new States upon Congress and not upon the Executive. In these various acts to which allusion has been made, the old Constitution of the fathers was clearly set aside, and either that Constitution is binding now,—and if it is, all those acts are unconstitutional and void,—or that old Constitution is not binding now, by virtue of the existence of a new one, and then it follows, that the obligations incurred by the old one do not rest upon us now. I say, it is strict truth, we are not living under a Constitution made in 1787 to '89; I say, when the Slave Power made demands which the Constitution did not warrant, it virtually proposed a new Constitution, and when the North acquiesced in the proposition, it virtually adopted a new Constitution; and so we have had one Constitution made after another, each, perhaps, more ample in its concessions to slavery, in certain directions, than the other, but certainly neither carrying any obligation which is dependent on the original compact. Now, if any body does not choose to accede to any of the new terms, of course he is not bound to obey the new Constitution. When Louisiana was admitted to the Union, the North acquiesced, and a new Constitution was made. That lasted until Missouri asked admission. There was nothing in the original Constitution that contemplated the admission of territory west of the Mississippi. The single fact that the Constitution did not confer the power on any department of the government to admit new territory is sufficient evidence that such admission was not in the contemplation of the people; and who will tell me that the people gave the power to do that which they never contemplated doing, and gave it without assigning any repository that should receive it? Who could acquire new territory? Not the Executive, not the Judiciary, nor the Legislative—not all together. There was no place where that power was put, and therefore we may reasonably infer that the people never meant to give the power, and it never was conferred. Well, we have a new Constitution tendered to us in the proposal to take Missouri into the Union; the North, after some contest, yield the point, and the new Constitution is ratified, and we have at least the third Constitution since the old Articles of Confederation were adopted. Then comes the attempt (overlooking all the outrages of the Slave Power in the mean time) to bring Texas into the Union—an attempt which it was then believed would have signally failed if it had been pursued in a constitutional way, and therefore it was consummated in a glaringly unconstitutional way; the North acquiesced, and we had our fourth Constitution made for us.

Now, if the South may go on tendering to us new Constitutions, here for the sake of getting Louisiana, there to acquire Texas, yonder to crowd slavery into Kansas, in defiance of the three previous Constitutions, pray may we not also make our tender of terms for a new compact as it has suited her own interests. Let us take that precedent, and say to the South, 'We have the offer of a new Constitution to make to you. It shall provide that whenever a slave shall set his foot upon the soil of a State where slavery is not sanctioned by the local law, he shall be a free man; there shall be no chase after him, there shall be no dragging him back from thence; he shall be protected in his rights like any other inhabitant. If the South chooses to acquiesce, there is no harm done. We have a right to procure other terms than those of the compact. You bargain to build me a house, with certain specifications, for a certain sum of money. You begin your work, get tired of your bargain, and go to me with proposed changes of the specification. I acquiesce. You are no longer bound by the terms of the first bargain, neither am I, and I have a right to say that the price shall be varied. Massachusetts has a right to take this ground, that there shall be no slave existing on her soil; and if that is contrary to the fourth, fifth, tenth, or twentieth Constitution which has been formed by claims on one side and acquiesced in on the other, all I have to say is, 'You may take your choice, accept the terms we propose, or refuse to accept them, and then we will no longer hold you to the terms of the old bargain, but



The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the year 1859. 12 mo., pp. 384. Crosby, Nichols & Co., 117 Washington Street, Boston.

The present issue forms volume X. of the third series of this valuable publication, which is justly entitled a Repository of Useful Knowledge. It contains the Calendar and Celestial Phenomena for the year 1859, with various tables of Meteorological information, and in the first part; and in the second part, an immense amount and variety of information: first, respecting the government and institutions of the United States, and next, those of the individual States, combined in the most important facts in regard to the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments, and the various offices, regulations and its officers, the Post Office, the Army, Navy, and Marine Department, the Judiciary, the various offices by whom our relations with foreign nations is maintained, our revenue, and expenditure, commerce and navigation, internal and external, elections and legislatures, telegraphs, railroads, and telegraph lines, and other particulars too numerous to mention.

With these are given to the public two interesting and valuable scientific papers, one by Prof. Levermore of Harvard University, on the history, use, and application of the very curious Australian weapon, called the Boomerang; the other by G. P. Bond, on the Celestial Photography.

The American Almanac is a treasury of statistical information, presenting, with great order and compactness, facts which every one needs for occasional reference, and which every one may read with interest and advantage.

A SKETCH OF WHITEWATER. Mr. Choate is well known for his success in rhetorical embellishment applied to difficult cases in law, and 'hard cases' in mathematics and morals. No one more skillfully than he, can make the worse appear the better reason, and make the malefactor who has long purses as always secure to secure his aid in his defence. We learn from the following, which is going the rounds of the newspapers, that he has now been engaged to plead a case which eminently needs, and will severely test his peculiar talent.

ROBERT STURTEVANT, BOSTON. The past and present members of the Essex Street Church and congregation are preparing to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the Rev. Dr. Charles Adams on the 25th of March. The Hon. Rufus Choate, Adams' old parishioner, has accepted an invitation to deliver an address on the occasion. Dr. Adams was born on the 25th of March, 1834.

The very difficulties of this case may give it a professional attractiveness in the eyes of Mr. Choate, but it is not an easy task to defend the eulogist of slavery in this world, and of hell in the next.—C. K. W.

MISS HOLLEY IN WORCESTER. We saw Miss HOLLEY, of Rochester, N. Y., daughter of the late Hon. Myron Holley, celebrated as a pioneer in the anti-slavery cause in this country, three years ago, delivered a very earnest, eloquent and feeling address on the Wrong of American Slavery, before the Unitarian Church.

The sympathetic, forcible, and logical manner in which she presented her views, and advocated the claims of the anti-slavery cause for support, evidently made a deep impression upon the large audience present. It was one of the best and most effective addresses which have been made in this country.

The speaker closed, thanking the proprietors of the house for the privilege of speaking in it. We trust that her statement, that that was the only church in the city which could be obtained for her to speak in, was made under misapprehension of the facts, as her address was of such a nature as should entitle its author to a cordial welcome in any Northern pulpit.—Boston Daily Globe.

