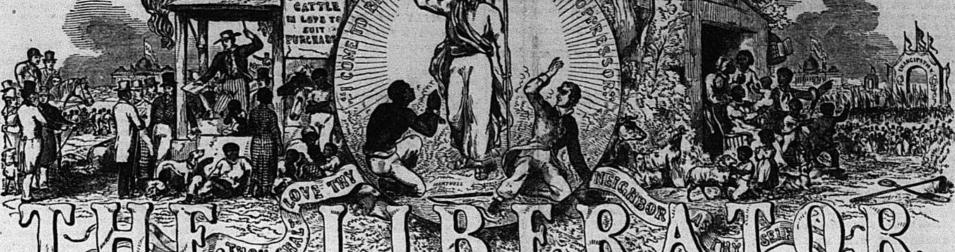
- AT THE -INTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL

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The following gentlemen constitute the Finanas Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-PESD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

MIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, 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 look-

ing 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

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. VOL. XXIX. NO. 47.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1859.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1508.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE GUILTY PARTIES.

Violated laws and murdered citizens demand a rictim at the hand of justice; if Brown is a crazed fanatic, irresponsible either in morals or law, there are yet guilty parties. He is then the agent of wickprincipals. If the Northern people believe Brown sine, what punishment is due to those who have poisoned his mind with the 'irrepressible conflict,' and spurred his faraticism to deeds of blood and car-He may be insane, but there are other crimisals, guilty wretches, who instigated the crimes perpetrated at Harper's Ferry. Bring Seward, Gree-ley, Giddings, Hale and Smith, to the jurisdiction of Virginia, and Brown and his deluded victims in the Charlestown jail may hope for pardon. In the opin-ion of Virginia, the five Republican leaders above mentioned are more guilty than John Brown and his associates. An ignorant fanaticism may be pleaded in palliation of the crime of Brown, but the five Republican leaders would spurn such a stultifying plea! They would not compromise their intelligence even at the cost of their morality. Let the friends of Brown, let all those who believe him insane, and all who intend to represent him as a crazy fanatic, for whose folly no party is responsible, de-liver up Seward, Greeley, Giddings, Hale and Smith. A fair trial, at their own time, with their own coun-sel, will be freely given them, and if Virginia does not find them guilty, they, too, shall go unhurt.—

THE INSURRECTION.

We are somewhat surprised that the people of the South have so calmly and dispassionately viewed the Harper's Ferry insurrection. When the news reached our ears, the warm, southern blood, boiled in our veins, and we thought then, that 'spirits from the vasty deep' had been called in to requisition by them, to aid them in their hellish designs. That Brown, even backed by Giddings and others, should have the audacity to attempt such an out-rage, was foreign to our mind. No matter how claudestinely the plan was formed—how secretly and faithfully they were executed—this far-famed prisonage, who was ever ready to blow the horn beloging to the black cow, and to ery out ' Freedom, Freedom, when the Brown Bull bellowed, and the dest was seen flying in the air-when he faced the conflict-lo! and behold! this Honorable Gentlemin was not in ' the thickest of the fray.'

This riot is the blackest crime on the pages of American History, and the result of that lavorite dectrine of that foul-hearted, slimy-mouthed Seward the irrepressible conflict,' and we presume that his followers are into an [in fact] ' irrepressible con-

With Giddings, Gerrit Smith and others lent their aid in, and urged on, this mongrel conspiracy, for which, they richly deserve, and should receive, the same fate that awaits the 'gallant Brown.' The Press, generally, North and South, are down

on the rebels, so far as we have been enabled to see, when we say Press North and South, we do not allude to those who know no other god but the deprivation of the rights of the people of the South of their interest, for, 'Mene, Mene, tekel Upharsin' has already been recorded against them; but we allude to those who are true to the whole country .-Southern Diamond, (!) Dadeville, Alabama.

'NO MERCY FOR JOHN BROWN.

The New York Journal of. Commerce' publishes the following extract of a letter from 'a distinguished Southern gentleman to a friend in New York, in reply to a suggestion in favor of commuting Brown's sentence —adding, 'It shows how Southern men feel on the subject: —

Browp and his fellow-traitors have committed a grievous crime against Southern peace and life, against the happiness and mutual confidence of two races, against the integrity of our Union. Death is the least punishment for any one of these crimes. Shall it be omitted for an offender against all law? Do so, and Abolition would yell 'Craven' in our ears, the effort would be repeated, our slaves would see it, and our peace be but for a moment.

Why is sympathy felt at the North for such a ruf-

fan as Brown? Why is murder by him to be ex-cused? Is it because it is for the down-trodden slave? Let us allow that plea, and where are we? He cannot be pardoned by the Governor without Legislative action, and should not be with it.— has staked his life upon his wicked scheme of the Legislative lawless murder, rapine, and rebellion. He has lost

-and must pay the forfeit!
Your heart will say, 'Amen.' You have let your generous impulse, to show Southern men magnani-mous, make you forget that if we failed to be just, is order to be esteemed generous, we should lose character in the eyes of good men, and of God!

Excuse this hot-headed letter, as I fear you will

term it. I do not want Brown's blood. such feeling. If we could safely spare his wretched life, I would. But justice, not vengeance, requires But justice, not vengeance, requires his death, and without any feeling of compunction, but only from dread of his future and eternal state, I would, were it my official duty, unhesitatingly sign his death-warrant.

The 'chances' of a dissolution of the Union begin to taper off into the creation of a Southern States Assembly, to devise measures of self-protection against Abolitionism. Says the Washington Mar:

'That the Jouth can afford to live under a Government, the majority of whose subjects or citizens regard John Brown as a martyr and Christian hero, rather than a murderer and robber, and act up to those sentiments, or countenance others in so d is a preposterous idea, as will be comprehended by all the North ere the end of the next session of Con gress, in the course of which the chances are that, pursuance of an address from nine-tenths of the outhern Senators and Representatives, the Governors of the several slaveholding States will call together their respectives Legislatures, to authorize regular election of a Southern-States Assembly charged with the duties of devising measures of self-Protection against Abolitionism, the he Northern States being almost all of them in the hands of those whose political teachings have hatched all the mischief brewing to the future of the integrity of the Union. In view of the great North-ern unanimity in sympathizing with Brown and fellow-convicts, with the certain consequences of the general manifestation of that sentiment, that such action wil be taken by the South is the opinion of action wil be taken by the South is the opinion of almost every public man, of both parties, throughout the slaveholding States.'

We hope to assist in handing Mr. Brown to ture generations as an abolition Republican, hung at Charlestown, State of Virginia, by South-trn slaveholders. It would also afford us infinite atisfaction to add to the list the name of Joshua R. Giddings, as one who, if living, could certify to the virtue of slave-grown hemp .- Canfield (S. C.) Sen-

SATANIC ORTHODOXY ON JOHN BROWN. was as it ever should be in similar circumstances.

commuting the settence. But we see nothing in the nature of the crime, or the circumstances attending its commission, unless Brown was insane, to call which they murdered the first negro who fell into their hands, the pertinacity with which they held out when their inhuman designs were baffled, the slaughter of unoffending citizens, and the avowed purpose to ravage the country and usurp the government, there is every element that goes to constitute

to death, should doubt that these murderers deserve chronic abolitionism has in his case specially exhibito die. In every intelligent Christian mind there is ted itself? That abolitionism is in one sense but a sense of right and wrong, that for a moment may the incubative stage of a particular form of mania, be obscured by sympathy with suffering, so that it fails to utter itself correctly when it speaks, but the sober judgment of the Christian world responds to any longer doubt? Garrison, who is a saurdy oid the systems which it resides, who can the sentence which God and man have pronounced fanatic somewhat of the John Brown school, has by man shall his blood be shed.'

From the Central (Richmond, Va.) Presbyterian. most conservatives journals at the North, which have taken the true ground on other points, are now con-tending that Brown and his associates are proper subters in the negroes, and incite them to butcher their masters; they murder several persons; they are arrested, fairly tried, defended by counsel of their own choice, are convicted and condemned. Their guilt is not denied; may, it is admitted to be compliated.

Solution assistance, appear to have been actuated by the control of the Lawrence Herald of the freedom, complain of treachery and deception.—

Abolitionists appear to have been actuated by the control of the Lawrence Herald of the freedom, complain of treachery and deception.—

Abolitionists appear to have been actuated by the control of the Lawrence Herald of the Lawrence Herald of the control of the Lawrence Herald of the Lawrence He

In this whole matter, nothing has been more discouraging to us, nothing has given us more pain than the fact that some of the very men at the North upon whom we relied, and to whom we looked as the instruments by which we trusted Providence would arrest and turn back the tide of fanaticism, in

the sword from the hand of righteous judgment.

If the abolition element at the North is so powerful that conservative men seek to conciliate it at such a price, then indeed may the most Union-loving men at the South begin to despair as to the possibility

From the Philadelphia Christian Observer.

horrible consequences, but for the ignorance of the ernor easily yields to generous impulses, and perhaps conspirators respecting the condition and feelings of the exercise of mercy would in the circumstances be slaves, and the tardiness of their fanatical allies! most advantageous to all parties. What wide-spr ad scenes of rapine, murder and crimes still more horrible might have marked their progress, had their confederates rushed to the place of action before the military could have restricted and murderers. When—as I recently visited the

development of the malign spirit which has severed the bonds of Christian fellowship among brethren, created alienations, divided churches, and rent socipowers of Church and State throughout the land?

THE HARPER'S FERRY INSURRECTIONISTS.

indictment-treason, insurrection and murder, either of which crimes are punishable with death. All honor is due the noble Virginians, for the law-abid-ing sentiment manifested in this case. And the notorious Brown, whose life has been literally

steeped in blood and crime, who has already dis-turbed the peace and friendship of the two sections many, very many localities in the South, where under similar circumstances, a more summary judgment geance meet the approbation of a whole people, it would have done so in this case.—I allapoosa Times.

OUTRAGEOUS. Dr. Cheever, of Brooklyn, who is so abjectly on his knees beseeching the British pub-lic for funds to sustain his abolition crusade, lec-tured on Tuesday in Charlestown before what purtured on Tuesday in Charlestown before what purports to be a literary association. He seized the occasion to outrage his audience by full doses of the worst form of Garrisonian Abolitionism. To their credit they did not listen with perfect composure to an outpour of treason at the base of Banker Hill; but by unmistakable marks hurled back upon the insulter, general and repeated expressions of their indignation. Not a few turned their backs on the impudent clerical brawler, and left the hall. This

From the New York Observer.

There may be reasons of policy or expediency for ommuniting the settence. But we see nothing in

MORSE S

sult. But in the first place, men of such a pestilential cast ought not to be asked to officiate on such ing its commission, unless Brown was insane, to call for elemency in the case. On the contrary, in the deed, the object, the long, cool, deliberate, maligner, marker my derons calculation and perpetration with nant, murderous calculation and perpetration with men and women, ought to take the matter in hand, which it was planned, the blood-thirstiness with and express their disapprobation. More especially is it a duty, on every occasion, to stamp with a just indignation sentiments fostering insurrection and treason .- Boston Post.

THE NATURAL RESULT. The telegraph announthe highest crime known to the laws of God and ces that Gerrit Smith is now a raving lenatic in the man. It is a moral wonder that any one, in his insane asylum at Utica. Can any one read this insenses, who believes that a murderer ought to be put telligence without feeling that the natural results of upon the murderer: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, managed to keep out of the lunatic asylum thus far, though all things seem at present to indicate that There are interests most awful to be contemplated, when we decide to extend sympathy and forgiveness to such crimes as this! Where is law, where is safety, where is virtue, where is the distinction between the such as the distinction between the such as the right and wrong, where the difference between re- great howl there. As for Parker Pillsbury, the ward and punishment, if we are to pardon these man who baptized dogs, and whose public speeches men? Is there any crime known to the laws, or any circumstances under which crime can be committed, or any antecedents or consequents of crime struck inhabitants of this State. Well, as men sow, that would call for the extremest punishment, which are not pre-eminently present in this case? self full of liquor is very apt to reap a crep of delirium-tremens; and a man who sows himself full of abolitionism must expect to reap a crop of in-We discover, with great regret, that some of the surrectionary fancies and insane delusions, such as will sooner or later send him to the mad-house or the jail .- Taunton Gazette.

jects for executive elemency. They say that a great and chivalrous State like Virginia might forgive a into difficulty through the failure of their diabolical poor old fanatic like Brown and his comrades, now attempt at Harper's Ferry seem utterly friendless, that they have been defeated, tried and condemned. They were not only left in the lurch by those who What does this mean? Here are a company of men had promised co-operation in carrying out the plot, who make a midnight assault upon unarmed and un- but now in their extremity they seem almost wholly offending citizens; they seize upon the government abandoned. Even the few solitary instances of fidelarsenal; they place deadly weapons in the hands of ity which have come to notice, among those volun-the negroes, and incite them to butcher their mas-

is not denied; nay, it is admitted to be compliacted and aggravated; and yet, conservative journals appeal to executive elemency, and say let these men be pardoned! And why? Because their execution real danger. Gerrit Smith appears to have been will excite abolition sympathy! And this is the logic of these whimperers. Here is a band of traitors, robbers and murderers; they have been convicted of their crime; they deserve to die—but pardon them; let them loose upon society again, for it in lary sacrifices to effect the emancipation of their don them; let them loose upon society again, for, it miary sacrifices to effect the emancipation of their is argued, if the majesty of law is vindicated—if just slaves, than the aggregate donations given to protice is administered—abolition sympathy may be augimented! mote American Abolitionism, from its inception to this day.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

LOWER DELAWARE, Nov. 4, 1859. With respect to Brown, the insurrectionist, all are agreed as to the wickedness of his bold attempt, and that quarter, by sternly upholding LAW, and its solemn sanctions, are now contending that undeserved elemency should usurp the throne, and wrest country will be best attained by so commuting the punishment as to render him harmless for the few remaining days of his miserable life. The Abolitionists are in great want of a martyr just now, and Brown would suit them exactly. He has made affec-ting speeches, has sanctified himself with pious language, rectified himself, he fancies, before his country, and now waits to be bound to the altar, for such would the gallows be to him and his friends. Who is responsible for this terrible drama?-this If the real friends of the blacks and of the Union flendish invasion of a peaceful community—this long meditated treason and plot to enlist thousands in a civil and servile war against the laws and government of their country? What might have been its is now in his hands. In his cool moments the Gov-

action before the military could have reached the rural districts on the banks of the Delaware-I befield! Who is responsible for the thousands of gold and silver, expended for arms and ammunition, which had been brought and concealed near the season—the rich contentment of the people—stalwhich had been brought and concealed near the place of this outbreak?.

Is not the animus of this horrid tragedy inspired by an unscriptural dogma, that slaveholding is a crime, 'a sin,' or 'an offence'? Is not the fanaticism of the conspirators the culminating point, the development of the malign spirit which has severed reigning—I said to myself, what a happy country is the bonds of Christian fellowship among brethren, this, and who but a demon incarnate from the pit created alienations, divided churches, and rent societies, formed to evangelize and bless the country and to set brother against brother, to array the North the world-and which is now seeking to control the against the South, to encourage violence and blood shed; to overturn, if possible, the beneficint institutions of our country, and instead of a well-ordered government with freedom to worship God, a chaotic mass of broken elements, which, like the fragments We give such details of the trial of these mis- of a once beautiful temple, serve but to remind us reants as our columns will permit. It will be seen of the magnitude of the ruin wrought. If disunic that Brown, the leader of the nefarious band, has misery, and destruction are to be our lot, they will been found guilty of the three charges found in the have been brought on by the machinations and measures of just such men as sympathize with and encourage Brown, who would gain such notoriety as fell to the lot of the incendiary who applied the torch to the Ephesian temple. From the tenor of conversation with a friend from the South, I am sorry to infer that there is for Brown little hope, if turbed the peace and friendship of the two sections Southern feelings, so outraged by him, shall have of the Union, and finally crowned a life of wicked-full sway. To deny him the halter would be, it is ness by the most diabolical attempt known to the country in which he lived, will have the satisfaction, against fearful outrages. Still, time may soften the if satisfaction it may be considered, to know that severity of vengeance a little, and an old man be although he dies an ignoble death, it is meted out saved from the terrors of the gallows. It will, I by the stern justice of the law. There are think, be long before such another outbreak will very many localities in the South, where under occur. I hope it will not be long before our armocircumstances, a more summary judgment ries will be put in a state of more effectual defence. would have ended his fanatical career. If ever Harper's Ferry would be a sort of Thermopyies to a lynch law could be justifiable, or summary vengeance meet the approbation of a whole people, it movement could possibly be made there.

So pitiful are the pretexts that the Black Republicans profess to set up in disguising their com-plicity in the Virginia invasion, that they unwittingly expose the designs they had secretly matured Baffled in their intentions by the untimely attemp

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Tribune. JOHN BROWN'S COLORED REFUGEES IN CANADA.

