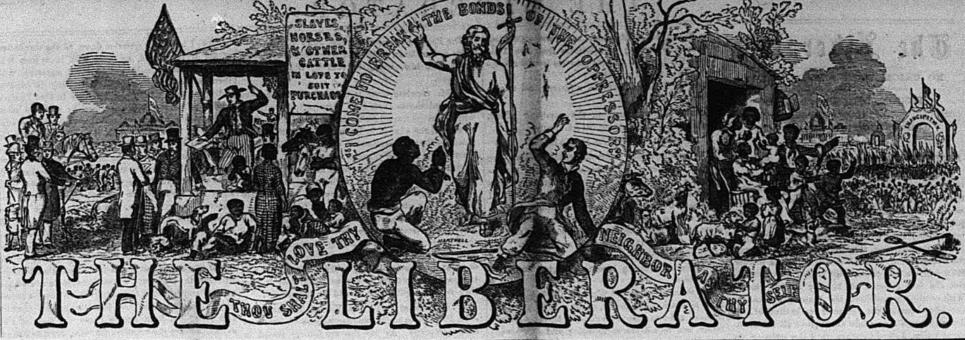
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B" The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the able of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-AND OUNCY, SANUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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 Pathers, in

PRAMING 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 of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 49.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1859.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1510.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE NEW YORK PULPIT ON THE HAR-PER'S FERRY INVASION. On Thursday last, the day of public Thanksgiv-

ag, many of the clergy of this city took the opporthe recent disturbance of the public her by the invasion of a neighboring State. It gas fitting to embrace this occasion for such a purps. Among the numerous causes for national Tonksgiving, not the least and one of the greatest s, that a four conspiracy, designed to plunge the suntry into the horrors of civil war, has been deeasitry into the norticipators arrested, and all the tested, its chief participators arrested, and all the immediate actors put to death or held in the firm grisp of justice. For this, every Christian patriot gives d thanks out of the depths of his heart. Had the onspiracy gained the eclat expected by its infamous authors, instead of a Thanksgiving, we should al-eady have had the country in arms, and many por-tions of it deached in service or fraternal blood. It was this fact that moved the pastors of this and ther cities to make the day an occasion for giving sticrance to their sentiments on this momentous

There is a sense in which the pulpit may be truly sid to reflect the sentiments of the people. Our of congregations, more than those in the country, are formed on the principles of elective affinity; ach church is more homogeneous than in places where there is but one of each Christian denominaion; and it is the happiness of our churches, if a man does not find in the pulpit the doctrines he likes, he can suit himself elsewhere. Thus it comes to pas that our pulpits and pews are of one mind an all the great questions that stir the heart of the

of the five hundred pulpits of this city, we beless that not five uttered a word of approbation of the John Brown invasion of Virginia. We do not speak with positive knowledge of any great number; but we know that the radical pulpit is the noisiest, and runs the most readily into the newspapers; that the sympathizors with the conspiracy are bla-tant in their denonciations of the law that has the nurierers in its righteous hands. And it is probahe that the most of those who prostituted the pulpit and the sanctuary to the defence and encouragement of crime, have been chronicled among the 'men of the times,' the 'champions of equal rights,' and

the defenders of liberty.'
Of the five hundred preachers in this city, we have heard of but Two who ventured to give the saction of their pulpits to the support of the highest crime perpetrated in this country since the trason of Benedict Arnold. One of these preachers, of course, was the man who curses from Union Square, and the other is still so obscure that we will not give him the notoriety he would be glad to get by a notice in the newspapers. On the other band, we hear from a large number of the most commanding, influential, popular and intelligent pulpits of this city, that they bore explicit, uniform, earnest and unanimous testimony against the conspiracy in all its features, designs, plans and acts; and with one voice they consented to the sentence of death pronounced upon the conspirators as just and necessary. Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the policy or expediency of executing the sentence, there is but one opinion among Christian patriots, that these convicted men deserve to die, according to the laws of God and man. The Rev. Dr. Osgood (Unitarian) said:—

·If I am asked more particularly what I think of the recent attempt to excite a servile insurrection in Virginia, I reply that I condemn it altogether, and that no sophism can be feebler than that which justi-

hes the deed on account of worthy personal traits in the originator. The deed is lawless and murderous. The Rev. Dr. Parker (Presbyterian) in connec tion with some remarks from which we dissent, said

of the invaders :-'They have nevertheless so violated those human laws which are indispensable to preserve States from anarchy, as to render themselves justly liable to the

Rev. Dr. Tyng, (Episcopalian,) with strong demunciations of slavery, protested against the violence of fanaticism. He said:—

'As a Christian, it was not his duty to make it the subject of acerbity or denunciation, or ribaldrous re-proach. As an American citizen, he had no right to encourage sectional animosity. He would not do evil that good might come—he would not violate the peace of God and man - would never give his sanction to any violence or tumult, would take no sword but the sword violence or tumult, would take no sword but the sword of the Spirit. And he could no more justify in others than in himself a violence and bloodshed from which his soul shrank back in abhorrence. He could not be spartaker in other men's sins, even if the object was to give liberty to his enslaved fellow-man. The day will come when the patient sufferer of wrong will be better than the wrong-doer. Meanwhile, they that take the sword must perish by the sword.

Rev. Dr. Potts, (Presbyterian,) whose views we have given at greater length in this paper, declared that he regarded the execution of the conspirators

'a just and necessary penalty.'
We have been thus particular in summing up the opinions of the metropolitan pulpit, that we may show the country the Christian sentiment of this city. It is a fairer, fuller, and more satisfactory expression of feeling than it would be possible to gather from any promiscuous assemblage that might be gathered, however large and respectable. We ou know there is not a handful of men in the North so base as to approve of the John Brown conspiracy and invasion. We have thought it might be well to hold public meetings all over the land, to give utterance to the indignation with which the crime is reprobated, but we find no pulpits and no process entitled to respect which justify it, and we may consider the Thanksgiving sermons of New York as the united testimony of the intelligent Christian people of the North in favor of the

Union, the law and the right.

Instead of fearing that the chief conspirator will be deified, or even exalted to the rank of a martyr, the day is not distant, and even now is, when every apright, virtuous citizen of these United States, who is not blinded by fanaticism, will regard him and his conditions as convicted traitors, whose de-ligns were baffled by the good Providence of God.

CLERICAL ADMIRERS OF OLD BROWN, THE MURDERER.

Rev. Rollin H. Neale, who opened the Brown re needs nothin H. Neale, who opened the Brown re-lief meeting in Tremont Temple by praying 'espe-cially for him (Old Brown, the murderer) who has as extensively excited the public sympathy and ap-probation,' preached for Dr. Murdock, at the Bow-doin Square Baptist Church, on Thanksgiving Day. Although there was no service at his own church, and Dr. Neale 'delivered a short and highly appro-priate sermon upon the relationship of families,' it some that the reversed geneticman colly about half

sensation prayers, approving of Old Brown's rascalities, simply to please such men as Emerson, Phillips, & Co. This speaks well for the good sense of
Dr. Neale's and Dr. Murdock's societies. Let the
abolition agitators talk to bare walls. Dr. Neale is
backed, in his 'admiration' of Old Brown, by Rev.

knaves.

A. L. Stone, of Park Street Church. Indeed, quite

A reverend minister of Christ endorsing the ' piety'

-that sum of human villainy-will receive so fatal

truth, and each one that falls is a bountiful spring

Yea, the reverend gentleman is bound to rejoice,

and the Northwest. Boston is crowded with them.

They write for newspapers; they preach sermons;

setts in the revolution, as though she carried upon

law as a virtue, and think obedience a mark of ser-

vility. We make and print extracts from these affi-

noral and intellectual qualities of Brown, and it

of men in Ohio depict the characteristics of men in dassachusetts who make up the Abolition party of

this State, and who inspire and lead in the aggressions upon the South of the Republican party. It is difficult to believe that very many of our fellow-

citizens in Boston did not sit for the portrait.

jects, but ferocious and unreasonable upon the sub-ject of slavery, is urged as a reason why he should

be considered a subject for the clemency of Governor Wise. Can not that be said of very many, if not most, of the Abolitionists of the North? Could we

not well enough make oath that Wendell Phillips

or Ralph Waldo Emerson were men of integrity and honesty insomuch as they never committed forgery,

or committed larceny of any thing recognized property in Massachusetts? Could we not say that they are Christians, if extinction of human slavery

what the affiants deem the

shower on the buried seed '?

RED-THROATED REBELLION.

a number of the reverend clergy who preach within a quarter of a mile of the Music Hall now seem to The people of Virginia have already begun to hold take their key-notes from Theodore Parker, and are county meetings to provide means of peaceful retal-doing his work for him during his absence in Eu-If Mr. Parker does not return soon, he will majority of the North, who inspire men to murder

find that the Neales, Mannings, A. L. Stones, and Belchers have decoyed his whole congregation into their pews. Rev. Mr. Stone preached in this wise on Thanksgiving Day about Old Brown:—

'Well night every voice, North or South, that names bery, the murder, the treason. The conservation of the more pressive majority. They have set on footable reservations of the conservation of the murder, the treason. The Democrats of the the staunch old veteran, names him with respect and bery, the murder, the treason. The conservative admiration. • • • • Folly, and insanity, and minority are not in fault. The Democrats of the wickedness'! Yes, we can all say so now. At least North are not in fault. The awful responsibility is we can pronounce upon the folly and insanity. But in sifting the motives of that heart that lead the way its simplicity, its honesty, its piety—I mean what I aim saying, and believe it, too—its piety, its utter absence of revengefulness, malignity, ferocity and passion; for one, judging the man, and not the act, I cansion; for one, judging the man, and not the act, I cannot call it wickedness.'

They will do it, if need be, with arms in their hands.

Whenever the contest comes between the South and
Republican functions, the Democrate of the North Republican fanaticism, the Democrats of the North will be with the South. Whenever the fanaties arm of a convicted murderer! It is superfluous to com- to fight the South, that instant will they find a for ment upon such profanity.

Rev. Mr. Miner, of the School Street Universalist Constitution, and will live in Union with the South. Society, also defended at length the murderous foray of Brown, denominating him an 'old hero,' &c.

Last, and perhaps least, comes Rev. Mr. Belcher, They will rather at the point of the bayonet be driv-

of Baldwin Place. With visions of what he called a 'groaning board,' which was to greet each one of lish hearers after meeting, the reverend agitator was bound to 'thank God' for everything—even that though we do fear cessation, for a time, of our peace-Old Brown is going to be hung! He 'bust out 'at ful prosperity. We fear a pause in our career of commercial greatness. We fear acts of retaliation which 'No man in the North, said the speaker, ought any will seriously damage our fishing, shipping and manlonger to keep silence, when Northern men are to be subject to the hangman for the sake of a principle. triment to the reputation of our business men for John Brown will undoubtedly be hung. 'Tis well. public honor, public faith, and patriotic devotion to He headed insurrection, and became accountable for the common weal. Therefore, if there be a conser-bloodshed, and must be hung. 'Tis well, I repeat. 'Tis better than that he should live. Should I live unto the day, I will thank God for the hanging of John Brown. • • I believe that God has wiscultant with the should be that the weill stand between them and red-throated the common weal. Therefore, if there be a conserpermitted the movement, and furthermore, that on rebellion !- Boston Post.

day that man is hung, the whole system of slavery There were twelve hundred thousand votes cast tab, that it will never recover. Therein I rejoicer Mr. Buchanan in the free States-a large body yea, I will rejoice—seeing in it the progress of human freedom. For this reason I shall thank God for the for the Abolitionists to subdue before they can cor hanging of John Brown. There must be a martyr to quer the slave States .- Boston Post.

Does the Boston that whilom idolized Daniel Webster for his devotion to the Constitution, now accept the words of its fanatical clergymen and of even with exceeding great joy! Therein he rejoices its unscrupulous political demagogues, as its real sunscruptulous political demagogues, as its real sentiment as to downright treason? Have its merchants, its manufacturers, its professional walks fallen so low as to allow the shallow stuff apologetic of treason and murder, absolutely contemptible in the state of the sta selves with ashes on the second of December. 'Tis well'! This pastor has already sounded his horn, and made his part of the noise. 'Tis better' there should be one mourner less on that occasion. A couple of 'martyrs to truth' is one better than only one. Why can't Mr. Belcher head another Harper's Ferry invasion, and fall 'as a bountiful spring per's Ferry invasion, and fall 'as a bountiful spring pression of Boston, as to the Harper's Ferry tragedy, as uttered by those who have assumed to speak for it, has been as worthless a mess as ever insulted com-THE AFFIDAVITS.

Referring to the numerous affidavits procured by

We well know what, in private talk, those who

Mr. Hoyt, in Ohio, to show that insanity is a hereditary disease in John Brown's circle of relationship, the Boston Post says:—

We well know what, in privace the could speak worthily for Boston, we mean its intelligent business men, say to all this. They indignantly deny that either John A. Andrew, the dignantly deny that either John A. Andrew, the If our readers will peruse these affidavits with American Republican leader, or the clerical politicare, and analyze their statements of the description of Brown, we think they will agree with us in saying, that in this relation they do but describe an Abolitionist of the Wendell Phillips, Emerson and Manning school. They do but describe an Application of the Wendell Phillips, Emerson and Manning school. Manning school. They do but make a portrait of a furious Abolitionist, a person whose like can be found in quantities in New England, New York, and the Northwest. customed to say; and at times they will back up their say by a full rounded oath against the misguithey declaim in magazines; they print books; they get up abolition fairs, and abolition meetings generally. They babble about the superiority of the North over the South; they talk about Massachu
But, we appeal to such men, what do these individual protests, however earnest, amount to? Have

vidual protests, however earnest, amount to? Have they a whit stayed back the Abolition tide? Is setts in the revolution, as though she earlied upon the war of independence; they stupidly believe that the war of independence; they stupidly believe that the Weight with the Union as with it. They talk about rebellion to must have the adjuncts of organization and discipline? that there must be joint action in the minds pline? that there must be joint action in the minds who hold views in common, if they would make them felt? It is such action only as will give efficacy to those who, amidst the present lamentable perversion, still hold to the Constitution, and sustain it. Let men who talk thus but resolve to declare themselves independent of the ultra men, in every political way, on every political occasion, and they will do their duty. Let them unite to give expression to their views, and let this expression disown and indignantly reject the traitorous sentiment of the Abolitionists; and Boston would once more resume the old The gist of all these affidavits in relation to Brown, when carefully analyzed, will be found to consist in affirming him to be a man of integrity of character, of mild disposition, but frantic, furious, incapable of reasoning himself, and impatient of reason in others, on the subject of slavery. The fact that he is mild and reasonable upon most subjects, but ferreigns and demagogues would then know where they were; and those among us who would endorse treason and disunion might be oked on, so feeble would they be, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it.

We see no other power, save the Democratic party, that can be relied upon to the same of the

that can be relied upon to stay the ruin that threat-ens our country; but if others cannot see their path of duty to act in this way, then let them, in this free country, choose another way. But a declaration of independence from the ultra leaders, the carriers or of the war against the Constitution, the authors of personal liberty bills, the removal of Judges for executing the laws, and the endorsers of Brown's treason, is due to the consistency, the honor, the patriotism of the men of Boston who mean to uphol the Constitution of their country.—Boston Post.

A PUBLIC MEETING.

they are Christians, it extinction of numan stavery at any hazard to bond and free is Christianity?

Could we not depose that they were mild, sensible and judicious upon most subjects, but furiously mad in respect to the constitutional relation of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we also black races in the South? In a word, can we question which now stirs the Union-loving hearts the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we question which now stirs the Union-loving hearts the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white are the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and black races in the South? In a word, can we have the respect to the constitution of the white and the respect to the constitution of the white and the respect to the constitution of the white and the respect to the constitution of the white and the respect to the constitution of the white and the respect to the constitutio and black races in the South. The South is predicate, word for word, of nearly every Abolitionist among us, just what is predicated in the affidavits of John Brown?

And yet it is gravely assumed that these qualises, the Temport House lest evening was worthy throughout the republic, has aroused patriotic men ties, these manifestations, make a man insane, and ering at the Tremont House last evening was worthy absolve him from moral or legal responsibility! of the best days of Boston. It was determined by absolve him from moral or legal responsibility! of the west and the North who inspire this insane those who are among our most eminent merchants warfare upon the South, who make the brain and heart of the Republican party, are now pronouced bereft of reason, and confirmed lunatics. Is it not so? If John Brown is a madman, then are not the men in Massachusetts, who answer to the description in these affidavits, madmen? If Gov. Wise which is now hurrying us to untold woe. The prothis insane those who are among our most eminent merchant tion in these affidavits, madmen? If Gov. Wise pardons him, then must he not pardon all the Abolitionists who, like Brown, 'are incapable of reasoning on the subject of slavery,' and make attempt
to 'steal or coax away from Virginia niggers?'
John Brown may be a lunatic, but if these affidaand attest anew their 's sacred maintenance of the
and attest anew their 's sacred maintenance of the
and attest anew their 's sacred maintenance of the
common and true devotion to the common some that the reverend gentleman only about half wits set forth correctly why he is a lunatic, and the common bond, and true devotion to the common bond, and true devotion to the common brotherhood. Boston Post.