We doubt not that the Spy, on inquiry, will be satisfied that there was no misapprehension of the facts, but that Miss Holley's statement is the literal truth, discreditable as it may be to the churches and leading religious influences of Worcester. We know that the two religious societies in Worcester, (one Unitarian, the other Unitarian,) which stand the best favorably affected of all to the anti-slavery cause, refused to allow Miss Holley the use of their respective houses in which to rebuke the national sin of slavery, and plead the cause of the man fallen among thieves. It was understood that, in both cases, the minister of the church favored the request of Miss Holley, but the church authorities refused consent, to their shame be it spoken. What concord or affinity have such churches with the mind of Christ, or what claim to be regarded as churches of Christ?

This is the third time, within a few weeks, that a Unitarian church has opened its doors to Miss Holley, as an advocate of the enslaved millions in this land of Liberty! Let due honor be awarded for these instances of magnanimity and Christian fidelity, so rare even in Massachusetts.—A. M.

LECTURE OF C. C. BURLEIGH. FALL RIVER, Feb. 6, 1859. Mr. Garrison, — C. C. Burleigh, delivered an able and eloquent address in this city, last Tuesday evening to a large and attentive audience. It was mainly devoted to an exposition of the guilty position of the North, politically, with regard to slavery, and an appeal to the people of the old Commonwealth no longer to bear the tread of a kidnapper upon her soil. He spoke of the changes which, it was claimed, had, virtually, been made in the U. S. Constitution, by the acquiescence of the people in unconstitutional acts; and he urged that Massachusetts would enact a law, forbidding the return of a fugitive slave from her soil, and demand that the South shall acquiesce in the enactment. The folly and inefficiency of attempting to prevent the extension of slavery, while sustaining and profiting in it now exists, were referred to, and the guilt and immorality of aiding the slaveholder in perpetrating his outrages were plainly and forcibly pointed out. He closed by referring to the law-abiding character of the Saxon race, remarking that, when conscience and humanity were violated in obeying human enactments, the greatest proof of our law-abiding character was manifested by obedience to conscience and a divine law. J. M. ALDRICH.

Great Fire. At about three o'clock on Sunday morning, a fire broke out in the upper portion of Russell's mechanical bakery, corner of Battery and Commercial streets, which was totally destroyed. The building was of brick, with a granite front, extending 64 feet on Commercial and 132 feet on Battery and Commercial streets, and contained two of Berdan's automatic saws, kneading machines, &c., and 23,000 barrels of flour on storage. The bakery had gone into operation on Thursday, when over 15,000 loaves of bread were baked and delivered. The falling walls partially destroyed two or three adjoining wooden tenements. Daniel Henderson, fireman, was killed by the falling of one of the side walls. Capt. Wilson of the steam fire engine Eclipse was seriously injured internally, and several others were more or less injured. One man is missing, and supposed to be under the ruins. The total loss of property is estimated at \$400,000, on which there is a partial insurance. Mr. Russell will immediately construct a fire-proof building, and carry out his intention of establishing a mechanical steam-bakery in Boston. The fire was undoubtedly the work of an incendiary.

The speech of Mr. C. C. BURLEIGH, which occupies our first page, is marked by that force of logic and power of reasoning which characterize all the efforts of that eloquent and long-tried advocate of the enslaved in our land. We commend it to the special attention of every member of the Legislature, as we deem it unanswerable.

Miss Sarah P. Remond, of Salem, Mass., has delivered a strong anti-slavery lecture in Liverpool, before a crowded audience. Rev. W. H. Channing ended. Miss R. was enthusiastically received.

DEBATE UPON AN ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION.

REMARKS OF MR. CUSHING.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Friday last— The petition of Samuel Smith and 89 others of Middlefield, for an act to prevent the rendition of fugitive slaves, was presented; and pending a motion for its reference to the Committee on Federal Relations, Mr. Cushing rose and remarked that he had received new light, with reference to these petitions, since he made the speech charging the petitioners with disingenuousness or dishonesty. The proceedings of those evil-disposed persons, included in the Anti-Slavery Society, showed this movement to be theirs. In a statement of their purposes, they had openly avowed a conspiracy against the peace and welfare of our common country. They had ostentatiously professed their unappeasable hatred of the Constitution and the Union of the United States, and evinced all that was treasonable in spirit. But, beyond this, they had professed the purpose to kindle a servile war, and convert one-half of our States into another St. Domingo—expelling the Americans, and leaving the territory to Africans. The speaker also complained that there were English accomplices in this matter. The consummation was, that this association, while declaring their hatred and contempt of the Legislature and the General Government, had boasted of forcing their purposes through previous Legislatures, and expect to do the same with the present one. These avowals constituted the expression of their petitions, and might suggest to the House the degree of consideration and respect to which they were entitled.

REMARKS OF MR. WELLS, OF GREENFIELD.

Mr. Wells, of Greenfield, said the simple question before the House was the reference of the petition. He could not see what the House had to do with what passed outside. He cared nothing for the remarks of Englishmen, or of Jefferson Davis when he advised the taking up of arms against the North. If gentlemen chose to air their rhetoric outside, he did not think the Legislature would, in consequence thereof, turn a single hair's breadth from its course, but take the usual course in this instance.

REMARKS OF MR. GOODWIN, OF LOWELL.

Mr. Goodwin, of Lowell, said he was not surprised that the gentleman from Newburyport had sent an African in this world, but was surprised to hear that he had discovered a band of conspirators. In this connection, allusion was made to those Southern democrats who once consulted together as to what they should do in the event of the election of a Republican President, and also to the fact that certain Southerners strenuously advocated a southern line of railroad to the Pacific, so that it might be within their portion of the Republic which they proposed to desert. He was glad the gentleman from Newburyport was inclined to look after conspirators, the most dangerous of whom might be found in the South. He hoped the petition would go to the Committee.

REMARKS OF MR. JOHNSON, OF BRINGTON.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Brington, alluded to another dangerous society. He said it was formed at the National Capitol in 1835, and from that time down to last fall, when it held its Convention at Montgomery, it had been avowedly committed to the dissolution of the Union.

FURTHER REMARKS BY MR. CUSHING.