WINDSOR, UPPER CANADA, Nov. 6, 1859. As everything relative to 'Old John Brown' is now interesting, I would inform your readers that I have spent a few hours in Windsor, Upper Canada, with seven of the twelve colored Missourians who are now residing in that place. The other five are living about nine miles in the country. These make the twelve persons taken by Brown last January into Canada. As various reports are affoat concerning them, I wish to inform all parties that those living here are very industrious. Two of the seven are men. They team, saw wood, and job round.'-One, a boy about twelve, helps around generally. Two of the women, who were field hands in Missouri last spring, on arriving at Windsor, hired, for \$4, an acre of land, and with a spade each, they actually spaded it, planted it with corn and potatoes, and attended it well; this crop would chal-lenge any crop I ever saw in Missouri, and not often beaten even in Kansas, where soil and climate are superior to most portions of this world; their potatoes are very fine—all dug and put up in secure manner in the garden back of their house, for winter; the corn, of which I brought some away, is beautiful. One of their houses has a small garden attached; they pay \$2 a month for this. In this little garden they have grown some very fine onions, carrots, parsnips, and some extraordinary cabbages; the cabbages are taken up, put together, and covered thick with fodder or straw, rather neatly packed. They have amply sufficient corn, potatoes, &c., for winter. As to meat, they do without, till they have some fit to kill. They have three hogs growing finely, which they paid \$1 each for, and feed them on what they collect in swill from neighbors, As to clothing, they are neat, with well patched articles. They say they have \$20 salted down. They informed me that, after being here a short time, they were burned out, losing all, or nearly all, of the useful articles given them by friends on their way, while escorted by that man whom they While I read aloud the sentence of Brown, with his speech from the paper, to them, oh! how affecting to see their tears and hear their sobs; two women declared, if it could be, they would willingly die instead of their liberator. A woman among them remarked, if the bible was true, he (Brown practised most of it here; so he would be rewarded by 'old Master' up higher, with greater happiness. The father, mather, and three children in the country, work a farm on shares; they have about sixteen acres of corn, potatoes, &c., part of which are theirs; they all are anticipating the day when they can get a piece of land of their own.

JOHN BROWN'S EARLY HISTORY AI. MOST A D. D.

public are already familiar with his history during the past few years.

· In the burying-ground near the church in Canton Centre, Conn., stands a marble monument upon which is inscribed the following:

descent from Peter Brown, one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who landed from the May Flower, at Plymouth, Mass., December 22, 1620."

ompany of West Simsbury (now Canton) troops, o the deadly conflict, and fell a victim to the then prevailing epidemic in the American camp. He ished for it.' eft a numerous group of little ones, who reared by his widow with singular tact and judgment, to habits of industry and principles of virtue, and all became distinguished citizens in the communities in which they resided. One of the sons became a Judge in one of the Courts of Ohio. One of regret for what he has done. of the daughters had the honor of giving to one of our most flourishing New England colleges a Presilent for twenty years, in the person of her son.

Sideon Mills, Esq., who was himself (Mills) an interpreted was not his object. The idea of his seiz-ling the Arsenal for the sake of the weapons it con-tained, he will not admit. He says he had far betts his military spirit through a patriotic ancestry. Soon after the marriage of Owen Brown, he removed with his family to Torringford, Connecticut, where the present Captain John Brown was born. While would insist upon exchanges of slaves for his prisonhe was yet in infancy or early childhood, the pa-rents returned to West Simsbury, and there re-mained for a few years, when they emigrated to Hudson, Ohio, where Owen Brown became one of

At the age of eighteen or twenty, the present Capt. John Brown left Hudson, Ohio, and came east with the design of acquiring a liberal education through some of our New England colleges. His ultimate design was the Gospel ministry. In pursuance of this object, he consulted and conferred the armory, where they would not be exposed to the Canton, Conn., (whose wife was a relative,) and is accordance with advice there obtained, proceeded to Plainfield, Mass., where, under the instruction of the late Rev. Moses Hallock, (father of the present senior editor of the Journal of Commerce,) fitted, or nearly fitted for college. While there pursuing his studies, he was attacked with inflammation of the studies, he was attacked with inflammation of the studies, he was attacked with inflammation of the studies. the eyes, which ultimately became chronic, and pre-cluded him from the possibility of the further pur-suit of his studies, when he returned to Ohio. Had not this inflammation supervened, John Brown would not have died a Virginia culprit upon a Virginia gallows, but in all probability would have died on a feather-bed, with D. D. affixed to his name.'-Tribune.

BROWN'S CONVERSATION WITH GOV. WISE.

A correspondent of the N. Y. Herald, under date of Richmond, Va., Oct. 29th, detailing incidents in relation to the Harper's Ferry Insurrection, gives a more extended report of the conversation between John Brown and Gov. Wise than that at first re-

Li have heard Governor Wise questioned to-day regarding the statement circulated by the press, that Brown, in an impertinent manner, said to the Governor, 'If you have your opinions about me, I have my opinions about you,' was true. The Governor positively denied the truth of this statement; and, moreover, added that 'Old Brown,' during

that somebody in the crowd applied to Brown the epithet 'robber,' and that Brown retorted by saying, 'You' (alluding to the slaveholders) 'are the robbers.' And it was in this connection that he said,

'If you have your opinions about me, I have my opinions about you. At this time the Governor remarked to him, 'Mr. Brown, the silver of your hair is reddened by the blood of crime, and it is meet that you should eschew these hard allusions, and think upon eternity. You are now suffering from wounds which, perhaps, may terminate your existence; and should you perchance escape death from these causes, you will have to submit to a trial in the court which may involve that result. Your confessions are of a character which might well justify the presumption that you will be found guilty; and even now you are committing a felony under the laws of this State, by uttering sentiments like those you have just expressed. It is better you should turn your attention to matters concerning your eter-nal future than, be dealing in denunciations which

can only injure you.'
Brown replied by saying, 'Governor, I have, from all appearances, not more than fifteen or twenty years the start of you in the journey to that eternity of which you kindly warn me; and whether my tenure here shall be fifteen months, or fifteen days, or fifteen hours, I am equally prepared to go. There is an eternity behind and an eternity before, and the little speck in the centre, however long, is but comparatively a minute. The difference between your tenure and mine is trifling, and I want to therefore tell you to be prepared. You all (referring to the slaveholders) have a heavy responsibility, it behooves you to prepare more than it does me.' Such, as I gathered them from Gov. Wise, was the substance of the remarks on both sides.

From the New York Tribune. NO CHANCE OF REPRIEVE.

Certain Northern papers convey the impression of very general belief in John Brown's safety from execution. They assume that, for political or other reasons, Gov. Wise will be induced to show cleman cy to this condemned man. Such ideas are here re ceived with indignation. I certainly do not see any ground for hope in Brown's case. It is evident that any attempt to remove him alive from this town would fail. The people say that a regiment of soldiers, with the Governor at their head, could not accomplish it. In the event of an attempt at rescue, which has been the great fear all along, and to prevent which all these extraordinary military precautions are still kept up, the jailers have been in-structed to shoot him and his companions instantly. The populace are resolute in their determination that their victims shall never be taken from them, and it does not seem that this determination is to be shaken by any expedient. Brown's own ideas on the subject are characteristic. He tranquilly says-'I do not know that I ought to encourage any attempt to save my life. I am not sure that it would Want of space compels us to abridge somewhat a not be better for me to die at this time. I am not Brown does not value his life : or, at least, is wholly unmoved at the prospect of losing it. He was never more firm than at this moment. The only compunctions he expresses are in relation to his management at Harper's Ferry, by which he lost not only himself, but sacrificed his associates. He on In memory of Captain John Brown, who died in the Revolutionary Army, at New York, Sept. 3d, 1776. He was of the fourth generation in regular never have been taken, for he and his men had studied the vicinity thoroughly, and knew it a hundred times better than any of the inhabitants. It was, he says, his weakness in yielding to the entreaties o · Captain Brown, at his country's call, led forth a the prisoners, and delaying his departure, that ruined him. 'It was the first time,' are his words, 'that I ever lost command of myself, and now I am pun-

The reason Brown has given for asking his wife to remain away is also characteristic. He knows it will cause great suffering, and will, possibly, shatter his composure in a manner which he is resolved against, lest his captors should esteem it an evidence

Here is his own account of his purpose at Harper's

Ferry :-He had calculated upon, and fully expected to ac-Owen Brown, one of the sons, and father of the complish, a rescue of a great number of slaves. To maintain a warlike position in Virginia for any defilarge portion of the prisoners comprising Bur-oyne's army, thus proving that John Brown inher-ts his military spirit through a patriotic ancestry. had decided to take Col. Washington and the other Hudson, Onto, where Owen Brown became one of the principal pioneer settlers of that then new town, ever respected for his probity and decision of character. He was endowed with energy and enterprise, and went down to his grave honored and respected, about the year 1852 or 1853, aged 87. he could have perfected arrangements for an enormous rescue. This, as I understand it, was his real

with the Rev. Jeremiah Hallock, then clergyman at weather, anticipating no trouble in moving off with Canton, Conn., (whose wife was a relative,) and in them, in case he should not be able to effect the exchanges with negroes before the general alarm should spread. Disappointed in this hope, he had only to fight to the end.

> tions on the score of humanity-meaning, as have made tyrants mad, ready for their destruction. The Slave Power will be brought to the judgment, afterwards explained, that the ferocity of the slaves and tried for almost every crime known to the race, and one 'count' will be inviting the violence of those a great massacre would have been the result.

CAPT. JOHN BROWN. From a notice of Brown, published in the Exeter

News-Letter, we copy the following concluding 'In person, Capt. Brown is tall, sinewy, and hard

'In person, Capt. Brown is tall, show, In times featured, with blue eyes and grey hair. In times of excitement his severe eye flashes, and his closely cut hair seems to stand up like ruffled plumage. cut hair seems to stand up like ruffled plumage. He generally dresses in sombre colors, and in the fashion of twenty years ago. He speaks in a measured, decided tone, going straight to the point. His hand-writing is angular and constrained.

Like Gromwell's men, he is devout to the verge of fanaticism, but in his intercourse with men, he is without cant. In Kansas, he forbade all swearing

among his men, and prayed night and morning in his tent.

The Puritan s shown in him, tough to the core, Such as prayed, smiting Agag, on red Marston Moor

their interview, never uttered a single word which His courage is undoubted; at the battle of Osawas personally offensive to him. The Governor says watomic he went from point to point, arranging watomie he went from point to point, arranging his men in full view of the enemy, whose whizzing balls he minded no more than the buzzing of flies. His sense of honor is most keen; his word is as good as his bond. Of him it may be said, as the Arab Chief said of the traveller, 'I love him, for his word

is as straight as my spear.'
With his great and manly virtues, and his excusable faults, he is now a prisoner, awaiting the judg-ment of the chivalry of Virginia. Having backed his body, after his surrender, her distinguished sons are now seeking to 'entangle him in his talk' before his trial. Soon, undoubtedly, the old man will follow his children to the land where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. There they hear not the voice of the oppressor; the small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master.

Hampton Falls, Oct. 24, 1859.

AN IRREVERENT JUDGE ON TRIAL.

The Pittsburgh Dispatch says that when Thomas Cunningham, Esq., of Beaver, Pa., went to Kansas, under an appointment as United States Judge, in passing through a settlement he met Old Osa-watomie Brown, who had just arrived with half a dozen pro-slavery prisoners, captured while in arms to assail the free state settlers. Among them were several slaveholders, who were discharged by Brown, (as Gov. Wise promised to discharge Gerrit Smith,) (as Gov. Wise promised to discharge Gerrit Smith.) with a lecture, as poor, ignorant devils, who knew no better; then, turning to the northern men with southern principles, he remarked:—'As for you fellows, you ought to know better, having been brought up in the free north; I must ask the Lord what I shall do with you!' Whereupon the stern old man commenced praying to the Almighty, asking his aid, that he might so dispose of these prisoners as to best promote the free state cause, &c., in the midst of which Judge Cunningham, after vain attempts at restnaining it, burst into a fit of laughter. tempts at restraining it, burst into a fit of laughter. In a moment Brown ceased praying, and, turning his piercing eyes upon the offender, remarked:

'And if you don't stop laughing, I shall dispose of you, sir, without asking the Lord anything about it!' It is unnecessary to say that the honorable court resumed its accustomed grave demeanor, and that the subsequent proceedings of John Brown's drumnead court-martial were marked with no levity, so far as Judge Cunningham was concerned.

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN. pondence of the New York Tribune

Iowa, Nov. 4, 1859. Far away in Iowa, distant from the wounded pris-oner, there are those who knew him well to admire him for all that was known of his career, up to the Harper's Ferry occurrence. It was my pleasure to chat with Brown many hours while he was under

my roof. In correspondence with the N. Y. Inde-pendent, months since, I made him the hero of my heart for what he had suffered and dared to do. While in Iowa, the flash of his eye and the boldness of Canton Centre, designed to correct erroneous statements concerning Capt. John Brown. We give that portion relating to his early life. The mation that oppression aroused a spirit of revenge.

As he spoke in public, there was no boasting nor a
display of himself. The wrongs of Kansas and the atrocities of Slavery he pictured in a clear style, de-claring that it was nothing to die in a good cause, the barbarities of American slavery. His logic with chain-shot argument, yet he courted no discussion, being then occupied with the safe escape of the eleven supposed chattels from Missouri. Providence, said he, ' has made me an actor, and Slavery an out-law. A price is on my head, and what is life to me?

An old man should have more care to end life well than to live long. Duty is the voice of God, and a man is neither worthy of a good home here, or a heaven, that is not willing to be in peril fer a good cause! The loss of my family and the troubles in Kansas have shattered my constitution, and I am nothing to the world but to defend the right, and that, by God's help, I have done, and will do.' This, in substance, and much more, was said in reply to a wish which I expressed that he would not return to Kansas, but seek that rest and quiet with his family which his health demanded. He scouted the idea of rest while he held a 'commission direct from God Almighty to act against Slavery. He claimed to be responsible for the wise exercise of his powers only, and not for the quality of certain acts. In taking slaves out of Missouri, he said that he would teach those 'living in glass-houses not to throw stones,' and they would have more than they could do to keep Slavery in Missouri, without extending it against the will of Kansas. The battle of 'Black Jack' and others, he was free to say, he thought had scared Missouri, and that was Gen. Lane's opinion They did not report half the number killed, which they were ashamed to do, nor will it ever be known. I could repeat much that he said which showed a wonderful sagacity, and a bold, undaunted spirit. His whole demeanor was that of a well-bred gentle-man, and his narratives were given with childlike simplicity. He feared nothing ; for, said he, 'Any who will try to take me and my company are cowards, and one man in the right, ready to die, will chase a thousand. Not less than thirty guns have been discharged at me, but they only touched my hair. A man dies when his time comes, and a man who fears is born out of time.' It was the opinion of a physician here, a graduate of Harvard, that by his rolling eye he was insane, and that his future would prove it. There was, at times, a wildness, then a gloomy expression, noticeable; and I have no doubt that he was a monomaniae, as shown by his desperate resorts. Yet what millions bonor him for courage and endurance! Who would not make a long journey to dress his wounds? If insane at all, it is by the wrongs of Slavery. The nation was not worthy of him. Tyranny is relentless as the grave, and its tools want a victim. Cowardice will hang him, but humanity will stand appalled at the sacri-fice of such a victim to the cruel Moloch. The gods

ing out those who are in chains. Let the trenches around the great Bastile be filled with the wounded and the slain; the sooner will truth scale the forand the sian; the sould the oppressors. Let the poor, bereaved, wounded old man die in seeming ignominy! It will only so seem in the present hour. Thousands and millions would coffin his bones, and will build him a monument imperishable as brass, and in a better age will associate his name with 'the faithful among the faithless found' to his conviction.

who deem it a sacred duty to be as Joshua, in lead-

A MEMBER OF THE IOWA LEGISLATURE.

The Pittsburgh Dispatch says that the negro Newly, who was one of the insurgents at Harper's Ferry, was a while since the slave of his own father, in Virginia, by whom he was emancipated, and that Newly's wife and two children are still slaves.

From the N. Y. Tribune. THE EXPULSION OF MR. HOYT FROM CHARLESTOWN.

Sta: In order that the conduct of the people and authorities of the Town of Charlestown, Va., in re-cently expelling Mr. Jewett, of Frank Leslie's paper, and myself from that locality, may be perfectly exposed and understood, I deem it proper to make a brief statement of the facts in the case.

