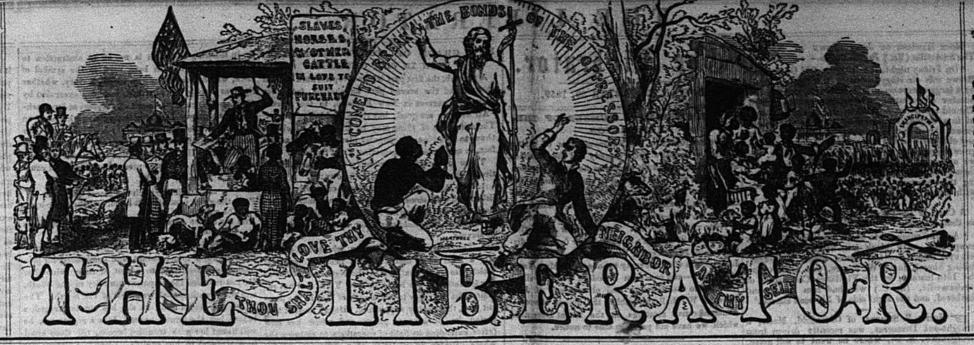
CLUES, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters plaint to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

O' Advertisements making less than one square inof three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, asylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sogies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

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



death, and an agreement with hell."

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and em tial supports of tlavery. We are the jailers and con-stables of the institution. . . There is some excusa-for communities, when, under a generous impulse, ney espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without secure in aiding other States in binding on men an arrighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, IN PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enalaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 52.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1859.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1513.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

REV. DR. DEWEY ON JOHN BROWN. Rev. Dr. Dewey, pastor of the Summer street Charch, Boston, delivered a discourse on the text: He shall not strive nor cry; a bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall be not quench; ad, in the course of his sermon, remarked upon Jahn Brown and his sympathizers as follows:

Agrave question has been presented to us during the past week, which must be brought to the same test and tribunal of Christian law—the highest law we know. A band of men went down from the North, by force and arms to carry off a body of slaves from the State of Virginia. They were apprehend-el and tried, and their leader has been executed. A ed and tried, and their leader has been executed. A public expression of our sympathy for him is demanded by some of our fellow-citizens, and some eres of our clergy, at the North. I say a public expression; and such an expression of sympathy with his enterprise. Whatever private reserves any may make in their own minds, it cannot, in the circonstances, mean any thing else. Certainly, it can pean nothing else to the people of the South.

There is many a man, every year, who suffers the death penalty; there are families whom every public execution involves in great distress. It is not for John Brown as victim of the law that our pity is inriked, and our help for his family; but for him as s man who attempted to produce a slave insurrection in Virginia-for the attempt to carry off hundreds of slaves, and the collecting of arms to put dreds of states, and the construction. It was not the secret carrying off a few slaves that was proposed, but it was a bloody fight—and armed slaves to take part in it.

Now give me a moment's candid hearing, if I speak wany that differ from me in regard to what this case ands of us. I agree with you in much ; and let hespstem of Slavery be ever so wrong—ever so much strariance with all natural justice—I agree with ou that it is wrong. I agree with you that it is a not fearful and threatening calamity to this country. And I trust and believe with you, that in some try, there is to be deliverance from it. But is this the way—by stirring up and arming the slaves spainst their masters? Do you know what a slave issurrection is?—to carry fire and slaughter, rapine and murder, horrors worse, if possible, than those of the Sepoy rebellion, all over the South country? consider it, and if you deliberately say that you desire to see a slave insurrection, then may consistently gather meetings in the North to surpress sympathy with John Brown. If you do not, then sarely every public, patriotic, brotherly, hu-mans and Christian consideration forbids it to be

But may not one sympathize with John Brownhonor him in that he periled his life for his convicons-call him a hero and a saint-express sorrow for his fate, and feel and say that the gallows should approving of his actions? I answer, not, in the present circumstances, by public meetings. I must confess, indeed, that I do not very well understand this separation of the actor from the act; but what private thoughts of the matter a man may have, I do not now consider. This is what I say—that to call public meetings to express sympathy for him, under the prasent circumstances, is to hold up a placard to the South, and to all the world, that says, 'We approve of his undertaking.' And every public meeting so held takes the responsibility of producing another John Brown.

another John Brown.

Are we prepared for this? This very enterprise with the wide agitation it has aroused, -I will not say is likely, but it is liable to bring down other assailants of the same character upon the South Do we wish to see other John Browns going down to the South for such a purpose? But I know not what could afford greater encouragement to them

than these public meetings.

No, we must distinguish here, and must say, that, however much we may dislike the system of slavery, we should look with inexpressible horror upon a slave insurrection, and upon any man who would open the door to such ineffable miseries. This must be the prevailing sentiment of the North, and it should be uttered in unmistakable tones, by the press, in the pulpit, and, if necessary, in public meetings convened for the purpose.'

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Mrs. 355 Mrs. spers, none minal

IF It is not at all surprising, but perfectly nattral, that the clerical trimmer who has avowed his willingness to send his mother or brother into slavery. to preserve the Union, should take this view of the affair at Harper's Ferry.]-Ed. Lib.

BOSTON DEMOCRACY IN LEAGUE WITH

GOT. WISE, OF VIRGINIA, AND THE JACKSON DENOCRATIC CLUB, No. 1, or Boston. The following is a copy of the resolution, unanimously adopted by the Jackson Democratic Club, No. 1, of Boston, on the evening of the 3d inst. :-

Resolved, That we, members of the Jackson Democratic Clab, No. 1, of Boston, in common with all true Democrats throughout the country, view with unmixed and undisguised satisfaction the prompt, sagacious, vigorous and patriotic conduct of Gov. Wise, of Virginia, in bringing to well-merited punishment that arch conspirator against the laws of the Old Dominion and of the United States Lee B. States, John Brown.

A Committee being appointed to forward a copy of the above to Gov. Wise, the following response was elicited from him, and read at the meeting of the Club on Thursday evening:—

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 10, 1859.

GENTLEMEN—I have received, with cordial satisfaction, the resolution of the 'Jackson Democratic

Club, No. 1, of Boston.'
Virginia sent her noblest son, and not one alone

to bleed by the side of Warren, on Boston heights. We have not another Washington to send, in times to try men's souls; but the Washington and his neighbors who were lately taken out of their beds to be imprisoned and held in hostage by a maraud-ing party of border ruffians, in the county of Jefresan, in the county of Jelieran, in the county of Jelieran, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, would have freely left their beds, and volunteered again to to to Boston, and fight by your sides against any common for of the common country. Why were they thus assailed in their home-castles? By whom?

In Webster's language I ask, 'Shall my children be aliens to my children?' Shall my children to aliens to my children? be aliens to ny children? Shall my children be aliens to your children? Heaven forbid that the countrymen of George Washington and John Hancock shall ever be aliens to each other! Yet that must be, if the prompters of John Browns are not put down in Massachusetts.

Put down in Massachusetts.

We rely on the Democratic Clubs to do it, and save the UNITED States. May your struggle for us, and with us, be as of old, and we be united forer:

Present me gratefully to your Club, and believe Yours, truly, HENRY A. WISE. To SANUEL R. GLEN and others, Committee of Jackson Club, Boston.

HIRED TRAITOR IN OUR MIDST-PASS

Our attention has just been called to a copy the Clarke Journal, (a weekly sheet, published at Berryville, Clarke county, Va.,) bearing date the 11th inst. This journal is professedly Democratic in politics, and now keeps the following ticket at the head of its leading columns:—

For President-R. M. T. HUNTER, of Va. For Vice-President-D. S. DICKINSON, of N. Y.

Under color of this show of conservatism, the edior of the paper, Alexander Parkins by name, pub ishes as an advercisement the full prospectus of the New York Tribune, occupying an entire column, New York City, headed and for which, doubtless, Mr. Parkins receives, a considerable moneyed compensation. That our readers may properly appreciate the nature of the inflammatory article thus paid for and published within a free miles of Harner's Ferra, we appropriate the fell. few miles of Harper's Ferry, we reproduce the following sample of Greeley's prospectus :-

power and under the flag of the Federal Union? is now to receive a momentous, if not a conclusive answer. Land for the Landless versus Negroes for the Negroless, is the battle-cry of the embodied millions, who, having just swept Pennsylvania, Ohio and the North-West, appear in the new Congress, backed by nearly every free State, to demand a recognition of every man's right to cultivate and improve a modicum of the earth's surface wherever he has not been anticipated by the State's cession to another. Free Homes ipated by the State's cession to another. Free Homes, and the consecration of the virgin soil of the Territories to Free Labor—two requirements, but one poli-cy—must largely absorb the attention of one Congress through the ensuing season, as of the People in the succeeding Presidential canvass; and, whatever the immediate issue, we cannot doubt that the ultimate verdict will be in accord at once with the dictate of impartial Philanthropy and the inalienable rights of

We merely suggest to the good people of Jefferson saries of a much less dangerous description than that to which Mr. Alexander Parkins belongs. A bired disseminator of abolition treason is the very man of all others to tamper with slaves, to ron them off, or, if he had the courage to do so, to lead the van of servile insurrection. Whether Mr. Parkins has not already laid himself liable to fine and imprisonment in the county jail for his complicity with Horace Greenback occurred since I retired from office, and which have occurred since I retired from office, and which commend to the careful consideration of the prose-cuting attorney of Clarke county. But there can be no doubt whatever that the people of Clarke and the surrounding counties owe it to their own safety to suppress this incendiary sheet. A respectful re-quest to Mr. Parkins to leave the community, signed by all his subscribers, would perhaps prove effica-tions and a suppression of the North and the South as to porters of Messrs. Hunter and Dickinson should es he names of these worthy gentlemen deserves especial reprobation.

THE TINION IN PHILADELPHIA.

On Wednesday evening, 13th inst. some twenty housand assembled in Jayne's Hall and on Chestout street, to re-assert their devotion to the Union of the States. Joseph R. Ingersoll presided, the Vice Presidents numbered seventy-five, the Secreta-

Speeches in the spread-eagle style were delivered by the President. Judge King, Henry M. Fuller, Josiah Randall, Isaac Hazleburst, Robert Tyler, B. I. Brewster, Charles J. Ingersoll, Col. Page, Eli C. Price, and Richard Vaux. Mr. Randall went beyond the bounds of propriety in inviting mob

such meetings, and prevent what must be the inevi-table result, if they should be continued—an open riolation of the peace and quiet of our city. (Cheers it will take years to wear away. The lamentable and applause.)