Mr. Cushing, of Newburyport— Mr. Speaker, I have accomplished more than I expected. My original purpose was to call the attention of the House to the fact—and again reiterated—the declaration of certain persons, out of this House, that they control the Legislature of this Commonwealth; that they have heretofore compelled it to do as they desired; and that they expect to compel it now.

Now, sir, if these persons have unwise, criminal—not benevolent, but malevolent and treasonable—purposes, then it is my duty, in my judgment, as a member of this House, to notice the character and object of these petitions at the very start. I am not bound to wait long; and I have a right to characterize it as it deserves, from the start; and in my judgment it is my duty to do so. But not satisfied with that, I have another thing to say. That, sir, is one, and the other is this: Gentlemen who have so promptly arisen upon this floor to respond to the views which I presented, and to maintain the wisdom and propriety of these petitions, have not denied that its signers and other men of kindred principles have made the declaration that their purpose was to exercise an unjust and improper influence in this Legislature. Not all, far from it; but in a certain measure it is a complaint that some of the members of this House, in past times, may have voted with such a purpose—not in this Commonwealth, but before this Legislature. In what respect, Mr. Speaker, is it pertinent to say that purposes, wise or unwise, have been held by persons in other States? It is our duty to justify our own Legislature; and when that Legislature is in danger of being controlled, as to the exercise of its powers, by persons who are not its members, it does not answer the suggestion to say that other persons have done wrong in other parts of the Union. Let us, at any rate, do right ourselves. So the remarks from my friend from Greenfield, [Mr. Wells] were hardly applicable to the case. What Mr. Davis said upon the subject referred to, when connected with the context, would be just what that gentleman would himself say, here in this place, — that is, that if the other States in the Union should undertake, by unconstitutional violence, to destroy the rights of his State, he, as a citizen of that State, was prepared to resist that violence. Would not that gentleman say here, in his place, that if the other States in the government were to combine by unconstitutional violence to oppress and tyrannize over the State of Massachusetts,—would he not say that he would be prepared to take arms? I know he would; I know his patriotism and devotion to his country would be in behalf of Massachusetts, the declaration which Jefferson Davis made in Mississippi in behalf of Mississippi, that in the supposed case of unconstitutional, violent oppression upon his own State, by other States of the Union, he would be prepared to resist it. That is supposing a contingency which has not arisen, but I trust that if it ever should arise, there does not exist a single State in the Union which would not be prepared to assert its constitutional rights, by lawful means if it might be, but if not, then by appeal to the revolutionary force to which our fathers appealed.

Now, then, Mr. Speaker, I have only this further to say, drawn from me by the comments made upon my remark that those purposes of carnage avowed by that society, on the occasion of the discussion of these memorials; that is to say, the sum of the action at that time was to invite an appeal to resistive force, in the purpose of producing civil war in these United States. Aye, that society which backs these petitions declares, expressly—as it is the settled arrangement—that it shall be the subsidized agent and tool of Englishmen, for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution of this Union, and of inducing servile war in this country. I do not believe, sir, that we are to plunge into that vortex of madness and treason. No, Mr. Speaker, I trust we have no need to take courage to think that no such madness is by others contemplated, when I find his Excellency the Governor reproached that he, from that chair, played the Prince of Denmark, leaving out the part of Hamlet. And I take more courage when I see how desirous gentlemen are that these petitions should go *sub silentio* to this committee. And when I find that when I mention these facts, by way of opening their minds to the subject of slavery, perhaps as a signifier of the slavery question, they do not so consider, if by so doing I may in any degree contribute to arrest what I regard as a mischievous under-current of revolution or of the subversion of the constitution, prejudicial to the harmony of the Union, and adverse to the common interests of our common country.

REMARKS OF MR. ELLIOT, OF CANTON.

Mr. Speaker: I do not propose to be a sectional agitator of slavery in this House. I have, at different times, spoken upon the subject, and I may be allowed here to say that I have some strong views and strong feelings upon the subject of slavery. Perhaps at this time it is not pertinent that we should enter into a discussion of that subject. It seems to me, however, that the petition now before the House is proper, and that it should be presented to the Committee on Federal Relations. I believe that committee quite competent to perform any duties in regard to the matter which may be necessary, and that they will recommend to this House such measures as they may deem to be expedient in the judgment of this House, expedient for this Legislature to pass.

But there is one thing which quite amuses me,

Mr. Speaker: and that is the extreme sensitiveness of the gentleman from Newburyport, whenever the question of slavery is brought forward in this House, by petition or otherwise. He stands up on all occasions as its chief and foremost defender. For what reason? Because he believes that the system is right, or for other purposes which might be very fairly and reasonably imputed to the gentleman from Newburyport? I believe the gentleman is young enough to report of the accusation which he makes, when he stands up in his place in this House, and says that the persons composing the anti-slavery society of Massachusetts are a kind of desperadoes. Why, sir, if they are the revolutionists, if they are the secessionists, there are two classes of such men in this country, one headed by the gentleman from Newburyport, and the other by the anti-slavery people of Massachusetts; and the question is, how can we best preserve the Union, and keep them both loyal to it.

Sir, I heard the gentleman say that if thirty States should make an aggression upon a single State, then the Revolutionary blood would flow in his veins, and that he would stand up as the defender of those first principles of the Revolution, foremost among the men of this country. Why, sir, when I heard the sentiment go forth throughout the country that a servile war would be the result, and that the gentleman from Newburyport understood it as an infamous slaveholder rose to say that he would call his slave-roll on Bunker Hill—then, Mr. Speaker, my blood boiled, and you might have taken the last drop of it in defence of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

Sir, there has been constant reference—and it has been offensive to my ears, and to the ears of the people of Massachusetts—to the conduct of the gentleman from Newburyport, of his Excellency, upon leaving out of his message to the Houses of the Legislature the subject of slavery. Let me tell the gentleman from Newburyport, that even his Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts cannot afford to ignore the subject of anti-slavery. No public man in Massachusetts can afford to overlook the subject of slavery and our federal relations. And trust that when the matter is presented by the Committee on Federal Relations, there will be a fair opportunity to discuss this whole matter, from beginning to end; and the gentleman from Newburyport will remember that there are blows to give as well as blows to take.