An informal meeting of many of our leading citizens was held at the Tremont House, last evening,
to make arrangements for an assembly at Faneuil
Hall, some day next week, to express their views
upon public affairs. The feeling was one of entire
unanimity in regard to the propriety of anew declaring their devotion to the Union and Constitution, and
the slavery propagandists for the past few years.
While the Democratic party in contempt of the
great ideas of justice and equal rights, upon which
the civil and social fabric can only be built safely,
are hounding on the ery for more negroes and more
plantations, the Republican party have done what disapprobation of recent outrages at the South, and especially of fanatical demonstrations at home. We have no doubt that such a meeting will be held as has seldom, if ever, come together in this Commonwealth, and one which will tend not only to reast the such madness leads, and will mitigate its severity, if, in spite of their warnings and influence, wealth, and one which will tend not only to reast that the such madness leads, and will mitigate its severity, if, in spite of their warnings and influence, we have one heathern and the such madness leads, and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, when the such madness leads and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, when the such madness leads and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, when the such madness leads are such as the such madness leads and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, when the such madness leads are such as the such madness leads and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, when the such madness leads are such as the such madness leads and will mitigate its severity if, in spite of their warnings and influence, we have the such madness leads and will be such madness leads and sure our brethren in other parts of the country, but No thoughtful man can read the disclosures atalso to promote a far better state of feeling amongst tending this invasion, defeat, and trial of Brown, ourselves. We need nothing but a concentration of without being struck with the large and liberal the patriotic sentiment widely diffused among the structure of the man. Sitting at our ease at home,

The New York Journal of Commerce says that the courage which deems brave words a poor substitute following incendiary hand-bill was received, a few for brave deeds in the service of humanity. His days since, 'by a highly respectable citizen, an A- elemency to his prisoners, his carefulness to avoid as merican by birth, a patriot and a Christian, to whom long as possible the shedding of blood, show that it was addressed through the Post-Office. The envelope was post-marked Montgomery, Alabama, Nov. 25. The carrier who delivered it remarked to our inance, addressed to other persons in his beat. It is Christian principles. The frankness with which he [CONFIDENTIAL.]

TO THE IRISH FRIENDS OF THE SOUTH, In the Northern Cities.

Fellow-Citizens:-You who have always been true to the Constitution and the South-who have never degraded yourselves to the level of the African race, as the dirty Free-Soilers do—you are aware that the borders of Virginia have been profaned by the tread of the Free-Soil assassin. The South looks to its Irish friends in the large free cities to effect a his trial. diversion in its favor, and for this purpose the United Constitutional Irish Association has been formed, of which some of you are (and doubtless all will be) members. In the great cities, prominent Free-Soilers and Abolitionists own large factories, stores and granaries, in which vast sums (made out of the South) are invested. This fact furnishes a means of checking their aggressions on the South; and the Irish friends of the South are relied on to make the check effective. Property is proverbially timid.—
Nor do we quite think Virginia can afford to hang
Whenever a hay stack or cotton gin is burned at
Old Brown. It is not well to give his fascinating the South, by Free-Soil emissaries, let a large factory or a plethoric store, or an immense granary, in New York or Boston, be given to the flames. To New York or Boston, so given to the second to must be true make this course safe, your association must be true pathos and poetry, and the better for being true, to itself and its principles; method, caution, your double secrecy, will insure the safety of the actors. lows tree; nay, to cry it for sale all over the world! Southern gentlemen will be constantly among you, amply supplied with means to remove those whose

Let us urge you to disseminate among your fellowidea that you have not wages proportioned to the present high scale of prices. When once the mass of your countrymen are filled with the RESPONSE TO 'THE CRY OF VIOLENCE.' notion that the Free-Soil capitalists are withholding the price of Irish labor, while trying to incite the negro of the South to rebellion, it will be easy ough to gather large mobs of your brethren, and when large mobs assemble, ware-houses may be burst open or fired. Be careful, however, that only the property of Abolitionists is harmed: every where hen large mobs assemble, ware-houses may be burst pen or fired. Be careful, however, that only the roperty of Abolitionists is harmed: every where rotect those who are friendly to the South and true

that for every dollar's worth of injury to our one. And weeping stream, awake the groaning deep; mies in the Northern Factories, &c., &c., by riot or And let the instrument take up the song, the torch, the South will amply compensate, and, besides, furnish you a safe refuge and a homestead.

Remember to apply at once to your Foreman, for particular instructions. If he should not be able In garb of widowhood, and gather all The waves into a great archway of the universe, In garb of widowhood, and gather all The waves into a great and utter it. (which is not likely) to inform you, show this privately to some Irish gentleman of intelligence, after ascertaining his feelings towards the South. Thousent by Irish people in the South, to their friends at the North.

Among the first thoughts awakened in my mind by the news of the War at Harper's Ferry are those

November 23, 1859.

SELECTIONS.

OSAWATOMIE BROWN.

Every paper that has come to us for the last month, treason against the 'Higher Law'; and every man has been devoted to the Osawatomie man, who has been enacting a feat more like an old legend, or a ginia's sentence on that man becomes particeps crimdream that an enthusiast sometimes permits himself to imagine in his waking moments, than a sober, actual transaction to fill a place in the history of

the 19th century.
We need not, at this late day, say that the enterthat it was treasonable. Of course, it was treason-boldness, to the insulted throne of Zion's King able. The old man put his neck fairly into it, and the King of Daniel and the three worthies, all c

t our nervous apprehensions and vehement disclaimare our nervous apprenensions and venement disclaimers, as long as we care to gratify them in that way.

The more we deprecate and deny, the louder and more brutal will be their accusations. It seems to us that it would have been more dignified and decorous in our people and presses to have left Gov. Wise to hang such of the invaders of his slave-pens as he had not already shot, and the Democratic reports to had not already shot, and the Democratic papers to do the proper amount of howling over the occur-

If twenty Old Browns repeat the experiment during the coming winter, we do not know what tendency such events would have to change our views of the great public questions that have been discussed before the people the last six years. If the whole mass of the slaves rise in insurrection, as Jefferson Rev.Mr.Grosvenor was formerly President of McGrawvilleCollege

THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION. predicted they one day would, it will be a most for

people of Massachusetts, to enable it to exercise the pursuing our petty aims of gain and praise, we are most salutary influence.—Boston Courier. dwarfed in the comparison with a character in whom the torpor of age has not been able to quench the The New York Journal of Commerce says that the victim has not made him misanthropic, and that his wild phantasy of bringing in the kingdom of God by the sword, has not blotted out the gentler instincts formant that he had several others of the same appear- of a kindly nature, nor overthrown the sanction of probable that a large number of the same have been has avowed his chimerical but heroic purposes, the forwarded to different places at the North and West. cheerfulness with which he has expected and solicited his fate, his disdain of the offered plea of insanity, exhibits a soul as faithful to truth as that of the most glorious of the Christian martyrs. To take the life of such a man may become a political neces-sity, but when a good man is punished, it is a terri-ble judgment upon the laws, the customs, the institutions of society. That Brown is a good man,—a man of an upright and pure soul, fit to associate with the self-devoted martyrs of earlier ages,—no one can doubt who reads the narrative of his conversation and demeanor when under arrest and on

> Such a man ought not to be executed. The world has too few such heroes to spare one. If old Brown's life could be bought by a holocaust of meaner men, the country might well afford to ransom him by sending car-fulls of such creatures as Vallandigham to suffer the penalty in his stead. No virtue or nobleness would perish out of the world, should the Almighty break the mould in which the plastic dough

is moulded into such common and cheap forms.

Nor do we quite think Virginia can afford to hang example such a seal of sanction as martyrdom would give it. For it is a thing to be forgotten, not glorified. Here is Uncle Tom's Cabin, with all its Take care lest some one else in love with glorious amply supplied with means to remove those whose patriotism has subjected them to suspicion. Besides, many friends will be found both among Southern steamers' crews, Railway Conductors and the police. In fact, you will find friends and funds on every hand. Be energetic, therefore—go at once to your Foreman, and see if he cannot introduce you to the association, if you are not already a member.

Let a ure very the disseminate among ways follow:

In the case down to the Old Dominion to sund the blood of old Brown, and imitate his insanity!—When they began to shoot at Louis Napoleon, it became a disease, and so many poor Frenchmen caught it, and died of it every year. But proceed, Messieurs! Play the game out! Old Brown is good for the last as well as the first conflict with the oppression he hates.

From the American Baptist. 'Go to, ye wicked, weep and howl; for all That God hath written against you is at hand: The cry of yiolence has reached His car— Hell is prepared, and Justice whets his sword. o the Constitution.

Irishmen! the South relies on you! Depend on it,

And dismal vales, sigh to the sorrowing brooks;

And sorrowing brooks, weep to the weeping stream Thy waves into a groan, and utter it, Long, loud, deep, piercing, dolorous, immense— The occasion asks it! SLAVERY dies—and God And angels come to lay her in the grave.'

by the news of the War at Harper's Ferry are those expressed in the preceding extract, in which I have

changed but one word.

The mourning invoked is not supposed to spring from the death and burial of slavery, but from its infinite sinfulness in its rebellion against the government of God, and in the unparalleled injustice it perpetrates and cruelties it inflicts. 'The cry of violence has reached his ears.' Talk of the 'treasor,' of Lohn Rooms against the government of It is no use. Old Brown will have his day. He son' of John Brown against the government of is the hero of the hour, and fills every ear with the Virginia and of the United States! Both of these story of his daring, of his fall, and of his fate.— governments are indisputably committing high governments are indisputably committing high treason against the 'Higher Law'; and every man

inis of that treason.

The fifth chapter of the Epistle of James is exo imagine in his waking moments, than a sober, ictual transaction to fill a place in the history of the 19th century.

We need not, at this late day, say that the enterprise of old Brown was rash. That very commonplace observation has been sufficiently repeated. Nor place observation has been sufficiently repeated. Nor boldness, to the insulted throne of Zion's King—patriot go solemnly and humbly, yet with holy boldness, to the insulted throne of Zion's King—patriot go solemnly and humbly. able. The old man put his neck fairly into it, and took the risk. To succeed, was the liberation of the slaves, and the reorganization of the government. To fail, was certain death to himself and all his confederates. To venture upon such a risk, where the chances of failure were as a thousand to one, shows a courage and devotion worthy of our wonder and admiration.

Nor do we write now to exculpate the Republican party of the responsibility of the affair. Our political opponents understand our weaknesses too well to believe in the trumpery charges they prefer against cal opponents understand our weaknesses too well to believe in the trumpery charges they prefer against not have been martyred in vain. The whole scope us They know very well that we are anxious of all things to succeed, and that conservatism and timidity are the vices of our organization; that we are feeling our way most carefully along the crooked path of expediency, putting out our hands upon both sides to feel the walls of popular propriety.

The Democrats will continue to amuse themselves The Democrats will continue to amuse themselves reign, contained in the 22d chapter of Jeremiah, are not prevented any propriety against the care slaves. Lovejoy and Torrey and Brown will not have been martyred in vain. The whole scope of God's religion demands the immediate abelition of all slavery, and of every form of oppression; nay, 'immediate' now is centuries too late. The long forbearance of mercy alone makes repentance and reformation of the forbearing Sovemay once more be rehearsed in the ears of slavery-

less asserter of the rights of man and of God.

I have expressed my opinions plainly; and that no other man may be liable to arraignment for them, I subscribe myself an uncompromising advocate of the faith of our fathers, that, 'among the equal rights with which God has endowed all men, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

CYRUS P. GROSVENOR.

From the Cincinnati [German] Republican, Oct. 22. JOHN BROWN. Such a man, in the person of John Brown,

[Translated for the Liberator.]

has just performed his last exploit on the battle-field of human emancipation. He was influenced by a noble enthusiasm for the rights of man, and by a thorough hatred of the specious attempt to perform impossibilities against slavery,—an attempt to whose unmanly, bloody and criminal results he had witnessed in the closest proximity—to which the life of two of his sons had fallen a sacrifice in the most horrible manner-which had ruined all his happiness in life here on earth, and had left him, pious, devoted Christian, only the belief in a freer world hereafter. All this vindicates his act in its motive and in its purpose. That it had no apparent result detracts nothing from its merit. That the means employed in the disturbance were not adapted to overcome opposition, was an error in calculation, which it is easy to forgive, when the calculation is induced by a generous enthusiasm, and by aversion to keep silent in regard to wickedness. The consequences of this act, therefore, are

not lost; the victims have not fallen in vain. When Orsini had thrown his bomb at Napoleon and no one perished because of it except himself and his confederates, thereupon a shrick of condemnation arose from the entire press, which represented the undecided multitude, namely, the Anglo-American press. Then Napoleon was supposed to be more firmly established than ever, because of this deed. And yet it was otherwise; by that bomb he was frightened into the Italian war; still in his troubled dreams he hears it exploding, and he is pushed forward by the sound on the road at the end of which lie the liberty of the people and his own grave. So it is with this act of Brown's; it has sounded the death-knell in the hearts of those whose prosperity is built upon crime, and it will find an echo in the hearts of the men forcibly held in bondage. It will remind the Republicans that progress cannot be made in easy chairs, but that it can be

nade only so far as opposition is overcome.

It is abominable, with what levity and with what fear of compromising themselves, so many editors of American newspapers, the Republican even, allow themselves to condemn the fallen MAN, in order to keep far from themselves the suspicion that they, perhaps, might also be MEN. We can say with satisfaction, that the German Republican newspapers have acted decidedly and honorably in recognizing the historical significance of Brown's exploit.

Brown has done as every champion of human reedom has done, since the beginning of the race. By the motive and the purpose of his action, he has secured himself a place among the martyrs of man-kind. This, and the full recognition of all free men, are his reward. The violated, absolute Law, his material weakness in the defence of Nature's law against the absolute,—this he will atone for with all that his adversaries can take from him.

But you-the dogs that bark after the noble game has fallen-over you the scourge is hanging, to speak to you in the only language that you under-

THE HARPER'S FERRY RISING.

Southern States of America were much more frequent than they have been of late years. When Garrison and the Abolitionists took up the cause of the slave, and avowed their determination to trust exclusively to a moral and peaceful agitation for the ultimate extinction of the great national crime, the whole negro population knew that their rights would have due representation in the strife of political parties, and for the first time were content to await patiently the result. The wisest leaders of the Abolitionists knew that fruitless risings only tended to aggravate the evils of slavery, and riveted still more firmly the chains which they aimed to unloose. The menaced slaveholding race, with the usual blind and cowardly instinct of fear, after every unsuccessful rising, exercised its power more jealously and severe-ly than before; while the more timid friends of aboition would recoil with aversion from a cause which

however just and noble in principle, became identi-however just and noble in principle, became identi-fied with the cause of political disruption and the horrors of a social revolution.

The Harper's Ferry rising is but an insignificant incident in the history of the great social struggle in America. Before this time it has probably been hopolessly crushed, and the usual savage severities of the conquering party will illustrate the vindic-tive, and at the same time the craven fears of the slaveholders. From the first it was badly planned and organized, and there is no reason to believe that it received the sanction, or was conducted under the investigation of any of the Abolitionist leaders.

while we condemn such ill-concerted insurrec-tions as foolish and politically inexpedient, we can-not denounce them as criminal. Whether the race struggling for freedom be white or black, our sym-pathies must always be on the side of those who manfully rise to throw off their chains. If we have ever entertained any doubts about the capabilities of the negro race, they arise from the very fact that they have so long borne slavery so patiently and submissively. An Anglo-Saxon race we proudly felt could never thus have been held in subjection. When all peaceful agitation has failed, and every other resource has been found hopeless, who can deny that a servile revolution becomes as justifiable as any of those famous up-risings of oppressed nationalities which have in every age contributed so large a portion of the heroic element in history? The real guilt of the bloodshed and revolution lies with the oppressors, with those who are perpetually adding a new shade of darkness to the national guilt, and who wilfully drive men in hopelessness to extreme meas-ures. These servile insurrections will probably benres. These servile insurrections will probably become more frequent in proportion as every other
means of abolishing slavery becomes fruitless. There
was a time when statesmen of all parties in America regarded slavery as a merely temporary and provisional arrangement, and looked forward to the day
when the chains of the slave would gradually be
struck off. But that time seems to have passed
away, and the cry of the Southern slaveholders now
is, that slavery is a divine institution and an inteis, that slavery is a divine institution and an inte-gral part of the social and political constitution of America. More slave territory, the revival of the iniquitous and illegal slave-trade, are now the popuiniquitous and illegal slave-trade, are now the popular demands. When such principles as these are becoming more and more prevalent, and slavery is regarded rather as a 'right' to be retained than an evil to be deprecated and ultimately abolished, the 'chivalrous' politicians of the South are doing all in their power to render noble and heroic every effort, however bloody, to throw off the yoke of slavery.—London Enquirer. slavery .- London Enquirer.

