mills, if payment be made in advance.

PAll remittances are to be made, and all letters 19" All remittances are to be intade, and all letters adjrected, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Wheeten (1981 PAIN) and the Agent.

Wheeten the state of 17 The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennyivania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery So-

aties are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tax

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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 's covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are seithout excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see their children, at the end of man a con-tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and start sealt in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.'

— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 50.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1859.

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

WHOLE NUMBER, 1511.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SOUTH CAROLINA MOVEMENT. SECSSION EXCITEMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 30, 1859. Governor Gist has sent his message to the Legis-lature. In reference to the relations of the South the North, he takes bold and decided ground against the agitators of the North, and in favor of a sparation in the event of the election of a black blican President. He says :

Admonished by the action of the Legislature in Admonished by the action of the Legislature in relation to certain resolutions which were returned without comment to the State from whence they came, by one of my predecessors, I herewith transmiteriain resolutions from the State of Vermont, affirming the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories of the United States, and expenses the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the coloring that it is the data of Congress to the congress to from the Certifores of the Onice States, and ex-pressing the opinion that it is the duty of Congress to exercise this right, and that Vermont will con-tinue to resist the admission of new Slave States into this Union, and will seek the abolition of slatery at the national Capital; also asserting that the decision of the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, has no warrant in the Constitution, and is not binding upon Vermont, or the people of the United States. These resolutions not only embody the opinions of Vermont, but of all the non-slaveholding States; and the signs of the times clearly isdicate an approaching crisis in the destinies of the Siath. The war so relentlessly urged against our institutions has assumed a form so menacing that none but those who are wilfully blind can fail use the dangers that surround us, and the perils to which we are exposed. A small party at the North, numbering at first only a few fanatics, has semial gigantic proportions; and, with very few desptions, the entire Northern people are arrayed gainst us, and pledged to our destruction. Not satissides us to worse than colonial vassalage, by refoing to admit Slave States into the Union-by the subishment of underground railroads to assist our agrees to escape from our service—by prohibiting a from carrying our slaves into the common territers, and by every other conceivable means, they have actually crossed the Rubicon—attempted to instigate our slaves to insurrection, and furnished then with arms to murder us on Southern soil. Huper's Ferry is the truthful illustration of the for set in the drama to be performed on a Southern teatre, and if the South does not now unite for her defence, we will deserve the exceration of posterity and the blood that has been shed will bear a disgraceful and humiliating record against us. The intention of the North is as clearly evinced by the scion of the few, and more especially when that scion is ratified and approved by the press and people of the non-slaveholding States, as if they had set forth their multitudes in the treasonable and incendiary attack upon the South. Can we, then, any longer talk about moderation and conservatism and statesmanship, and still hug the delusive phan ton to our breast that all is well, and that the De meratic party, upon whom we have too confidently tslied, will work out our salvation by platforms and

asslutions? As well might we rely upon a pastebard bark to protect us from ocean storms. South Carolina should be careful not to commit herself, directly or indirectly, to any Presidential aspirant, and be forced by party trammels to support a party sominee. An open and undisguised enemy is infinitely preferable to a pretended friend, and we should the alternative of a choice of evils, as being but the poor privilege of a slave to choose a master. We have sunk very low indeed, if our liberties are to depend upon the fortunate selection of a candisite for the Presidency, who, on account of his pop-tlarity, or his mysterious manner of expressing his opinions, makes himself acceptable to both sections, te is what is generally termed available. It is un-becoming a free people to stake their liberties upon the successful jugglery of party politicians and in-tenstel office-seekers, rather than a bold and determised resolution to maintain them at every hazard. he do quent language of our own McDuffis, to have were universally accorded honesty, patrioties, and disinterestedness: Let us cherish and present the reputation we have nobly acquired, as the leants did their vestal fire. Let no statesman of health of their vestal fire. Suth Carolina tarnish her glorious escutcheon by elisting as a partisan under the banner of any of these political chiefs who are grasping at the Presidential sceptre. The political principles and pecular institutions of the State may be sold and sacriım, I would be sed, but most assuredly they can never be preserved by such degrading partisanship. South Carolina and all the States having similar institutions, must ast put their trust in Presidents, but look to their own power and principles for the security of their ights and institutions. They are in a permanent amority on all questions affecting those rights and institutions, and, whoever may exercise the powers of the Chief Magistracy, they will be exercised in obelience to the will of the adverse majority.' What then, it may be asked, should South Carolina the in rich, it may be asked, should South Carolina. do in view of the crisis now approaching (and in my epinion fearfully near), to save her institutions from destruction, and afford safety and security to her people? Would to God I were able to give a satisfication

there be the humble instrument to avert the impen-ding danger; but I must confess my utter inability to point out the path of honor and safety, in the miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a miles of the difficulties that surround us. With a last solution, or maintain our independence out of it. If, a I solemnly believe, we can no longer live in peace and harmony in the I wise,—notwithstanding the the value and n's, in the most owledge the use ess. a I solemnly believe, we can no longer live in peace tharmony in the Uuion—notwithstanding the associations of the past, and the remembrance of our common triumphs (being treated as enemies and aliens, rather than brethren of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance by the North), we can form a confederacy with ability to protect itself against any enemy, and command the respect and alimination of the world. This proud position is hair, and caus-attend to it as kimiration of the world. This proud position is ealy to be obtained by a strict adherence to law and ety; and while South Carolina insists on the

ctory answer to this momentous question, and as be the humble instrument to avert the impen-

ther States carrying out their constitutional obli-guions, she should be careful to do her whole duty, and carry out in good faith all her obligations ber sister States and the federal government, by dis-ber sister States and the federal government, by dis-ter sister States and the federal government, by dis-tered to the state of the ry to sell articles a those; always corted in any

Court, or our people are released from their binding obligations by the constituted authorities of the state; and it would be an arrogant assumption on the part of individuals to set up their opinions of the constitutionality of a law as their rule of action. We should not imitate the example of the North in setting up a 'higher law,' but retain the profil poston we have always occupied, and it will give self-attifaction, an approving conscience, and moral power to achieve victory. In preparing for any margency that may arise, I would respectively re-tommend you, at an early period, to take such assesses as in your wisdom you may deem proper take applicat, to obtain the co-operation of the &c., to Mrs. lepot, No. 955 mine has 'Mrs. tside wrappers, n bottles—none is by others is a as a criminal

Southern States in concerted action in defence of our i THE RUFFIANISM OF CALEB CUSHING. institutions, whenever they may be put in jeopardy by all the departments of the government passing into the hands of our enemies. The election of a Black Republican President will settle the question of our safety in the Union, and although the forms of the Constitution may be compiled with, its vital principle will be extinguished, and the South must consent to occupy an interior and degrading position. consent to occupy an inferior and degrading position.

South Carolina exhaust every means to get the cooperation of the Southern States in this vital and

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

Another Crisis: Reciprocal Rights and Duties.
The sympathizers with John Brown are fond of ridiculing the idea of danger to the national confederation. They laugh at the danger while they wish to precipitate the fact. They ery 'all's well, that the means of salvation may be neglected till it is too late.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the raid of John Brown has produced in the South a feeling of hostility toward the North unknown before. We do not gather the evidence of this opinion from the intemperate language of the newspapers, or the speeches of excited politicians, who may have political eapital to make out of the excitement. We find the evidence in the private letters that come to us from soble, conservative, thoughtfal men who assure us that the best men, even as far North as Virginia, are ready to ahandon the idea of longer union as impracticable. They are broughte to this conclusion by the spirit and tone of the Northern radical press on the John Brown invasion. The South has had comparatively little sympathy, when a deep, wide-spread, powerful, organized conspiracy has been revealed against the peace and lives of the Southern people. We think that the South has judged the North too harshly in this matter. They have set up the question is asked, are they sane? I cannot pronounce on that question. What would acommend of langer say upon the question, I as only the question, I as only the private letters that come to us from soble, conservative, thoughtfal men who assure us that the best men, even as far North as Virginia, are ready to ahandon the idea of longer union as impracticable. They are broughted to this conclusion of hate, and of blasphemy. Oh God! That such things are in this our day!

They have set up this religion of hate, and they blasphemasily call that Christianity. I put this guestion to you—shether these demoniac passions and this ferocity upon the subject of slavery institutions have not sarrificed all there is divine in the appraction. What would a c

'If you or I have the power to toss a powder-horn or an explosive biscuit into the region, to start a re-volt that would break up and destroy the whole system, would it not be wholly right to toss it?'-

he asked a question that showed himself to be with-out the sympathy of a single honest man in this city. madmen of the press and the pulpit must not be counted as representative men: rather let them be regarded as fanatics, whose utterances are of no more account than the east wind. But the state of feeling is such at the South, that, unless milder counsels prevail, there will be an explosion at an early day. We apprehend that the approaching session of Congress will be one of intense excitement, and that it will be marked by scenes of violence and disorder. No man can say what a day may bring forth, and we would not be surprised to learn that the politicians of the South are already preparing to present a scheme for a Southern con

against the North.
In such a state of affairs, it is vitally important that we understand one another. This great people must not be distracted by the madness of fanatics in or out the asylums. We are, as a people, more homogeneous and compacted in sentiment and affection than any other civilized country. It is not the great mass of the people that is divided. At heart the nation is sound. But we are ruled by demagogues and clamor. It is the curse of democracies that loud voices and strong arms rule. The danger is, that a storm of passion will sweep over the country, and prostrate our fabric of States, before reason and reflection can recover their throde. Our duty is plain. We must at the North with one heart and voice repudiate and condemn all disign or desire to ence to the institutions of the South. We must stand by the Constitution as it is, They at the South will repudiate all design or desire to extend the institution of slavery beyond the limits re-cognized by the Constitution. No legislation to secure additional protection for slavery may be ex-pected in the Union as it is. And we are strongly

Extracts from a murderous harangue delivered by

that most unscrupulous of all Northern demagogues in the service of a flendish Southern slave oligarchy, CALER CUSHING, at the 'Union-saving' (alias Goddethroning, man-imbruting, hell-rejoicing) meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Dec. 8th, 1859 :-

operation of the Southern States in this vital and important movement, yielding everything but principle for that purpose, prepared to follow any lead in resistance; but she should never forget that she is a sovereign and an equal, that by her sovereign act she created the relationship of the State that now exists in the Federal Union, and that she has a clear and unquestionable right to assume her position as a sovereign in the family of nations.

A sovereign in the family of nations. and generation—Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Gerrit Smith

Southern people. We think that the South has judged the North too harshly in this matter. They have taken the ravings of Cheever and Wheelock and the like as types of the Northern pulpit, and the Independent and Liberator as types of the Northern press. It would be just as fair is go into the Brdams to get the representative ment of the country. The North has not expressed as much sympathy with the South as it might and should have done. But we know scarcely of a Northern newspaper that has justified the invasion. And out of five hundred pulpits in this city, not fee would justify the specific most of the country. But we know scarcely of a Northern newspaper that has justified the invasion. And out of five hundred pulpits in this city, not five would justify it. The few ministers who have preached rebellion are no index to the sentiment, religion or sense of the Northern pulpit. When the 'poor miserable vessel,' [Dr. Cheever, ] as he calls himself, on Union Square, asked last Thursday:—

Square, asked last Thu in a hospital for lunatics in the State of New York? I know not, but I do say that unless all monomaniae Abolitionists are to be deemed insane, and incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, in a question of murder, and of treason, and of burglary, and of robbery, then John Brown was not insane, and therefore was not entitled to any consider There cannot be a good man in the world who would approve of the conflagration which this incendiary would kindle, and exalt in. We repeat, that these madness of the press and the pulpit must not be text: we know well that he acted with that stolid indifference to the atrocity of his acts, which in all time has distinguished political and religious assassins-which may be found in the plot of Guy Fawkes which animated Ravaillae when he stuck his pointed into the heart of a good and great man. The same spirit animated the assassins of Italy, who so prevent the progress of moderate referse, and so substitute their own monomania, slaughtered Rossi at the steps of the Vatican. In Vienna, the good Count Lemborg, and in Prague, the Princes Windischgratz, were assassinated in the same spirit of insane attempts at political reform. That is the distinctive quality of these offences. The idea of John Brown is that by cold-blooded, fraudulent, midnightenssas-sination, he is to promote the reform of the assitutions of the State of Virginia and of the Southern States. So, gentlemen, I now say, that not only was John Brown duly and legally tried and convicted, but that he was duly and lawfully essented, and rendered up his justly forfeited life to the justice of

the State of Virginia. (Applause.)
Shall we in Massachusetts continue to nourse the sentiments of mutual rancor and hostility upon an sentiments of initial rancor and nostinty upon an abstract question wholly beyond our reach and authority? If we do so, gentlemen, we know well the consequences. We know that not only must this federal compact break by its own weight, we know not only that the time has come when we shall all have to say farewell to the glories of the Union, farewell to the vaunted glories of the American Union; but when there will be the more terrible and dismal spectacle of civil war upon our own soil in Massachusetts. For, gentlemen, when we look forward to the consequences of a disruption of this Union, is the North then to invade the South for pected in the Union as it is. And we are strong of the purpose of carrying on an attach inclined to believe that the John Brown excitement these projects of interference with the institutions of the South? Will the North undertake that? Genther the South? Will the North undertake that, it will see inclined to believe that the John Brown excitement will tend to bring the North and the South together on this ground. The North will have its own opinions, and will express them freely, and if the South choose to read or hear them, they will hear or read a strong anti-slavery sentiment generally: but the North will stop just there: no more John Browns will rise in our day: no more conspirators will gather at Harper's Ferry: the cowards who urge bolder men to violence will think of the hanging of Brown and his aids, and tremble: traitors will turn into rampant patriots, and none will, be louder in denouncing the folly of Brown than the men who helped him to his ruin: abbilitionism will die with the villains who hatched this conspiracy.

The South will cease to denounce the North as an enemy. It must treat the leaders of disunion as we would treat the sympathizers with John Brown: it must set itself resolutely against the schemes already begun to make this excitement the entering wedge of division: it must believe that the heart of the whole country is sound, and we are all brethren, willing to bear one another's burdens. With such reciprocal feelings, the present excitement may prove to be a great blessing. It may drive the North and South

say, there will be war between them, and those who are devotedly attached to the Constitution, and determined at all hazards to maintain the Union.—

(Applause.)

Gentlemen, a band of drunken mutineers has seized hold of the political opinion of this Commonwealth, — avowed and proclaimed enemies of the tonstitution of the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts; for these same persons denounce, vituperate, and calumniate, with impartially delivered by Senator Brown, of Mississippi, before the Legislature of that State, he said:—

'I have said of Mr. Seward and his followers, that they are our enemics, and we are that it is not a time now for the Constitution of the United States; nay, equally claimed the spirit of the Constitution of the United States; nay, equally claimed the spirit of the Constitution of the C

manding him to obey or die! And so the good ship of State drifts on,—drifts, driftes, with the storm howling around, drifts on towards the gulf of pediction, with the black of the pirate flying at the missen place of the property of State drifts on towards the gulf of pediction, with the black of the pirate flying at the missen place of the good ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And where are you, the digod ship of State drifts on to perdition. (Loud and prolonged applanse.) And show the patch of your and to carry the peak to the deed. That man says the wants of myself and of my poor sons, both in sickness ond in health. Only last year I hay sick for that it is inferred that John Brown did the deed.

One of the actors in that affair, now deed, gave and the production of the wants of myself and of my poor sons, both in sickness and in health. Only last year I have sick for the wants of myself and of my poor sons, both in

Washington organ, The Constitution :-

In such a crisis as this, would not the election a code of laws that have since become a byword and of a Black Republican Speaker and other officers be a hiss among the nations, for barbarity and tyranjustly regarded as a declaration of war against the ny. He came to Kansas a professed Free State man, South, and an invitation to servile insurrection? We tried to get the nomination from that party, and, appeal to every Southern member of Congress to anfailing that, took position with the Border Ruffians. appeal to every Southern member of Congress to answer the startling question, whether the success of such men at such a period would not be truly considered as inviting the slaves themselves to insurrection and rebellion? We ask further, whether if, in consequence of such action, insurrection or rebellion should appear in any portion of the South, would not all who had co-operated through such an organization with such associates be held properly responsible for all the consequences?

\*We firmly believe that in the impending crisis, a Bakek Republican victory in the organization of the deed were the aggressors. Turn back to history.