The South should understand our position. people at large have no power to prevent such emis-saries as Wendell Phillips and Giddings coming here, and delivering abolition lectures—they have no power to prevent the Rev. Mr. Furness and Mrs. Lacretia Mott from disseminating their sceptical, disunion doctrines; but they have no part nor lot

Mr. Brewster went the whole figure :

demnation. Ever since the English first planted it in this country, it has been and still is where it ful attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a help, could the early settlers have subdued this vast wilderness, and cleared the way for the free white man? It is now a social necessity, for bow can the Southern men, if they wished it, rid themselves of this race of needy and thriftless people? It would be a pitiless act of wanton barbarity to cast them loose upon their own resources, and it would be a wild and having triumphed, let her, by her magnanimitated felf-schapites for the whitest the statement of the settlers and generality to her Southern beathern show act of self-slaughter for the whites to liberate them.

It is a commercial necessity, for by their labor do we produce our great staple cotton, with which we command the markets of the world, and by which a sectional triumph. alone we have maintained peace with other nations, and hindered their rulers from inflicting upon us those injuries that would have retarded our growth for the south—Be not alarmed, for there are few very few, at the North, who would be the south—Be not alarmed.

Abolitionism, has been starking abroad in this contry. He and they were here to express their opposition to any such sedition, let it come from the platform, the pulpit, or the legislative halls. (Cheers.)
He had no sympathy for John Brown or his traitors.
(Cheers.) He would hang them as high as Haman.
(Cheers.) The only mistake Virginia had made

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, Nov. 15. UNION-SAVING MEETING IN NEW YORK.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT FILLMORE. The following letter, from Ex-President Fillmore, was sent to the recent Union-saving meeting at New York-a meeting characterised by every element of commercial selfishness, profligate demagoguism, unblushing pro-slavery, and promiscuous rascality; and though a portion of it will prove very distasteful to the South, yet, as a whole, its appropriate place is in the 'Refuge of O pression.'

BUFFALO, Dec. 16, 1859. Gentlemen: Your letter of the 13th reached me yesterday, enclosing a call for a public meeting in The North and the South-Justice and Fraternity,

and inviting me to be present on the occasion. As no time is specified, I hasten to respond by saying that the objects of the meeting have my most hearty approval, but I have long since withdrawn from "The 'irrepressible conflict' between Darkness and my vote for those whom I deem the best and safest The 'irrepressible conflict' between Darkness and Light, Inertia and Progress, Slavery and Freedom, moves steadily onward. Isolated acts of folly and madness may for the moment give a seeming advantage to Wrong; but God still reigns, and the Ages are true to Humanity and Right. The year 1860 must witness a memorable conflict between these irreconcilable antagonists. The question, 'Shall Human Slavery be further strengthened and diffused by the power and under the flag of the Federal Union?' is now to receive a momentous, if not a conclusive an-

importance to my countrymen, they now have them in a much more responsible and satisfactory form than I could give them by participating in the pro-ceedings of any meeting. My sentiments on this unfortunate question of slavery and the constitu-tional rights of the South in regard to it, have not changed since they were made manifest to the whole country by the performance of a painful official duty in approving and enforcing the fugitive slave law. What the Constitution gives, I would concede at every sacrifice. I would not seek to enjoy its baneand Clarke counties that the squad of Yankee pod-fits without sharing its burthens and its responsibili-lers lately ordered away from their borders are emis-ties. I know of no other rule of political right or expediency. Those were my sentiments then-they are my sentiments now. I stand by the Constitu

ley's incendiary efforts, is a question which we re-commend to the careful consideration of the prose-This I cannot do intelligibly, without a brief refer-

yal! his subscribers, would perhaps prove effectious; but don't lynch him. The friends and supcontest between the North and the South as to whether slavery should be tolerated in any part of pecially attend to this matter. The impudence with that territory. Mixed up with this, was a claim on which Parkins attempts to shelter his treason behind the part of the slaveholding States that the provis-Mixed up with this, was a claim on ion of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service should be made available, as the law of 1793 on that subject, which depended chiefly on State officers for its execution, had become inoperative, because State officers were not obliged to per-

After a severe struggle, which threatened the integrity of the Union, Congress finally passed laws settling these questions; and the government and the people for a time seemed to acquiesce in that compromise as a final settlement of this meiting questions. tion; and it is exceedingly to be regretted there mis taken ambition or the hope of promoting a party triumph should have tempted any one to raise this question again But in an evil hour, the Pandora's These Abolitionists, though small in number, are active and untiring in their treasonable efforts, and they have recently, under the protection of the armed municipal police, met together and promulgated the most abominable opinions and sentiments. It is much to be regretted that the Chief Magistrate of our city did not take efficient measures to suppress such meetings, and prevent what must be the inevisible result, if they should be box of Slavery was again opened by what I conserve to be an unjustifiable attempt to force slavery into tragedy at Harper's Ferry is clearly traceable to this unfortunate controversy about Slavery in Kansas and while the chief actor in this criminal invasion has exhibited some traits of character that challenge our admiration, yet his fanatical zeal seems to have blinded his moral perceptions, and hurried him into an unlawful attack upon the lives of a peaceful and anoffending community in a sister State, with the evident intention of raising a servile insurrection, which no one can contemplate without horror; and few, I believe very few, can be found so indifferent For my part, I have no scruples upon this sub-ect of domestic slavery. Any man who will think or a minute at the exaggerated opinions of the penalty of the law which he had violated. I cannot but hope that the fate of John Brown and nost exists, a necessity. For how, without such sister State. But this tragedy has now closed, and lelp, could the early settlers have subdued this vast Virginia has vindicated the supremacy of her laws, Finally, if I had the power to speak, and there

and suppressed our national greatness.'

Col. Page did the ferocious:

Col. Page was received with 'three cheers and a tiger.' His object in coming was to identify himself with those opposed to the black flag of Abolitionism. (Cheers.) He was prepared to do everything to sustain the stars and the stripes, and to oppose all who dared to oppose it. (Cheers.) The enemy of civil and religious liberty, in the guise of Abolitionism, has been stalking abroad in this country. He and they were here to express their opposes which have produced it. Let harmony he recauses which have produced it. Let harmony he refor there are few, very few, at the North, who would causes which have produced it. Let harmony be re-stored between the North and the South, and let every patriot rally around our national flag, and swear upon the altar of his country to sustain and defend it. I am, with great respect, Your obedient servant, MILLARD FILLMORE.

was in not shooting the traitors on the spot.

Another meeting was held outside the Hall, at which the hurra boys let off their extra steam.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Another meeting was held outside the Hall, at which the hurra boys let off their extra steam.

there meets a stranger, and is introduced to him. The two gentlemen talk of John Brown—get excited—both say extravagant things—get cool afterward—make up—shake hands, and part. The next day one of the parties is arcested for the expression of his sentiments respecting slavery, and he is forced to the correspondent of the Charleston Mercury, writting from Plackeille in the Charleston Mercury with Oberlin and Plackeille in the Charleston Mercury with Oberlin a

take his choice of a prison, or give \$2000 bonds to keep the peace for a twelvemonth! No man swore that he was afraid Dr. Breed would attack him; not only that, but the man (one Dr. Camp) who instigated the arrest of Dr. Breed, himself threatwas passing through the country with an air-gun, a dice-box, and some stereoscopic views; and last air sentiments respecting slavery.

tain sentiments respecting slavery.

Your correspondent attended the trial before Justice Down, and is forced to say that it was a farce from beginning to end. The two witnesses covered each other's tracks in their testimony; one of them swore positively that he did not believe either of the gentlemen (Van Camp and Breed) knew what they gentlemen (Van Camp and Breed) knew what they said—that they were much excited—and that he did not suppose Dr. Breed meant what it is alleged he said. It was evident to everybody present that it was simply an angry private discussion between two persons who call themselves gentlemen. Dr. Breed ntterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carteterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied, before Justice Down, the utterance late hour on Friday evening, and put up at the Carterly denied by t of the sentiments imputed to him; and none of his friends here, who know him to be a Non-Resistant Van Camp. Justice Down seemed to have no idea ed him over to the Mayor of the town, who had him of law or justice, for he bound Dr. Breed to keep placed under guard in one of the rooms of the hotel, the page in the sum of \$2000, on the ground that, where he still remains, but will probably be 'shipped' to-day. He has made a variety of statements, white audience, it would have endangered the peace one of which is that he had been in Washington on

he goes out! and no man reprimanded the scoundred for his offence. The Star very candidly admits that if the police had not been present in strong numbers, Dr. Breed would have been in danger.—This affair did not occur in Virginia or Naples, but in the capital of the United States! Henceforth, Washington is to be set down as a spot where freedom of speech is not allowed. Any member of Congress may be thrown into prison by this so-called Justice Down, for words uttered in private conversation.

Says he was not aware that the Union had been dissolved, and was under the impression that he was still in the United States until he reached this town. Whilst conversing with the guard in relation to the hanging of Brown, he burst into a flood of tears, and on being asked the cause of his grief, he said he had lost his father a few months ago. In appearance and conversation he is very gentlemanly, and bears up under his confinement with patience.

The Way Argument of the United States until he reached this town.

Whilst conversing with the guard in relation to the hanging of Brown, he burst into a flood of tears, and on being asked the cause of his grief, he said he had lost his father a few months ago. In appearance and conversation he is very gentlemanly, and bears up under his confinement with patience.

but for the presence of a friend, would have gone to jail, upon a charge of using 'seditious language.

. The arrest of Dr. Breed, because he exercised the indoubted right of every man to utter his thoughts, and on the disgrace, and if he shall be punished for thus speaking, Congress ought to punish Washington for its villanous conduct. That city exists because it is the seat of Government, having o other means of support, and would sink back into its native slime were Government to withdraw its countenance from it; and it should be taught its dace, and be made to know it cannot indulge in etty tyranny without being removed to a ' magnifi ent distance' from the national treasury, the only od it worships. We shall get, ere long, to be as hadly off as were the Germans, when, as Henrich Heine said, a man could not send a notice to a pub-lic journal that his wife had given birth to a child beautiful as Liberty,' without having the censor orbid its appearance

First be sure of public opinion before you express rour own in a free country. Because he did not teep this sound maxim in mind, Mr. T. A. Salvo had his head shaved gratis on one side, been treated to a coat of tar and feathers, ridden on a ail, and compelled to listen to a lecture. All this happened at Hamburg—not in Germany, for they are not enlightened there, but in—South Carolina. Mr. Salvo's offence was his expression of the opinion that slavery was not a good thing. Strong as were the arguments made use of to convince him of his error, we doubt if his sentiments have undergone any change. What a terrible cry there would be if Palmetto man should be tarred and feathered in Massachusetts for saying slavery is a good thing! Yet the deed would be in no respect different from what has just been done in South Carolina, because man said he thought slavery was not a good thing.