SPEECH OF MR. KIMBALL.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston. Mr. Speaker: I was really rejoiced when the gentleman from Newburyport rose the second time, and made the statement that he opposed this matter from his sense of duty, and not from any feeling on the subject; that he let the members of the House down a little from the fever pitch of excitement into which they must have been drawn, in regard to the ingenious arrangement of words, stating that there was danger to the country from a gang of desperadoes, who were bent upon to destroy the Union of the country. I know there must have been gentlemen here, who, after listening to that eloquent advocate of a principle which some of us do not admit, must have begun to shake a little in their boots, and to doubt whether the government would hold together long enough to finish this session, and get the Revised Statutes adopted. (Laughter.) You know, sir, there were raw heads and bloody bones piled out here, and I have no doubt blood swam before our eyes of many members of this House, the gentleman called so vividly to our minds the horrid transactions of St. Domingo, where the earth was deluged and saturated with blood. The gentleman gave us the blood three or four times over, for fear we might not know what an unpleasant looking thing it is, and what a calamity it would be to this country if a few colored people should have their wishes carried out. By not attending to the matter, we are to the immediate dangers besetting us, and his entire indifference, willing to throw himself forward, in the front of the battle, he calls our attention to the fact, *o'er and o'er*, that there is an Englishman in this matter; that there is an Englishman coming to take this country; that we are in danger because there is an Englishman after us. (Great laughter.) I was astonished when I heard that from that gentleman, because we remember that when he commanded the army in this country, in a foreign state; and I considered there must be good cause for fear, if the late Brigadier thinks there is danger to this country because one Englishman is coming to take us! Why, sir, if it were possible for me to be afraid of anything, I should have got down under the seats, and hid, for fear the Englishman was here in disguise. (Renewed merriment.)

I think the gentleman that he spoke too quick for me, for it gave me time to cool my blood; and then I called to my mind the history of the Indian war, that I had read, and the history of the Revolutionary War, and the Life of Washington, where it relates what he encountered, and some how or other, I came to the conclusion that when this country was a great deal smaller than it is now, we were not afraid of as much as half a dozen Englishmen, and yet we were as brave as the more it is, and settled this thing entirely satisfactory to ourselves. And I think if this one Englishman, or the entire nation, should come here and attempt to split up the Union, I think we can fix them out, and send them home to their business more effectually than in the war of the Revolution.

The gentleman tells us St. Domingo may be reenacted here; our fair country may be deluged with blood, and a hundred other evils may come upon us, if we do not give up the fight; that all this, that a little party of fanatics, disturbers of the peace, who want to destroy our common country, are going to get, or have got, possession of the Legislature, upon this great principle. Well, we are all under obligation to act according to our best understanding; and if we have allowed a little society to take possession of us, and brow beat us, and compel us to take their position, the more it is to be pitied! I do not mean to say that I am not in favor of the petition, but I do not think that portion of the gentleman's speech, I somehow or other came to the conclusion that there are a large number here who sympathize too strongly with the outsiders, in the principle that sent their petition here, and that consequently we make ourselves willing servants to the advocates of this principle, who have been so unfortunate or fortunate as not to be returned to this House.

But when it comes up another phase of this matter, gratifying to my friend from Newburyport. And you may remember that when the Governor enacted the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out, the gentleman was so overjoyed that he couldn't sit still, as the rest of us did, but got up and told the House how much he was delighted with Governor Banks' address. Well, now, it was kind in him; because, he not sympathizing with the Governor. I have no doubt Governor Banks slept much easier and happier that night, and ate a better and heartier breakfast than usual the next morning. (Renewed merriment.) But if the Governor left out the part of Hamlet, I am rather inclined to think his Excellency has a little more good common sense than some gentlemen give him credit for—that he has taken hold to administer the affairs of the State in a manner satisfactory to the people of the State; and I have no doubt he intends to devote his time and his message to subjects that require the attention of the Legislature; and that he will not do as some gentlemen do who occupy their time in the mere utterance of words, on paper or orally, for the purpose of making a display, but will occupy himself in putting on paper such things as it is necessary to call the attention of the Legislature to, and leave things upon which they are as much interested as I am, to his part. He believes that the gentleman of the Legislature have some ideas of their own, that they are honest and independent and fearless, whatever may be said, and that they will grapple with any subject that they understand, without any prompting of his. And I trust that gentlemen will petition upon all these matters, of interest to them and our country, and as my friend from Abington and others have traveled down a thousand and two thousand miles, in relation to what has been said—the gentleman from Newburyport does not prefer to go as far as that—he prefers to stick to that dread Englishman, and his one Englishman in Massachusetts is a thousand times bigger bugbear to him than all that the disunionists of the Jefferson Davis kind can do or say.

In regard to the subject of this debate, I trust that we are having grievances to redress will always bear in their petitions to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

Mr. Wells of Greenfield had taken a word on the position which he had taken in his previous remarks. He knew nothing of Mr. Cushing's desperadoes, his Englishmen, or the treasonable plots

which had been charged, or the boasts of overawing the Legislature, except from Mr. C's statement, and so had no concern with them. Such statements were not unfamiliar to him. He remembered that at the last session, similar considerations had been held out to frighten the Legislature from the enactment of a measure of general importance to the Commonwealth, as it was then made by persons outside the Legislature, or what imputations of improper influence might be thrown out, were not, in his judgment, considerations proper to influence the action of the House.

He had not misstated the remark of Jefferson Davis. It was under the circumstances stated by the gentleman from Newburyport, that Mr. Davis proposed to dissolve the Union, that is, when a Republican President should be elected; a contingency which Mr. Wells trusted would be long occupied, when our present Governor, whose name Mr. Cushing so much admired, might have occasion to repress the threatened insurrection.

For the report of this debate in the House, we are indebted to the Boston Journal of Saturday. How industriously bent on making himself alike the laughing-stock of the people of Massachusetts, and the supple tool of the Southern slave oligarchy, is Mr. Caleb Cushing of Newburyport!