Black Republican victory in the organization of the House would shake the pillars of the Union. Already the Government is rocking almost on its found dations under the effect of the insurrectionary movements against the South, and if in the heart of two Southern States, and at the very capital of the Union, these traitors could now accomplish such a triumph, we may but little longer boast of the possession of a common country. That the Constitution should be subverted by those who had just sworn to support that sacred instrument—that all its guaranties should be thus disregarded and violated—that the flag of treason should float in triumph in the Capitol itself, would cause the stoutest hearts to tremble for the fate of the Union. While we still possess a common country, while the Union still lives, we implore all who would perpetuate its blessings and benefits to refrain from such an act in this period of gloom and peril. If evil must befall usif the Constitution be wrong, the særed name of Washington must be overthrown—if the Union, cemented by the blood of our forefathers, must be disambered—if blood mast flow in the fratricidal strife, let not the disaster be precipitated in the capital bearing the name of the Father of our Country.' tal bearing the name of the Father of our Country

WOMAN'S LETTER TO JOHN BROWN. The following is a copy of a genuine letter re-ceived at our post-office. The letter is authentic date for Governor of Kansas, wrote a letter some beyond question, as the main facts can be corrobo-time after this affair, to John Brown, which fully rated by a number of persons now here. It will be read to John Brown this morning:—

To John Brown, Commander of the army at Harper's Ferry, Charlestown, Jefferson Co., Va. Care of Jailor, Charlestown.

CHATTANOGA, (Tennessee,) Nov. 20, 1859.

John Brown: Sir—Although vengeance is not mine, I confess that I do feel gratified to hear that you were stopped in your fiendish career at Harper's Ferry with the loss of your two sons. You can now appreciate my distress in Kansas, when you then and there entered my house at midnight, and arrested my husband and two boys, and took them out of the yard, and in cold blood shot them dead in my of the yard, and in cold blood shot them dead in my hearing. You can't say you done it to free our slaves; we had none, and never expected to have; but it has only made me a poor disconsolate widow with helpless children. While I feel for your folly, I hope and trust you will meet your just reward. Oh, how it pained my heart to hear the dying groans of my husband and children! If this scrawl gives you any consolation, you are welcome to it.

MATILDA DOYLE. N. B.—My son, John Doyle, whose life I begged of you, is now grown up, and is very desirous to be at Charlestown on the day of your execution; would certainly be there if his means would permit it, that he might adjust the rope around your neck, little wool.'

The first time I saw Capt. Brown was in the empty and it is a would neck to the Council.'

The first time I saw Capt. Brown was in the empty and it is a would neck to the Council.'

The first time I saw Capt. Brown was in the empty and it is a would neck to the Council.'

The first time I saw Capt. Brown was in the empty and it is a would neck to the Council.' N. B .- My son, John Doyle, whose life I beg-

A party of gentlemen immediately subscribed the amount, but the letter being detained, it was as-certained young Doyle could not arrive in season.— Charlestown Correspondence Baltimore Sun.

SELECTIONS.

A DEFENCE OF THE MEMORY OF JOHN BROWN.

December 3, 1859.

Editors of the Boston Traveller:

In your issue of yesterday, you have an article under the caption of 'Documents relating to John Brown,' by which a wrong impression is given to the public. Will you allow me to present a few points which you, in common with the press generally, have overlooked in reference to the exparte statements now being raked out of the ashes of the past?

As for nearly four years I have been your corredesired, and trust that the confidence I hope to have merited in endeavoring faithfully to give the facts of Kansas history, will now stand me in need in the remarks I shall make.

The affidavits alluded to by you have been published in the Herald of Freedom. The same have

beering.)

THE UNION DISSOLVED!

THE UNION DISSOLVED!

THE UNION DISSOLVED!

The House elects a Republican Speaker this week, the Union is no more? Hear Mr. Buchanan's Washington organ, The Constitution:

"Union is no more? Hear Mr. Buchanan's Washington organ, The Constitution:

"Union is no more? Hear Mr. Buchanan's was so brutally butchered,) and of his daughter-in-law, the wife of one of Brown's sons.

Wilkinson was a member of that body of usurperers, which, under the name of a Legislature, passed a code of laws that have since been a bruvel and a code of laws that have since been a bruvel and a code of laws that have since been a bruvel and a code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that have since been a bruvel and the code of laws that the part th

Black Republican victory in the organization of the deed were the aggressors. Turn back to history, House would shake the pillars of the Union. Al- Wilkinson, Doyle and the others were killed on the

John Brown lost the confidence of the Free State leaders in Kansas. Let me state a few facts, which will possibly put a different face on the matter. Charles Robinson, the present Republican candi-

endorsed his course, and praised him highly, as be-ing beneficial to the cause. In that same summer, he, with other prominent Free State men, consulted he, with other prominent Free State men, consulted with John Brown, endorsing plans for defensive operations submitted by him, and furthermore signed orders on the Central Committee of Safety for money and equipments, with which to make John Brown's company more effective.

I myself was a witness to scenes which show directly that John Brown had the confidence of the

Free State leaders in Kansas.
On the first Sunday in September, 1856, a counci of war was held in Lawrence, which was attended by Gen. James H. Lane, Adjutant-General Marcus

by Gen. James H. Lane, Adjutant-General Marcus J. Parrott, Gen. Charles H. Branscomb, Cols. Harvey, Crackliń, Samuel Walker, Joel K. Grover, and a large number of the principal officers and citizens of the Free State volunteers and party.

Capt. John Brown appeared on the street, for the first time after his heroic defence of Osawatomie, a few days before. His arrival created a sensation, and the Council immediately sent a message to him to attend. They were very urgent, but the old Spartan did not like talk. His reply was—' If the General had any work to do, he would do it, but he would not come to the Council.'

igrant camp at Plymouth, on the Northern border. I know that he was consulted by Col. Dickie, and the officers of the train.

During that campaign, General Lane several times urged the captain to act with him as second in command. This was done with the concurrence of the

mand. This was done with the concurrence of the Free State men generally.

On the 13th of September, 1856, when 2700 Ruffians appeared in front of Lawrence, Capt. Brown again made his appearance. At that time, and I state what I know, he was solicited by all the prominent citizens to take charge of the delence. Among these were G. W. Brown, the editor who now attempts to slander John Brown.

These are facts which politicians cannot blink. I am not a politician, and therefore dare to honor and

vindicate John Brown, a man whom I love and rev-erence beyond all others who labored for the cause of Freedom in Kansas.

In closing, let me say that John Brown told me

he was not a participator in the Pottawatomie homicides. John Brown was incapable of uttering a falsehood. I would take his word against the ouths of a million of Doyles.

BROWN'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE. CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON Co., Va., } 16th Nov. 1859.

The affidavits alluded to by you have been published in the Herald of Freedom. The same have also been re-published in the Post of this city. They can be found in the report of the Congressional Kansas Investigating Committee. They were not, however, taken before the full session of that body, but were concocted at Westport, Missouri, by Gen. Whitfield and Mr. Oliver, the pro-elavery member of the Commission, who abundantly proved during that investigation his desire to make out a good case against the Free State men.

Again—the statements made in those affidavits are entirely different from those first made by the women when they arrived at Westport, after the killing at Pottawatomic Creek. This can and will be proven. But the affidavits are not such as would be received as evidence in any court of law. A fifth rate practitioner could tear them all to pieces as far as they go to show that John Brown had any thing

of my own choice respecting it. You, my wife, perfectly well know that I have always expressed a decided preference for a very plain but perfectly practical education for both sons and daughters. practical education for both sons and daughters. I do not mean an education so very miscrable as that you and I received in early life; nor as some of our children enjoyed. When I say plain but practical, I mean enough of the learning of the schools to enable them to transact the common business of life comfortably and respectably, together with that thorough training to good business habits which best prepares both men and women to be useful, though poor, and to meet the stern realities of life with a good grace. You well know that I always chaimed that the music of the broom, washtub, needle, spindle, loom, axe, seythe, hoe, flail, &c., should first be learned at all events, and that of the piano, first be learned at all events, and that of the piano, &c., afterwards. I put them in that order as most conducive to health of body and mind; and for the obvious reason, that after a life of some experience and of much observation, I have found ten women

obvious reason, that after a life of some experience and of much observation, I have found ten women as well as ten men who have made their mark in life right, whose early training was of that plain, practical kind, to one who had a more popular and fashionable early training. But enough of that.

Now, in regard to your coming here: If you feel sure that you can endure the trials and the shock, which will be unavoidable (if you come), I should be glad to see you once more; but when I think of your being insulted on the road, and perhaps while here, and of only seeing your wretchedness made complete, I shrink from it. Your composure and fortitude of mind may be quite equal to it all, but I am in dreadful doubt of it. If you come, defer your journey till about the 27th or 28th of this month. The scenes which you will have to pass through on coming here, will be anything but those you now pass, with tender, kind-hearted friends and kind faces to meet you every where. Do consider the matter well before you make the plunge. I think I had better say no more on this most painful subject. My health improves a little; my mind is very tranquil, I may say, joyous, and I continue to receive every kind attention that I have any possible need of. I wish to send copies of all my letters to all our poor children. What I write to one must answer for all, till I have more strength. I get numerous kind letters from friends in almost all directions, to encourage me to 'be of good cheer,' and I still have, as I trust, 'the peace of God to rule in tions, to encourage me to be of good cheer, and I still have, as I trust, the peace of God to rule in my heart.' May God, for Christ's sake, over make his face to shine on you all! Your affectionate husband,

JOHN BROWN.

A HOPEPUL SIGN. It has long been felt by the friends of Evangelical religion in other parts of the country, that the in-different and even hostile attitude of some of the Orthodox churches and ministers in Boston toward the

Anti-Slavery reform, was a serious hindrance to the growth of Evangelical sentiment in that community. Those humane and generous sentiments of our nature to which the Anti-Slavery movement so powmature to which the Anti-Slavery movement so powerfully appeals, have been suppressed through a vague fear of ultraism, or have been left to the skillful handling of such sincere and earnest philanthropists as Mesers. Garrison, Phillips, and Parker. The prevalence of infidelity among the young men of Boston is largely owing to the Anti-Abolition fiver which has infected some of the Orthodox churches in Bostonia and the prevalence of the Orthodox churches in Bostonia suppression.

ton is largely owing to the Anti-Abolition I ver which has infected some of the Orthodox churches in Boston. There was danger that churches which ought to be the leading representatives of the faith and spirit of the Pilgrims, would die of a conservative propriety. Happily, this danger begins to be perceived by some of those churches themselves; and they are waking up to a lively interest in the social and moral reformation of the community around them, and a positive sympathy with Christian aggression upon the institution of slavery. Not even the incubas of a New England Branch of the Nassau street Tract Society will be able to weigh down this rising energy of the religious life.

One incident of the past week will be worth more to the Orthodox Congregational churches of Boston, than all the pride of their history in years of rigid Conservatism. We refer to the appearance of the young and eloquent pastor of the Old South Church, Rev. J. M. Manning, at a public meeting in aid of the family of John Brown. His remarks, reported in another column, show that a new life is beginning to penetrate the Boston churches.—N. Y. Independent.

SOUTHERN SENTIMENTS IN REGARD TO JOHN BROWN.

The Clerk (Va.) Journal, in an article which has en severely denounced by the Richmond Enquirer,

'As Christian people, we are bound to respect the motives of the sincere and conscientious, however mistaken. We do not care to weaken our position by shedding the blood of such, and giving them no time for repentance, if we can free ourselves from their annoyance by their confinement, as we would

time for repentance, if we can free ourselves from their annoyance by their confinement, as we would confine a mad dog.

But blood for blood has been shed—more blood on their side than ours. It is now only a question of policy as to the further proceeding. Will it do more good to go on shedding blood, while we can find any to shed, or to stop now, and confine the rest for life? Our judgment is, and we are bound to give it, (if every subscriber stops his paper, as we have been threatened to some extent,) in favor of the latter. More good can be done, as a pure question of policy, by staying the diffusion of blood. Now, if this be treason, make the most of it. We will be as ready to die for a conviction as John Brown. As a pure question of policy, we have most to gain by a moderate, placable, conservative course. We regret as deeply as any man can, the death and injury of our highly esteemed citizens. We appreciate their worth as highly as any one. Beekham and Turner left no superiors, as valuable citizens, behind them. But now the deed is done, and blood has been shed in return, and a few are fugitives and outcasts on the earth, and the rest are in chains and dungeons. How much more can a generous, magnanimous people ask? Hee will it appear in the eyes of the world, the unfavoricy world to slavery, to ask more—even to the last drop of their blood?

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING.

ER ? JUDGE FOR

W. CLARK, anati, Ohio. m's Zylobalsag my own and articles manu-ion in recom-ised. It gives d retains it in

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HOODS DEALER.

MARYLAND REPUBLIATES NORTHERN DOUGH-FACES. The following article from a late number of the Baltimore (Md.) Patriot, will be read with great interest at the present time. The Patriot is one of the oldest and most conservative, as well as influential journals in Maryland. If we mistake not, it has been for many years under the control of a direct descendant of President Munroe. The sentiments beggin returned are no doubt those of a great material. descendant of President Munroe. The sentiments herein uttered are no doubt those of a great majority of the intellectual men of the Southern States. The Patriot knows the sentiments of the South; all its interests, pecuniary and political; all its social relations, are Southern. No paper is better able to comprehend the position of the great political parties of this country, as at present divided; its sentiments therefore will, as they ought, strike home with peculiar emphasis. We commend them particularly to those who attended the Union-meeting at Fancuil Hall on Friday.—Atlas.

'We perceive that the Locofoco Dough-Faces in Boston, New York and Philadelphia propose hold-ing meetings for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of Locofoco disunionists in the South, at the recent xhibitions of foolish sentimentalism for John Brown by a handful, here and there, of Abolition Disunion

ts in those cities.

If there be any character in the world that we have any contempt for, it is the dirt-eating dough-face of the free States. He has no real regard what-ever for the South and its institutions, and yet, under the pretence of sympathy for them, he will pro-claim himself our friend, keeping his eyes steadily all the while upon the pecuniary benefit to be de-rived therefrom. He will do anything that Southrived therefrom. He will do anything that Southern fire-caters will require of him, even to licking the very dust off their shoes; and though these partisans are perfectly aware of his hypocrisy, yet, strange to say, they affect to be gratified at the exhibition. Why is this? Because they hope thus to get his vote. This is the sum and substance of the whole operation, and what is more, its real object. The Lecology of the South demand the serviject. The Locofocos of the South demand the sacri-fice, and the Locofocos of the North are ready to

make it.

We all know that not a single resolution will be adopted at these forthcoming meetings, not one word spoken by any of their dough-face orators, that will appress their real sentiments, and so far as the Amer express their real sentiments, and so far as the Amer-ican party of Maryland are concerned, they want none of this make-believe sympathy. Indeed, they want no sympathy at all from anybody. They are a power in the State, not a 'Balance of Power' para power in the State, not a 'Balance of Power' party, and though they were cheated at the election out of the majority in the counties, they mean to get it back next fall, without so much as saying to the Locofocos, 'By your leave.' They are not to be decrived about the real sentiments of the people of the Free States about slavery, and they don't want any Northern or Western man to eat dirt to please them. They don't ask any such degradation. What they They don't ask any such degradation. What they want is the vote of the Northern and Western Opposition, by whatever name they may call them-selves, for a conservative Presidential ticket next fall. As to slavery in Maryland, they can take care of that themselves, and as they hold opinions about that institution, contrary to those entertained by people in the Free States, they don't require of those people in the Free States, they don't require of those people, as a prelude to a political union in the next Presidential election, the surrender of their manhood, or the profession of a lie on their lips about slavery. That's Locofoco tactics.

Away, then, with the proposed dough-face meetings, in the three Eastern cities! The Americans of Maryland want no such exhibitions of degradation to sustain them in maintaining the institution of Stayers in this State. They ask no odds of any.

of Slavery in this State. They ask no odds of any free State on this subject. They sustain slave labor, because it is their will so to do, and for no other reason. They seek no excuse for this exercise of their independent will. So long as the American party have a voice in public affairs in Maryland, and can control her public action, no power can and can control her public action, no power can force her to leave the Union of these States, becase the Northern and Western people choose to dislike elavery. They may talk against it till doomsday, and Maryland will not care; but whenever any John Brown shall attempt an inroad into her borders, she her slaves, but also of her invaders, and that, too, not a la Wise. Nor do the Americans of Maryland care what the locofoco disunionists of the South, or any of their fraternizers, say or think about them.
She is in a position that enables her to say to North and South: hands off, stand back!—and what is more, she has the means and ability to enforce her will, without surrendering her reserved rights to the Federal Union. As Decatur said in relation to Baltimore city, 'She gives graves to her invaders, and monuments to her defenders!'