My return from Boston to that town was heralded e press, and the object of my visit announced, days before I reached there. My business was known to be legitimate. I went back to do what was possible to reseue and recover the scattered effects of Capt. Brown, in order that the avails of the same might be secured to his destitute and heart-stricken family. My business also related to the copies of the records in the other cases, intending to obtain and transmit them seasonably to counsel who were to argue the exceptions in the Court of Appeals. Because I was regularly associated in the trial, and known to be actively engaged in the defence of Brown and Coppie, no man had a right to accuse me, upon bare suspicion, without a particle of evidence to confirm it, of being an agent of 'Boston Abalitionists

I could not fail to observe, immediately upon my return, that, where I had formerly been treated with studious civility, I had now to meet the inhospitable frown; and where before I at least was permitted to pass without insult, I must expect offensive and opprobrious epithets, and denunciations not the least vulgar. I cannot say that I did not expect this, for, when first a sojourner in the town, I had concluded it was no genuine, but a forced civility, which allowed the counsel of John Brown to perform their sad duties unmolested. I saw a deep under-current of feeling smothered, for the time, by a desire to be rated fair, all ready, at the slightest breath, to burst into consuming madness. But, so long as their vic-tim lay in his prison-cell, waiting his last-approaching doom, and the decision of the higher Court, I felt certain the 'chivairy of the Old Dominion' would attempt no bodily violence to his counsel.

I had expected the copies of the record would be ready for me to bear to Washington Saturday morning, but I failed to obtain them, and had concluded to wait a later train, when the singular ' proclamation' of Mayor Green, (who, it will be remembered. was Mr. Brown's counsel in the first instance,) fell into my hands. My surprise was great when a gentleman intimated that my case was referred to in that document, and that my friend, Mr. Jewett, was also included. I sought Mr. Jewett, and found him pondering over the extraordinary production. I informed him what I had heard, and after a debate as to whether two individuals, whose business was so well known, and whose characters were privileged, had any right to take this 'notice to quit,' J. sought Col. Davis, Chairman of the body constituted and authorized by this curious paper to act in the premises, and demanded to know if it had any reference to us. Col. Davis accompanied him to my presence, and in answer to a direct interrogatory, plainly said it did. He further informed although aid-de-camp to Gov. Wise, and under instructions to preserve the peace, he had no force at his command upon which he could rely to protect us from the mob, which would certainly assemble the next day (Sunday). He was willing to lay down his life in our defence, but it could be of no avail, and conjured us, for our own sakes, and for the sake of the honor of the State of Virginia, and in consideration of the trifling personal incon-venience such a sacrifice would be to him, to leave that afternoon.

Although I had seen considerable excitement in

the place during the first days of the trial and after-, I confess I never had seen anything like the wild foment in which the town was this afternoon thrown. Some spiteful enemy had set fire to a Mr Tate's stable, and the over-zealous, fire-eating 'chivalry' who, from the time of our first advent in the place, had striven to make our visit uncomfortable, and our efforts futile, and who had never ceased their causeless and ridiculous denunciations, eagerly took hold of the occasion to spread the report that they were 'Abolition emissaries' acting under my di rections, who had set the torch to the wheat stacks and barns

What I most feared was an attack on the jail, in which the 'military' would participate. I have some good reasons for believing that there was a band of organized desperadoes who, at one time, deter mined to force the jail, and lynch the prisoners. This was seasonably discovered, and prevented, by an officer in command. Now, if a mob, composed an officer in command. Now, it a mob, composed of a drunken and infuriate people, should assemble to drive obnoxious people out of the town with the genteel incidents of 'tar and feathers,' and not over fresh eggs, such a mob would be more than likely to an attempt on that little prison-house: and by way of parenthesis, let me say, I think the gal-lows a pleasanter instrument of torture and death than the torments of a Virginia mob.

Decming it no valor, but sheer foolhardiness to brave the populace, Mr. Jewett and I packed our bags, and quitted the municipality of Charlestown, any part of the Bible, was read or repeated to him, the County of Jefferson, and the gallant old Com-monwealth of Virginia. At this time I do not know whether my associate, Mr. Sennott, survived the Sabbath which ensued upon our departure, or not. Being an avowed political friend of the South, he was not so unpopular as the undersigned, who never knew how to 'cotton.' It is to be hoped that those who remain or go to serve John Brown in a legal capacity, may not meet the same sort of 'hospitality and 'courteous' treatment which the 'chivalry' be

stowed upon
Yours truly, GEO. H. HOYT.
National House, Washington, Nov. 16.

WHAT IS THE CHIVALRY OF THE SOUTH? Charlestown (Va.) correspondence of the New York Tribune.

I think you will be able to understand it when tell you of the manner in which a lady, to whom I have before referred, once or twice, has been received in this half-civilized town. She came with no pur pose beside that of imparting that comfort and sympathy which a woman can best give, to the prisoner Brown. Her visit was induced by a belief that Mrs. L M. Child would be in Charlestown before she could arrive, and that she would be able in many ways to assist that lady in whatever duties might have been confided to her. But Mrs. Child did not come at all, in consequence, probably, of Brown's unwillingness to receive visitors from the North, who are sure to be looked upon with excessive suspicion, so this lady found herself alone. For two days she was subjected to rudeness which I could not have supposed it possible for any decent community to inflict. The community of Charlestown, Virginia, however, is not decent. Her coming was the signal for renewed flashes of indignation on the part of the street strollers. An editor of one of the weekly prints urged the organization of a committee to warn her and all her party away, with threats of lynching, in case hesitation should be shown. When quietly, very quietly, triumphing over all difficulties he gained access to the prison, there was talk of a mob, and I am confident that she herself was unaware of the dangerous position she was in. The Independent Democrat made its weekly appearance, and wreaked its little wrath in two articles, thus:

'A woman by the name of Mrs. R. B. Spring, ac companied by her son, hailing from Eagleswood N. J., arrived here on Saturday last, and requested N. J., arrived here on Saturday last, and requested the privilege of being allowed to act the nurse to Brown and his confederates in prison. The request was very properly denied by the Sheriff, he being of the opinion that the health of Brown & Co. was sufficiently cared for at the present, for all practical pur-poses. We are sorry, very, that the kind intention poses. We are sorry, very, that the kind intentions and self-sacrificing devition of Mrs. Spring has been so unceremoniously frustrated by a cruel denial, but we hope she will be able to survive the disappointment, and that no damage by ' land or sea' will over take her, but that she will return safely to her home, entirely convinced that Brown & Co. are safe in the hands of the Sheriff, and all the conveniences extend-ed to them which the nature of the case, and the fa-

ed to them which the nature of the case, and the la-tality attending their diseases, will permit.

In justice to ourselves, all Yankees, of either sex, who cannot show a clean record, should be at once driven. from our midst. Will we suffer ourselves to be insulted by their insolent presence? Our conscious security from the further machinations of these pusillanimous wretches, both male and female, should not induce us tolerate their presence for a moment. For ourselves, we would rather meet a band of Comanches, at any time, and trust ourselves to their honor and protection, than we would any of the long-faced, pharisaical Abolitionists of the North. We confess to a supreme hatred for the whole of them, male and female.

I am happy to say that these contemptible exhibitions at last moved Judge Parker to a sort of facilities bitions at last moved Judge Parker to a sort of tacit rebuke of them. He proposed to Mrs. Spring that she should visit the jail, escorted and introduced by him, in order that the capers of the populace might be checked. This was well of the Judge, but it did He had almost always acted upon his first sugges-

not appear to assuage in any degree the anger of the tions. No, he is not insane. His reason is clear. crowd, whose coarse insolence was as freely displayed as before. Mrs. Spring does not stand alone. A been, of his truest and strongest conscientions conas before. Mrs. Spring does not stand alone. A been, of h lady who preceded her was likewise treated, and, victions.' very fortunately, showed an equal disregard for all that was said or done during her visit. Here is her benediction, propositions of the standard of the benediction, pronounced after her departure :-

'The wife of Judge Russell, of Boston, accompanied him here for the purpose of paying her respects to the marauder Brown. She was permitted to visit him in his cell, and we are informed that the meeting was of an affecting character; she embraced him as a mar-tyr in the cause which she had deeply at heart, and her deep commiseration and sympathy for his fate quite overcame her ladyship, and she burst forth into a flood of agonizing tears. Strange sympathy this, for a scoundrel whose purpose was to place those of her own sex in Virginia in the power of the unbridled passions of cut-throats and villains! Her presence here upon such a mission was doing violence to the feelings of our mothers, wives and sisters, and we are glad she made her stay but a short one.'

From the New York Independent, Nov. 16.

INTERVIEW WITH MRS. BROWN.

hasty account of a personal interview last evening with Mrs. Mary Brown, wife of Capt. John Brown, with bread and very plain clothing, and to enable the now under sentence of death in Virginia, for having children to receive a common English education? bravely failed in a brave deed.

I conversed with her during the entire evening. But only ten minutes' acquaintance is enough to amount, to constitute a little fund for the purpose show that she is a woman worthy to be the wife of named?' such a man. She is tall, large, and muscular, giving the impression at first sight of a frame capable of great strength and long endurance. Her face is feeting can be added. The story is here in its simgrave and thoughtful, wearing even in this hour of her trial an expression of soberness rather than of children! and all for liberty! Slain for a sadness, as if, like her husband, she had long since ple! The heads of the entire family slain learned how to suffer, and be calm. Her manner is singularly quiet and retiring, although her natural simplicity and modesty cannot hide the evident force of her character, and strength of will and judgment

She is a native of Whitehall, near Lake Champlain, and has been the mother of thirteen children; but, notwithstanding the cares of her numerous family. and her many privations and struggles independent

A NEWSPAPER CORRECTION.

The conversation, of course, was of the scenes at Harper's Ferry-both those which have already been enacted, and those which are shortly to follow. She alluded, with subdued though evident emotion, to the wounds of her husband, and to the loss of her two sons, Watson and Oliver, who fell in the struggle. But she made no such remark as that recenty attributed to her in a New-England newspaper. that four of her sons had already been slain, and

she would be willing that all the rest of her family should be made a sacrifice, if necessary, to the cause of Freedom.' These words, she said to me, could never possibly have fallen from her lips; for she had already felt too many griefs to court any fresh sacrifices; and she could not think, without pain, of any new death-stroke to her family. She would not shrink from any necessary trial or struggle when the hour came for it, but she could not look forward with composure to any further lessen-ing of her family, already too sadly broken. She regretted that such a remark should have been put in her mouth, 'for,' as she observed, 'they' were unmotherly words.'

She said that she had been so long accustomed to A correspondent asks the following questions: unmotherly words.

She said that she had been so long accustomed to sorrows that she had been trained to bear them. While living in Ohio, four of her children died from dysentery, within eleven days, three of whom were carried to the grave together on the same day! carried to the grave together on the same day! She Second: 'How soon will you commence delivering mentioned in this connection that her husband had the picture, and will they all be actual photographs always been a watchful nurse, and 'the chief care- or engravings?' taker of the children and of herself, during periods

CAPTAIN BROWN'S RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

opinions, to the common report that he was an Old ready to commence delivery on the first of Decem-School Presbyterian. She replied that he had been ber. City subscribers will receive theirs at THE a church-member ever since he was a boy; that he united, when 16 years of age, with a Congregational Church in Hudson, Ohio; and that on removing to Pennsylvania, thirty years ago, he transferred his membership to the Presbyterian Church, with which if its tome, first serve; the earliest orders will be he had since remained connected. She said that the religious element of his character had always been the ruling motive of his life. He had always observed religious exercises in his house with exemplary regularity. It had been for many years the custom of the family to read the Bible every morning, in regular course of chapters, each member reading in turn a verse. She said that her husband's familiarity with texts of Scripture was so great that he could detect almost the slightest misquotation of any he could immediately repeat the remainder. His abounded with Scripture conversation frequently texts, and his letters were always filled with them. I asked if she knew what were his favorite pas-

sages, to which she replied: 'He had a great many; but one was, Remember

them that are in bonds as bound with them.'

How nobly his life has proved his deep-hearted sympathy for the slave!

Day before yesterday, when some clothes were sent from New York to go in a box to her husband, suit his taste, and which the brave old Puritan might not think too good for him to put on! He never in er, until within the last few years, has taken ten or ALL VILLANIEL, which s a burning disgrace and perate that, in Kansas, he would sometimes go for lays with scarcely a mouthful of food, and suffer no faintness or exhaustion.

HIS LONG-MEDITATED DESIGN. I referred incidentally to the design upon Harper's the press, and is favorably regarded in all directions Ferry as having been premeditated for two years, to The Committee leave the mode and hour of observ-

which she indignantly replied : 'Not for two years, but for twenty! He had been waiting for twenty years for some op- profess to deplore the existence of slavery, the portunity to free the slaves; we had all been waiting, source of all our national troubles, perils, and threat with him, the proper time when he should put his ening indements. The object of it is to make a strong resolve into action; and when, at last, the enterprise of Harper's Ferry was planned, we all thought that the time had now come. Mr. Brown was sanguine of success; we all were equally confident; he had ings and sympathies engendered by the occasion into no idea, nor had any of the family, that the experi- a live thunderbolt, to be hurled with divine assist

fulfilling the hopes of many years !' As I listened to this, I could not help half exclaim ing, 'What heroic words! What a man! What

they were uttered, and as I repeated them to her, she the daily papers of the city.

. For he has borne the yoke of the oppressed as if upon his own neck for these thirty years!'

She made several and repeated references to various newspaper accounts, in which her husband's character had been misrepresented. She had been pained to see him described as cruel, for, as she said, 'No man ever had a kinder heart. He is generous by nature. He has always aimed to impress his family with a spirit of benevolence. He has always taught his children to be unselfish; to act always for others before acting for themselves. His sympathies for the poor and the oppressed have always been too

I inquired as to his habit of carrying firearms about his person. She said that since the many threats upon his life during and since his efforts in Kansas, he had carried a revolver, but never before. IS HE INSANE?

I then put the question which I had been chiefly, solicitous to ask—It is the common talk of the newspapers that Capt. Brown is insane. What do you say to that opinion?'

' I never knew,' she replied, ' of his insanity, until I read it in the newspapers. He is a clear-headed man. He has always been, and is now entirely in

AID FOR THE FAMILY OF JOHN BROWN In his letter to Mrs. L. Maria Child, John Brown

'I have at home a wife and three young daughters the youngest but little over five years old, the oldest nearly sixteen. I have also two daughters-in-law, whose husbands have both fallen near me here. There whose husbands have both fallen near me here. There is also another widow, Mrs. Thompson, whose husband fell here. Whether she is a mother or not, I cannot say. All these, my wife included, live at North Elba, Essex county, New York. I have a middle-aged son, who has been, in some degree, a cripple from his childhood, who would have as much as he could do to earn a living. He was a most dreadful sufferer in Kansas, and lost all he had laid up. He has not enough to clothe himself for the winter comfortably. I have no living son, or son-in-law, who did not suffer terrible

'Now, dear friend, would you not as soon contribut fifty cents now, and a like sum yearly, for the relief I write this morning, on board a steamboat, a of those very poor and deeply-afflicted persons? To asty account of a personal interview last evening enable them to supply themselves and their children Will you also devote your own energies to induce others to join you in giving a like amount, or any other

> plest and saddest form. Widows and fatherless children! and all for liberty! Slain for a princithe male members cut off! And this in the Nine

teenth Century, and this amid a free people! If there be any braver man in the country than John Brown, let him criticise John Brown at Harwhich have fitted her so long to be a counselor to per's Ferry. If not, let another generation pass her husband's enterprises, and a supporter in his upon the fact and its author. Our daties now are with and for the living. God and history will have a care for the dead.

Friends at the North, what will you do for John Brown's family? I have a photograph of the old man presented to me by his own hands, an admiraordens, she still appears as fresh and ble likeness. Let all who sympathize in the purpose hale as if she were only now in the prime and vigor send each a dollar, and I will forward for each such sum an exact copy of the original, and with it, i possible, John Brown's distograph. The proceed from ten thousand such copies will produce a fund of eight thousand dollars for the benefit of the helpless and afflicted ones, whom the Mansas hero

touchingly commends to our sympathies and care. Suitable acknowledgment of funds received and applied will be made from time to time through the columns of THE NEW YORK TRIBONE. The pho tographs can be sent by mail, as music is sent, at the expense of a stamp, which may be inclosed with the order. Address me at New York.

New York, Nov. 14, 1859.

THE JOHN BROWN FUND. To the Editor of the New York Tribune :-

Sin: Thirty-five dollars have been sent in to-day first short notice that a practical way wa on the opened to relieve John Brown's family. This hearty and instantaneous response satisficeme that there

First: 'Mr. Hyatt, how can you get so many auto-

graphs? Is old John Brown busy writing them

Third : ' How will you deliver the pictures?'

I reply: The autographs will be photographic CAPTAIN BROWN'S RELIGIOUS CHARACTER. copies of the old man's signature, taken at the I adverted, in alluding to Capt. Brown's religious same time with the likeness. The pictures will be TRIBUNE office. They will all be photographs, and

THADDETS HEATT first filled. New York, Nov. 15, 1859.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 25, 1859.