The place was well chosen, so far as being a depot The place was well chosen, so far as being a depot of arms, but badly as a centre of negro insurrection. The negroes in that part of Virginia are few, and those further south do not appear to have heard of his project. It was the wild effort of a kind of white Drep—of a prophet of vengeance, who fell in the attempt to luffil his own prophecy, and he now stands before his judges with all the confidence of an undaunted martyr. The South, however, appears to

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be in consternation; and well it may be. The slaves are, indeed, a quiet, docile, amiable race; but the slaveholders feel the terrors of the guiltiest of consciences. The very name of insurrection may well make them shudder, although in this case it was so absurdly arranged that success was hopeless. On the large cotten estates, isolated from the white population, where each master lives defended only by his own rifle, and where it needs but the spirit of self-sacrifice in a few, to enable the hundre thousands to tear their oppressors to pieces without a single weapon, it must be fearful to contemplate a Hence the aversion to the light of Christianity; hence the prohibiting slaves from learning to read; hence all the devices to keep them ignorant of anything but the rudest appliances of

The affair is, while we write, no doubt quite over, and Buows has died the death which he regards as an honor to his memory on earth, and as his passport to heaven. Yet, while we thus write, can we do so without a trembling glance at the future?-Slaveholders themselves, like the author of slavery, believe and tremble.' All that Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Independent, and Methodist preachers of Christ's gospel can say, does not con-vince the slaveholders of their own innocence, nor destroy their belief of those rights of man which ministers of the Gospel do all they can to subvert. Loud will be the denunciations of the pulpit, loud the declamation against Abolitionists, and against the Republican or Anti-Slavery party too, bt the denouncers had better be quiet. Should all the negroes rise by concert on one day, should they expel their unresisting masters, and kill those who fought them, theirs will be a juster cause than that of Washington. Let Americans ponder on this-if negroes could emancipate themselves by insurrection all the world would own that if it was glorious to rise to throw off taxes, it were much more glorious to rise to throw off chains. While all benevolen men would deprecate a negro insurrection, yet all lovers of liberty, all who care for human rights, would feel that no other insurrection for liberty could be equally justified. It is the consciousness of this fact that makes the thought of negro insur-rection terrible. It would be a righteous insurrec-tion.—London Freeman.

NORTHERN ABOLITIONISM.

The Abolitionism of the North, so far from making war on, or being inimical to, the institution of slavery, has been for the last twenty years its great safety valve: the escape pipe through which the dangerous element incident to slavery found vent. Prior to the existence of Abolitionism, outbreaks and fear-ful mutterings and threatenings among slaves, were frequent, and to the holders alarming. We can all trace back to the Nat Turners' and the Denmark Venzies' and others. The slave then had no hope of deliverance, except by his own right arm, however feeble. He saw no farther, and believing that it was appointed to man but once to die, felt willing to do so, or gain his liberty. But when Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his condjutors enunciated the doctrines of Abolitionism and Non-Resistance, the slave re-ceived a new and far different lesson. He was taught to hope for deliverance-to feel that he was not forsaken nor forgotten—that some day, however dis-tant, he would be enabled to lay aside his chains and be acknowledged a man. With these hopes the flerceness of his passions subsided, he agreed to sub-mit to his hard task, and thenceforth up till recently, but little comparative discontent has been manifested, and yet the South to this important fact has also been blind. Let her henceforth read Abolition journals and Abolition literature-let her read our paper, if she wishes to study and know the signs, and interpret the meaning thereof, as they appear in the moral horizon of the North, and be wise.— Anglo-African.

THE 'IRREPRESSIBLE' PANIC IN VIR-GINIA.

We give further particulars of the extraordinary state of alarm which prevailed throughout Virginia, in connection with the approaching execution of John Brown. A Virginia correspondent of the New York Times says :-

The present aspect of things in Virginia is gloomy, and ominous of a still more gloomy future. There is a prevailing feeling of uncertainty growing out of the Harper's Ferry insurrection, and its sad effect upon the relations of the two sections, which affects the very tenure of property itself, and impairs the patriotic relations of the citizen to the State. Patriotism rises not one jot beyond the point of self-protection, and even in this, its functions seem inadequate to the crisis, or at least, inadequate to give the necessary assurance of protection. It is needless to deny the fact; our people are dismayed and distracted to a degree which no change in the present state of affairs can materially

affect or remedy.

The colossal character of the evil which was the immediate cause of this feeling of insecurity, and the consequent despair of ever remedying it, is pro-ducing its effect upon the minds of large propertyholders in several parts of the State. They see nothing in the future but interminable strife, the end of which must be a material diminution in the value of all descriptions of property. The government of the country is deemed incapable of an effi-cient discharge of its fundamental obligations, and the spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism which was heretofore looked to as a counterbalance for this deficiency seems to have vanished as the very emergeney which needed their exercise arose. A insecurity in respect of life and property has nar-rowed down the sphere of patriotic labor to a concern about one's own peculiar or individual inter-

This is but the natural result of a want of confidence in the government and laws to give due protection to life and property. As a consequence of this conviction, I understand that several leading and wealthy families of the State contemplate selling out and moving to England, or some part of the continent of Europe, there to enjoy that security which their own government is unable to extend at home. Moreover, as I understand, they see in the present distracted state of the country, the basis of future conflict which would involve a serious depreciation in the value of a large amount of property that is now valuable; and they accordingly propose availing themselves of the present prosperous state of the times to dispose of their effects and quit.

The state of things, as it is estimated here, is truly anomalous. There is no actual war between the North and South, yet the panic is no less intense. The feeling is just such as pervades a people daily apprehensive of war, with this exception, that in the former instance, the apprehension and panie are destined to be enduring, because the cause permanent and irremediable, while in the latter. negotiation may be available in removing the casus

The effect of the present excitement in the South upon the negro population will be injurious in the extreme. All the incidents of the present crisis, the discussions relative to it, the preparations and musterings to repel abolition forays, are passing before their eyes and within their hearing. With very rare exceptions, the negroes are unable to read, and they rely almost entirely for information on what they can catch up, while waiting on the dinner or breakfast-table. There is generally some caution in keeping from them whatever would be calculated to enlighten them; but the existing excitement is so universal and so intense, and the discussions and preparations so unreserved, of necessity, as to make

concealment impossible.

They are thus more enlightened within the pas few weeks than they would be during an age o comparative peace, when such movements and dis cussions would not be necessary. The effect will probably be to arouse some dangerous aspiration, incompatible with the condition of slavery; and once insubordination sets in, the integrity of the institution is at stake. In every aspect relating to the interests of both sections of the country, I regard the late Harper's Ferry insurrection as the gree has yet befallen this country. Its baneful effects will long survive the present generation, and its influence will be daily developed in mutual hostility and retaliation between the people of the North and the South.

Brown and HIS Associates. The execution of Brown and his Associates. The execution of Brown has greatly depressed the remaining prisoners, and all, with the exception of Cook, are looking forward with certainty to their impending doom, and making religious preparations with sincerity and earnestness. Cook, evidently, has not yet abandoned his hope of commutation. Stevens has almost entirely recovered from his wounds. He has but little to say, and seems to be calm, quiet, and resigned. He is to be tried before the United States authorities, and he may possibly escape with States authorities, and the may possibly escape with imprisonment.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, DECEMBER 9, 1859.

GREAT MEETING IN BOSTON ON THE DAY OF THE

EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN. In accordance with a call through the newspapers of the city, and otherwise, an immense assemblage of the people of Boston gathered in the TREMONT TEMPLE have been during the day oppressed with sadness. on the evening of Friday, December 2d, the day ap- Many of you must have been affected in the sam pointed for the execution of John Brown, at Charlestown, near Harper's Ferry, in the State of Virginia. During the afternoon, the telegraph wires had brought the tidings of the old man's death, and of the wonderful composure and devout trust in God with which he met the fate inflicted on him by tyrants' hands. With conflicting emotions, the thousands who had learned to venerate the character and motives of John Brown, though they might not approve all his methods of action, flocked together until the walls of the Temple were crowded, to use the language of the Boston Journal, as probably they never were crowded before. Indeed, at 7 o'clock, half an hour before the time appointed for the proceedings to commence, not in the sympathy of the thousands and millions who only every seat, but every nook and corner of standing room were occupied, and it became necessary to anticipate the time fixed for opening. It is estimated that more than three thousand persons were unable to gain admittance within the spacious Temple.

The Hall had been surrounded with emblems and mottoes suitable to the occasion. There was no funeral drapory, the walls were not hung in black. Deep as was the grief of the day, faith, trust, and renewed consecration of spirit to the noblest and holiest of causes, were the feelings which evidently predominated; and it is certain that no meeting has ever assembled in Boston, in this day and generation, so fully pervaded and so deeply actuated by these feelings as this meeting was.

In front of the speaker's desk was a likeness of JOHN BROWN himself conied from the last photograph taken of him. It was surrounded by a cross, and around the whole was a wreath of evergreen and amaranth. Before the picture, and on each side of it. were three large printed placards, each bearing a sentence uttered by John Brown. They were as follows:

'I don't know what weakness may come over me; but I don't believe I shall ever deny my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, and I should deny Him if I denied my principles against Slavery.' -- John Brown. · I don't know as I can better serve the cause I love

so well than to die for it. - John Brown. What is life at best to me, so long as I hold a commission direct from God Almighty to act against sla-

very? '-John Brown. At the upper end of the hall, on each side of the organ, on similar placards, were the following :

· Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hands of the oppres-sor.'—Jereman 4: 12.

. Remember them that are in bonds as bound with

And upon either side of them, the following : ' Your late purchase of an estate, with a view cmancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble of Virginia or not, he has not had a fair trial, and his proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit execution is therefore butchery and murder, and the

of America, if I could have conceived that therety I was helping to found a nation of slaves.'-LAFAYETTE. Around the hall, and in front of the several gal-

eries, were other mottoes and passages as follows: Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto than the deliberate judicial assassination of John me in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor. Behold, I proclaim liberty for you, saith the Lord, to The Sword.

'I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that His justice cannot sleep forever. A revolution is among possible events. The Almighty has no attribute which would side with us

in such a struggle.'-Thomas Jefferson. more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.'-Thomas Jefferson.

' It is a debt we owe to the purity of our Religio to show that it is at variance with that low which warrants Slavery .- Give me Liberty, or give me Death!'-PATRICK HENRY, of Virginia.

· Whether on the scaffold high, Or in the battle's van,
The fittest place for man to die
Is where he dies for man.'

It will be seen that a large proportion of the above are the language of Virginia, and of her prominent

Directly in the rear of the desk, and facing the audience, was an elegantly painted banner, bearing the Arms and Seal of the recreant and fallen State of Virginia. In the centre was a manly figure, standing erect, with one foot upon the neck of a prostrate tyrant, from whose head and hands a crown and sceptre have just fallen, with the name Virginia, and the motto, 'SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS'-('So be it ever to Tyrants,") emblazoned upon it - as follows:-



most conspicuous of all the devices in the hall. It and oppressed. His object was, as he himself has told attracted much attention, and suggested the general us, not to commit treason or murder, nor to excite remark that John Brown was directly upheld, in his insurrection among the slaves, (designs which he alattempt to set free the slaves of Virginia, by the present ways repudiated,) but to aid Virginia's bondmen in instructions, as well as by the early example, of Vir-

In juxtaposition with the Coat of Arms of Virginia were the following extracts from the Constitution of Virginia:

platform and gallery, and raised a banner, which Bruce, Wallace, Hampden, Sidney, Toussaint, the displayed the following words :-

"He dies by the mandate of the Slave Power, yet still lives" by virtue of his heroic deeds." The unrolling of this banner was received with

very great cheering. THE ORGANIZATION. Shortly after 7 o'clock, Mr. Samuel May, Jr. arose

President-Samuel E. Sewall, Esq.

Vice Presidents-Rev. John Pierpont, Francis lackson, Rev. J. T. Sargent, Rev. J. F. Clarke, Edmund Quincy, Prince S. Crowell, James N. Buffum.

The list of officers was accepted, and the President meeting by reading from the Scriptures. He said blight the soil of Virginia. (Loud applause.)

John Brown was a Bible man, and it was appropriate to open this meeting by selections from the Holy Writ. He then read selected passages from the Scriptures suited to the occasion.

Rev. J. T. Sargent offered a fervent and solem

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq., the presiding officer then addressed the meeting, as follows :-

MR. SEWALL'S REMARKS. The vast assembly before me testifies to our de-

interest in the event which has summoned us togeth er. We meet, my friends, to manifest the feeling which the martyrdom of John Brown has excited. I manner. We are filled with the profoundest sorrow but not for him, the hero, saint, and martyr. We ought to shed no tears, when such a man is translated from pain and suffering here, to a brighter and happier sphere. Yet we must be moved when we think of the te

rible affliction of his family, of his wife robbed of her husband and two sons, of his children bereaved of their father, and by a death so appalling and heart-rending. But even in their agony they have this best and truest consolation, that though John Brown suffered the death of a traitor and felon, yet that he died guiltless of crime. They have, too, a farther consolation look with admiration on the character of their departed friend. For our country which has tolerated, fostered, and

extended slavery by its judges and legislators, we well may feel shame and sorrow. But when we turn to Vir ginia, the sorrow and pity which we feel for her degradation are mingled with scorn and indignation Virginia, the State whose chief support is the sale of her own sons and daughters!

From the moment when John Brown was taken orisoner, Virginia doomed him to death. But she dared to give him no trial even in her own courts, lest by some accident he might escape the fate she was preparing for him. For the mockery of a trial she accorded him was no trial.

John Brown is brought into court, indicted for trea son, murder, and attempting to excite the slaves to insurrection. He asks for a few days to engage cour sel and make his preparations. But this most reason able request, one which every Police Court in Massa chusetts would have granted to any person charged with the slightest offence, as a matter of course, Judge Parker refuses.

John Brown was brought into court Ising on hi bed, severely wounded, acting with pain, his hearing impaired, and his mind confused by his sufferings an bodily weakness. He asks for a little delay that he may recover his health sufficiently to go through the trial. But Judge Parker decides that the man is able to be tried; and the trial proceeds.

This proceeding reminds us of the Inquisition, secre tribunals, and the dark ages. Before such courts. man agonized by the torture was not only considered able to be tried, but the best fitted to be tried, be cause the object of the trial was, as in Virginia, no to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the charge against him, but to accomplish his conviction and punishment. Under these circumstances, whether John Brown

was technically guilty of any offence against the law might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country?'—Washington's Letter to Lafavette.

Suggested the diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country?'—Washington's Letter to in carrying out this judicial assassination. Better, far better, would it have been for the reputation of Virginia if John Brown had been lynched by the infuriated wretches who killed his companion, Thompson. The murder of Thompson, base, cruel, and fiendish as it seems to us, since it was done in the heat of blood, was far more creditable to Virginia Brown.

The state of Virginia has presented a strange speacle during the last few weeks. Conscience-stricker she has been convulsed with fear from end to end dreading the assaults not of white men from the North whom she well knew had no design of attacking any of her inhabitants, but dreading the acts of her own One hour of American Slavery is fraught with oppressed bondmen. The Governor has been riding forwards and backwards from Richmond to Charles. town and from Charlestown to Richmond, collecting thousands of troops, haranguing the people, making ecches to the militia, and issuing proclamat All these valorous military demonstrations strike us as preparations to meet a secret foe, which existed only in the excited imagination of the Governor.

I cannot help pitying Governor Wise. He feels for he has openly expressed it, admiration of John Brown. Supposing him to have common humanity. we cannot doubt he would have been glad to save John Brown's life. If he is a statesman, he could not but have seen that the execution of John Brown and his associates, so far from strengthening the southern institution, and rendering slaveholders secure and happy, must fill them with terror and dismay on ac count of its effects on their own slaves; and make them shudder at the moral indignation which such an act must inspire throughout the civilized world.

The only safe course for the future reputation and peace of Virginia would have been an unconditional pardon of John Brown and his associates. The events at Harper's Ferry would then have been soon forgotten, or only remembered as an unimportant episode in the history of Virginia. It would have tended to quiet the slaves, and for a time to lessen the clamo against slavery.

As it is, Governor Wise seems likely to be pilloried by history at the side of Pontius Pilate, as the man who shed innocent blood in violation of his own convictions of right, to satisfy the clamor of a deluded populace crying, ' Crucify him, crucify him!'

The view which history will take of John Brown not doubtful. History will forget to inquire whether his plans were judicious, skilful, and worthy of ap probation, but will only look at his motive and object This 'insurrectionary' emblem was by far the noble. His motive was the love of the down-trodden escaping from American oppression into British freelom in Canada.

History will find in John Brown a man such as sh delights to honor, a man full of courage and faith devotion to his country and the human race, self-dent; and have certain Inherent Rights, of which, when they enter into a State of Society, they cannot by any Compact deprive or divest their Posterity,—namely, the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty. In bonds as bound with them. His will be a name Just before the opening of the meeting, a gentle- that will thrill the hearts of generations yet to come man made his way to an elevated point between the as ours are now thrilled by the names of Tell, of Adamses, Hancock, Warren, and Washington.