So far as the American party of Maryland are concerned, then, the Northern Dough-Faces who are going to play the Pharisce and the fool to the South, may as well save their breath and their hy-poerisy. We all know the value of their professions. They cannot make Maryland a Locofoco State next fall, do what they may, and we want no Dough-Face votes, when the contest comes, for the candiof American freemen, whether North, South, East West, whose opposition to Locolocoism is as firm and unrelenting as ours is. We want nothing to do with Dough-Face sentiment. The American party of Maryland know what they themselves think about slavery, and they are willing that the people of other States shall have their opinions about it too. They do not hold that a difference of opinion, on this or any other subject, is sufficient to keep the opponents of Locofocoism apart in the great struggle of next fall. Indeed, they believe the expulsion of the Loco-

foco party from power will be sure to result in ex-cluding the question of slavery from politics entirely. The incense, therefore, to be burned this week on Locofoco altars in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, will not be a sweet smelling odor in the nos-trils of Maryland Americans. They prefer the open hostility of enemies to the hypocrisy but Maryland knows no enemies, North, South, East or West, except the Disunionist, and Abolition the death, whether here at home in our own cities or State, or in other States.'

Our good friend of the Richmond Whig cordially ciations throughout Virginia and the South, bound ogether by a common pledge among themselves leither to eat, drink, wear, buy or use any article rhatsoever manufactured at or imported from the North. All this may be very well, to touch the pocket of the North, but how are we to protect the Southern heart against the fascinating belles of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia:—

The girls who give the South,

What gold can never buy. There is no need of forming any other voluntary associations' than those imposed by the marriage service. True, our fathers in the revolution made and carried out a similar pledge in regard to importations from them other country, but they never made the importation of the mothers of the country contraband We propose a war of retaliation. If the North will interfere with our Southern domestic institutions, let our young men go forth and rob the Northern homes of their most cherished ornaments, and bring them back to found more patriarchal relations among us. Let us conquer prejudices by the potent aid of love and bring willing continue to our arms. love, and bring willing captives to our arms. The idea of not eating New England salmon next spring; or of refusing an ice crop from Chicago when the dog-star rages; the bare thought of having Indiana grouse, or a Maine supply of potatoes, interdicted to us; of being compelled to read of New York oysters or Pittsburg ale, and be in the tantalizing condition of not envising them; the terrible calamity dition of not enjoying them; the terrible calamity involved in giving up the Newark cider sold for champagne, or the rectified whiskey of Cincinnati drugged for old Otard brandy; the shivering sensadrugged for old Otard brandy; the shivering sensa-tion produced by the very thought of refusing to be supplied with Pennsylvania coal this winter by Kel-logg & Co., because it is mined by an underground railroad; the setting our obdurate appetites against the produce of Hoosier pigeon roosts, a teal or blue-wing, because they fly from the North; all these are overwhelming. We are patriotic enough as the world wags, but we cannot surrender our gastro-nomic liberty. Casar had his Brutus, Charles I, his Cromwell, and a voluntary association to neither drink or eat Northern good things has its Louisville Journal; if this is treason, make the most of it drink or eat Northern good things has its Louisville Journal; if this is treason, make the most of it.—
Our friend of the Richmond Whig will forgive us, if, after having stood politically shoulder to shoulder for years, we now part stomach to atomach on this question of 'internal improvements.' It is hard to sunder old ties, and our very bowels will yearn to be reunited, but then stomachic bitters give an appetite and promote digestion, and so we drain the hitter oup to the dregs.—Louisville Journal.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, DECEMBER 16, 1859.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON, At the Meeting in Tremont Temple, Dec. 2d, relating to the Execution of John Brown.

I do not rise, on this occasion, to define my posi-tion (laughter); that, I believe, Virginia and the honor her illustrious dead, and contemn her gloriou I do not rise, on this occasion, to define my posi-South clearly understand, and I as clearly understand memories, for the purpose of 'crushing out' th theirs. Between us there is an 'irrepressible conflict,' apirit of freedom, and making absolute the sway of (applause,) and I am for carrying it on until it is fin- ferocious slave oligarchy—and this they do with imthirty years I have been endeavoring to effect, by fence of her free institutions, imitate the example of peaceful, moral and religious instrumentalities, the the South in support of slavery, there would be hate slavery thirty times more than I did when I be-gan, and I am thirty times more, if possible, an aboli-which they stand. (Loud applause.) And it would

ed me here, I am glad to have the scriptural declaration made good—The first shall be last, and the last
first.' (Applause.) I shall heartily rejoice if the
resistant—a believer in the inviolability of human life church and the clergy-if men of influence, and high under all circumstances; I, therefore, in the name of standing, and character-will come forward, and take God, disarm John Brown, and every slave at the the lead in this great battle against the gigantic, South. But I do not stop there; if I did, I should overshadowing despotism of our land.

applause.)

overshadowing despotism of our land.

A word or two in regard to the characteristics of every slaveholder and tyrant in the world. (Loud ap-John Brown. He was of the old Puritan stock-a plause.) For wherever that principle is adopted, al Cromwellian who believed in God, and at the same fetters must instantly melt, and there can be no optime in keeping his powder dry. He believed in pressed, and no oppressor, in the nature of things. the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, and acted How many agree with me in regard to the doctrine accordingly. Herein I differed widely from him. of the inviolability of human life? How many nor But, certainly, he was no 'infidel'-oh, no! How resistants are there here to-night? (A single voice New York Observer, if John Brown had only been who are otherwise are not the men to point the finger an 'infidel,' evangelically speaking! But being ex- at John Brown, and ery 'traitor' - judging you by

(Loud applause.) John Brown meant to effect, if been shed. But it is asked, 'Did he not have stored them into the scale of freedom. It is an indication up a large supply of Sharp's rifles and spears? What of progress, and a positive moral growth; it is one did they mean?' Nothing offensive, nothing aggres- way to get up to the sublime platform of non-resive. Only this :- he designed getting as many slaves sistance; and it is God's method of dealing retribuas he could to join him, and then putting into their tion upon the head of the tyrant. Rather than see hands those instruments for self-defence. But, mark men wearing their chains in a cowardly and service you! self-defence, not in standing their ground, but spirit, I would, as an advocate of peace, much rather on their retreat to the mountains; on their flight to see them breaking the head of the tyrant with their Canada: not with any design or wish to shed the chains. Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill, blood or harm the hair of a single slaveholder in the and Lexington, and Concord, rather than the coward-State of Virginia, if a conflict could be avoided. Remember that he had the whole town in his possession

The verdict of the world, whether 'resistance to strictest self-defence, and forbearance to the utmost, has been this :even when he had his enemies completely in his

As to his trial, I affirm that it was an awful mockery, before heaven and earth! He was not tried in a court of sustice. Mark how they crowded the counts together in one indictment-MURDER, TREAson, and Insurrection! Of what was John Brown convicted? Who knows? Perhaps some of the jury convicted him of treason; others of murder; and Brown all the way through, from the time of his ar others, again, of insurrection. Who can tell? There rest till now. Now he no longer needs our sympathy was no trial upon any specific point. John Brown for he is beyond suffering, and wears the victor' has been judicially assassinated. It was the trial of crown. Are we to grow morbid over his death, to the lamb by the wolf-nothing less.

See the ferocious spirit of the Virginians, in their with an outburst of emotional feeling, and not to come treatment of the living and the dead! Let me give up to the work of abolishing slavery? I confess, I This is Southern testimony :-

were subjected to every indignity that a wild and consequence of neglecting to make it directly subsermadly excited people could heap upon them. Curses vient to the cause of emancipation by earnest and were freely uttered against them, and kicks and blows inflicted upon them. The huge mulatto that shot Mr. Turner was lying in the gutter in front of the arsenal, with a horrible wound in his neck, and though sympathized with far more than ever John Brown dead and gory, vengeance was unsatisfied, and many, needed sympathy, whether in the jail or on the scafas they ran sticks into his wound, or beat him with them, wished that he had a thousand lives, that all of them might be forfeited in expiation and avengement of the John Browns needing our thoughts, our sympathies foul deed he had committed. Leeman lay upon a our prayers, our noblest exertises to strike off their rock in the river, and was made a target for the practice of those who had captured Sharpe's rifles in the affray. Shot after shot was fired at him, and when tired of this sport, a man waded out to where he lay, any thing for Visginia. She seems past all salvation—and set him up, in grotesque attitudes, and finally to have been 'given over to believe a lie that she pushed him off, and he floated down the stream.'

O, the spirit engendered by Southern slavery! Is brutal, so unmerciful, so fiend-like! Truly-

'The planters of Columbia Are gods beneath the skies! They stamp the slave into the grave, They feed on famine's sighs!

They blight all homes—they break all hearts, Except, alsa! their own; While a moan, and a groan, That move th' Almighty's throne, Bring angels' teers in pity down,
And move the Eternal throne!'

They cannot help this. It is because they are slaveholders. It is because they have struck down the sacred rights of man. It is because they have exalted themselves above all that is called God." It is because they have blotted out the Decalegue, the Golden Rule, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Declaration of Independence; and, conscious of their tremendous guilt, they are carried to the extreme of fiendish desperation whenever they are crossed in their

Was John Brown justified in his attempt? Yes, if Washington was in his; if Warren and Hancock were in theirs. If men are justified in striking a blow for freedom, when the question is one of a threepenny tax on tea, then, I say, they are a thousand times more justified, when it is to save fathers, mothers, wives and children from the slave-coffle and the auction-block, and to restore to them their Godgiven rights. (Loud applause.) Was John Brown justified in interfering in behalf of the slave population of Virginia, to secure their freedom and independence? Yes, if LaFayette was justified in interfering to help our revolutionary fathers. If Kosciusko, if Pulaski, if Steuben, if De Kalb, if all who rebellion to oppose —and who, as the author of the joined them from abroad were justified in that act, Declaration of Independence, proclaimed it to be a then John Brown was incomparably more so. If SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH, that all men are created equa you believe in the right of assisting men to fight for and endowed by their Creator with an INALIENABLE freedom who are of your own color-(God knows RIGHT TO LIBERTY. (Applause.) Beyond all ques nothing of color or complexion-human rights know tion, it must have been VIRGINIA HERSELF, who, by nothing of these distinctions)—then you must cover, her coat of arms, with its terrible motto, 'Sic semper not only with a mantle of charity, but with the admiration of your hearts, the effort of John Brown ple their oppressors beneath their feet, and, if neces at Harper's Ferry. I am trying him by the American standard; and I hesitate not to say, with all deliberation, that those who are attempting to decry him are dangerous members of the community; they are those in whom the love of liberty has died out; they are the lineal descendants of the tories of the dience to God '-and whose exulting talk is of Bun

with the the process the tenant of the property of the process of

hot to hold them. (Loud applause.) See the con-sistency, the rigilance, the determination of the South in support of her slave system! She moves and acts as by one impulse. Every man on her soil who is suspected of cherishing the principles of liberty is ta-booed, persecuted, and brutally outraged, especially if he be from the North. She makes clean work of it, and is consistent. On the other hand, how is is at the North? Presses which are venomously pro slavery in spirit, and wholly Southern in their design are every where allowed; presses which insult th ished in victory or death. (Renewed applause.) For punity. Now I say that if the North should, in deabolition of American slavery; and, if possible, I speedy and thorough cleaning out of our cities and tionist of the most uncompromising character. (Loud be a more hopeful state of things than it is now; for this toleration is not the result of principle, but the plause.)

With reference to the gentlemen who have preced- lack of it—it is not a noble forbearance, but a loss of

it would have added to the flendish malignity of the I.') There is one ! (Laughter.) Well, then, you actly of the Observer pattern of theology, that fact | y ur own standard. (Applause.) Nevertheless, I am has been a very hard pill to swallow; yet, so bout a new sistant, and I not only desire, but have la-upon sustaining slavery in our land is that wicked been unremittingly to effect the peaceful abolition of journal, that it is pre-eminently ferocious in its spirit slavery, by an appeal to the reason and conscience of toward John Brown, and has been loudly clamorous the slaveholder; yet, as a peace man-an 'ultra' for his execution, notwithstanding his religious faith. peace man-I am prepared to say, Success to every As it respects his object at Harper's Ferry, it has slave insurrection at the South, and in every slave been truly stated here by those who have preceded country.' (Enthusiastic applause.) And I do not see me, and by John Brown himself, whose declarations how I compromise or stain my peace profession in to the court have been read. The man who brands making that declaration. Whenever there is a conhim as a traitor is a calumniator. (Applause.) The test between the oppressed and the oppressor,-the man who says that his object was to promote mur- weapons being equal between the parties, -God knows der, or insurrection, or rebellion, is, in the language that my heart must be with the oppressed, and alof the apostle, 'a liar, and the truth is not in him.' ways against the oppressor. Therefore, whenever commenced, I cannot but wish success to all slave insurpossible, a peaceful exodus from Virginia; and had rections. (Loud applause.) I thank God when men not his large humanity overpowered his judgment in who believe in the right and duty of wielding carnal regard to his prisoners, he would in all probability weapons are so far advanced that they will take those have succeeded, and not a drop of blood would have weapons out of the scale of despotism, and throv

for thirty-six hours; and if he had been the man so tyrants is obedience to God,' has been rendered basely represented in certain quarters, he might have in the affirmative in every age and clime. Whethconsummated any thing in the way of violence and er the weapons used in the struggle against desblood. But, all the while, he was counselling the potism have been spiritual or carnal, that verdict

Glory to those who die in Freedom's cause!

Courts, judges, can inflict no brand of shame, Or shape of death, to shroud them from applau No, manglers of the martyr's earthly frame, Your hangmen fingers cannot touch his fame! Long trains of ill may pass, unheeded, dumb— But Vengeance is behind, and Justice is to come!' (Loud applause.)

We have been warmly sympathizing with Joh indulge in sentimental speech, to content ourselve \*The dead lay on the streets, and in the river, and exhaustion of the system, a disastrous reaction, in self-sacrificing effort. I see in every slave on the Southern plantation a living John Brown-one to be fold at Charlestown. I see four millions of living What can we do? I do not know that we can do any thing for Virginia. She seems past all salvationmay be damned.' But here we sland, with our feet upon the old Pilgrim ground; and I ask the sons of there any thing like it on earth? So cowardly, so the Pathers, are we not competent to make the old Bay State free to all who trend its soil? (Enthusiastic applause.) Are we to have another Anthony Burns rendition? ('No!' No!') Shall we allow any more slave-hunting from Benkshire to Barnstable? ('No!' 'No!') No? How, then, will you prevent it? You must make that decree a matter of record, through your representatives in the State House; and if you want to do an effectual work tomorrow, and to consummate John Brown's object as far as you can, see to it that you put your names to the petition to the Legislature, now in circulation, asking that body to declare that, henceforth, no human being shall be regarded, tried or treated as a slave within the limits of this Commonwealth. (Immense applause.) But that is 'treason,' (laughter,) and John Brown was a 'traitor.' The Boston Post and the Boston Courier are very anxious to discover who were the instigators of the Harner's Ferry rebellion Most disinterested and patriotic journals! When you read any of their editorials on this subject, just look at the bottom and see in staring capitals \_\_ ' SOLD TO THE DEVIL, AND PAID FOR.' (Laughter and

Who instigated John Brown ? Let us see. It mus have been Patrick Henry, who said-and he was a Virginian- Give me liberty, or give me death! Why do they not dig up his bones, and give them to the consuming fire, to show their abhorrence of his memory? It must have been Thomas Jefferson-anothe Virginian-who said of the bondage of the Virginia slaves, that one hour of it is fraught with mor misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in Brown found the strongest incitement and the fullest justification.