More Mon Spirit .- On Friday evening, of last week, the editor of the *Peninsular News*, a most excellent Anti-Slavery paper, published at Milford, Delaware, received an intimation that a mob of vio-Delaware, received an intimation that a mob of vio-lent men were making arrangements to attack his office, and destroy the press and type. The matter having leaked out, several substantial citizens of Milford repaired to the office, and volunteered to as-sist in its defence. The mob collected around the office in considerable numbers, but concluded that office in considerable numbers, but concluded that the movement was not popular enough in that town, and retired. The attempt has created much indignation among the best portion of the citizens of Milford, who know that the News is telling the truth about slavery, and that mobs and all the efforts of Slavery-ridden Democrats will not stop the spread of such truths as it publishes.

MEN OF BUSINESS OBLIGED TO ABANDON THEIR BUS-INESS.—Washington, Dec. 8.—Thirty-two gentle-men, agents of New York and Boston houses, arrived here to-day from the South, and report the feeling of indignation so great against Northerners, that they were compelled to return and abandon their business. These gentlemen have been known for they were compelled to return and abandon their obusiness. These gentlemen have been known for years as traders in the South. They also report that y Northerners of long residence in the South have been disfigured, and driven from their homes.

Eleven business men who were on their way South returned lass night, after having reached a station in Virginia, being turned back by a Vigilance Committee. They say the feeling in six of the States through which they have accessed in very intense against the

tee. They say the feeling in six of the States through which they have passed is very intense against the North, and against the continuance of the Union.

Vigilance committees are being organized in every county, town and village of the Commonwealth. The following preamble and resolutions, adopted at

SELECTIONS.

IN A DILEMMA.—A young gentleman, whose parents reside in a neighboring county in an adjoining State, is just now in rather an unpleasant dilemma in Kentucky, the result of the jealousy induced by the persistent attempts of Abolitionists to excite a servile insurrection, which culminated by the invasion at Harper's Ferry. The facts came to our knowledge to-day, and are vouched for by men of veracity, though the name of the young man was not given. He was, it seems, employed as a teacher; and the outrageous inroad made upon our was in the full tide of success, and quite popular among the patrons of his school, until the fact because of Dr. Breed, referred to in my last letter. The main facts, agreed to by all parties, are as follows: A gentleman who has lived in peace and respectability in Washington for the last seven years—who has had high office under successive administrations—Quaker—calls upon a neighbor upon business. He there meets a stranger, and is introduced to him. The two grantlement talk of the Research and the contract of the country, and more especially to the protection of our percentage of the citizens of the coenties of Madison and Culpepper, held recently at a place called Locous Dale, will suffice to show the object of these vigilance committees of the open times of the special patrons and the place at meeting of the citizens of the coenties of Madison and Culpepper, held recently at a place called Locous Dale, will suffice to show the object of these vigilance committees of the special patrons are similar to the place called Locous Dale, will suffice to show the object of these vigilance committees of the special patrons. The sum of the patrons of his school, until the fact because of Dr. Breed, referred to in my last letter. The main facts, agreed to by all parties, are as follows:

A gentleman who has lived in peace and respectability in Washington for the last seven years—who has a committee of contemplated attempts in Kentucky, awakened to be a might partied at the patrons ar

ing from Blackville, in that State, after narrating the circumstance connected with the tarring of Sal-

'On the 14th, we sent off a foot-traveller, who Jones, who came here with his wife direct from Ver mont, for the professed purpose of taking ambro-types. Having no use for such vagabond characters, when they hall from abolition territory, we advise them to keep away.'

ARREST OF A SUSPICIOUS CHARACTER IN CHARLESrows. - A man, who gives the name of Otis, and claims to hail from the town of Yonkers, New York, was arrested on Saturday under suspicious circumstances. He made his appearance in the town at a n principle, for a moment credited the statement of ing satisfactory to the reverend gentleman, he handof the community! What an insolent defiance of business, and wishing to be present at the execution, all law and justice! left Alexandria for Leesburg, Va., and from that ered, and threats were openly and loudly made to take the life of Dr. Breed on the spot. One man cried out in open court: 'Lat's hang him up when he goes out!' and no man reprimanded the scoundred for his offence. The Star very candidly admits

Justice Down, for words attered in private conversation, and left there till be will give bonds.

Brooks was fined three hundred dollars for makfrom the land of wooden nutmegs, supposed to be an ing a murderous assault upon a United States Sana- agent of some Abolition Aid Society or underground tor in his Senatorial seat; while a Northern man is held to bail in the sum of two thousand dollars, and ing county of Pulaski, and dealt with in the most summary manner by his captors; one of the most influential and worthy citizens of the county acting jail, upon a charge of using 'seditious language.'
He might have blasphemed God, or threatened to dissolve the Union, with impunity; to speak against Slavery is the unpardonable sin.

Speaking of this affair, the Boston Traveller remarks:—

influential and worthy citizens of the county acting as judge, jury, and executioner. After ordering him to be hung by the neck, he very coolly proceeded to execute the sentence. Having hung him up until the 'vital spark' was nearly extinct, he cut him down and gave him a breathing spell. When sufficiently restored to undergo another swinging, he was again haltered, and suspended for a few moments.
After having undergone this process fire times, (once
each for old Brown, Coppic, Cook, Stevens, and
Hazlitt,) he was kindly permitted to retrace his
steps to a more congenial clime, but not until he
had been fairly admonished that if ever caught in
Visitia again, he would have to take the sixth and Virginia again, he would have to take the sixth and fatal leap. It is said by those who witnessed the whole proceeding, that when the fellow got loose, he ran like a quarter nag.'—Wytheville (Va.) Tel.

> A Man Indicted for Expressing Sympathy with Brown.—The Grand Jury of Norfolk, Va., have found a true bill on an indictment against S. Daneburg, who keeps a clothing and shoe store in that city, for seditious language, calculated to incite insurrection. The Day Book says:—

> 'The first count charged him with having used the words, 'John Brown was a good man, and was fighting in a good cause, and did nothing but what any honest man would do.' And the second count charged that he had used the following expressions: charged that he had used the following expressions.
>
> 'John Brown was fighting in a good cause,' (meaning that he was fighting in the cause of the slave against the master.)' and that owners have no right of property in their slaves'; and said that 'Brown did nothing but what any other honest man would do.' Daneburg left the city a few days ago, having an intimation that he had got himself into trouble. His case will come on early in the present term of the Superior Court, now in session.

TAR AND FEATHERS .- We learn that last night about 12 o'clock, a party who had reason to doubt the orthodoxy, or who believed in the heterodoxy of the orthodoxy, or who believed in the heterodoxy of Sewall H. Fisk, a dealer in shoes in this city, and a native of Massachusetts, waited upon him, and using some persuasives peculiar to themselves, induced him to exchange his usual habiliments, and don those that transmogrified him into a pretty fair representative of Plato's definition of a man—a cock. He was not game, however, for he had no spurs; nor did he exhibit any inclination to make fight or crow, being we suppose off from his own durphill. The

charges, Mr. Fisk denied. He was called out of his store at night, and gagged before he could make either noise or resistance. He was then placed in a carriage, and driven a short distance from the city, and the application, as above, made to his nude person; he was then left to find his way back, as best he could. His first appearance in the limits was near the hospital, where he came in sight of a watchman, who was so alarmed at the sight that he gave a spasmodic jerk at his rattle, and took to his heels, not willing to face so dreadful an apparition. A reinforcement, however, was brave enough to approach him, when he was conducted home, the most pitiable object it is possible to imagine. Not a spot of his skin was visible, and his hair was trimmed close to his head. Mr. Fisk, it is but justice to say, visited his native State a few years ago, where, in a public meeting, he defended the institution of Slavery, and brought upon himself the censure of his relations, as well as the animadversion of the papers in Holliston, where he made his speech.—Savannah News, Dec. 3.

tions, to wit :-

That a Vigilance Committee be appointed, whose
duty it shall be to examine all suspicious persons who
cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, and
to dispose of said persons as may seem to them to be

2. That it be considered the duty of each member of this meeting to exercise the utmost vigilance in ar-resting every individual of suspicious character, and in handing him over to the Vigilance Committee, and that every citizen be requested to co-operate with them. A third resolution, naming twenty-six gen-tlemen as a Vigilance Committee, was then adopted.

A similar meeting was held in Luray, Page county, and a Vigilance Committee, consisting of thirty-two, appointed for the same purpose. Meetings have also been held in Rockingham, Shenandouh, Orange, and several other counties, each of which has organized its Vigilance Committee. Volunteer companies are also being rapidly organized in every town and village of the State. - Virginia corr. of N.Y. Herald.

More Incendiarism .- The States and Union keeps up its vile and incendiary appeals against this office, in its issue of Monday, as follows:—

'The police should have a scrutinizing eye on all suspicious, evil-looking persons who may take shel-ter in the city. The railroad depot should be close-ly observed. The incendiary printing offices should be closely watched. The 'devil's den,' or Black Republican Association Lodge, should not escape

ttention.

'If Black Republicanism had in its service John Brown, who risked so much upon an expedition to take Harper's Ferry, what may not be undertaken with such shelter as may be afforded by the league of Black-Brown spirits who infect this community? The price of public security, like that of public liberty, is eternal vigilance.—National Era.

At Charlestown, the military authorities not only held possession of the telegraph, but also inter-fered with the mails. Letters directed to certain of the New York papers were not forwarded; and packages of newspapers from New York were sup-

The Warrentown (Va.) Flag, having been formed that over twenty copies of the New York Tribune are taken at the Post Offices of Prince William county, suggests that those receiving them should not only be presented before the Grand Jury and fined heavily, but dealt with even more severely.

The Charleston Mercury publishes a letter signed 'A Merchant,' in which the paper's New York correspondents are requested to give the names of the leading Abolition houses in New York and elsewhere. For one, the writer pledges himself not to purchase one dollar's worth of goods from such parties as shall be designated.

THE VIRGINIA FRIGHT .- The panic has seized all classes of the people, and most exaggerated reports are in circulation. Some think that hordes of Northerners are on their way to invade the State which has given birth to Presidents and statesmen. Petersburg has been divided into patrol districts, and fines of \$25 and \$50 are to be imposed upon and fines of \$25 and \$50 are to be imposed upon those who disobey orders to perform patrol duty whenever Major Davenport, the officer left to protect the city, may call for their services. Seven men each from eight companies were on patrol duty last night, and a special detachment was sent to guard the powder magazine on the other side of the river Appomatox. These warlke preparations are, of course, a serious interruption to all business in the city, and the suspicious which are excited by them city, and the suspicions which are excited by them

city, and the same result.