EXECUTION OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston, Nov. 1st, the following Resolution was adopted :-

Resolved. That it is recommended to the friends of impartial freedom throughout the Free States, in case of the execution of Capt. John Brown, now or trial for his life in Virginia, to observe that tragical event, on the DAY of its occurrence, in such man In his habits of living, his wife testified that he ner as by them may be deemed most appropriate in was always singularly self-denying. As an example, their various localities—whether by public meetings he never suffered himself or his family to wear expensive clothing. His standing admonition was, conferences, or any other justifiable mode of actionfor the furtherance of the Anti-Slavery cause, and renewedly to consecrate themselves to the patriotic among the articles was a new coat of fine, brown and Christion work of effecting the abolition of that cloth, which, when it was shown to her, she imme- most dangerous, unnatural, cruel and impious system diately pronounced too gay for her husband to wear. of slavery, which is the fruitful source of all our It was accordingly sent back; and last evening there sectional heart-burnings and conflicts, which powercame in return a coarser coat, which would better fully and increasingly tends to promote servile insur rection and civil war, which cannot be more truly o his life has used tobacco or ardent spirits, and nev- more comprehensively described than as 'THE SUM OF His mode of living has been so rigidly tem- ful curse to the whole country, and by the spectinction of which, alone, can the land be saved from violence, blood, and utter demoralization.

This recommendation has been widely copied b ance to local choice. It will be observed that their appeal is not to abolitionists in special, but to all who ening judgments. The object of it is to make a strong moral demonstration that shall powerfully impres the South, and to gather up and concentrate the feel ment would result in defeat; we all looked to it as ance at the head of the Colossal Iniquity of the land . It is probable that a public meeting will be held in Boston on the evening of Dec. 2d, with reference to the ttragic event of the day. Should the necessary I wrote down these sentences a few moments after arrangements be made, due notice will be given in

In whatever form that event may be observed, it suggested that contributions should then be taken ur for the benefit of the suffering family of Capt, Brown and those of his slaughtered sons and associates, un-

The meeting held at the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Saturday evening last, in aid of the suffering families of John Brown and his associates, wa a most significant and cheering indication of the w derful change going on in public sentiment tion. Though called at scarcely a day's notice, or an evening the most inconvenient to the public gen erally, and in a very unpropitious state of weather, more than two thousand persons promptly as sembled, at 25 cents a ticket, embodying an amoun of intellectual force and moral excellence not to be surpassed; and a more united and enthusiastic audi ence never assembled within the walls of the Temple A letter was read from Rev. Mr. Hepworth, ignobly retracting his promise to speak at the meeting, and couched in a heartless and condemnatory tope, to the MEETING IN ATD OF THE

FAMILY OF JOHN BROWN.

The meeting in Tremont Temple on Saturday evening, gathered in response to the invitation addressed to those sympathizing with the family of John Brown n their poverty and distress, was large] and quite

The speakers announced to address the meeting were Mr. John A. Andrew, Rev. George H. Hepworth, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rev. Jacob M. Manning, and Mr. Wendell Phillips. They were present, with the exception of Rev. George H. Hepworth, whose absence was explained by the following card, which appeared in the Transcript on Saturday afternoon, and subsequently in the Gazette :-

A CARD. I wish to correct a slight error con cerning the speech I was to have made at the Tem-

The advertisement does me great injustice. I laid great emphasis, when I was invited to speak, on the fact that my opinions would contradict the spirit of the meeting. I supposed there would be speeches on both sides of the subject, and it was understood that I would assume the negative. of the meeting. I sup on both sides of the su

The advertisement, however, conveys to the pub-

G. H. HEPWORTH. speak at all. Saturday, Nov. 19, 1859.

pared verbatim report of the speeches made on this occasion will be found below.

following remarks :-

ings of you all, as it certainly is with the proprieties have only to invite you, friends, to listen with affect with Reverend Doctor Neale.

DR. NEALE'S PRAYER.

thou art ever nigh; that though Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, dwelling in light which no man can apwisdom is Infinite, who is ready to guide us in the We rejoice that thou art ever present with all those that call upon thy name in sincerity and in truth; ings of the present meeting. We pray especially for him who has so extensively excited the public sympathy and approbation. We render thanks to thee for the noble spirit of generosity and of fidelity and of bravery which he has manifested, and his consciousness of having acred in accordance with his sense of obligation to God; and we pray that he may be sustained to the last. May he enjoy the a hope full of immortancy, looking to no op-world where there is no sin, no suffering, no op-pression of any kind. We pray for his family, Oh God! We rejoice to feel that thou art with them; that in this hour of their suffering and sorrow, they they may have a rich experience of thy goodness, of thy love, of the consolation of thy grace. We pray that thou wilt be with them especially in the scenes of intense suffering which they now anticipate. Oh. be thou their guide, be thou their consolation, thou their support. And we rejoice, Oh God, that the have recently occurred we know are capable of subserving the wisest and most omniscient purposes. The Lord reigneth, and we will ever rejoice.

SPEECH OF MR. ANDREW.

Ladies and gentlemen :- Obedient to the commands of the gentlemen who arranged the meeting on this occasion, I am here present to occupy the simple and verse religious sentiments who may be in the audience, inarduous duties of chairman. They do not impose upon me the office of speech, and I hardly deem it consistent with the proprieties of the position I hold. It simply is incumbent upon me to say a single word is all affirmative, so far as this is concerned, -- and if by way of explanation, of the order and arrangement there is a negative, there is not an instinct of my huand principles of this meeting, and to present to you manity but it cries out, and tells me not to be the distinguished and eloquent friends who have complied with the invitation of the committee, and are so far as religious sentiment is concerned, I am more here preent to address this audience. Many hearts nearly in sympathy with that prisoner in Charlestown were touched by the words of John Brown, in a recent jail, Virginia, than perhaps others who may addres letter to Lydia Maria Child :

the youngest but little over five years old, the oldest nearly sixteen. I also have two daughters-in-law, whose husbands have both fallen near me here. There is also ther widow, Mrs. Thompson, whose hus-. middle-aged son, who has been, in some degree, a cripple from his childhood, who would have as much as he could well do to earn a

John Brown and his companions in the conflict at Harper's Ferry, those who fell there and those who are to suffer upon the scaffold, are victims or martyrs to an idea. There is an irresistible conflict (great applause) between Freedom and Slavery, as old and as immortal as the irrepressible conflict between right told him to refrain. I should have said to him, ' You and wrong. They are among the martyrs of that con-

outside of the duty or the thought of this assembly the battle at Harper's Perry, have a right to call upon plause.) I remember that it is something which I us who have professed to believe, or who have in any husbands and fathers and brothers were right or pose of securing to those widowed and bereaved wives and families the necessities of mere mortal existence, which the striking down of husbands and sons and brothers has left them bereft of. The committee for this evening had invited to address you the Rev. Mr. Rev. George H. Hepworth. Mr. Manning, Mr. Em-erson, and Mr. Phillips are here to speak for them-throne. While we are here this evening, knowing the committee the following note :-

Dear Sir,—I shall not be with you to-night to speak concerning, the great question of the day, because I feel that the advertisement in the papers has compromised my position. It does not tell that truth which is of prime importance to me, that both sides of the mothers to-night, as they gather their children aed my position. It does not tell that truth which f prime importance to me, that both sides of the mothers to-night, as they gather their children astion were to be discussed. It gives a decided im-

pression that those who were to speak favored the whole movement, whereas I am severely opposed to it. Feeling that I should be out of harmony with the meeting, I remain away.

Yours, truly,
George H. Herworth. (Signed) The gentlemen who invited Mr. Hepworth and the ther gentlemen who are present to-night, to occupy this platform, attempted to make themselves explicitly understood, and it is quite a misfortune either to them or Mr. Hepworth, or to all, that they did not succeed in that instance. This platform is entirely free from the expression of any sentiment on the part of those who occupy it, touching the subject matter of the meeting. It was not suspected by anybody that there were two sides to the question whether John Brown's wife and children should be left to starve or not. (Long continued applause.) On that issue I expect no considerable acrimony of debate between the gentlemen of extreme orthodoxy and of extreme heterodoxy whom I shall have the honor hereafter to present to you upon this platform. Gentlemen, all of them, of marked, of intelligent, of decided opinions, and of entire respect for themselves and for their own individuality, they will each present such aspect of this great cause, and of this most touching and pathetlic no such impression.

I deem this sufficient reason for declining to Mr. Phillips that he sits upon a platform consecrated ic case, as occurs to them. It will not compromisby the prayer of the Rev. Dr. Neale, and it will not compromise the Rev. Mr. Manning that he works to-Mr. John A. Andrew, who was chosen to preside night side by side and hand in hand with Ralph Walat the meeting, came on the platform at 74 o'clock, do Emerson, in the cause of God and humanity. accompanied by the Rev. Rollin H. Neale, Rev. J. (Applause.) Standing in the valley of the shadow of M. Manning, and Mr. Wendell Phillips. At the con- death, -looking, each man, from himself toward that clusion of the prayer by Rev. R. H. Neale, Mr. infinite and eternal centre of life and love and power, Ralph Waldo Emerson ascended the platform, lean- the Infinite Father, -- all differences between us mor ing on the arm of Mr. Charles W. Slack, and was tals and men become dwarfed into infinite littleness received with immense applause. A carefully pre- We are to-night in the presence of a great and awful sorrow, which has fallen like a pall upon many families, whose hearts fail, whose affections are lacerated Mr. John A. Andrew opened the meeting with the and whose hopes are crushed-all of hope left upon earth destroyed by an event which, under the Provi-Ladies and Gentlemen,-Before proceeding to the dence of God, I pray may be overruled for that good other exercises and offices of this meeting. I doubt which was contemplated and intended by John Brown not that it will be entirely accordant with the feel- himself. But this is not my occasion for words. I and solemnities of an occasion like this, that the au-tionate interest and feeling hearts to what you shall dience should first unite in a solemn act of religious bear from hence to-night, and by practical sympathy worship. To that end, I invite you to join in prayer and material aid, help to assuage those sufferings and

those griefs. Among other instrumentalities for the aid of the family of Mr. Brown and those of his im-Let us unite in prayer. Oh God, we rejoice that mediate associates, in addition to the collection which may be realized by the sale of tickets at the door, there will be a committee appointed this evening, for proach unto, thou art yet not far from every one the purpose of receiving subscriptions and donations, of us. that we may ask counsel of Him whose of whatever amount, from whatever friends choose to contribute of their substance; and this committee, path of duty, and to prepare us to meet every re-sponsibility that rests upon us. We rejoice that in our weakness, we may lean upon Divine strength, and out of thy fulness receive even grace for grace. try. I am requested, also, to call attention to the pro ject of Mr. Hyatt, of New York, by which photographic likenesses of Capt. Brown are to be placed on sale that thou art present to guide by thy counsel, to lead by thy care, and supply abundantly all our needs, according to the riches of thy glory, in Christ Jesus. We pray, Oh God, that thou wilt be with us on the present occasion; guide us in the proceed- the address of Capt. John Brown to the Virginia court, upon the reception of his death sentence, to be printed in this neat form for preservation.

[The speaker here exhibited a large illuminated card, on which the document is printed.] It has the deep sympathy for the oppressed. We thank thee that he is sustained in the present trying hour by a of Capt. Brown. This will be for sale at the door at the low price of ten cents each. A thousand copies have been struck off, and the whole proceeds will go light of thy presence and thy sustaining power, and a hope full of immortality, looking forward to a pointed, the gentleman defraying the expenses of

may have communion with thee, and we pray that Speech of Rev. J. M. MANNING, OF THE OLD SOUTH CHUROH. I feel greatly indebted to the gentleman who pre sides over this meeting, for the explanation he has made in regard to the objects which have called us together; for if I had understood the objects of the circumstances which are occurring, all the trying meeting as they seem to have been understood by the scenes of life, are in thy control. The events which gentleman whose note has just been read, I should have been inclined to stay away. The gentleman who Be called on me, and invited me to speak here this evewith us in the proceedings of the present meeting, and for the the paper that also tells us, that this is a meeting in we may date the beginning of the end of Ameenjoyment of life hereafter; and to thy great and which we are to express sympathy for the family of cases. It is another parallel in these two glorious name shall be the praise forevermore. John Brown. (Applause.) And I suppose that there were a destitute family in Boston, and I should At the conclusion of Dr. Neale's prayer, Mr. An- take my little basket of provisions, and go to relieve that family, and should there meet the distinguished gentlemen who are on the stage this evening, and who are to speak to you, or if I should meet others of ad--I suppose we could each leave the little gifts we had brought, and go away without quarrelling. I cannot see any negative to the question. It seems to me it you this evening, and in this respect may number with 'I have at home a wife and three young daughters, myself that honored minister of Christ, who has led in our devotions this evening. You have expressed your sympathy with the family of John Brown by purchasing tickets; we express our sympathies by declaring our opinions,-and it is rather difficult for me to speak without alluding to that outbreak at Harper's Ferry, and giving my judgment upon it; and though in some would have as much as he could well do to earn a living. He has not enough to clothe himself for the particulars I may differ from many who are present, probably from some who will speak, I think that in the main we shall agree.

The act of John Brown was not one to which I could have advised him. If he had come to me while he was meditating that undertaking, and asked me whether he should go forward or not, I should have will be performing an unlawful, a fool-hardy, a suicidal act.' And yet, when I make this remark, I pause not now to consider, because it is wholly remember that we have fillibusters who go to Central America to liberate those living under Spanish tyto-night, whether the enterprise of John Brown and ranny, as they call it; and it seems to me that if our his associates in Virginia was wise or foolish, right or General Government winks at their iniquity, it has wrong ; I only know that whether the enterprise it if no right to pounce upon John Brown for what he has was the one or the other, John Brown himself a done, because he is a weak man, alone, and because right. (Applause.) I sympathize with the man. I he has meddled with something which affects the sympathize with the idea, occause I sympathize with relations of political parties. I could not have advisand believe in the eternal right. They who are de- ed him to it, and yet, now that the event has taken pendent upon him, and his sons and his associates in place, I stand before it wondering and admiring (aphas been revolving in his mind for years, until his manner or measure taught, the doctrine of the rights soul has become possessed with the idea. He says of man as applied to the colored slaves of the South, he is not insane. I believe he is a good man, and to stand by them in their bereavement, whether those has been doing that which he thought was right; and the only explanation I can now give is, that he wrong. (Applause.) And therefore we have met has been the instrument of Providence in this. The to take counsel together, and assist each other in the distinguished speaker who is to follow me would call arrangement and apportionment of means for the purit destiny: I should prefer to call it God, my heavenly Father, who has used this man, John Brown, as His sword, to inflict a wound on the Slave Power. Whatever we may say of it, he has been possessed by some power higher than man's. As I view it, he is God's finger coming forth in the halls of the Manning, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mr. Wen- great modern Belshazzar, and writing over against dell Phillips. Added to these gentlemen was the the wall those mysterious, yet appalling words, a seives. Mr. Hepworth has addressed to a member of that our wives-if not present-and our little ones stay safely in our homes, there are mothers in the Southern States, whom the Providence of God has

protected from the invader. And they will go to be protected from the pillows, knowing that the with weapons until the streets are patrolled by an armed police. This is the condition of the Southern States; verily, the tyrang trembles, and turns pale in the midst of his tree.

It has seemed to me that we might, perhaps, get It has seemed this transaction by comparing it and a parallel case, lying back two or three generations in a parallel case, 13 to Massacre of March the 5th, 1770, Then it was a black man sacrificing his life in behalf of oppressed white men. Here it is a white man of oppressed white in behalf of enslaved black nea, sacrificing his me in critizen of Boston, but of Middlesex County, came to this city when the inhabitant were full of terror, greatly excited by the presence of two regiments of British soldiers; and on the evening of March th, there was an outbreak in King street now State atreet, headed by Crispus Attacks, which resulted in his own death and that of several of his conrades, at the hands of the British soldiery. Now, if I been living at that time, and Crispus Attucks had come to me, and asked my advice in regard to the matter, I could not have advised him to undertake it. (Laughter.) I should have said to him, Refrain. restrain your feeling. I think that Samuel Adams and John Adams and John Hancock and Joseph Warren-one of his eulogists afterwards-would have given him the same advice, had he come to them for it beforehand; and I believe that few if any historians have commended that outbreak in King street. I have never seen a full and thorough endorsement of it in itself considered. But after the event, they had a funeral; and the citizens of Boston marched ax abreast through the streets, the carriage following; and they carried Crispus Attucks and his fellow victims to the middle burying-ground, now overlooked by the Athenaum, and over their remains erected a stone, and on it carved this inscription :-Long as in freedom's cause the wise contend.

