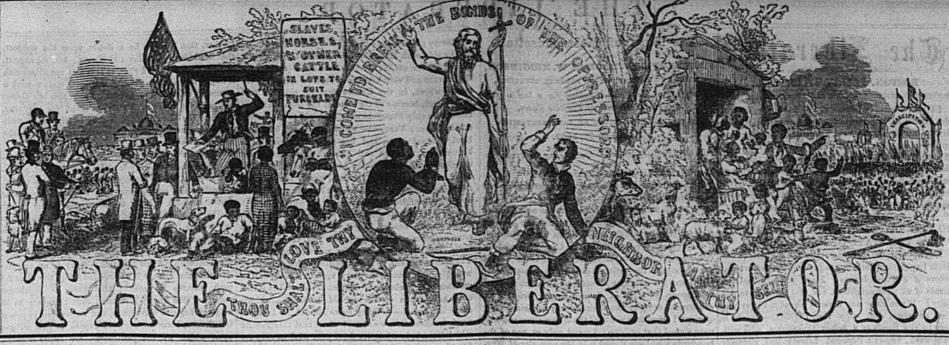
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cal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the this of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-WEND QUINCE PARTER PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

E. H. Heywood

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 exense 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 pathens, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE BIGHT. 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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BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1859. WHOLE NUMBER, 1581.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. LINUS B. COMINS, of Mass., in the U. S. House of Representatives.

ON THE ADMISSION OF OREGON INTO THE UNION. When, yesterday, the debate commenced on the almission of Oregon, it was not my intention to participate in it. And, now, if the House will give participate in it. me its attention, I will not occupy more than fifn minutes of its time.

At the opening of the Thirty-fourth Congress, three embryo States were about to emerge from their provincial condition, and become members of the Confederacy of the United States. At that time there was scarcely a man in the section of the counwhich I, in part, have the honor to represent, who was not ready and eager to bid welcome to Min-

who was not ready and eager to bid welcome to Minnessta, Kansas and Oregon.

Minnessta has been admitted. The history of Kansas is familiar to the world. The ropeal of the Missari compromise comprises its first chapter. A compromise which was never approved by northern men; those who voted for its passage, from the Free States, voted for it to die. It was acquiesced in to prevent discord, and as a promotive of union and harmony. Under the plausible pretence of popular sovereignty, it was repealed to gratify the personal and political ambition of men. Sir, paroderical as it may seem, the same fatality which attended those who voted for its passage, will be traced in the future history of those who labored

However this may be, the storm in Kansas has passed away; and those who have been beaten, as well as those who have triumphed, can enjoy the seemity of, the sky. The Republican triumph in that territory comes to us as the voice of that civil retolution which contains a germ from which is to spring a life, and a light, for the future guidance of our country's destiny. Freedom in Kansus has tri-umphed. The time and manner of her admission into the Union is with herself. We now come to Oregon. Oregon is comparatively an old Territory. is to some extent, I believe to a very great extent, sittled by New England people. Massachusetts

sittled by New England people. men and Massachusetts women were among its ear-list settlers. The blood of those whose memory is dear to me flowed in the veins of those who first broke its sbil and planted its fields. Her fortunes have been watched with the greatest solicitude by our people. In prosperity and in adversity, she has been the object of our regard and watchful care. See has struggled onward and onward, in moderate but substantial prosperity. She is now at the door of the Union. Shall we close it upon her? Not by my vote. Shall we repel her? shall we cast her of? or shall we bid her welcome? Sir, my mind is made up; with all my heart, I bid her come in. There are provisions in her constitution which, were I to vote upon them, could never receive my sanc-tian. But I do not regard myself as responsible, in the vote which I give for her admission, for each and every item in her constitution. I vote for her admission upon general principles. Her constitution is republican in form; and slavery is excluded from

territory forever. Sir, I regret with sadness the people of Oregon have deemed it expedient to adopt the article they have, relative to free negroes; but I must regard it but temporary and inoperative. Candor, howerer, compels me to say, that it is but in accordance with the spirit which prevails throughout the West towards free blacks; and is significant that the free, as well as the bonded negro, is to be the cause of much future agitation. In Massachusetts, thank God, all men are regarded equal, and entitled to equal I find no State west of New York ready to grant full rights and privileges of citizenship to free blacks; therefore, it would be inconsistent to reject

Oregon for this clause in her constitution. I am also entirely opposed to that provision in never sanction, by my vote, the principle involved in it; but this is a matter which, under the present Constitution and laws of the country, is entirely with the people of the States. I have made my record on these questions on the journals of this House, and shall do it again, whenever the question

Mr. Speaker, Oregon must, at no remote day, be admitted as a State. I am in favor of her admission to-day. If admitted now, she comes under the bright sunshine of peace. No internal feuds reign there. The canvas for her constitutional convention was conducted as quietly and peacefully as the or-dinary elections in the States. In view of the scenes which have transpired in other Territories, and which have been so often and so graphically por-travel by members of this House, and by none with more eloquence and power than by the honorable gutleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Grow]; I say, in view of these things, and with the blood of our brothers yet moist, shed in territorial strifes and intentions, who upon this floor is willing to take the responsibility of a postponement of this ques-tion? If we delay her admission, no man can forese what intervening circumstances may occur to ashumas and embitter future proceedings. Others

wer take this responsibility; I will not.

Now as to her population. I will not undertake to say how large her population is; two years ago, the gentleman from Pennsylvania stated it to be night. ninety thousand. He gave me yesterday, as his authority, the honorable Delegate from Oregon. The honorable Delegate from Oregon has assured us, upon this floor, to-day, that her population is meet to one hundred thousand, and he is my authority. If he was good authority two-years ago, he is a contract to the contract of the contract and the contract are contracted by the contract and the contract are contracted by the contracted he is good authority now. I am not aware of any-thing in his career, during the past two years, to

in peach his integrity.

A few words as to enabling acts and the English estriction. I am indifferent as to enabling acts and think them altogether unnecessary. I regard the Eaglish restriction, so called, of no consequence; I shall most cheerfully vote for its repeal. It has served a good purpose; it has served to east odium upon its authors, and help on the cause of freedom

In my judgment, you may adopt as many res Sates shall hereafter be admitted into the Union, and each new State will be admitted independent of alch resolution. The Thirty-fifth Congress may be is the opinion that ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty inhabitants shall be the basis as to pulation; and the Thirty-sixth Congress will reor disregard it. I do not say this is right; but in the nature of things, and in accordance with

the history of the country.

The Constitution of the United States avoided

States may be Specifying the mode by which new States may be admitted into the Union; leaving the form and inner altogether to the discretion of Congress As it was the wisdom of the framers of the Constitation to leave this matter to Congress, it seems to me presumption for one Congress to lay down a bass upon which a succeeding Congress shall act. As I am ready to admit Kansas with a free and respectively. poblican constitution, such as her people desire, and hay adopt, so am I now ready to vote for the ad-mission of Oregon.

THE ADMISSION OF OREGON. Speech of Hon. Henry L. Dawes, of Mass., IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, PRIDAY, FEB. 11.

the views of my colleague, [Mr. Comins.] who has utional under that provision of the Constitution just taken his seat, and I am compelled to vote of the United States, which guarantees to citizens of against the admission of Oregon under the constitu-tion which she brings here in her application, and I zens in the several States; and in maintenance of desire briefly to assign a few reasons for that vote. that doctrine, I need not go further than the Dred The question of the admission of a new State into our Confederacy, is addressed to the largest discre-fatal blows at the rights of men, than ever before, tion of Congress. The Constitution does not com-mand us to admit new States. It simply authorizes and unoffending heads, is not broad enough to take the exercise of that power, and leaves to each legisla-tor the largest exercise of his discretion, unburden-ed by a single obligation, and untrammeled save by a single limitation. There may be, and doubtless ion of the Court, when he defines what that clause in often are, considerations which go to modify, and to the Constitution of the United States guaranties to some extent control that discretion. A large and increasing population, stable and permanent in its character, may have induced an invitation in advance, in the form of an enabling act. Civil commotion may have so disturbed the order of things in a Territory, or the territorial government may have so failed to discharge its proper functions, or to render itself acceptable to the records that it is a more rights of person are concerned, the provision in question is confined to citizens of a State who are temporarily in another State, without taking up their residence there. It gives them no political rights in the State, as to voting, or holding office, or in any other respect. so failed to discharge its proper functions, or to ren-der itself acceptable to the people, that one may State has no right to participate in the government of feel constrained, other things being consistent, to another. But, if he rank as a citizen in the State to cast a vote for the admission of a Territory as a State. Which he belongs, within the meaning of the Consti-But in the case of Oregon, I know of no such continuous of the United States, then, whenever he goes sideration.

So far as the amount of population is concerned, and so far as we have any official information, there are, in my opinion, very few more than fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants in that Territory. I would as soon vote for her admission into this Union, with

jections which lie against it. My objections to voting for her admission lie in her constitution itself, in a capronal result in the constitution itself, it cannot agree with my colleague, (Mr. Comins, I that her constitution is Republican in form. I understand that phraseology to mean something more than mere form. I understand it to be my duty to look into that constitution, and see whether it is left that provision of the orders, does violate that phraseology to mean something more crty, making contracts, suing in the courts, or even than mere form. I understand it to be my duty to eating the bread of life within her borders, does violate that provision of the constitution shall be included in this idea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, indea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution shall be included in this idea of a citizen, then, according to the constitution, as expounded in the Dred Scott decision itself, this provision which attempts, not only to drive them from its border, but to prevent them. look into that constitution, and see whether it is late that provision of the constitution to which I Republican in principle. One portion of that con- have referred. This same opinion defines who are cittoo often: for more than one reading is necessary in definition applies to a large class of my own constitorder to learn the full scope and meaning of those uents, and the constituents of my colleague, [Mr.

several propositions.
The Clerk read as follows:

resided in this State during the six months and the seription of persons, who were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution recognized as citizens in the his intention to become a citizen of the United States

mining claim therein.'

No negro, Chinaman, or mulatto, shall have the

jority upon this floor, that constitution falls still- State sovereignty defied and insulted. voting for that which, in my conscience, I believe to tution which excludes free people of color from the Territory, is, in my opinion, as I have said, clearly

real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any

Sir, that cannot be republican in this Confederacy of States, which cannot be adopted and carried out in practice under the Constitution of all the States.

Oregon has the right to drive from its borders all free people of color, every other State has the same right, and we might as well here enact a law to drive every one of them into the broad ocean, as to authorize by our vote here the State of Oregon to Mr. Dawes. I have been unable to coincidew ith drive them from the Territory. It is unconstithe citizen of one State when he goes into another :

into another State, the Constitution clothes him, as to the rights of person, with all the privileges and immunities which belong to citizens of the State. And if persons of the African race are citizens of a State, and of the United States, they would be entitled to all of those privileges and immunities in every State, and the State could not restrict them ; for they would hold soon vote for her admission into the sixty thousand, as with any other number, if the sixty thousand, as with any other number, if the circumstances which surround her territorial existence and position are such as to justify it. I make would be bound to maintain and enforce them, the no objection here, that she does not come under the constitution and laws of the State to the contrary, notend position here, that she does not come under the enabling act. Other things being equal, I would just as soon vote for her admission here without, as strict them, or place the party in an inferior grade, with an enabling act, if she came here with a conthiction and laws of the State to the contrary, not with the states could limit or rejust as soon vote for her admission here without, as strict them, or place the party in an inferior grade, with an enabling act, if she came here with a continuous contraction and laws of the State to the contrary, not with an enabling act. stitution acceptable to her people, and republican in and could have no operation; and would give no rights principle. No civil commotion exists in all her to the citizen when in another State. He would have borders; she is at peace, she is slowly and gradually increasing in population, and coming forth by de.

This is evidently not the construction or meaning of

borders; she is at peace, she is slowly and gradually increasing in population, and coming forth by degrees from the chrysalis of an infant Territory, and clothing the result in the maturity of a State.

I feel, under the circumstances, perfectly free to examine her application, and to weigh not only all the arguments in favor of her admission, but all objections which lie against it. My objections to votification is the limit of the original properties of the original properties of the original properties of the clause in question. It guaranties rights to the clause in question. It guaranties right stitution, most objectionable in my mind, I send to izens of the United States; and to whom these rights the Clerk's desk, that they may be read together, are guarantied. I ask the House to listen to that They have often been alluded to in this debate, but not definition, and then I will show the House that that Comins] who has just taken his seat, and who represents a commercial city in which, because of their And every white male of foreign birth, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in the United States one year, and shall have this provision. Chief Justice Taney says:

resided in this State during the six months immediate. It is true, every person, and every class and de laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization, shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law.

'No free negro or mulatto, not residing in this State at the time of the adoption of the constitution, shall ever come, reside, or be within this State, or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any suit therein; and the Legislative Assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal, by public officers, of all such free negroes and mulattoes, and for their effectual exclusion from the State, and for the punishone year preceding such election, conformably to the several States, became also citizens of this new polit-laws of the United States on the subject of naturalical body; but none other; it was formed by them, on which it was founded. It was the Union of those of all such free negroes and mulations, and for their effectual exclusion from the State, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the State, or employ or harbor them therein.

'No Chinaman not a resident of this State at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall ever hold any real estate or mining claim, or work any mining alaim therein.' mining claim therein.'

'The Legislative Assembly shall provide by law, in the most effective manner, for carrying out the above States.'

Now, sir, in respect to my own State. In 1780, Mr. Dawes. I am not to be driven from the po-leges and immunities of a citizen, is no more a resition of opposition to this constitution, because of the charge made against this side of the House—of opposition to the admission of a free State, for the reason that it is Democratic in its political character. who lived in that community was just as much a The participation I had last session in bringing Minnesota upon this floor, has given evidence that I will in this opinion, says that he and his posterity are admit a free State, whatever may be the political to-day citizens of the United States, and have all character of that State. I refer to the record of the the rights and privileges and immunities in the State Thirty-Fourth Congress, where I find that my col- of Oregon, that every citizen of that State has. league [Mr. Comins.] voted against the enabling act cannot understand, sir, how a member from my own for the admission of a free State into the Union, because of some, to him, valid objections to that act. a discharge of it as my own, cancome to the conclu-In the vote on the enabling act for the admission of sion that it his duty, by his vote, to breathe the dinnesota, I find mycolleague's name recorded against breath of life into a provision of a constitution that it; and now, strengthened by his example, I make would disfranchise a large portion of the people of bold, here, to raise my voice in opposition to the Massachusetts. I desire to call up, in the recollection of Oregon, for reasons found in her contion of my colleague, the efforts Massachusetts has stitution. Sir, the first of the articles read at the made heretofore, to test the rights of her citizens to Clerk's desk, I do not propose, in the limited time I the privileges and immunities of citizenship in other have, to dwell much upon. It is an objection, in States. I desire to have it remembered—I do not my mind, to the admission of Oregon, and a depart-intend ever to forget it—that Massachusetts has uture from the true meaning of the constitution, terly failed to have the question tried in the highest which, in my judgment, was never intended to permit any but citizens to exercise the elective franthere is any force and effect in this provision of the chise. The second is, in my opinion, as plainly and as palpably a violation of the Constitution of the United States, as any provision capable of being drafted by man. I hold myself responsible upon this floor, if, by my vote, I breathe the breath of life into that constitution, just as much as if it were embodied in a bill before Congress, and by my_vote that the provision under which the constitutional rights of citizens of my own that the constitutional rights of citizens of my own which the constitutional rights of citizens of my own that was made a law. Without the vote of a ma- State have been trampled in the dust, and her own born; by the vote of a majority, it becomes the or-ganic law of the Territory of Oregon. I am not for there seems to be a studied malignity in this able, whatever may be the abilities of others upon this floor, to divest myself of the responsibility of constitution of a State.

No free negro or mulatto, not resident in this be unconstitutional. That provision of the consti-tution which excludes free people of color from the shall ever come, reside, or be within the State.

They could not condescend to say 'voluntarily. unconstitutional.

No free negro or mulatto not residing in this State at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall of my State, included in this provision, may be ever come, reside, or be within this State, or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any command of the ship, no responsibility, and no control, may be taken in there against his will; and yet this Constitution imposes a duty upon the Legislature to provide penalties to be visited upon his head. Without being aware of it, he may come within the limits of that State, and incur the pen-One State of this Union cannot arrogate to itself within the limits of that State, and incur the pen-prerogatives, the exercise of which cannot be assum-alty. And, furthermore, he who shall 'employ' or ed by all the States of this Union. If the State of harbor' such person, comes under the same visita-

treaty with China, providing that the United States and China shall be hereforever at peace with each other, and with all the citisens thereof, 'without exception to person or places; and I would like to ask, gentlemen, how that provision comports with the provision of the constitution to which I have reask, gentlemen, how that provision of the constitution to which I have referred? I would like to know if there were such a provision-axisting between us and Great Britain, and we should make an invidious distinction bears and we should make an invidious distinction bears and the should be shou the personal rights of the citizen, whether we should not be called to account for it? It is an infraction and they have come here, like the wise men of the of treaty st pulations, which are the supreme law of

But I desire to say, sir, before I take leave of that provision which denies to a certain class of colored persons, the right to bring suits in the court of Oregon, that it exceeds in cruelty and inhumanity any provision touching the same subject in any slave de in the United States, so far as I know. There s not a slave in a slave State who has not, under her laws, a right to maintain a suit in her courts. I believe such an inhuman provision could not stand an hour, sir, in your own State of South Carolina. an hour, sir, in your own State of South Carolina.