Who instigated the deed at Harper's Ferry? The people whose motto is, 'Resistance to tyranta is obe Revolution, only a great deal worse. (Applause.) If ker Hill and Yorktown, and the deeds of their nevthe spirit of '76 prevailed to-day, as it did at that period, it would make the soil of the Commonwealth too source of life itself:—'So God created man in his

own image; male and female created he them.' Thus title which I suppose to come from your own lips, almaking an 'irrepressible conflict' between the soul though I prefer the word, which I believe will be ing what Lord Brougham so eloquently uttered years ago—'Tell me not of rights; talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart. I am further informed by the same authority, that the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you consider the enterprise in which John Brown tell me of laws that sanction such a claim. There was engaged when he fell into the hands of the Slave is a law above all the enactments of human codes—
Power, as wild, fanatical, insane, unjustifiable by the the same throughout the world, the same in all time—
law of God or man; as a miserable failure, in that it is the law written by the finger of God upon the heart its immediate purpose was not accomplished, and as of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, disastrous to the cause of freedom, in that it may while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and ab- postpone the election of a President pledged to your hor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and my political faith. I believe I have truly stated

We have a natural right, therefore, to seek the abolition of slavery throughout the globe. It is our a very foolish thing? Let us return for a moment that wandereth.' I say, LET THE WILL OF GOD BE our ultimate purpose? Will our work be accomplish pone! That is 'the head and front of my 'fanat- ed when Mr. Seward, or Mr. Chase, or Mr. Fremont

and women-whippers! We must join together in Democrat from every custom-house and post-office i the name of freedom. As for the Union-where is the land; when it shall have abolished slavery in the it, and what is it? In one half of it, no man can District of Columbia, and declared the inter-State exercise freedom of speech or of the press-no man slave trade piracy; when it shall have repealed the can utter the words of Washington, of Jefferson, or Fugitive Slave Act; when the principle of the Wilfrom the South, if they are supposed to cherish the blot which now mars its record? I think not. I sentiment of freedom in their bosom. We are living apprehend that even you, harassed as you are by an should be any union whatever. 'How can two walk very. together, except they be agreed?' The slaveholder, Shall we then complain if John Brown, leading a with his hands dripping in blood, will I make a com- forlorn hope, has opened a shorter way to the central pact with him? The man who plunders cradles, will encampment of the enemy? That brave old man I say to him, Brother, let us walk together in uni- accomplished his victory only by his death. And tv'? The man who, to gratify his lust or his anger, shall we now humbly apologize to the enemy because scourges woman with the lash till the soil is red with the bravest of our braves has attacked him on a field her blood, will I say to him, 'Give me your hand; he was not prepared to defend? Do the articles of let us form a glorious Union'? No, never-never! war demand that course? Or are you afraid of de-[Applyuse.] There can be no union between us, sertions from our camp when our soldiers find how What concord hath Christ with Belial?' What well the campaign is progressing? union has Freedom with Slavery? Let us tell the You fear that John Brown's sortie at Harper's inexorable and remorseless tyrants of the South that Ferry may so weaken your forces that they will suftheir conditions, hitherto imposed upon us, whereby fer defeat in the battle eleven months hence; but if we are morally responsible for the existence of slave- the one places us nearer ultimate victory than the ry, are horribly inhuman and wicked, and we cannot other, ought we to sigh over the lesser defeat? The carry them out for the sake of their evil company. forces of slavery are struck with fear and trembling. By the dissolution of the Union, we shall give the The South is aroused to a sense of impending danfinishing blow to the slave system; and then God ger. Slave masters are beginning to understand that will make it possible for us to form a true, vital, en- they maintain their position only by force of actual during. all-embracing Union, from the Atlantic to or imputed superior power. And to three millions of the Pacific—one God to be worshipped, one Savior to bondmen, that conception of a better state, and of a be revered, one policy to be carried out-freedom possibility of its attainment, which, once perfected, every where to all the people, without regard to com- dooms slavery to sure destruction, is rapidly coming. plexion or race—and the blessing of God resting upon John Brown's rebellion sounds a note of preparation us all! [Loud applause.] I want to see that glorious for the slave, and of warning to the master; and if the day! Now the South is full of tribulation, and ter- white man neglects the call, the black man will not. ror, and despair, going down to irretrievable bank- This is the warning you are to take up and to repeat, ruptey, and 'fearing each bush an officer.' Would to if you do your duty. To you as a Senator, sworn to God it might all pass away like a hideous dream! devote your best energies to the protection and pres-And how easily it might be! What is it that God ervation of the Constitution, the Union and the librequires of the South, to remove every root of bitter- erty of America; as a citizen acknowledging fealty to ness, to allay every fear, to fill her borders with pros- the national compact; as an anti-slavery agitator, perity? But one simple act of justice, without vio- pledged to hold your opposition to slavery above all lence or convulsion, without danger or hazard. It is considerations of party policy, and to continue your this :- 'Undo the heavy burdens, BREAK EVERY YOKE, course whether in majorities or in minorities; as a you a single specimen, as narrated by an eye-witness. am somewhat apprehensive in regard to this powerful AND LET THE OFFRESSED GO FREE. Then shall thy Christian, seeking to accomplish the will of the Mi light break forth as the morning, and thy darkness ter, to establish freedom and to preserve peace, you shall be as the noon-day. Then shalt thou call, and are bound to proclaim that warning. the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. And they that shall be of thee shall I do not charge you with placing above, but which build the old seaste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called. The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in

How simple and how glorious! It is the complete solution of all the difficulties in the case. O that the to the word of the Lord! But, whether she will hear or forbear, let us renew our pledges to the cause of bleeding humanity, and spare no effort to make oppressed !

Onward, then, ye fearless band, Heart to heart, and hand to hand, Yours shall be the Christian's stand, Or the martyr's grave.'

Mr. Garrison took his seat amid loud and long continued cheering.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. :

DEAR SIR-It is impossible for me to be prese at the Temple this evening, and fulfil what I regard as an imperative engagement elsewhere, which I re-

I feel that the occasion is one which should call serious and patriotic persons to consider their relations to that system of oppression which has made a wise ated an earthly life, to all appearance, worthier of duto bring it to a severe, but not ignominious end.

I myself am persuaded that John Brown was a monomaniac-made such by the horrible weight of Kansas troubles-and I cannot justify what seems to me a premature, ill-judged, and every way crazy and wrong act. But when I consider the conscientious calmness and religious determination which accounpanied the deed, that which would else be utter and even here in Boston, as we have been informed by a pernicious folly becomes glorified, by the motive, with a heroism worthy to go on record with the brightest examples of Scotch and Revolutionary His- nent in law, in literature, and in commerce, in some tory; and we cannot help feeling that 'e'en the light part, perhaps, of gentlemen in official station,-who, that led astray was light from Heaven."

Truly yours, HENRY M. DEXTER. Boston, December 2, 1859.

LETTER.

To HENRY WILSON, SENATOR AT WASHINGTON:

SIR,-I had intended to delay writing what I have to say upon the subject of this letter until such time Democratic party in this Commonwealth, and that as I could speak of an act which, performed by you, that Senator, forgetful of his position, of his surhad become part of the history of the contest between freedom and slavery in America, rather than, as I years of grovelling subserviency, of the sentiment now do, enter upon a discussion of a proposed measure of party policy. But upon further consideration I have decided, inasmuch as a word of remonstrance is better than a word of censure, to adopt the latter

The telegraphic reporters announce, by your pro curement, I suppose, certainly with your approbation that you 'seize the earliest convenient opportunity to disclaim,' from your easy chair in the Senate Chamber, 'any connection or sympathy with John Brown's the mire? raid.' I'apply to the event at Harper's Ferry the

and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in the reasons which induce you to adopt the cours man.' (Loud applause.) which the country is assured you are to follow. Does it not occur to you that you are about to d

special duty to make Massachusetts free soil, so that to the principles upon which this crusade against the moment the fugitive slave stands upon it, he shall wrong, in which you are a prominent chieftaip, and take his place in the ranks of the free. God com- I am the humblest of your retinue, was commenced mands us to hide the outcast, and bewray not him For what are we striving? Is the success of party pone! That is 'the head and front of my 'tanaticism'! That is the extent of my 'infidelity'! That
comprehends all of my 'treason'! THE WILL OF
GOD BE DONE! (Great applause.)

God forbid that we should any longer continue the
accomplices of thieves and robbers, of men-stealers

the Mr. Seward, or Mr. Chase, or Mr. Premont,
or Mr. Bates, or Mr. Reed, or yourseif, or any other
man representing for the moment our section of the
army of freedom, occupies the Presidential chair?—
or when the Republican party, having possession of
the Federal Government, shall have banished every of Patrick Henry-except at the peril of his life; mot proviso shall have become the law of the land ; and Northern men are every where hunted and driven when the Federal Judiciary shall have crosed the foul under an awful despotism-that of a brutal slave ever-present fear that some word of yours may defeat oligarchy. And they threaten to leave us, if we do the election of some partizan candidate for office, will not continue to do their evil work, as we have hith- acknowledge that our work will not be complete erto done it, and go down in the dust before them! while American freedom continues to be a fragment-Would to Heaven they would go ! (Prolonged cheer- ary development. Believing as we do that the coning.) It would only be the paupers clearing out from flict between freedom and slavery is irrepressible, we the town, would it not? (Laughter and cheers.) But, can accede to no peace save that which shall ensue no; they do not mean to go; they mean to cling to from the annihilation of the foe. It is then the exyou; and they mean to subdue you! But will you be tinction of slavery which is our ultimate object. The subdued? ['No!' 'No!'] I tell you, our work is ephemeral phases of the contest are but minor inci-is THE DISSOLUTION OF THIS SLAVERY- dents. The admission of Kansas as a free State, the CURSED UNION, if we would have a fragment of abolition of slavery within the federal jurisdiction, our liberties left to us! [Applause.] Surely, between the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act, are preliminary freemen who believe in exact justice and impartial questions. There are many citadels to be besieged liberty, and slaveholders who are for cleaving down and conquered before we can gain that great battleall human rights at a blow, it is not possible there field where we are to meet the whole army of sla-

But you aver that a regard for party success, which

you certainly confound with, substantial victory, requires that you shall denounce the 'raid' of John Brown as the insane project of a shattered brain, as anomalous, as having no connection with the antislavery agitation, as not being necessary as a result therefrom, or as an aid to its further progress; in fine, South may be wise before it is too late, and give heed as having no other cause, direct or remote, than the whim of a madman. But in this you are mistaken. The public sentiment which spoke out all through New England on the evening of Dec. 2d, proves that this truly the land of the free, and the refuge of the the rebellion at Harper's Ferry sprang from a cause existing among the people; that a time had arrived in the progress of events, when it became necessary to serve a purpose in the contest; that John Brown was but the executive who gave effect to what the great Northern mind had, insensibly to itself, perhaps, enacted and approved.

Do you doubt? Had you at Worcester, at any one of some scores of villages I might name, had you even at Boston, on the night of Friday last, uttered the words which you will think it necessary to speak in order that some plo-slavery State or district may be deceived into upholding anti-slavery men, you had certainly been convinced right speedily.

Massachusetts progresses. Five years ago, your election to the United States Senate was a great triman mad, and which, to-day, has judicially termin- umph of your special principles over prejudice, just and otherwise, against yourself. We have now no ration here than that of any of those who have agreed occasion to desire popularity in our candidates. Our nominees are all available, so long as they are true to our cause. We are no longer conservative. We are no longer obliged to say to the printer of the Liberator, 'Please, sir, abuse us a little,' when election day is at hand. We are a respectable party; we have a millionaire among us; we have had a plurality of the votes of Boston. More than this, we have, Senator of Massachusetts, an association of gentlemen of property and standing, -of gentlemen emiat their weekly gatherings, drink this sentiment-Success to the First SLAVE INSURRECTION AT THE South!' And I am indeed permitted to go further, and to say to you, that the same Senator of Massachusetts to whom I have referred as my authority for this statement, obtained his knowledge of the fact by his own personal presence at one of these gatherings. some months before he was placed at the head of the roundings, of the lessons he had learned in many which appear to be his inheritance, joined in outward action, and apparently in sincerity of heart, in this 'foolish, fanatical, insane, or treasonable' toast.

Is it for you, who are set as an example unto us. t halt and stagger before the lion in the path, while humbler men are not afraid to follow? If you hesitate, can you expect that those who, like the Senator I have mentioned, have been but almost persuaded will do otherwise than return to their wallowing in

REPUBLICAN PROM THE START. and the state of t

BROWN DEMONSTRATION AT MILPORD

JEAR GARRISON.

I am glad to inform you and the friends of freedom. that our meeting on the evening of Dec. 2d was a every sense a complete success. Indeed, it far every sense a complete successions. We took our proceeded our nigness can misgivings and trenbies liminary steps with some few exception, or the cold shoulder, and doubted the propriet of all such gatherings, on the ground of compression their non-resistance. But, looking to God for wide we concluded to go on, not doubting that we could be so, and still make a clean record for the act, is as so, and still make the result has convinced to the our work was righteous, and the reward more the sixty-fold.

Fo Bosts and, the TA... I pray augn the Grim Ranc Lewis ored M.

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In your last paper, you announced that the people of Milford would hold a meeting on the ever of Millord would hold a meeting on the evening of the day of John Brown's execution, and that'd, the day of John House would at the appearance of the same that the priate time be tolled. Notwithstanding many of printe time be tolled, stacles, all that was promised we accomplished. And first, let me record with sincere gratification, that a first, let me record with sincere granucation, that a earliest and free prayer-meeting, in sympathy to John Brown and his bereaved family, was held a the Congregational Church. James T. Woodber the congregational the pastor, presided, and opened the meeting is faithful manner—worthy of an Abolitionist, Y remember him in the days of Auld Lang Spa; and, on this occasion, he went back to his first ken There was an earnest and deep sympathetic tone is the words uttered and prayers offered. One of the apeakers attempted a very feeble apology for wicked Nehemiah Adams, and would not have him denored as an unworthy minister of Christ. He was faith. fully replied to by a gentleman from Mr. Beeche Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who doubted whether man so recreant as Dr. Adams could know my thing about Christ or his spirit.

The fact was announced, that seven years are the Congregational Church of Milford passed a series of resolutions, declaring that no slaveholder should enter their pulpit, or sit at the communion-table. The speaker, who with great satisfaction alluded to the speaker, who with get the following question, tuning to Mr. Woodbury in the chair: 'If all other church in the country took this noble position, how long would slavery continue? ' Only one day,' responded Rev Mr. Woodbury. Remember this acknowledgment and then tell us where the sin of American slaver rests. Can that be the Church of Christ, that po sesses the key to unlock the dark prison that hall four million groaning slaves, and will not do it?

This meeting, though protracted, kept up its inter. est to the last, and will long be remembered as a pediable means of helping on the cause of the suffering The ladies connected with Mr. Woodbury's parish

by their willingness to go from house to house, and shop to shop, have added to the Brown fand \$100. God bless them ! And now for our thronged and impressive meeting

at the Town Hall in the evening. Promptly, at the hour appointed, every nook and cerner, above and be low, of our spacious hall, was occupied. George W. Stacy called the meeting to order, and read for accept ance a list of officers, which the Committee had taken the liberty to recommend. The list read was unan mously accepted, as follows: H. H. Bowers, Eq. President; A. B. Vant, Nelson Parkhurst and Christ Johnson, Vice Presidents; A. Wilson, Secretary Ira Stewart, Winslow Battles and B. B. Marshall, Committee on Resolutions.

The President, on taking his position, made a few pertinent remarks, showing his heart to be in the right place, and himself, as we before knew, to be true to the purposes of our meeting. The congregation then united in the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne,' and sang the hymn commencing-

. Ho! ye who breathe the br .ing air O'er Massachusetts hills.

Rev. Mr. Jones, of the Methodist Church, then offered an appropriate and earnest prayer. George W. Stacy followed in an opening address, occupying about thirty minutes. He commenced by referring to the dark and murderons deed of Virginia in the exertion of the hero of Harper's Ferry, whose indominate spirit, so true to his highest light, had entered upon that better life, where tyrants are despoiled of their power- where the wicked cease from troubling, and

"The scaffold," he continued, "erected this day by Virginia's minions of affrighted cowards, has proved the hangman has freed a spirit too noble, humane and world-wide to breathe any longer the tainted atmophere of a slave-cursed land. The incensed crowd of soldiery and glutted spectators have gazed upon a scene too sublime for their darkened conceptions and the last act of this tragic dream shall haunt the midnight hour, and make the tyrant's head restles on his pillow. Ay, the death-knell of Slavery has been sounded; for, as the Lord liveth, "Freden shall be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the

The character of Brown was briefly sketchedhis noble bearing in , ourt and prison porusyed-the absurdity of calling him a traitor repudiated; such a charge is

· Faise! a truer, nobler, trustier heart, More loving or more loyal, never bet Within a human breast.'