Dear to your country, shall your fame extend: While to the world the lettered stone shall tell How Caldwell, Attucks, Gray and Maverick fell! And when the anniversary of that tragedy came

round-the fifth of March-they observed it in the

Old South Church, still standing. (Applause.) There

was an oration, and the wounded survivers of the

massacre were present on the stage, in that same,

tuary of freedom,' and a collection was taken in the

behalf. And so it grew to a custom. And the last

public address that Joseph Warren ever made, a few weeks before the battle of Bunker Hill, was on that or. casion, when he was surrounded by British soldiery, some of them standing in the pulpit with him, telling him to desist. But he spoke on like a man, (spplane,) and they did not dare to tough a hair of his head, And when the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, they changed that celebration, in honor of the event, from the fifth of March to the fourth of July. (Applause.) That it is that we have come to have our annual oration on the fourth of July, which has given us so many excellent orations, -Unionsaving,-which of latter years have made our City Fathers so much pleasant work, all growing out of that same Boston massacre, to which I could not have advised the leader, if he had come to me before hand, (Laughter.) Even Daniel Webster has said that from that moment,' the moment when the blood of those men stained the pavement of King street, 'we may date the severance of the British empire.' And so I say, in regard to my brother John Brown-if he dies, as it seems he must, for the Virginiana are between two fears-an immediate fear that a volcano will explode under them, and a more distant fear that they shall not reap the fruits of political success; and I am afraid that the immediate fear, as is apt to be the case, will overpowerthat which is more remote, and therefore that John Brown will suffer the sentence which has been pronounced upon him; and if he does, and if that event should be observed next year, when it comes round; and so on from year to year; and if, half a century hence, our children should be rid of this great national curse of slavery, then no one will refer, except with pride and exultation, to the battle of Harper's Ferry. (Applause) And there will come forth some other Daniel Webster, who, standing at a safe distance from the event, (laughter and cheers) will say that from the time when cases. It is amusing to read the journals of that early day, especially those in the interest of the English Government, about the year 1770, and to see the esrious explanations which they give of the outbreskin King screet. They say that it was attributable to the influence of certain hot-headed ministers and others in Boston ; some of them are named,-names that we love and honor now. It was said that these had produced an excitement in the country, and encouraged a fanatical spirit, which had resulted in the mob and massacre. But what said the people of Boston The selectmen called a town meeting, and they went to Faneuil Hall. It was not large enough to hold them; and again they went to the Old South Church. And they appointed a committee-of which, if I mistake not, Samuel Adams was the chairman-to istercede with the Governor, that those two regiments of British soldiers might be removed from the city; for, said they, in substance, we deplore this outbreak, we regret that it has taken place; we fear that there will be other outrages of the same kind, if the incitement is not taken out of the way. Our people are very much excited, and their consciences are a wake in this matter; and if you would not see this affair repeated many times, you must remove the soldiers. And, after a great deal of chaffering and hesitating, the Governor complied with the request, and thus the inhabitants were pacified. Now we believe that they located the responsibility where it belonged. We believe that it was the presence of those regiments of British soldiers, and not a few hot-headed ministers, who were chargable with that outbreak on King street. And just so we say with regard to this affair at Harper's Forey. The justnals in the interest of the Slave Power ascribe it to a few Northern fanatics, who have roused up the beser passions of men ; and they say that we are responsible for the bloody acts of John Brown and his associates. But we say no, - the regiments are to blant. The Slave Power itself, standing up there in all in deformity and wickedness in the sight of Northern consciences,—that is the cause, (applause,) and there the responsibility belongs. The wise man 8slomon-what does he say of oppression? He says that it 'maketh a wise man mad.' It does; see it will make others like John Brown, if it is not token out of the way. It stands there a continual provocative. We cannot resist such a temptation while we have humane instincts, and concience within us. (Applause.) We may become men of distinction, like John Brown of Osawatomie, and Previdence will use us to write ominous inscriptions in the presence of this tyrant. And now it occurs to me, before I sit down to gire way to those whom I know you are waiting to hear,

inasmuch as I have alluded to the removal of the grest primal cause of these outbreaks, - to speak of the spirit in which we should endeavor to remove the eril of American slavery out of the land. I do not wish to speak unkindly of any who have labored in this glorious cause of freedom, and I will not. But is there not room to suppose, my friends, that we have not manifested enough of that spirit of love which is so powerful in all reformatory undertakings; I do not take back my words; I would not have any man less faithful and plain-spoken, but more so, in holding up the wickedness and violence of this system. But cannot we be loving at the same time that we are manful? Let us be careful that the element of malignity does not mingle in our philanthropy. If we let our fellow-men, we must hate some things; but let

us guard that feeling of hatred. My friends, you know how it is with the mother when she corrects her wayward child. You can see the tear in her ere, and her face is full of affectionate emotion while she is faithful to correct that child. So with the father when he rebukes his son-he weeps and in his heart. Let us remember the story of Era and Topsy. The abuse which that strange little creation received from her owners before she came into the hands of St. Clair, did not make her any better, but worse; nor did the lecturing of Miss Ophelia accomplish the result. It was Eva. going to her and saying - Topsy, you say nobody eares for you-I care for you-why will you be so saughty? Faithfulness mingled with love, generosity and kindly interest breathed through her efforts to herate that little one from her wicked whims. And I remember that when our Saviour uttered his anathems over the city of Jerusalem, he wept, saying, Oh! that thou hadst known, but it is hid from thin eres. And when he was pouring forth those maledic tions upon the heads of the Pharisees, saying- Wo unto thee, Chorazin, woe unto thee, Bethsaida, o when in the midst of that storm, while his words fell like thunderbolts upon their devoted heads, in the midst of it all we hear the voice of love and compassion. musical as the tones of an Æolian harp- Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' It seems to me, my friends, that we have an opportunity, now, to exercise this generosity towards our fellow-citizens of the South. They are in danger; they tremble; they fear for their homes, their firesides, their families, their lives. Now is the time for us to endeavor to devise some means, by which the chasm that separates us from them may be bridged over, so that we may go to them and say. Tlove you; I do not wish to see your families murdetel; I do not wish to destroy your property. But you are engaged in a great sin, American slavery. It is a sin. We must lift up our voices like a trumpet to show you that it is sinful. But we love you; it is a national sin; its roots are in Northern soil (applause) as much as in Southern soil. Let us reason together over this matter. And now help us; let us work handin-hand in endeavoring to remove from our country this great evil and curse.' While we labor in this spirit -manfully, truthfully, faithful to justice and to the right, yet remaining fraternal all the while, if we can unite these two elements in one effort to remove slavery from the land, then it seems to me that we shall use influences which, under God's blessing, shall result ultimately in the accomplishment of that for which we pray and labor. And though it should not be done in our time, though we should be gathered

They never fail who die In a great cause. The block may soak their gore; Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strong to city gates and castle walls.
Eut still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom.
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts Which overpower all others, and condu The world at last to freedom.'

to the fathers, and our enterprise should seem to be

frustrated, yet when we lay our heads low we can re-

flect, as John Brown to-night in his lonely cell may

reflect, and as his widow we fear that is to be, and his

children and friends may reflect-I say we can all feed

our courage with the reflection that

At the conclusion of Mr. Manning s remarks, Mr. Andrew said : I think the interior of the Old South Church has been extensively remodelled, and I believe the pulpit in which Warren spoke has been removed and replaced by a new one; yet I think the spirit of Joseph Warren sometimes at least revisits those ancient walls, sacred to liberty; and that we have heard an etho of his voice to-night. (Applause.) From the Old South Church we will turn our eyes to the battleground of Concord. When the monument was inaugurated which marks the snot consecrated by bloodshed in the cause of American liberty, a Concord poet flung a garland from his muse upon its shaft, and the first, stanzas may not be inappropriate as his introduction :

· By the rude bridge that arched the flood, Their flag to April's breeze unfurled— Here once the embattled farmers stood, And fired a shot heard round the world.

That poet and that writer needs no introduction by one so humble as I to a Boston assembly. I now intreduce to you Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson.

SPEECH OF MR. RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: I share the sympathy and sorrow which have brought us together. Gentlemen who have preceded me have well said that no wall of separation could here exist. This commanding event which has brought us together .- the sequel of which has brought us tog ether .- eclipses all others which have occurred for a long time in our history, and I am very glad to see that this sudden interest in the hero of Harper's Ferry has provoked an extreme curiosity in all parts of the republic, in regard to the details of his history. Every anecdote is eagerly sought, and I do not wonder that gentlemen find traits of relation readily; between him and themselves. One finds a relation in the church, another in the profession, another in the place of his birth. He was happily a representative of the American republic. Captain John Brown is a farmer, the fifth in descent from Peter Brown, who came to Plymouth in the Mayflower, in 1620. All the six have been farmers. His grandfather, of Simsbury, in Connecticut, was a captain in the Revolution. His father, largely interested as a raiser of stock, became a contractor to supply the army with beef, in the war of 1812, and our Captain John Brown, then a boy with his father, was present and witnessed the surrentler of General Hull. He cherishes a great respect for his father as a man of strong character, and his respect is probably just. For himself, he is so transparent that all men see him through. He is a man to make friends wherever on earth courage and integrity are esteemed; (applause) -the rarest of heroes, a pure idealist, with no by-

ends of his own. Many of you have seen him, and every one who has heard him speak has been impressed alike by his simple artless goodness, joined with his sublime courage. He joins that perfect Puritan faith which brought his fifth ancestor to Plymouth Rock, with his grandfather's ardor in the Revolution. He believes in two articles-two instruments, shall I say -the Golden Rule, and the Declaration of Independence (applause); and he used this expression in conversation here, Better that a whole generation of men, women and children should pass away by a violent death, than that one word of either should be violated in this country." There is a Unionist-there is a strict constructionist for you! (Applause and laughter.) He believes in the Union of the United States, he believes in the Union of America, and he conceives that the only obstruction to the Union is slavery, and for that reason, as a patriot, he works for its abolition. The Governor of Virginia has pronounced his eulegy in a manner that discredits the moderation of our timid parties. His own speeches to the Court have interested the nation in him. What magnanimity, and what innocent pleading, as of childhood! You remember his words- If I had interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or any of their friends, parents, wives or children, it would all have been right. No man in this court would have thought it a crime. But I believe that to have interfered as I have done, for the despised Poor, I have done no wrong, but right.' It is easy to see what a favorite he will be with his-

tory, which plays such pranks with temporary reputations. Nothing can resist the sympathy which all elevated minds must feel with Brown, and through them the whole civilized world; and, if he must suffer, he must drag official gentlemen into an immortality most andesirable, and of which they have already some disagreeable forebodings. (Applause.) Indeed, it is the reductio ad absurdum of slavery, when the Governor of Virginia is forced to hang a man whom he declares to be a man of the most integrity, truthfulness,

and courage he has ever met. Is that the kind of a LYDIA MARIA CHILD'S REPLY TO GOV. man the gallows is built for? It were bold to affirm that there is within that broad Commonwealth, at this moment, another citizen as worthy to live, and as de-serving of all public and private honor, as this poor visit Virginia, for peaceful purposes, in common with

John Brown. To my eyes that family looks very large obligation in the Slave States; but I was also aware and very needy of relief. It comprises his brave fel- of what you omit to mention, viz: that the Constitulow sufferers in the Charlestown jail; the fugitives tion has, in reality, been completely and systematicalstill hunted in the mountains of Virginia and Penn- ly nullified whenever it suited the convenience or the sylvania; the sympathizers with him in all the States; policy of the Slave Power. Your constitutional obliand, I may say, almost every man who loves the Gol- gation, for which you profess so much respect, has den Rule and the Declaration of Independence, like never proved any protection to citizens of the Free him, and who sees what a tiger's thirst threatens him States, who happened to have a black, brown, or yelin the malignity of public sentiment in the slave States low complexion; nor to any white citizen whom you It seems to me that a common feeling joins the people even suspected of entertaining opinions opposite to of Massachusetts with him. I said John Brown was your own, on a question of vast importance to the an idealist. He believed in his ideas to that extent, temporal welfare and moral example of our common that he existed to put them all into action. He did country. This total disregard of constitutional oblinot believe in moral sussion ; -- be believed in putting gation has been manifested not merely by the Lynch the thing through. (Applause.) He saw how decep- Law of mobs in the Slave States, but by the deliberate tive the forms are. We fancy, in Massachusetts, that action of magistrates and legislators. What regard we are free; yet it seems the Government is quite un- was paid to constitutional obligation in South Caroreliable. Great wealth,-great population,-men of lina, when Massachusetts sent the Hon. Mr. Hon talent in the Executive, on the Bench, -all the forms there as an envoy, on a purely legal errand? Mr right,-and yet, life and freedom are not safe. Why? Hedrick, Professor of Political Economy in the Uni-Because the judges rely on the forms, and do not, like versity of North Carolina, had a constitutional right John Brown, use their eyes to see the fact behind the to reside in that State. What regard was paid to that

bounds of Massachusetts, the United States, it is no- Alabama, when a bookseller in Mobile was compelled torious, afford no protection at all; the Government, to fice for his life, because he had, at the special rethe Judges, are an envenomed party, and give such quest of some of the citizens, imported a few copies protection as they give in Utah to honest citizens, or of a novel that everybody was curious to read? Your in Kansas : such protection as they give to their own own citizen, Mr. Underwood, had a constitutional Commodore Paulding, when he was simple enough right to live in Virginia, and vote for whomsoever he to mistake the formal instructions of his Government pleased. What regard was paid to his rights, when for their real meaning. (Applause.) The Judges fear he was driven from your State for declaring himself collision between their two allegiances; but there are in favor of the election of Fremont? With these, worse evils than collision; namely, the doing sub- and a multitude of other examples before your eyes, stantial injustice. A good man will see that the use it would seem as if the less that was said about reof a Judge is to secure good government, and where spect for constitutional obligations at the South, the the citizen's weal is imperilled by abuse of the Ped. better. Slavery is, in fact, an intragement of all eral power, to use that arm which can secure it, viz : law, and adheres to no law, save for the own purposes the local government. Had that been done, on cer- of oppression. tain calamitous occasions, we should not have seen You accuse Captain John Brown of wastling the honor of Massachusetts trailed in the dust, stained knives of butchery for the mothers, sisters, daughters, to all ages, once and again, by the ill-timed formal- and babes' of Virginia; and you inform me of the ism of a venerable Bench. If Judges cannot find well-known fact that he is arraigned for the rimes law enough to maintain the sovereignty of the State, of murder, robbery, and treason.' I will not here stop and to protect the life and freedom of every inhabi- to explain why I believe that old hero to be no crim tant not a criminal, it is idle to compliment them as inal, but a martyr to righteous principles which he learned and venerable. What avails their learning sought to advance by methods sanctioned by his own or ventation? At a pinch, they are of no more use religious views, though not by mine. Allowing that than idiots. After the mischance, they wring their Capt. Brown did attempt a scheme in which muzder hands, but they had better never have been born, robbery and treason were, to his own consciousness A Vermont Judge, Hutchinson, who has the Decla- involved, I do not see how Gov. Wise can consistently ration of Independence in his heart, a Wisconsin arraign him for crimes he has himself commended Judge, who knows that laws are for the protection of You have threatened to trample on the Constitution citizens against kidnappers, is worth a court-house and break the Union, if a majority of the legal voter full of lawyers so idolatrous of forms as to let go the in these Confederated States dared to elect a Presisubstance. Is any man in Massachusetts so simple dent unfavorable to the extension of Slavery. Is not as to believe that when a United States Court in such a declaration proof of premeditated treason Virginia, now, in its present reign of terror, sends to In the spring of 1842, you made a speech in Com Connecticut, or New York, or Massachusetts, for a wit- gress, from which I copy the following : ness, it wants him for a witness? No; it wants him for a party; it wants him for meat to slaughter and the conquest of the rich Mexican Provinces, and you eat. And your habeas corpus is, in any way in which comment might as well attempt to stop the wind. This Government might sand its trans. it has been, or, I fear, is likely to be used, a nuisance, over them like a berd of buffalo. Let the work once and not a protection; for it takes away his right re- begin, and I do not know that this House would ho liance on himself, and the natural assistance of his friends and fellow-citizens, by offering him a form which is a piece of paper. But I am detaining the meeting on matters which others understand better. abroad, without restraint, and find no limit but the I hope, then, that in administering relief to John Southern Ocean. The Camanches should no longe I hope, then, that in summer all those whom Brown's family, we shall remember all those whom and not forget to aid him in the best way, by secur-ing freedom and independence in Massachusetts.

American eagles. I would cause as much gold to cross the Rio del Norte as the mules of Mexico could ing freedom and independence in Massachusetts.

MR. EMERSON CONTRIBUTES PIFTY DOLLARS.

Mr. Andrew-Added to the words which Concord has sent hither to-night, also keeping in mind its reputation for deeds, Mr. Emerson was the bearer of fifty dollars to add to the treasury of the evening. (Great applause.) I think, therefore, ladies and nation, at peace with the United States, did you not gentlemen, the time has arrived to appoint a financial pledge yourself to commit treason? Was it not by committee to receive this the first offering. I will robbery, even of churches, that you proposed to load take the liberty to appoint Messrs. Samuel E. Sewall, the mules of Mexico with gold for the United States Geo. F. Bigelow, John R. Manley, John L. Emmons, Was it not by the murder of unoffending Mexicans and Humphrey Jameson.