Let any man bring a colored person into Oregon, and paratively unessential, and which pertain exclusive paratively unessential, and which pertain exclusive paratively oregon, and not to use or our tiened by our votes, and made the organic law of Oregon, there is no way given among men by which York or Massachusetts were in the place of Oregon, It is reserved for this so-called free State to invent a method more subtile and effectual for maintaining slavery in her own borders, than was ever devised the most efficient instrumentalities for carrying out the great work of the slave propaganda are furnished we do not agree? Is that a reason why we should

a free State. quoted it. It is as follows:

'And the Legislative Assembly shall have power to restrain and regulate the immigration to this State of persons not-qualified to become citizens of the United

Under this provision, the African Slave Trade can be recopened. That is now prevented only by a law of Congress. We enact this provision by our votes in its favor, and it grants full authority to bring blacks from Africa, and to prescribe the terms and provisions upon which it may be done. I know of bondage. And, if we give this authority, no penalty can be visited upon the heads of those who paricipate in the traffic between Oregon and Africa.

This, sir, is not only not a Republican Constitu-

tion. It makes odious distinctions among classes of men; among individuals of the same class. It ruthlessly tramples the rights of the citizen in the dust. It arrogates to itself prerogatives that cannot be ex-ercised in common by all the States. It trenches on the guaranties of the Constitution of the United States. Sworn to support that Constitution, I cannot sanction this. I cannot be driven from my opposition, because there are other provisions of this Constitution which incline some in calling it a free State; or, because, if I remand it back to a Territorial government, under the Dred Scott decision, slavery exists there. I demand something more than a rees state in name. I want the reality. If slavery exists in Oregon, while a Territory, it is because the people want it; and if they want it, they will make it a slave State, in name us well as in fact, within a

These are some of the reasons why I cannot vote for this. I speak for no individual here but myself. and for no constituency but my own. I think I know their sentiments; and should I vote for this bill, I should expect to be burned in effigy at every cross-road in my district. I do not intend to disappoint, in this respect, the just expectation of those

[Here the hammer fell.]

SPEECH OF HON. ELI THAYER, . IN REPLY TO MR. DAWES,

My colleague who has just addressed the House is unable to see how an honest Representative of the State of Massachusetts can vote for the admission of Oregon. I will gratify the curiosity of my col-league, if he will listen to my argument, and the reasons which I shall give in defence of my position. And, sir, I think this is a strange necessity that compels the Northern Representatives upon this floor to give the reasons for their votes for the admission of another free State into this Confederacy. Sir, I shall vote for the admission of the State of Oregon without hesitation, without reluctance, and Oregon without hesitation, without resulting without reserve. So far as my vote and my voice without reserve. So far as my vote and my voice as can go, I would extend to her such a welcome as becomes her history, as becomes her promise for the future, and such as becomes our own high renown for justice and magnanimity—a welcome not based on contemptible political calculation, or still more on contemptible political calculation, or still more contemptible partisan expediency; but such a welcome as sympathy and friendship and patriotism should extend to another new State; such, sir, as becomes the birthday of a nation. This people comes before us in accordance with the forms of law, and upon the invitation of this House; and it is too late to apply a party test upon this question. On the 19th of May last, a vote was taken in the Senate opon the admission of Oregon, and ten Republican Senators voted for her admission, while six Republican Senators only voted against her admission; and, sir, I have not heard of any attempt on the part of the six Senators who voted for the rejection of Oregon to read out of the Republican party the

to remain there. The constitution has made no pro-vision that they shall wear frontlets upon their brow; the Atlantic coast, who also were fanatics upon vision that they shall wear frontlets upon their brow; the Atlantic coast, who also were fanatics upon but whoseever, knowingly or not, innocently or designedly, whether in obedience to the Divine injunction, to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, or with a design to violate the law; all alike are denounced as transgressors of the law, and each one and all come within this provision of the constitution.

The Atlantic coast, who also were fanatics upon but whoseever, knowingly or not, innocently or design to pilgrims of the Pacific coast may be become worthy ago, in my boyhood. I studied the adventures of those men who founded upon the western shore of Again, take the provision in reference to the the American continent what are now the cities of Chinamen. While that provision permits one class Oregon and Astoria. These men, who were then in of Chiramen to reside within that State, with all the vigor of their lives, are now old men—greythe personal rights and privileges of citizens, it disables, while it permits them to reside there, another class of Chinamen; and thus that State, by their hearthstones, waiting to know what is to which pretends to come here upon the cardinal be the result of our deliberations; waiting to know what is to which pretends to come here upon the cardinal be the result of our deliberations; waiting to know principle of equality, builds up two classes of foreign whether the proud consummation to which they men in that community; one with personal rights have aspired for the last twenty years is now reachand privileges as citizens, and another disabled, with no rights to hold real estate, or to exercise any of the great immunities of citizens; one class of Chi-tence and endurance such as belong only to our race, the great immunities of citizens; one class of Uni-namen, nere serfs, and the other clothed with all personal rights. Now, there is a provision in our treaty with China, providing that the United States These are the men who have carried our institu-

East, not asking gifts, but bringing gifts; in that respect, unlike our military men who expect and receive honors and rewards for their services. do they bring? Why, sir, the trophies of their own labor, the evidences of their own worth. sent before us the cities and towns which they have founded. They present schools, churches, and workshops. They bring all, all the products of their labor, and place them upon the altar of the Union, a pledge for the common welfare and the common defence. And what are we doing here? Why, sir, quibbling about things which are com-Oregon, there is no way given among men by which he could invoke her courts to give him his freedom.

Note that the courts to give him his freedom.

Note that the courts to give him his freedom.

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Note that the courts to give him his freedom. method more subtile and effectual for maintaining slavery in her own borders, than was ever devised south of Mason and Dixon's line. Thus it is that the method method is the method in the militia of the State. These, then, are the men who come here; and what by the North, and in the name of freedom. This is excommunicate them, that we should have nothing the false and hollow-hearted pretence that Oregon is

a free State.

What law of reformation is this? It is the pharisaical law of repulsion, distance and distrust. It is not the Christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the contact of the Christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the contact is the contact of the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and associated in the christian law of contact, confidence and sociation. The pharisees denounced the founder of Christianity as 'the friend of publicans and sinners.' That class would repel all who would not agree with them to the fullest extent. Shall we pursue a similar course in relation to the people of Oregon? Is it wise to do so? Is it expedient to reject her ap-

plication on such grounds? plication on such grounds?

What objections do Republicans present to this application? They say that there is not sufficient

population, and they claim that it is their mission to see that the Democratic party shall recover its provisions upon which it may be dolled the consistency. At whose expense: At the consistency of the Republican party. I submit that it is better for the Republican party to preconsistency. At whose expense? At the expense serve for itself the consistency which it poesesses rather than attempt to recover for the Democratic party the consistency which they have lost.

Then, sir, in relation to this qualification of pop

This, sir, is not only not a Republican. It is a de-tion, but it is not a free Constitution. It is a de-ulation, what is the position of the Republican parture from all our ideas of a Republican Constitu-party, and what has it been? This party, by its Representatives, voted for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution, with less than onehalf of the present population of Oregon. The Republican party in the House, without one excepon, so far as I know, voted for the enabling act in viting Oregon to come here, with a constitution, and be admitted as a State. I have no disposition, and there is no need, to inquire here what is the population of Oregon; for, as a Republican, I am pledged to no rule on this subject. I opposed, as did my colleague, and my friends on this side of the House, the restriction which was put upon the Territory of Kansas. We protested against it then, and protest against it now. whatever with that restriction, and are reany time, to give an honest vote for its repeal.

Another objection is urged against the clause in the constitution of Oregon, which excludes negroes and mulattoes from that Territory; and, in ad-dition, provides that they shall not bring any suit therein. It is said this is in contravention of the Constitution of the United States. What if it is? I have not sworn that the people of Oregon shall obey the Constitution of the United States. I do not admit that this is in contravention of the Constitution of the United States. I do not now discuss that point. But even if it were, I have sworn myself to support the Constitution of the United States, and not that anybody else shall do so?

But, sir, this provision is no more hostile to the United States Constitution than are the laws of Indiana and Illinois which exclude free negroes and mulattoes from their boundaries. Certainly not. It is no more to exclude the suit of the man, than to exclude the man himself. Is the negro less than his suit? I contend that he is greater than his suit. The greater contains the less, and the statutes of Illinois and Indiana are as unconstitutional as is the provision of the Oregon constitution. But it does seem, at the first view, that it was a wanton and unprovoked outrage upon the rights of these men who are excluded from that State. I think there is a real apology for the action of the States of Illinois and Indiana. They are in close proximity to the institution of slavery. They are under the shadow of the dying tree of slavery, and its decaying limbs are constantly threatening to fall upon their heads and I cannot censure them for taking such means as they see fit to protect themselves from such immi-

of Oregon to read out of the Republican party the the free State party, which was composed of free ten Senators who voted for her admission; and if State Democrats and Republicans. There was the

tica. They have not inserted 'knowingly.' It may be done ignorantly and innocently, and yet come within the letter of this provision.

And, sir, I do not know by what test a man may tell one of those from another class of colored persons which this provision of the constitution permits to remain there. The constitution has made no recommendation of the constitution has made no recommendation.

They have not inserted 'knowingly.' It may that attempt is now to be made, we will see whether the people to read a majority out of the party.

But, sir, who are these people of Oregon who come here now, asking admission? They are the provision of the constitution permits to remain there. The constitution has made no recommendation of the provision of the constitution has made no recommendation. mitting free negroes and mulattoes. They preferred to have slaves in Oregon rather than free negroes and it was for the purpose of securing their vote for a free State that the Republicans and free State Democrats inserted and advocated this provision. The leading Republicans of that Territory advocated the adoption of the constitution containing this provision. Mr. Logan, who received every Republican vote for United States Senator, advocated, on the stump, the adoption of the constitution with this

> What was the vote? Why, sir, this clause of the constitution had a majority of seven thousand five hundred and fifty-nine votes; while the constitution itself had a majority of only four thousand votes. The Democratic majority in the territory, as shown in the election of a Representative to this House, was only one thousand six hundred and thirteen votes. Then it is proved by the official record that the Republican party combined with the Free State Democratic party to sanction and ratify this provision of the constitution which is here called in question. There is also abundant evidence, outside of the record, to satisfy any one that such is the fact. This, then, is the apology for the ac-tion of the people of Oregon on this question. What Republican, or what friend of free States, is justi-fied, under these circumstances, in voting to exclude the people of Oregon from this Confederacy on account of this provision, which is only an expedient, and not a thing for practical use? It is very easy, at this distance, to censure the people of Oregon, and to pronounce judgment against them; but such judgment may be neither wise nor just.

'Then at the balance let's be mute, We never can adjust it; What's done we partly may compute, But know not what's resisted.

But, sir, there is another objection urged from ertain quarters, with great pertinacity. I mean the objection to the suffrage of aliens. The constitution of Oregon, in respect to alien suffrage, is certainly more stringent than the law of some of the States of the Union, and less stringent than that of others. It is the same as the Territorial law has been during the last ten years. It requires a resibeen during the last ten years. It requires a resi-dence of twelve months in the United States, and of six months in Oregon. It requires that the sworn declaration of an intention to become a citizen of the United States shall have been on file at least e year. What was the inducement for that encouragement of aliens? The wages of labor are now, and have been, in Oregon, double what they are on the Atlantic coast; and I ask, would it be expedient or wise for Oregon to drive away from her borders the emigration from Europe, on which she borders the emigration from Europe, on which she has to rely for developing the resources of the country? Certainly not. Such a policy would have been disastrous in the extreme to the young State. It was wise and prudent, therefore, for Oregon to invite and encourage that immigration which she so much needs to develop her great resources, and to secure for her the products of her natural

These, sir, are among the plausible and ostensible objections that have been urged on this side of the House against the admission of Oregon. There is yet another argument: that Kansas has been exclu-ded from the Union by the action of the Democratic party; and that, therefore, Republicans ought to exclude Oregon. The argument amounts to this: that we should abuse Oregon because the Democratic party have abused Kansas. Now I, for one, am quite content that the record of the Republicans, in respect to Kansas, should be better than the record of the Democratic party. I am quite content that the record of the Democratic party, in respect to Kansas, should be just what it is; and I do not think it is possible very much to improve the Reocratic record. publican record, or to impair the De Are we to sacrifice our own political principles and advantages for the sake of compelling the Demo-cratic party to a consistency of action? Are we bound, as a party, to sacrifice our own consistency in doing so? Certainly not. I think the Republican party has another, and, to my mind, a less difficult mission to perform; and that is, to preserve its own consistency.

These are some of the palpable objections that have been urged on this floor. I come now to some for which I thank the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. Hughes.) He has presented to the House some secret objections which the Republicans are said to have to the admission of Oregon. The first is, that the Republicans are opposed to the admission of Oregon because it is a Democratic State. Now, sir, does not the gentleman from Indiana understand that the Republican party is not so devoid of sagacity as to fail to see that to reject a young State for the reason that it is Democratic, would make it Democratic forever? Does the gentleman from Indiana find anything in the history of the Republican party which justifies such conviction of its stupidity as would lead him to say that the Republican party, as a party, is opposed to the admission of a free State because her records had chosen such rollities. as a party, is opposed to the admission of a free State, because her people had chosen such politics as seemed to them best? Does he not see that sa-gacious Republicans, finding that the Republican party in Oregon is now in a minority of only a few hundred votes, understand that if Oregon be admit-ted by their action, and were thus set free from the nfluence of executive patronage, she would very soon become a Republican State

But further than that: the gentleman brings up another secret reason why the Republicans would oppose the admission of Oregon. That secret reason is—that in case of the failure of the people to elect a President, and in case of that election coming to this House, there will be a vote from Oregon against the Republican candidate, which may procure his defeat. Now, does not the gentleman from Indiana understand that any such position of the Republican party would secure its defeat?—that if it were stu-pid enough to take a position against the admission of free States, because their constitutions were not universally approved, it would require more than the vote of one State, either in Congress or out of Congress, to help or harm the prospects of the party? I thank the gentleman from Indiana for the secret reasons which he has given, and which I have thus far been enabled to prove too absurd and impolitic to influence the action of the Republican

ere are certain principles, which, in my opin-There are certain principles, which, in my opinion, should govern the House on a question of the admission of a State. First, the Constitution must be Republican in form. Second, there must be sufficient population; what number may be sufficient, must be left to the discretion of Congress. Third, the proposed admission must be shown to be for the benefit of the contracting parties; to be best for the State applying, to be best for the Confederacy. Let us look at these principles, and see how they should affect the vote on the admission of Oregon. First, then, is the Constitution presented by Oregon Republican in form?

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I will here send to the Clerk's desk a quotation from an authority which is justly and generally respected by Republicans—an extract from a speech of Senator Seward, made in the Senate of the United States last May, upon this very question.

The Clerk read, as follows:

E. H. Hermond

· I think there is nobody who doubts that the peo ple of Oregon are to-day ready, desirous, willing to come in. They have made a constitution which is acceptable to themselves, and a constitution which, however it may be criticised here, after all complies however it may be criticised here, after all complies substantially with every requirement which the Con-gress of the United States, or any considerable portion of either House of Congress, has ever insisted on in

regard to any State.

'It seems to me, therefore, to be trifling with the State of Oregon, trifling with the people of that com-munity, and to be unnecessary, and calculated to promunity, and to be unnecessary, and calculated to produce an unfavorable impression on the public mind, in regard to the consistency of the policy which we pursue in admitting States into the Union, to delay or deny this application. For one, sir, I think that the sooner a territory emerges from its provincial condition, the better; the sooner the people are left to manage their own affairs, and are admitted to participation in the responsibilities of the government, the stronger and more vigorous the State which those people form will be. I trust, therefore, that the question will be taken, and that the State may be admittion will be taken, and that the State may be admit-ted without further delay."

d without further delay.'
Mr. Thayer—So much, then, in relation to th first principle which should govern our section in the admission of States. And what, sir, concerning the other? How will it affect this present confederacy of States to admit the Territory of Oregon? Why, gentlemen talk here as if we were discussing the question of admitting some new and unheard of race of monsters and cannibals into the Union. Sir, is not this injustice to the people of Oregon? Will they contaminate this confederacy? Just as much eir mountain streams will contaminate the Pacific Ocean. I tell you, they may be inferior to us in education, in refinement, and in etiquette; they may not appear as well in the drawing-room, as some of our Eastern exquisites; but in the sturdy virtues of honesty, of fidelity, of industry, and of endurance, they are above the average of the people of this confederacy. I regret that the gentleman from Maine, the other day, deemed it expedient to call the pioneers of our national progress, 'interlopers, run aways, and outlaws.' I affirm, concerning Ameri can citizens in any Territory of the United States, and in any new State of this confederacy, that they are above the average of the population of the old States in all that makes up manly and virtuous char acter. They have my sympathy; and never will

oppress them by my vote or my voice.