DEPARTURE OF THEODORE PARKER. Mr. Parker left this city on Friday last for New York, whence he has doubtless embarked, ere this, on his West India voyage for the benefit of his health. The following farewell letter was read at Music Hall, by Mr. J. R. Manly, on Sunday, 30th ult., and was listened to with deep emotion by an immense audience. It was crowded out from our last paper by a pressure of other matter—

MUCH VALUED FRIENDS: When I first found myself unable to speak to you again, and medical men bade me be silent, and live off for my life to a more genial clime, I determined, before I went, to make ready and publish my New Year's sermon, the last I ever preached; and the one which was to follow it, the last I ever wrote, lying there yet unspoken; and, also, to prepare a letter to you, reviewing our past intercourse of now nearly fifteen years. The publisher's press has made the first work easy, and the last sermon lies printed before you; the next I soon laid aside, reserving my forces for the last. But, alas! the Thought, and still more the Emotion, requisite for such a letter, under such circumstances, are quite too much for me now. So, with much regret, I find myself compelled to forego the attempt—say, rather, I trust, only to postpone it for a few weeks.

Now I can but write this note in parting, to thank you for the patience with which you have heard me so long; for the open-handed generosity which has provided for my unexpected needs; for the continued affection which so many of you have always shown me, and now more tenderly than ever; and yet above all, for the joy it has given me to see the great ideas and emotions of true religion spring up in your fields with such signs of promise. If my labors were to end to-day, I should still say, 'Lord, make me not forget thee, thy servant David; for peace.' For I think few men have seen larger results in follow such labors, and so brief. But I shall not think our connection is ended, or likely soon to be; I hope yet to look in your eyes again, and speak to your hearts. So far as my recovery depends on me, be assured, dear friends, I shall leave nothing undone to effect it; and so far as it is beyond human control, certainly you and I can trust the Infinite Power, who at all times works beneficently. Providence does not even a sparrow fall to the ground; living here or in heaven, we are all equally the children of that unbounded Love. It has given me great pain that I could not be with such of you as have lately suffered bereavements and other affliction, and at least speak words of endearment and sympathy, when words of consolation would not suffice.

I know not how long we shall be separated, but, while thankful for our parting relations, I shall still strive to pray for your Welfare and Progress in True Religion, both as a Society and as individual men and women. I know you will still think only too kindly of Your minister and friend, THEODORE PARKER. Exeter place, Jan. 27, 1859.

COMPENSATION CONVENT.

ALBANY, Jan. 26. The Compensated Emancipation Society held its session in this city this evening. Dr. Nott, of Union College, presiding. It was opened by the reading of the Convention was addressed by Dr. Nott, Elihu Burritt, the Rev. Dr. Welch, and Bradford R. Wood.

Resolutions were introduced, embodying Elihu Burritt's principle of compensated emancipation, and determining to raise funds to carry out the plan. A. M. Powell offered objections to the plan, on account of its immorality in principle, its injustice to the poor whites, and its impracticability. Mr. Hutchison, of Orleans, inquired if the plan contemplated forcible interference with slavery. Mr. Burritt replied that it did not; he defended the morality and practicability of the plan, and denounced the Abolitionists as attacking constantly the sinners of the South, and neglecting to urge repentance.

Mr. Powell replied, defending the Abolitionists; they asked the repentance of the North. He attacked the colonization scheme, because it refused to recognize the humanity of the colored people, and he denounced Mr. Powell's views as to human rights pertaining to all classes. At the North, all men are more or less restricted in their rights. Women and colored people were instances in support of the Doctor's views. He had come to the Convention, hoping to receive some new light on these questions, and was gratified at the debate which had taken place.

Mr. John C. Underwood, of Virginia, was called on, and he defended the meeting at length. He declared himself an out-and-out Abolitionist, and in favor of immediate emancipation. He honored the benevolence of this movement, but objected to the purchase of the slaves as immoral. He gave his experience among the slaveholders of Virginia, where, he said, the present movement excited the utmost displeasure. He had never heard one of them speak favorably of the plan. He would rather claim on his part that compensation was due to the slaves and poor whites. He designated the scheme as impracticable, because slaveholders would not meet half way. The proposition was to pay \$250 each for the slaves in forty years, while the masters could put their slaves in the market now, and get from \$800 to \$1,500 each for them. He would rather raise the proposed one thousand millions to be devoted to the education of the poor white. He gave encouraging testimony of the progress of emigration in Virginia through the organization for settling the lands there by Northern emigration. Mr. Underwood's speech was received very favorably.

At an adjourned meeting only a dozen or so persons were present, the resolutions reported at the prior meeting were adopted, and an adjournment, *sine die*, took place.

The meeting is regarded as unfavorable to the plan of compensated emancipation.

E. H. HAYWOOD acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the cause: At Templeton, \$1 58; Brookfield, 3 58; Warren, Calvin Cutter, 1 others 1 58; Ware, Charles A. Stevens, 2 others 1 22; Brookfield, 7 19; North Brookfield, 7 42; Bolton, 27; Clinton, 4 79; Lancaster, 656.

SARILE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows: Leicester, Cherry Valley, Thursday, Feb. 10. Chatham, at the Universalist? Sunday, " 13. Meeting-house, Thursday, " 17. Manchester, Sunday, " 20. Davenport, Sunday, " 20.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at NORTH ABINGTON, on Sunday next, Feb. 13, afternoon and evening.

MISSION OF PRISON REFORM.—An Address will be given on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 13, at the Hollis Street Church, by Rev. Charles C. Burleigh. Subject: The Church, the Home, and the Prison.

In the evening, Mr. Spear will speak in his Mission Rooms, corner of Boylston and Washington streets. Subject: The Pardoning Power.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Newburyport, Sunday, the 13th inst., all day and evening.