Contrasts and comparisons (said Mr. Andrew) are always disagreeable, at least to one side. Without a lean mothers and babes, whom you proposed to make, single word of remark, I will proceed at once to present to the audience one of whom it can truly be said, none but himself can be his parallel-Mr. Wendell Phillips. (Great applause.)

obliges us to defer Mr. Phillips's speech until our straint." next number. | -Ed. Lib.

The audience were now about to separate, when Mr. Andrew claimed their attention.

He said that the arguments upon the writ of error in Brown's case were made on Thursday. Every legal mind knew that such errors existed in the indictment as would secure a reversal of the judgment, if the case were freed from its present excitements. He spoke of the Court of Appeals as the highest of Virginia, and of the counsel, Messrs. Chilton and Greene, as among the ablest lawyers in the South. 'There had been no difficulty in obtaining the best of legal counsel to defend these men.

Mr. Phillips here interrupted, to state an incident which he had heard. The wife of one of the counsel who went to Virginia, learning that he had gone to Charlestown, wrote to him, saving, - I fear for youyou may not return to me-but do your duty. I had rather be the widow of a brave man than the wife of a coward.' [Great applause.]

Mr. Andrew continued, stating that the gentleman who is the acknowledged head of the Virginia bar, only declined to argue the writ of error before the Court of Appeals because his other engagements would not allow him to give his mind to it with that entirety which he should desire. These incidents, said Mr. Andrew, should not be forgotten, because it was true, that notwithstanding the terrible blight of slavery which curses Virginia and all the South, humanity is nevertheless the same everywhere, and God is nowhere on the face of the earth in human hearts without a witness. (Applause.)

The meeting was then closed without further for-

he is not on the same plane with Jesus, Paul; Peter prosperous and powerful of the States. and John, the weapons of whose warfare were not In your letter you suggest that such a scheme as carnal, though mighty to the pulling down of strong Captain Brown's is the natural result of the opinion holds. But the professedly Christian church, with with which I sympathize. Even if I thought this to all Christendom, rejects our peaceful interpretation of be a correct statement, though I should deeply regret Christianity, and has no right, therefore, to measure it, I could not draw the conclusion that humanity him by any higher standard than its own. .

Sumner, who came a passenger from Europe by the source of that strange outbreak. No abolition argu-Canada, arrived at his home in Hancock Street, at ments or denunciations, however earnestly, loudly eight o'clock Monday forenoon. He is in good or harshly proclaimed, would have produced that health, and looking well, and was not injuriously af- result. It was the legitimate consequence of the fected by the sea voyage. Quite a number of his continual, and constantly-increasing aggressions of personal and political friends have called upon him, the Slave-Power. The Slave-States, in their desperate He will shortly proceed to Washington.

In your civil but very diplomatic reply to my letter, every citizen of the United States. I was perfectly But we are here to think of relief for the family of well aware that such was the theory of constitutions right, when he was driven from his home, merely for They assume that the United States can protect its declaring that he considered Slavery an impolitic syswitness or its prisoner. And, in Massachusetts, that tem, injurious to the prosperity of States? What is true; but the moment he is carried out of the respect for constitutional rights was manifested by

hold the richest mines of Mexico. Every golde worship, should soon be melted down into wood carry ; aye, and I would make better use of it, too, than any lazy, bigoted priesthood under heaven.

When you thus boasted that you and your ' boote loafers' would overrun the troops of the United States 'like a herd of buffalo,' if the Government sent them to arrest your invasion of a neighboring that you expected to advance those schemes of avarice and ambition? What humanity had you for Mexchildless and fatherless? And for what purpose was this wholesale massacre to take place? Not to right the wrongs of any oppressed class; not to sustain any great principles of justice, or of freedom; but merely (We regret that the crowded state of our columns to enable . Slavery to pour itself forth without re-

Even if Captain Brown were as bad as you paint him, I should suppose he must naturally remind you of the words of Macbeth :

Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return To plague the inventor: This even-handed justice mmends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice To our own lips.'

If Captain Brown intended, as you say, to commi treason, robbery, and murder, I think I have shown that he could find ample authority for such proceed. ings in the public declarations of Gov. Wise. And if, as he himself declares, he merely intended to free the oppressed, where could he read a more forcible lesson than is furnished by the State Seal of Virginia! I looked at it thoughtfully before I opened your letter; and though it had always appeared to me very suggestive, it never seemed to me so much so as it now did in connection with Captain John Brown. A liberty-loving hero stands with his foot upon a prostrate despot; under his strong arm, manacles and chains lie broken ; and the motto is, 'Sic Semper Tyrannia; Thus be it ever done to Tyrants.' And this is the blazon of a State whose most profitable business is the internal Slave-Trade! In whose highways coffles of human chattels, chained and manacled, are frequently seen! And the Seal and the Coffles are both looked upon by other chattels, constantly exposed to the same fate! What if some Vezey, or Nat Turner, should be growing up among those apparently quiet spectators? It is in no spirit of taunt or of exultation that I ask this question. I never think of it but with anxiety, sadness, and sympathy. I know that a slaveholding community necessarily lives in the midst of gunpowder; and, in this age, sparks of free IF In recording the expressions of sympathy and thought are flying in every direction. You cannot admiration which are so widely felt for John Brown, quench the fires of free thought and human sympathy whose doom is so swiftly approaching, we desire to by any process of cunning or force; but there is a say-once for all-that, judging him by the code method by which you can effectually wet the gunof Bunker Hill, not think he is as deserving of powder. England has already tried it, with safety high-wrought eulogy, as any who ever wielded and success. Would that you could be persuaded to sword or battle-axe in the cause of liberty; but we set aside the prejudices of education, and candidly do not and cannot approve any indulgence of the war examine the actual working of that experiment spirit. John Brown has, perhaps, a right to a place Virginia is so richly endowed by nature that Free Inby the side of Moses, Joshua, Gideon and David; but stitutions alone are wanting to render her the most

ought to be stifled, and truth struck dumb, for fear that long-successful despotism might be endangered ARRIVAL OF HON. CHARLES SUMBER. Hon Charles by their utterance. But the fact is, you mistake the

Free States. Our inherent love of law and order, and our superstitious attachment to the Union, you have mistaken for cowardice; and rarely have you let slip any opportunity to add insult to aggression

The manifested opposition to Slavery began with the lectures and pamphlets of a few disinterested men and women, who based their movements upon purely moral and religious grounds; but their expostulations were met with a storm of rage, with tar and feathers, brickbats, demolished houses, and other applications of Lynch law. When the dust of the conflict began to subside a little, their number were found to be greatly increased by the efforts to exterminate them. They had become an influence in the State too important to be overlooked by shrewd calculators. Political economists began to look at the subject from a lower point of view. They used their abilities to demonstrate that Slavery was a wasteful system, and that the Free States were taxed, to an enormous extent, to sustain an institution which, at heart, two-thirds of them abhorred. The forty millions, or more, of dollars, expended in hunting Fugitive Slaves in Florida, under the name of the Seminole War, were adduced, as one item in proof, to which many more were added. At last, politicians were compelled to take some action on the subject. It soon became known to all the people that the Slave States had always managed to hold in their hands the political power of the Union, and that while they constituted only one-third of the white population of these States, they held more than twothirds of all the lucrative, and once honorable offices; an indignity to which none but a subjugated people had ever before submitted. The knowledge also became generally diffused, that while the Southern States owned their Democracy at home, and voted for them, they also systematically bribed the nominally Democratic party, at the North, with the office, adroitly kept at their disposal.

Through these, and other instrumentalities, the sentiments of the original Garrisonian Abolitionists became very widely extended, in forms more or less diluted. But by far the most efficient co-laborers we have ever had have been the Slave-States themselves. By denying us the sacred Right of Petition, they roused the free spirit of the North, as it never cross the line, he will take proceedings against him could have been roused by the loud trumpet of Garrison, or the soul-animating bugle of Phillips. They bought the great slave, Daniel, and, according to their established usage, paid him no wages for his labor. By his co-operation, they forced the Fagitive Slave law upon us, in violation of all our humane instincts and all our principles of justice. And what did they procure for the Abolitionists by that despotic process A deeper and wider detestation of Slavery throughout the Free States, and the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, an eloquent outburst of moral indignation, whose echoes wakened the world to look upon their shame.

By fillibustering and fraud, they dismembered Mexico, and having thus obtained the soil of Texas, they tried to introduce it as a slave state into the Union. Failing to effect their purpose by constitutional means, they accomplished it by a most open and palpable violation of the Constitution, and by ob taining the votes of Senators on false pretences.

Soon afterward, a Southern Slave Administration ceded to the powerful monarchy of Great Britain several hundred thousands of square miles, that must have been made into Free States, to which that same Administration had declared that the United States had 'an unquestionable right;' and then they turned upon the weak Republic of Mexico, and, in order to make more Slave States, wrested from her twice as many hundred thousands of square miles, to which

All donations, in furtherance of the Anti-Slavery we had not a shadow of right.

Notwithstanding all these extra efforts, they saw symptoms that the political power so long held with a by reason of the extension of Abolition sentiments 21 Cornhill, Boston, and the greater prosperity of Free States. Emboldened by continual success in aggression, they made use of the pretence of 'Squatter Sovereignty' to break the league into which they had formerly cajoled the servile representatives of our blinded people, by which all the territory of the United States south of '36 30' was guaranteed to Slavery, and all north of it to Freedom. Thus Kansas became the battle-ground of the antagonistic elements in our Government. Ruffians hired by the Slave Power were sent thither temporarily, to do the voting, and drive from the sufficient good sense and good feeling to rise above this absurd prejudice, and aid her in her laudable undertaking? She is a person of intelligence, reliable principles, good manners, and industrious habits. She is a very neat seamstress, and has general causacity. If she cannot learn a trade, she thither temporarily, to do the voting, and drive from the polls the legal voters, wife were often murdered | would like a situation as parlor girl, or chamber maid. in the process. Names copied from the directories of cities in other States, were returned by thousands as legal voters in Kansas, in order to establish a Constitution abhorred by her people. This was their exemplification of Squatter sovereignty. A Massachusetts setts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows :-Senator, distinguished for candor, courtesy, and stainless integrity, was half murdered by slaveholders, merely for having the manliness to state these facts to the assembled Congress of the nation. Peaceful emigrants from the North, who went to Kansas for no other purpose than to till the soil, erect mills, and establish manufactories, schools, and churches, were robbed, outraged, and murdered. For many months a war more ferocious than the warfare of wild Indians was carried on against a people almost unresisting, because they relied upon the Central Government for aid. And all this while, the power of the United States, wielded by the Slave Oligarchy, was on the side of the aggressors. They literally tied the Tickets 25 cents, admitting a gentleman and ladies stones, and let loose the mad dogs. This was the Lecture will commence at 8 o'clock, precisely. state of things when the hero of Osawatomie and his brave sons went to the rescue. It was he who first turned the tide of Border-Ruffian triumph, by showing them that blows were to be taken as well as

You may believe it or not, Gov. Wise, but it is certainly the truth that, because slaveholders so recklessly sowed the wind in Kansas, they reaped a whirl-

wind at Harper's Ferry. The people of the North had a very strong attachment to the Union; but, by your desperate measures you have weakened it beyond all power of restoration They are not your enemies, as you suppose, but they cannot consent to be your tools for any ignoble task you may choose to propose. You must not judge of us by the crawling sinuosities of an Everett; or by our magnificent hound, whom you trained to hunt your poor cripples, and then sent him sneaking 'into corner to die-not with shame for the base purposes to which his strength had been applied, but with vexation because you withheld from him the promised bone. Not by such as these must you judge the free enlightened yeomanry of New England. A majority of them would rejoice to have the Slave States fulfill their oft-repeated threat of withdrawal from the Union. It has ceased to be a bugbear, for we begin to despair of being able, by any other process, to give the world the example of a real republic. The moray sense of these States is outraged by being accomplices sense of these States is outraged by being accomplices ed for, gives the lie to this libel upon our intelligent in sustaining an institution vicious in all its aspects; yeomanry. These books should be in the hands of and it is now generally understood that we purchase our disgrace at great pecuniary expense. If you a cov would only make the offer of a separation in serious earnest, you would hear the hearty response of millions, 'Go, gentlemen, and

"Stand not upon the order of your going, But go at once!"

Yours, with all due respect, L. MARIA CHILD.

A person calling himself T. A. Salvo, was taken up at Bamberg, S. C., on the 10th inst., for being too free in the expression of his opinions on Slavery, and his head was shaved on one side, and a coat of tar and feathers applied to him; he was then rode on a rail beyond the limits of the village!!

To Dr. S. G. Howe, of this city, is in Canada, for the reason intimated in his recently published letter on the John Brown affair. efforts to sustain a bad and dangerous institution, have

VIRGINIA AGAIN ALARMED.

Washington, Nov. 17.
The Richmond Dispatch states that Edward Moffit, who was arrested at Lynchburg as a suspected partici-pant in Brown's foray, has been released for want of widence. Identifying parties are to proceed to Wytheville, for the purpose of examining another suspected fugitive. Several suspected parties, mostly Northern pedlars, have been recently arrested at Culpepper Court House, and there appears to be an intention to place in confinement all who do not give a good account of themselves.

The military here are under arms, and ready to march at a moment's warning, in consequence of re-ports from Charlestown of an intended rescue of

ALEXANDRIA, VA., Nov. 17.

There is great excitement here in consequence of a rumor of the rescue of Brown, and the volunteer militia are assembled at their armories.

A despatch from Col. Davis, at Charlestown, to Gov. Wise this evening, requests the despatch of two companies of cavalry, stating that five barns and outcompanies of cavary, stating that here carns and out-houses have been fired to-day, it is supposed by sym-pathizers with Brown. Despatches have been received in Richmond, which have caused the authorities there to take prompt action. Three hundred men and two pieces of artillery leave Alexandria at daybreak by Gov. Wise's order. The Richmond forces will probably leave on an express train at an early hour.

Col. Davis telegraphs to Gov. Wise to order out the cavalry, which has been done. Col. Davis says, 'there is a guerilla war here; the property of five of our best citizens has been burnt.' Upon this the Governor has ordered the 1st Regiment (Richmond) to be in readiness, awaiting orders.

This alarm confirms anonymous communications

received by the Executive in the last two days, warming him of the intended raids in different squads along the borders of Virginia and Kentucky. He is also warned of an abolition scheme which may be in concoction to kidnap and spirit away prominent citizens, or members of their families, and to keep them as eceived by the Executive in the last two days, warnor members of their families, and to hostages for the pardon of the culprits.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 21. Order prevails here now. The excitement of Sat-urday has subsided, and no suspicious parties have been discovered.

It is rumored that Gov. Wise has received a despatch from Gov. Chase of Ohio, informing him that a large body of men, from 600 to 1000, are arming for rescue, under command of John Brown, Jr., and will undoubtedly start for Charlestown. Wise is said to have replied, that if Gov. Chase allows them to

PRECAUTIONS.—The Hagerstown (Md.) Torchlight says:—'The Governor has ordered the Sheriff of Washington county to appoint a sufficient number of deputies, residing along or near the boundary line between this State and Pennsylvania, and others residing along the line of the Potomac River, who may be empowered to act with authority of law in case of any acter and purpose are not known, and to arrest and detain them. In pursuance of this order, the Sheriff has summoned five hundred men in different parts of the county to act as his special deputies.'

Joshua R. Giddings in going through Syracuse a few days since, was astonished to find the depot crammed with people anxious to testify their respect and affection for him. The interval between the arrival and departure of the trains was but four minutes.

As Mr. Giddings stepped on the platform to pass from
one train to another, in company with Henry B. Stanton, who announced him to the people, three hearty cheers burst forth from the crowd Among his hu morous remarks, Mr. Giddings said that the gentlemen down South, who were in need of heads or brains and who advertised for him, could have his head when he got through with it, if they would hand over the

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cause, will be faithfully applied to the swelling of that Just and Righteous Public Sentiment, before which SLAVERY cannot stand, and must fall.

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Mr. H. has permission to refer to Thomas Ryan, Wulf Fries, and their fellow-members of the Mendelssohn Quintette Club: also, to Woodward & Brown, and Wm. Bourne, Piano-Forte makers; B. Brown, and Wm. Babcock. F. Baker, and W. R. Babcock. Nov. 4.