If, then, there is a great gain to the Confederacy, is it not also better for the people of Oregon themselves that she should be admitted into the Union? Is it better that they should remain under the tui tion of this Federal Government-a non-resident Government — or that they should govern them Belves? Why, sir, to contend against the advan tages of self-government would seem to me unsuited to this place, and not to comport well with the his tory of this Republic; for the origin of this nation was a protest against a non-resident government and our history should be. For one, sir, I have no faith in that kind of government being exercised over Anglo-Saxons anywhere, and least of all I have faith in that kind of government being exercised by Re-publics anywhere; and therefore, to relieve a por-tion of our people from what I consider a curse— the curse of a non-resident domination—I will cheerfully vote for the admission of Oregon. Sir, this non-resident control is a relic as it was an invention of ancient tyranny. It has come down from the his tory of the old Romans, who had pro-consuls in Ju-dea, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain and England has copied their example, and sent governors and governor-generals to India, and to thi continent also. But we protested successfully against that kind of government by the war of the Revolution; and I look forward to the time when every portion of our national domain shall be free from it; when we shall have no provincial. when we shall have no provincial dependencies whatever; when we shall have nothing but a com bination of equal and sovereign republics. Then, sir, we may bring the duties of this government to position where they will be, as was well said last session by the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Curry, ' few and simple,' as they should be.
It is in accordance with this view that I shall op-

pose anything that leads to complications—that shall multiply or extend our provincial dependen-

But, Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to review the action of the minority of the Committee on Territo ries in relation to this question. They have reported the bill of the majority, with an additional provision repealing the clause of the English bill re-stricting the right of Kansas to come into the Union with a less population than ninety-three thousand. Now, sir, I had supposed that the gentlemen of the minority of the committee would have voted for the bill which they have reported, but speeches have been made by two of the gentlemen who signed that report, in which they went off on an altogether dif-ferent line of reasoning. They have talked about the unconstitutionality of the constitution of Oregon, and about its invasions of human rights, without confining themselves at all to the argument of their minority report. And now I wish to know for what consideration the signers of that report are willing and ruined by the constitution of Oregon? I have their reply in this report. On one condition they are willing to sanction all these outrages, and that condition is, that a certain act concerning Kansay shall be repealed. If the report is in good faith. there can be no other conclusion.
[Here the hammer fell.]

We stated, last week, that the vote upon the admission of Oregon as a State into the Union, stood in the U. S. House of Representatives (the bill having previously passed the Senate) as follows :- Ayes 114 -Lecompton Democrats 92; Anti-Lecompton ditto, 7; Republicans, 15-including Messrs. Thayer and Comins, of Massachusetts. Nays 103-Republicans, 73: Southern Democrats 18: Southern Americans, 10: Anti-Lecompton Democrats, 2. In the evening, a concourse of citizens, with the Marine Band, seranaded President Buchanan, Vice President Breckinridge, General Lane, Senator Green, Speaker Orr. and Messrs. Comins and Thayer, all of whom mad congratulatory speeches.

Hon. Eli Thaver was visited by the procession next after the President. He has rooms at the west end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and after the salutatory music, and veciferous calls, he made his appearance at a window. When the cheering had subsided, he said :- Friends and Fellow Citizens: I know not with what words to express to you my gratitude for for you have taken me wholly the honor of this call. by surprise. I am told that this is a demonstration in honor of the grand event of this day—the birth of a new and sovereign State. The humble vote which I have had the pleasure to give, contributing to this result, has been given in accordance with my convictions of duty, without hope of approbation out fear of condemnation! I have merely followe the lead of my principles, and adhering to them as I have merely Tollowed have done, and as I intend to do, I stand ready to take their legitimate consequences as they come-whether they be tokens of favor or of disfavor whether they be tokens of myor of the third (Cheers.) With you I rejoice to welcome to this more than twenty afederacy the heroic men who, more than twenty years ago, in the dim and distant solitudes away be

· Where rolled the Oregon, and heard no sound

But its own dashings, founded our own institutions, and established the arts and occupations of peace. With my whole heart do I welcome to our embrace these pioneers of our own national progress, not as aliens or stran-gers, but as friends and brothers, 'bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.' (Cheers.) Another pledge have we now of the permanency of this Union, for having firmly bound to the Republic our remotest possessions, we have hemmed in and firmly secured all intermediate parts of our national domain. But, gentlemen, I have no great respect for assurances of the permanency of this Union. The Union is and well be! (Prolonged cheers.) It is not a thing to be advocated and argued for; it is a thing fixed, settled and determined. Far transcending in impor-tance the temporary convenience of one State or of all the States, it is a trust which we hold, not for our posterity only, but for the world! That trust we are bound to deliver unimpaired to succeeding generations, and we will so deliver it. (Cheers.) Again thanking you for this honor, with the best wishes for yourselves, for Oregon, and the Republic, I hid you good night.'

The people of Massachusetts will settle score with Messrs. Thayer and Comins hereafter.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 25, 1859.

On Thursday forenoon, last week, the hall of the House of Representatives was crowded with a highly intelligent audience, gathered to hear the able and eloquent pleas (which we give in full) of T. W. HIGGINSON and WENDELL PHILLIPS, before the Committee on Federal Relations, in behalf of the army of Mr. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: petitioners for the passage of a law, abolishing slave-hunting in Massachusetts. A powerful impression was made upon all present. The people are ready!

TO THE READERS OF THE LIBERATOR IN

THE STATE OF NEW YORK. Have you signed your names to the Petition to ou return of Fugitive Slaves? Have you solicited the names of all your neighbors, and sent them up to Allose no time, but copy the Petition,-which is this week, report a Personal Liberty Bill, virtually like that of Vermont,-and go about the work in would do were the outraged fleeing fugitive one of

Especially do I appeal to Women to circulate the petition, remembering that ope-half the slave victims are women,—helpless, defenceless creatures, with no law, no public sentiment to shield them from the sensual Legrees who hunt them.

Mothers, I appeal to you to devote the present hour day and week to this work; nerve yourselves up to go from house to house, from office to office, and roll up long lists of signatures. Do as you would do were it your own loved daughters-whom you would rescue from the auction-block. And daughters, join in the work, as if it were your precious mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, you would save from the terrible sundering of every bond of affection. How can women go about doing their accustomed visiting, while this ture? What if you should meet the chilling, hardothers do for you, were you the sufferer,-the approval'of your own best nature, the good angels and God, fall powerless before you.

your actions. Send up to Albany, without delay, encing our Legislature to enact a law of freedom to PEOPLE demand that New York shall be free in fact, as in name.

Members who are friends of freedom express n is strong for the Senate. But send in the petitions There is no place too remote, no number too small. WELL POWELL, Albany, N. Y.

to pre-pay postage on the petition.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Albany, Feb. 22, 1859.

THE STATUE OF WEBSTER.

will not authorize the placing of this Statue on the withstanding. This is an honor he does not deserve from Massachusetts, either from his public or his private character during the last years of his life. An honor of this kind ought to be paid only to one who has maintained an unsullied character in both respects. Are the Legislature, I would ask, ready to confer such an honor upon the maker of the 7th of March speech. and the supporter of the infamous fugitive law, in which he totally misrepresented the sentiments and feelings of Massachusetts, and, as I believe, his own honest convictions? Are such men as John Hancock and Samuel Adams, revolutionary patriots, and John Quincy Adams, a man always true to freedom, and all highly deserving this distinction, to be neglected, and a man in favor of carrying out that provision of the National Constitution relating to fugitive slaves, in the fulness of the spirit and the exactness of the letter,' to receive this high mark of respect from those who detest this sentiment, and the feelings that prompted it ? I trust not. Such a man is not a model statesman, philanthropist, or Christian, to be held up for the imitation of posterity in the old Bay State, but only for the committee of one hundred, and their sympathizers, to gaze at and admire. Let them have the exclusive benefit of his company. Let them, if they choose, worship Baal; we will worship only the JUSTITIA FIAT.

A HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHIL-

We learn, with great pleasure, that Dr. Manue ZAKREEWSKA, of New York, has been invited by the 'Trustees of our 'Female Medical College' to undertake the management of a Hospital for women and children, in connection with the College, at which the students may have the benefit of the practical study of disease.

The importance of such an institution, as a branch of the College is the more apparent when we remember that female students in medicine are shut out, by State, with or without the consent of his or her masa false public sentiment, from all other Hospitals in our city; and that they, equally with the other sex, need these facilities. And surely nothing could be more fitting than that the suffering should have the shall take effect from its passage; and is followed by care of those of their own sex, well qualified for the the words, 'Approved, Nov. 25, 1858.' So that a duty by sympathy of nature, and by thorough educa- statute such as we ask you to enact is now in force in

a work have been put beyond doubt, by the entire than is written in the petition, I refer you to the resosuccess of a similar experiment in New York-the lution proposed by the Speaker of the New York management of which has been as creditable to her House of Representatives, and to the law already financial as to her medical skill, and to her high wo- passed, approved, and gone into operation, in the State manly nature and gifts.

She will address the public on the 'Medical Education of Woman,' &c., at Mercantile Hall, Summer street, on Saturday next, at 4 o'clock, P. M., and we to follow in any legislation that favors freedom. This hope that no one interested in this good cause, and especially in the present important undertaking, will the cold political economist, Carey, long since called fail to be present. Admission free.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The Vigilance Committee of Boston would inform the friends of Fugitive Slaves, that they have been, and probably will continue to be, constantly in want of places, where such fugitives can obtain employment. Any one in want, or who can employ such help, is earnestly requested to apply to R. F. WALL-CUT, 21 Cornhill, or, by letter, to FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, stating what employment they of Columbia, against the inter-State slave trade

The Duty of Massachusetts.

SPEECH OF REV. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PEDERAL RELATIONS. n support of the Petition asking for a law to pre (vent the Recapture of Fugitive Slaves, IN THE HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. February 17, 1859.

Phonographically reported for the Liberator, by Mr. YERRINTON

I appear before you in behalf of the petitioners, ne as an organized body, for they are not such. The favor which we ask of the Legislature is not to confer benefit upon any organization, or any one class of men; it is to benefit the world by an act of justice it is to benefit the citizens of the Commonwealth by making their freedom more secure; it is to benefit State Legislature, for a law to prevent the capture and us, who signed the petition, only by the assertion o rights and the guaranty of safeguards which we need bany? If you have not done so already, I pray you gentlemen, even by the desire of any organized body of men. I stand only as one of the fifteen thousand who now in the hands of a Select Committee, who will, have signed that petition; I stand only as one of the hundreds who have signed it in my own city of Worcester. I myself desired to come ; a few of my friends earnest. Plead with every man and woman to give and neighbors desired that some one should come to to the petition their names and their influence, as you represent their petition and speak for them; to say for them, as they have said over their own signatures that they, in their individual capacity, desire the en actment of such a law as the petition describes. I do not say this, sir, from any fear that the Committee will be led astray from its purpose by any vague intimations which have been, or may be made, in regard to this petition as the result of organized action. We have heard rumors that such intimations have been used in advance, in this hall, in reference to this petition. Sir, we cannot believe it. We pass it by. It must have been a mistake of the reporters. For, gentlemen, men hold nothing more base than to reject a request to do something which is right, because you happen to dislike him who brings the request; and it s impossible for us to believe that any member of the Legislature can have tried to anticipate the judgment remain quietly in their pleasant homes, or carelessly of his fellows by criticising the character, or impeaching the motives of these petitioners. It is, therefore, momentous question is pending in our State Legisla- simply as a matter of personal suggestion to you, simply to urge you to consider that request for yourself, hearted look of contempt? What if you should be if I say, that I represent the citizens of Worcester told that you had better go home, and mind your own in this matter; that the petition which they have sent family? The consciousness that you are but doing in is a volunteer thing, circulated by no paid agent, the simplest act of kindness to your 'neighbor,'-the but passed round from hand to hand, informally, and knowledge that you are but doing as you would have without systematic action among themselves; that it represents the Christianity of the community from which it came, and is entitled to deference so far as -will cause all opposition and hatred of the slave to any petition is entitled to deference; that it speaks for itself, and for Worcester, in the names it bears If you are disheartened, and feel that the cause of upon its face. It is headed by the name of JOHN freedom is retrograding, then the more pressing is my MILTON EARLE, -- a name honored in Womester, and appeal to you, to take the petition in hand, and go honored here; a name which never headed a petition forth among the people. The many hearty . God for an unworthy object, and rarely an unsuccessful speeds' you will receive in your work of justice, -the petition; a name which is identified, in this hall, with many cheerful recognitions of the slave's right to full much of its most honorable debate, and its most benefifreedom, on our own soil at least, - will bring hope to cent legislation; a name which claims, and always will your soul, that shall bless you, and help you to trust claim, the respect of any Massachusetts Legislature; in the sure triumph of the right. If you profess to and it is followed by the names, taken almost at ran-love freedom for the slave, make it manifest now, by Worcester what it is, by their energy, their ability, your own and as many more signatures as you can and their character. The names of our mechanics, obtain, and thus contribute your mite toward influ- our merchants, our teachers, our lawyers, our judges, our public officers,-men who have held and now hold every human being, so soon as he shall step upon our stations of importance before the country,-and the soil. Petitions thus poured in from every part of the names of others who, I suppose, will be very ready to State cannot but make our law-makers feel that THE occupy the same stations, whenever an enthusiastic community demands it. In short, the petition for which I speak represents Worcester. If that petition is entitled to no respect, if those names, so far as doubts but the bill will pass the House, and the hope they go, have no influence, Worcester has no influence; and all the experience which we have had of the working of slavery, and the need of new protection Direct to the Chairman of the Committee, Hon. SHOT- for freedom, all the political instruction that we in Worcester have received, by the constant stream of Copies of Petition may be had by addressing Lydia political knowledge poured through our City Hall in Mott, Albany, N. Y. Remember to enclose stamps your annual Conventions, year after year, have been of no use to us.

And in speaking for Worcester, I can speak for Worcester county-for those towns around us, full of mechanical industry, full of intelligence, full of Mn. Entron-I sincerely hope that the Legislature litical sentiment of this State has always had its strongme that nine out of ten of the farmers and mechanics whom they asked have signed it, and that the only reason why these fifteen thousand are not a hundred thousand is simply for want of longer time, more systematic effort, more organized action. I speak, then, not for any organization, but for the people-the people of Worcester, and, so far as I dare, for the public sentiment of the State.

Mr. Chairman, we ask of you, as you know by the language of the petition, greater safeguards to freedom. The form in which these safeguards shall be put is of little moment. Other States, having the same subject under consideration, have adopted different forms of action. The legislation proposed, and almost carried in New York, you are acquainted with; -that magnificent resolution proposed by the Speaker of the New York House of Representatives, and almost carried- Resolved, that this State will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form, under any pretence, for any time, however short.' You are acquainted, gentlemen, with that magnificent statement of the duties of a free State, in the age we live in; and you are acquainted, too, perhaps, with the more recent action of the State of Vermont, adopted last October,-not yet printed in its official form, because the official form of the laws of Vermont does not appear until spring .- but of which I have a correct copy here, and I will read two or three sections :-

Sec. 1. No person within this State shall be considered as property, or subject, as such, to sale, purchase or delivery; nor shall any person, within the limits of this State, at any time, be deprived of liberty

or property without due process of law.
Sect. 5. Neither descent near or remote from an African, whether such African is or may have been slave or not, nor color of skin or complexion, shall disqualify any person from being, or prevent any per-son from becoming, a citizen of this State, nor deprive such person of the rights and privileges thereof. Sect. 6. Every person who may have been held as slave, who shall come, or be brought, or be in this

te. or mistress, or who shall come, or be brought, or be, involuntarily or in any way in this State, shall be free. The act concludes with this statement- This act one of the States in this Union. And if you seek to The rare abilities of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska for such know more specifically what the petitioners ask for

Now, gentlemen, we know very well that it is not the appropriate position for Massachusetts to occupy, great State, 'the leader in American civilization,' as her, this State ought not to follow, ought never to have followed, but always, as she has most usually. to lead in enactments for freedom. But if there be another State in the Union which Massachusetts need not blush to follow, that State is Vermont. Vermont-foremost in our earlier revolution; among the foremost, prominent in a degree only surpassed by Massachusetts, in this later one : Vermont-which side by side with Massachusetts, seventeen years ago, issued the first protest against slavery in the District resinst any construction of the Constitution in favor.

mand, the only State—to offer State aid to the sufferers in Kansas; Vermont—which has never beem been of Massachusetts, and has sometimes even been to freedom at last! before her; Vermont and Massachusetts should act

LIBERATOR.

stitution, as they understand it. How they understand it is for their own consciences to determine How it should be understood is a question for the Courts ultimately to decide. This House only anticipates, and guards against, so far as it may, the possibility of the adverse action of the Courts; but in times of great public need, where there are doubtful constructions, varying opinions, clashing interests, it may be the duty of the House to take the responsibility of laying down great principles,—taking advantage of chosen at last,—little knows the truth that lies beany doubt that exists, or any loop-hole, or any hope, or any chance that exists in their own minds, recording the great principle, securing the right upon their statute-books, and then leaving it to the Courts, if it must be ultimately set aside as unconstitutional,which, believe me, this law never will be by our own Courts,-to take the painful responsibility of doing it

We ask, therefore, that you should, at least, weigh well the obstacles, the difficulties, the doubts of constitutional interpretation. Do not, upon any uncertainty, upon anything not absolutely established, resist for a moment the cry of the people Gemanding additional safeguards to freedom. The very constitutional provision which might seem to some to be most transcended by the form of this petition-what is it? It is a provision which many of the wisest jurists and the most accomplished historians have declared to contain nothing irreconcileable with the freedom we Hildreth,-if we may trust the man to whom our there is nothing in the Constitution that can for a moment be thought to conflict with a statute of absolute legal instrument is not, not what its projectors intendhave to say 'if'!