RECEIPTS

into the Treasury of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society from Jan. 1st, 1858 to Jan. 1st, 1859. Balance in Treasury, January 1st, 1858, as rendered, \$551 66 Rec'd proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair, at Abington, 65 00 Rec'd amount of Stationery and collections made at Annual Meeting, 363 44 Rec'd proceeds of Female Anti-Slavery Bazaar at Concord, 50 00 Rec'd proceeds of American Anti-Slavery Bazaar at Boston, 5,028 64 Rec'd from sales of Stationery and other articles, remainder of Bazaar, in Boston, 527 24 Rec'd donations and collections at New England Anti-Slavery Convention, 568 33 Rec'd donation from Female Anti-Slavery Society in Reading, 12 60 Rec'd donation from Anti-Slavery Society in Worcester, 9 00 Rec'd donations and collections at 4th July Celebration at Framingham, 75 23 Rec'd donations and collections at 1st of August Celebration of W. T. E. at Abington, 71 84 Rec'd donations and collections at Barnstable County Convention at Harwich, 72 63 Rec'd collections made at Essex County Annual Meeting at Newburyport, 14 00 Rec'd donation from Hingham Anti-Slavery Society, 12 00 Rec'd proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair at Worcester, 359 13 Rec'd from Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society, 107 00 Rec'd from pledges, subscriptions, and donations from individuals, as published monthly in the Liberator, 2,367 53 Total amount of Receipts, \$8,255 17

Disbursements during the same period as follows: Paid Office Rent, 21 Cornhill, \$350 00 " Expenses of Annual Meeting of the Society in Boston, 49 50 Paid expenses of New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, 35 08 Paid expenses of 4th July Celebration at Framingham, 55 63 Paid expense of 1st of August Celebration of West India Emancipation at Abington, 30 20 Paid Francis Jackson, Treasurer of American Anti-Slavery Society, 5,380 01 Paid sundry bills for printing Tracts, Petitions, Speeches, Pamphlets, &c., 69 20 Paid J. M. Verrinton, reprinting of Liberator, at Annual Meeting, Conventions, &c., 105 00 Paid Robert F. Wallcut for services in office 11 months, 389 62 Paid S. May, Jr., for services and expenses for the year, 655 77 Paid Lewis Ford for services and expenses, 18 90 " Charles C. Burleigh for services and expenses as Agent, 165 40 Paid Lucy N. Coleman do do do 32 21 " Andrew T. Foss do do do 137 07 " Sarah P. Remond do do do 30 50 " Charles L. Remond do do do 32 85 " N. H. Whiting do do do 2 00 " Wm. Lloyd Garrison do do do 46 40 " E. H. Heywood do do do 10 00 " 50 copies Liberator furnished Members of Congress, 67 50

Total amount of disbursements, \$7,649 84 Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1859, 605 33 \$8,255 17

E. E. S. PHILBRICK, Treasurer.

Boston, Jan. 16, 1859.

I have examined this account of the Treasurer, and find it correct and properly vouched.

EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Collections by Finance Committee, for Expenses of Annual Meeting, Jan. 1859.

Isaac Osgood, New- ton, \$2 00 A. H. Harlow, 1 00 Mrs. C. Cowing, 1 00 M. S. Bowker, 1 00 John T. Hilton, 50 J. R. Manly, 1 00 Alexander Wilson, 1 00 A. M. Chase, 1 00 George Jackson, 3 00 Geo. M. Rogers, 1 00 Charles L. Remond, 1 00 W. L. Loggers, 1 00 Mrs. Siloway, 1 00 George Bonwell, 1 00 Mrs. Jarvis, 1 00 Mary Brigham, 1 00 — Lodge, 1 00 Emily Howe, 1 00 J. Bates, 50 Carrie M. Otis, 1 00 E. F. Perkins, 25 H. Emerson, 1 00 John Clement, 1 00 Mr. Brigham, 2 00 M. A. Sawin, 50 David Merritt, 1 00 Henriette M. Carl- ton, 1 00 Josiah Hayward, 1 00 Dora Neil, 1 00 J. C. Lindsey, 1 00 Mrs. M. Brooks, 1 00 Mrs. Melody, 1 00 E. M. Willey, 1 00 W. S. C. and C. F. 1 00 Paulina Gerry, 1 00 T. 1 00 Hannah G. Jackson, 45 Down with the Crime 1 00 M. J. Parkman, 1 00 C. C. McLaughlin, 1 00 G. Otis, 1 00 P. W. Blanchard, 1 00 W. P. Garrison, 1 00 E. C. Wheeler, 1 00 N. J. Holden, 1 00 Anne W. Weston, 1 00 John Jones, 1 00 Susan H. Cowing, 50 L. McLaughlin, 1 00 James N. Buffum, 2 00 P. H. Cogswell, 1 00 Helen H. Bates, 1 00 Samuel Barrett, 1 00 H. H. Bates, 1 00 Mary G. Chapman, 1 00 L. A. Allen, 1 00 F. C. McIntire, 1 00 B. Burgess, 1 00 Miriam B. Johnson, 1 00 J. H. Tenney, 1 00 Robert R. Crosby, 1 00 E. S. Venard, 1 00 B. J. Batts, 50 Eliza J. Kenny, 50 M. Wright, 50 M. Brooks, 1 00 A. Nowell, 1 00 T. B. Drew, 1 00 A. B. Humphrey, 50 M. A. B. Moore, 1 00 A. B. Moore, 1 00 W. H. Hebard, 1 00 L. G. Jarvis, 1 00 Moses Wright, 1 00 R. C. Trask, 1 00 W. P. Oliver, 1 00 Lucy M. Merrill, 1 00 J. F. Damon, 1 00 Maria S. Page, 1 00 Lizzie A. Ellwell, 1 00 L. M. Drowne, 1 00 Mrs. A. Kent, 50 Mrs. J. C. Nichols, 1 00 Mary K. Whiting, 1 00 H. Augusta Wilson, 1 00 Martha B. Good- rich, 1 00 Helen E. Garrison, 1 00 E. D. Draper, 1 00 Lucy S. Baxter, 1 00 Lydia O. LeFavre, 1 00 M. F. Snow, 25 Alvan Howes, 1 00 A. Wyman, 1 00 Nancy Howes, 1 00 Mrs. Logan, 25 L. E. Cheney, 50 S. Smith, 25 Samuel May, Jr., 1 00 A. Keith, 1 00 F. Jackson, 1 00 E. Quincy, 1 00 W. Warren Low, 1 00 J. T. Everett, 50 W. J. Garrison, 1 00 Geo. Macomber, 50 Joseph Merrill, 1 00 A. M. Burns, 50 Mrs. Pollen, 2 00 S. Johnson, 2 00 Mrs. Chapman, 1 00 Ann Henshaw, 1 00 Deborah Weston, 1 00 E. G. Richardson, 50 A. Brett, 50 N. H. Whiting, 50 Mary May, 2 00 Elbridge Sprague, 1 00 Betsy Loud, 50 J. M. Aldrich, 1 00 Richard Clap, 1 00 H. M. Crooker, 50 C. A. Hall, 25 Anna E. Sibley, 50 Mrs. Emerson, 1 00 J. H. Crocker, 1 00 Mr. Snow, 2 00 S. Russell, 1 00 Cash and Friends' Caroline Wellington, 1 00 in different sums, 17 48 A. Stanwood, 1 00

Jan 1859.

