



I will here send to the Clerk's desk a quotation from an authority which is justly and generally respected by Republicans...

The Clerk read, as follows: I think there is nobody who doubts that the people of Oregon are to-day ready, desirous, willing to accept...

It seems to me, therefore, to be trifling with the State of Oregon, trifling with the people of that community, and to be unnecessary, and calculated to produce an unfavorable impression on the public mind...

Mr. Thayer—So much, then, in relation to the 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...

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 tutelage of the Federal Government...

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to review the action of the minority of the Committee on Territories in relation to this question. They have reported the bill of the majority, with an additional provision repealing the clause of the English bill...

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...

Hon. Eli Thayer was visited by the procession from the West. He has roomed at the west end of Pennsylvania Avenue...

Where rolled the Oregon, and heard no sound But his own dashings. It founded our own institutions, and established the arts and occupations of peace...

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...

TO THE READERS OF THE LIBERATOR IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Have you signed your names to the Petition to our State Legislature, for a law to prevent the capture and return of Fugitive Slaves? Have you solicited the names of all your neighbors...

Especially do I appeal to Women to circulate the petition, remembering that one-half the slave victims are women—helpless, defenceless creatures...

Mothers, I appeal to you to devote the present hour, day and week to this work; to nerve yourselves up to go from house to house, from office to office...

If you are disheartened, and feel that the cause of freedom is retrograding, then the more pressing is my appeal to you, to take the petition in hand, and go forth among the people. The many hearty 'God speeds' you will receive in your work of justice...

Members who are friends of freedom express no doubts but the bill will pass the House, and the hope is strong for the Senate.

Copies of Petition may be had by addressing Lydia Mott, Albany, N. Y. Remember to enclose stamps to pre-pay postage on the petition.

Albany, Feb. 22, 1859.

THE STATUTE OF WEBSTER.

Mr. Enton—I sincerely hope that the Legislature will not authorize the placing of this Statute on the State-house grounds, for, Banks to the contrary, notwithstanding...

A HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

We learn, with great pleasure, that Dr. MARIE ZAKREWSKA, 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...

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...

The Duty of Massachusetts.

SPEECH OF REV. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, REPORTER THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL RELATIONS, IN SUPPORT OF THE PETITION ASKING FOR A LAW TO PREVENT THE CAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES, IN THE HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 17, 1859.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I appear before you in behalf of the petitioners, not as an organized body, for they are not such. The favor which we ask of the Legislature is not to confer a benefit upon any organization...

And in thus following, with so clear and simple an object before us,—an object which does not ask, as some petitions which come before you, the aid of the State, rightly or wrongly, for private enterprise...

What we ask, in whatever form your wisdom may see fit at last to record it, would be, first, constitutional, and second, needful. If it is needful, is the most essential point for the Legislature to consider; if it is constitutional, is a question only less important.

We ask, therefore, that you should, at last, 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...

But, setting aside the correctness of this interpretation, and I shall not undertake to enter into an argument which shall undertake to enter into an argument which shall undertake to enter into an argument...

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.

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.

Sec. 2. Every person who may have been held as a slave, or who shall come, or be brought, or be, in voluntarily or in any way in this State, shall be free.

The act concludes with this statement:—This act shall take effect from its passage; and is followed by the words, 'Approved, Nov. 25, 1858.'

Now, gentlemen, we know very well that it is not the appropriate position for Massachusetts to occupy, to follow in any legislation that favors freedom.

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of slavery; Vermont—that, two years afterwards, following the use of her jails and her constables for the capture and safe-keeping of fugitive slaves; Vermont—which, in the Kansas struggle, was the first State—and, because of the close of the immediate day, the only State—to offer State aid to the sufferers in Kansas; Vermont—which has never been behind Massachusetts, and has sometimes even been before her.

And in thus following, with so clear and simple an object before us,—an object which does not ask, as some petitions which come before you, the aid of the State, rightly or wrongly, for private enterprise...

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further, that if there be a doubt upon the subject, that doubt is to go in favor of liberty; and we urge it, finally, on the ground that, if it is not constitutional, it ought to be. It is placing upon our statute-book a necessary safeguard to freedom, to put this law there; and, alas for those who strive to stand for anything, even for the Constitution, if they satisfy the freemen of Massachusetts that to be constitutional is to be false to freedom at last!