If I had been consulted about the expedition o John Brown, I am bound to say that I should not have recommended or approved it. But perhaps he was wiser than I; for the very failure of the direct object of his expedition has given a direr blow to slavery than its most triumphant success could have done. When and announced the following list of officers for the Governor Wise signed the death-warrant of John Brown, it seems to me that he also sealed the deathwarrant of slavery in Virginia. In vain will Virginia strive to prevent the testimony of this last martyr to her tyranny from being heard throughout the civilized world, and even among her own sons and daughters. The wonderful words of John Brown, spoker Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., James M. W. Yes- during his captivity, which have cheered us with astonishment and delight, illuminated as they now are by the glory of his martyrdom, will be read and re-read introduced Rev. James Freeman Clarke to open the studied and pondered over until slavery shall cease t

The President announced that John Brown's address to the Court, which had pronounced sentence of of the Gospel; and, agreeing with those men who death upon him, would be read by William Lloyd say the sword should not be used, agreeing with

As Mr. Garrison came to the desk, he was greeted by a simultaneous cheer from every part of the house, which was protracted for quite a space of time. How wonderful the change in Boston, since the time when ported by the sword should be overthrown by the a mob of Boston 'gentlemen' drayged this same Mr. sword. I look at this question as a peace man. Garrison by a halter through the streets of the city, say, in accordance with the principles of peace, that thirsting for his blood because he had told them the I do not believe the sword should be unsheathed truth, and he saved from their murderous hands I do not believe the dagger should be drawn, unti only by being hurried to the county jail, and immured there is in the system to be assailed such terrible evithere under a strong guard until the following day! dences of its corruption, that it becomes the dernies ere long consign them to the contempt and infamy ed veins, the disordered system, that have caused the they so thoroughly have earned for themselves,

Mr. Garrison said-To-day, Virginia has murdered John Brown ; to-night, we here witness his resurrection. (Cheers.) As his lips are forever sealed in death-as the common privilege accorded to the vilest criminals was denied him, even on the scaffold, to give a farewell address-it seems peculiarly pertinent, on this occasion, to read his thrilling and marvellous rehe had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him.

Mr. Garrison read the address, which was listened to in perfect silence. He also read an original poem, written for the occasion by George W. Light, Esq., which was loudly applauded. [See poetical department on the last page.]

as a Collecting Committee :-

Thomas M. Hathaway.

collection taken was a little over two hundred and nities for advancement, has not interfered to exclude thirty-five dollars.

The Chairman introduced, as the first speaker, Rev. J. Sella Martin [formerly a Southern slave] :-

SPEECH OF REV. J. S. MARTIN.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,-To-day, a state of excitement among the people of Virginia; for solemn question has been asked this nation. The I know what that state of excitement is. I know Pilate of Providence has asked America -- Whom that if a rat should happen to strike his tail against the will you that I deliver unto you-the Barabbas lathes, they would be all up, looking through the of Slavery, or the John Brown of Freedom? And, house-taking good care always to make a negro go intimidated by the false majesty of despotic enact- before. (Laughter.) I am ready to say, if he has vio ments, which have usurped the place of Christianity, lated the law, if he has taken an improper course, if corrupted by a false policy, and stung to phrenzy by he has been the traiter that the South brands him as the insinuations of our political high priests, we have having been, and the madman that the North says he cried out, as a nation- Release unto us the Parab- has been, John Brown is not to be blamed. I say bas of slavery, and destroy John Brown.' And, true that the system which violates the sacredness of conto this horrible, this atrocious request, John Brown jugal love, the system that robs the cradle of its inno has been offered up. Thank God, he said, 'I am cent treasure-the system that goes into the tem

there, by the weapons of heroism, by the princi-

My friends, his life was just such a 'failure' as all thy that exists on the part of the North for them; ou great movements have been. The physical failure people in the North are not prepared to assist in suc has been the death of the seed, externally, which has given life to the germ, which has sprung forth to them out from both the means and the intelligence spread its moral boughs all over this corrupt nation, necessary. The breach between the North and the (Applause.) I have not the slightest doubt that this wil be the result. His life was a 'failure,' but it was looking him in the face as his keen eye was lit up such a failure, (and I care not though the Boston with its peculiar fire, and his soul seemed to con Courier take offence at the comparison as irreverent,) forth with all its intellectual energy to look out and and History will place it in the same category with the failure of the Cross, where Jesus died, and moral said, 'Mr. Garnet, let us ask God about it '; and h life came forth to the world. (Applause.) John got down upon his knees, and there poured out his Brown has died, but the life of Freedom, from his heart to that God who is peculiarly the God of the death, shall flow forth to this nation.

I know that there is some quibbling, some queru lousness, some fear, in reference to an out-and-out endorsement of his course. Men of peace principles object to it, in consequence of their religious convic- by a prayer as he was by that prayer of John Brown's, tion; politicians in the North object to it, because When such a man as this dies as he has died to-day they are afraid that it will injure their party; pro- with the prayers of five millions of people going up slavery men in the South object to it, because it has to Heaven in his behalf-for I know that at least that touched their dearest idol; but I am prepared, my number of Christians have prayed for him-when friends, (and, permit me to say, this is not the lan- such a man dies, I am sure that his death under such guage of rage,) I am prepared, in the light of all hu- circumstances affords us a great, an almost demon man history, to approve of the means; in the light of strable evidence of the success of the movement that all Christian principle, to approve of the end. (Ap- he has inaugurated, and of the final accomplishment plause.) I say this is not the language of rage, be- of the great object of his soul. (Applause.) I say cause I remember that our Fourth-of-July orators that no man has ever died in this country as John sanction the same thing; because I remember that Brown has died. While his soul has gone up to God, Concord, and Bunker Hill, and every historic battle- and his body has been taken down a lifeless corpse, field in this country, and the celebration of those thank God! all over the country, meetings are being events, all go to approve the means that John Brown held to-night to give expression to that great feeling has used; the only difference being, that in our bat- of sympathy which is to swell the great tornado.tles, in America, means have been used for white men, Let Virginia thank herself for it! In her guilty plantand that John Brown has used his means for black ing she has sown the wind; let her thank herself if men. (Applause.) And I say, that so far as principle in her terrible harvest she reaps the whirlwind of deis concerned, so far as the sanctions of the Gos- struction. (Applause.) all have not come for that purpose, but I know there I have detained you long enough. This is not the

Now, I bring this question down to the simple test them in that principle, and recognizing its binding obligation upon us all, yet I believe in that homoco pathic principle which operates by mercury when mercury is in the system, and that that which is sup-

Well may the Boston Post and the Boston Courier resort. And, my friends, we are not to blame the gnash their teeth, as they see the change, and utter application of the instrument, we are to blame the their curses, and call on all their gods to come to their disease itself. When a physician cuts out a cancer help and rescue! The spirit of Freedom will not from my face, I am not to blame the physician for the down at their cowardly and selfish bidding, but will use of the knife; but the impure blood, the obstructcancer, and rendered the use of the instrument necessary. The physician has but chosen the least of two evils. So John Brown chose the least of two evils. To save the country, he went down to cut off the Virginia cancer, (Applause.) I say, that I am prepared to endorse John Brown's

course fully. He has said that he did not intend to shed blood. In my opinion, speaking as a military marks to the Court, in reply to the inquiry whether critic, this was one of the faults of his plan. In no shedding blood, he left the slaves uncertain how to act; so that the North has said that the negroes there are cowards. They are not cowards, but great diplomats. When they saw their masters in the possession of John Brown, in bonds like themselves, they would have been perfect fools had they demonstrated any willingness to join him. They have got sense enough to know, that until there is a perfect demonstration It was then announced by Mr. May that one of the that the white man is their friend-a demonstration declared objects of the meeting was to take a collect bathed in blood-it is all foolishness to co-operate with tion, to be added, after the defraying of actual ex- them. They have learned this much from the treach penses, to the fund for the relief of the widow and ery of white men at the North, and the cruelty of the family of John Brown. In that object, undoubtedly, white men at the South, that they cannot trust the the whole meeting would sympathize, and in their white man, even when he comes to deliver them. So name he would invite the following gentlemen to act it was not their cowardice, nor their craven selfishness, but it was their caution, that prevented them from John R. Manley, E. H. Heywood, Austin Bearse, joining Brown, I say this because I think it is neces Rodney Moore, Charles E. Hodges, Charles C. Mead, sary to vindicate the character of the negro for cour-Henry J. Prentiss, William L. Garrison, Jr., and age. I know very well that in this country, the white people have said that the negroes will not fight; but And these gentlemen proceeded to take up the col- I know also, that when the country's honor has been lection. This proved a very difficult work, on ac- at stake, and the dire prejudice that excludes the colcount of the denseness of the crowd. The entire ored man from all positions of honor, and all opportuhim from the military, he was gone with the army, and there displayed as much courage as his white

To some extent, I sympathize with the suggestion

of the Boston Journal, that we should consider the

brother.

ple of manhood, and writes upon the altar its hellish Men say that his life was 'a failure.' I remem- hieroglyphics of slavery - the system that takes ber the story of one of the world's moral heroes, away every God-given right, and tramples religion whose life was just such a 'failure.' I remember under foot,-I say that that system is responsible for one who, having retired to the deserts of Judea, to every single crime committed within the borders where wring from the hard, stony life of those deserts the it exists. (Applause.) It is the system, my friends qualifications of a moral hero, by living an ascetic life, I hold that that is a false logic which talks about good had subjugated the lower desires of his nature, and slaveholders. I hold that it is folly on the part of the who, with all those qualifications, and with all this slaveholder himself when he attempts to keep his purity, was brought into a corrupt and voluptuous slaves by mild means. The more a man learns, the court. I remember, too, that in that court, notwith- more kindly he is treated, the more he aspires for libstanding he was its favorite, notwithstanding the cor- erty, the more restive he becomes under the yoke .ruption and luxury of the times, he preserved him- Hence it is not an accident, but a necessity of the sys self the same stern man, and said to the King- It is tem of slavery, that it should be cruel; and all its not lawful for you to live with your brother Philip's devilish instrumentality, and enginery, and parapherwife.' These were the stern words of John the Bap- nalia must be cruel also. It is folly for us to talk about tist, and it seems to me that a beautiful parallel may the slaveholders being kind. Cruelty is part and parcel be drawn between these two men-John the Baptist of the system. If slavery is right at all, then all its terand John Brown-for John Brown, like John the Bap- rors and horrors,-the whip, the manacle, the thumbtist, retired into the hard and stony desert of Kansas, screw, the paddle, the stake, the gibbet-are right also; ples of freedom, and the undaunted courage of a ple of the North have said John Brown was a madman, wrung from that bloody soil the highest enco- man-I suppose mostly because it is on the eve of an miums of Freedom, and the most base acknowledg- election: but if he was mad, his madness not only ments of slavery, that the one was right and the other had a great deal of 'method' in it, but a great deal wrong. (Applause.) I know that John Brown, in of philosophy and religion. I say, my friends, that thus rebuking our public sin, in thus facing the mon- no man ever died in this country as John Brown has arch, has had to bear just what John the Baptist bore. died to-day. I say it, because John Brown was a pray-His head to-day, by Virginia,—that guilty maid of a ing man. I remember hearing an incident in refermore guilty mother, the American Government, ence to his praying, from the lips of a man in whose (cheers, mingled with a few hisses, which were presence and in whose house it occurred, and I loved at once drowned in an outburst of vehement ap- him the more when I heard it. Coming to Henry plause) has been cut off, and it has been presented Highland Garnet, of New York, some two years ago to the ferocious and insatiable hunger, the ter- he said to him, after unfolding all his plans, 'Mr rible and inhuman appetite, of this corrupt government. Garnet, what do you think of it?' Said Mr. Garnet, To-day, by the telegraph, we have received the intelli- who is at once a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholgence that John Brown has forfeited his life-all this ar,- Sir, the time has not come yet for the succes honesty, all this straight-forwardness, all this self-sa- of such a movement. Our people in the South are not crifice, which has been manifested in Harper's Ferry. sufficiently apprised of their rights, and of the sympaa movement, in consequence of the prejudice that shuts South has not yet become wide enough,' Mr. Brown, scan, if possible, the whole horizon of Providence bondman. He then showed the depth of his religious feeling-the intense interest that he had in the eman cipation of mankind, and the heroism of his soul. Mr Garnet says that never in his life has he been so moved

pel are concerned, I am prepared to endorse Go down to Virginia, and see that firm old man a his end ; and I endorse it because God Almighty he comes out from his prison, leaning upon the arm of has told us that we should feel with them that are the sheriff, and with his head erect, ascends the dreadin bonds as being bound with them. I endorse ful steps of the gibbet. We see him as he goes his his end, because every single instinct of our na- way to the top, and every step he takes seems to be ture rises and tells us that it is right. I find inspired with that feeling which the poet Longfellow an endorsement of John Brown's course in the large describes as animating the heart of the young man assembly gathered here this evening; I find an en- climbing to the top of the mountain- Excelsion!'dorsement of the principles that governed him in go- until planting himself on the top, he is ready for his ing to Virginia, in the presence of the men and wo- martyrdom. Though his body falls, the spirit of slavemen who have come here to listen to his eulogy, and ry and despotism falls with it, while John Brown goes sympathize with his suffering family. I know that up to heaven. Thank God! thank God! (Applause.)

are seven thousand still in Israel who have not bowed time to vindicate his cause. I have made these rethe knee to the political Baal. (Loud applause.) marks only because they seem to be suggested here. I close by saying, my friends, that John Brow indeed be a fit representative of that Old ment character of whom Mr. Clark read, and ment character, and the state of the slay more in his death than he ever slew in all ke is It is thought by the slaves—and it is a beauti ceit, though coming from slaves-that the from the heavens are sparks that escape from the house of the lightnings to strike upon the cits volcanoes, and that is the cause of their en From the firmament of Providence to-day, am fallen. It has fallen upon the volcano of Angsympathics, and though, for awhile, it may the sleep, yet its igneous power shall comm to the slumbering might of the volcano, and it burst forth in one general conflogration of the that shall bring about universal freedom. (April I feel, my friends and fellow-citizens, tothe courage, the adamantine courage, which h day been blasted by the terrible enginery of the will serve as the grit in the grindstone upon a the slave shall sharpen his weapon. I feel the h bundle of nerves, the strongest and most iron that world has seen in America, that has to-day h bound by the hand of despotism, will prove rails upon which Christian progress shall advanward to the goal of universal freedom. I believe every drop of blood shed to-day will be gathen by the ever vigilant spirit of freedom, as sympar sparks placed in the van of Liberty, as the grants kinah before whom the apostles of slavery shall be down and pay worship, and by whose respired light the darkest hovels of slavery shall be pen until the chains shall be melted from every link, the slave stand forth 'regenerated and disenting by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emantia tion.' (Loud applause.)

[Additional speeches were made by J. Q. A. 6: fin, Esq., of Charlestown, (member of the Masset setts House of Representatives,) Hon, R. P. Den of Bristol, (member of the Senate,) Wm. Llard Gg. rison, Rev. John Pierpont, Rev. James Freeza Clarke, and George H. Hoyt, Esq. These elicited heartiest applause throughout; but, in the crowle state of our columns this week, we are obliged he is fer their publication till next week. The estire ien onstration was heart-cheering and subline

THE MURDER OF JOHN BROWN Friday last, Dec. 2, Capt, John Brown was je dicially murdered by the State of Virginia-4 news rable day in the annals of American history. It was extensively observed, by the holding of public many ings, the tolling of bells, and various imposing, lemnities, in all parts of the country. The particular we are obliged to defer till another number

city, yesterday afternoon, to offer up prayers is belt of John Brown. The meeting was numerous tended, mostly by colored people. A series we then preached by Rev. A. F. Wood, a colored comman, after which a collection was taken up is the enefit of Brown's family. Another meeting was an held at the same place last night, at which species were made by Dr. Howe, of Boston, and others. A resolution was passed, expressive of sympathy fartle family of John Brown.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Dec. 3.

A large meeting was held at Corinthian Hall be evening, to signalize the execution of John Bews.

Abram Pryner and Parker Philippry delivered addresses, which were listened to with profound interest. Раумости, 2d-11 A.M. The bells of the several churches in this town

now being tolled, on account of the execution of Jan CONCORD, N. H. M. The bells in this city were tolled at 11 o'clock, a

commemoration of the hanging of John Brown. New Benrous, 26 Great-excitement exists here about the execution John Brown. Several church bells are tolling, an there are numerous crowds in the principal stree

One Hundred Minute Guns were fired today, mencing at half-past 12 o'clock, in commemoration the execution of John Brown. FITCHBURG. A John Brown sympathy meeting su

held in Fitchburg on Friday evening. James B. Las was chosen chairman and B. Snow, Jr., clerk. M. dresses were made by Revs. Eleathan Davis, Ko Brooks, Wm. P. Tilden, George Trask, and Jules S. Brown, Esq. Resolutions of sympathy with like Brown and of abhorrence for slavery were passed.

. THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT. CONGRESS OF scarcely had the members taken their seats, before Mr. Mason, of Virginia, submitted the following resis

Mr. Mason of Virginia submitted a resolution, which he would call up to-morrow, for the appointment of Committee to inquire into the facts attending theirs invasion and seizure of the Armory and An Harper's Ferry by a band of armed men, and report whether the same was attended by armed reto the authorities and public force of the Unite States, and the murder of any citizens of Vindia or any troops sent there to protect public properly whether such invasion was made under color of a organization intended to subvert the government any of the States of the Union; the character at extent of such organization; whether any course the United States, not present, were implicited that in, or accessory thereto, by contributions of more arms, ammunitions, or otherwise; the character as extent of the military equipments in the hands of the der the control of said armed band; where, her as when the same were obtained and transported to the place invaded. Also, to report what legislation, it any, is necessary by the government for the four preservation of the peace of the country and the sile y of public property-the Committee to have post

to send for persons and papers.