TO MASS. A. S. SOCIETY, at the Annual Meeting, Jan., 1859.

J. M. Aldrich, Fall River, \$

POETRY.

CENTENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF BURNS.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

A hundred years! they're quickly fled,
With all their joy and sorrow...

A hundred years! and Nature's powers
No greater grown nor lessened!

Alas! I think, what worth of parts
Have brought me here competing...

As I sat musing what to say,
And how my verse to number...

The saint, methought, had left his post
That day to Holy Willie...

Alas! no soil's too cold or dry
For spiritual small potatoes...

So, when Burns knocked, Will knit his brow,
His window-gap made scander...

But Willie, friend, don't turn me forth,
Auld Clotie needs no gauger...

Meanwhile, the uno' g' had ta'en
Their place to watch the process...

Old Willie's tone grew sharp's a knife;
For 'Imprimis, I indite ye...

Sly Willie turned another leaf—
There's many here have heard ye...

To the next charge vexed Willie turned,
And, sighing, wiped his glasses...

When sudden glory round me broke,
And low melodious surges...

I heard a voice serene and low,
(With my heart I seemed to hear it)...

If not a sparrow falls, and knows it,
The Father sees and understands it...

Do souls alone clear-ryed, strong-kneed,
To him true service render...

The earth most richer sap secret,
(In time, could ye but know it!)...

These star-wide souls between their poles

Bear zones of tropic passion.

Her cheaper broods in palaces

She raises under glasses,

But souls like these, heaven's hostages,

Spring shelterless as grasses;

He loved much that is gospel good,

How'er the text you handle;

From common wood the cross was hewed,

By love turned priceless sandal.

If scant his service at the Kirk;

He pater heard, and aces,

From blackbird and from mavis;

The covering mouse, poor unroofed thing,

In him found mercy's angel,

The daisy's ring brought every spring

To him Faith's fervid evangel!

'Not he the threatening texts who deals,

Is highest 'mong the preachers,

But he who feels the woes and weals

Of all God's wandering creatures;

He doth good work whose heart can find

The spirit 'neath the letter;

Who makes his kind of happier mind,

Leaves wiser men and better.

'They make Religion be abhorred,

Who round with darkness gulf her,

And think no word can please the Lord

Unless it smell of sulphur;

Dear Poet-heart, that childlike guessed

The Father's love-kindness,

Come now to rest! thou didst his heat,

If haply 'twas in blindness!

Then leapt Heaven's portals wide apart,

And, at their golden thunder,

With sudden start I woke, my heart

Still throbbing full of wonder:

'Father,' I said, 'tis known to thee

How thou thy Saints preparest,

But this I see—Saint Charity

Is still the first and fairest!

Dear Dard and Brother! let who may

Against thy faults be railing;

(Though far, I pray, from us be they

That never knew a failing!)

One toast! 'Til give, and that not long,

Which thou would'st pledge, if present,—

To him whose song, in nature strong,

Makes man of prince and peasant!

[From the Atlantic Monthly.]

UGHT WOMEN TO LEARN THE ALPHABET? NO. 1.

PARIS smiled, for an hour or two, in the year 1801,

when, amidst Napoleon's mighty projects for

remodelling the religion and government of his empire,

the ironical satirist, Sylvain Marechal, thrust in his

Plan for a Law prohibiting the Alphabet to Women.

During, the first session, learned, the little

man retained to-day so much of its pungency, that

we can hardly wonder at the honest simplicity of

the author's friend and biographer, Madame Gacon

Dufour, who declared that he must be partially in-

sane, and proceeded to prove himself so by replying

to him. His proposed statute consisted of eighty-two

clauses, and is fortified by a "wherens" of a hundred

and thirteen weighty reasons. He caustically de-

range a history to show the frightful results which

have followed the taste of the fruit of the tree of

knowledge; quotes the Encyclopedie, to prove that

the woman who knows the alphabet has already lost

a portion of her innocence; cites the opinion of

Moliere, that any female who has unhappily learned

anything in this line should affect ignorance, when

possible; asserts that knowledge rarely makes men

attractive, and females never; opines that women

whose eyes know the alphabet, are in advance; remarks

that three-quarters of female authors are no better than

they should be; maintains that Madame Guen

would have been far more useful, had she been metely

pretty and an ignorant, such as nature made her,

—that Ruth and Naomi could not read, and

Boaz probably would never have married into the

family, had they possessed that accomplishment,—

that the Spartan women did not know the alphabet,

nor the Amazons, nor the women of Andromache,

nor Lucretia, nor Joan of Arc, nor Petrarch's Laura,

nor the daughters of Charlemagne, nor the three

hundred and sixty-five wives of Mohammed;—but

that Sappho and Madame de Maintenon could read

together too well, while the case of Saint Brigid, who

brought forth twelve children and twelve books,

was clearly exceptional, and afforded no safe pre-

cedent.

We take it, that the brilliant Frenchman has

touching the root of the matter. Ought women to

learn the alphabet? There the whole question lies.

Concede this little fulcrum, and Archimede will

move the world before she is done with it; it be-

comes merely a question of time. Resistance must

be made here or nowhere. *Obsta principibus.* Woman

must be a subject or an equal; there is no

middle ground. What if the Chinese proverb should

turn out to be, after all, the summit of wisdom,—

"For men, to cultivate virtue is knowledge; for

women, to renounce knowledge is virtue?"