est hold-those towns through which this petition has bring before you, -the mere fact that there is a doubt nity, before the danger comes. The Abolitionists are for action upon your part. I know of but one rule, and the time is coming when this perpetual transmishole left for liberty, to cram liberty into it, and let ful to the people of Massachusetts. the courts set it aside if they will. But, be that as it | Fugitive-slave cases have passed, you say: but fumay, call the bargain which has been thought to pre- gitive slaves have not passed; they stop more and scribe the rendition of fugitive slaves a valid bargain, more; every year in Boston, in New Bedford, in if you will-place it at its worst-it is, by the admis- Worcester, there are more men, women and children sion of all, something so terrible to all our nobler | who hold the peace of the community in their hands : nature, something so agonizing in its fulfilment to the because, let their claimant follow them, and seize freemen of Massachusetts, that we are called upon, them, and it is too late to legislate, too late to pass when construing its application, to construe it as that this beneficent statute, too late to protect the peace of famous bargain was construed in which Shylock was the community; the danger is upon us then, and you plaintiff, and Portia was attorney for the defendant, have the Burns riot, and the worse riot, under the and William Shakespeare was reporter for the Court; form of a military escort, transacted again in your and if there be a pound of flesh, or an ounce of blood, midst. The laws we have had have been no security, anywhere, if there be the drachm of a scruple, or the the Personal Liberty Bill may prove no security. scruple itself, to haggle on, it is our duty as men, it is When the temptation is strong, the interest at stake a noble claim upon our intellect, to take advantage of overwhelming, nothing can be absolute security, exthat infinitessimal scruple where freedom is to be cept a law such as we ask, that shall contain a clear served; and the loftiest intellect, the profoundest and positive rejection of every possibility of slavery in moral sense, in such a cause as that, may narrow itself Massachusetts. Such a law sets these cases at rest down to a chink as small as that which held Ariel in forever, and they cannot happen again. a blessing to humanity!

fellow-citizens as that. is unquestionably constitutional; on the ground, wrongs, as I hoarsely tell them for her, she would

of slavery; Vermont-that, two years afterwards, further, that if there be a doubt upon the subject, side by side with Massachusetts, passed the first law that doubt is to go in favor of liberty; and we urge it. forbidding the use of her jails and her constables for finally, on the ground that, if it is not constitutional, the capture and safe-keeping of fugitive slaves; Ver- it ought to be. It is placing upon our statute-book a mont—which, in the Kansas struggle, was the first necessary safeguard to freedom, to put this law there; State—and, because of the close of the immediate de- and, alas for those who strive to stand for anything,

Gentlemen, calling upon you to vindicate the Contogether now. Next to the honor of being the first stitution under which you claim to act, I feel, never-State to inaugurate true freedom, stands the honor of theless, that all we can say upon that subject is trivial, following Vermont, if, indeed, we have lost the proud opportunity of leading her. secondary, in comparison with the more important function which it is for us who appear before you to And in thus following, with so clear and simple an discharge, namely, to show you the needfulness of the object before us,-an object which does not ask, as law we ask. There is an impression-and it is this some petitions which come before you, the aid of the impression alone, as I believe, among the people of State, rightly or wrongly, for private enterprise,- the State at large, which makes any doubt or queswhich does not ask, as some petitioners ask, rightly or tion concerning a law like this,—there is an impreswrongly, for great pecuniary appropriations, or the sion that the statute is not needed; that the time for creation of new classes of salaried officers, but which such statutes is passed; that there is legislation only asks for a statute to aid freedom,—nothing enough; that liberty is secure; that there are to be more is needed,—nothing more should, at least, be no more fugitive slave cases, and we may rest in peace. needed, than that we should show that this law for Gentlemen, there are facts in regard to this subject which we ask, in whatever form your wisdom may see upon which we, the petitioners, are better enabled, fit at last to record it, would be, first, constitutional, by our circumstances, to testify as experts, than the and second, needful. If it is needful, is the most majority of you are likely to be. We have seen these essential point for the Legislature to consider; if it be fugitive slave cases that have occurred from the in constitutional, is a question only less important. We side, and we have also the more important unwritter should not ask, we should not dare to ask, -I could history of the fugitive slave cases which have been not consistently ask - a committee of the Legislature prevented. You know the agitation, the almost civil who have pledged themselves to support the Consti- war, brought upon us by the few such instances that tution, to take any action inconsistent with the Con- have occurred; but, as Robert Burns said upon a different subject-

What's done, we partly can compute,

The world, supposing fugitive-slave cases to be pro vided for by some higher power, above all the lower powers of slave plantations,-the world, which ap parently supposes that fugitive-slave cases are occur rences deliberately planned and concerted by Southhind it. Fugitive-slave cases! Gentlemen, a fortnight before the Burns case, one of the wisest, sagest and most observant of men, the editor of the Daily Advertiser, is reputed to have given it as his fixed conviction, that such a thing as a fugitive-slave case would never again happen in this Commonwealth, A fortnight later, Anthony Burns was arrested! We sleep over a volcano, gentlemen. There is no deliberate touching of the cords, there is no elaborate bringing together of the wires of the electric machine previous to the explosion,-the explosion is always near at hand. Given a single instance of the many instances that have happened since the last fugitiveslave case, in which, by the aid of friendly hands, the slave has been carried off in safety to Canada, just before the claimant seized him, -given, I say, a single one of these cases, and the Abolitionists a little too late,-the slaveholders first, and the Abolitionists afterwards,-and you have your fugitive-slave case ask for. If we may trust our most learned historian, once more; you have the city in arms, the court, house in chains, and the whole State pressing down Legislature confided the duty of codifying the laws of to Boston to see what is going on. You have danger the State, Horace Mann,—if we may trust their testimony as historians, their interpretation as lawyers, there is nothing in the Constitution that can for a month of the when there are not fugitive-slaves in Boston, liable to freedom. We ask, if the rule of interpretation for any be arrested; there is scarcely a week, certainly not a month in the year, when there are not agents in Bosed to put into it, but what they actually succeeded in ton seeking to find a man or woman claimed as a fugetting in? If it be true, as Hildreth says, that the gitive-slave, and could they find somebody, the right word 'persons' cannot, by any possibility, be held to one or the wrong one, and arrest him, we should have refer to fugitive slaves; if it be true, as Horace Mann all the horrors of a fugitive-slave case again upon us. said, I am told, that the meaning of the legal word This is not a matter which depends upon the United due, as it occurs in the Constitution, was as accu- States Courts, it is not a matter that can be so easily rately ascertained as that of any other legal expres. settled in the District Attorney's office. A claimant sion, and by no possibility could 'service or labor' be may be, for aught we know, in Boston, to-day, in due' where there is no contract, and therefore that search of a fugitive-slave. That claimant to-day, that simple word 'due' afforded a loop-hole large nay, at this moment, may have his grasp upon a man, enough to run every train of the underground rail- and the next moment the hurried news may reach us road that ever went to Canada through it,-if these that the crisis has come which we ask you to fooide things be so, then the duty of this Committee, of this for and avert, and that a fugitive-slave case is once Legislature, is clear. There can be no question of the more upon us. Fugitive slaves, or men in danger of fight of establishing freedom, if there is no constitu- being claimed as such, are all around us. They are tional obstacle in the way. Alas, that I should even pressing upon us. These Abolitionists, whom some gentlemen think such firebrands, they are safety-But, setting aside the correctness of this interpreta- valves; it is they who have prevented the recurrence thought,—those towns in which the predominant po-litical sentiment of this State has always had its strong-ment which abler intellects than mine will doubtless of this Interpreta-ment, who are threatening the peace of the commuupon the subject is, as I maintain, a sufficient ground a safety-valve,-too much of one, some of us think practically, in the interpretation of the Constitution, sion of fugitives beyond our borders on the track of or anything else, and that is, wherever there is a loop. the underground-railroad will itself become distaste-

the cloven pine, if by so doing it can, as the end of its Fugitive-slave cases, gentlemen! There is at this efforts, save one freeman in Massachusetts, or turn in- moment in this city, or has been within three to a freeman one slave. And if it be that there is not months, a woman and her child, white as any man or even this obstacle to contend with, that there is no woman within this hall, and yet claimed as slaves, such severe ordeal of intellect to be gone through; if The daughter of her first owner-her mother so light it be true that the Republicans, and find nine out of as to pass for a white woman-she herself the mistress ten admit, when I talk with them, in their secret souls of her second owner, whose child her child is, -that do not believe in the pro-slavery construction of the woman, yet a girl, not twenty years old, was sold, Constitution, and never will endorse it, then why are by that owner, and the father of that child, into slawe asking too much if we hold them, in their public very, to a man whom she knew to be a profligate acts, to the same position :- if, as they justify them - debauchee. All her woman's feelings thus outragedselves for acting under a provision of the Constitution for she had loved the man who was the father of her so stringent, by that more liberal interpretation they child-she resolved on instant flight. White herself, place upon it, we call upon them to justify that posi- she found no difficulty in disguising herself as tion to the world, as Vermont has justified it, by plac- mourning widow, and making her escape in the cars. ing on the record an interpretation which will be such She was very disconsolate, gentlemen, quite inconsolable, and kept her veil down all the time. How Mr. Chairman, you know that these same criticisms ever, she had no trouble on her journey, except about a conflict with the Constitution,-and I dwell from the sympathy of some old ladies, who were unon this subject, not because I do not, like some of extremely anxious to know of what disease her poor those who will follow, take myself a position an- dear husband died, and the attentions of one very en tagonistic to the Constitution, and deny the possibility thusiastic Irish gentleman, who offered her his hand of a humane interpretation of its clauses, but because and heart before she got to New York. She was es-I sempathize with your desire to vindicate for the corted to Worcester by a gentleman of standing and Constitution all the liberty that is to be found in it; influence, and eminent conservatism, whom I found and if it be that there is a possibility to be true to the when I entered the cars to seek her, paying her the Constitution, and free here in Massachusetts at the most courteous attentions. He had been feeding her same time, I, like you, desire to take that position,- protty little girl with lozenges all the way, and never I say, gentlemen, you know that these same criticisms dreamed that the mother and child were passengers were brought to bear against the Personal Liberty on the underground railroad. She passed for a white Bill, which stands unchanged and unchangeable, so woman in Worcester, and would anywhere. Yet far as it goes, upon our statute-book. The same ob-stacle of unconstitutionality made some over-cautious her whole history, for I have explored it to the utmen refuse to act under it; but, sir, we have one man most. The master of that woman, and the father of m Worcester, and I am proud to be his townsman, that child, whom he sold, has said, that if she is to who, when he was invited by the Governor of the be found, dead or alive, if he has to follow her to State to take the position of permanent counsel for hell, -and when he said 'hell, I suppose he meant the fugitive slaves, under that Personal Liberty Bill, an- United States Court, (laughter and applause,)-he swered the objection of unconstitutionality in one will have her. He has pledged himself to that, and, word- If it is not constitutional, it ought to be, for aught you know, he may be in Boston to-day, said Henry Chapin, of Worcester; and no act of his and she may have no security on earth unless you nonorable life has so endeared him to the hearts of his give her the protection of the law that petition asks f r. But, sir, such is the simple beauty, such the impressive We ask you to pass that statute on the ground that, presence, such the quiet intelligence of that woman by the interpretation of many of the wisest jurists, it that if she could stand before you to-day, and tell her

be as safe with a thousand kidnappers around he be as safe, gentlemen, in your presence, a your or as safe, gentiemen, have would be safer in this legal ture than the poor thing ever was in her m arms; she would be safe here, though an army; arms; she would be sale here, though an amy of ten thousand slaveholders blockaded these val-and a Mexican-war General headed every division of the army. (Laughter and applause.)

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Now, gentlemen, all we ask of you is, (for my so Mow, gentlement, what you would do by private capacity for such a woman, do in your paswhat you would do as men, do as legislators, Che. Sumner said, and the nation trembled with rath Summer said, and the last a max before I was a max before I was 10m missioner! Show the world that you can be not in missioner! Show the time. We do not sak page commit treason; we ask you to save the fanation is commit treason; we are the temptation to commit it. We do not sak yet shed blood; we ask you to save others from the as shed blood; we do not ask you to ad a any treasonable enterprises; we only ask of you to if we are fanaties, as is said, if we are sgittles, a and, you will take the wind all out of our sale; you will silence us forever, so far as Massachuse concerned; and that this soil, which holds the pr of some of our fathers, back to the seventh rea-tion, may be to us petitioners, less sacred for the graves, than for the freedom which it gives to me child born, and every fugitive taking refuge, with its consecrated borders ! (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, 180 MR. CHAIRMAN,—Allow me to read the petition which we appear :

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusett, nespectfully ask you to enact that no person, wholuses iteld as a slave, shall be delivered up, by any offer or court, State or Federal, within this Compa of court, State of rederat, within this Common wealth, to any one claiming him on the ground by he 'owes service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Unice."

That petition, Mr. Chairman, lies before you, his said, with some fifteen thousand signatures. of these petitions you will find endorsed by the patlemen who head and send them to you, with 1975. ment to this effect : 'I could have got almost ener or every legal voter in the town, if I had had in time or the leisure to have circulated this period more widely'; and, in a few of the towns, wen assured that every legal voter, or three-quarter, two-thirds, of them, have signed this petition.

I understand, from the remarks of Mr. Hirring that some objection has been made to what a called organized effort in this matter. I am not true of any organization, but if there were, I should not be ashamed of it. Why have not the minerity a right a organize as well as the majority? I know no rese why you, sitting in this hall, wielding the charge and resources of the State, representing, as your a majority, with that statute-book for your energy sion, have a right to organization, to presses, to find to a system, and that we, a minority, endeavoing is create a public opinion that shall change that state book, have not a right to use the same means.

I do not shrink from any charge of organization When our forefathers began to resist the British perernment, they organized committees, clubs, compa nies, governments, institutions of all kinds. I have never heard it charged as a fault upon the Whip of 1775, that they did not fight single-handed; the they organized; that they had committees; that the corresponded; that they issued circulars. We take now, reverently, from the trembling hand of History the very circular which Sam Adams sent out free Boston, to array the public sentiment of the Colors in favor of independence, and worship it. Who also say, to-day, that men, also seeking to marchal the State in behalf of liberty, have no right to coculars, to organization, to a system? I scout the iden Who is the mocking wrangler that denies our ried to organize, to pay agents, and send them out into ever town and school district in the Commonwealth? We can do better than the majority, we have a right take it. It is no objection to any movement that it is sp tematic and organized; if it be so, it is all the bear

As to the doubt whether that petition refreses the public sentiment of the State, you know, gette men, as well as I do, that it does represent it In know as well as I do-and you do not need out ofdence to assure you of the fact-that you cannot be one respectable man in a hundred who is read; look his fellow-citizens in the face, and declare, mean to help the slave-hunter in catching his care. Let some trading office-seeker or shameles had say so, and the universal shrinking and leathing if the community show in what an infinite miserly h stands. You know that when, bolstered by this. tempted by salary, or bribed by ambition, here sal there one man can be found ready to say, 'I should like to see a slave-hunt, and join in it; the Fugues Slave Bill ought to be executed '-you know well the bred in Massachusetts, and yaunting himself as leadly as he may, not one in ten can stand fire, but when you bring him face to face with a fugitive slave, le shrinks from his own principles.

Now, all we ask, substantially, in this petition, this-that you shall organize the public sentiment of Massachusetts into a statute. There will be, in this Senate and House, not one-tenth part ready to had up their hands and say, . We ourselves are fire it execute the Fugitive Slave Bill.' I do not believe that one-tenth part of your joint bodies will be found ready to do it. Then why should you, as a Legislature, hesitate to say, . That which each one of u shrinks from doing, shall not be done '? Ought ad the law to represent public opinion? We have, sens of us, an awful idea of law, as if it were seat granite pillar, around which the floating partiles of human life aggregate themselves as iron filings round the magnet; we imagine that it is an oak, rooted that no one can touch it; that we are all mere incident of it; whereas law is as fluid as anything eise. M Emerson says, Law is a mere memorandum, string that yesterday a certain body of men thought so; and in effect, the voice of that statute-book simply & Living men! what do you think of me to-day Your fathers thought thus yesterday; what do 196 think to-day?' We ask you to answer that question The people of this Commonwealth are disgusted with conscientiously opposed to, and hate, the hunting d the fugitive on our soil; and we ask you to pot a the statute-book that which every man says by is

own hearth-stone, and would be ashamed to dent We come to the Commonwealth of Massachusets Mr. Higginson alluded to the request we make to day, as running singularly parallel to the long line of her history. Are you aware that this State, which you represent, was the first sovereign State, so far al know, either in Europe or America, that about negro slavery, and that when she did it, she she ished it immediately and unconditionally ! In 1776. the people of Vermont met in an informal coarts tion, not recognized as a government, and adopted a constitution that abolished slavery. They were not recognized as a body politic until 1791. But a 1780,—the first date, so far as I know, in all history, where a distinct political sovereignty acted upon the question, - Massachusetts, by the first line of he constitution, placed there by Judge Lowell, for the purpose, distinctly, immediately, and unconditionally abolished slavery; and I have a manuscript report a a case by Chief Justice Cushing, acted upon immedately subsequent, in which he quotes these words at immediately abolishing slavery within the State. Is aware, of course, of the gradual extinction of white rilenaige by various forms of State action. And I remelenaige by various forms of State action. And bet the ground taken even on negro slavery by the Courts, first of France, and then of England. Massachusetts, I believe, was the first recognized set ereignty to abolish negro slavery by solemn act. Is

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is therefore with good reason that we now ask you. a Massachusetts Legislature; to occupy that same van to-day. I think we have a right to claim it of such a dovernment.
*Why do we ask it, gentlemen? We ask it for this

reason, that within the last few years, we have sent nearly four hundred fugitives from Massachusetts. We did not dare to advise them to stay. We could not take it upon our consciences to ask them to undergo the risk of remaining under your laws. Whaterer we might have done individually, we could not ark another man to risk his liberty. Within a few years, nearly four hundred, probably many more unknown to us, have quitted this Commonwealth. Now, who are these fugitives? They are men and women, who have shown a better title to liberty than we have. for we were only born free; they were born as free, esentially, though under slave laws, and, taking life and danger in their right hands, have vindicated their tile to free lom by enduring perils that make the blood eurdle even to hear. Brave men and tender women, feeling the breath of hounds upon their naked limbs, bearing musket shot in their still bleeding flesh, risking death by angry floods, on frozen rivers, by starvatoo, in boxes, on railroad cars, deep in the hold of heavy laden ships mothers bringing the little child's body who has sunk to death in their arms—daughters gying from a fate worse than death, - these showing forth a manhood which only the highest hours of history can equal, -at last set foot upon the soil of this Commonwealth. Is there any nobler exile that the Siste can welcome? Is it not enough to shame a Massachusetts man, that such men and women, the soblest blood of the earth, are not safe under her laws? Can a man be blamed for wishing that the statutebook should welcome and protect them, instead of obliging them to avoid the Commonwealth? In 1641. our fathers, just landed, proclaimed that Massachusetts had open arms for all exiles, all fugitives from tyranny and oppression; 'to such,' says Bancaoft, the offered a free welcome and aid at the public cost. The nation, by a special statute, made the fugitive and the persecuted the guests of the Common-That, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, is the civiliza-

tion which you represent. It is in the spirit of that statute, it is following the great constitutional movement of 1780, that we ask your action on that petition to-day. We want you to go further than Vermont does -we want you specifically to enact, that any person seized, or in custody in this Commonwealth, by virtue of any process under the so-called Fugitive Slave Act, shall be liberated by habeas corpus, issuing from the Supreme Bench of this Commonwealth. We mk you, in distinct words, to set at nought the unconstitutional enactment of the United States ; and I will proceed, as briefly as possible, to tell you on what ground we place our request.