If five or six negroes are seen talking together, they are speedily magnified by rumor into a hundred, armed with pitchforks and seythe blades. Beggars are arrested and put into jail, and strangers, if they happen to be poorly dressed, are accosted by the police and examined. Two of this class, who were police and examined. Two of this siass, who were found a night or two ago, had in their possession a tin cup and a whiskey-flask, with a little spirits in it, supposed to be of Northern manufacture, an old jack-knife, and a piece of string. They were ordered to leave the city immediately; but before they had time to comply with the injunction, they were again taken into custody.—Letter from Petersburg,

EXCITEMENT IN TALBOT COUNTY .- On Sunday last. EXCITEMENT IN TALBOT COUNTY.—On Sunday last, an incendiary letter was picked up in St. Michael's, which purports to give the outlines of an extended insurrectionary movement in Maryland and Virginia. It states the very improbable fact that over 12,000 men are engaged in the crusade, who can instantly recognize each other by a look in the eyes whenever they meet. The plot contemplates the capture of the city of Baltimore by the sid of 40,000 men from the North, the time to be fixed by a State Convention of the crusaders to be held in this city. The name and date of the letter were both torn off. This ridicadate of the letter were both torn off. This ridicu-lous document created great excitement among the good people of Talbot. Patrols were immediately formed in the St. Michael's district, and a strong guard placed in Easton on Sunday night. A public meeting of the citizens of the county took place in the Court House at Easton yesterday afternoon, to take into consideration the existing state of affairs, but we have not learned the result of their deliber. but we have not learned the result of their delibera ioas .- Baltimore Republican, Nov. 30th.

Itinerant teachers, pedlers, drummers, &c. are so numerous in Frederick County, Md., that the people fear a second Harper's Ferry affair, and have set a watch over the barracks, where 700 stand of arms are deposited, lest they should be broken into

Mr. Alfred Caldwell, the Virginia State Sen-Mr. Alfred Caldwell, the Virginia State Senator from the Wheeling District, who, it will be remembered, avowed strong Republican destrines in a speech at his home last summer, is placed in coventry at Richmond. He is treated with extreme coolness by his brother Senators and the members of the other House. At the hotel at night, when all seem to be engaged in conversation, he sits alone by the stove in the rotunda, as little recognized as, though he were an entire stranger to all present. He will probably stand the pressure, and be improved by it.

Slavery will ultimately die out, if we can resting

Excrement in Kentucky.—The Louisville Courier of the 21st inst. contains the following account of a

proposed slave insurrection:—
The citizens of Frankfort, the capital of the State, and Versailles, in Woodford county, have been excited for some days, but by no means alarmed, at a report of a threatened rising of the negroes in those

report of a threatened rising of the negroes in those counties.

On Saturday a despatch from Harp-r's Ferry, Virginia, advised the Mayor of Frankfort that the negroes, at the instigation of some white soundrels, designed an attack on that city and Versailles; and when these places fell, it was their intention to devastate the country around.

The information was obtained through an intercepted letter from an abolitionist named Day, addressed to Osawatomic Brown. The intelligence was so direct and of such an alarming character that Mr. Hunter, the prosecuting attorney at Charlestown, Va., deemed it his duty to advise the authorities in Frankfort as above.

Immediately on its reception, the Mayor of Frankfort called the trustees together to devise means to avert such a calamity. Precautionary measures were taken in that city, and also in Versailles, by appointing an extra police force and patrols for each district in the counties. The new military company organized last week in Versailles were ready to respond with alacrity at the first sound of the toesin of nd with alacrity at the first sound of the toesin of

This abolitionist Day has been connected with the otorious Delia Webster, who was once in the Kentucky penitentiary for running off negroes. He was driven away from Trimble county some years ago for his negro-stealing propensities. If he is caught on this side of the river again, we reckon he will be

FREE SPRECH IN VIRGINIA .- The Norfolk Herald gives accounts of several instances of free speech, mong which we copy the following:-

among which we copy the following:

One was that of a resident on Ferry Point, opposite this city, John Fletcher by name, who came from Washington city some five years ago. On Tuesday last, in the grocery store of his neighbor, Mr. James P. Jones, in the presence of ten creditable witnesses, while in conversation about the Harper's Ferry affair, 'he avowed himself an abolitionist, and asserted that there were many in Norfolk and Portsmouth, but that they were afraid to say and Portsmouth, but that they were airaid to say so; but he was free, white and twenty-one, and had no hesitation in declaring that if he had five hun-dred or five thousand dollars, he would give one half

dred or five thousand dollars, he would give one hair of it for the release or rescue of John Brown.'

The by-standers were highly indignant at such language, and immediately had information of it lodged with T. Portiock, Esq., J. P., who thereupon issued his warrant for the apprehension of Fletcher. The warrant was given to officer John M. Drury to execute, who proceeded to Fletcher's dwelling, and knocked for admittance at his front door; but he made his appearance at a side door, and being told by the officer that he must go with him, said he would do so, and retired to get his coat and hat . but on his return said he had changed his mind, and was determined not to be taken. officer then attempted to seize him, when he held the door nearly closed with one hand, while with the other he drew a knife, which he held up in a threatening manner, and said, '- you, if you at-tempt to enter, I will kill you.' Mr. Drury then went and summoned persons to his assistance; and on his return. Fletcher, after consulting with members of his family, and being threatened with forcible entrance by the posse without, quietly sur-rendered, and was taken off to jail to undergo an

AN ABOLITIONIST CAUGHT IN ALABAMA .- We heard on Saturday that an abolitionist emissary had been detected at Prattville, in Autauga County, on the previous day, and rather summarily dealt with by the citizens of that village. He was immediately arrested and put upon his trial, which resulted in his being bound over in the sum of \$10,000. It is stated that this fellow had in his possession several letters from some of Brown's men in the North, relative to the plans of that infamous band of rebel lionists, and containing advice as to how he should act—at what point to fix upon as headquarters, &c., &c. He was first arrested on suspicion of being the murderer of McCrabb, and, on examination, these incendiary documents were found about his person. We hope to be able to give full particulars of this affair in our issue of Tuesday. The plot, indeed, seems to thicken.—Montgomery Advertiser, Nov. 28.

FRIGHTENED BY A BLIND GIRL.—The Wheeling Intelligencer publishes the statement of a blind girl, who was recently expelled from Martinsburgh, Va., on suspicion of being an Abolitionist. She says:

'Some of the people treated me kindly enough, but the lady of the house insisted that I was an Abolitionist; that coming as I did from Indiana, I was not entitled to belief. A gentleman came into my room uninvited, and questioned me in an impudent manner. I applied to a minister who said he be glad to assist me, but would advise me not to stay during the excitement. It was in consequence of this that I was compelled to leave.' In addition to this, the conductor of the train upon which the blind lady and her sister arrived, told us, in the presence of a number of gentlemen, that the ladies were not permitted to remain. He was asked if he knew them, and upon replying that he did not, was told that 'they could not stay there.'

SENT AWAY .- No less than four men, suspected of being abolition emissaries, were arrested in our city on Friday and Saturday, had examination before a committee appointed by the citizens, and were finally discharged with an injunction to leave, with their faces turned Northward—which injunction they seemed to obey, not only readily but thankfully. We understand that there was no strong, positive evidence of very improper conduct on the part of any of them, and, therefore, we refrain from giving a description of them. It is best for all transient Norern men to have a known and honest business when they come South just now, and we do not condemn the disposition to expel them if they cannot exhibit such 'credentials,' nevertheless, we trust that the people of this and every other Southern community I continue to act coolly and cautiously-that they will not inflict personal violence without sufficient proof that it is deserved.—Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer.

Two persons, whose presence was considered undesirable on account of abolitionism, were ridden on a rail at Kingstree, S. C., on Wednesday of last week. One was an old man, and the other a young man of good personal appearance. They were carried about the village, borne by negroes, and compelled to sing while travelling in this manner. They were then turned loose. They took the noon train for Charleston, but the other passengers refusing to ride with them, they were put out of the train, at St. Stephen's station.

A correspondent of a Charleston (S. C. paper is highly indignant at what he calls 'a clear case of impertinence,' viz: A Yankee peddier can-vassing that city with the Constitution of the United States in bronze, with gilt frame!' It is not the market for any such document as that.

The Charleston, S. C. Courier contains ter giving an account of a great excitement in Williamsburg. Two Northern teachers, W. J. Dodd and K. A. P. Hamilton, have been living as private teachers in the families of Mesers. Henry D. Shaw and S. J. Bradley, for upwards of a year; but, since the Harper's Ferry affair, have become objects of suspicion. A meeting of citizens was called, and they were requested to leave. The gentlemen in whose family they are, opposed the action of the meeting, as reflecting upon them. At a sub-sequent meeting, it was determined to permit the obnoxious individuals to remain until their present schools expire, on the 1st, the other on the 15th of December.

The Rockville (Md.) Journal says that a ma, was arcested near the Great Falls, in that county on Wednesday last, for the expression of a feeling of sympathy with the late rebellion at Harper's Ferry. He is now in the county jail.

SECESSION OF MEDICAL STUDENTS .- Philadelphia Dec. 20.—At a meeting of Southern medical students to-day, it was resolved to secede in a body from the school in this city, and go to the Southern from the school in this city, and go to the Southern colleges. There was a large attendance; Jefferson College will lose 200, and Pennsylvania University 100 students. They will proceed in a body tomorrow night, in a special train, from the Baltimore depot. The proceedings were conducted throughout with great decorum and propriety, and there was no exhibition of violent feeling. A number will go to the Richmond Medical College.

Mock HANGING OF JOHN BROWN BY NEGROES

Mock Hanging or John Brown by Negrous. The Scottville (Va.) Register says—

'On Friday night, the 2d inst, Old Osawatomie Brown was (in effigy) escorted through the streets by a large concourse of men and boys, and a goodly number of servants, who were more that pleased. The old murderer, horse-thief and traitor was seated in a wagon, supported by negro Ben, who performed the office of executioner as systematically as any old sheriff could have done. Indeed, the negroes enjoyed the proceedings beyond measure, and we are convinced they would, if necessary, arm themselves with Osawatomie pikes to aid in defending their masters. A black man played the fife, with which he "made the welkin ring."