Gentlemen, calling upon you to vindicate the Constitution under which you claim to act, I feel, nevertheless, that all we can say upon that subject is trivial, secondary, in comparison with the more important function which it is for us to appear before you to discharge, namely, to show you the needfulness of the law we ask.

The world, supposing fugitive-slave cases to be provided for by some higher power, above all the lower powers of slave plantations,—the world, which apparently supposes that fugitive-slave cases are occurrences deliberately planned and concerted by Southern legislatures months before hand, and so the time chosen at last,—little knows the truth that lies behind 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.

When our forefathers began to resist the British government, they organized committees, clubs, companies, governments, institutions of all kinds.

As to the doubt whether that petition represents the public sentiment of the State, you know, gentlemen, as well as I do, that it does represent it. We know as well as I do—and you do not need our evidence to assure you of the fact—that you cannot find one respectable man in a hundred who is ready to look his fellow-citizens in the face, and declare, 'I mean to help the slave-hunter in catching his prey.'

Fugitive-slave cases have passed, you say; but fugitive slaves have not passed; they stop more and more every year in Boston, in New Bedford, in Worcester, there are more men, women and children who hold the peace of the community in their hands; because, let their claimant follow them, and seize them, and it is too late to legislate, too late to pass this beneficent statute, too late to protect the peace of the community; the danger is upon us then, and you have the Burns riot, and the worse riot, under the form of a military escort, transacted again in your midst.

Fugitive-slave cases, gentlemen! There is at this moment in this city, or has been within three months, a woman and her child, white as any man or woman within this hall, and yet claimed as slaves. The daughter of her first owner—her mother so light as to pass for a white woman—she herself the mistress of her second owner, whose child her child is,—that woman, yet a girl, not twenty years old, was sold, by that owner, and the father of that child, into slavery, to a man whose name she knew to be a prodigal debauchee.

Mr. Chairman, you know that these same criticisms about a conflict with the Constitution,—and I dwell upon this subject, not because I do not, like some of those who will follow, take myself a position antagonistic to the Constitution, and deny the possibility of a humane interpretation of its clauses, but because I sympathize with your desire to vindicate for the Constitution all the liberty that is to be found in it; and if it be that there is a possibility to be true to the Constitution, and free here in Massachusetts at the same time, I, like you, desire to take that position.

be as safe with a thousand kidnappers around her, as safe, gentlemen, in your presence, as your own baby in its cradle; she would be safe in her mother's arms; she would be safe here, though an army of ten thousand slaveholders blockaded each other, and a Mexican-war General headed every division of the army. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, all we ask of you, is, for my private property case such a woman, do as you please. What you would do as men, do as legislators. Charles Sumner said, and the nation trembled with enthusiasm as he said it, 'I was a man before I was a legislator!' Show the world that you can be more than legislators at the same time. We do not ask you to commit treason; we ask you to save the nation from the temptation to commit it. We do not ask you to shed blood; we ask you to save others from the necessity of shedding it.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

MR. CHAIRMAN.—Allow me to read the petition to which we appear:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to enact that no person who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up, by force of law, to any one claiming him on the ground that he 'owes service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union.

That petition, Mr. Chairman, lies before you, it is said, with some fifteen thousand signatures. Some of these petitions you will find endorsed by the gentlemen who head and send them to you, with a statement to this effect: 'I could have got almost every or every legal voter in the town, if I had had the time or the leisure to have circulated this petition more widely'; and, in a few of the towns, we are assured that every legal voter, or three-quarters, or two-thirds, of them, have signed this petition.

I understand, from the remarks of Mr. Higginson, that some objection has been made to this, as called organized effort in this matter. I am not aware of any organization, but if there were, I should not be ashamed of it. Why have not the minority rights to organize as well as the majority? I know no reason why you, sitting in this hall, wielding the crown and resources of the State, representing, as you are, a majority, with that statute-book for your possession, have a right to organization, to pressure, to a system, and that we, a minority, endeavoring to create a public opinion that shall change that statute-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 government, they organized committees, clubs, companies, governments, institutions of all kinds, never heard of charged as a fault upon the Whigs of 1775, that they did not fight single-handed; they organized; that they had committees; that they corresponded; that they issued circulars. We are now, reverently, from the trembling hand of History, the very circular which Sam Adams sent out from Boston, to array the public sentiment of the Colony in favor of independence, and worship it. Who shall say, to-day, that men, also seeking to marshal the State in behalf of liberty, have no right to circulate, to organize, to a system? I scold the circles. Who is the mocking wrangler that denies our right to organize, to pay agents, and send them out into every town and school district in the Commonwealth? We can do better than the majority, we have a right to do it. It is no objection to any movement that it is systematic and organized; if it be so, it is all the better.