Mr colleague [Mr. Higginson] has asked the ques

tion, whether this is a constitutional request. He meant constitutional in view of the United States Constitution. In the first place, gentlemen, I shall sten behind the United States Constitution. I rememher that you,-Massachusetts,-were a sovereignty before the United States existed. Massachusetts is not to me, whatever it may be to you, a mere bob to the kite of the Constitution of 1787. Massachusetts is no private corporation, under the great National orguization. I claim more of you than that. You were a government in 1630; of that living thread I take hold. God planted you a civil society. Our fathers came here to set up a government. They did so; and you exist as its representatives. We do not address you,-the Legislature of Massachusetts,-as a subordinate Committee of the United States Government. We address you as the civil society of Massachusetts, planted by the children of the Mayflower and the Arabella, and existing here to-day a civil government. As such, as a civil government, we remind you of your obligation before God, to execute justice between man and man.' No matter that one man calls another man his property, and, pointing to a parchment, claims your aid in holding him as a brute; we remind you of your own words, . all men are born free, and that the sovereignty which claims andmission, owes protection. You tell us in reply to that claim, 'We have fettered our broad sovereignty by agreeing to the Constitution of the United States.' We deny your right. You tell us, 'The unlimited to execute justice between man and man, we have put away by the it. We assert that you sit here as the legislators of a sovereign State. If anybody, either by you or before you, has agreed to limit that sovereignty by an unholy compact, it is not binding, and you have no right to regard it. Civil government, it is stated in the preamble of our Constitution, is 'a voluntary as sociation, a social compact.' So it is; but compacts, when they become civil governments, have a peculiar

This girdle of earth which you call Massachusetts can have but one such corporation in it. There may be a thousand banks in Massachusetts; there may be a hundred temperance societies; there may be any number of manufacturing corporations; they may make their own by-laws, and establish their own fundamental principles; but civil government is necessanly exclusive-there can be but one within a certain space of land. From that flows this principle-every man on that soil has a certain right and claim in regard that civil society. God has placed him there, or he has exercised his free will in coming there, as he hada right to do. We have no right, because we were born on the soil of Massachusetts, to shut any men out of it. Who gave us any such right?

If, then, civil government be a corporation necessa rly exclusive, a certain tampering with the interests and rights of every man residing on this soil, then follows the fundamental principle of jurists, that these corporations are bound by the laws of God, which they have no right to violate; for God has given certain inalienable rights to each individual of the mass, and no vote of the majority can take those rights away. They cannot say to a man, as a mere civil corporation may, a bank for instance, 'If your moral sense does not approve of this provision of our charter, you need not come under it; we, whose moral sense says 'Aye' to it, will come under it; you are hot obliged to. The majority of Massachusetts are not competent to say to one single man on the soil of the State, . We have violated your inalienable and natural rights, and meant to; if you do not like it, go! There is a law above this, which says, 'All your provisions in this kind of corporation must be within the girdle of right! I know no authority but Thomas Paine-except the present Democratic Party-that has denied it. In 1791, Thomas Paine published his 'Rights of Man,' in which he lays it dawn as a fundamental proposition, that what a whole hation chooses to do, it has a right to do. All other justs have always laid down the principle that a ration has no right to do, however large the majority, that which is unjust.

Now, from that principle, I am going to deduce this: A negro stands in this Commonwealth; he has ceme here, and chooses to reside here. We have no tight to say he shall not. God gave him the right to lived move, and choose his residence, wherever he This government assumes the great prerog-

If any STRANGERS or people of other nations, pro-"It any strangers or people of other nations, promarg the true Christian religion, shall rly to us from
the true Christian religion, shall rly to us from
the transvar or orperssion of their persecutors, or
the transvar or stanger that the power and prudence
to shall give us.

They person within this jurisdiction, whether inthe transver, that is general for this jurisdiction, which we
thanked or stranger, shall export the same law and
the transver, that is general for this jurisdiction, which we
thanked that is general for this jurisdiction, which we
thanked that is general for this jurisdiction, which we
thanked the transverse of the transverse of the transverse
thanked the transve

res proper to our cognizance, without Partiality delay.— Mass. Statutes, 1641.

ative, and with it the great responsibility, of civil society, which says to him: 'Give up your right to make a compact, and one breaks it, the other is not self-defence. You shall not fall back upon your nat-bound by it. That is the practical doctrine of Daniel ural right as a human being; we have instituted Webster.

courts; we have ordained laws; we have set up in
I had once the honor of a conversation with John undertakes to protect each individual to the utmost, not entirely. and to do him justice, no matter how small the right which protecting him incurs.

says to you, 'I claim as a man, pursued by an armed person whatsoever to claim the property or possession nought your civil society. You say, 'We will hang BY LAW the delivery of any fugitive upon the claim of you if you do.' I grant the right to hang flows from his master.' the doctrine that vests civil society with its sovereignout your jurisdiction, so far as you have the physical and the North stood absolved from all obligation to feeblest hour, protected the judges of Charles the 1st critical sword upon them, and not upon us. from the fury of his sons. If you say to me, in reply, Our fathers swore, in

between man and man.' (Applause.) I appeal to you, therefore, as the civil society which our fathers planted, which has never yet ceased to exist, which the should subsist, so long the white citizens of Missour in this Commonwealth; I claim of you, as legislators, Massachusetts, and not entitled to claim or enjoy, by virtue of that civilization, that you set your foot within the same, any right or privilege of a citizen of upon the unholy compact which is not binding upon the United States.' the conscience, and cannot rightfully fetter the action of any thing that undertakes to exist as a sovereign ground. If the constitutional clause is binding, in State under God's government.

I will not insist upon that point any further, for I this Committee. It disposes at once of all constitu- Southern States, frees you from any moral obligation tional objections. Whatever you may tell me of to the observance of that clause. You will not conyour sovereignty, I criticise it in that guise. You tend, in 1859, that Mr. Webster in 1851, or Mr. Adams chusetts existed; she was set up; she is in full being; of the Constitution than we have to-day. I have she undertakes, as a sovereign State, to retain so only to recall to your minds Texas, Missouri, and much of that sovereignty as binds the citizen and the Fugitive Slave Bill itself, and the agents of this every inhabitant of her soil to submission; and there- Commonwealth kicked out of South Carolina, and the that she is bound to protect the citizen. It does not punishable in the State Prison, for Massachusetts to lay in any one of your mouths,-you who undertake send a citizen to that State to bring a case before the to execute the high functions of a sovereign State, to Supreme Court for the defence of one of her own write laws on that statute-book, to erect your State colored seamen,-I have only to point you to these Prison and your gallows,-it does not lie in any of repeated acts of aggression, to bring the case we are your mouths to say, 'We have fettered our hands by a compact.' You have no right to do it; it is not Adams and Webster. I might cite also the language binding upon you to-day. The gallows which you of Joshua R. Giddings, in a letter to his constituents, erect to-day, if you obey the Fugitive Slave Act to- covering the same legal issue, but it is not necessary. morrow, is murder; the guilt of blood is upon your But I go further than this. I claim of you. if you man.' Logically stated, our claim is this:

attaches to sovereignty under God's law.

justice or of God.

protect him from injustice and oppression.

plea of danger to their interests gives them a right to stitution. North Carolina and Rhode Island, while drive the hunted fugitive from their borders. The they remained outside the new constitution, complainsmallest and weakest States have nobly met this obli- ed of this high-handed violation of the articles of

eternal truth that all men are born free -showing making a new constitution when sent only to amend

parties to make such a compact.

am perfectly ready to allow that there have been ex- right to be, according to the confession of the men claim of the petitioners unconstitutional. I am per- is the acquiescence of the people. fectly willing to allow-and I never wish the com- So, also, when Louisiana was purchased, in 1801, typed fixedness for constitutional law which shuts out the addition of a new clause to the Constitution. His the possibility of the action we ask. No doubt of it, friends said, . Let us risk it; the people will acquiesce, gentlemen. But theory is one thing; practice is and that will make it law.' The people have acquiwhich that same Mr. Webster made in 1851, (at Capon and Mexico and Cuba, and the rest of the continent Springs.) After he had stated, in a previous part of will follow in time. the speech, as strongly as possible, his views in regard I claim, therefore, this as the well-recognized printo this very question of the obligation of the North, ciple of the nation's existence, that any act which the under the Constitution, to return fugitive slaves, and specially in his mind, what does he say?

doctrine of constitutional obligation, by the jurist of them pledged to this day to the doctrine that we himself. He lays down the principle, that we are to have no right to acquire territory? By the right and obey the Constitution at any rate; he says that the in virtue of the principle, that public acquiescence slave clause is in the Constitution, and therefore the makes its law. North is bound to obey it. Then, he asks-he is talking of the obligation of the South to obey the Constilit be everlastingly said that Despotism does great tution, if the North has violated it-allowing the things illegally, and Liberty does nothing according to

stitutions; we call upon you to surrender your ex-quincy Adams on this very subject. I asked him if treme rights as an individual, and allow yourselves to he ever intended to assist in sending back a fugitive. be protected according to our institutions.' They 'No,' was the reply. 'How,' I inquired, 'do you have a right to say that; that is what civil society, reconcile that with your oath to support the Constias an ordinance of God, has a right to claim; but the tution of the United States? 'O, the South has viocorrelative duty remains. When you have claimed lated the Constitution.' Whenever there comes as your right to say that, the burden rests upon you effi- actual conflict of opinion, the stringent theory of ciently to protect that man, whose hands you tie, obedience cracks, and these statesmen acknowledge whose moral and natural rights, as an individual, you the common law principle, resting on a higher and fetter. This is the responsibility which civil society broader basis, that the violation of a contract by one assumes by virtue of its constitution and nature. It of the parties absolves the other, to a great extent, if

So Mr. Adams, in 1819, when Missouri was about which is violated-no matter how great the peril to be admitted, (as reported in his life, by Hon. Josiah Quincy,) declared that Congress, by their sanction of The logic is inevitable; the link is iron. No man the Missouri Constitution, by admitting that State can vindicate that statute-book on any other princi- into the Union without excepting against that article ple of morals. I put it fearlessly to any man who which disfranchised a portion of the citizens of Massasits in this House, under free institutions, whether I chusetts, had violated the Constitution of the United graph which girdles the globe. (Renewed applause.) now. In Albany to-day, gentlemen, the petitioners claim any more than the nature of the contract justi- States. & Therefore, until that portion of the citizens fies. You say to the fugitive slave temporarily with- of Massachusetts whose rights were violated by the set aside the law. I do not know that. You passed fered to send before them two eminent lawyers of New in this Commonwealth, 'Put down that pistol! article in the Missouri Compromise should be redin-Chain those arms to your side! We do not permit tegrated in the full enjoyment and possession of those it aside. The Legislature, by one giant stride, enact- tee said to them, "We ask no appearance; we are violence in our streets. If a man hinders you, there rights, no clause or article of the Constitution of the is the Court ; if a man assails you, there are the po- United States should, within the Commonwealth of lice; if you have need of protection, refer to us.' He Massachusetts, be so understood as to authorize any enemy, and myself forgotten by the law, to set at of a human being as a slave; and he would prohibit

That was the opinion of Mr. Adams in 1819; and ty; but it follows from this, that the power which throughout the whole argument, (which I will place claims to hang is bound to protect. The man whose in the hands of the Committee,) Mr. Adams claimed hands you tie should be covered with the axis of the that the Missouri Compromise was a violation of a Commonwealth, and you are bound to see that he suf- fundamental provision of the Constitution on the part fers no injustice from any other man, within or with- of the South, and by that violation, Massachusetts force to prevent it. This noble right and function any clause of the Constitution which they choose to Geneva asserted and exercised; receiving the hunted repudiate. You will see, gentlemen, that we are sailreformers within her walls, and for centuries, with ing under very good captainship-John Quincy Adams only a hand's breadth of territory, protected them from for captain, and Daniel Webster for mate. If you do the rage of three kingdoms. Massachusetts, in her not like our constitutional law, try the edge of your

· If I were a member of the Legislature of one of these States,' said Mr. Adams,-(why, gentlemen, we 1787, that when we had tied that man hand and foot, stand here, as the Spiritualists would say, the mediums we would surrender him. I say, there issues from the of John Quincy Adams)- I would move for a dethrone of Infinite Truth the veto which says to you, claratory act, that so long as the article in the Constilegislators, to civil society, 'If you exist, execute justice tution of Missouri, depriving the colored citizens of labors and trials of half a dozen generations perfected should be held as aliens within the Commonwealth of

Thus, gentlemen, we put ourselves upon this your view, then, according to very excellent constitutional authority, the unlimited violation of the Con suppose I have made it as evident as is necessary to stitution of the United States, on the part of the cannot get away from your responsibility. Massa- in 1819, had stronger instances to cite of the violation fore there rests upon her the burden of that principle, door barred by a statute making it a penal offence,

individual consciences, for God's law does not recog. please, this statute, even if it be outside of the Constinize that as a State which abjures its high functions, tution; and I claim it in this wise: Bancroft says in and pleads its own base contracts and gainful treaties, his volume, 'American law is no result of individual as reason for not executing justice between man and wisdom; it is the growth of necessity,-the growth of the hour.' The majority make the law for to-Any organization which undertakes to levy com- day; our written constitution is, as it were, an elastic so-called slave clause. We deny your capacity to do pulsory taxes, to define and punish crimes, to forbid mass-we stretch it to suit our purposes. Throughor limit the natural right of self-defence, and to take out the line of American history, that is law which life, is a Government in the strictest and fullest sense - the people acquiesce in. You know that when our and may justly be held to all the responsibility that charter, the original of which rests in your Secretary's room below, was brought over from England to this No Government has a right to violate the laws of country, the lawyers of Great Britain said it was a fraud; that the corporation of Massachusetts Bay Every innocent individual who will obey all just could exist only in London; that it was not a legal and necessary laws may choose his place of residence. transfer. Gov. Winthrop let the lawyers say so : he No Government can rightfully drive such a one and his associates brought the charter here, and estabfrom its territory, or refuse to exert its whole power to lished Massachusetts, and the acquiescence of the

rotect him from injustice and oppression.

Stuarts and the people made it law.

No body of men have any such exclusive title to If you open the Federalist, (No. 40,) you will see a specific territory as authorizes them to drive from it that Madison confesses that the Convention of 1787 others willing to live in peace under just laws. No had not strictly a rightful authority to frame a Con-Confederation, by the votes of nine States only, when The fugitive slave is such an individual-and our it was expressly stipulated that the Confederation State cannot rightfully plead any compact or agree- should be ' perpetual,' and not altered unless with the ment to surrender him, or allow him to be seized; consent 'of the Legislature of every State.' Still, since she has herself, by solemn act, recognized the Madison claims that the Convention was justified in that she sees the truth, and is therefore bound to obey it. an old one, and in setting aside the 'perpetual' con-If any such parchment contract exists, it is void for federacy by the vote of nine States, if such a course immorality, and from incapacity of the contracting was calculated to accomplish the views and happiness of the people of America.' After a while, But to come down lower. I leave that question, Rhode Island and North Carolina submitted, the and ask, suppose you are under the United States people of the thirteen States acquiesced. That Con-Constitution, is the Statute we ask for constitutional stitution which you culogize and baptize almost into under the Constitution of 1787? Well, gentlemen, I a sacred emblem, was a bastard in 1787. It had no treme theories of constitutional law, which make this who made it. Its only claim to be a legal instrument

mittee for a moment to forget it-that Mr. Webster, Jefferson said it was plainly unconstitutional, and in the great debate with Hayne, claimed a stereo- that the people ought to be asked to make it legal by another. Let me read you an extract from a speech esced. Florida and Texas have followed Louisiana,

you may therefore suppose him to have had that point esce in, is the law of the land. The whole of our law specially in his mind, what does he say:

'To preserve that Union, we must observe, in good faith, the Constitution and all its parts. If that Constitution be not observed and its provisions set aside, the whole of it ceases to be binding. It would be absurd to suppose that either the North or the South has the power or the right to violate any part of that Constitution, and then claim from the other observance of its provisions. If the South were to violate any part of the Constitution, would the North be any longer bound by it? and if the North were deliberately to violate any part of it, would the South be bound any longer to observe its obligation? How absurd it would be to suppose, when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, that either can disregard any one provision, and expect the other to observe it!