A Case of Lynching. A correspondent informe

A man, supposed to be an Abolitionist, of dark articles, it will contain a thrilling letter from the dis A man, supposed to be an Abolitionist, of dark complexion, with black hair and a sear over the left eye, about five feet eleven inches in height, calling himself James W. Rivers, was taken up on the 13th instant, by the Vigilance Committee of Grahamville, (S. C.) who had him tarred and feathered, and the right side of his head shaved.'

A man, supposed to be an Abolitionist, of dark complexion, articles, it will contain a thrilling letter from the discount in the discount i

straight-out Democrat, was recently driven from Georgetown, S. C., where he went to sell maps, because he was from the North; and a subscriber to the Greenfield Gazette, in Georgia, has been obliged to discontinue his subscription on account of the anti-Northern feeling there. Nothing sec-tional in these and similar incidents, of course! The South is composed of national men!

At Danville, Va., a clerk in the Post-Office

WHITE FAMILIES LEAVING VIRGINIA. The New York Times correspondent says that it has reliable information when it states that, in consequence of On Wednesday, January 25th. Soirée at 7 o'clock the Harper's Ferry affair, the heavy property-hold-ers of Virginia begin to see that the subject of sla-very is destined to produce interminable strife in that State in the future, and materially decrease that State in the rotate, and materials the value of property. Families are accordingly preparing to leave the State; panic pervades all classes of citizens; there is no freedom of speech; ing clearly that the present must be a year of un

Col. S. A. Cooley, of this city, was in Charlestown, Va., last week. Mr. Penfield, agent of Sharpe's Rifle Company, was also there. Both were placed under arrest, but were treated kindly. Mr. Penfield showed a letter of introduction from Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd. Col. Cooley protested that he was no abolitionist. But all availed nothing. The officer said, 'Gentlemen, we have no reason to believe that either of you meditate harm; but the authorities have directed that tion, such as we carry on, and to uphold it now by the movements of all strangers shall be guarded; this is absolutely necessary for our safety; persons pretending to be friendly have been among us for some time, and our horses and cattle have been poisoned at night; our barns and sheds and haystacks have been destroyed by fire; the property of some of the jurors in John Brown's case has been burnt by incendiaries; we have only stopped these alarming proceedings by the most decided action in for accident and omission, however carefully guarded permitting no strangers to be staying about here in idleness.' Mesers. Cooley and Penfield, seeing the absolute necessity for the regulations which had been established, then left the place.—Hartford we trust, bring to our acquaintance many now un-Times, Dec. 14.

A correspondent of the Missouri Republican

Mr. Ashley, a Republican member of Congress from Ohio, went to Charlestown, Va., and witnessed the execution of John Brown. Some hours before the execution, he was discovered to be a spy, and he plainly avowed himself to the crowd to be a Republican member of Congress. His in-trepidity alone saved his life. He was insulted, his life was threatened a hundred times, but by cool bearing he put his panie-stricken foes to shame, and

James Powers, a workman on the new State House at Columbia, S. C., being charged with seditious language, was treated to thirty-nine lashes, and a coat of tar and feathers. on Saturday night last, by a committee of vigilants.

LIFE IN VIRGINIA. A private letter from a postmaster in Virginia, whose locality we dare not in dicate, for fear of exposing him to mob violence

. We are in the midst of a Reign of Terror here There is no certainty that letters duly mailed will not be opened on their way. All men of Northern birth now here are under serveillance by the so-cal ed Vigilance Committee; and any one suspected of thinking slavery less than divine is placed under Those who have been taking the New York Tribune are objects of especial ban. A company of ten came into the office last Monday, and gave notice that I must not give out any more Tribunes to the subscribers here. The law of Virginia punisher by fine and imprisonment a postmaster who gives out what are denounced as incendiary journals. The law of the United States punishes by fine and imprisonment, and further incapacitates from ever holding the office again, any postmaster who shall withhold or refuse to deliver any paper sent to a regular subscriber at his office. So here I am in a

John C. Underwood, Esq., writing to Horace Greeley under date of 'Occoquan, Prince William Co., Va., Dec. 21, 1859,' says—'There are some ten or twelve copies of the *Tribune* taken at this office, and the Postmaster refuses to deliver them to January 1st, 1859, to January 1st, 1864, - are remind the subscribers! The Attorney-General of this State has pronounced them incendiary!

Here is another proof that there is neither or nor honesty at the South :-

POST OFFICE, LYNCHBURG, Va., Dec. 2, 1859. MR. HORACE GREEKY—Sir: — I hereby inform you that I shall not, in future, deliver from this office the copies of the Tribune which come here, because I believe them to be of that incendiary character which are forbidden circulation alike by the list. laws of the land, and a proper regard for the safety of society. You will, therefore, discontinue them. Respectfully, R. H. GLASS, P. M.

The following letter is furnished by the Ohio merchants who were arrested at Harper's Ferry. What submissive lick-spittles they are!

BALTIMORE, Dec. 2d, 1859. To THE PUBLIC.—We, the undersigned, having been arrested by the military authorities of the State of Virginia, on the morning of Wednesday last, while proceeding over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as passengers for the East, were disposed to overlook the detention and annoyance to which we were subjected, in the belief that the officers were imposed upon, and acted entirely from erroneous in-Imposed upon, and acted entirely from erroneous in-formation. Observing, however, that we are ac-cused of having expressed ourselves antagonistically to the State, regarding its prisoners at Charlestown, and that this is offered as a reason for our arrest, we deem it due to ourselves thus publicly to declare the SANUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Statement entirely without foundation; that we are not public agitators of any sort, but order-loving To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives business men quietly pursuing our own affairs. We would, at the same time, in view of the numerous exciting reports that are being published, take oc-casion to declare that we were treated with every proper consideration by the military and citizens of SLAVE-HUNTING, in Massachusetts, by enacting Martinsburg, where our arrest took place, and that that no person who has been held as a Slave shall be as soon as our case was made known to the Railroad delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Fede-Company, the President and other officers promptly ral, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming telegraphed to the Commanding General, and pro-him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' cured our release, and, moreover, as further evid of our exoneration of the Baltimore and Ohio Com- to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave pany from all blame for this unusual proceeding, and an entire confidence that no further annoyance to passengers will occur, we propose to return to our homes in the West, by that route to-morrow.

Signed, J. W. VANSANT, Fairfield Co., Ohio.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 30, 1859.

A SUPPLEMENTAL NUMBER OF THE T.TRERATOR

which the Harper's Ferry tragedy and the execution of John Brown and his associates have thrown upon our hands, and for a tittle of which we cannot fin oom in our columns, we shall publish an extra num ber of THE LIBERATOR, gratuitously, to be dated December 31, 1859—thus making the number to coasis of FIFTY THREE numbers. Among other interesting Norris F. Stearns, of Greenfield, Mass., a which we have not yet been able to notice.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION.

The Anti-Slavery families who have so lone ma Boston the seat of this annual social occasion, grate fully renew their invitation to all the early friends saw a man throw a letter, which he had just got-ten, into the stove, and, on taking it out, found it to be a proposition for running off slaves. The man was arrested.

Freedom, and cordially extend it to the multitudes of new friends in every part of the land, whom the past year has made; carnestly entreating the satisfaction of their company at

THE MUSIC HALL,

The general arrangements for the day and evening the same as last year.

We, who now unite in this heartfelt invitation, ar wonted moral exertion, if our country is to be carried check the progress of crime, the jury system, has become weak and corrupt; the spirit of religion is dying out, and infidelity taking its place. The country, according to this representation, is in fact but one degree removed from a state of anarchy.

wented moral exertion, if our country is to be carried succe fully through the present hopeful crisis, unite the country, according to this representation, is in fact but one degree removed from a state of anarchy. sucre fully through the present hopeful crisis, unite congratulation. Never were the signs of the peaceful extinction of slavery so full and propitious to the Both eyes long trained to read them tright.

We shall shortly send special invitations to both th carlier and later friends. In the mean time, we entrea all who love their native land, and are beginning to fee deeply moved, to serve and save it, to consider the necessity of steady, long-sustained, unremitting exerknowledgment.

Let none who sympathize with us be absent be cause our special invitation may fail to reach them known to us, whose co-operation will be most valu-

Says that F. P. Blair was near being arrested by the gens-d'armes of Virginia, while eating his dinner at Martinsburg. He was let off, he adds, on giving assurances that he was going to Washington as fast as the locomotive would carry him.

We entreat any whose love of the cause induces them to hesitate about making what they account a small subscription, to remember that while the largest sum is small in comparison with the grandeur of the Cause, the smallest may be the expression of high We entreat any whose love of the cause induce Cause, the smallest may be the expression of high feeling, high thinking, and self-sacrifice.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, BLIZA LEE FOLLEN. L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON. MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON. SARAH SHAW RUSSELL. FRANCES MARY ROBBINS. CAROLINE WESTON, SARAH P. REMOND, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT. SARAH P. ATKINSON, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, ABBY FRANCIS, SARAH RUSSELL MAY. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK. EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL AUGUSTA G. KING. ELIZABETH VON ARNIM. ANNA SHAW GREENE ELIZA APTHORP. MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GEIFFIEH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

REMEMBER THE TREMS.

To our Susscribers. Those of our subscribers who have not paid for the current year ._ that is, from ed of the standing rule by which their papers will be discontinued after February 1st, 1860, unless payment for the same be previously sent int.

The Financial Committee, in calling attention t the above standing rule, would also ask every subscriber, for the sake of the cause, as well as for the sake of the paper, to do what in him lies to extend the circulation of the Liberator, at least to the extent of procuring each one an additional name for our

THE PETITION FOR PROHIBITING SLAVE HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Friends! the time is short, and the work of secur ing names to the PETITION should be taken up and completed without loss of time. Do not let the work be thrown entirely on one or two persons in any place In every town let a committee, of men and women representing all parts of the town, be selected, who will see that the petition is presented at every house By this division of labor, the work will be easily and men of Massachusetts to the petition. Many hearts and hands are now at work for this object throughou the North. Let Massachusetts not be found wanting Give the petition to your representative in the Legislature; or, if preferred, send it to the care of

of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to STAVE-HUNTING, in Massachusetts, by enacting States of this Union.

A timely, able and outspoken Discourse o The Harper's Ferry Tragedy, by Rev. Frederick Frothingham, of Portland, occupies the principal portion of our last page. Read it!

theory, and the second part an obvious fact, has long been current in New England, to this effect: God for the accomplishment of purposes as far-reaching as eternity. Like the convulsive thrors of an The same nort of thing may be stated (if we choose thus to combine the popular idea with the actual midnight slumbers to escape from the yawning chasm fact, in one sentence) respecting Tract Societies.