Mr. Trumbull of Illinois gave notive that when the resolution came up, he should move to amend by el-tending the inquiry to the seizure of the Areni a

The discussion upon this motion has been going on ever since, no action upon it having been taken.

In the House, three or four abortive attempts have been made to elect a Speaker-the Harper's Fent affair exciting a hot debate, the South bullying and the North cowering as usual. There never will be North until this slavery-ridden Union be dissolved

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 30 .- The following residions were offered in the House to-day: Resolved, That the State of South Carolina is real;

to enter, together with the other slaveholding State or such as may desire present action, into the form tion of a Southern confederacy.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to freward this resolution to the various Southern excessions.

Another resolution was offered asking official infirmation as to the condition of the State arsenals, arm, ammunition, number of men enrulled in the State

militia, style of the arms, &c. The Governor of South Carolina, in his Mes-

sage showing the advantages of a united . If, as I solemnly believe, we can no longer live in peace and harmony in the Union, we can form a confederacy with ability to protect itself against any earny, and which will command the respect and admiration of the will command the respect and ad-

miration of the world.' He then recommends such measures as will obtain the co-operation of the Southern States in conferted action in defence of their institutions whenever they may be put in jeopardy by all the departments of sorternment passing into the hands of their enemies. The election of a Rapublican President, he says, will still the question of their safety in the Union.

PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN BROWN.-Mr. Brainard has Poblished an excellent likeness of Captain John Brown, which was drawn on stone by T. M. Johnston from a photograph taken in May last. It represent the old hero, with his flowing beard, as he appeared when he addressed a meeting of the Church Anis Slavery Society, at the Tremont Temple, during Aniversary Week. Apart from the fidelity of the likeness, the picture is an excellent work of art, and reness, the picture is an excellent work of art, and re ss, the picture is an excellent work of a completed ets great credit upon the artist, who has completed the work in a very brief space of time. lisher has very properly pledged a portion of the profits arising from the sale of the picture to the profits arising from the sale of the benefit of the family of John Brown.

of the to Tyrants,") emblazoned upon it-as follows:ecurity tend at SEMPER in the asis of ous deproperly properous d quit. iere, is etween ess ina peoeption, on and e cause latter, e casus

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were the following extracts from the Constitution of
Uirginia:

remark that John Brown was directly upheld, in his
attempt to set free the slaves of Virginia, by the present
instructions, as well as by the early example, of Virginia
were the following extracts from the Constitution of
Uirginia:

This 'insurrectionary' emblem was by far the

most conspicuous of all the devices in the hall. It

attracted much attention, and suggested the general

when they enter into a State of Society, they cannot by any Compact deprive or divest their Posterity,—namely, the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty.'

Just before the opening of the meeting, a gentleman made his way to an elevated point between the platform and gallery, and raised a banner, which displayed the following words:—

' All Men are by nature equally Free and Indepen-

dent; and have certain Inherent Rights, of which,

"still lives" by virtue of his heroic deeds.'

The unrolling of this banner was received with very great cheering.

· He dies by the mandate of the Slave Power, yet

THE ORGANIZATION.

Shortly after 7 o'clock, Mr. Samuel May, Jr. arose, and announced the following list of officers for the meeting:

.

who shed innocent blood in victions of right, to satisf populace crying, * Crucify

The view which history not doubtful. History will his plans were judicious,

peace of Virginia would 1

pardon of John Brown and

at Harper's Ferry would th

ten, or only remembered

in the history of Virginia.

quiet the slaves, and for a

by history at the side of]

As it is, Governor Wise

against slavery.

and oppressed. His object us, not to commit treason insurrection among the sla ways repudiated,) but to escaping from American of dom in Canada.

History will find in John

delights to honor, a man

probation, but will only loc

These she will at once acl

noble. His motive was the

devotion to his country a forgetting, self-sacrificing, gospel of his beloved Maste would have them do to hin in bonds as bound with that will thrill the hearts of as ours are now thrilled

If I had been consulted John Brown, I am bound to recommended or approved it than I; for the very failu

Bruce, Wallace, Hampder

Adamses, Hancock, Warren

his expedition has given a its most triumphant success Governor Wise signed the Brown, it seems to me that

warrant of slavery in Virgin

THE TRAGEDY IN VIRGINIA.

ARRIVAL OF MRS. BROWN. Correspondence of the New York Tribune, CHARLESTOWN, Va., Dec. 3, 1859.

The events of last Thursday caused a more intense The events of last Thursday caused a more intense excitement than any that have been witnessed in excitement than any that have been witnessed in Charlestown. The morning was occupied in the pre-charlestown. The morning was occupied in the pre-charlestown of the field of desith, which was marked out with military precision according to the plans of Gen. Thisferro, with lines for the troops at the distance of Tailaferro, with lines for the troops at the distance of Tailaferro, with lines for the officers of the gallows, and the distinct positions for the officers of the day, and the Commander in-Chief. These arrangements were watched with great public interest, but their attraction led at once, when, at noon, the knowledge that watched with great public interest, but their attraction ended at once, when, at noon, the knowledge that labs Brown's wife was expected became general. Mrs. Brown had arrived in the morning at Harper's Ferr, and was anxious to proceed at once to Charles-Ferr, and was anxious to proceed at once to Charles-Ferr, and it was determined that her progress be relaxed, and it was determined that her progress and arrival should be made the occasion of the most impains warlike display that could be made. At I glock, twenty-five of Capt. Scott's cavalry corpaimpsing warning deploy that could be made. At 1 ocless, twenty-five of Capt. Scott's cavalry corpsthe Black Horse Rangers—surrounded the carriage in which Mrs. Brown was to be brought hither, and with which Mrs. Bloom arms and glittering display, the pro-mach clashing of arms and glittering display, the pro-ression departed. Three hours elapsed, during which sty of the populace swelled near to bursting. the entosity of the populace swelled near to bursting. At 4 o'clock, the return of the cavalcade was an-At 4 o'clock, the return of the cavalcade was an-powered, and in an instant the road to the jail was througed with hundreds of eager gazers. For a brief time the way was obstructed, and the cariage and es-tert passed before the head-quarters of the Comman-der in-Chief, while a body of troops, with much pomp der in-Chief, while a body of troops, with much pomp and circumstance, made clear the way, and formed dlow square reaching from the carriage to the jail As soon as all was ready, the cavalcade passed on, As soon as all was ready, the cavaleade passed on, and through double rows of pointed bayonets and amid thickly planted pieces of artillery, the grief-stricker woman found her way to the door beyond which her husband, shackled and fettered, awaitwhich her husband, shackled and fettered, awaited her coming. By Captain Moore, who came with her to Harper's Ferry, she was led into the presence of Gen. Taliaferro, Sheriff Cambbell, Mr. Andrew Hunter, and jailer Avis. Here the dreary dignities of famal reception were continued. For fifteen minutes said platitudes befell her. With singularly bad taste, the Commander-in-Chief assured her that it she should the bedienaged to visit. Virginia again, he could not be discussed to visit. ever be disposed to visit Virginia again, he could corever be disposed to visit virginia again, he could cor-dially invite her to Charlestown, where she should receive true Southern hospitality. Soon after, she was taken side by Mrs. Avis, and scarched. The bolts were then withdrawn, and, accompanied by the jailer, Mrs. Brown went to meet her husband for the last

A few minutes before her admission, Stephens was removed from Brown's cell, into one adjoining. In the little interval that remained, Capt. Moore entered to apprise Brown that his wife would soon be with him. Before he left, he asked Brown to endorse a check which had been handed to him by a gentleman who had accompanied Mrs. Brown from the North, but who had been left at the Ferry. The check read

PHILADELPHIA, 11th Month, 30, 1859. THE CONSOLIDATED BANK.

Pay to John Brown (now of Virginia), or order, Fifty (00-100) Dollars JOHN H. CAVENDER. Brown's indorsement, in his usual, firm, and bold characters, was as follows : Pay to the order of MARY A. BROWN.

JOHN BROWN. Gen. Talliaferro, and the other gentleman constituting the committee of reception, then entered the cell for the purpose of informing Brown that his interview with his wife must of necessity be short. 'I hope,' said Brown, 'that it may be two or three hours.' 'I do not think,' said Gen. Talliaferro, 'that I can grant so long a time.' 'Well,' answered Brown, 'I ask nothing of you, sir; I beg nothing from the State of

Virginia. Carry out your orders, General, that is sough. I am content. The interview was, howerr, allowed to last four hours.

Mrs. Brown was led into the cell by the jailor. Herhusband rose, and, as she entered, received her in his arms. No word was spoken; but, if we may behere Capt. Avis, their silence was more eloquent that my utterance could have been. For some minutes her stood speechless-Mrs. Brown resting her head upon her husband's breast, and clasping his neck with her arms. At length they sat down, and spoke; and frem Capt. Avis, who was the only witness of that screenial scene, the following record comes:

John Brown spoke first. 'Wife, I am glad to see

My dear husband, it is a hard fate. Well, well; cheer up. We must all bear it in the best manner we can. I believe it is all for the

Our poor children; God help them. Those that are dead to this world are angels in another. How are all those still living? Tell them their father died without a single regret for the course

he has pursued—that he is satisfied that he is right in the eyes of God and of all just men.' Mrs. Brown then spoke of their remaining children, and their home. Brown's voice, as he alluded to the bereavements of his family, was broken with emotion.

After a brief pause, Brown said:
'Mary, I would like you to get the bodies of our two boys who were killed at Harper's Ferry, also the ics of the two Thompsons, and after I am dead,

place us altogether on a wood pile, and set fire to the wood, burn the flesh, then collect our bones and put them in a large box, then have the box carried to our farm in Essex County, and there bury us.*

Mrs. Brown sa d. 'I really cannot consent to do this.

I hope you will change your mind on this subject. I do not think permission would be granted to do any such thing. For my sake, think no more of such an Well, well, Brown answered, 'do not worry or

fret about it. I thought the plan would save considerable expense, and was the best.'
Mrs. Brown then spoke of Gerrit Smith, and asked if her husband had heard of the affliction that had

visited him. Brown answered:
'Yes, I have read something about it.'

'Do you know that he is now in Utica?' asked Mrs. Yes, I have been so informed; he was a

friend, and I exceedingly regret his misfortune. How is be? Have you heard from him lately? Yes, I heard direct from him a few days ago. He

was thought to be improving.' I am really glad to hear it.' Nothing more was said upon this subject. The conversation then turned upon matters of busi-ress, which Brown desired to have arranged after his h. He gave his wife all the letters and papers which were needed for this purpose, and read to her the will which had been drawn up for him by Mr. Hunter, carefully explaining every portion of it. The

CHARLESTOWN, Jefferson County, Va., }
December 1, 1859.

I give to my son, John Brown, jr., my surveyor's compass and other surveyor's articles, if found; also, my old granite monument, now at North Elba, N. Y., to receive upon its two sides a further inscription, as I will hereafter direct; said stone monument, however, to remain at North Elba so long as any of my chileres and my wefe may remain there as residents.

I give to my son Jason Brown, my silver watch,

with my name engraved on inner case.

I give to my son Owen Brown, my double-spring opera-glass, and my rifle-gun (if found), presented to me at Worcester, Mass. It is globe-sighted and new. I give, also, to the same son, \$50 in cash, to be paid him from the proceeds of my father's estate, in consideration of his terrible suffering in Kansas, and his crip-

pled condition from his childhood.

I give to my son Solomon Brown \$50 in cash, to be paid him from my father's estate, as an offset to the first two.

I give to each of my sons, and to each of my other live to each of my sons, and to each of my other live to each of my sons, and to each of my other live to each of my sons, and to each of my other live to each of my sons, and to

daughters, my son-in-law, Henry Thompson, and to each of my daughters-in-law, as good a copy of the links as can be purchased at some bookstore in New York or Boaton, at a cost of \$5 each in cash; to be paid out of paid out of the proceeds of my father's estate.

I give to each of my grandchildren that may be

living when my father's estate is settled, as good a copy of the Bible as can be purchased (as above) at a

sopy of the Bible as can be purchased (as above) at a cost of \$3 each.

All the Bibles to be purchased at one and the same time, for cash, on the best terms.

I desire to have (\$50) fifty dollars each paid out of the final proceeds of my father's estate, to the following named persons, to wit:—To Allen Hammond, key, of Rockville, Tolland County, Conn.gor to Geo, kellogs, Esq., former agent of the New England Company at that place for the use and benefit of that Is a samed persons, to wit:—To Allen Hammond, Esq., of Rockville, Tolland County, Conn.gor to Geo. Aciong, Esq., former agent of the We England Company at that place, for the use and benefit of that the use of the use and that we noticed throughout his trial and while in jail. As he came upon an eminence near the gallows, so to a man of Stark Connty, O., at Canton, who used my father in his lifetime, through Judge Illumphrey and Mr. Upson of Akron, to be paid by J.
I. Brown to the man in person, if he can be found.
It is name I cannot remember. My father made a comprome with the man by taking our house and lot at Manneville, I desire that any remaining balance

Avis, and, soon after so clock, was on her way again to Harper's Ferry. During the passage, Capt. Moore, who sat beside her, did not fail to present to her arguments in favor of the blessings of slavery—pointing out, by way of example, a troop of negroes disporting by

Hazlitt, with whom he would acknowledge no acquaintance. At 11 o clock he was brought from the jail, and, surrounded by a guard of cavalry, conducted to the scaffold. He mounted the wagon in which he was conveyed with the same calmness he has shown during all the days of his captivity. He sat, with Capt. Avis, upon the pine box which contained his coffin. Upon reaching the gailows he walked, never faltering in his step, to the platform, and waited in silence for the completion of the necessary arrangements. When the cap was about to be put over his head, he bade farewell to those who stood by him with evident deep feeling. In the adjustment of the rope, Capt. Avis was as speedy as was possible, Brown remaining all the while motionless. I know that every one within view was greatly impressed with the dignity of his bearing. I have since heard men of the South say that his courageous fortitude and insensibility to fear filled them with amazement.

In a few moments Capt. Avis led Brown upon the trap, and amounced that all was ready. Then instead of permitting the execution to be at once consummated, the proceedings were checked, and the hideous mockery of a vast military display began. For ten minutes at the least, under the orders of the commondation of the rough of the rou

minutes at the least, under the orders of the commanding officer, the troops trod heavily over the ground, hither and thither, now advancing toward the gallows, now turning about in sham defiance of an imaginary enemy. All this while, Brown stood are the ground to the gallows, and the gallows, now turning about in sham defiance of an imaginary enemy. All this while, Brown stood at their hands, ever maintaining that those who were capable of countenancing Slavery, were not fit to come last command was given.

motives had ever been his incentive to action.

motives had ever been his incentive to action.

While Mrs. Brown was still present, her husband partock of his last supper, which she shared with him. It was of the plain jail fare, prepared so as to be eaten with his fingers; knile and fork were denied be eaten with his fingers; knile and fork were denied by the scaffold is approached. He alights from the scaffold is approached. him in the fear that he might use them for self-de-

prisoners. But Gen. Talliaferro's orders forbade this, prisoners. But Gen. Talliarerro's orders into a takes the stouched hat from his head, and cartes though Capt. Avis expressed a willingness to permit takes the stouched hat from his head, and cartes the stouched hat from his head, and cartes takes the stouched hat from his head, and cartes it takes the stouched hat from his head, and he had hat from his head, and he had hat from his head. It has a stouched hat he had hat he had hat The prisoners were much gratified to learn this fact, and I was informed by Capt. Avis that Coppic wrote a beautiful and feeling letter to Mrs. Brown during the morning. It was remarkable for its allusions to and I was informed by Capt. Avis that Coppie wrote a beautiful and feeling letter to Mrs. Brown during the morning. It was remarkable for its allusions to Capt. Brown and his trials, and the fallness of sympathy expressed for her and the members of her family, without mentioning his own situation at all.

But what next: The minitary have yet to go through some senseless evolutions, and near ten minutes clapse before Gen. Taliaferro's chivalrous hosts are in their proper position, during which time John Brown stands with the eap drawn over his head, and the hangman's knot under his car.

Each moment seems an hour, and some of the people, the moment seems an hour, and some of the people, and the moment seems are not considered.

THE EXECUTION OF CAPT. BROWN.

The execution was in the highest degree imposing and solemn, and without disturbance of any kind.

Lines of patrols and pickets encircled the field for ten miles around, and over five hundred troops were posted all about the gallows. At 7 o'clock in the morning, workmen becam to erect the reaffold the timber.

At last, the Virginia troops are arranged a la mode.

*Capt. Brown, you are not standing on the drop—will you come forward? said the Shortf.

*I can't see, gentlemen, was the reput; 'you must lead me.'

The Sheriff led his prisoner forward to the centre of the drop. ing, workmen began to erect the scaffold, the timber having been hauled the night previous. At 8, troops began to arrive. Troopers were posted around the field at fifty feet apart, and two lines of sentries forther in. The troops did not form hollow around the waiting needlessly, was the reply waiting needlessly, was the reply.