This, centlemen is the resolvable with the Senators of Texas to-day,—every one of them pledged to the principle that Texas has no right in this Union, that principle that Texas has no right in this Union, that This, gentlemen, is the practical application of the it was an illegal act that brought her in, and one-half

Now, we claim that principle of you, to-day. Shall North has violated the Constitution, is the South law ? Let us, for once, vindicate the right of Liberty,

what the heart of the Commonwealth demands; we will enact it, and see whether the people of Massachusetts will say 'Amen!' If they do, it is the law of fore, that they, at least, have no right and are not the State; and then we shall not have to say, with our competent to object to any legislation on the part of faces veiled in shame, to the proud specimen of man- Massachusetts which does not regard the Constitution hood, the William Tell or Wallace of a grander strug- of 1787. gle than the Swiss or Scotch hero ever knew, when Submit this project of a law, if you please, to the he touches the pavement of Boston, 'There is no pro- people. If you do not wish to enact the law distincttection for you in Massachusetts. If you will give ly yourselves, enact it conditionally; put it to the us that law, we can put these representatives of the people of Massachusetts, and say, if you please, that noblest heroism and the sublimest courage the world unless it secure a two-thirds vote, it shall not behas ever seen,—the apostles and saints of this modern come a statute. You know that the people of the Liberty Crusade, -in this State House or in old State Commonwealth will rush to the ballot-box, nine out street, and say to them : 'Flash back your name on of ten, if you will give them the chance, to place that these telegraphic wires, which a son of Massachusetts act upon the statute-book of the State. (Applause.) invented, to your master at the South, tell him you Then, again, we ask you to make your law mor have chosen to reside in Boston, and bid him wel- decisive, even, than that of Vermont; to specify the come to the news.' (Loud applause.) And the in- danger, and instruct the Supreme bench to issue its vention of law which makes it possible for him to pro- habens corpus, and arrest any process under the so claim this, will outshine the invention of the tele- called Fugitive Slave Act. We ask you to do i

a liquor bill some years ago; the Supreme Court set York to do what I am doing here; but the Commited a ten fold stronger law, and the Supreme Court ready to report the bill.' (Applause.) They asked did not set it aside-they leapt ahead of it. That de- for no argument; that statute of Vermont, made cision does not come from the law books; it does not perhaps more stringent, this New York Committee come from between calf-skin : it comes from the pub-lic opinion of the Commonwealth, which has set the Now, gentlemen, we ask you to let Massachusetts lic opinion of the Commonwealth, which has set the vance of that legal spire in the right direction, since take her proper place in the van of this movement; your first attempt at legislation. (Applause.) I and if I may allude to the political constitution of the trust I have a due respect for the Supreme Bench of Legislature, I claim it of you, as sitting here under Massachusetts, and for those who hold places upon the profession and avowal, that you do not believe it; but they are men; they are not stereotyped cast- there is any fugitive slave clause in the Constitution. iron machines, speaking by steam. They are warm Mr. Sumner, from his high place in the Senate, has flesh, living blood, and there must circulate through again and again avowed his belief that there is no their veins the life and vitality of the Commonwealth. legal claim for any fugitive slave within any of the Enact that bill, and if it is set aside, enact it again; free States; and he has again and again avowed his and if it is again set aside, enact it a third time, and purpose to defend that principle, if health returns to be certain that when the statute floats forth from the him, upon the floor of the Senate. If there be no such arches of the Capitol, if the people do not make it ef- clause, then we claim of those who think so the enactfectual through the Supreme Court, they will make ment of the law we ask; and if any of you cannot so it effectual over that Court; for the humanity of the use your power, we ask of you that you should step people will be represented by the institutions of Mas- out of that door, and let those who feel that such a sachusetts, in some form or other. (Applause.) use is free to them take your places.

slave clause as that we are talking about? I am place what seems to be a certified copy of the law of sometimes reminded of that story in old times, of the Vermont, and these extracts from Mr. Webster and first light-house that was built at Alexandria-a Mr. Adams, which I have quoted before the Commarble column, flashing its light, five hundred feet mittee. high, on the blue sky of the Mediterranean. Ptolegods, saviors of seamen.' And Sostratus chisseled, out, and beneath, in the eternal marble, the centuries peatedly, palpably, avowedly, defiantly, atrociously, saw carved, 'Sostratus, son of Deiphanes, to the for her own purposes,-to get power in the govern gods, saviors of seamen.' So with that Constitution. ment, to perpetuate her system, to control the nation Our fathers tried to plaster it over, so some men say, -we claim of you that you should exercise the priviwith slavery, -with equivocal phrases, with immoral lege which that violation has given you. We claim compacts, with compromises that no man dared ut- of you that you should give us a Massachusetts worthy ter, but each man hid in his heart; and the claim of of its ancient name. Give us a State that is not dis some jurists, to-day, is, that the crumbling plaster has graced by the trial, in the nineteenth century, in the dropped out, the 'untempered mortar' is gone, and midst of so-called Christian churches, of the issue, 'Li there flashes forth from the eternal purpose of the this man a chattel?' We will not rest until it is de-Constitution the fiat - 'Thou shalt not return unto his cided as the law of the Commonwealth, that a human master the servant that has escaped from his master unto being, immortal, created by the hand of God, shall thee! (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Let us bope, in God's name, that it is so, Mr. Chairtell you that the law we ask, instead of being uncon- is free against the world! (Loud applause.) stitutional, is the surest and best constitutional law | Can the image of God be owned and sold? Wha in the world, and it is your duty to enact it, since a question for a Christian republic to try! Decree wicked men are perverting your noble Constitution to cover such awful iniquities. There are men who tertain the question whether a human being can be sit in these seats, anti-slavery men, who, when we property. He is a man, therefore he is free. Provide fanatics ask them, 'How can you bow beneath that not only that no Court which you set up shall enteroath to the Conditution?' reply, 'It is high as heav- tain that question, but that no Court sitting on your en; it is broad as the pillers of the universe. There soil shall insult Heaven by trying such an issue is no slavery there. We cannot find it.' Very well: then vote for this law !

If there is an abolitionist in your Legislature who says, 'I hate slavery; I will never help execute the Fugitive Slave Act; I would cut off my right hand before I would do it; but I have bound myself by locked every chain and shrivelled unholy parchments an oath not to pass such a law in this Legislature,-I ask. By what right do you sit here? Anti-slavery man, lover of liberty, by what right do you bind legend, 'Sur Libertate Quietem.' yourself by an oath not to execute your high functions in behalf of justice? By what right do you assume power which you allow forbids you to do what you acknowledge to be just, and obliges you to aid in doing what you confess is infamously base? Put your hat on your head, and go out of that door ! You cannot vindicate that oath as a moral, Christian, anti-slavery man. You have no right to assume a power, and oust others from it, which you cannot use for the protection of the fugitive.' These are the two horns of the dilemma. Those of you, legislators, who say, 'We can come here, because we do not find from a galaxy of distinguished friends of freedom. slavery in the Constitution,' vote for that law! If with appropriate music, vocal and instrumental. there is no slavery in the Constitution, the Fugitive Slave Bill is a monster even worse than on the other supposition. If there is no fugitive slave clause, then the Sims case and the Anthony Burns case were the most monstrous enormities ever perpetrated in the city of Boston, worse than if we suppose there is such our company of ladies and gentlemen, a goodly reprea clause. Go as far as Franklin advised in the first sentation of the best musical culture of our city, were petition to Congress on this subject, 'Go to the ex- recently present at a matinée given in Mr. T. Gilbert's treme verge of your constitutional power to put down Piano-Forte Rooms, by Senor Louis de Casseres. this system. If you have got the power, execute it. pianist, of Spanish-African blood; a native of Jamaica. If you turn round and say, 'I have not got the and a refined, intelligent and cultivated gentleman power, then I ask you how, as a man, a Christian, an 'He brings testimonials,' says the Daily Advertiser anti-slavery person, can you vindicate your right to 'from the best circles in London and Paris, where he sit here in the Legislature, when you have bound spent some time; and for some years he has resided yourself not to legislate justly, but both passively and in Halifax, bearing the title of pianist to His Excel actively aid in wrong-doing?

claim this law. I claim it, first, (without regard to piano-forte music, and played especially a transcrip the Constitution of the United States,) of the sovereignty of Massachusetts, existing, under God, as a civil society, and bound to protect its citizens, whom it restrains into obedience. Then, in the second place, I claim it upon the universally recognized principle of constitutional law, as laid down by Adams and Webster, that the repeated violations of the Constitution by the South make it, in fact, nonexistent. In November, 1845, in answer to a letter soliciting his opinion on the constitutionality of a law of Congress, retroceding Alexandria to Virginia, Mr. Adams replied: 'I have no hesitation to say, I hold that act unconstitutional and void. How the Supreme Court of the United States would consider it, I cannot undertake to judge, nor how they would carry it into execution, should they determine the act unconstitutional. The Constitution of the United States " Stat magni nominis umbra" '-(is the shadow of a great name.)

Mr. Giddings, speaking later, says:

· Without further remarks, I repeat that Ohio is now • Without further remarks, I repeat that Ohio is now a party to no subsisting Union; to our people, therefore, belongs the prerogative of dictating the future policy of the State. They may, if they choose, demand of our Legislature the passage of a law, enabling them to express their views in regard to the propriety of entering into a Union with Texas; or, as we are now dissolved from all connection with the slave States, we may remain free from all further alliance with them. We may form a Union with such of the other free States as shall prefer a union with freemen, and them. We may form a Union with such of the other free States as shall prefer a union with freemen, and discard all further political association with the institution of slavery.'

This is the extreme practical doctrine derived from a violation of the Constitution on the part of the them in the above-named order.

But the answer will be, 'The Supreme Court will who sent that very petition to the Empire State, of

Then, again, gentlemen, I have another point to present, and it is this: After all, is there any such further to say that is essential on this topic. I will

It is no answer to my request to say, that you will my, who filled the throne of Egypt, bade the archi- grant a jury trial, that you will hedge the citizen with tect, Sostratus, write on the frieze- Ptolemy, to the such safeguards that none but a real fugitive can ever be delivered up. That is not the Massachusetts we apparently, the name of the reigning king. But after want, and not the Massachusetts we have a right to a while, the crumbling plaster and frail lime dropped claim. If the South has violated the Constitution renot be put upon trial in the Commonwealth, and required to prove that he is not property. It shall not man; and if it be so,—and I am told a large proportion of those who occupy these seats believe it is, enact your legal theories into statutes. If you come asking that question, or making it the subject of evihere believing, as we are told you do, that there is dence and proof. Give us a law tantamount to this: no slavery in the United States Constitution, then I the moment a man sets his foot in Massachusetts, he

What your own Judges may not do, shall not by any man be done within your limits. We read, gentlemen, of days when to say, 'I am a Roman citizen,'

to ashes, while over the emancipated head flashed the mailed arm of the Commonwealth with its protecting

NOTICE.

The subscriber proposes a Meeting and Levee, on Monday evening, March 7th, at Upper and Lower Chapman Halls, in commemoration of the Leadership and Martyrdom of CRISPUS ATTUCKS, the Colored American, in Boston, March 5th, 1770, the day which History has selected as the dawn of the American Revolution.

The exercises will consist in part of speeche Tickets to the whole, 75 cents each. Particular

WILLIAM C. NELL. hereafter. Boston, Feb. 24, 1859.

AN ACCOMPLISHED COLORED PIANIST. A numerlency the Governor of Nova Scotia. He evinced or These, gentlemen, are the grounds upon which I this occasion great facility of execution in the modern tion from ' I Puritani,' by Prudent, with much fast and finish; also a 'Dream,' and some variations upor Scotch airs of his own, which showed more than the average cleverness in that sort of work. His readings of Beethoven and Mendelssohn were less satisfactory, but showed earnest study and some mastery of classical as well as modern music. Altogether the occasion was a very pleasant one, and Senor Casseres won the sympathies and the respect of his audience. Mr. C. R. Adams added much by his beautiful singing of 'Adelaide,' and of Balfe's ' Maud ' song.'

Mr. Casseres intends giving a Concert in Bos ton, in the course of a few days, with the assistance of distinguished musicians. Give him a full house and a generous welcome : he deserves it. Due notice will be given in the daily papers.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH's SPEECH, at the late Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, is now published in a neat pamphlet form, for circulation. It is most admirably adapted to help forward the good work, which is sufficiently described in its title, - 'No SLAVE-HUNTING IN THE OLD BAY STATE. Let the edition be immediately bought, and put into circulation. It is for sale at the following low prices :- By the hundred, \$3.00; dozen, 50 cts.; single, 5 cents.

Our friends in Montague, Greenfield, Deerfield, Northampton, Florence, Cummington, &c., will be glad to hear that E. H. HEYWOOD intends spending the first two weeks in March in those places, taking AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Collections for Tract Fund, by Caroline F. Putnam.

Lunenburg—Mrs. Abercrombie 50e, Mrs. Stone 25c, Rev. Mr. Mandell \$1, Dea. Harrington \$1.

Athol—Mrs. M. H. Baker 50e, Mrs. Stevens 50e, Mrs. Hapgood 25c. Rev. Mr. Norton 50c, Mrs. Oliver 6c, a Friend 3c, Mrs. Humphrey 13c, Mrs. E. Ellis \$1, Mrs. Stratton 10c, Mrs. Dunn 6c, Mrs. Blake

\$1, Mrs. Stratton 10c, Mrs. Dunn 5c, Mrs. Blake 15c, E. S. Walker 10c, W. H. Foster 25c, Mrs. Laban Morse 25, Mr. Boutell 20c, Mrs. E. J. Mars 50c, Mrs. C. B. Morse 25c.

Montague—Mr. Clary 10c, Miss Clapp 50c, Miss Stratton 25c, Mrs. Hall 7c, Mrs. and Miss Payne 30c, Miss Field 15c, Mrs. Russell 25c, W. Keyes 50c, Mrs. Lovejoy 16c, Mrs. Delano 25c, Mrs. Holton 25c, Dea. Marsh 50c, Mrs. Clapp 10c, Mrs. Chandler 12c, Mrs. Kettleton 10c, Miss Cook 25c, Miss Maxwell 10c, Mrs. Brewer 10c, Mrs. Root 25c, Mrs. Jos. Clapp 50c, Rev. Mr. Emerson 50c, Mrs. John S. Ward \$1.50, Mrs. Hartwell 20c, M. H. Clapp \$1, Miss J. Payne 25c, Mrs. Abbott 25c, Mrs. Payne 10c, Mr. Morgan 25c. Mrs. Benjamin 25c. 25c. Mrs. Benjamin 25c. Greenfield—Mrs. Brainard 50c, Miss Leavitt \$1, Mrs. Washburn 36c, Mrs. Alvord 25c, Mrs. Chenerey

Mrs. Washburn 35c, Mrs. Alvord 25c, Mrs. Chenerey \$1, Mrs. Aiken 50c.

Northampton—Mr. Felton 35c. Miss Shepard 25c,
Mrs. Thayer 50c, Mrs. J. Clark 50c, C. Clark \$1.

Grantville—A Friend \$1.

Hopkinton—Mrs. John Phipps 22c, Mrs. B. S.
Briggs 50c, Mrs. Adams 50c, Mrs. Dennis 15c, J. F.
Newton 50c, Geo. Hagar 25c, C. McFarland \$1, S.
D. Maybry \$1, H. J. Sawyer 50c. P. McParland 20c,
Mrs. Adams 50c, Mrs. M. S. Bowker \$1, Mrs. L. Fisk
25c, Mrs. Maybry 20c. Milton Claffin \$1. Mrs. Fitch 25°, Mrs. Maybry 20c, Milton Claffin \$1, Mrs. Fitch 25c, Mr. Adams 25c, Miss C. Littlefield 25c, Jas. 25c, Mr. Adams 25c, Miss C. Littlefield 25c, Jas. Fraser 25c, Mr. Forest 25c, Mr. Pillion 25c, Mr. Cragan 25c, Mr. Kennedy 25c, Mr. Cummiskry 25c, J. Thompson 50c, D. Macklin 25c, T. Powers 25c, T. Cillinan 25c, Miss C. Dillee 25c, M. Monoghan 26c, West Cambridge—Mrs. J. Russell 33c, Mrs. Jas. Russell 25c, Mrs. Robbins \$1, Mrs. D. Locke 50c, Mrs. Freeman \$1, Mrs. Joshua Dodge \$1, Mrs. Jas. Schouler \$1, Mrs. M. L. Russell 50c, Mrs. Farmer 25c, Mrs. S. Russell 35c, Mrs. Woodbridge 50c, Mrs. A. W. Dodge \$1, Mrs. W. H. Locke 25c, Mrs. Poland 50c, Mrs. Jos. Burrage 50c, Mrs. Adams \$1. Reading—Mrs. Bancroft 10c, Friend 10c, Mrs.

Reading-Mrs. Bancroft 10c, Friend 10c, Mrs. Temple 25c, Mrs. Buckstone 25c, Mrs. Damon 20c, Mrs. Barrows, 30c, Mrs. H. L. Pitman 50c, Mrs. Milo

Parker 25c, Mrs. Foster 31c.

Waltham-Rev. Mr. Bickford \$1, Mrs. O. Baker
25c, Mrs. Fitzgerald 8c.

Collections by Charles L. Remond.

\$10.00

In Nashua, N. H. " Montserat, "
Balance of collections at Essex Co. Society

Pleage to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

William I. Bowditch, Brookline, \$100 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer. Boston, Feb. 23, 1859.

to WORCESTER NORTH.-A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held at CLINTON, on Faturday evening and Sunday, February 26 and 27, commencing at 7 o'clock, P. M. of Saturday, at CLINTON HALL, and continuing on Sunday, day and even

PARKER PILLSBURY and E. H. HEYWOOD, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be present. All persons are invited to attend, and it is hoped that the members of the Society in the neighboring towns will be present.