1. The American Tract Society, originally estab-

lished and ever since carried on as a national institution, and (in connection with other labors) giving its influence to uphold our other national institution of slavery. 2. The Tract Society at Boston, which had origin

ally a local name and a limited field of operation, which was made auxiliary to the National Society at the formation of the latter in New York, and has remained its auxiliary to the month of May in the present year, thoroughly supporting, through most of that od, its pro-slavery policy, and which has now (after extending its field of operations to embrace the whole country, in violation of a deliberate pledge made to its late principal) assumed a transitional position in regard to slavery, whereof this is the first and the pre phase: The Boston Society declares itself ' not an Anti-Slavery Society,' but also declares itself willing fraternally to discuss 'those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote."

Those of the publications of this Society which thus far illustrate its meaning and purpose in regard to slavery are three. The first condemns 'oppression' generally, without naming the particular form of oppression called slavery; the second takes for granted that siavery is right, but requires the master to give the slave religious instruction; and the third opposes the immediate emancipation of the slaves.

3. The American Reform Tract and Book Society stablished at Cincinnati, Ohio, which (in connection with other labors) carries on a hearty, active and thorough warfare with slavery, opposing it instead of merely discussing it, and opposing the root instead of merely the branches.

These things being so, these three Societies existing and holding these three essentially different positions, a Convention met at Chicago on the 18th ern Evangelical Christians opposed to the policy and operations of the American Tract Society on the subject of American slavery.' This Convention appointed a Committee to report a plan of operations, and

emergency [the persistence of the American Tract Sobefore us. We recognize the gracious providence of God in the history and present position of each of

The Report, constantly speaking of the Boston and equally right, and as equally to be trusted and aided by those who wish to protest against the American Western Tract Agency' now to be formed, and these overtures have accordingly been made.

co-operation at the same time to two bodies so different in character (as if one should simultaneously join the American Anti-Slavery Society and the American sense are deteriorated in our popular churches. Their an intense hatred of slavery, which lacks only

even from discussing such of these abuses as are unbelievers, but merely on the prudential ground that, Republicans, with all their professed abhorrence of

recommended at Chicago, should it go into effect, the A. R. T. and B. S. would cease to retain and enjoy the powers of independent existence.'

The Cincinnati Society and its organ have spoken manfully against slavery, but they shrink from rebuking the Janus-faced character and time-serving policy of the Boston Society .- c. K. w.

THE DEATH OF JOHN BROWN. 'No! no! their ashes shall not die, But, borne to every land, Where'er their sainted dust shall fall, Upsprings a hely band.

Though Satan by his might may kill, And stop their powerful voice,
They triumph o'er him in their death,
And still in Christ rejoice.'

Truth is the same, eternal, universal, whether it

the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are the shadow of what was once intellectual greatness at rest'; gone from the criticism of friends and the now sighing its requiem amid the floating melodies aspersion of foes; gone to the bar of eternal justice, of Boston Common? You know, and the South where all secrets shall be revealed, and every act re- knows, that she has in her midst four million kegs of ceive its due reward; gone to dwell in the fullness of gunpowder ready to explode the moment the force that charity with which the infinite Pather looks that guards it shall be directed to another point. This in compassionate pity on all his wayward and erring might furnish a ludicrous theme, were it not for the children. It becomes us now to study well our duty. serious consequences involved. It is no occasion for In the eloquent words of another- We may be done mirth when a nation that traces its origin to the simwith John Brown, but he has not done with us. He ple faith that freighted the Mayflower, and its freehas summoned this nation to judgment.' From the dom to the spirit of independence that spurned a tystillness of that noon-tide hour come back to us the rant's yoke, and dared to trust the people with the thrilling echoes of that voice, resolute unto death, untried experiment of self-government, becomes so bidding us study well the lesson he has left us. A lost to all sense of national honor and rectitude as to stern one it is, but a stern discipline of mind and submit willingly to the galling chains of Servitude, body was his. The great acts of his life, whether in because its moral vision is so obscured as to read God's their method deserving of censure or praise, when law backward, and interpret the forebodings of its judged by the law of divine rectitude, are but the own destruction as the harbinger of a more successful natural fruits of faithful adherence to the theology compromise with sin. Suppose you should get a Rethat had been taught him, and unswerving fidelity to publican President, (which you never will,) what his views of religious morality, as he gathered them could he do? He is bound hand and foot by certain from the precepts of the Old Testament. Never was clauses of the Constitution, inserted expressly for the man more richly blest than he. As if the hand of protection of slavery, and, according to Dr. Howe, God had guarded him with peculiar care, he was re-served for more glorious achievements than the cap-the claws of a cat in a velvet paw,' are none the less ture of Harper's Ferry, 'Christ saw fit to take from me a sword of steel, after I had carried it for a time; but he has put another in my hand—the sword of the Spirit'; and with it he has already won the homage of the world, and the peaceful victories of the mar-

LOW GRADE OF MORAL DISCRIMINA- ly, in teaching us that it is not all an abstraction to A proverb, the first part whereof represents a church heory, and the second whereof represents a church earthquake, he has suddenly roused us from our fact, in one sentence) respecting Tract Societies.

There are now in this country three Tract Societies, of three different kinds, as follows:

"Munight radiation to beneath us. He has marshalled the advancing hosts beneath us. He has marshalled the advancing hosts beneath us. He has marshalled the advancing hosts described to the sentence of Slavery and Freedom, presenting this great cause ties, of three different kinds, as follows:

Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep u the right,
And the choice goes by for ever 'twixt that darkness
and that light.'

He has frightened the heroic preacher of Plyn

Church into a non-resistant, and summoned all pro fessing non-resistants to a test of their principles He has revealed the impotent timidity of the South and the Constitutional weakness of the North. The North may forget him, as she has similar tragedies before, but the South, never. Like a nightmare, he will haunt her with troubled breath, till sleep shall be a stranger to her eyelids. Sleep! 'Slavery has murdered sleep!' My Republican friends, standing by the grave of him who has blended all our souls in one common wave of sympathy, gladly would we lay aside every badge of contention, and henceforth dwell in that spirit of unison which for a few brief

'If we have whispered truth, Whisper no longer; But speak as the tempest does,

throne of the Eternal, bid us-

This nation is summoned before the tribunal of the world's conscience to answer the question, Who killed John Brown? Virginia said, * We have a law and by that law he must die.' Massachusetts said If Virginia hangs John Brown, she is a scoundrel,'and went on calculating her chances for the Presidency. Let us compare notes, and see what is the difference between Massachusetts and Virginia. One endorses the Fugitive Slave Law by erecting a statue to Daniel Webster, and the other executes it. One talks, and the other acts. Again I ask, what is the difference? 'Oh,' you say, 'we do not endorse the of October last, drawn together by a Call to 'West- Fugitive Slave Law; it was the Daniel Webster of Plymouth Rock.' What! you begin to feel so sensibly the decay of our national greatness as to despair of getting a living representative of the spirit of freedom, and must dig up the dead fossils of the past adopted their report, which contains the following Joshua R. Giddings, the old veteran who needs only the opportunities to be another John Brown, in his 'It is cause of devout gratitude to God, that in this seat in Congress, a few years since, told the South that if she would let us alone, we would not interfere that if she would let us alone, we would not interfere to the pro-slavery policy which it has pursued from the beginning] just the instrumentalities the churches need offer themselves. Two Tract Societies with her slavery; and then, said he, 'as a band of which give the subject of slavery its proper place in their publications, one at the East (A. T. S. at Bosory in the brothership of Gov. Wise and John Brown ton) and the other at the West (A. R. T. and B. S. ory in the brothership of Gov. Wise and John Brown, at Cincinnati) are ready to help in the work that lies placing the sinner on the throne, and the saint on the People of the North! ye are the Belshazzar

whom John Brown is the hand-writing on the wall. If you heed not its warnings, well may it be said of Cincinnati Societies as identical in their position, as you, neither would you be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' How long will you be the willing partners of a confederacy which, in the person Tract Society, formally recommended that overtures of Margaret Garner, compelled the sovereign State of be made to both for co-operation with a 'United Ohio, with Gov. Chase at the head, to bow herself in the dust, and confess her vassalage to the Slave Power?-which dares to lay its sinister hand on the The want of moral discernment shown in proposing royalty of a Phillips and the fidelity of a Brown? It is fitting that the government which could arraign Wendell Phillips for treason in Massachusetts should hang John Brown on a scaffold in Virginia. Think Colonization Society) is one evidence among many of not that we do not appreciate your feelings, and read the extent to which both intellect and the moral your thoughts. We know that in many of you burns members seem incapable of distinguishing between knowledge of, and confidence in, the right method, to right and wrong in any new thing-any thing in banish it from the soil. What is this bugbear, Diswhich their course is not designated by the traditions union, at the sound of which you tremble worse than at perdition itself? A few years since, there sprung But this folly of classing together a Society which up all over the Union a mushroom party called the declares itself anti-slavery, and one which declares Know Nothings. Its origin and history may b itself not anti-slavery - a Society which vigorously op- traced in this wise: One murky, misty night, when poses slavery itself in all its relations, and one which the air was particularly oppressive to the lungs, and expressly stipulates that it will deal only with the the political horizon loomed up with heavy, portenabuses of slavery, deal even with those only by fra- tous vapors, somebody, mistaking the overshadowing ternal discussion, and not by opposition, and abstain gloom of the country for the shadow of the Pope exconnected with politics-this folly is committed not resist his encroachments. Straightway there rose up, merely by this new Western Convention, but by the like Jonah's gourd, in the night, a large army, pow Oberlin Evangelist, and even by the Christian Press, erful enough to fight a shadow; but what was their the organ of the Cincinnati Society, and the Direc- dismay on finding in the morning that the Pope of tors of that Society itself. For the body last men- Rome had enough to do to maintain his supremacy tioned, in their reply to the overture of the Western at home, and had no intention of coming here to fight Convention, decline it, not on the ground of principle, with ideas, the shadow which they really saw being not as refusing to be unequally yoked together with reflected from their own Pope at Washington! The 'To our view, by the practical workings of the plen slavery, have so much greater of disunion, that they are seeking to avoid that, rather than array their forces against slavery, and therefore they tolerate the yoke of the Constitution. Witness the protestation with which they are renewing their fealty to the Union, because the South has seized the present occasion to accuse them of disloyalty. She knows better Though a coward, she is not a fool. She only seize it as a watchword for making a fresh onslaught on our liberties. She knows that the moment she whistles and throws the bone, the North is ready to catch it. We mean by disunion simply, that when the General Government makes it a crime to perform the