A moment after, the Sheriff apoings the latch—the approach. The sun shone brightly, and the picture presented to the eye was really splendid. As each between heaven and earth. A few convasive twitchpresented to the eye was really splendid. As each company arrived, it took its allotted position. On the easterly side were the Cadets, with their right wing flanked by a detachment of men with howitzers; on the northeast, the Richmond Grays; on the south, Company F of Richmond; on the north, the Wincester Continentals; and to preserve order in the crowd, the Alexander Riflemen and Capt. Gibson's Rockingham Company were stationed at the entrance chester Continentals; and to preserve order in the crowd, the Alexander Riflemen and Capt, Gibson's Rockingham Company were stationed at the entrance gate, and on the outskirts. At 11 o'clock, the procession came in sight, and at once all conversation and noise ceased. A dead stillness reigned over the field, and the tramp of the approaching troops alone broke the silence. The escort of the prisoner was composed of Capt. Scott's company of cavalry, one company of Major Loring's battalion of defencibles, Capt. Williams's Montpelier Guard, Capt. Scott's Petersburg

The prisoner sat upon the box which contained his coffin, and, although pale from confinement, seemed strong. The wagon in which he rode was drawn by two white horses. From the time of leaving jail until he mounted the gaillows stairs, he wore a smile upon his countenance, and his keen eye took in every detail of the scene. There was no blenching, nor the remotest approach to cowardice or nervousness. His remarks have not been correctly reported in the Baltimore and New York papers. As he was leaving jail, when asked if he thought he could endure his fate, he said, 'I can endure almost anything but parting from friends; that is very hard.' On the road to the scaffold, he said, in reply to an inquiry, 'It has been a characteristic of me from infancy not to suffer from physical fear. I have suffered a thousand times more from bashfulness than from fear.' On entering the field he said, as if surprised, 'I see all persons are excluded from the field except the military.' I was very near the old man, and scrutinized him closely. He seemed to take in the whole scene at a glance, and he straightened himself up proudly, as if to set to the soldier's an example of a soldier's courage. The only motion he made, beyond a swaying to and fro of his body, was that same patting of his knees with his bands that wante persons were admitted. The seemed to take in the whole scene at a glance, and he straightened himself up proudly, as if to set to the soldiers an example of a soldier's courage. The only motion he made, beyond a swaying to and fro of his body, was that same patting of his knees with his bands that we noticed the rode of the same of the field has a store of the seemed to have the seemed to take in the whole scene at a glance, and he straightened himself up proudly, as if to set to the soldiers an example of a soldier's courage. The only motion he made, beyond a swaying to and fro of his body, was that same patting of his knees with his bands that we noticed the rode of the same of the sum of the field has a store of

In reference to the tombstone here alluded to, Brown appeared very anxious. The inscription was drawn up by Brown himself, and handed to his wife, who has it in her possession. Speaking of the parties to whom sums are directed to be paid, he said:—Dear Mary, if you can find these, pay them personally, but do not pay any one who may present himself as their attorneys, for if it gets into the hands of attorneys, we do not know what will become of it.'

After this, Mr. and Mrs. Brown took supper together. This occupied only a few minutes. Brown then touched upon other business affairs, until an order was received from the Commander-in-Chief, saying that the interview must terminate. Brown then said:—'Mary, I hope you will always live in Essex County. I hope you will be able to get all our children together, and impress the inculcations of right principles to each succeeding generation. I give you all the letters and papers which have been sent me since my arrest. I wish you also to take all my clothes that are here, and carry them home. Good bye, good bye! God bless you!'

The bitterness of parting was brief. Mrs. Brown was led away with the utmost consideration by Capt. Avis. and, soon after 8 o'clock, was on her way again to Harper's Ferry. During the passage, Capt. Moore who sat beside her, did not faill to mressent to her argustiant at the side her, did not faill to mressent to her argustiant at heside her, did not faill to mressent to her argustiant at heside her, did not faill to mressent to her argustiant at heside her, did not fail to mressent to her argustiant at heside her, did not fail to mressent to her argustiant at heside her, did not fail to mressent to her argustiant at here were to her argustiant at here were the her, argustiant at here were the her, and a struggle. After the body had dangled with a horid screech of its hings, and the unfortenance of men hung before, told me he had never seen so hard a struggle. After the body had dangled minutes it was examined by the

the roadside.

After his wife's departure, Brown wrote until midnight, when he retired. At daybreak he resumed his labor with undiminished energy. At 10 1-2 o'clock he was called upon to prepare for his death. He took leave of all his fellow-prisoners, affectionately bidding farewell to all, excepting Cook, toward whose want of good faith he was not disposed to be indulgent, and Hazlitt, with whom he would acknowledge no acquaintance. At 11 o'clock he was brought from the jail, and, surrounded by a guard of cavalry, conducting the roadside.

Sicians went up and made their examination, and after them the military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military assistance as well. To see them lifting up the arms, now powerless, that once were so strong, and placing their ears to the breast of the corpse, holding it steady by passing an arm around it, was revolting in the extreme. And so the body dangled and swung by its neck, turbing to this side or that when moved by the surgeons, and swinging, pendulum like, from the force of the south wind that was blowing, until, after thirty-legit may be presented by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military surgeons, the prisoner being executed by civil power and with military assistance as well. To see them lifting up the arms, now power-less, that once were so strong, and placing their ears to the breast of the corpse, holding it steady by passing a mar maround it, was revolting in the extreme.

And so the breast of the corpse, holding it steady by passing a mar maround it, was revolting in the extreme.

an imaginary enemy. All this while, brown sould motionless, answering only to Capt. Avis that he was not tired, but wished to be kept no longer than they found necessary. At length the valor of Virginia was satisfied, the soldiers resumed their positions, and the would suffer him to be followed to the place of execution by a family of little negro children, headed by a Mrs. Brown observed a chain about the ankles of The New York Herald reports him to have said when Mrs. Brown observed a chain about the ankles of her husband. To avoid its galling his limbs, he had put on two pairs of woolen socks. Mrs. Brown said she was desirous of procuring the chain as a family relic. She had already at her home the one with which the limbs of John Brown, Jr., were inhumanly shackled in Kansas, and in which he was goaded on by the Border devils until he was mad, and the chain had worn through his flesh to the hone; and this had worn through his flesh to the hone; and this the old here, patting her on the shoulder said. Mark had worn through his flesh to the bone; and this, the old hero, patting her on the shoulder, said, 'Mary, too, she desired. Capt, Brown said he had himself this is not right. Show that you have nerves.' She asked that it be given to his family, and had been re-fused.

The body left Charlestown under

Capt. Brown gave her his papers and some of his effects before they parted. The effects were but few, and I have not learned what they were.

As he handed the papers to her in the cell he said:
'I have something else to add to my statement; perhaps I will have time to do it to-morrow.' And, turning to Capt. Avis, he said: 'What is the hour to-morrow?' 'Eleven o'clock,' was the answer in a solemn tone.

and wept no more. The body left Charlestown under escort in the afternoon, and at Harper's Ferry was delivered up to Mrs. Brown.

Like a string that snaps after great tension, the public mind at Charlestown seemed relieved the moment that the body had been returned to the jail. The extra sentries were called in, and people were suffered once more to pass in and out of town with tolerable freedom. The dread is not all removed yet, however, for every night, mysterious lights are seen however, for every night, mysterious lights are seen on looking over the papers received to-day with the body. Mrs. Brown found an addendum in his handwriting, beginning, 'I have time to add,' &c., indicating that it must have been written just before he left the jull for the scaffold. The document referred to the affairs of his family.

He requested his wife to make a denial of the statement the had gained shiplings, that he had gained shiplings, that he had said in hovering very near to Charlestown, and the remaining ment that had gained withicity, that he had said in his interview with Gov. Wise that he had been actuated by feelings of revenge. He denied that he had ever made such a statement, and wished his denial made known; and he denied further that such base matives had ever hear his interview to said the matter of the most performance. The denied that he had ever made such a statement, and wished his denial in important to said the most performance that the most performance the most performance that the most performance that the most perf remaining time for reflection.

wagon and ascends to the platform, which last sus-Struction.

Their last sorrowful meal being concluded, and the time approaching at which they must part, Mrs. Brown asked to be permitted to speak to the other prisoners. But Gen Tallinferre's orders forbade this.

With a graceful motion of his pinioned right arm, he takes the slouched hat from his head, and carelessly

unable to restrain an expression of their sense of the outrage, murmur 'Shame!' 'Shame!' At last, the Virginia troopscare arranged a la mode.

the drop. Shall I give you a handkerchief, another you drop

waiting needlessly, was the reply.

A moment after, the Sheriff springs the latch—the drop falls—and the body of John Brown as suspended.

Major Loring's battalion of defencibles, Capt. Williams's Montpelier Guard, Capt. Scott's Petersburg Grays, Company, D. Capt. Miller, of the Virginia Volunteers, and Young Guard, Capt. Rady, the whole under the command of Col. T. P. August, assisted by Major Loring—the cavalry at the head and rear of the column.

The prisoner sat upon the box which contained his coffin and although rate from confinement, seemed.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

In the Senate, on Friday, after prayer by the chap-lain, Mr. Luce, of the Island district, moved that in view of the fact that this was the day for the execution of John Brown, the Senate do now adjourn. The motion was lost; yeas 8, nays 11. After transacting some other unimportant business, the same gentleman renewed his former motion, which was again lost after debate; yeas 12, nays 20. Mr. Walker, of Hampden, then moved to adjourn simply, without stating any reason; but this was negatived, yeas 11,

In the House of Representatives-Mr. Ray, of Nantucket, offered a motion of the purport that, for the great respect we have for the truth-fulness and faith that John Brown has in man and his

folness and faith that John Brown has in man and his religion, and the strong sympathy for the love of liberty (the avowed principle of Massachusetts) for which he is this day to die, this House do now adjourn.

Mr. Spefford, of Newburyport, took the floor, and spoke at length in opposition to the motion, as being improper, and exhibiting a false sympathy for a man who had transgressed the laws of his State, and for which he was about to pay the forfeit of his life.

Mr. Griffin, of Malden, thought there was no occasion for gentlement to get into a white heat about the

Mr. Griffin, of Malden, thought there was no occasion for gentlemen to get into a white heat about the simple motion to adjourn. He did not believe there was a person who would not walk to the State of Virginia to arrest the season of the traitor who should make a stab at that frightened community. Suppose we should receive intelligence that the angel of death was dealing with season of the state of the s dealing with some other 'saint' whom we all hold in remembrance, it would be no reason for adjournment. He thought the business of legislation should not be arrested, and he concluded by moving an indefinite

postponement of the motion.

Mr. Spofford observed that the whole thing was a pitiable and shameful pretence. No such demonstration was made to honor the memory of Washington Irving, who had just departed this life, and was a na-

tional loss of immense importance.

Mr. Weutworth, of Lowell, congratulated the House that the nation had so able a defender as the gentleman from Newburyport. He thought the Union was safe, and was as much in favor of the Constitution as though he had 'apostrophized the codfish,' like the gentleman from Newburyport. He was ready to agree to all that was proper in the conduct of John Brown. No execution for treason had ever before occurred since the formation of the government.

Massachusetts had insurrections and trials, but never an execution; Pennsylvania had insurrections, trials, convictions, and one man was sentenced to death—a German. He was pardoned by the President of the United States. Virginia has her insurrections, trials, and John Brown has been sentenced to death. Let that Commonwealth execute him in the face of the world. Mr. Wentworth concluded by saying that he Jamestown, Chatauque Co.,

should vote against adjournment.

Mr. Tucker, of Boston, said that he condemned the wicked madness of John Brown, and pitied his folly. He asked if Anthony Burns was peaceably surrender-ed, and said that it was at the mouth of the cannon and the blood of Bachelder still stained the walls of the Court House. He remarked that the tone of the Southern papers was mild, compared with that of the Northern Abolitionists. He deprecated the action of the latter, and considered that the slave had received

no benefit from the course they had taken.

Mr. Beals, of Weymouth, was opposed to adjournment, but was ready to vote to give the family of John ment, but was ready to vote to give the laming of John Brown the pay of this day, and suggested that the members should go to the Throne of Grace, and re-member him in their prayers.

Mr. Upton, of Salem, moved the previous question,

and it was ordered.

The motion to strike out the preamble was carried

by a vote of 104 yeas to 31 mays.

The question was then taken upon adjournment which was negatived by a vote of 141 nays to 6 yeas.

THE FEELING OF THE PEOPLE. Charlestown, Va. correspondent of the Tribune.

The sensation throughout this community is one of the most deep and significant nature. It has awakened intense thought in the minds of men where there had been nothing but immobility, and I have heard Southern men hinting strongly whether the large admission, 5 cents.

Rev. Frederick Frontingham, of Portland, Me., on Sunday evening next, 11th December, in Lyceum Hall. Subject— The Harper's Ferry Tragedy.

Lecture to commence at 7 o'clock.

Single admission, 5 cents. Southern men hinting strongly whether the institu-tion of Slavery pays—if twenty men can create so wide-spread a panic—paralyze the industry—excite the fears of the women and children of the entire State make martial law a matter of necessity for weeks over an entire county, and saddle a tax of near half a million upon the State. These are practical phases of this question. Add to these the fact that barns, and grain, and haystacks are being burned at short intervals, and the mental anarchy has a significance; and from many years' residence in the Southern States, I am confident that the day of emancipation has been hastened. No doubt exists among the people here that the slaves are the incendiaries in these cases, and they admit that it is only pretence that there exists no dissatisfaction among the blacks.

Of course, there the act of Capt. Brown is condemned, and most emphatically condemned, but much more is said in commendation of his bravery and courage than condemnation of his act. An officer of the U.S. Navy at Charlestown remarked in my hearing that he would give a vast deal to be as brave a man.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Dec. 4th. Six companies of the Richmond and Wheeling FORTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS THEREmilitary have been ordered home, and about one-fourth of the members of the other companies have obtained furlough for ten days, to return before the 16th to attend the other executions. A military force will thus be kept up, and martial law enforced throughout the country. The excitement has greatly abated, though there is a great feeling of insecurity in the rural districts. The weather is cold and wet, and the military are suffering greatly on picket guard and in

Twelve Harper's Ferry Insurgents in Canada.

The Muscatine Journal learns that the mother of Edwin and Barclay Coppie, who resides in Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa, has received a letter from the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that I are the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that I are the latter from the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that I are the latter from the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that I are the latter from the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that I are the latter from the latter, who is now in Canada. the latter, who is now in Canada, stating that he and eleven of his companions have arrived safely in her Britannic Majesty's dominions. Four of them were wounded—one of them so severely that his comrades were obliged to carry him most of the time for the first four days of their flight. Barclay Coppie is one of the number for whose arrest Gov. Wise offered a reward of \$500 each.

writes, under date of November 17th:

writes, under date of November 17th.

'Mr. Seward arrived here five days ago from his trip to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and is in good health and spirits. He indignantly denies ever having even heard of the projected insurrection at Haring even heard of the per's Ferry, and although he half recollects having received a call from a man known as Col. Forbes, there was no mention made of such an attempt at in-surrection. Col. Forbes asked him for means for another object, which he refused, and that was all he ever saw of the individual in question. Mr. Seward goes home in the Arago in December.

The Hon. Joshua R. Giddings has visited the afflicted family of Mr. Smith at Peterboro'; and after ob-taining that information which enables him to speak confidently of facts, in a letter dated Peterboro, Nov. 14, to The Ashtabula Sentinel, Mr. G. says of Mr. S.:

· I learned that under his excessive labors his health failed some two months since; that he has been sflicted with dyspepsia, which of itself falls little short of insanity; that his physician, and the physician of the SAND COPIES of this unrivalled book. Price Asylum, agree that his insanity is owing to ill health, \$1 50 for the two volumes, with portraits of the Auhis physical system to its proper tone.

A lawyer of character told me that six weeks since

he was at Mr. Smith's office on business, and spent some time with him, and so strongly was he impressed some time with him, and so strongly was he impressed with the fact that this eminent philanthropist was then suffering from monomania, that he stated to his partner that such was unquestionably the fact.

'His family, however, did not like to acknowledge such to be the case, until the news of the raid at Harper's Ferry became known. On receiving intelligence

of Brown's capture, he seemed anxious to go at once and share in Brown's captivity and suffering. The idea that he was alarmed at the prospect of Governor Wise sending a demand for him is entirely erroneous. He understood his rights as well as any man, and had no apprehension of that character. On the contrary, his anxiety to go there was the first decided proof which he expect insulty. They could only induce which he gave of insanity. They could only induce him to go to Utica by assuring him that he would be permitted to continue his journey to Virginia.

'He retains all his prominent traits of character, is

'He retains all his prominent traits of character, is kind, affectionate, eloquent in conversation, speaks in the highest terms of Brown, etc.

'Everybody now speaks well—indeed, they speak in the highest terms—of Gerrit Smith. I have not heard an individual express any other than profound respect for him, for his manly virtues, for his pure religious life, his nobleness of character. All men

throughout the State mourn over this sad affliction which now rests upon the community.

'I am pleased to say that Mr. Smith appears to view this matter in its true light. He bears up under it with great patience, and so do all the members of his family.