The address was attentively listened to till is close, and received with marked approbation. Then followed a series of most excellent and spirited reclutions, by the chairman of the Committee, who read them in a clear and distinct tone, and followed their reading in a few eloquent remarks. Both the reselutions and the remarks were received with great sp-

Mr. Butts, of Hopedale, offered, as expressive of his own views, a series of resolutions, which were not called up for action.

C. L. Remond, of Salem, was now introduced, and enthusiastically received. As he took the platfarm, Mr. Stacy gave notice that the petition, making Masachusetts a free State, was on the table for signs-

It would be useless to attempt an outline of the eloquent and stirring remarks of our friend Remond. Enough to say, they were characteristic of the best and the man,' and did most excellent work to facts on the mind the worth of Anti-Slavery. He called up the latent fire of Abolitionism, and made us all feel the meanness of indifference and opposition to the most radical type of Anti-Slavery. I am happy to say a verbatim report, by Miss Albee, of Hopedale, was made of this well-timed effort, and I trust it may be sent you for insertion in the Liberator; as also a copy of the resolutions, which were also adoptedonly two dissenting voices.

Mr. Remond was followed by Mr. Perry of Brooklyn, N. Y., E. M. Marshall and Winslow Battle of Milford. Till the hour of 10 o'clock, the vast andience remained, evidently interested, and impregnated with the importance of our timely and effective meting. In every sense, this was a successful demonstration, and has left an impression on many hearts not soon, nay, never, we trust, to be forgotten. The Hall was dressed in mourning, as expressive of woman's remembrance of the departure of the slave's martyr. A collection, amounting to some \$15, va taken up. A vote was also passed to offer the resolutions for publication in the Boston Daily Bes and Journal, and to forward a copy to Gov. Wise, sho has better earned the name of Gov. Foolish.

13 To-day - Friday, Dec. 16-the brate but unfertunate associates of John Brown-Cook, Coppis, Gress and Copeland-are to be murderously executed as Charlestown, Va. A day of reckoning is coming.

OUR COLORED CITIZENS AND JOHN BROWN.

For the past few weeks, the colored churches Boston have held prayer meetings for John Brown, and, on the day of his execution, a union meeting a and, on the Twelfth Baptist Church commenced at 11 o'clock, the Tweifin Dapust Courter commenced at 11 o'clock praying and speaking varied the exercises, which praying and in interest as the telegram announced the news from Charlestown, Va. Rev. Messrs ones, Young, Stevens, Thompson, Earle, Henson Randelph, Charles Lenox Remond, John C. Cluer Randelph, Charles V. C. Nell, with many others, (col gred and white,) participated during the day.

Many colored persons closed their places of busi ges. Their houses also were arrayed in tributes of mourning and respect, and many wore crape on their arms; some of them with rosettes and portraits of John Brown.

#### WORCESTER.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Temperance Society of the colored citizens of Worcester held or the erening of the 2d inst., a Committee, previously appointed, submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the death of Capt. John Brown the cause of freedom throughout the United States has received a severe blow, and the victims of oppression in this country have lost one of their nobles Resolved, That the colored people of the United

States, as the special victims of slavery in this coun try, must feel in an extraordinary degree the force o the blow which has been struck at liberty through taking the life of Capt. John Brown and his fellow

martyrs.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved families of Capt. John Brown and his fellow martyrs to liberty, and we will do all in our power to alleviate their distress,

Resolved, That the colored citizens of Worceste be carnestly entreated to purchase the life of Capt. John Brown, in order to assist in raising a fund for the distressed families of those noble men, and to perpetaste their memory and noble character among our people to all future time.

Resolved, That our heart-felt sympathies be extended to those noble men who are yet to suffer in the cause of Freedom; and we sincerely trust that they may be sustained by the Arm of Strength until their warfare shall be over, and they follow their noble captain from labor to reward.

GILBERT WALKER, Chairman fir. William Brown concluded a very spirited address by proposing the following resolve, which was

Resolved, That we tender our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of those colored patriots who so nobly sacrificed their lives on the altar of Freedom, and that we ever esteem them as martyrs worthy of commemoration.

#### JOHN BROWN MEETING ON THE CAPE HARWICH, Dec. 3.

On Friday last, the day appointed for the execution of John Brown, a meeting was held by the citires of Harwich, at Exchange Hall.

The meeting was very large and enthusiastic; about

The church bells were tolled, morning, noon and evening, for half an hour, and other demonstrations of like character, to express the sorrow of the people at the fate of the hero, John Brown. Words seemed hardly adequate to express their indignation at the Sixte Power -- and at their course with the insurrec-

The hall was decorated with fit emblems, one of which represented the gallows, ready for the execution, and under it was inscribed : . John Brown-Friend of the Slave. To-day, Virginia gives him a Martyr's grave.

Enthusiastic anti-slavery speeches, all commending Brown's course, were made by the clergymen of Harwich and the neighboring towns, also by some of the leading men and citizens of the village. The following resolutions were adopted by the meeting :-

Resolved, That the Golden Rule of our Lord-Do unto others as you would have others do unto you, is the basis of the perpetuity of our civil law, and the security of our social and political happiness. Resolved. That we have tried the experiment long

enough to satisfy every reasonable mind that Slavery and Liberty can never harmonize; one or the other Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our

brethren of the South in their condition of peril and solicitude, and would hasten every feasible effort for the removal of slavery, which portends ovil, and only evil, and is the sum of all villanies. To be truly patriotic is not only to love our coun-

try, but to be on the side of equal liberty for every citizen of our country and the world; therefore, Resolved, That John Brown is the true patriot, and his persecutors and those who procured his death are

the real traitors and murderers. The meeting closed only when darkness came of A contribution was taken up for the family of John Brown, amounting to thirty dollars. BOWDON.

### MEETING AT NEW BEDFORD.

A large number of colored citizens were assembled

on Sunday evening. Dec. 4, at an early hour. Rev. Mr. Kelly occupied the chair, and was assisted by Messrs, J. B. Smith, Rev. Mr. Leonard, Rev. Mr. Berry. Secretary, Louis A. Bell. The meeting was opened with reading of 58th chap. Isaiah by Rev. Mr. Smith; prayer by Rev. Mr. Leonard, and by singing of the hymn, 'Am I a Soldier of the Cross?' In the absence of the Committee on Business, remarks were made by Mr. Abner H. Davis and Rev. J. Mitchell, which were well received. The Committee which consisted of the following persons, viz. : E. R. Johnson, H. Johnson, Dr. Bayne, Rev. J. B. Smith, came in, and the Chairman reported the following resolutions, which were received for discussion :-

Resolved, That this meeting do fully endorse and heartily approve of the spirit manifested by Capt John Brown and his associates, but deeply regret that the plans so well laid did not succeed. Yet we be lieve that, under God, the greatest good to the cause of our enslaved brethren will result from the mad career of the slaveholders in sacrificing the lives of their victims, as that act will do more to hasten the downfall of slavery than the liberation of a thousand

Replied, That we return thanks to the clergy who have had manly independence enough to speak bold words for John Brown, and also to those trustees that complied with the request to allow the use of their bells to be tolled on that mournful occasion, and we hereby acknowledge our want of belief in the Christian virtues of the trustees of such churches as refused the application; as our religion teaches us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us.

Resolved, That the memory of John Brown shall be indelibly written upon the tablets of our hearts, and when tyrants cease to oppress the enslaved, we will teach our children to revere his name, and transmit it to the latest posterity, as being the greatest man in the 19th century.

Resolved, That the Committee appointed at a previous meeting be requested to correspond with Capt. Avis, the jailor, at Charlestown, Va., relating to the condition of the colored men Green and Copeland, and to endeavor to ascertain whether they have families, and report the same at another meeting to be talled as soon as information is obtained.

Resolved, That the same Committee be authorized to adopt necessary means to inaugurate the 2d day of Dec., and to make arrangements to celebrate the day in an appropriate manner.

Mr. H. Johnson sympathized with the sufferers, and admired their noble daring.

Mr. J. S. Bonney supported the resolutions, expressed his sympathy for the cause of the colored people, admired the principles of John Brown, but lamented his fanaticism.

Mr. E. R. Johnson sustained the resolutions in a speech that made a deep impression, eulogizing the clergy who had taken sides with the oppressed, and denouncing those whose lips were padlocked. He said that the same spirit that had animated the martyrs of the Revolution to strike for disfranchisement from the British yoke, impelled the heroes of Harper's Ferry to deeds of valor. He ignored the idea that John Brown was a fanatic, and compared him with the martyrs, who in ancient times had laid down their lives for Christ's sake.

Dr. J. B. Smith read the last letter of John Brown to his family. He proceeded at some length to comment on the progress of slavery, its demands and intention. He said that oppression had, at all times. and under all circumstances, demanded a sacrifice, and that undoubtedly John Brown and his associates were that undoubtedly John Brown and his associates were the men chosen by God to become the sacrifice for American Slavery. He believed that if ever there was a time when colored people should become united, that time was now

Hon, R. French was invited to speak, and made s few remarks fully endorsing the resolutions and spirit of the meeting. He entered heartily into any measure that would benefit the colored man. He believed that Brown had done more good than if he had lived to be an hundred years old. Hattil Kelly was well acquainted with the martyr. He justified Mr. Brown in the course pursued; invoked his shade to disturb Gov. Wise in his midnight slumbers, and to visit the pro-slavery clergy of this city in their studies. Upon acquainted with the martyr. He justified Mr. Brown pro-slavery clergy of this city in their studies. Upon the whole, he made a very telling speech.

Remarks were also made by Dr. Bayne, Messrs, H. O. Remington, J. Freedom and W. Ferguson. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and at

10 o'clock the meeting adjourned.

JOHN BROWN MEETING IN PROVIDENCE. A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Pratt's Hall, Providence, on Friday, the 2d inst., on deposit the body for the night, with an assurance that the occasion of the execution of John Brown. Hon. A. C. Barstow presided, and speeches were made by the Chairman, Hon. Thomas Davis, Rev. George T.

in endeavoring to deliver those who are denied all

the methods he adopted to accomplish his objects, yet in his strong love for freedom, in his heroic spirit, in his fidelity to his convictions, in his faith in right-ousness and in his God, in his dignified bearing, the court room sourcing for the place, took it upon themselves to sit up all night in the court-house as a guard of the body. Among them were O. Abel, Jr., J. Q. Dickinson, R. Hand, and Mr. Haskell; the whether lying prostrate in the court-room, spurning names of the other two I did not learn. Among the all unwarrantable means to procure his acquittal, or gentlemen who called to express their sympathy with confined within the cell to await his approaching execution, and in his willingness to die in aid of the great cause of human freedom, we still recognize the qualities of a noble nature and the exercise of a spirit which true men have always admired, and which bistory never fails to honor.

his recent efforts in Virginia to undermine the despotism from which he had suffered, and commend his coffin containing the dead body quite overcame him. family to the special sympathy and aid of all who pity suffering and reverence justice.

Resolved. That the deep and wide-spread terror handful of earnest men who were seeking the deliverance of the slave, shows how general and deep is the sense of insecurity and danger which the despotism of slavery begets, and furnishes a reason for the most prompt and earnest efforts to remove the cause of these perils by doing complete justice to the slave, and so disarming his resentment.

North Elba, and it was after night when they approach they were destined. As they drew nigh, they saw moving lights, which, on their nearer approach, proved to be lanterns in the hands of men who had come out to meet them. By these, they were conducted in silence to the house. Not a word was spoken. These friends had been waiting all the afternoon in anxious expectation, and, unable to bear the suspense any longer, had come out and so disarming his resentment.

moral wrong.

men are willing to risk life even in unwise efforts for the freedom of the American slave, shows that a slaveholding State must always be in peril, and that slaveholding State must always be in peril, and that the anti-slavery sentiment is becoming ripe for reso-

speedily as possible; that the oppressor and the op- one, cold and wearisome as had been the way's travpressed alike may be delivered from both the crime and the consequences of sustaining such an anomaly McKim and Mr. Phillips, that the family were all in a free government, such an incubus upon national gathered in another room, waiting saxiously to hear energy, such a barrier to true civilization, such a fee to the highest interests of man, and such a scandal invited to join them. There was Salmon Brown, th

of Insurrection.' Mr. Brown showed the progress of names I do not recollect. of Insurrection. Mr. Brown showed the progress of ideas since the day of the granting of the English Magna Charta to the present time. His heroes were of the pen, the platform, and the battle-field. His to them from the time of their mother's arrival in allusion to Capt. Brown's invasion of Virginia, to them from the time of their mother's arrival in Philadelphia, on the 12th of Nav. up to that moment. When Mr. McKim had finished, Mr. Phillips took

We are requested to give notice, by the publishers and author of a 'higher law' work, entitled 'A Dog-eat-Dog State of Society,' that one half the proceeds from its sales will be given in aid of John proceeds from its sales will be given in aid of John Brown's family. The large engraving is designed to Mr. Brown had expressed a desire that his body show the inharmonic condition of society, with a val- should be laid in the shadow of a rock, not far fro into the late celebrated 'Address upon Washington.' to twenty feet square. It is a very picturesque aspect, and the recollection of it would naturally suggest to the mind of Mr. Brown a place for the interment of It also contains Jefferson's and Lafayette's sentiments against slavery. The work may be obtained of Messrs. Reading & Co., No. 8 State street, Boston.

#### From the New York Tribune of Monday. THE BURIAL OF JOHN BROWN. The Passage of the Body to North Elba-The Funeral

-Speeches of J. M. McKim and Wendell Phillips.

and at this point I commence my narrative.

The party reached Troy on Monday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, and stopped at the American House. They came without notice, but news of their arrival soon spread, and some of the most respectable people of the place called to express their condolence with Mrs. Brown, and to testify to the gentlemen who accompanied her their respect for their mission.

The American House is a temperance hotel, and had been Cant. Brown's usual stopping-place when in this

tarried long enough to make their connection with the next train North; but, during this brief space, a large number of persons, including not a few of the colored class, sought and found an opportunity of shaking Mrs. Brown's hand, in token of their sympathy. They would have formed a procession to accompany her from the hotel to the depot, but a gentleman, fearing it might be painful to Mrs. Brown's feelings, and unwilling to add, even in the slightest degree, to her trials, discouraged them.

iscouraged them.

It was at the American House that Oliver Brow. took leave of his young bride in September last, shortly before the affair at Harper's Ferry, in which he lost his life. Mr. Brown had indicated it in his last interview with his wife, as a proper place for her to stop a

on her way home.

Starting at 4 o'clock P. M., the party reached Rutland, Vt., about 10; there they remained until 5 the next morning, at which hour they resumed their journey, and at 10 A. M. reached Vergennes, Vt. There they stopped at the fine large hotel kept by the gentlemanly Messrs. Stevens, where they were most hospitably entertained, and all their wants provided for. The news that the widow of John Brown had arrived with the body of her husband spread like wild-fire. Soon the Hotel was crowded by leading citizens of the place who came to express their respect and sympathy. Carriages were provided in which to convey the body and the party accompanying it to the Lake shore. A bells. Arrived at the bridge over Otter Creek, a dis-tance of about a third of a mile, the gentlemen com-posing the procession halted, and, forming themselves into a double line and uncovering their heads, allowed the body, with the stricken widow and her friends, to

pass through; and thus they took their leave. It wa

a spontaneous tribute, and an affecting sight.

At the Lake shore a boat was in readiness, which, deflecting from its usual course, landed the party close by the town of Westport; thus, by saving time and companions, too, shared in the good will which was manifested for her. Without delay conveyances were provided, and the little cortege was soon on its way to Elizabethtown, where they were to tarry for the night. A heavy rain was falling, and the snow was disappearing so fast that it had been deemed best to substitute heel-carriages for sleighs. On reaching Elizab the a, which is the seat of justice of Essex, the party pp. at the hotel kept by E. A. Adams, Esq., who is Sheriff of the County. Mr. Adams at once offered the Court-House as a place in which to a little company should be formed to guard it. This offer was accepted, and in a few minutes, raining as it was, and without any previous notice, a respectable procession was formed, and the body borne to its the Chairman, Hon. Thomas Davis, Rev. George T.
Day, and Rev. A. Woodbury. The entire press of the city had, for several days previous, used its utmost influences to keep the people away; nevertheless, the hall was crowded in every part, and the most radical words received with applause.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, John Brown has cheerfully risked his life in orderworing to deliver those who are desired all man.