LANDS FOR SALE. -

LARGE number of parcels of land are kereby tory ideas and tendencies, sympathizing with the fundamental principles and general objects of the Hopedale Community. These parcels lying in and contig-uous to the village of Hopedale, Milford, Mass., and constituting a part of the original Community Domain, constituting a part of the original Community Domain, are of different sizes, ranging from two to twenty acres, and present a good variety of tillage and pasturage, together with some woooland—most of the tillage being under a high state of cultivation—and are designed either for simple building lots, or for small farms, as may suit different classes of purchasers. Upon some of them are pleasant dwellings, and tenements in the village may be rented by those unpre-pared to buy or erect buildings. In the immediate vipared to buy or erect buildings. In the immediate vi-cinity there is a Foundry, suitable shop room and power, and an unoccupied Mill-privilege, rendering the location a favorable one for mechanics either to commence or continue a business, and especially for those who may desire to combine with their usual av-ocations such horticultural employment as health measure, or profit may dictate. Persons also of literary inclinations and pursuits may obtain that quiet retirement, and the opportunity for active, out-door manual or other exercise necessary to the highest use-fulness and success in their chosen field of labor. And any or all of the class to whom the lands are offered, who may desire for themseives and families the superior moral and social influences of Hopedale, or who may wish to secure for their children the advantages of the Hopedale Home School—a flourishing Institution of much excellence, both in its general character and in its methods of instruction, designed to aid in the attainment of thorough, symmetrical, and practi-cal Education - will find here unusual inducements

for making themselves at Home.

These lands are within two miles of the Milford Station, on the Boston and Worcester R. R., by which communication may be had three times a day with Boston and the principal thoroughfares of New Eng-

Prices reasonable, and terms of payment suited to the circumstances of any honest, industrious, econ

For further particulars and all necessary informa tion, inquire of

Hopedale, Milford, Mass. June 17, 1859 .- tf.

HOPEDALE LANDS OPENED FOR SETTLE-MENT.

We bespeak attention to Br. E. D. Draper's advertisement as above, offering for sale sundry parcels of Hopedale land. Some two years since, when most of the Joint Stock Property of the Hopedale Community was individualized and divided among the stock-holders, a large portion of the Community Domain went bestimately into the private present of Br. D. legitimately into the private possession of Br. Draper. He has recently caused his lands to be surveyed into homesteads of from two to twenty acres each, with a view to offer them for sale to persons friendly to our distinguishing principles, who may choose to settle in our midst. We hope that a goodly number of friends, cherishing a general sympathy with our people, and desiring to give their children the advantages of our excellent select and common schools, will avail themselves of the new opening. Seeing that we must be disappointed in not realizing the Unitary social arrangements, the anticipation of which originally at tracted us hither, the next best thing is, to see as good a Neighborhood built up as circumstances will allow. We are therefore pleased with Br. Draper's new plan of offering small homesteads for sale to our friends scattered abroad. May the movement be crowned with success.—Pactical Christian. homesteads of from two to twenty acres each, with a

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

JOHN BROWN OF OSAWATOMIE.

BY G. D. WHITMORE.

So you've convicted old John Brown! brave old Brown

of Osawatomic!

And you gave him a chicalrous trial, lying groaning on the floor.

With his body ripped with gashes, deaf with pain from sabre slashes,

Over the head received, when the deadly fight was

o'er; Round him guns with lighted matches, judge and law

yers pale as ashes—
For he might, perhaps, come to again, and put you all

You think, no doubt, you've tried John Brown, bu

he's laid there trying you,
And the world has been his jury, and its judgment'

swift and true: Over the globe the tale has rung, back to your hearts

the verdict's flung,
That you're found, as you've been always found, a

brutal, cowardly crew!
At the wave of his hand to a dozen men, two thou-

He kennelled you up, and kept you too, till twice you saw through the szure blue,

The day-star circle round.

No longer the taunt, our history's new, 'our hero i

rolling sun!

And, sheeted round with a martyr's glory, again of

earth's renewed the story
Of bravery, truth, and righteousness, a battle lost an

A life laid down for the poor and weak, the immortal

erown put on; The spark of Luther's touched to the pile-sword

Ages hence, when all is over that shocks the sense

gleam—black smoke obscures the sun—
And the slave and his master are gone

yet to come'—
e suddenly leaped a thousand years beyond the

sand slunk like hounds;

Or surround you, as before!

to flight.

Is there any virtue in MRS.S. A. ALLEN'S

WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF. To THE ED'S OF EVANGELIST:—'My age is sixty.
One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been
gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become
quite thin. About the lat of March, of the present
year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Rester.

year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Rester-er,' No. 1, according to the directions, and have con-tinued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the has appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION 18 NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRE DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRE.
TIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an
advantage to one who was in danger of becoming
bald.' Rev. M. THACHER,
Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855.

President J. L. BATON, LL. D., Union University Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

Murfreesooro, Tennessee.

'Madam—I would state, that some time last spring
I found MY HAIR FALLING OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restor. chase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restor-er, '&c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irreg-ularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visi-ble, THE FALLING OFF OF HAIR CEASED, and my locks, ble, THE FALLING OFF OF HAIR CEASED, and my locks, which before were quite GRAY, WELLE CHANGED TO BLACK. I do not consider that I have given it a fair trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz., FRE. VENT THE HAIR PROM PALLING OFF, and to RESTORE BRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR, Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK

Editor ' Ladies' Repository,' Cincinnati, Ohio. · I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsa. mum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manu-factured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired."

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Air Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best

I have ever known. It has restored my hair to in Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. America, and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City.

. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations. Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Boston

· Having used numerous specifics to little purpose

I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, yet personal friends prevailed on Etologistic. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has regained the softness of my earlier years.'

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. ' Guide to Holiness,' Boston . Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from secual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church

I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Re-storer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of routh. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.'

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

'My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very fively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BECOME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANTLY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE: HER HAIR ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire,

'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color, -not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me.

[The above clergyman is well known throughout Gree Britain, and to many in the United States.] HAVTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S.ANDRUS, (many years Missionary

to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y.

In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy

condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'- I have derived much benefit from the use of Mps. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefit ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wilness.' Cincinnati, Ohio.

It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till es te it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity, being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Als. Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be

ased to insert advertisement, &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-

ucation R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y. Some time since, I procured a bottle of your

World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to is original glossy and beautiful black.

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church, Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y. "I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A.

Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsam have produced all the effects described in her advertisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fall in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

"I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of the most results." of it in curing my baldness and grayness."

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattsburg, N. Y.

'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania · It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and cau-

your directions require.'

ed a new growth, although I did not attend to Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H.

We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity. have no doubt, if you had an agent in a large quantity might be disposed of.

We think that if these fail to convince, nothing less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell article on which they make more profit than on these; always

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe.

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced.

One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1.50 a bottle. Balsam, \$7\frac{1}{2}\$ cents per bottle. Address all letters for information, &c., to

S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355 Broome Street, New York. The Genuise has Mes. Broome Street, New York. The Genuine has Mes. S. A. Allen, signed in Red Ink to outside wrappes, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by other is forgary, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOODS DEALER. October 14. lycop

2. Resolved. That all friends of human freeder are exhorted to use the utmost diligence and zeal in procuring signatures to the petitions now in circulation in this State, asking for a Personal Liberty Bill that shall give ample protection to all fugitives from

1. Resolved, That 'resistance to tyrants is obedi-ence to God'; therefore it is the right and duty of the laves to resist their masters, [by such means as each deems right and proper; o] and it is the right and duty of the people of the North to incite them to such resistance, and to aid them by such means as they shall think just and expedient, to free themselves from the power that crushes them.

sociates, in their efforts to incite and assist the slaves to insurrection against their oppressors, acted in accordance with the essential spirit and principles of the Declaration of Independence, and of the governmental and religious institutions of our country, and also with the spirit of the precept, as it is generally understood, 'Do unto others as ye would that oth-

3. Resolved, That the heroic bearing of John Brown himself and followers against the attack made upor them, -and his calmness and self-possession, as he lay wounded and bleeding in the engine house, and in his sublimely heroic bearing during his trial, conviction, and sentence to die upon the gibbet, has neve been surpassed, and only in a few instances equalled in the history of the world. May his heroism inspire

Mr. Foss offered the following resolution relating t the Republican party :-

Resolved, That the Republican party is the whit man's party. It does not profess to be an Anti-Slavery party; but only aims to restrict slavery to its present bounds. This party is pledged to sustain slavery where it now is; and we denounce it as unworthy the support of honest men.

These resolutions were discussed and enforced with great earnestness and power of speech by Andrew T. Foss, Charles Lenox Remond, Henry Wright, and

on Saturday afternoon, 5th ings. Upwards of forty dollars were collected in behalf of the cause, and to defray expenses. The occasion was own of great interest.

. The words in brackets were not in the resolution as originally presented by Mr. Wright, but were sub-sequently added, agreeably to the suggestion of Mr. Poss.

A TRIP TO KANSAS.

things I heard and witnessed might not be uninterest Said the Judge, 'and all such rebels!' with his most judicial frown. was to be seen. A few weeks previous to my arrival

large majority in the affirmative. As I was perambulating the streets, noting the sol way in the direction of the church-going bells, my looking white men; then followed nine couples,nizing them, I turned and followed with a sickening heart this poor, forlorn company of men and women, whose solemn faces were not put on to do homage to deepened and my convictions strengthened as to the awful guilt and hypocrisy of this people.

An intelligent colored man informed me that it was Scommon Sabbath day occurrence, and that a few Sabbaths previous, eighty-two men, women and children were taken from the slave-pen to the Southean steamboat. That the piety of St. Louis has rescued the day from lager beer desecration, and consecrated i fasting, is confirmed by the following item, taken from CAPE COD ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

'PASSING AWAY.' Forty-five of the chattels of the ty, which assembled at Harwich on Saturday and 'peculiar institution' passed down Locust street yes Sunday, Nov. 5th and 6th, proved to be a most pleasterday morning, on their way to the 'sunny South ty, which assembled at Harwich on Saturday and They were a motley group, composed of men, women and children, whose age ranged, apparently, from five to forty years. The procession was composed of fa thers and mothers, with their little children by th not have been asked; neither could a better place than Harwich be found for holding one. In point of hospitality, too, the people are an example worthy the imitation of any town hearty in their friending for Missouri, but on the other hand awakened the liveliest sympathy for the condition of this gang o miserable beings. Nearly every Sabbath m witnesses the exodus of these parties from our shores.

On Monday morning, we started for the Missour feeling himself to be welcome, but rather, where not river, which was very low, and difficult of navigation to go, and where all were equally kind, it were invid-Our trip on the muddy, sluggish, and uninteresting river was very monotonous, enlivened occasionally by debates growing out of the 'irrepressible conflict. Some thirty or forty hands are required to work these steamboats, delivering and taking in freight at the frequent landings. So far as I have observed, they Committee was then chosen, consisting of Elkanah uniformly employ white men, and the two mates drive them like a gang of slaves, frequently striking them The principal Anti-Slavery speakers from abroad and in some instances beating them with their fists, were Andrew T. Foss, Henry C. Wright, and Charles and knocking them down. On one of those occasions, I remarked to a gentleman sitting beside me, that After the meeting was organized, Henry C. Whight those men (alluding to the mates) must have been arose and said, there were three things which the slave-drivers. He said, 'Probably, as they generally people of this State have to accomplish. First, they selected such as being best qualified to get the most were to make Massachusetts a protection for the fugi- work out of the crew ;' and he continued, 'These tive, without necessitating the punishment of those miserable, low whites require more looking after than who befriend him. Secondly, they were to send Dan-the negroes. In Kentucky, the slaves feel insulted if iel Webster back to his grave at Marshfield; and, compared with such poor trash. The negroes are suthirdly, they were to dispose of the question of the perior to the low whites in every respect, and would Harper's Ferry insurrection. Brown was to be hung, be invaluable servants, excepting they will steal." he said; and what had he done to merit death? and I looked at him very quietly, and said, 'You steal the negro, his wife, his children, and all the earnings of who was his hangman? His crime was, that he had considered them that were in bonds as being bound his labor; and is it a marvel that he should prove an apt scholar and imitator of his exemplars? . That is very plain talk, said he, 'for this latitude.' 'I have always been used to plain speaking,' said I, 'and am,

> The War Eagle, on her return trip, carried fifty slaves, bought by the traders for the cotton fields and rice swamps of the lower States; and almost every boat on her downward voyage has more or less, for the same accursed destination—the rapid influx of settlers from the free States, and the fear of such in-

The Republican party will do a good work in their way, so long as they are in a minority; but I fear when they attain the power and spoils of the government, they will grievously disappoint the anti-slavery expectations of thousands who are led to sustain

I availed myself of every opportunity to protest

From Lawrence, I continued my journey for more than three hundred miles to explore the southern part of the Territory, and acquaint myself more particularly with its soil and climate, and obtain a personal knowledge of its resources and capabilities, The weather was most delightful, the roads in their natural condition perfect, and the country both cultivated and untilled, with its broad, undulating prair-

their semi-annual payment from everyment. Both men and women were clad in a colored blankets, and a profusion of commune. As all of them came mounted on fine pointer and horses, they, with their painted faces, made a very animated and picturesque appearance. Mr. Greenwood, the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, was there, and I have since been informed made a treaty with them, by which they relinquished a considerable portion of their valuable domain to government. On my return, I spent night with John T. Jones, Chief of the Ottawa Indians, a small tribe, numbering two hundred and twenty-five, and located in Franklin County. These Indians, through the influence of Mr. and Mrs. Jones, are civilized, and very superior in their mental and religious acquirments. Mrs. Jones is a native of the State of Maine, and went to Kansas some seven teen years since as a voluntary teacher, to labor for the improvement and welfare of those small remnant of the once powerful tribes of the red men. They were getting on very prosperously until Kansas wa opened for the settlement of white men. The same motives that induced them to labor for the advance-ment of their own people, compelled them from prin-ciple to espouse the Free State cause, and, consequently, brought upon them the vengeance of the pro-Slavery Border Ruffian party. During one of the forays upon Lawrence, a band commanded by one General Reid made a night descent upon them, burnt their house and furniture, books and clothing, and took seven hundred dollars in specie, cattle, and such other property he they chose, to the amount of twenty thousand dollars, Mr. Jones and his wife barely escaping with their lives! Fortunately the timber was near, and covered them and saved them from the murderous balls which ich said and saved them, one of their people only being k Legislature, last year, appointed Commissioners to estimate the damages sustained by citizens. They accordingly gave notice for the presentation of claims with proof, and subsequently reported to the Constitutional Convention that they had allowed such claims to the amount of half a million of dollars. Among other applicants for redress was the Ottawa Chief Jones, and the Commissioners had the hardihood to refuse him any allowance, on the ground that he did not stay by his property, and offer all the resistance in his power to the outrage. Application had pre viously been made at Washington, and Mr. Jones had spent two winters there, at great expense and inconvenience, without receiving any attention, and re cently ascertained that his inventory of claims and proof had been filed away, without being opened And all this in direct violation of the honor and good faith of the government, pledged to the Indians, and enacted into a law by Congress in 1850, entitled 'An Act for better regulating the Intercourse with the Indians, and to preserve the peace.' The sixteenth

sisting law; but, being in favor of universal liberty, they are denied redress by a government devoted to the enslavement of man. Gov. Medary and family, on their way to Fort Scott, stopped for the night with the Ottawa Chief. who is always prepared to accommodate travellers .-The Governor is a very pleasant, social man, and pro fessed a great interest in the welfare of the Indians. He said he had urged upon the government the importance of inducing the Indians to remove, and locate in the Indian Territory south of Kansas, organizing State Governments of their own, and admitting them into the Union, and to a representation in Congress. I asked him if the slavery question would not be an obstacle; but he thought it a matter of such moment, that the abolitionists would yield, for once and conquer their prejudices. On my return to Lawrence, I heard Gen. Lane ha

stroyed; and if the person convicted of committing

such trespass has not sufficient means for that pur-

pose, then the government assumes the responsibility

and pays the Indian double the amount of the loss

sustained by him; provided, that said Indian or In-

lingame address a large gathering of people in Law- of their representative men, of whom they have rearence. The high-toned anti-slavery sentiments he son to be proud. Alas for the poor Indian! what can uttered, judged from a political stand-point, would he do between the upper and nether mill-stope—the not call forth criticism; but he must needs dilute Slave Power and the lust of acquisition by the peo-them with a great profession of love and veneration ple, and the coveting of their neighbor's lands? Must they be despoiled, and driven out from any restingfor the Union. The next day I was present when he was looking admiringly at the portraits of the rescuers of Doctor Doy from a Missouri prison. Said I, 'Mr. Burlingame, it was not your Union that you so highly eulogized last evening, that delivered and saved our friend from a five years' incarceration in a State prison, for attempting to perform a noble and humane Indians. Certain it is that their missions either carry act; but he is indebted to those daring and brave men slavery with them, or they are attracted by it. The who so deliberately disregarded the unholy compact. affinity seems quite natural, as I cannot learn that And you know, perfectly well, that you could not de- they have any spiritual yearning after those tribes liver the same address in fifteen States of this confederacy, without jeopardizing liberty or life. All of which he assented to, saying he was speaking of such a Union as should be, though he entirely omitted to make it apparent on the occasion.

against the insertion of the word ' white' in the new Constitution, and was assured by prominent men in the party, that it was mere policy, and that as soon a State government was firmly established, the rights of the colored people and the Indians should be fully recognised. Had I not had some experience in the promises of politicians before an election, I should have felt considerably well-satisfied with their declarations to that effect. I, nevertheless, urged it before the present session of the Legislature, and every succeeding one, until the new State should be purged from its foul disgrace, and equal justice meted out to all persons.

timber, very beautiful to behold.