common offices of humanity, we should 're-enact the law of God' on our own soil, there to administer justice and execute righteousness. You shudder a the thought of a civil war into which this would plunge us. It is no wonder that such an absurdity e baptized in the blood of the three young martyrs should create divisions among Abolitionists. No wonwhich called forth the preceding lines from the over- | der that the stretch of charity which on the one side flowing joy that filled Luther's soul at their trium- seeks to show up to the best advantage that underphant death, in resisting despotism under the name current of feeling which, for the honor of our comof the Holy Catholic Church of Rome, or in the blood mon humanity, we may hope does exist, should be of old John Brown, who has been added to the long met on the other by the clear, irresistible logic, that list of martyrs, for upholding and defending it against such short-sighted, hollow-hearted sophistry should the despotism of the so-called Christian Democracy never be christened by the sacred name of Anti-Slavery. Civil war, forsooth! With whom will you The deed has been committed. He is gone 'where fight? With the ghost of some departed Calhoun, or dangerous because they are concealed. Even Mr. Giddings dare not stand up in Congress, and raise his right hand in the presence of God and his fellowmen, so far to perjure himself to the slaveholding oligarchy of the South, as to avow that it is the detry have eclipsed the fame of the hero. Unconscious-

it to its present limits. It is useless to argue the point. If the long array of facts showing the to. point. If the Slave Power in every contest since the umph of the coave fail to carry conviction, work to Union was formed and all the powerless. The devastations slavery has wrough is powerless. The devastations stavery has wrought a blunting the moral sense of this nation, is most subjudisplayed in the blind infatuation with which the perdisplayed in the only plantom of the Union, era ple still pursue the south, no longer content with the spear when the South, no longer content with the spear when the South, no longer content wan the pole guaranteed to her by the Constitution, is strucked her bloody hands after the richest prey New England her bloody names can yield. I recollect seeing suspended above one of can yield. I recollect seeing suspended above one of our principal streets, last Fourth of July, this insciption— The fathers, where are they? Methorit, as I gazed upon it, that underneath there should have been placed another - The children, where are they? They are slumbering on a volcano, which every as They are stumoeting overwhelm them with its buning lava. Subsequent events have shown that it would not have been ill-timed. On the evening of the not have been hit-times, a Massachusetts Seater having made some very pertinent allusion to the fehaving made some the Revolution, colored men forth that in the war or the treedom, being themselves dom for their masters are the second series are even here in Massachusetts, placed himself is the even here in plassacion himself a slave sping same list, virtually confessing himself a slave sping for his master, the Union, by acknowledging the npugnance with which he swore allegiance to the Co. stitution, while the thought apparently never occumoments has made us feel its blessed thrill; but red to him that in so doing he was sacrificing his manhood, and forfeiting the liberty he had inherited the aching heart and quivering lip of the slave manhood, and foresting the horry ne had inheried.

Never are we so degraded as when unconcions of our
degradation. When Ahhy Foster, with her head
fidelity, rose and rebuked him, his position was ramother and her child, speaking through the mouth of him who bore them with his latest fleeting to the tained by a minister of the Gospel, a man who has been the acknowledged leader of pulpit anti-slater in this city, recognizing it as the only peaceful ver in which slavery could be overthrown. We do not expect politicians to live on faith, but on good alsries. We have a right to expect something of a clear insight into principle from those whose professed mission it is to proclaim the sublime truths of faith and immortality. It was a sad evidence of the coloni power with which we have yet to contend, that standing on the threshold of eternity, to which the events of that day had summoned us, when it would seem that the soul, catching a nearer glimpse of speitual realities, would be raised above the thing of time and sense to a nearer communion with the source of all inspiration, should yet fall short of a knowledge of the meaning of the simple text, that Satur cares cast out Satan, and read in the beautiful law of Gods harmony and love only ruin and desolation. Pajer will never hasten the millennium; it is a moralise possibility. We shall never effect emancipation, so long as we admit that there is a spot on our sol which shall allow the wild and guilty plantay

> Massachusetts and Virginia, joined together in the unholy compact! Well may ye clasp your arms in sisterly embrace. But, stop! already the cold death. sweat starts in clammy ice-drops from your brow, and the spirit of John Brown looks down from its celestial heights to witness the hour when the last gup shall rend the chain, and usher into freedom the millions of human souls now waiting at death's door for deliverance. People of Massachusetts! when will you rise up in the dignity of your manhood, and rescue the immortal Declaration of Independence from the infamy that hangs over it, and prove that it means freedom for all? Recall your Charles Sumner from the United States Senate, and proclaim to the world that you have on your soil a place for honest men. Tell your Henry Wilson that it is far preferable to be hung as traitors, than remain the willing partner of a government which makes allegiance to God tressa to itself. Send your Gov. Banks back to Waltham a his reward for incarnating the 7th of March speech into a divinity for the people of Massachusetts, conquering their prejudices, to fall down and worship,

that man can hold property in man.

but which, thank God, they never will ! Young men of the Commonwealth, upon when rests the responsibility of guiding it safely through the shoals that threaten its existence, profit by the experience of the past, but be not misled by its errors. If it cannot be saved by doing justly, it will certainly perish by following injustice. Prove yourselves worthy descendants of that Pilgrim band whose rich legar of faith is not yet exhausted, and dare to trust God and the future, as they trusted the past. We may not be able to see exactly how redemption will come, but we know that it can come only through faith in

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward, still, and onward, who would

keep abreast of Truth; Lo! before us gleam her campilres! we ourselves must Pilgrims be.

Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea, Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood rusted kev."

Farewell to thee, John Brown! We would not recall thee; we would not pluck from thee the larels thou hast won! From that realm where oppresses shall no more disturb thee, nor suffering ever again mark thee for its victim, we feel the cheering influence of thy spirit, as we gird ourselves anew for the contri in which thou hast fallen. A single pulsation of thy manly heart has sent its electric thrill to the remotest corner of the empire; has heralded the glad tiding of salvation to the benighted hovels of the oppresed; has startled from its long death-sleep the withered chivalry of Virginia to a resurrection in hell, to be redeemed only when the baptism of fire and the Half Ghost shall purge that Baptist church-yard from the blighting curse of infidelity, and rescue it from the hands of the unbeliever. Thou hast lifted this nation by its four corners, for one brief nour, from the consideration of worldly things to realize that there is a future, and in it are judgment and immortality. Thes hast called forth the heroism of woman's soul, and that noble letter of Lydia Maria Child shall go down to posterity, baptised with tears of gratitude by millions of her sex, that, in the hour of our country's peril, when Senators were speechless, and honest men fettered by parchments, there was a woman who, in the spirit of freedom that acknowledges no lawgives but God, no limitations but the law of her conscience stood forth to teach Gov. Wise constitutional law and dared to tell him he was the traitor. Well may this nation fold thy loved ones in its arms as pensioners upon its bounty, as a small tithe of the gratitude they owe to thee! Genial as the summer breezes that revisited the earth on that bland December day, as if to celebrate the event, was the holy calm breather over our spirits as the solemn sound of the tolling bell bore to our spiritual ears the glad anthems of thy ransomed spirit, heralding the dawn of that ers shen the blessings of the redeemed on earth, and the sent of the ransomed in heaven,' shall join in one grand chorus of praise to God the gracious giver, who has permitted us to be thy co-workers in this glories atruggle, honorable only as we shall strive to initals

All friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause is Plymouth county, including the members of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, are reminded of their customary meeting at this season, to be held at Plymouth, on Saturday evening and Sunday next.

A correspondent at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in forms us that at Albion, in that State, one hundred guns were fired on the Second of December, in testimony of sympathy and respect for the character and heroic self-sacrifice of John Brown.

Frederick Douglass is now in Yorkshire. He is the guest of the Rev. Dr. Crofts, New Connexion minister, Halifax, who for many years was a missionary in America.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN. Though Congress still continues unorganized,—the House of Representatives having for the last three House of the last three weeks been turned into an informal gathering, by the Southern portion of it, for the discussion of the slavery question, as a patent method of suppressing all question, as a pacet, (the Republican candidate, Sherman, on each ballot, lacking but four votes of an election.)-President Buchanan submitted his of an electronic) Houses on Tuesday last—a most ionable procedure. It was read in the Senate, and laid upon the table in the House. We have room for only the following extracts:-

Whilst it is the duty of the President 'from time Whilst it is the duty of the President 'from time to time to give to Congress information of the state of the Union. I shall not refer in detail to the recent sad and bloody occurrence at Harper's Ferry. Still, and proper to observe that these events, however bad tanderuel in themselves, derive their chief importance and cruel in themselves, derive their chief importance. a the apprehension that they are but symptoms of incurable disease in the public mind, which may an incurable disease in the public mind, which may an incurable disease in the public mind, which may break out in still more dangerous outrages, and terbreak out in still more dangerous outrages, and terbreak out in the Notth to abolish minter in the South. Whilst, for myself, I entertain slavery in the South. Whilst, for myself, I entertain no such apprehension, they ought to afford a solemn no such apprehension, they ought to afford a solemn such as all to beware of the approach of danger, warning to us all to beware of the approach of danger. Our Union is a take of such inestimable value as to demand our constant and watchful vigilance for its mend our constant and servation. In this view, let me implore my coun-men, North and South, to cultivate the ancient feelof mutual forbearance and good will towards each ing of mutual forbearance and good will towards each other, and try to allay the demon spirit of sectional lated and strife now alive in the land. This advice proceeds from the heart of an old public functionary whose services commenced in the last generation, among the wise and conservative statesmen of that day, now nearly all passed away, and whose first and dearest earthly wish is to leave his country tranquil, prosperous, united and powerful.

If the peace of the domestic fireside throughout these States should ever be invaded—if the mothers of families within this extensive region should not be

families within this extensive region should not be of families within this extensive region should not be able to retire to rest at night without suffering dreadful apprehensions of what may be their own fate and that of their children before morning—it would be vain to recount to such a people the political benefits which result to them from the Union. Self-preservation is the first instinct of nature; and therefore any state of society in which the sword is all the time suspended over the heads of the people, must at last become intolerable. But I indulge in no such gloomy forebodings. On the contrary, I firmly believe that the crents at Harper's Ferry, by causing the people to pauce and reflect upon the possible peril to their cherished institutions, will be the means, under Providence, of allaying the existing excitement, and preventing forther outbreaks of a similar character. They will resolve that the Constitution and the Union shall not be endangered by rash counsels, knowing that, should the silver cord be loosed or the golden be broken. any state of society in which the sword is all the time at the silver cord be loosed or the golden be broken at the fountain, human power could never re-unite the scattered and hostile fragments.