JOEL SMITH, President

South Royalston, Saturday evening, February 19.
Athol, Sunday " 20.
Ashburnham, Monday " 21. HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on Sunday, Feb. 27, forenoon and afternoon, in Pembroke, and, in the evening, in Hanover.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at

ROCKPORT .- An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held in Rockport, on Sunday, March 6th, day and evening. WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLS-BURY, on account of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be present.

CHARLES SPEAR will speak in the Universalist Church in Stoughton, next Sunday after-noon. Subject: The Parlor and the Dungeon.

DIED-In Concord, Feb. 4th, JOHN THOREAU, Esq. aged 71 years.

Mr. Thoreau has, for many years, been known

among us as a man of great integrity of character. He was called, by all who knew him, emphatically, an honest man. So quiet and unpretending was he, that few but those most intimately acquainted with him knew of those deep fountains of humanity which were constantly welling up in his soil. It was this which made him an Abolitionist. His heart was touched for the mighty wrongs of the slave, and his soul deeply interested for his redemption. For years he absented himself from the Church, on account of its wicked complicity with slavery. Though oftentimes voting with the Republican party, yet with his whole soul ha honored those men, who, for so long a time, have, with clean hands and sturdy uprightness, carried the ark of the covenant through the tangle-weeds, the briars and thorns which grow so abundantly in the great wilderness of Church and State. His friends great wilderness of Church and State. His friends will not soon forget his pleasant smile, his cordial grasp of the hand, and the hearty hospitality with which he greeted the lovers of humanity. If, in the language of Furness, he who but touches the Rem of the garment of Anti-Slavery has found salvation, then has he gone to join the glorious throng of those who have, from age to age, made the redemption of man the great object for which they lived, and for which so many have offered up their lives, and he will forever find his own redemption and joy in the reforever find his own redemption and joy in the re-demption of all who are, and shall be, in all coming time, waiting to be redeemed from the power of igno-rance and sin. For the Lord knoweth the days of the upright, and their inheritance shall be forever."

Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis, Asthma, Croup, Whooping Cough, Diseases of the Throat and Lungs, and Pulmonary Affections,

Of the severest type, are quickly cured by that longtried and faithful remedy.

DR. WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY.

Says a well-known Editor- This is truly a balsam and a blessing to invalids. It contains the pure balsamic principle of Wild Cherry, the balsamic properties of tax and of pine. Its ingredients, which are mingled after the true principle of chemistry, are all balsamic, and therefore it is safe and sure in effect. Coughs, Colds, Consumption, and Bronchial troubles disappear under its balsamic influence as though charmed away. Probably no medicine has ever attained so extended a sale, or accomplished so much good, as this renowned Balsam.

CASSVILLE, (Ga.) Feb. 26, 1858.

Messrs. Seth Fowle & Co., Boston, Mass.:

GENTLEMEN—At the request of your Travelling Agent, I give you a statement of my experience the use of Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. have been using it for two years in my family, for Colds and Coughs, and have found it the most efficacious remedy that I have ever tried. For Colds and Coughs in children, I know it to be an excellent

Respectfully yours, JOHN H. RICE.

The genuine article always has written the signature of 'I. BUTTS' on the wrapper, and is for sale by all respectable Druggists everywhere. Prepared by SETH W. FOWLE & CO., BOSTON.

and for sale by dealers in Medicine in nearly every town in New England. Feb. 25-4tis

STNOW READY. #

The Life of JOHN H. W. HAWKINS THE GREAT APOSTLE

OF THE WASHINGTONIAN TEMPERANCE RE-FORMATION.

THE LIFE of a most extraordinary and useful man, and faithful and indefatigable laborer in behalf of degraded humanity. It is a book which no person can read without being stimulated to noble deeds.

Fifty Thousand should be sold in six months.

It makes a handsome 12mo. volume of 420 pages, with several wood-cuts, and a fine steel portrait of Mr. Hawkins. Price \$1.

POETRY.

MASSACHUSETTS TO VIRGINIA. [Written on reading an account of the proceedings of the cilisens of Norfolk, (Virginia,) in reference to GEORGE LATIMER, the alleged fugitive slave.]

BY JOHN O. WHITTIER. The blast of Freedom's Northern hills, upon it

Southern way, Bears greeting to Virginia, from Massachusetts Bay No word of haughty challenging, nor battle-bugle'

Nor steady tread of marching files, nor clang horsemen's steel.

No trains of deep-mouthed cannon along our high-WAYS go-Around our silent arsenals untrodden lies the snow And to the land-breeze of our ports, upon their er

rands far, A thousand sails of Commerce swell, but none are spread for War.

We hear thy threats, Virginia! thy stormy words and

Swell harshly on the Southern winds which melt along our sky; Yet, not one brown, hard hand foregoes its hones

labor here: No hewer of our mountain oaks suspends his axe in

Wild are the waves which lash the reefs along St. George's bank,

Cold on the shore of Labrador the fog lies white and dank : Through storm, and wave, and blinding mist, stout

are the hearts which man The fishing-smacks of Marblehead, the sea-boats of Cape Ann.

The cold North light and wintry sun glare on their icy forms, Bent grimly o'er their straining lines, or wrestling

with the storms; Free as the winds they drive before, rough as the

waves they roam, They laugh to scorn the slaver's threat against their rocky home.

What means the Old Dominion? Hath she forgo the day When o'er her conquered valleys swept the Briton

steel array? How side by side, with sons of hers, the Massachu Encountered Tarleton's charge of fire, and stout Corn-

wallis, then !

Forgets she how the Bay State, in answer to the call Of her old House of Burgesses, spoke out from Fanenil Hall?

When, echoing back her Henry's cry, came pulsing on each breath Of Northern winds, the thrilling sounds of 'LIBERTY

OR DEATH! What asks the Old Dominion? If now her sons have

False to their fathers' memory, false to the faith they If she can scoff at Freedom, and its Great Charter

spurn, Must tee of Massachusetts from Truth and Duty turn We hunt your bondmen, flying from Slavery's hate

ful hell-Our voices, at your bidding, take up your blood hounds' yell-We gather, at your summons, above our fathers

From Freedom's holy altar-horns to tear your wretch ed slaves !

Thank God! not yet so vilely can Massachusett

The spirit of her early time is with her even now; Dream not because her pilgrim blood moves slow, and calm, and cool,

She thus can stoop her chainless neck, her sisters' All that a sister State should do, all that a free State

Heart, hand and purse we proffer, as in our early day; But that one dark, loathsome burden ye must stag-

ger with alone, And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have

Hold, while ye may, your struggling slaves, and burden God's free air

With woman's shrick beneath the lash, and manhood's wild despair; Cling closer to the 'cleaving curse' that writes upon

your plains The blasting of Almighty wrath against a land of chains.

Still shame your gallant ancestry, the cavaliers of By watching round the shambles where human flesh

Gloat o'er the new-born child, and count his market

value, when The maddened mother's cry of woe shall pierce the slaver's den!

Lower than plummet soundeth, sink the Virgianian name: Plant, if ye will, your fathers' graves with rankest

weeds of shame : Be, if ye will, the scandal of God's fair universe We wash our hands, forever, of your sin, and shame

and curse. A voice from lips whereon the coal from Freedom's

Thrilled, as but yesterday, the voice of Berkshire's mountain men;

The echoes of that solemn voice are sadly lingering still In all our sunny valleys, on every wind-swept hill. And when the prowling man-thief came hunting

for his prey Beneath the very shadow of Bunker's shaft of grey How, through the free lips of the son, the father's

warning spoke! How, from its bonds of trade and sect, the Pilgrim city broke!

A hundred thousand right arms were lifted up or A hundred thousand voices sent back their loud re-

Through the thronged towns of Essex the startling summons rang, And up from bench and loom and wheel her young

mechanics sprang. The voice of free, broad Middlesex-of thousands

The shaft of Bunker calling to that of Lexington-From Norfolk's ancient villages-from Plymouth's

rocky bound To where Nantucket feels the arms of ocean close her round-

From rich and rural Worcester, where through the Of cultured vales and fringing woods the gentle

Nashua flows, where Wachusett's wintry blasts the m

-larches stir, Swelled up to heaven the thrilling cry of God say

And sandy Barnstable rose up, wet with the salt sea And Bristol sent her answering shout down Narra

gansett Bay!

Along the broad Connecticut old Hampden felt the are necessary to its existence. He alluded to the

And the cheer of Hampshire's woodmen swept down from Holycke hill. The voice of Massachusetts! Of her free sons and daughters-

Deep calling unto deep aloud-the sound of many waters! Against the burden of that voice what tyrant power shall stand?

No fetters in the Bay State! No slave upon her land! Look to it well, Virginians! In calmness we have In answer to our faith and trust, your insult and your

You've spurned our kindest counsels-you've hunted for our lives-

And shaken round our hearths and homes your manacles and gyves! We wage no war-we lift no arm-we fling no torch

within The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin :

We leave ye with your bondmen-to wrestle while With the strong upward tendencies and God-like soul of man!

But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given

For Freedom and Humanity is registered in heaven No slave-hunt in our borders -no pirate on our strand No fetters in the Bay State-no slave upon our land .

The Liberator.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. Mr. GARRISON:

At the late Convention of the Massachusetts Anti- tinued propagation of bad or defective organizations Slavery Society, several speakers indulged in severe and unhealthy constitutions, and the world continue criticisms upon the position and character of the to be flooded with vice and crime. The first step was above-named organization. That portion of the to impress the public mind with the truth that man's press representing it seems to have taken but little character and destiny, to a great, a very great extent, notice of the charges preferred, choosing rather to depend upon his organization and development beevade them by giving unfair and burlesque reports of fore birth; and that the organic structure and conthe speeches, and, in fact, of the entire proceedings, stitutional tendencies are mightily affected by the We presume, therefore, that the Republican press physical, intellectual, spiritual and motal condition o have no defence to urge. We do not presume to im-prove upon the elequent and forcible remarks that tation; so that men and women, being enlightened were made at the Convention, with reference to the and convinced on this point, may act upon it, party in question, but would simply give them our and exercise more care and discretion in the unqualified endorsement.

relates to slavery,) we are inclined to the opinion that thought be shown in giving existence to children it is grossly inconsistent. In the first place, they tell His lecture on this subject was exceedingly instrucus that there is no clause in that instrument which tive and interesting, and was delivered in language can be construed into a guarantee for the protection of slavery in any pertion of the Union. But when fastidious ear. asked why their action is not directed to the abolition of slavery in the States, the answer is, that they have no desire to interfere with the constitu- it leaves the body. After physical dissolution, we tional rights of any State-admitting thereby that should still be interested in those things which enslaves are held by virtue and under the sanction grossed our attention and interest in the mundane of that lauded guaranty of human rights! With what sphere. He believed with the Orthodox, that he propriety can Republican orators (and those who en- should not go to their golden heaven, and again, that he dorse their utterances) regard the Fugitive Slave Bill would descend to their hell-that is, if he saw any as unconstitutional? If the organic law contains of his fellow-beings there. After death, he should provisions by which men are allowed to hold men as still work for the amelioration of his race, by endeavproperty, it is logical to conclude that provision is oring to banish war, slavery, intemperance, and all made for the recovery of said property; and all re- the crimes, vices and evils which afflict humanity. sistance to the acts of Congress which have reference He had labored for thirty years on earth, and he had to the perpetuity of slavery is inconsistent with the no thought of stopping after he left this sphere. He interpretation of the Constitution by the Republican intended to work, work, work, through the countparty of the country. Perhaps some of its philoso- less ages of eternity. phers can reconcile these antagonistic views, which His lectures will long be remembered by those stamp the party with insincerity, if not with flagrant who heard him. We would gladly have retained dishonesty. What shall be said of men who avow him longer, and had several more lectures, but pretheir hatred of slavery, and yet deliberately swear to vious engagements would not permit him to remain support'a Constitution stained with the blood of four He intends to come here again ere long, however. millions of their fellow-men? Can we trust the cause It is, perhaps, worthy of notice, that one Baptist of emancipation in the hands of men whose only aim clergyman came eight miles on purpose to hear the is to secure political notoriety? We think not. They lectures, and remained here until they were over. may claim to be the friends of the slave, and, further- Another clergyman of the Seventh-day Baptist demore, that their party is doing a great anti-slavery nomination came some five or six miles. Of the six work, but the true friends of freedom will never ad- clergymen in this village, not one, I think, attended mit the justice of the claim. When the leaders of either lecture. I suppose they regard H. C. Wright the Republican party are ready and willing to apolo- as an 'infidel' Thank Heaven for such 'infidels' gize for having uttered remarks on the floor of the When the bigoted and interested priests of this coun-Senate which seemed to place them in the category try, who dare not raise their voice against American with abolitionists, it is time to criticise and to cen- slavery, shall have passed into oblivion, the name of sure; and we honor the men who fearlessly and faith- Henry C. Wright will gem the brightest page of hisfully denounce such enemies to the cause of Abolition- tory.

But, a word with regard to the ostensible objects of the Republican party, viz., the non-extension of slavery. Here, again, we are unable to discern the reasonableness of assuming a position of hostility to the W. L. GARRISON : advance of the slave system, and the increase of slave protects the slaveholder in sixteen States of the the chain bright between us. Union in robbing men, women and children of their ly advanced, that the Constitution carries slavery with the Garrisonian' who edits the journal above wherever the stars and stripes of the republic wave? named. cy. Their rule of political action is prescribed by and came east to spend a month in 'hoosierdom.' the gods of despotism, and from it they dare not swerve. It will not be improper, in this connection, cept in the northern borders, and a great change for to observe the antagonism existing between the Re- the better, in morals, intelligence, and progressive publican and Democratic parties. In what does it thought has taken place. I visited several country consist? In our opinion, the political warfare now towns, and had usually good audiences, sometime being carried on is based on no high and enhobling large, and found in smaller villages, too, some excel principle, but is rather the result of political ambi- lent people. They yet need to pass out from the It becomes the true and unfaltering friends of the personal neatness. oppressed and down-trodden to be active in protestupon the enemies of the Anti-Slavery cause. Let our tion of appreciative women. notto still continue to be, 'No Union with Slave- I have since seen one of the women active in prebe stricken off, and the death-knell of the demon Sla- Mrs. Dr. Thomas and Mrs. Birdsall, (all of Richvery be sounded? Boston, Feb. 6. FIDELITER.

LECTURES BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

WESTERLY, (R. I.) Feb. 14, 1859.

Agreeably to the appointment in the Liberator, H. C. Wright, the bold and fearless advocate of Humanity, lectured in this village on the 8th, 9th and 10th which legislators stand in such wholesome fear. of this month. His audiences were respectable in numbers and character, and his lectures, though meeting house, a plain brick building, large enough each was about two hours long, were listened to with to hold over five thousand people. Twice that numundivided attention, and apparently with profound ber gather at the Yearly Meeting, the largest in the interest. His discourse, so replete with great truths, world, it is said. I saw several persons who were appealing to the heart and understanding, could not present when, in 1836, on the public street, Henry

very-that monstrous crime, that gigantic disgrace and able man, simply for the respectful presenting of to our country. He did not stop to prove that it a petition, and the fact that no chance for reply was was wrong to transform human beings into merchan- given Mr. Mendenhall, lost the Kentuckian many dise and property. Human slavery was a foul and friends, and many votes too. Indeed, it is thought awful system of wrong, which neither man nor God by some good judges, lost him the Presidential chair could make right, and all who give it support, polit- At Greensboro', a village settled by North Carolina ically or religiously, directly or indirectly, are prac- Quakers, I stopped at the house of Seth Hinshaw, tical sustainers of all the robberies, pollutions and patriarch in Reform; an orthodox friend, then an murders, all the black and damning crimes which Anti-Slavery friend when the Society divided in that

different political parties of this country, to the American religion, church organizations and priests, and spoke of their criminal position with regard to the sum of all villanies,' American slavery. He told the audience what was being done in Massachusetts by the friends of freedom; that there they were circulating a petition, asking for a legislative enactment which should prohibit slave-hunting and slave-catching on that soil. He called on his hearers, in the name of humanity, to use their influence for the enactment of a law in Rhode Island which should secure the personal liberty of every fugitive from bondage seeking refuge in her borders, and do all within their power for the freedom of the crushed and bleeding slave. His lecture produced a deep impression on the audience. The second lecture was on the ante-natal history of

man, and its bearing on his post-natal character and destiny. He said that mere external influences had been tried, for centuries, to bring man from that state conse quent on the transgression of fixed laws, and they had been found inadequate for the permanent and extensive improvement of mankind, because the fact had been overlooked that parents are responsible for the existence, organization and constitutional tendencies of their offspring, and no attention had been given to man's education and history, previous to birth, or in the ante-natal state,-that brief but important period, when good or evil tendencies, both of body and soul, are organized, as fixed facts of life, in the em bryo man or woman. He said it was now time that we went to the root of the evil, and consulted and beyed the laws of life and health. We must look t generation, rather than regeneration, for the salva tion of the human family. The reproductive element was the only means, not only for the perpetuation but elevation and perfection of our race. While marriages were contracted from passion or interest, without regard to the organization, health and happiness of the offspring, the consequences must be the conselection of partners in the marriage state, and Respecting the position which the Republicans as- that unions may be formed under the guidance of sume with reference to the Constitution, (so far as it reason and love, and rational and conscientious foreand manner which could not shock or offend the most

In his third lecture, he gave us his views on the occupation or employment of the human spirit after

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS. ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) Feb. 5th, 1859.