The party were now within twenty-five miles o rights and cut off from the hopes of manhood by the statutes of slavery, and is this day doomed to suffer death for his efforts in behalf of those who have no helper; therefore,

Resolved, That while we most decidedly disapprove the methods he adopted to accomplish his objects, yet

history never fails to honor.

Resolved, That his wrongs and bereavements in Kansas, occasioned by the violence and brutality of those who were intent on the propagation of slavery in that Territory, call for a charitable judgment upon

After stopping a short time for refreshment, the party again started on their way. Slowly they climbed the mountain pass, and as slowly descended on the other side. The sun had set before they reached among the supporters of slavery, aroused by this North Elba, and it was after night when they apunable to bear the suspense any longer, had come out to ascertain, if possible, the cause of the delay. The Resolved, That as liberty is the inalienable right of all men, it can be no real crime for him who is unjustly deprived of freedom to seek deliverance by all wise and moral means; and it is only a fulfilment of the golden rule given by Christ to aid the fugitive in fleeing from oppression by any methods involving no moral wrong.

to ascertain, if possible, the cause of the delay. The carriage which bore Mrs. Brown stopped at the door. She alighted with difficulty, being much agitated. Instantly there was a sharp, low ery of 'Mother!' and, in answer, another in the same tone of mingled agony and tenderness, 'O! Anna!' and the mother and daughter were locked in a long, convulsed embrace. Then followed the same scene with the next daughter, Sarah; and then Ellen, the little girl of five was brought, and snother burst of anguish and noral wrong.

Resolved, That the fact that resolute and estimable love ensued. Then came the daughter-in-law, Oli-

lute action.

Resolved, That we find in this fearful tragedy at Harper's Ferry a reason for more earnest effort to remove the evil of slavery from the whole land as specified as a possible; that the converse and the converse and the converse and the converse and the converse as a land was resistant. Emotion had been pass under restraint—an accustomed task with these people—and all was quiet. The evening meal had been ready for some time, and received some accessions to their number, took their seats. Supper was soon despatched; no

upon the religion which Christ has taught us to re-vere. vere.

In the evening, the same hall was filled, to listen to a lecture from Wm. Wells Brown on 'The Heroes in law already alluded to, besides some others whose

give freedom to the bondman, and the present totter-ing condition of the Slave Power, was well received. up the theme, and, in the tenderest and most beauti-ful manner, pursued it, till all tears were wiped away.

show the inharmonic condition of society, with a val-uable descriptive work, containing some of General Washington's remarks AGAINST SLAVERY, which were rest my attention. It stands about fifty feet from the suppressed, but which should have been introduced house, is about eight feet in height, and from fifteen

his body.

The Brown Farm at North Elba is on the highest. arable spot of land in the State, if, indeed, soil so hard and sterile can be called arable. The question was asked in my hearing, why Mr. Brown should have chosen a spot so difficult of cultivation, and yielding so poor a requital to labor? and the answer was, that he had come there in pursuance of the great purpose of his life. The land formerly belonged to Gerrit Thor, Dec. 10, 1859.

The little cortege, upon whom devolved the duty of following the remains of John Brown to their final resting-place, have tuitilled that duty, and I sit down in the land formerly belonged to Gernt Smith, and lies near to those large tracts which that gentleman had presented as a free gift to certain cool following the remains of John Brown to their final resting-place, have fulfilled that duty, and I sit down ing to the agriculturist.

The funeral was to take place at 1 o'clock from the ter. You have already published a record of events up to the time of the arrival of the body in this city, and at this point I commence my narrative.

Includers was to take place at 1 take p

One and another of you, his neighbors, say, 'I have known him five years, 'I have known him ten years. It seems to me as if we had none of us known him. How our admiring, leving wonder has grown, day by day, as he has unfold that after trait of earnest, brave, tender, Christian life! We see him walking with radiant, serene face to the scaffold, and think what an iron heart, what devoted faith! We take up his letters, beginning, 'My dear wife and children, every one of them'—see him stoop on his way to the scaffold and kiss that negro child—and this iron heart seems all tenderness. Marvellous old man! We have hardly said it when the loved forms of his sons, in the bloom of young devotion, encircle him, and we remember he is not alone, only the majestic centre of a group. Your neighbor farmer went, surrounded by his household, to tell the slaves there were still hearts and right arms ready and nerved for their service. From this roof four, from a neighboring one two, to make up that score of heroes. How resolute each looked into the face of Virginia, how loyally each stood at his forlorn post, meeting death cheerfully, till that master-voice said, 'It is enough.' And these weeping children and widows seem so lifted up and consecrated by long, single-hearted devotion to his great purpose, that we dare to remind them even now, in this first bitter hour, how blessed they are in the privilege of thinking that in the last throbs of those brave young hearts, which lie buried on the banks of the Shenandoah, thoughts of them mingled with love to pass us are the ones that we appreciate the least.—
Men walked Boston streets, when night fell on Bunker's Hill, and pitied Warren, saying, 'Foolish man! Thrown away his life! Why didn't he measure his means better?' We see him standing colossal that Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—donaday on the blood-stained sod, and severing the tie that bound Boston to Great Britain. That night Francis Jackson, for pledge at New York
George III. ceased to rule in New England. History
will date Virginia Prancipation from Head of the Prancis Francis Francis Jackson, for pledge at New York
will date Virginia Prancipation from Head of the Prancipation f George III. ceased to rule in New England. History will date Virginia Emancipation from Harper's Ferry.

True, the slave is still there. So, when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months—a year or two. Still, it is timber, not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slave system; it only breathes—it does not live—hereafter. Men say. 'How coolly brave!' But in him matchless courage seems the least of his merits. How gentleness graced seems the least of his merits. How gentleness graced it! When the frightened town wished to bear off the body of the Mayor, a man said, 'I will go, Miss Fouke, under their rifles, if you will stand between them and me.' He knew he could trust their gentle respect for woman, those brave Northern boys. He was right. He went in the thick of the fight, and bore off the body in safety. That same girl flung her-self between Virginia rifles and your brave young

Thompson. They had no pity. The merciless bullet reached him, spite of woman's prayers, though the fight had long been over. How God has blessed him! How truly he may say, 'I have fought a good fight, I have faished my course.' Truly he has faished done his work. God granted him the privilege to look upon his work accomplished. He said, 'I will show the property of the propersion of a upon his work accomplished. The saddy the South that twenty men can take possession of a town, hold it twenty-four hours, and carry away all the slaves who wish to escape. Did he not do it?—On Monday night he stood master of Harper's Ferry could have left unchecked with a score or hundi slaves. Let us thank God for the fifteen or twenty slaves. Let us thank God for the litteen or twenty that did escape, and are safe under the British flag. The wide sympathy and secret approval are shown by the eager, quivering lips of lovers of slavery, asking. Oh, why did he not take his victory and go away? Who checked him at last? Not startled Virginia. Her he had conquered. The Union crushed—seemed to crush him. In reality God said, 'Your work is done; you have proved that a slave State is only Fear in the mask of Despotism; come up higher, and baptize by your martyrdom a million hearts into holier life.' Surely such a life is no failure. How vast the change in men's hearts! Insurrection was a harsh, horrid word to millions a month ago. John Brown went a whole generation beyond it, claiming the right for white men to help the slave to freedom by arms. And now men run up and down, not disputing his principle, but trying to frame excuses for Virginia's hanging of so pure, honest, high-hearted, and heroic a man. Virginia stands at the bar of the civilized world on trial. Round her victim crowd the apostles

· God is God,' and trodden wicked laws under their feet. As I stood looking on his grandfather's gravestone, brought here from Connecticut, telling, as it does, of his death in the Revolution, I thought I could hear our hero-saint saying, 'My fathers gave their swords to the oppressor—the slave still sinks before the pledged force of this nation. I give my sword to the slave my fathers forgot. If any swords ever rethe slave my fathers lorgot. It any swords ever re-flected the smile of Heaven, surely it was those drawn at Harper's Ferry. If our God is ever the Lord of Hosts, making one man chase a thousand, surely that little band might claim him for their captain. Others have fought for themselves, and died for their own rights. This man died for a race in whose blood he had no share. Harper's Ferry was no single hour. had no share. Harper's Ferry was no single hour, standing alone—taken out from a common life—it was the flowering of fifty years of single-hearted devotion. He must have lived wholly for one greatidea, when these who owe their being to him, and these whom love has joined, group so harmoniously around him, each accepting serenely his and her part. I feel honored to stand under such a roof. Hereafter you will tell children standing at your kness. I after you will tell children standing at your knees, . 1 saw John Brown buried—I sat under his roof.' Thank God for such a master. Could we have asked a nobler representative of the Christian North putting her foot on the accursed system of Slvery? As time passes, and these hours float back into history, men will es, and these nours have been ber sky that gallows, and round it thousands of armed men guarding Virginia from her slaves. On the other side, the serene face of that calm old man, as he stoops to kiss the child of a forlorn race. Thank God for our emblem. May he soon bring Virginia to blot out hers in repentant shame, and cover that hateful gallows and soldiery with thousands of broken fetters! What lesson shall these line teach with the story and the story of the story those lips teach us? Before that still, calm brow, let those lips teach us? Before that still, caim brow, let us take a new baptism. How can we stand here without a fresh and atter consecration? These tears thow shall we dere even to offer consolation? Only lips fresh from such a vow have the right to mingle their words with your tears. We envy you your nearre place to these noble children of God. I do not believe Slavery will go down in blood. Ours is the age
of thought. Hearts are stronger than awords. That
last fortnight! How sublime its lesson! the Christian one of conscience—of truth. Virginia is weak
because each man's heart said amen to John Brown. His words—they are stronger even than his rifles.—
These crushed a State. Those have changed the
thoughts of millions, and will yet crush Slavery.
Men said, \* Would he had died in arms'—God ordered better, and granted to him and the slave those noble prison hours -that single hour of death, grant-ed him a higher than the soldier's place, that of teacher; the echoes of his rifles have died away in the hills—a million hearts guard his words. God bless this roof—make it bless us. We dare not say bless you, children of this home; you stand nearer to one whose lips God touched, and we rather bend for your blessing. God make me all God make us all worthier of him who dust we lay among these hills he loved. Here he girded himself, and went forth to battle. Fuller succress than his heart ever dreamed, God granted him. He sleeps in the blessings of the crushed and the poor, and men believe more firmly in virtue, now that such a man has lived. Standing here, let us thank God for a firmer faith and fuller hope.

The party reached Troy on Monday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, and stopped at the American House. They came without notice, but news of their arrival soon spread, and some of the most respectable people of the place called to express their condolence with Mrs. Brown, and to testify to the gentlemen who accompanied her their respect for their mission.

The American House is a temperance hotel, and had been Capt. Brown's usual stopping-place when in this city. The landlord showed, with much pride, the autograph of JohnBrown in several places on his register, and said that he had been offered tempting prices if he would consent to part with them. The party only

has a stirring, half-military ring, and the words a smack of liberty. Its themes are 'jubilee,' 'ransom,' &c., and it seems to blow the trumpet of freedom.

After the hymn, followed an impressive prayer by the Rev. Joshna Young, of Burlington, Vt. It was a spontaneous offering, as will be readily inferred when I say that Mr. Young, with his friend Mr. Bigelow, had travelled all night through the storm and over the diamal mountain to be present at the burial.

Mr. J. Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, then made some very feeling, pertinent and impressive remarks.

Mr. McKim concluded with exhortations to the family and friends to be comforted, assuring them that by their sacrifices they had made large contributions to the cause of Freedom and Humanity; that in this respect their position was an honorable, and by many would be regarded as an enviable one, and that the hearts of tens of thousands beat in the deepest aymathy with them.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips; then had widow of Oliver Brown, supported by Mendell Phillips; then widow of Oliver Brown, leaning on the arm of Mr. McKim, who, in his other hand, held that of the little girl. Ellen; next came the widow of Watson, supported by the Rev. Mr. Young, and after that, though whether next in order I camnot now tell, the widow of William Thompson, leaning on the arm of one of the family. Salmon Brown and his sisters followed, with Henry Thompson, and Ruth, his wife, John Brown's eldest daughter; and then Roswell Thompson and his wife, the aged parents of the two voung men of that mame who were killed at Harper's Ferry. Then followed the friends and neighbors. As the body was lowered into the grave, a gush of grief, apparently beyond control, burst from the family, and Mr. Young stood forth to comfort them. Raising his deep and mellow voice, and quoting the words witten to Timothy by Paul when he was brought before Nero the harmony which his life breathes round this home. One and another of you, his neighbors, say, 'I have known him five years,' '

of thinking that in the last throps of those brave way into print. You may form some idea of its qualityoung hearts, which lie buried on the banks of the Shenandoah, thoughts of them mingled with love to God and hope for the slave. He has abolished Slavery in Virginia. You may say this is too much. Our neighbors are the last men we know. The hours that truth to-night than was contained in them all.'

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

R. Robinson, collections in Western New York, 19 62 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

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

CIVIL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN,—County Woman's Rights Concentions, to be addressed by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Lucy N. Colman and others, will be held as follows:— Tuesday, Dec. 20 Tuesday, " 27 Pen Yan, Yates Co., Lyons, Wayne Co.,

By Mrs. Tracy Cutler and J. Elizabeth Jones : Jamestown, Chatauque Co., Tuesday, Dec. 20 Collina Centre, Erie Co., " 27 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 Re-ormed Dutch Church, at EASTON, Washington Co., V. Y., on FRIDAY, Dec. 16. Sessions at 2 o'clock and 7 o'clock, P. M.

Sessions at 2 o'clock and 7 o clock, 2. 32. Leonard Gibbs, Esq., and others, will address the These are historic times! Let there be a great

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL COURSE OF ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. The Third Lecture of this series will be given by

Rev. B. F. Bolles of Melrose, on Sunday Dec. 18, commencing at half past 7 o'clock Admission fee, 5 cents. CAROLINE BALCH.

Rec. Sec. Salem Female A. S. Society. Salem, Dec. 15.

PLYMOUTH .- The annual Anti-Slavery gathering at Forefathers' Rock will take place on Sat-urday, Dec. 31st, 1859, and January 1st, 1860. Meetings will be held in Davis's Hall, Plymouth. commencing on Saturday evening, and continuing through the day and evening of Sunday, Jan. 1st.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ED-MUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND, SAMUEL MAY, Jr. and other speakers, are expected to be present.

The annual meeting of the Old Colony AntiSlavery Society will be held in connection with the
above. And all persons are invited to attend.

BOURNE SPOONER, President. SAMUEL DYER. Sec.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massa-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-lows:—

Pepperell, Saturday and Sunday Dec. 17 and 18. Tuesday evening, Groton, Tuesday evening, "Leominster, Wednesday, evening, " Westminster, Thursday "
Garden Centre ? Satur'y and Sun-{"
and S. Garden, } day evenings, "

THE VIRGINIA TRAGEDY. Marius R. Robinson and Aaron M. Powell will address a meeting at GHENT, in the Friends' Meeting-House, on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 18, at half-past 2 o'clock.

LECTURE BY DR. ROCK. Dr. Rock will deliver his lecture on Madame de Stael, in Mercantile Hall, Summer Street, Boston, next Monday evening, 19th inst. at half past 7 oclock. Admission 25 cents.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR: OR LOW WAGES AND HARD WORK. THREE Lectures by Mrs. C. H. Dall, as fol-

I. Death or Dishonor.
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Dec 9. 2wis.

### JOHN BROWN.

Another hymn was then sung, during which the coffin was placed on a table before the door, with the face exposed, so that all could see. It was almost as natural as life—far more so than an ordinary corpse. There was a flush on the face, resulting from the peculiar mode of death, and nothing of the pallor that is usual when life is extinct.

Mr. Phineas Norton, who acted as the friend of the household on the occasion, invited all who desired to do so to come and take a last lock.

## The Thinker;

BEING the 5th volume of the 'GREAT HARMONIA by A. J. Davis, is just published and ready fedelivery. Price One Dollar. Single copies sent b mail, postage free, on receipt of the price. The usur discount on wholesale prices.