The first night I passed among the Sacs and Fox Indians, a wild tribe, numbering twelve hundred and thirty-six-a very few families having adopted civilized habits. The next morning I saw them all assembled around the Agency, preparatory to receiving

section in substance declares, that whenever any white person commits any trespass upon the lands of property of the Indians, upon complaint and conviction, the person so offending shall make restitution in double the amount of the property taken or de-

dians offer no resistance, but quietly submit to such wrong-doing when perpetrated. Jones and his party kept strictly to the letter and spirit of this non-re

rangue the people on political topics. He wants to be United States Senator. He dwelt upon the importance of having men sent to Washington, who would do their utmost to have the Indians removed, and their lands opened for settlement. I could not but call to remembrance, as it were but yesterday, when the nawere to be removed west of the Mississippi and Missouri to a delightful country, where they would have

diciously expended by disinterested men who would have gladly settled among them, and with a very little aid have introduced the science of model agriculture, and taught them habits of industry and self-re liance, would have done a thousand fold more toward their civilization and religious advancement than has been accomplished by bribing the American Board to do the dirty work of the slave oligarchy. If that amount were given to an anti-slavery organization, and used to proclaim the gospel of freedom, the democratic slave mongers would soon find out that it was very uncon stitutional-a union between Church and State-

danger to the liberties of our country ! While I was yet in Kansas, the Liberator brough the sad intelligence of the departure from this to more glorious aphere of our dearly beloved friends, SAMUEL PHILBRICK and E. L. CAPRON. Sad to us i being deprived of their genial society and steadfast upon the true and reliable men to bring the subject example; sad for the poor bondman, who, it would seem to us, has none to spare from the faithful few who plead his cause; joyful for them that they have passed serenely from this fleeting and transitory state, to one that is enduring and eternal in the heavens, where the sighing of the poor, and the crying of the needy, and the unutterable moans of the lacerated and bleeding slave, are heard only to be redressed .-We are indeed passing away; but, blessed be God, we know there shall be no lack of those who shall stand in the gap, and be ready with closed ranks for the death-grapple with the monster of cruelty and blood. How consoling the reflection to us that, whoies, intersected with numerous streams skirted with ever is stricken down or removed, the cause of the free Gospel of Liberty, Truth and Righteousness will as surely prevail as that the Lord liveth !

most dangerous precedent, and fraught with imminent

Ayer's Sarsaparilla, A compound remedy, in which we have labored to

produce the most effectual alterative that can be made. It is a concentrated extract of Para Sarsaparilla, so combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effective antidote for the diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. It is believed that such a remedy is wanted by those who suffer from Strumous complaints, and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove of immense service to this large class of our afflicted fellow-citizens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found of the following complaints: —
SCROFULA AND SCROFULOUS COMPLAINTS, ERUP-

TIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, TUMORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, SYPHILIS AND SYPHILITIC AFFECTIONS, MERCURIAL DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALDIA OR TIC DOULOUREUX, DEBILITY, DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION, ENYSPE-LAS, Rose on St. Anthony's Fire, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from IMPURITY of the Brood.

This compound will be found a great promoter of health, when taken in the spring, to expel the foul humors which fester in the blood at that sea.

son of the year. By the timely expulsion of them Multitudes can, by the aid of this remedy, spare themselves from the endurance of foul eruptions and ulcerous sores, through which the system will strive to rid itself of corruptions, if not assisted to do this through the natural channels of the body by an alterative medicine. Cleanse out the vitiat blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, or sores; cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it whenever it is foul, and your feelings will tell you when. Even where no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy better health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood. Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this pabulum of life disordered, there can be no lasting health. Sooner or later something must go wrong, and the great machinery of life is disordered or overthrown

Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputation of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of it, partly because the drug alone has not all the virtue that is claimed for it, but more because many preparations, pretending to be concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla, or

any thing else. During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Ex-tract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter and painful disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself is justly despised, and has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon b. And we think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. In order to secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.

DR. J. C. AYER & CO. LOWELL, MASS.
Price, \$1 per Bettle; Six Bettles for \$5.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral has won for itself such a renown for the cure of every variety of Throat and Lung Complaint, that it is entirely unnecessary for us to recount the evidence of its virtues, wherever it has been employed. As it has long been in constant use throughout this section, we need not do more than assure the people its quality is kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all it has ever been found to do.

Aver's Cathartic Pills,

Costiveness, Jaundice, Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Dysentery, Foul Stomach, Eryspelas, Headache, Piles, Rheumatism, Eruptions and Skin Diseases, Licer Complaint, Dropsy, Tetter, Tumors and Salt Rheum, Worms, Gout, Neuralgia, as a Dinner Pill, and for Purifying the Blood.

They are sugar-coated, so that the most sensitive can They are sugar-coated, so that the most sensitive can take them pleasantly, and they are the best aperient in the world for all the purposes of a family physic.

Price, 25 cents per Box; Five boxes for \$1.00.

Great numbers of Clergymen, Physicians, Statesmen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to cer-Great numbers of Clergymen, Physicians, Statesmen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefulness of these remedies, but our space here will not permit the insertion of them. The Agents below named furnish gratis our American Almanac, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the above complaints, and the treatment that should be followed for their cure.

Do not be put off by unprincipled dealers with other preparations they make more profit on. Demand Ayran's, and take no others. The sick want the best aid there is for them, and they should have it.

All our Remedies are for sale by

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston. BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland;

J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H. Sold by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every

BOARDING-HOUSE.

of the world to-day, Pilgrims will mount the western wave, seeking the

new Thermopylæ;
Then, for that brave old man with many sons, mangled and murdered, one by one,
Whose ghosts rise up from Harper's gorge, Missouri's plains, and far away
Where Kansas grains wave tinged with their blood,

will the column rise!

The Poet's song and History's page will the deeds prolong of John of Osawatomie,

The Martyr to Truth and Right!

From the New York Tribune. JOHN BROWN'S INVASION.

HOW OLD JOHN BROWN TOOK HARPER'S FERRY. A BALLAD OF THE TIMES.

| Containing ye True History of ye Great Virginia Fright.] John Brown in Kansas settled, like a steadfast Yan-

kee farmer, Brave and godly, with four sons—all stalwart men of might; There he spoke aloud for Freedom, and the Borderstrife grew warmer,
Till the Rangers fired his dwelling, in his absence

in the night-And Old Brown, Osawatomie Brown, Came homeward in the morning—to find his house

Then he grasped his trusty rifle, and boldly fought for Freedom; Smote from border unto border the fierce, invading

band; And he and his brave boys vowed—so might Heaver help and speed 'em !— They would save those grand old prairies from the curse that blights the land; And Old Brown,

Osawatomie Brown, Said- Boys, the Lord will aid us!' and he shoved And the Lord did aid these men, and they labored day and even, Saving Kansas from its peril—and their very lives

seemed charmed;
Till the Ruffians killed one son, in the blessed light of heaven— In cold blood the fellows slew him, as he journeyed all unarmed; Then Old Brown-

Osawatomie Brown, Shed not a tear, but shut his teeth, and frowned a Then they seized another brave boy-not amid the heat of battle, ut in peace, behind his plough-share—and they loaded him with chains,

And with pikes, before their horses, even as they goad their cattle. Drove him, cruelly, for their sport, and at last blew out his brains; Then Old Brown,

Osawatomie Brown, Raised his right hand up to Heaven, calling Heaven's vengeance down. And he swore a fearful oath, by the name of the Al-

mighty, He would hunt this ravening evil, that had scathed and torn him so-He would seize it by the vitals; he would crush i day and night: he Would so pursue its footsteps—so return it blow

That Old Brown, Osawatomie Brown. Should be a name to swear by in backwoods or in Then his beard became more grizzled, and his wild

blue eye grew wilder, And more sharply curved his hawk's-nose, snuffing And he and the two boys left, though the Kansas strife waxed milder,

Grew more sullen, till was over the bloody Border War, And Old Brown. Osawatomie Brown, Had grown crazy, as they reckoned by his fearful

So he left the plains of Kansas and their bitter woe Slipt off into Virginia, where the statesmen all are Hired a farm by Harper's Ferry, and no one knew where to find him, Or whether he had turned parson, and was jacketed

For Old Brown, Osawatemie Brown, Mad as he was, knew texts enough to wear a parson's

He bought no plows and harrows, spades and shovels or such trifles :
But quietly to his rancho there came, by every Boxes full of pikes and pistols, and his well-beloved Sharp's rifles; And eighteen other madmen joined their leade

there again. Says Old Brown, Boys, we have got an army large enough to whip the

Whip the town, and seize the muskets, free the ne groes, and then arm them— Carry the County and the State; aye, and all the potent South; On their own heads be the slaughter, if their victim

rise to harm them—
These Virginians! who believed not, nor would heed the warning mouth.'

Says Old Brown, Osawatomie Brown · The world shall see a Republic, or my name is no JOHN BROWN!

'T was the sixteenth of October, on the evening of 'This good work,' declared the Captain, 'shall be on a holy night!'
It was on a Sunday evening, and, before the noon of

Monday, With two sons, and Captain Stephens, fifteen pri-vates—black and white— Captain Brown, Osawatomie Brown,
Marched across the bridged Potomae, and knocked
the sentinel down;

Took the guarded armory building, and the muskets

Captured all the country majors and the colonels, one by one; Scared to death each gallant scion of Virginia they And before the noon of Monday, I say, the deed

Osawatomie Brown, With his eighteen other crazy men, went in and took

Very little noise and bluster, little smell of powder,

made he; It was all done in the midnight, like the Empe

ror's coup d'etat:

Cut the wires: stop the rail-cars: hold the streets
and bridges!' said he—

Then declared the new Republic, with himself for

Then was riding and railroading and expressing here

and thither!
And the Martinsburg Sharrshooters, and the

And the Shepherdstown and Winchester Militia

Old Brown was said to muster his ten thousand gren-

Behind whose rampant banner all the North was

But at last, 't is said, some prisoners escaped from Old

And the effervescent valor of Ye Chivalry broke

When they learned that nineteen madmen had the

marvellous assurance—
Only nineteen—thus to seize the place, and drive

But to storm with all the forces we have mentioned

Osawatomie Brown

And old Brown.

his clay; And Old Brown,

known the country o'er. .. Hang Old Brown,

laid him down.

Osawatemie Brown, Saw his sons fall dead beside him, and between them

How the conquerors were their laurels-how they How the conquerors were trials—
hastened on the trials—
How Old Brown was placed, half-dying, on the
Charlestown Court-House floor—
How he spoke his grand oration, in the scorn of-all

denials—
What the brave old madman told them—these are

But, Virginians, do n't do it ! for I tell you that the

flagon, Filled with blood of Old Brown's offspring, w

first poured by Southern hands; And each drop from Old Brown's life-veins, like the

red gore of the dragon,

May spring up a vengeful Fury, hissing through
your slave-worn lands;

And Old Brown,

May trouble van more than ever, when you've nailed

companies from Shepherdstown, Charlestown, Wir

chester, and elsewhere, but the armed and unorgan-ized multitude largely predominated, giving the affair

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

e? will frail Virginia dar

Strike the rash blow ?-blood-seal the martyr-

JOHN BROWN.

Will she not fear the spirit from his tomb,

That when it strikes, will beat no empty air?
Spirit, not phantom; be it then her care
To lull the giant, rising even now;
To wipe the dastard drops from her pale brow,
And her own heart with other heart compare.
Thought yet, but how soon may it action be!

Glowing to save—ay, save from anarchy.

Ah! none so blind as they who will not seeNo State so weak as dotard chivalry!

ing as well as important convocation.

ious to particularize any.

Lenox Remond.

Nickerson and Z. H. Godfrey.

Thought carnest, brave, ready to serve the right Thought daring—looking to the dawning light,

THE LIBERATOR.

The annual Anti-Slavery Convention for this coun-

Two more beautiful days for a Convention could

the imitation of any town,-hearty in their friend-

ship, generous and sympathetic. This fact must have

been noted by all. Very obviously, it was not a ques-

tion where a stranger might go with the certainty of

At 2 o'clock, P. M., (Saturday,) the Convention

met, and was called to order by Zebina H. Small,

who was, on motion, chosen President of the meet-

ing, and Edward Coombs, Secretary. A Financial

with them, and had ventured his life for their deliv-

erance. He concluded by presenting for the consid-

eration of the meeting the following resolutions :-

THE STATUE OF WEBSTER.

Resolved, That the placing of the statue of Daniel

Webster in the State-House grounds in Boston is a

gratuitous, mean, and wicked homage to the Slave

Power, and a fresh stab at human freedom, and there-

fore an insult to Massachusetts; and we hereby

pledge ourselves never to cease our labor for its re-

moval till it shall disappear from public view.

doom?

Osawatomie Brown,

General Brown,

Osawatomie Brown!!

guiding star-This Old Brown,

hastened whither

adiers!

pouring down.

Brown's durance,

them frightened forth; And old Brown,

ance; and, failing to do this, she covers herself with was done. Mad old Brown,

slavery who may be found within her borders. THE HARPER'S PERRY INSURPRECTION. Osawatomie Brown!

And the bold two thousand citizens ran off and left

2. Resolved, That Capt. John Brown and his

ers should do unto you. in taking and holding Harper's Ferry,-in defending

us all with a nobler manly courage! Found an army come to take him, encamped around

was too risky; So they hurried off to Richmond for the Govern MENT MARINES—
Tore them from their weeping matrons—fired their souls with Bourbon whiskey—
Till they battered down Brown's castle with their ladders and machines;

Osawatomie Brown, Received three bayonet stabs, and a cut on his brave others, and adopted. Five consecutive meetings were held, commencing Tallyho! the old Virginia gentry gathered to the bay-

In they rush and kill the game, shooting lustily away;*
And whene'er they slay a rebel, those who come too late for slaying, Not to lose a share of glory, fire their bullets in

> NEW YORK, Nov. 15, 1859. DEAR GARRISON :- I have just returned from a brief sojourn in Kansas, and thought a hasty sketch of some ing to you. I reached St. Louis Saturmy evening. Sept. 5. Sunday morning, secured a passage on the steamer War Eagle, Capt. Wright, bound up the Missouri. I then took a turn about the city, to see what better observance of the day, by compelling the lager beer saloons and grog shops to be shut up. Being submitted to a vote of the people, they decided by a

emn faces of the pious throng as they wended their attention was attracted to a procession of men and women approaching me. First, came two villanous two white men; then twenty-one blacks, the rear • The hunt was up—woe to the game enclosed within that fiery circle! The town was occupied by a thousand or fifteen hundred men, including volunteer guarded by three more whites. After closely scrutimore the character of a great hunting scene than that of a battle. The savage game was holed beyond all possibility of escape. — Virginia Correspondent of Harper's Weekly. a day, but to cover broken hearts, torn and lacerated by cruel separations from friends and kindred, to the ound of the tolling Sabbath-bells of St. Louis. We marched to a New Orleans steamer at the lower end of the levee, where these thirty-nine human beings were consigned to a Southern market. The ringing sounds of the iron manacles that were to secure these poor creatures from flight closed the scene, and brought o my remembrance the declaration of the prophet :--When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood. Thus I received the lesson for the day, and felt my experience

to the domestic slave trade, seasoned with prayer and

the St. Louis Democrat :-

unfortunately, too old to mend my manners in that respect.

tion was convulsed with the discussion of the same subject; when policy and expediency triumphed over the humanity of the people, as it was urged that they

DEMAND FOR A PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

I. Resolved, That Massachusetts, by disarming the fugitive slave who comes upon her soil, and forbidding him to defend himself against a MAN-HUN-ding him to defend himself against a MAN-HUN-TER, lays herself under the strongest possible obligation to give him protection from arrest and annoy-ritorial delegate to Congress. I heard your Mr. Bur
DEMAND FOR A PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

ample hunting-grounds secured to them by treaty, never again to be molested. Lane is the man who never again to be molested. Lane is the man who never again to be molested. Lane is the man who never again to be molested. Lane is the man who never again to be molested. He is a sale of that peculiar species of property very untenable, whiled his neighbor Jenkins, because they could not any rooms and good board, that having opened house are to draw water from the same well. He is a member of the Methodist Church, in good standing, pleased to favor him with their patronage.

Boston, Sept. 10, 1859.

If