J. R. G.'

B The rope for the execution of Brown, says the Baltimore Patriot, was made in Kentucky, by a Kentuckian, expressly for the purpose, and sent to Gov. Wise, who accepted it.

IF JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY. The undersigned having, at a meeting held in Tremont Temple, on the 19th inst, been appointed a Committee to take charge of such funds as may be tendered for the benefit of JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY, are ready to receive donations for that object, to which they shall be faithfully applied. Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer, or to either of the undersigned in Rective.

S. E. SEWALL, Chairman, 46 Washington street; JOHN R. MANLEY, Treasurer, 24 Dock square; GEORGE BIGELOW, 23 Essex street; JOHN AYRES, 11 Liberty square. HUMPHREY JAMESON, 484 Washington st. Boston, Nov. 23, 1859.

UNPAID PLEDGES in aid of the Massachu setts Anti-Slavery Society, made in January last, or previously to that time, are now payable; and it is hereby requested that the same may be paid at the earliest practicable day.

All donations, in furtherance of the Anti-Slavery

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

All payments to be made to EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer, or to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

ADVERTISEMENT .- A young woman from Demarara, who has lived several years in this country, wishes to return to her native land; and, in or r to support herself there and help her mother, she has a very earnest desire to learn the milliner's trade. Her brown complexion has hitherto frustrated all her efforts for that purpose. Is there any one, who has 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 indusgence, reliable principles, good manners, and industrious habits. She is a very neat seamstress, and has general capacity. If she cannot learn a trade, she would like a situation as parlor girl, or chamber maid.

Please give an early reply to L. MARIA CHILD, Wayland, Mass.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN.—County Woman's Rights Conventions, to be addressed by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Luey N. Colman and others, will be held as follows :-Havanna, Schuylkill Co., Friday, Dec. 9. Horse-Heads, Chemung Co., Tuesday, " 13. Tuesday, " 20. Tuesday, " 27. Pen Yan, Yates Co., Lyons, Wayne Co.,

By Mrs. Tracy Cutler and J. Elizabeth Jones: Angelica, Alleghany Co., Tuesday, Dec. 6. Ellicottville, Cattaraugus Co., " 13 Collins Centre, Erie Co.,

Each of the above meetings will be at 2 and 7 o'-clock, P. M., of each day named.

THE VIRGINIA TRAGEDY? An Anti-Slavery Meeting will be held in the Reformed Dutch Church, at EASTON, Washington Co., N. Y., on FRIDAY, Dec. 16.
Sessions at 2 o'clock and 7 o'clock, P. M.
Leonard Gibbs, Esq., and others, will address the

meeting.

These are historic times! Let there be a great gathering of the friends of Freedom!

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TIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, TUNORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, SYPHILIS AND SYPHILITIC APPECTIONS, MERCURIAL DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALGIA OR TIC DOULOUREUX, DEBILITY, DYSPERSIA AND INDIGESTION, ERYSPE-LAS, ROSE OR ST. ANTHONY'S FIRE, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from IMPURITY

whole class of complaints arising the of the Blood.

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RI BOLL BRIDE

Penn cietic Link cial debts wwn Pair

For the Liberator THE QUARING SOUTH,

They told us that their Southern land was fairest of That beauty, worth and chivalry were fondly nur tured there;

The prowess of her gullant sons was blazoned far and And her daughters were all loveliness, her glory and

Her patriotic statesmen, with ever watchful eye,

The least approach of danger were ready to descry; The lofty roof and lowly were ever guarded well, And persery and pining want had no leave there t

Her social state was based on the eternal laws of heaven. Take him to thine upper garden, where the husband And all in every station shared that which was just

and even The master o'er the servants kept a patriarchal care And they in turn bestowed on him affection true and

These things have oft been told us-we heard the

And Rabbis from the North went down, and found it even so :

They homeward came delighted, to tell the gladsom And hold the North to strict account for her distorted

And sure 'tis thousand pities such a picture sho

be spoiled,-That in this modern Eden a serpent should lie coiled Ready to spring forth suddenly, and break the fata

charm. And by his hissing, poisonous breath to scatter wid alarm:

The lovely picture now reversed, and what do w

Paleness is stamped upon each face—the blood running cold A cry of insurrection is ringing wild and clear,

And boasted heroism now yields to inglorious fear. The terror-stricken wife implores protection from her

But poor is the protection he's able to afford; He points her to his pistols, well charged and always

And vainly hopes to pacify that dread which knows no

O God! hast thou e'er promised that lasting peace should reign Where millions in thine image must wear oppre

sion's chain ? The rolling thunders in the sky give their loud an swer_NO!

'Twould thrill the boundless universe if it were ever so The firm conditions are imposed, on which alone

depend The safety that we hope for to keep us to the end; These are, a firm adherence to justice, truth and right,

And ever keeping carefully the Golden Rule in sight, J. W. PILLSBURY.

> From the Patterson, (N. J.) Guardian. OLD JOHN BROWN. BY GIBBS A. CAMPBELL.

Swing up the traitor! let him die! Truth, honer and sincerity Are treason to Virginia's laws, Are fatal to Virginia's cause, And he who doth true courage show Strikes an unpardonable blow.

Swing up the traitor! for the deed's Demanded by Virginia's needs; And all her broad dominion lies In deepest peril till he dies! The truest man ye ever saw Hang by Virginia's glorious law !

Swing up the traitor! Who shall dare Henceforth to taint Virginia's air With freedom's word or honor's breath? Behold for such, a traitor's death ! As symbol of her sovereignty Virginia hoists the gallows tree.

Switg up the traitor! though he be Captive, yet conqueror is he! The blow he struck destroyed your power, And prophesied the coming 'our When Heaven's avenging wrath shall fall, And wrap your land in ruin's pall.

That prophecy ye heard aright! Your lips with terror become white; For every North wind's breath ye feel; Now seems your certain doom to seal, And every midnight sound ye hear, Your souls shall paralyze with fear!

Oh! glorious traitor! out to thee Gushes my full heart's sympathy ! Heroic martyr! from thy tomb Shall speak the awful voice of doom ; For thou hast, through all coming time, Made treason holy and sublime!

From the New York Indepe THE VIRGINIA SCAFFOLD. Rear on high the scaffold altar! all the world will turn to see

How a man has dared to suffer that his brothers may be free! Rear it on some hill-side looking North and South

and East and West. Where the wind from every quarter fresh may blow upon his breast. And the sun look down unshaded from the chill De-

cember sky, Glad to shine upon the hero who for Freedom dared to die!

All the world will turn to see him ;-from the pine of wave-washed Maine To the golden rivers rolling over California's plain,

And from clear Superior's waters where the wild swan loves to sail To the Gulf-lands, summer-bosomed, fanned by

ocean's softest gale,-Every heart will beat the faster in its sorrow or its

For the man nor courts nor prisons can annoy another And from distant climes and nations men shall west

ward gaze, and say, 'He who perilled all for Freedom on the scaffold dies to-day.'

Never offering was richer, nor did temple fairer rise For the gods serenely smiling from the blue Olym-

Porphyry or granite column did not statelier cleave

Than the posts of youder gallows with the cross-beam waiting there;

And the victim, wreathed and crowned, not for Dias nor for Jove, But for Liberty and Manhood, comes, the sacrific

of Love.

They may hang him on the gibbet; they may rais the victor's cry, When they see him darkly swinging like a speck

against the sky :-Ah! the dying of a hero, that the right may win its way,

Now his story shall be whispered by the firelight's evening glow,

Till his name shall be a watch-word from Mis

And his planting find its resping in the birthday

Christ, the crucified, attend him, weak and erring

Though some dregs from earthly vintage have defiled

Now his tendrils lie unclasped, bruised and prostrat

From the Boston Transcript

THE EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.

Ye quailed in all your boasted might-

Whose trembling steps your hosts combine

Your temple walls shall shake with dread,

Shall crush the ruthless law of Might,

And make each proud oppressor quake.

And clothe your victim's worthless clay

With all a martyr's halo bright !

And through the future untold years

The weak and blasted life ye take

And History's faithful pen shall trace

A line of light around his name,

Somerville, Dec. 2, 1859.

Who, by his death, hath gained a place

For Truth his life could never claim.

DIRGE.

Sung at a meeting in Concord, Mass., Dec. 2, 1859.

They slay the man who loved the slave,

To-day, beside Potomac's wave,

Beneath Virginia's sky,

And dared for him to die.

Virginia's ancient faith,

Forever urged him on-

The voice of Jefferson.

The Pilgrim Fathers' earnest creed,

Inspired chis hero's noblest deed,

And his reward is-Death !

He heard from Monticello's glade

But chiefly on the Hebrew page

And this from youth to hoary age

No selfish purpose armed his hand,

Obeyed with love and awe.

No passion aimed his blow;

How loyally he loved his land

Impartial Time shall show.

But now the faithful martyr dies,

His soul ascends the equal skies,

Like him in God we trust;

We know that God is just.

Let them best their drums in trium;

While the martyr, Brown,

Fighting bravely, dving nobly,

From their brief control,

Could not hang his soul.

Speed him to the land

Smiling waits his hand.

Clouds, affrighted, fly,

Through the angry sky.

Writing on the wall.

Roused by Freedom's call!

While the martyr, Brown,

Fighting bravely, dying nobly,

Wears the Hero's crown

Tyrants, trembling, read the fearful

Let them beat their drums in triumph,

THE LIBERATOR.

MEETINGS AT CUMMINGTON.

The Anti-Slavery Convention called to meet in

Cummington on the 19th and 20th inst., began its

storm of Saturday having prevented an earlier gath-

ering. Dea, Hiram Brown was chosen President,

and Daniel W. Bond and C. C. Burleigh, Secretaries.

C. C. Burleigh, Gertrude K. Burleigh, Nelson Brown,

Francis K. Dawes and Richmond Kingman were ap-

pointed a Business Committee; and Caroline King-

man, Richmond Kineman, Louisa Kineman, and

Alvan Kingman, a Finance Committee. The evening

was occupied with speeches from A. T. Foss, C. L.

Remond, and C. C. Burleigh, interspersed with the

singing of appropriate pieces by the choir of the Cum-

On Sunday morning, the meeting was opened with

a song by the same choir, after which Mr. Remone

spoke at length and ably against the 'idol worship'

back from adopting right views and measures in re-

C. C. Burleigh, from the Business Committee, re-

1. Resolved, That in the present aspect of the

slave question, we have abundant reason for a firm

faith in our principles, for confidence in the measures

we have chosen for their promotion, and for unfal-

tering trust in the God of Truth and Right, that He

2. Resolved, That never since we enlisted in this

cause has there been a louder call than now for zeal,

fidelity and earnest self-devotion in its service; nor

ever has there been a time when faithful, energetic

effort to advance it has been more effective for good

3. Resolved, That the recent event at Harper's

ported the following resolutions:-

mington Free Church.

gard to slavery.

as its object is noble.

than it may be now.

ssions on Saturday evening, the 19th; the severe

Wears the victor's crown.

Summoned to his home celestial.

All the hemp of ruthless tyrants

Now triumphant, bravest angels

Wherethe Prince of holy martyrs,

God be thanked, the spell is broken !

While the sun of Truth is breaking

God be thanked, the dead are waking,

His earthly course is o'er.

His brave heart beats no more,

For this we mourn, but not for him,-

And though our eyes with tears are dim,

JOHN BROWN'S FINAL VICTORY.

BY G. W. LIGHT.

Read at the meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, Dec. 2.

He read Jehovah's law,

Great Washington's indignant shade

Shall rise a Samson to your fears,

To guard with pomp of pagan show,

T appease the cursed god of wo.

Beware! for when he bows his head,

Tremble and fall, no more to rise!

And earnestly to Heaven cries,

A power no human hand can stay

Ho! ye who lead him forth to die.

A mockery to law and right,

A sacrifice at Moloch's shrine,

That brave old man, beneath whose eye

In his measure he has striven, suffering Lord!

Thou the vine-thy friends the branches-

to the sea.

the Free!

though he be;

love like Thee:

on the sod .-

man is God!

a branch of Thine,

the heavenly wine?

Is but sowing seed for harvest in a warm and mellow inherent weakness of slavery, the constant insecurity of the tenure of the tyrant's power, and the folly and madness of founding political and social institut on falsehood and wrong.

4. Resolved, That while we must disapprove the in fields of rice and cotton, when the hotno o eans employed by John Brown and his ass passes slow,

for the attainment of their object, believing that we have a more excellent way, better both in principle and policy, for working out the slave's delivered we cannot withhold our admiration and applaus from the heroism they displayed, from their couragtheir whole-souled devotion to their own convicti of duty, their generous disinterestedness, their juappreciation of the worth of freedom and the sacred ness of human rights, and the nobility of their bear

ing in the presence of their triumphant enemies. 5. Resolved, That they who eulogize the men the American Revolution as worthy of a nation's gratitude and a world's epplause, are self-convicted of th

grossest inconsistency, if they denounce the heroes of Harper's Ferry as traitors and murderers, worthy of general execration and an ignominious death. 6. Resolved, That Virginia, in dooming Brown and his companions to death, passes sentence against her

self; for they have at most but expressed in action the sentiment engraved on her own official seal, which represents the Genius of Liberty, fully armed, trampling down the oppressor, while the motto enci her head, 'So be it always to tyrants.'

7. Resolved, That till Massachusetts make soil an inviolable sanctuary for the flying bondman, she has no right to call herself a free State; but i the accomplice of every slaveholder in the holding of every slave in this whole slaveholding land.

8. Resolved, That it is an important part of th work of every lover of right and freedom in Mass chusetts, at the present time, to redeem the State from this complicity, by procuring the enactment of Personal Liberty Bill which shall guard her soil from the incursions of the kidnapper, whether he come with or without the authority of Courts and Congresses nd Constitutions which seek to turn iniquity into

Resolved, That in permitting the statue of Dan iel Webster, the champion of the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, to be placed on the State Hous grounds, we believe the Legislature of Massachusetts misrepresented the sentiment of the Commonwealth, and we are sure it did a deed ' not fit to be done,' and eminently fit to be undone; and therefore that the people ought to besiege the Legislature with petition for the removal of that statue, till it shall cease to dishonor their public grounds by its presence, and to seem to commit Massachusetts to the atrocious doctrines of the 7th of March speech, and the disagreeable duty' of catching runaway slaves 'with alacrity.

After a spirit-stirring piece of music from the Flornce Brass Band, A. T. Foss spoke briefly, endorsing the views of Remond, who followed with a few remarks on the financial department of our work. The norning session was then closed with the singing, by the Hutchinson Family, (John and his wife and two children,) of a song entitled, 'The Irrepressible Conflict,' written by George W. Putnam. It was given in a style worthy their reputation, and spontaneou applause testified the delight of the hearers. They have kindly furnished us a copy of the song, for publication with the proceedings of the Convention

· Ridden by the Slave Power, Crushed beneath the chain. Now is come our rising hour, Lo! we're up again.

And voices from the mountain height,
Voices from the vale,
Say to Freedom's fearless host,
There's no such word as fail!

Aye! we are up to hurl the fiend From off the tyrant throne; To strike for man a mightier blow Than earth hath ever known;
To drag your code of whips and gyves
Up to the light of day,
And wash from our escutcheon's front
The bloody stain away.

Free to speak the burning truth, All fetterless the hand, Never shall the Yankee's brow Bear the cursed brand. Send the gathering freemen's shout Booming on the gale; Omnipotence is for us,— There's no such word as fail!

'They 're gathering on the mountain, They 're gathering on the plain; and 'neath the tramp of Freedor The broad earth shakes again. And this their glorious rallying-cry, Whose firm hearts never quail: God and the people! on for right,— There's no such word as fail!

A song from the Cummington choir opened the afternoon session, and then Mr. Foss held the attention of the assembly for an hour and a half, with one of his characteristic speeches, of which, as any one who ever heard him knows no description can give an adequate notion. Next came a song from the Florence Quintette Club, followed by a brief speech from C. C. Burleigh, usging to carnestness, zeal and liberality in promoting the work of moral agitation, as the efficient method of accomplishing the overthrow of slavery. Meanwhile, the Finance Committee went on with the discharge of its duties, and made collections amounting, with some additions during the progress of the meeting, to \$32. The Hutchinsons then

gave a song called 'Rightwover Wrong,' and the session was closed with music from the Florence Band. The singing of the Hutchinsons commenced the evening exercises. A brief speech from Remond succeeded, in which he gave a scathing exposure of the neanness and wickedness of prejudice against color. Mr. Foss spoke next, proposing and advocating as an amendment to the 4th resolution, the substitution of the words ' do not endorse,' for must disapprove. An animated discussion of the proposed amendment followed, in which C. C. Burleigh, A. T. Foss, C. L. Remond, G. K. Eurleigh and Nelson Brown took part, and the resolution was finally adopted by a considerable majority, without amendment. The other resolutions were then taken up, and unanimously adopted. A vote of thanks was passed to the several companies whose musical performances had helped so largely to give interest to the meetings, and, after a farewell song by the Hutchinsons, the

Convention adjourned without day. Though the unfavorable state of the weather made the attendance smaller than on former like occasions the proceedings were spirited and interesting, and all seemed to feel that it was good to have come together. HIRAM BROWN, President.