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THE BOOK FOR THE TIMES

IN PRESS:

THE LIFE OF

CAPT. JOHN BROWN,

LIBERATOR OF KANSAS,

# Hero of Harper's Ferry.

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STEEL PORTRAIT OF THE

GLORIOUS OLD MAN. This book will be issued before the first of January, 1560, and will be a work of thrilling and fascinating interest. Price, \$1.00. A liberal per centage of the

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resulting from its publication will be

### Given to the family of Brown.

THOUSANDS OF AGENTS

will be wanted to supply the demand in every tows, village and hamlet, throughout the country.

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# Portrait of John Brown.

Will be published, on FRIDAY, DEC. 2d, by CHARLES H. BRAINARD, 322 WASHINGTON STREET,

A magnificent lithographic portrait of John Brown, drawn by Thomas M. Johnston, from a photograph taken for T. H. Webb, Esq., and the last picture for which the old hero ever sat.

A liberal portion of the profits will be given to the family of Captain Brown.

PRICE, ONE DOLLAR. Sent by mail, free of postage, on receipt of

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

ing complaints : -- Schofuld And Schofuld Complaints, Enur-TIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, TUNORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, SYPRILIS AND SYPRILITIC AFFECTIONS, MERCURIAL DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALGIA OR TIC DOULGUREUX, Debility, Dyspersia and Indigestion, Extere-las, Rose of St. Anthony's Fire, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from Impurity

whole class of complaints arising from INPURITY
of THE BLOOD.

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

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

During late years the public have been misled

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter and painful disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself is justly despised, and has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon 2. And we think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. In order to secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.

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

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

Ayer's Cathartic Pills,

Costiceness, Jaundice, Duppepsio, Indigestion, Dysentery, Foul Stomach, Eruspelas, Headache, Piles, Rheumatism, Eruptions and Skin Diseases, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Tetter, Tumors and Salt Rheum, Worms, Gout, Neuralgia, as a Dinner Pill, and for Purifying the Blood.

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

Price, 25 cents per Box: Two boxes for 51.00.

Price, 25 cents per Box; Five boxes for 51.00.

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

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

All our Remedies are for sale by

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston BROWN & PRICE, Salom;

J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H. Sold by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every there. 6m May 7

H. H. HAY, Portland;

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS;

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

WOE, WOE TO VIRGINIA!

In her skirts is the blood of the pure and the just!

Woe, woe to Virginia! her soil is accurst!

I see the dark heaving of land and of sea— Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

The Man of the Age, not in vain shall be die!

Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

By every warm drop in the Martyr's true heart;

Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

By the Spirit abroad, by the still rising surge,-

Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

thy ways!

tercedes.

Dark land of the gallows, the chain and the scourge

Thy doom the most proud overwhelming shall be-

Oh! would'st thou be wise while the tempest delays!

Oh! know'st thou thy day, and would'st turn from

How glorious the sound of the tidings would be-

The slaves of Virginia, Virginia shall free!

The justice of God will not pass o'er your deeds;

Virginia! Virginia! thy slaves shall be free!

In tempest and whirlwind the sentence shall be-

" 'Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, my mind would not be towards this people.'

JOHN BROWN OF HARPER'S PERRY.

The soul that felt, and dared to smite!

The man who dies to say that Right

From suffering all its steel had wrought,

Till, striking surer than its thought,

On days of Triumph, not of Death;

Our woman-hands we would not lay

About that brave old heart to stay

We bring thee them, and love and faith,-

Our words that spun full three years' course

On Freedom failing sun by sun,

In him to molten lightnings run,

In rough-cast brain this Northern will.

The shock rang sharp from hill to hill.

Ah, sire! our tears are such as roll

Our royal way of soul for soul.

We count thy dying so sublime,

Its flowing life, and wrong our time.

Or wrathful ones that swing him in.

Doubt not our world takes heart again ;

With this hot stroke on Southern chain

Earth feels the time of prophet-song-

. We are too just to bide with Wrong.

Oh, comes a deeper wisdom then,-

To glass God's image forth to men.

They brought him to the Watergate,

Hard bound with hempen span,

They drew his hands behind his back,

Then as a hound is slipped from leash,

They cheered the Courmon throng.

And blew the note with vell and shout.

It would have made a brave man's heart

There stood the Whig south county lords.

There sat 'mid gaunt and withered dames

As though they held a lion there,

They set him high upon a cart-

The hangman rode below-

And bade him pass along.

Grow sad and sick that day,

To watch the keen malignant eyes

And their daughters all a-row.

With black-robed covenanting carles,

But when he came, though pale and wan,

Bent down on that array.

In balcony and bow;

And every open window

Was full as full might be

That goodly sport to see!

So noble was his manly front,

He looked so great and high,

So calm his steadfast eye;-

The rabble rout forbore to shout,

And each man held his breath,

Was face to face with death.

Through all the people crept,

And some that came to scoff at him

Now turned aside and wept.

Till it reached the place of doom.

And then uprose the great Montrose,

I have not sought in battle-field

A wreath of such renown, Nor dared I hope on my dying day

To win the martyr's crown.

There is a chamber far away.

Than by my father's grave;

Where sleep the good and brave

This hand hath always striven,

And we raise it up for a witness still

Give every town a limb-

I go from you to him !

In the eye of earth and heaven.

Then nail my hand on yonder tower-

And God who made shall gather them;

The morning dawned full darkly,

The rain came dashing down,

The fatal hour was come;

The 'larum of the drum;

Came forth to see him die.

Ah, God! that ghastly gibbet!

Yet aye broke in, with muffled best,

And the jagged streak of the levin-bolt

Lit up the gloomy town: The thunder crashed across the heaven

There was madness on the earth below.

How dismal 'tis to see
The great tall spectral skeleton,
The ladder and the tree!

And anger in the sky, And young and old, and rich and poor,

But a better place ye have named for me

For truth and right 'gainst tyrants' might

And then a mournful shudder

But onward-always onward-

In silence and in gloom

The dreary pageant labored,

For well they knew the hero's soul

Worcester, Nov. 14.

Oh, doubt not who of these shall win!

Or who is traitor to th' eleven!

This man in front of open heaven,

Starting each other, palm to palm,

And hands of brotherhood grow warm

When lives from land to land shall say-

And think it praise enough to say-

And owns that in our golden year,

One fire-anointed soul was clear

From Autoun's Lavs of the Scottish Cavaliers.

THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE

And welded thinking into force.

From the New York Independent.

Hero that pays our country's pawn!

Is better stuff than blood and brawn!

But, if hardened, then know ye, though Brown in

By the pang your rope gave him ere life could depart : By the low choking breath on the dark gallows tree

The thunders hang red in the wild scowling sky;

The blood of the righteous thy death-doom shall be-

Call in your proud armies make faster your chains

Still the stain of his blood on your slave soil remains.

It eries from the ground, and God answers the plan-

# WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER. The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION Warranted not to contain deleterious substa

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distinguished and wealthy persons, who have previously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is

entirely different from all others. · IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative? We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived brass from it. Persons personally known to us have come relust.

Persons personally known to us have come valuate, rily, and told us of good results to either themeins or friends, who have used it before it became known of the Louis.

M. Louis Presbyterias. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE!
given universal satisfaction, wherever it has be a
used. It can be used with perfect safet, and in
perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a tuy
desirable article for the toilet.

Ch'n Witness and Ch. Adeccate, Boston, Mass.

MRS, S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE.
STORER is worthy of confidence.'

Philadelphia Christian Chronick.

Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used." N. Y. Erongelist. All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. At LEN's as the Hair Restorer. N. Y. Independent. Mas. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Response has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.'

Michigan Christian Berald,

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

Knoxville Presbyterian Witness,

There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advests, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. Alles's. Buffalo Christian Advoc Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like color

and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its xarrant youthput colon, is to use that which will be effect ual and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer will do this.'

U. S. Jernal. In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is not freshing to come across that which is what it returned to be. A really excellent article is Mn. 5

A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. AS AR M. sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessif-loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmles, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calcu-lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair. Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or I hose of our readers whose hair is turning grey et losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restours a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time

render it soft. It is superior to any heretoise produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, reseaseling none of the buening qualifies of a Dir. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has

There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoner. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its propretor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most appropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer'. propriately the ' World's Hair Restorer. We have reason to be assured that . Mrs. S. A. Al-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wife

demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated."

Rahway Register. Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. The

most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable.' Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

Prom individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly restoratives. ommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the nomedial agent of this character.'
St. Louis Leager.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER - AS we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a ledy whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inthat she had attained the age of sixty. So we herered, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the parents are accurated because with the various remembers. pers, and acquainted herself with the various reme-dies for decaying hair, and at length determised to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as luxurieven and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy asd signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

Providence Daily Tribune.

Among the very few preparations that we deem de-Among the very few preparations that we detend serving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit' Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.' It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respectable persons.' Rahway Advocate and Register.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is the best preparation extant for the various diseases inci-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the bair and whiskers, however grey, to the natural color. It having been before the public fe many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorating, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to which have been successfully palined off in numer-ous instances, upon the public as gentine.

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cautering power of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glosy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restore is easily applied, and will not stain the finest lines. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hill Restorner are correct.' Boston Olice Branch.

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

\*Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this with success.\* Boston Transcript. It is just what it purports to be.' Cleve. Leader. We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

We export these preparations to Europe even, and

they are superseding all others there as well as in the United States.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principa wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.

where address all letters and inquiries. on which they make more wroft. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine is signed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of counterfeits.

See next issue of this Paper for m're information or send to Depot for Circulars. SOLD EVERYWHERE

Hark! hark! it is the clash of arms-The bells begin to toll-'He is coming ! he is coming ! 'God's mercy on his soul!' One last long peal of thunder-The clouds are cleared away, And the glorious sun once more looks down Amidst the dazzling day.

"He is coming! he is coming!" Like a bridegroom from his room Came the hero from his prison To the scaffold and the do There was glory on his forehead, And he never walked to battle More proudly than to die; There was color in his visage, Though the cheeks of all were wan, And they marvelled as they saw him pass, That great and goodly man!

He mounted up the scaffold. And he turned him to the crowd; But they dared not trust the people, So he might not speak aloud. But he looked upon the heavens, And they were clear and blue, And in the liquid ether The eye of God shone through ; Yet a black and murky battlement Lay resting on the hill, As though the thunder slept within-All else was calm and still.

The grim Geneva ministers With anxious scowl drew near, As you have seen the ravens flock Around the dying deer. He would not deign them word nor sign, But alone he bent his knee, And veiled his face for Christ's dear grace, Beneath the gallows tree. Then radiant and serene he rose, And cast his cloak away, For he had ta'en his latest look Of earth and sun and day.

A beam of light fell o'er him. Like a glory round the shriven, And he climbed the lofty ladder As it were the path to heaven. Then came a flash from out the cloud, And a stunning thunder roll; And no man dared to look aloft, Fear was on every soul. There was another heavy sound, A hush, and then a groan; And darkness swept across the sky-The work of death was done!

# THE LIBERATOR.

OP MALDEN.

SPEECH OF J. Q. A. GRIFFIN, ESQ.,

At the Meeting in Tremont Temple, Dec. 2d, relating to the Execution of John Brown. Ladies and Gentlemen,-As I was attempting to force my way through the crowd which besets the door, I was endeavoring to think of some topic of but, beyond that, it would seem, by the telegraphic the great theme that is before us to-night, upon which despatches to-day, that they hope to find a panace; I might make, during the brief moment I should in disunion, and setting up for themselves. You readdress you, a few remarks; and I found it in the member with what complacency they say that they remarks of your Chairman. He has suggested to me are abundantly able to take care of themselves. That, a theme directly in the line of my business, to wit, of course, is in view of the late valiant performance the defence of a great scoundrel. (Laughter.) I of their Virginia friends! (Laughter.) They feel that stand here, in behalf of the sentiment of all civilized there is no danger, if they can only get rid of the people, to remonstrate, in their name, against the fanatics of Massachusetts, New York, and the other comparison of Pontius Pilate with Governor Wise. (Great merriment.) My appeal is to history. Although Governor Wise deserves our reprobation, although Pontius Pilate deserves the execuation of the Christian world, yet I assert, that in the particular transaction with which the names of both will be connected, Pontius Pilate stands far, far shead of in the cabin of the slave, but in the hovel of the Governor Wise, (Cheers,) You remember that the act for which John Brown has this day gone up to God was committed upon the grounds of the United States. He held possession of an arsenal in the State of Virginia that belonged to the Federal Government; and it is the opinion of lawyers this hour, Democratic lawyers, in this State and at Washington, that Gov. Wise's mob, to wit, the State of Virginia, had no sort ans. I am told that the Colonel of their militia of jurisdiction of the offence which he committed. threw it aside when he first saw it, and said, 'That discriminating lawyer-I do not endorse all his opin- when John Brown came with that musket in his hand, ions, but his legal learning no man will dispute- and seventeen men behind him, surrounded a city of Caleb Cushing; such is the opinion of leading lawyers of the country, of all shades of political sentiment. Take that fact in your mind, and then con- States for almost two days, then they began to reflect, trast Pontius Pilate with Henry A. Wise. You re- and to say, 'What does all this mean? Here he is member that when the Savior of men was brought He has stirred up this terrible thing. We have slept before Pontius Pilate, Pilate said, 'I have no juris- with one eye open ever since Nat Turner, in '31 diction of this offence; it belongs to Herod, not to we shall have to sleep with two eyes open nor me.' When John Brown was brought before Gov. forevermore.' (Great merriment.) They said all these Wise, what did the Governor say? He had no ju- things, and they began to seflect, in the vicinity of risdiction, beyond all question. Did he say, 'Go to Charlestown, and all over Varginia, and inquire, 'Lo Herod '-to wit, Buchanan? (Tumultuous applause this a profitable institution, after all? Isn't this rathe

that Pontius Pilate whitens into virtue as compared John Brown to be executed in public. The Judge dewith Henry A. Wise. Mark me! I undertake to clared that it was necessary for others offending in say, Gov. Wise has sanctioned an atrocity, a barbari- like kind, (to use the language of the old indictment. ty, an infamy, beyond what any other executioner in It must be public. All Virginia of course, and not the world's history has done. Did you not read in only Virginia, but the adjacent States, ought to have the telegraphic despatches that he had on exhibition the moral instruction which that act would carry to the rope with which he proposed to strangle John their minds. You know some men cannot receive in-Brown ? Now, I appeal to history. Look at the Jack struction, except through the medium of some blazing Ketches, look at the French scamps and scoundrels sign. You who have heard Mr. Phillips's admirable who have deluged Paris in blood, search English his- lecture on 'Street Life in Europe,' remember with tory, look into the Italian annals, and do you find any what felicity he paints the fact that all their signs where such an atrocious act as that? Was it not one mean something, because the people cannot read. of which even Pontius Pilate would have been For instance, they will stick up a lion to indicate the ashamed? My word for it. Our friend the Chair- name of a tavern. Now, the Virginians thought, man ought publicly to apologize to the memory of and I think they reasoned rightly, that if the man

words- I will try these men first, and their remains

Herod shall have, -nothing else.'