As to the doubt whether that petition represents the public sentiment of the State, you know, gentlemen, as well as I do, that it does represent it. We know as well as I do—and you do not need our evidence to assure you of the fact—that you cannot find one respectable man in a hundred who is ready to look his fellow-citizens in the face, and declare, 'I mean to help the slave-hunter in catching his prey.'

Now, all we ask, substantially, in this petition, is 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 vote to 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 us shrinks from doing, shall not be done.'

Let us represent public opinion? We have, none of us, an awful idea of law, as if it were granite pillar, around which the floating particles of human life aggregate themselves as iron filings round the magnet; we imagine that it is an oak, rounded, that no one can touch it; that we are all mere imitations of it; whereas law is as fluid as anything else. As Emerson says, Law is a mere memorandum, stating that yesterday a certain body of men thought so; and, in effect, the voice of that statute-book simply is, 'Living men! what do you think of me to-day? Your fathers thought thus yesterday; what do you think to-day?' We ask you to answer that question. The people of this Commonwealth are disgusted with, and conscientiously opposed to, and hate, the carrying of the fugitive on our soil; and we ask you to put on the statute-book that which every man says by his own hearth-stone, and would be ashamed to do.

We come to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mr. Higginson alluded to the request we make to-day, as running singularly parallel to the long line of your history. Are you aware that this State, so far as you represent, was the first sovereign State, so far as we know, either in Europe or America, that abolished negro slavery, and that when she did it, she abolished it immediately and unconditionally? In 1777, the people of Vermont met in an informal convention, not recognized as a government, and adopted a constitution that abolished slavery. They were not recognized as a body politic until 1791. But in 1780,—the first date, so far as I know, in all history, where a distinct political sovereignty acted upon the question,—Massachusetts, by Judge Lowell, for that purpose, distinctly, immediately, and unconditionally abolished slavery; and I have a manuscript report of a case by Chief Justice Cushing, dated upon immediately subsequent, in which he quotes these words: 'I am immediately abolishing slavery of white and black, of course, of the gradual extinction of white violence by various forms of State action. And I recognize the ground taken even on negro slavery by the Courts, first of France, and then of England. But Massachusetts, I believe, was the first recognized sovereignty to abolish negro slavery by solemn act.'



POETRY.

MASSACHUSETTS TO VIRGINIA.

[Written on reading of the proceedings of the citizens of Norfolk, (Virginia,) in reference to GEORGE LATIMER, the alleged fugitive slave.] BY JOHN O. WHITTIER.

Along the broad Connecticut old Hampden felt the thrill, And the cheer of Hampshire's woodmen swept down from Holyoke hill.

The Liberator.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

MR. GARRISON: At the late Convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, several speakers indulged in severe criticisms upon the position and character of the above-named organization.

are necessary to its existence. He alluded to the 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 villainies,' American slavery.

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS.

ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) Feb. 5th, 1859. W. L. GARRISON: My FRIEND, I have just been reading some copies of the Liberator, and feel like writing a word to keep the chain bright between us.

peace. In war she could do too little, in peace she did too much, under the material compulsions which controlled the world. How could the Jews, for her stance, elevate woman? They could not do so, for she stood not by night.

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS.

I was not able to see Mr. Conway, but hear good reports of his many 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.

all European monarchies, it is the theory, that the mass of the people are children, to be governed, not by stated, and consistent laws. This is the theory of this Union, we have formally abandoned.

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS.

Nobody asks for an abolition of domestic labor for women, any more than of outdoor labor for men. Of course, most women will still continue to be maintained by the indoor care of their families.

meanwhile, as the newspapers say, we anxiously await further developments. According to present appearances, the final adjustment lies mainly in the expected to concede either rights or privileges to which we have pleaded ourselves, and hold only by accident.

Ayer's Sarsaparilla.

A compound remedy, in which we have labored to produce the most efficient alternative that can be had. It is a compound of the most powerful and purest of the Sarsaparilla family.

ANTI-SLAVERY... ROBERT... FIVE... VOL... AMERICA... NEW YORK...