DANIEL W. BOND, } Secretaries. C. C. BURLEIGH,

> JOHN BROWN. EDEN, Pa., Nov. 11, 1859.

of the American people, and its effect in holding them FRIEND W. L. G.: Neither my friends nor myself suspect I have any poetical talent. Whatever there is that belongs to I or Me has a different direction. There is one subject that has almost monopolized my thoughts for some ten days; namely, the case of that terrible, inimitable man now lying in Charlestown, Va., under sentence of death. It involves tremendous consequences, not only to the man himself, but to the cause for which he perilled his life. Slaveholders are in a trying will crown our enterprise with a success as complete predicament; for whether they pardon or hang him, or permit him to be spirited off, it will make a fearful column in their debit account. Very children say, 'This is but the beginning of the end.' My thoughts on the subject are epitomized in what follows, and they would run into some sort of jingle. AMOS GILBERT.

Menials may war reluctantly, heroes may fight for Ferry, and its effect on the public mind of Virginia and the whole South, exhibit in a striking light the name.

When foe meets foe in deadly strife, we know the tyrant's there;
He can't arouse our sympathies, his minions claim

We grieve to see our fellow-man go forth at despot's Lay down his life submissively, a prostrate, humble

But he who struggles for the Right, and dies in Freedom's cause.

Calls forth our admiration, almost wins our applause.

TURNER loomed up before a world, eccentric, gloomy There came a myth, a meteor glare, to Slavery's weary

He stood before a mighty power, that crushed him to But then his seeming foolishness to wiser thoughts

It opened eyes that erst were closed to Slavery's spreading flood, They saw 't must yield to moral force, or else go dow

Humanity laid in her claim, Right Reason plead the cause, Stern Justice furnished scales to weigh divine with

human laws;
When these were fairly poised, to some however state it seem.
The former dropped below the line, the latter kicked

After a time of panic, Southampton was forgot, Yet men grew in moral stature, they grew, but knew it not; The cause of Freedom stronger waxed, though call'd

by different name,
It only was the more and less, the principle the same.
The voter and non-voter both claimed they had the

right,
They made all slavedom quail and rave, and swear that it would fight.

Now there was one who took no part in all this strife of words,
The items of his logic were guns and spears and swords; He pondered half a life-time, to few his thoughts he

gave, But night and morning, day by day, his thoughts went to the slave. He saw him crushed and bleeding, doomed to a hopeless fate,
The owner's and the sophist's plea, the scowls of

Church and State,
Persuasion mild, and stern rebuke, had all to share
his hate.
He deemed himself appointed to lead the bondman

From out of Southern Egypt to Canaan in the North. A man of deeds not words, having matured his plan, He entered on the fearful work, a bold and honest man;
His hope was large, he knew no fear, nought could
his spirit quell,
Assailed by Slavery's myrmidons, the enthusiast mar-

The sequel of his history, let worthier poet tell. Slavery may hang the man, with craven, vile intent, They'll brand him traitor, murderer; but when their

rage is spent,
Posterity will honor him, and build his monument;
In that good day when Right comes up, and Wrong
is fairly down,
They'll say, 'Here lies the just, the brave, the philanthropic Brown!'

GREAT MEETING IN NATICK. GRANTVILLE, Nov. 21, 1859. DEAR GARRISON :

A meeting of the citizens of Natick was held las evening, (Sunday,) to consider and act upon the following resolution :-Whereas, 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience

God'; therefore, Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the

can any one, even a Quaker, or the most sincere, can any one, even a Quaker, or the most sincere, truthful and earnest advocate of the sanctity of life and person, and opponent of violence, raise his voice violated that contract? I care not whether it was against such a resolve? Resistance to slaveholders got up north or south, but it was really got up is the one thought of the resolution; not one allusion south. It was consummated by the north and south to the means of resistance in it. Resistance to drunkenness, war, slavery, or any evil, is one thing; the northern and southern States. Who violated it? means of resistance, another. We may, and we means of resistance, another. We may, and we must, if we are anti-slavery, concur and co-operate the question to be determined as it was, by the rifle, with John Brown, in resisting slavery; but in his the sword and bioodshed? The Democratic party means used, I can neither concur nor co-operate.

Why is John Brown called a 'fanatic,' 'insane,' 'reckless,' a 'ruffian,' a 'murderer'? He only has crat, so claimed, north and south. Did I not tell done what Virginia, the church and clergy, and the honey-fugling going on as to whether it should entire nation, declare, every day it was his duty to do. Besides, he has accomplished the one great object of life, i. e., to arouse this nation to look the sin other—some for Donglas, and some for Buchanan?

Douglas was the man that did it. He is a strong work; the nation is convulsed; and the downfall of slavery rapidly approaches.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY. 23 Bible House, New York, November 25, 1859.

MR. EDITOR,-I have just received a letter from England, written by the Secretary of the London Emancipation Committee, a copy of which I forward for your valuable paper. Please publish, and oblige,

Yours, truly, A. A. CONSTANTINE, Cor. Sec. African Civilization Society.

'At a meeting of the London Emancipation Com mittee, held on Saturday, 22d Oct., 1859, George Thompson, Esq., in the chair, the following resolu tion was unanimously adopted: -

Resolved. That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with the objects of the African Civilization Society, in so far as they are calculated to promote the growth and exportation of free labor produce the growth and exportation of free labor produce in any way, in being connected with him, I say to from the African continent, and the establishment of a line of free settlements along the west coast of Afrideign to reply to it. ca-a policy which is the most likely to secure the ultimate axtinction of the slave trade.

F. W. CHESSON, Hon. Secretary.

Who the author of the following distribe is we cannot even surmise; nor can we recall to mind the particular interview to which he refers. How could he be so lacking in self-respect, and so disloyal to the South, as to invite one so traitorous as ourself to 'a social and scientific gathering' in his parlor?

To the Editors of the Louisville Journal:

GENTLEMEN :- The wild attempt of John Brow at Harper's Ferry will probably create more political excitement in the North than it justly warrants. I cannot but hope that it will do good by drawing the line between the abolition traitors of the North and the great mass of the loyal population, and cutting off the former more completely than ever from all sympathy at home.

The true abolitionists are disunionists and traitors

Their leaders aim at the invasion and conquest of the South. About fifteen years since, the writer was in ering in my parlor on a winter's evening, the British Consul, Mr. Grattan, and the famous abolition leader, William Lloyd Garrison, fell into a political dialogue not at all private, a portion of which, as we were for Wilham Lloyd Garrison, fell into a political dialogue not at all private, a portion of which, as we were for a few minutes standing near together, I heard with some surprise. Mr. Garrison took occasion, as there was at that time considerable asperity in the relations of Great Britain to the United States, to tender Mr. Grattan all the encouragement he could by assuring him that there were a great many in the control of the could be assuring that there were a great many in the control of the could be assuring that there were a great many in the could be control of the him that there were a great many in our country who would not be loyal to their native land in case of a conflict with Great Britain. The entire abolition time would fall short of its present numbers, which have been greatly increased since the Kansas agita-

tion.

It is necessary now that the conservative people of the North should aid the Government in bringing to punishment for treason, all who are accessory to such incendiary attempts. This is the only thing that can save us from future insurrection, instigated by such men as Gerrit Smith, Garrison, and Frederick Doug-

in the free States of negro military companies, wher in the free States of segro mining of negroes in viewed in connection with the drilling of negroes in Canada, and the desperate harangues of the ultra-abolitionists, should be a matter for grave remonstrance. In Cincinnati for some years past, they have had the Attuck Blues, a negro company well equipped. All the free negroes in the North together would do us no harm, if the meddlesome white men would let them alone. They inspire the negro with passions foreign to his nature, but for which interference he would be loyal and friendly; but under existing circumstances, negro companies ought not to be allowed to organize (virtually) for the invasion of the South, if it should ever be possible.

SANGARES. if it should ever be possi GLENNARY, Nov. 1st.

CASSIUS M. CLAY SPEAKS IN KENTUCKY. Cassius M. Clay made a speech at Covington on the evening of the 16th inst., in which he denounced slavery with his accustomed force and boldness. The Cincinnati Gazette published a full report of the speech, which was listened to by a large audi-ence. It fills two columns and a half of the Gaence. It fills two columns and a half of the Ga-zette, and is one of the important signs of the times. As Mr. Clay took the stand, some one person on the edge of the crowd shouted in a loud voice, Osawatomie Brown.' Mr. C. said he would tell Osawatomie Brown.' Mr. C. said he would tell him something about Osawatomie Brown before he was done, and added, 'If some people in this section of the country don't mend their manners, they will make a great many more Osawatomie Browns than there are.' (Laughter and applause.)

The whole speech of Mr. Clay is worthy of perusal, but we have room for only an extract or two.

According to the last census, there are in Kentucky about twenty men to one slaveholder. There is but one slaveholder, and twenty men, women and children that own no slaves. That is a big differenildren that own no slaves. That is a big difference; but look at your census, and you will see what it says. Yet Case. Clay is a seditions man; Cass. Clay is an ambitious man; Cass. Clay is a bloody man—don't listen to him. Whose interest am I advocating? Men! if I was advocating the interests of one man to the twenty, he would stand by me, would be not? I should be a good follow by me, would he not? I should be a good fellow, at least in his eye, whatever I might be in the eyes of others. Would he not be my friend, whoever else might denounce me? Well, if I don't advocate that interest, whose interest do I advocate? whose interest do I defend? in whose interest do I jeopardize, again and again, my good name and character and, I might almost say, my life itself? Of course as I am not in favor with one, it must be the other twenty. Under which King? It must be one or the other. I am, therefore, for the great people of Kentucky—the twenty to one; for the eight bun-dred thousand as against the forty-three thousand.

OSAWATOMIE BROWN. Well now, I come to the answering of this 'Osa

watomie Brown' affair. 1 am going to speak plain-ly and above board, and without reserve. In my ly and above board, and without reserve. In my humble judgment, it has no connection whatever with party associations in these United States, as such. I say it here now, as I will say it on all occasions, that it is nothing else but a sequence, and fruit foreseen by all sensible men, of that invasion of Kansas by the Southern pro-slavery party, united to their Northern allies. If you don't like that, you must come home to your bosons, and ask there, whether it be true; it is a realization of scripture truth, that they who 'sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind.' It is that, and it is nothing else. Our fathers knew and felt all the exciting accompaniments that have followed in the wake of this instituments that have followed in the wake of this institu-tion of Slavery. They foresaw that it would de-populate Kentucky, and the great States of the West and Southwest, as it has depopulated Virginia, and as it has partly depopulated Kentucky; and they reserved in the far West, in the then uninhabited territory, a home for the free white laborer and his children, as they supposed, for ever, against the strong competition of unpaid labor; where, under Resolved, That it is the right and duty of slaves to resist their masters, and it is the right and duty of the people of the North to incite them to resistance, and to aid them in it.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. How territory of Kansas, the scene of the feud, the scene did it. They are the men who did it. Stephen A Douglass is the author of that bill, a leading Demo Douglas was the man that did it. He is a strong candidate for the Charleston nomination. The De mocracy then are responsible, not we—they are the agitators, not we. If bloodshed was the fruit in Kansas of the attempt of the Democratic Administration, contrary to their pledges in the Cincinnati Platform that they would allow the people of the territories to determine upon their own institutions for themselves; I say, if the Democratic party did, by a Democratic President, violate their pledges, and the people were denied the privilege of free speech and free access to the ballot, driving old Brown from his settlement, taking possession of his plantation, murdering his sons, and making his daughter mad, who is to blame for the institution of the late steps of bloodshed and violence? It is right you should hear a little wholesome truth in Kentucky; you are not in the habit of hearing it. I say it is nothing but a personal feud—a guerilla warfare, commenced in Kansas by the Democratic men in the country in this connectioning men with it, is too base even for all the baseness of the Democratic party. So far as I am concerned THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION

party, and carried on by Brown, upon the princi ple that wherever he found a slaveholder, he should make war upon him. All this assailing of leading men in the country in this connection—all this—I had almost said infamous attempt to connect lead-

I have spoken of the National Republican party.

Look at what I have said, in a rational view. In the first place, is it not right, according to the Democratic rule? Their idea, they say, is the good of the greatest number. If it turns out, then, that the white people are the majority, their interests are to be subserved. That is the doctrine they preach, but not the one they practice.
All along here in the Slave States, they say our institutions are peculiar. If slavery and freedom of the press and of speech cannot exist together, it indeed a peculiar institution—devilish peculiar. is an institution, moreover, that you can't talk about without danger to somebody. we don't want any more of so very peculiar an institution.

A Voice-Set your niggers free !

Mr. Clay—They are; and now I want to do the next best thing. I want to sot those fellows that call themselves Democrats free, for God knows they need it more than the niggers. Now, gentlemen, if South. About fifteen years since, the writer was in you will allow me to tell you, niggers get a good Boston, mingling with all classes of the thinking minds of that city. At a social and scientific gathering in my parlor on a winter's evening, the British to take out the contents, and the devil a bit of it do to take out the contents, and the devil a bit of it do to take out the contents, and the devil a bit of it do they give to you, poor fellows. I have often thought of this, as I have seen Cuffy, black and sleek, work-ing in the field, and then have seen the lazy, dirty, lousy Democrat, unfed and ragged, halloaing 'Hur-rah for Democracy, and damn niggerism!' Gentlemen, I have said enough. If all these

truths, presented to you in this plain, unvarnished style, so that you can all understand them and comprehend them, do not move you, no logical de-ductions that may be drawn by fancy can. If, with party he represented as having no sympathy but with all this living experience before you, of that insti-England in case of a conflict between her and the tution which has driven your forefathers and you United States. I could not now give his estimate of the abolition force upon which England could count until you cross the plains of the far West, and seek as a reduction of our strength. Any estimate at that the shores of the Pacific, you are not moved; if the marks of eternal prosperity and progress exhibites in and by the free States of the Union; if the un ed increase of population and wealth-rail It is necessary now that the conservative people of the North should sid the Government in bringing to punishment for treason, all who are accessory to such incendiary attempts. This is the only thing that can save us from future insurrection, instigated by such men as Gerrit Smith, Garrison, and Frederick Douglass.

Another matter I hope you will urge upon the attention of the people of the North. The formation and listen to anything that I should be able to offer.

Is there any virtue in MRS.S. A. ALLENS WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

TO THE ED'S OF EVANORLIST:—'My age is sirry. One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had len gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had been quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the press year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Rote. er,' No. 1, according to the directions, and have to, tinued to apply a slight dressing of the same one a three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My kirk now almost restored to its original color, and the three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My here now almost restored to its original color, and the heappears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A TONE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly a sadvantage to one who was in danger of become heald.'

Rev. M. THACHER.

Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Noy. 22, 185.

President J. L. EATON, LL. D., Union Union Union

Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

Madam—I would state, that some time list spring I found my hair palling off. I concluded to rechase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Rese. er, Sc., and give it a trial. I commenced using a but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularly, I found that its influence was distinctly to ble, the palling off off hair classes, and my left, which before were quite Gray, were chased in Black. I do not consider that I have given it a first 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, vil., fir. vent the hair flow falling off, and to return gray Locks to their oniginal color. DRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK Editor ' Ladies' Repository,' Cincins I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobels. mum with much satisfaction in dressing my owned children's hair. After trying various articles mannactured 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 retain an any position desired.

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Aim cate, Buffalo, N. Y. · Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to in natural color,' &c.

Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N.Y. City.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobis. mum have been used in my family with benefit effects; and I take pleaure in recommending then us such as have occasion to use such preparation.

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor 'Christian Era,' Botto, · Having used numerous specifics to little purpose

I discarded all, believing them to be of no value, & I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zibbal samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with god effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither ball nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has negatined 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 actual 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 good effects."

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' what belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it will the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard was invaluable dressing for the hair.'

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

N. Y. . My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, ad My hair has greatly, thickened upon my head, as put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The sum 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 HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full ral ue of our money.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE. Prescot, Lancasier,

'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray har was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like lor, which satisfies my mind that it is not a die. color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dy. 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 Great Britain, and to many in the United States.] HAYTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S.ANDRUS, (many years Missioner) to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y. In consequence of her long residence in aforenance island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealth condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,' - I have detred much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's, which will be the standard of the world's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum;' I have tried many characteristics.

tried many other remedies for my hair, but need any thing that so materially and permanently benefited me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen. Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wil-

'It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till as know it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity, and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert advertisement,' &c.

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Edneution R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., as 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 Zylobalsamon have produced all the effects described in her advetisement, 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 full in color or decrease in the color of the color

in color or decrease in luxuriance. Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific stret.)

Brooklyn.

I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most efficacy of the most efficient of of it in curing my baldness and grayness. Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y.

'I was really surprised to find my gray hair son turned as black as when I was a young man. Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistoien, Pennsylvania.

'It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and cause of the me growth, although I did not attend to it is your directions require. 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 is a large quantity might be disposed of. We think that if these fail to convince, nothing

ess than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell article in which they make more profit than on these; always NT on having these These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe.

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest prices

One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 is a bottle. Balsam, 874 cents per bottle. Address all letters for information, &c., to Address all letters for information, &c., to . 355
S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355
Broome Street, New York.' The Genuine has Mrs. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappen, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgary, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCT GOODS DIALES. October 14. lyeo