I am obliged to my friend the Chairman for sug-gesting to me something to say to this audience to-what did Gov. Wise say? 'Virginians, stay at home, night. I heard his remark as I reached the platform; every soul of you! Don't you go near John Brown! as I came upon it, another thought struck me, and Why? Because he was afraid of a rescue? Did his that was this: that, after all, we must not be too Proclamation indicate it? If he had any fear of that, harsh upon Virginia. The light is just beginning to the Virginians ought to have been at Charlestown to stream into that Commonwealth. The sight of this prevent it. Not that, No; he said, 'Stay at home and platform suggested that remark to me. Look at it, patrol your streets, and take care of your own liver for a moment, and see if it is not suggestive to us and property!' What did he mean by that? Did all; see if it must not teach us charity for Virginia he mean that the Abolitionists would be scattered all and for the public sentiment of that State. Why, over Virginia on that day, 'stealing'? Not quite Virginia to-day is Massachusetts twenty years ago that. He was afraid of his own cattle—that's all; that's all. Behind me sits a venerable minister of the afraid they would get out of the pasture. He was Gospel who had a controversy full of acrimony with afraid, in other words, that this torch of anti-slavery, a Christian church in this city, because he attacked which John Brown lighted on the top of the Blue rum and slavery. I mean, the Rev. Mr. Pierpont. Ridge, and flashed over the South, would send to (Loud applause.) Have you forgotten that time? much light into the hovels of his own chattels; and That was Massachusetts a few years ago. Look fur- that was all he was afraid of. ther along on that platform, and who do you see? I repeat, then, that John Brown, in this sense, ha A man who, for proclaiming sentiments at that time done more to quicken the mind of America on the that did not begin to come up to what your Chair-subject of slavery than any other man who has riser man has expressed this evening, and fell far behind in our time. He has got a hearing, and a most abun what I have myself expressed since I stood before dant hearing. Mr. Phillips said here, a few nights you, was dragged with a rope about his neck through ago, that he had edited the New York Tribune and the streets of Poston, and the Mayor of the city was the Herald for a fortnight. He did better; he has edas powerless to stay the trouble as Gov. Wise is to quell that at Charlestown, Va. Now, if the Mayor, who, in the city of Boston, twenty years ago, permitted that outrage to be done, and said he could afhave suffered the poor man to write—and what letford no protection, had been Governor of Virginia ters he has written! There are few literary men in

must learn charity!

man, however much his heart may sink within him in contemplation of the deed that has this day been done by Virginia, must nevertheless welcome it, in a certain sense, as a great step ahead, a monstrous stride in advance, towards the settlement of the question of slavery in America. Beyond all question, that must be the result. And why? Heretofore, more or less restricted, the agitation of this question has been confined to the North and the West. Learned and able men have spoken to Northern ears, and had a hearing: but those learned and able men could get no hearing south of the line which marks the free States. Every body knows that. A reward offered in Georgia for Mr. Garrison's head; men with the mar-vellous tongue of Mr. Phillips shut out from the Southern States; every where the truth excluded from Southern ears. Now, there are men throughout the South who want light upon this great question of slavery. They have sought it for years; now I think it is coming pretty fast; and it was well said by your Chairman, that it was the apprehension, not of a Northern invasion, but of domestic troubles, that set the Governor of Virginia dancing over the State. with a troop of ragged militia at his heels, armed with guns with flint locks & That indicates the 'march of improvement' at the South! Flint locks to their guns in the year 1859 of the Christian era! Why, if they want to shoot a Northern fanatic, they cannot get their old guns off, and have to send to the anti-slavery State of Connecticut for a few of their rifles and the Governor of Virginia is about to impoverish that ancient Commonwealth in buying up Northern muskets, to shoot their own negroes with, I appre hend. Let me say, that this act of John Brown has done

world, the slave States are moving-ahead, not back-

The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind ex-

ceeding small;
Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all.'

Depend upon it, that is true, with reference to this

question of slavery. And it is in that view that every

wards. The old German adage is-

som thing that has never yet been done in America. I has set the Southern people to thinking after such fash a as they were never before called to exercise their thoughts. Is not that a 'sign of the times'? I saw the other day,—you must have seen it,—an article from the Charleston Mercury, published clear down in South Carolina-a State degraded enough on the slavery question to be the receptacle of the Democratic Convention next year. (Roars of laughter.) That paper calls attention, in very marked language, to what is going on now. It says, in effect, that if we suffer this thing to go on, there will soon be no frontier at all. 'Why,' says the writer, 'how is it? They are agitating this question in Virginia. Property is unsafe. Missouri is but little better than Massachusetts ; they are getting rid of their slaves. What is to be the effect? Why, as these States fall off, we are left exposed, with free territory close adjacent to us; and our property [although, of course, the slaves are a great deal better off bondage than in freedom !] will take to itself legs, and leave.' That is what the Charleston Mercury expresses, with great distinctness. They hope to find some panacea in the next Democratic Convention

free States. Now, I say, in regard to the acts of John Brown, you may call them misguided, fanatical, crazy, you may stigmatize them by any name you please, -yet i is notorious that the effect of what he has done has been to kindle this anti-slavery discussion, not only planter as well. (Laughter and applause.) They are turning their attention to the phenomena which Mr. Garrison pointed out to them a great while ago, when they would not listen to him as the 'Liberator, But when John Brown came with that musket in his hand, they were compelled to listen. It loaded the breech, and that was a phenomenon to Virginiion, fellow-citizens, of that keen and is broken! (Great laughter and applause.) I say twenty-five hundred inhabitants, (laughter,) and took it, and held it against Gov. Wise and the United and laughter.) No, it would have required a man a high price to pay? The stocks of Virginia faller of as much generosity as Pontius Pilate to say that! in the market, because Gov. Wise has spent all her

(Renewed laughter.) No; but you remember his money in buying Yankee rifles! Beyond this, their alarm is seen in this view. No tice it, because it is a most significant sign of what Then, in regard to another act, I undertake to say this slight emeute in Virginia means. They ordered Pontius Pilate for the comparison. (Loud applause.) deserved hanging at all, he ought to be hung in pub-

to-day, and had lived there all his life, he would have hung John Brown—there is no doubt of it. Oh, we from words they themselves had written, could furmust learn charity!

distinction, that he was to be hanged for acts which will live as a historic name, as one of our admirable am worth inconceivably more to hang than for any deal with deeds like Brown's. other purpose.' Does not that indicate a man thoroughly in earnest, whose motives, at least, and whose tion of Aytoun's Lay on the Execution of Montrose integrity of purpose, we must respect, whatever we commencing, may say of his act, however strongly we may condemn it, or, indeed, however justly or however ex- It elicited the loudest applause. The entire piece travagantly we may praise it? It is not possible that so marvellously applicable to the case of John Brown we can withhold from a man of that description the that we have placed it in our poetical department. tribute of our warmest admiration for those qualities -Ed. Lib. which he seems to have possessed.

Now think what he has done! From this day forward, the question of slavery is a question to be discussed every where in America. Not simply upon this platform, by 'fanatics' like us, but every where, the vast hall echo with the enthusiastic demonstraby press and lips, this question rises for discussion; tion. [For Mr. G's speech, see second page.] and it cannot be abated or put down by any manner

Fellow-citizens, I have spoken altogether beyond the time allotted to me, or which I intended to take. ed to speak to you, but it must be a very tight pinch I came here with great alacrity, because I think that, that I should be put into where, on such an occasion, whatever view we may entertain of John Brown's I refused to say any thing at all. I shall address you acts, the effect of this execution stands out so prom- very briefly, for two reasons: one is, that I have inently, and attracts so much attention, that it is well very little time to give you, and the other, that I have for the people to be convened to consider it. It is very little to say. When men feel strongly, they are well that a platform like this shall be creeted, where less prepared to express their feelings than when they all shades of opinion may be expressed concerning are calm and considerate. it, and that candid ladies and gentlemen, like those I hope that the occasion which has brought us to here to night, should listen to these different senti- gether may impress upon our minds one importan ments, as they fall from the lips of their fellow-citi- and practical lesson—a lesson which some of our antizens. I should not hesitate to utter, before such an slavery friends have been preaching for the last thirty they might be, because I know there is candor enough throne, and maintains the principles of his governin such a meeting to listen to the expression of senti- ment, it will be impossible in any part of his dominments that are honestly entertained, whatever they jons to make slavery and freedom live together upor may be. And herein we see the difference betwixt the same ground. (Applause.) There is an antagothe state of public opinion in Massachusetts to-day, nism between them that can never be reconciled and what we find to be the state of public opinion in they cannot coalesce under the same government Virginia, where inoffensive men, like Mr. Hoyt, who Look back five years ago only, not twenty or twenty. go on a peaceful, proper errand to Virginia, mild wo- five, when you found the chief magistrate of this city men, like Mrs. Spring, who merely go on a mission of containing 150,000 inhabitants, where more anti-sla mercy to the doomed man, are excluded as dangerous very speeches had been made than in any other city people to the Commonwealth of Virginia! I say on the globe, and the chief magistrate of the State egain, and with this sentiment I shall conclude, that with the civil and military strength of the State, tohe act of John Brown is calculated to educate the gether with the military strength of the United States, public mind and conscience on the question of slavery all concentrated upon one single object, - the carrying in America; and, as such, it ought to be observed, as off of one poor solitary Christian man from Boston it is here to-night, by the free and fall and spontane- into perpetual slavery. That was done here in Bosous expression of the sentiments of the people upon ton, and it was worth as much as a man's welfar it. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. R. P. DAVIS. Hon, R. P. Davis, of the Senate, was then intro-

he had consented to say a few words. Mr. Davis yoke of slavery from four millions of people. Four

have not prepared words to address to this audience. moral power over these United States than Henry A. But, standing before you, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot do less than express my cordial and hearty sym- the military force of the United States, could exercise pathy with the sentiment of this vast assembly. What or resist. is that sentiment? What is it that has called us to- I was yesterday thinking of this matter, as I sat in it is this: it is a sentiment of almost irrepressible ho- voices—'Yes.' 'Read them.'] nor, love and admiration for the cliaracter, for the Brown, though in prison and in chains to-day, virtues, and, in allusion to the event which has just Holds the whole South half speechless with dismay occurred, for the memory of the hero and martyr, To-morrow, as in blood his sun goes down, Brown. (Loud applause.) It is not necessary that Twill breathe more free, no longer fearing Brown we should applaud the precise nature of the act which Yet, o'er it, white-winged Peace can never brood, he committed, and for which he has suffered, and Stained as it will be with th' old Hero's blood. for which he was willing to suffer. For one, I have For, though the Man be numbered with the dead, hoped, and still hope, for the peaceful solution of this Not so the Cause for which the martyr bled! solemn and awful problem. But still, when I remem- Peace folds her wings to-day upon his breast, ber that nearly every important political revolution has been accompanied by outbreaks of this description; that there is, so to speak, a noble frenzy in human nature, which, under certain circumstances, we can hardly avoid applauding; when I consider the cause for which he suffered, and for which he gladly died; when I consider that human rights We are here to-night because we respect his charac-are above human laws; when I consider that ter; and all over the land to-day, there has been a the system of slavery, as it exists in our midst, Cloud of sagness upon the blavery with the purman,—of what the Declaration of Independence, our pose of freeing some slaves, and was caught and organic law, declares to be the sinalienable rights of hung? If he had been a reckless man, should we organic law, declares to be the 'inalienable rights of have cared any thing about it? It is because we man'; when I consider that that system is wholly wrong, wholly an outrage, breeding nothing but evil, is utterly without excuse, and that every law which restrains it is, like itself, infamous, monstrous, inhuman and criminal to the last degree; and when I every outrage in his own person and that of his family, animated by that noble devotion to freedom which upon that honored name. We are told that he com which asserts the 'inalienable rights of man,' in one hand, and the Golden Rule in the other, and struck a blow, a fatal blow, at that infamous system, I say, is as calm and carnest and simple as any expression I cannot and will not, here or elsewhere, condemn can be—to convince us that the assertion that John

connection with acts done in behalf of liberty, although the motives of those men were infinitely in- knew nothing about it; and I believe what John that Magna Charta was wrung from the reluctant Freedom, an apostate to liberty, undertakes to say tory, I also recollect that for two hundred years, it has spread its ample and inviolable shield over mil- George H. Hovr, Esq., the counsel for Brown lions of the human race. When I recollect that the was then loudly called for, and came to the platform English Revolution was a compact between William He said he should not detain the audience at that late of Orange and the English people, and that, so far as hour, but he should have something to say at a fuhe was concerned, it was of such a nature as to re- ture time in reference to the trial of John Brown, flect dishonor upon his character; when I recollect when he should be glad to see the audience then bethat he dethroned and drove into miserable and per- fore him. petual exile his own father-in-law, and added the meanness of hypocrisy to the crime of filial ingrati- Mr. Hoyt be invited to speak at the Temple, at such tude and perfidy, which has stained the character and time as might suit his convenience. invalidated the results of that greatest event in the After singing the doxology, by the vast assembly,

applause.) Take, for instance, the sublime answer erties of the English race, which retrenched the applause.) Take, for instance, the sublime answer he made to Gov. Wise, when he told him to prepare for death. Is not there the fire of the old Puritan? Is not there evidence of a full appreciation of those who are able and competent to give him instruction upon the great subject of life or death? 'Governor,' said he, 'you do very well to advise me to prepare for death; but although you have lifteen years, perhaps, to live, longer than I, you have as much need of that hint as I have myself.' Take that other word that he said, which I read last night for the first. I do believe that this great crime from our midst. I do that he said, which I read last night for the first. that he said, which I read last night for the first believe that this act of Brown, by the mortal terror time—and I do not know how it escaped me until then. He sees death before him. He knows in what the panic which pervades the South, by the intensity cause he dies. In his address to the Court, he seems of the feeling of abhorrence toward the acts which have to have put the knife of discrimination between what culminated in his execution, and which seem to be nehe did, and the acts for which he is to be punished; cessary for the support of that system, will hasten its showing the distinction-which the drunken lawyers downfall, and hasten it in a peaceful manner, also of Charlestown did not know, or, at least, if they And believing this, I also believe that long, long knew, they did not express knowing, I say, that after the system shall have become extinct, his name he did not commit; that he had neither incited nor historic names, upon the historian's page, in legendinstigated slaves to rebellion,—nor committed treason ary tale, and oven in the glowing words of poetry. against the State,—nor committed murder,—nor done I was reminded of this by having a book put into any of the acts charged against him, but had merely my hands as I entered the hall, a passage from which proposed to translate some men from slavery to freeom, -knowing that, I say, he writes to his half- two hundred years ago, the precise parallel of the brother and says, 'I have got to die for what I have event which took place in Virginia to-day. I refer done; don't have any regret;' and then he puts in to the execution of Montrose. I will read an exthese words—the stout-hearted old man .- I think I tract, which serves to show how poets, how mankind,

> [Mr. Davis then read very effectively the latter por-'He is coming !-he is coming ! ' &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON was the next speaker. He was received with a perfect tempest of applause, which REMARKS OF REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

My Friends,-You perceive I did not come prepar

assembly as this, any sentiments, however obnoxious years—that, so long as the eternal God holds his was worth to have him utter a word against it! Let us not pour too much contempt and opprobrium upon Richmond, or any part of Virginia! The good work duced, the President stating that he presumed he one reformer, 'I know God is not in a hurry, but I had not come prepared to speak on the occasion, but am.' (Laughter.) It is a good thing to shake off the millions of men are now bending under it, and twenty As you have correctly stated, Mr. President, I millions holding it on. John Brown exercises more Wise, with all the military force of the State, and all

gether in this multitudinous crowd, composed of all my library, and I wrote the thoughts that passed classes of the population of Massachusetts,—the most through my mind in half a dozen lines. Will you the most ultra,-meeting together excuse me if I give them as the close of the remarks with one common purpose? As I understand it, which I have been called upon to make? [Many

To-morrow they will bear him to his rest.

REMARKS OF REV. J. F. CLARKE. I desire to say but a single word, at this late hour, and that is in regard to the character of John Brown honor him, it is because he was worthy to be honored, that we care.

There are wicked and shameful prints in this city which take this opportunity, at the moment that this recollect that that brave old man, having suffered hero has given his life, not for any privileged order. but for a debased order, to throw filth and falsehood ly, animated by that hoose devices and martyrs mitted murders in Manses.

we have any reason for knowing any thing to be true, we know that that is not true. We have a letter from a brother of John Brown-a letter which has been published in a Cleveland paper-a letter which Brown had any thing to do with those murders in cold What has History done in similar cases? Why, it Brown himself, and his two sons, told him with their blood on the Pottowottomie is false. He says that has canonized the memory of men simply for their own lips, a short time before, that they had nothing to do with it, that they were not there, and that they ferior to the motives of Brown. When I recollect Brown says, against what the editor of the Herald of

barous Barons, and for selfish purposes, I do not the slanders against the memory of that great, good On that ground, then, let us not believe these less recollect that it is the foundation of that barrier man. They will not last. It is not necessary to try which ages of devotion to personal liberty have reared to refute them. History takes care of her martyrs; alike around the English subject and the American she will take care of him. What we have to do is citizen. When I recollect that the Habeas Corpus to unite and consecrate ourselves with new devotion writ was a device of the infamous Shaftesbury, to of heart, to do battle against this gigantic evil; and shield himself from the penalty of his complicity of heart, to do battle against this gigantic evil; and if we do that, John Brown, ascended up on high, with one of the most discreditable acts in English hiswill feel that he has not died in vain. (Applause.)

golden annals of the mother land—an event that ca-tablished upon an immutable basis the rights and lib-

IT IS NOT A DYE! MRS. S. A. ALLENS

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