No doubt, the progress of events is slow, like

the working of the laws of gravitation generally. Cer-

tainly, there has been but little change in the legal

position of woman since China was in its prime,

until within the last dozen years. Lawyers admit

that the fundamental theory of English and

Oriental law is the same on this point: Man and wife are

one, and that one is the husband. It is the oldest

of the very being and existence of the woman is sus-

pended during the marriage, and American Kent

echoes that "her legal existence and authority are in

a manner lost,—when Petersdorf asserts that "the

husband has the right of imposing such corporeal

restraints as he may deem necessary," and Bacon

that "the husband hath, by law, power and domi-

right rules that the husband, in certain cases, has

a right to confine his wife in his own dwelling-house

and restrain her from liberty for an indefinite time,

and Baron Alton says, "I will not say that a wife is

only the servant of her husband,—these high au-

thorities simply reaffirm the dogma of the Gentoo

code, four thousand years old and more.—A man,

both day and night, must keep his wife so much in

subjection that she by no means be mistress of her

own actions. If the wife have her own free will,

withstanding she be of a superior caste, she will

behave amiss.

Yet had these unchanging institutions, a presu-

re has been for centuries becoming concentrated,

which, now that it has begun to act, is threatening

to overthrow them all. It has not yet operated

very visibly in the Old World, where (even in Eng-

land) the majority of women have not yet mastered

the alphabet, and cannot sign their own names in

the marriage-register. But in this country, the

vast changes of the last twelve years are already

so entailed, that, while State after State has

ushered into legal existence one half of the population

within its borders. Every Free State in the Ameri-

can Union, except perhaps Illinois and New Jersey,

has conceded to married women, in some form, the

separate control of property. Maine, Massachu-

setts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania have gone

farther, and given them the control of their own

earnings,—and even wholly and entirely, as in

the New York and other States have given it

partially or indirectly. Legislative committees in

Ohio and Wisconsin have recommended, in printed

reports, the extension of the right of suffrage to

women; Kentucky (like Canada) has actually extend-

ed it, in certain educational matters, and a Massa-

chusetts legislative committee has suggested the same

in relation to the franchise. In Wisconsin, without

reserve, and expunging the word "male" from the Con-

stitution. Surely here and now, might poor M.

Marshall exclaim, "The bitter fruits of the original

seed appear, and the sad question recurs, whether

women ought ever to have tasted of the alphabet.

Mr. Everett, perhaps without due caution, advocat-

ed, last summer, the affirmative of this question.

With his accustomed eloquence, he urged on the

importance of the cause, and the public-spirit partici-

pation of the sexes in the public-school system of

Boston, while admitting to the fact that the

quality is of very recent standing. No doubt, the

eminent Oriental would have been pleased to hear

that this public administration of the alphabet to

females, on any terms, is an institution but little

more than a half century old in the city of Boston.

It is well established by the early deeds and docu-

ments, that a large proportion of Puritan women

could not write their own names; and in Boston

especially, for a hundred and fifty years, the public

schools included boys only. In the year 1789, how-

ever, the notable discovery was made, that the

average attendance of pupils from April to October

was only one half of that reported for the remainder

of the year. This was an obvious waste of money

and accommodations, and it was therefore proposed

that female pupils should be annually introduced

during this intermediate period.

Accordingly, the first female pupil, named in sum-

mer reports, and the state of things lasted, with but slight

modification, for some forty years, according to the

School Superintendent's Third Report. It was not

till 1828 that all distinctions were abolished in the

Boston Common Schools; in the High Schools lin-

gering far later, so vestiges of the "good old times,"

before a mistaken economy overthrew the wholesome

doctrine of M. Sylvain Marechal, and let loose the

alphabet among women.

It is true, we read and we all, according to the

ology, without knowing her letters. Still, there is

something to be said in defence of that venerable

centress, the Veronese lady, Isotta Nogarola, five

hundred and thirty-six years of age, who was pre-

served by De Thou, engaged in a dialogue on

the question, Whether Adam or Eve had committed

the greater sin? But Ludovic Dmenich, in his

"Dialogue on the Nobleness of women," that in

the year 1640, he said, "I do not even yet

know the letters of Adam, and I do not even yet

know the letters of Eve," which looks plausible. Be that as it

may, Eve's daughters are in danger of swallowing a

whole harvest of forbidden fruit, in these revolu-

tionary days, unless something be done to cut off the

supply.

It has been seriously asserted that, during the last

half-century, more books have been written by wo-

men than by men; and that during all the previous

unaccounted ages. It may be true; although, when

we think of the innumerable volumes of *Memoires*

by Frenchwomen of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries,—each one justifying the existence of her

own volumes by the remark, that all her con-

temporaries were writing as many,—we have our

doubts. As to the increased multitude of female

treatises on the female sex, we have, in education, in

health, in domestic economy, in dress, in recre-

ation, in wrongs, work, wages, and contracts, and

in idleness generally,—they can be no doubt

whenever; and the poorest of these books recognizes

a condition of public sentiment which no other age

ever dreamed of. Still, literary history preserves

the names of some reformers before the Reformation,

in this matter. There was Signora Mercedes Fonti,

the Venetian, who left a book to be published after

her death, in 1592. "De Mercede delle Donne." There

was her townsman, Lucretia Marinella, who fol-

lowed ten years after, with her essay, "La Nobilita

di Ecclesia delle Donne, con Diletti Mancamenti

degl' Uomini,"—a comprehensive treatise, truly!

Then followed the all-embracing Anna Maria

Schulman, in 1645, with her "Dissertatio de Ingenii

1. By-article tenth of amendments, the Constitu-

tion provides that the powers not delegated to the

United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by

to the States, are reserved to the States respec-

tively or to the people, and the right of employ-

ing clerymen to preach or pray for the people, or any

portion of them, not being delegated to Congress,

either directly or constructively, we claim as a re-

served right, which we deem sacred, inalienable, and

absolutely non-delegable, and religiously reserved.

2. This article one of amendments to the Constitu-

tion provides that "Congress shall make no law respect-

ing an establishment of religion," and we deem the

employment of a clergyman of any sect an establish-

ment, to a certain extent, of the religion of that

sect, inasmuch as he is thereby made an officer of

government; the doctrines preached by him in his

official capacity must be considered those of the gov-

ernment, whose acknowledged agent he is, and by

whom he is paid for promulgating his sectarian