My FRIEND,-I have just been reading some copies territory; for if the Constitution, as before intimated, of the Liberator, and feel like writing a word to keep

For some weeks I have been out of sight of you God-given rights, why interfere with slavery in the journal, among people who, although inspired by Territories? And why object to the doctrine recent- generous and humane sentiments, are not conversant

We can very well imagine how the Democratic party | The Monday after Christmas, I left A. J. Davis and can avow their love for slavery, and do all in their wife at Terre Haute, Ind .- a beautiful city of ten power to extend it, and yet maintain their consisten- thousand people on the Wabash-bound to St. Louis,

It is twenty years since I have been in Indiana, ex tion, which leads to exhibitions of partisan rivalry. pork and tobacco dispensation, and to gain in taste and

I was in Indianapolis just before the women pro ing against all political knavery, and every thing that sented their petition for equal rights to the Legislaretards the cause of Abolitionism. There is cause for ture; and, at the close of the Sunday meetings, it was encouragement. Let the noble men who wage war arranged to have a lecture in College Hall the next with despotism be sustained. It is not the work of night, on 'Woman's Rights.' About a hundred a day to create a public sentiment which will trample came; highly intelligent people, with a good propor-

halders or their supporters l' Let us wash our hands senting the petitions, and learn that the members of in innocency from the blood of millions of our fellow- both Houses, and a large audience, listened with beings; and may we not with joy anticipate the 'good tolerable, at times with interested attention, for an time coming, when the fetters of the bondman shall hour or more, to the addresses of Mrs. Agnes Cook, mond.) There was an evident intent to treat the whole matter as a capital joke, and yet be gallantly polite to the ladies.

The fact that it was a matter of deeper import and graver moment was made apparent to a part of those present, and I think the women feel that this first effort may be well followed by others which will help awaken attention, and create that public opinion of

At Richmond, I saw the great Orthodox Quaker but warm the sympathy and arouse the manhood of all Clay arrogantly told the Quaker Mendenhall, . Go home, and mind your business! My slaves are fat The subject of his first lecture was American Sla- and sleek.' His bluff treatment of a highly esteemed

are admirably done, and so lifelike as to be recognized

I was in Cincinnati last Saturday and Sunday. Saturday night, almost one thousand persons were present at the 'Paine Celebration,' and the whole passed off in such way that the daily papers were respectful in their mention of it.

Your old friend, Orson S. Murray, gave a characteristic address; and William Denton, a young Englishman, now lecturing on Geology, spoke most forcibly and eloquently. His commendation of Thomas

I had the privilege, on Sunday, of speaking to good audiences in National Hall, under the auspices of the possible for the blindest to help seeing that a new audiences in National Hall, under the auspices of the era is begun, and that the time has some for woman Spiritualists.

I was not able to see Mr. Conway, but hear good report of his manly independence.

At the close of the evening meeting, a lady told me A. B. Alcott was holding conversations in the lecture room of Mr. Conway's church. I could not stop, but passed on to Dayton-a beautiful city-and thence here for a ston of some weeks.

I am at the home of Richard Glazier-one of your firm friends, because he deems you the friend of humanity. So you see on what tenure you can hold his

With my best wishes, G. B. STEBBINS. Yours.

[From the Atlantic Monthly.] OUGHT WOMEN TO LEARN THE ALPHA-BETP NO. 3.

BY THOMAS W. HIGGINSON. Thus far, our whole course of argument has been defensive and explanatory. We have shown that do, we must go back to monarchy at once; if other woman's inferiority in special achievements, so far wise, then the alphabet, and its consequences, must as it exists, is a fact of small importance, because it be open to woman as to man. Jean Paul says nobly, a merely a corollary from her historic position of in his 'Levana,' that, 'before and after being a degradation. She has not excelled, because she has mother, a woman is a human being, and neither madegradation. She has not excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his look had no fair chance to excel man responsibility, but man responsibility is proposed to read the many speck on this subject, of John Quincy Adams, quoted at length by his recent venerable biographer, —in which, after fully defending the political performance is a speck of the many speck on this subject, of John Quincy Adams, quoted at length by his recent venerable biographer, —in which, after fully defending the political performance is a speck of the many speck of th had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his foot ternal nor conjugal relation can supersede the hu-This is a far deeper question,—one to be met only by a profounder philosophy and a positive solution. We are coming on ground almost wholly untrod, and must do the best we can. We venture to assert, then, that woman's social

inferiority, in the past, has been, to a great extent, a legitimate thing. To all appearance, history would have been impossible without it, just as it would have been impossible without an epoch of war and slavery. It is simply a matter of social pro-gress, a part of the succession of civilizations. The gress, a part of the succes past has been, and inevitably, a period of ignorance, engrossing physical necessities, and of brute force, not of freedom, of philanthropy, and of culture. During that lower epoch, woman was necessarily an inferior,—degraded by abject labor, even in time of peace,—degraded uniformly by war, chivalry to the contrary notwithstanding. Behind all the courte-sies of Amadis and the Cid lay the stern fact, ---woman a child or a toy. The flattering troubadours chanted her into a poet's paradise; but, alas! that kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. The truth simply was, that her time had not come. Physical strength must rule for a time, and she was the weaker. She was very properly refused a feudal grant, because, say 'Les tumes de Normandie,' she is not trained to war or policy: C'est l'homme ki se bast et a conseille. Other authorities put it still more plainly: 'A wo-man cannot serve the emperor or feudal lord in war, on account of the decorum of her sex; nor assist him with advice, because of her limited intellect; welcoming to her fair bosom the daggers aimed a nor keep his counsel, owing to the infirmity of her his,-when the Countess of Buchan hung confined in disposition.' All which was, no doubt, in the ma-jority of cases, true, and the degradation of woman was simply a part of a system which has indeed had soul of Joan of Arc met God, like Moses, in a burna part of a system which has indeed had

its day, but has bequeathed its associations.

From this reign of force, woman never freed herself by force. She could not fight, or would not. Bohemian annals, indeed, record the legend of a ments must not replace the nobler hospitality which literal war between the sexes, in which the women's army was led by Libussa and Wlasla, and which Great administrative duties also, cares of state, fo finally ended with the capture, by the army of men, of Castle Dziewin, Maiden's Tower, whose ruins are do these sit upon a female brow! Each year added still visible near Prague. The armor of Libussa is still shown at Vienna, and the guide calls attention to the peaked toes of steel, with which, he avers, the Christina of Sweden, alone among the crowned heads tender Princess was wont to pierce the hearts of her opponents, while careering through the battle. And there are abundant instances in which women have fought side by side with men, and on equal terms, bood in the process; for her Britannic Maiesty's their husbands, and their princesses were trained to the use of arms in the Maiden's Castle at Edinburgh put on a wig of the latest fashion, 'she really look and in the Isle of Skye. The Moorish wives and maidens fought in defence of their European peninsula; and the Portuguese women fought, same soil, against the armies of Philip II. The king of Siam has at present a body-guard of four mander (appointed after saving the king's life at a tiger-hunt) ranks as one of the royal family, and has ten elephants at her service. When the all-conquerforemost in the assault, as being most reliable; and of the eighteen hundred bodies left dead before the the hospital books with 'seven years' service,—seven campaigns,—three wounds,—several times distinguished, especially in Corsica, in defending a fort against the Euglish.' But these cases, though interesting to the historian, are still exceptional, and

the instinctive repugnance they inspire is condemnatory, not of women, but of war. reason, then, for the long subjection of wo-

whole material position of woman; but most per. experiment.

sons do not appear to see the inevitable social and But we must remember that all our American inmoral changes which are also involved. As has stitutions are based on consistency, or on nothing; been already said, the woman of ancient history was all claim to be founded on the principles of natural a clave to physical necessities, both in war and right, and when they quit those, they are lost. In

issue; then graduated out of all sects to a broader humanity. Always seeking to be true to his own convictions; ready to make wealth and reputation second to manhood; honorable and liberal; now, in his old age, serene and simple, yet wise and brave. He is a Spiritualist, and, in the light of his new views, seeks to be a wiser reformer; gentle, yet firm, uncompromising, yet charitable, plain and searching, yet kind.

I saw in his sitting-room some twelve pencil sketch portraits of his departed kindred, drawn by George E. Walcutt, of Columbus, Ohio, whom he had never seen, and who had no knowledge of the persons beyond and who had no knowledge of the persons beyond name, age, and time of death. Drawn, too, in some ten minutes each with the artist blindfolded. They dom, but the serfdom of woman.

And even into modern days this same tyrannica

by those who knew the persons when on earth. To me they are most beautiful and convincing proofs of spirit presence and guiding influence.

Solution in the first thin induced. Go spin, you jades! go spin! was the only answer vouchsafed by the Earl of Pembroke to the twice-banished nuns of Wilton. And even now, travellers agree that throughout civilized Europe, with the partial exception of Eng land and France, the profound absorption of the mass of women in household labors renders their general elevation impossible. But with us Americans, and in this age, when all these vast labors are being more and more transferred to arms of brass and iron,-when Rochester grinds the flour, and Lowell weaves the cloth, and the fire on the hearth has gone into black retirement and mourning—when the wiser a virgin is, the less she has to do with oil Paine, as the impartial friend of freedom, without regard to nation or race, was applauded. Verily, justice is dawning!

I had the privilege, on Sunday, of speaking to good to learn the alphabet? Nobody asks for any abolition of demestic labor

for women, any more than of outdoor labor for men Of course, most women will still continue to be main ly occupied with the indoor care of their familie and most men with their external support. All tha is desirable for either sex is such an economy of labor in this respect, as shall leave some spare time, to b appropriated in other directions. against each new emancipation of woman is precisely that always made against the liberation of serfs and the enfranchisement of plebeians,—that the new position will take them from their legitimate busi-· How can he [or she] get wisdom that holdeth the plough, [or the broom,]—whose talk is of bullocks [or of babies]?' Yet the American farmer has already emancipated himself from these fancied incompatibilities, and so will the farmer's wife. In a nation where there is no leisure-class and no peasantry, this whole theory of exclusion is an absurdity. We all have a little leisure, and we must surdity. We all have a little leisure, and we must all make the most of it. If we will confine large in-terests and duties to those who have nothing else to justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they do depart from the domestic circle, and enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God." There are duties devolving on every human being,

duties not small or few, but vast and varied, which spring from home and private life, and all their sweet relations. The support or care of the humblest household is a function worthy of men, women, and angels, so far as it goes. From these duties none must shrink, neither man nor woman the loftiest genius cannot ignore them; the sublimest charity must begin with them. They are their own exceeding great reward, their self-sacrifice is infinite joy, and the selfishness which discards them receives in return loneliness and a desolate old age. Yet these, though the most tender and intinat: portion of human life, do not form its whole

It is given to noble souls to crave other interests a so, added spheres, not necessarily alien from these, — larger knowledge, larger action also,—duties, responsibilities, anxieties, dangers, all the aliment that history has given to its heroes. Not home less, but humanity more. When the high-born English ady in the Crimean hospital, ordered to a post of almost certain death, only raised her hands to heaven, and said. 'Thank God!' she did not renounce her true position as woman, she claimed it. When the queen of James I. of Scotland, already immortalized by him in stately verse, won a higher immortality by ing flame,-these things were as they should be Man must not monopolize these privileges of peril birthright of great souls. Serenades and complishares with woman the opportunity of martyrdom. ght side by side with men, and on equal terms. hood in the process; for her Britannic Majesty's ancient British women mingled in the wars of wardrobe included four thousand gowns,—and Mile ed extremely pretty.' Should this evidence of feminine attributes appear to some sterner intellects frivolous and insufficient, it is, nevertheless, adapted

to the level of the style of argument it answers.

Les races se feminisent, said Buffon,—'The world hundred women; they are armed with lance and rifle, are admirably disciplined, and their combrought peace; peace, invention; and the poorest woman of to-day is born to an inheritance such as her ancestors never dreamed of. Previous attempts ing Dahomian army marched upon Abbeokuta, in to confer on women social and political equality,—1851, they numbered ten thousand men and six women; the women were, as usual, placed them magistrates, or when the Hungarian revolutionists made them voters, or when our own New Jersey tried the same experiment, in a guarded of the eighteen hundred bodies left dead before the walls, the vast majority were of women. The Hospital of the Invalides, in Paris, has sheltered, for half a century, a fine specimen of a female soldier, Lieutenant Madame Bulan, now eighty-three ture, and valuable only as concessions to a supposed years old, decorated by Napoleon's own hand with principle. But in view of the rapid changes now the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's way of the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on, he is a rash man who asserts the 'Woman's contract the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and credited on going on the cross of the Legion of Honor, and the cross of the legion of Honor and the cross of the legion of the legion of the cross of the legion of the cross of the legion of the cross of the legion of the legion of the legion of the legion of the cross of the legion of t Question' to be anything but a mere question of time. The fulcrum has been already given, in the alphabet, and we must simply watch and see whether the earth does not move.

In this present treatment of the subject, we have been more anxious to assert broad principles than to work them out into the details of their application. We only point out the plain fact: woman must be either a subject or an equal; there is no other perman has been simply that humanity was passing either a subject or an equal; there is no other per-through its first epoch, and her full career was to be manent ground. Every concession to a supposed principle only involves the necessity of the next conman have appeared successively upon the stage of the alphabet, and we abandon the whole long theory the sexes. Woman's appointed era, like that of the Scandinavian tribes, was delayed, but not omitted. and we have nothing but abstractions to fall back It is not merely true that the empire of the past has upon. Reasoning abstractly, it must be admitted belonged to man, but that it has properly belonged that the argument has been, thus far, entirely on the min; for it was an empire of the muscles, enlisting at best but the lower powers of the understand-ously tried to meet them with argument. It is an to him; for it was an empire of the muscles, enlisting at hest but the lower powers of the understanding. There can be no question that the present epoch is initiating an empire of the higher reason, of arts, affections, aspirations; and for that epoch the genius of woman has been reserved. The spirit of the age has always kept pace with the facts, and outstripped the statutes. Till the fulness of time came, woman was necessarily kept a slave to the spinning-wheel and the needle: now higher work is ready, peace has brought invention to her aid, and the mechanical means for her emancipation are ready also. No use in releasing her, till man, with his strong arm, had worked out his preliminary share in civilization. 'Earth waits for her queen' was a favorite motto of Margaret Fuller; but it would be more correct to say that the queen has waited for her earth, till it could be smoothed and prepared for her occupancy. Now Cinderella may begin to think of putting on her royal robes.

Everybody sees that the times are altering the whole material position of woman; but most per-

all European monarchies, it is the theory, that the mass of the people are children, to be governed, not mature beings, to govern themselves. This is classed, and consistently applied. In the few states of this Union, we have formally abandoned this theory for one half of the human race, while for the other half it still flourishes in full force. The moment the claims of woman are broached, the discount of the country of t moment the claims of woman are broached, the deno-crat becomes a monarchist. What Americans on-monly criticise in English statesmen, namely, that they habitually evade all arguments based on nat-ral right, and defend every legal wrong on the ground that it works well in practice, is the laws characteristic of our habitual view of woman. In perplexity must be resolved somehow. We also meet a legislator who pretends to deny that meet a legislator who pretends to deny that my meet a legislator who pretends to deny that and adherence to our own principles would place hed sexes in precisely equal positions before law and eastitution, as well as in school and society. Butted has his special quibble to apply, showing that a this case we must abandon all the general mains to which we have pledged ourselves, and held my by precedent. Nay, he construes even Precedent with the most ingenious rigor; since the calesco of women from all direct contact with affairs as a made far more perfect in a republic than is resulted. made far more perfect in a republic than is positi in a monarchy, where even sex is merged in mi in a monarchy, where even see is merged in mat, and the female patrician may have far more pass than the male piebeian. But, as matters now that among us, there is no aristocracy but of six men are born patrician, all women are legally bian; all men are equal in having political power and all women in having none. This is a passer so evident, and such an anomaty in human progress that it cannot last forever, without new discourse in logic, or else a deliberate return to M. Marela theory concerning the alphabet.

Meanwhile, as the newspapers say, we arrise

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await further developments. According to press appearances, the man adjustment has mainly not hands of women themselves. Men can hardly be expected to concede either rights or privilege man rapidly than they are claimed, or to be true to repeat the man and rapidly than they are claimed, or to be from he re-men than women are to each other. True, the wat effect of a condition of inferiority is the weakes a leaves behind it; even when we say, Handad the sufferer does not rise. In such a case, then a the sufferer does not rise. In such a case, thin's but one counsel worth giving. More depends a determination than even on ability. Will, as talent, governs the world. From what pathways eminence were women more traditionally exclude than from the art of sculpture, in spite of Non se than from the art of sculpture, in spate of Non as Praxiteles fecit, sed Anna Domer?—yet listed Hosmer, in eight years, has trod its full ascent Who believed that a poetess could ever be more than an Annot Lyle of the harp, to soothe with most an Annot Lyle of the harp, to soothe with rest melodies the leisure of her lord, until in Einhelt Barrett's hands the thing became a tranget. Where are gone the sneers with which armtan-geons and parliamentary orators opposed Mr. Schap Herbert's first proposition to send Florence Nights-gale to the Crimea? In how many towns has the gate to the Crimear. In now many towns has he current of popular prejudice against female anim been reversed by one winning speech from Lag Stone! Where no logic can prevail, success times. First give woman, if you dare, the alphabet, the her to her career; and though men, in summon her to her career; and though men ins-rant and prejudiced, may oppose its beginning, the is no danger but they will at last fling around be conquering footsteps more lavish praises that me greeted the opera's idol,—more perfemel form than ever wooed, with intoxicating fragrams, is fairest butterfly of the ball-room.

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whole class of complaints arising from kersair of the Bloop.

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Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much the regar-tion of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of k-partly because the drug alone has not all the virtus that is claimed for it, but more because many prop-arations, pretending to be concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sanapanilla of any thing else.

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