I cordially congratulate you upon the final settlement, by the Supreme Court of the United States, of the question of slavery in the Territories, which had

the question of slavery in the Territories, which had presented an aspect so truly formidable at the commencement of my administration. The right has been established, of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories belonging equally to all the States of the confederacy, and to have it protected there under the federal constitution. Neither Congress, nor a territorial Legconstitution. Neither Congress, nor a territorial Legi-illature, nar any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right. The supreme judi-cial tribunal of this country, which is a co-ordinate branch of the government, has sanctioned and affirmed these principles of constitutional law, so manifestly just in themselves, and so well calculated to promote pace and harmony among the States. It is a striking proof of the sense of justice which is inherent in our people, that the property in slaves has never been dis-turbed, to my knowledge, in any of the Territories. Even throughout the late troubles in Kansas, there has not been any attempt, as I am credibly informed to interfere, in a single instance, with the right of the matter. Had any such attempt been made, the judi-city would, doubtless, have afforded an adequate city would, doubtless, have anorded an adequate remedy. Should they fail to do this hereafter, it will then be time enough to strengthen their hands by further legislation. Had it been decided that either Congress or the Territorial Legislature possess the power to annul or impair the right to property in slaves, THE NOTE WOULD BE INTOLERABLE. In the latter event, there would be a struggle for the majority of the members of the Legislature at each successive election, and bers of the Legislature at each successive election, and the sacred rights of property held under the federal constitution would depend for the time being on the result. The agitation would thus be rendered inces-sant, whilst the Territorial condition remained, and

sant, whitst the Territorial condition terminal santage is baneful influence would keep alive a dangerous excitement among the people of the several States.

Thus has the status of a Territory, during the immediate period from its first settlement until it shall become a State, been irrevocably fixed by the final decision of the Supreme Court. Fortunate has been this for the prosperity of the Terriritories, as well as for the tranquillity of the States. Now, emigrants from the North and the South, the East and the West, from the Nortin and the South, the last and the Nortin will meet in the Territories on a common platform, having brought with them that species of property best adapted, in their own opinion, to promote their welfare. From natural causes, the slavery question will in each case soon virtually settle itself; and before the Territory is prepared for admission as a State in the Union, this decision, one way or the other, will have been a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile, the settlement of the new Territory will proceed without serious inter-

ruption, and its progress and prosperity will not be en-dangered or retarded by violent political struggles.

When, in the progress of events, the inhabitants of any Territory shall have reached the number required to form a State, they will then proceed, in a regular manner, and in the exercise of the rights of popular sovereignty, to form a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. After this has been done, to employ the language of the Kansas Nebraska act, they 'shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.' This sound principle has happily

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been recognized, in some form or other, by an almost tanninous vote of both houses of the last Congress.

All lawful means at my command have been em-ployed, and shall continued to be employed, to exrate the laws against the African slave trade. After a most careful and rigorous examination of our coasts and a thorough investigation of the subject, we have not been able to discover that any slaves have been imported into the United States except the cargo of the Wanderer, numbering between three and four hundred. Those engaged in this unlawful enterprise have been rigorously prosecuted; but not with as much success as their crimes have deserved. A num-ber of them are still under prosecution.

THE WRITE HILLS : THEIR LEGENDS, LANDSCAPE, AND POETRY. By THOMAS STARR KING. With Sixty Illustrations, engraved by Andrew, from Drawings by Wheeleck, Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 117 Washington Street, 1860.

This is a superb volume of 400 pages, printed on fine paper and a handsome, legible type, and as attractive and entertaining internally as it is externally beautiful. Its table of contents is as follows :- 1. The Four Valleys. 2. Exploration of the White Hills. 3. Lake Winnipiseogee. 4. The Pemigewasset Valley and Franconia. 5. The Saco Valley and Chocorus. 6. The Vegetation of the White Mountains, 7. The Androscoggin Valley. 8. The Glen. 9. The Ascent of Mount Washington. 10. The Connecticut Valley. The numerous illustrations accompanying this volume are executed in a manner most creditable to the artist, however inadequate to convey any just conception of the real grandeur and magnificence of the mountain scenery of New Hampshire.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for January, 1860, promptly makes its appearance, with a very choice table of contents—as follows :-

Our Artists in Italy; The Amber Gods; Song of Nature; Nemophily; Substance and Shadow; Through the Fields to St. Peter's; The Experience of Samuel Absalom, Filibuster; Roba di Roma; Abdel-Hassan; About Spires; The Professor's Story; Andenken; Central British America; Art; Reviews and Literary Notices; Recent American Publications.

A private letter from Rome, dated November 27th, says, 'Theodore Parker is slowly improving in health, I think, and is cheerful, though, of course, he longs for his old work.' The writer goes on to speak of Mr. Parker having most pleasantly kept Thanksgiving day at his house in Rome.

The funeral of Edwin Coppie, of John Brown's army, took place near Hanover, Ohio, on the 18th inst., and was conducted according to Quaker rites, his friends belonging to that order. There were 2000 persons at the funeral.

THE PIRATE YACHT WANDERER.

THE PIRATE YACHT WANDERER.

The famous yacht Wanderer made her appearance in Boston harbor on Saturday of last week in a most unexpected, and altogether unparalleled manner. She left Savannah on the 14th of October last, in defance, as has always been represented, of the revenue authorities of that port, for the purpose of making a voyage to Africa on a slave trading expedition. In going down the river, the two cannon on board were loaded with grape and cannister, and all the pistols and muskets were heavily loaded with balls; and the captain swore that every man who did not assist in defending the vessel in case she was overhauled by the revenue cutter, should be shot through the head. After getting well out to sea, the captain called the men aft and Nassau, N. P., and back to Savannah—where they had shipped—he was going direct to the coast of Africa after a cargo of slaves, and threatened the life of each man if he did not carry out his orders to the letter. But a history of the voyage is best told by one ter. But a history of the voyage is best told by one ter. But a history of the voyage is best told by one who is well posted in the affair, Mr. Henry Welton of British North America, in whose charge the yacht has been brought home. He says: On the 20th of October at 9 P. M., Lincoln Patten,

In the hurry of leaving Savannah, he took neither chronometer, charts, or nautical almanae, and we were compelled to go entirely by the reckoning. On the 23d of October he boarded the ship Troy, of Boston, and succeeded in buying an epitome, Blunt's Coast Pilot, and a chart of the coast of Florida, for which he paid \$7.5. After leaving the Troy, a barque have in sight and the captain bore away in chase, firing a gun to bring her to. She proved to be the barque 'Eliza Breaver,' commanded evidently by some acquaintance,' commanded evidently by some acquaintance.

His Excellency, Hexay A. Wisz, &c. Brewer,' commanded evidently by some acquaintance, as the captain hauled his wind and stood away from her under sail. The next day he gave chase to a schooner, both guns being loaded with grape, but on passing under her stern, he exchanged longitudes and kept on his course. Nothing material again occurred until the 28th of October, when all sail was made to overtake a brig which appeared in the northwest; came up with her at 8 o'clock P. M., but could not make her out; kept pursuing her, tacking every hour and firing heavy charges of grape to make her heave td, but without avail, for at 11 o'clock she was not in

We again shaped our course for Fayal, encou ing a severe gale. The captain being all this time full of liquor, was extremely reckless, and endangered the safety of the vessel in carrying sail, sometimes driving her twenty knots an hour. On the afternoon of the 5th we made the island of Flores, making the voyage in fifteen days. On nearing the settlement of Santa Cruz, we fired guns, and were boarden by the English Consul, the Chief Magistrate, and a pilot. Patten then produced a false clearance of the vessel, under the name of the 'William,' of Savannah, bound to Smyrna, stating that he had lost sails, water provisions, spars, &c., galley and the chronometer, and asking for a supply of provisions, water and spars, which they agreed to let him have. The vessel laid here five days, and obtained the promised supplies. The magistrates becoming suspicious, Capt. Patten on the sixth day (having the night before smuggled two women on heard) slipped from the harber leaving on women on board) slipped from the harbor, leaving one man behind. He did not pay a dollar for his supplies, and took away three men from the island against their will. He made no great secret of his intention to dispose of the women on the coast to the highest bid-der, declaring they would exchange for at least eighty

der, declaring they would exchange for at least eighty Africans.

We then steered for Madeira, and on the 7th day made the island, anchoring at a small village called Point de Sae, but the authorities refusing supplies and permission to land, we run for Funchal, twelve miles distant. Finding a British steamer here, the Captain bore away for Cape St. Ann, intending to pass between the Canaries. He declared his intention to board the first vessel that refused him provisions, and take them by compulsion, swearing that he would shoot the first man who refused to fight, or assist him in such an undertaking.

undertaking.
On the 22d of November we spoke the barque Clara, On the 22d of November we spoke the parque Clara, of Bordeaux, but she refused supplies, when the captain bore away for two other barques, and at 4 o'clock spoke the barque Jenny, of Marseilles, which agreed to the captain's demand. Patten launched a boat, ly passed. Eloquent addresses were made, deprecations. and taking four men, boarded the vessel. We kept ing agitation, by Messrs. T. F. Frelinghuysen, Wm on our course, set all sail, and steered to the eastward, R. M. Donald, Garrett D. Wall, and other disdetermined to leave him, and give the vessel up to the laws of the United States. The next day we made of letters were received from public men by the Comthe westernmost of the Canary group, and thence mittee, which they intend to publish. continued our course for Boston.

The Wanderer came to anchor off India wharf,

about ten o'clock, Saturday forenoon. She has on board ten men and the two Portuguese women allud-lege, N. J., showed their bringing up and rowdy probard ten men and the two Portuguese women allud-lege, N. J., showed their bringing up and rowdy probard ten men and the two Portuguese women allud-lege, N. J., showed their bringing up and rowdy proboard ten men and the two long men in a state of destitu-tion. Mr. Welton proceeded at once to notify the Collector, who, as the vessel was without papers, is-sued an order for her seizure until the matter could be investigated in the U.S. Courts. The owner of the vessel is Mr. Lamar, of Savannah, who, it will be remembered, advertised her as a runaway vessel at the

time of her leaving Savannah.

The Wanderer, though styled a yacht, is a fore andaft schooner of over 250 tons. She was built in New York for a pleasure yacht, and as such once visited York for a pleasure yacht, and as such once visited this port. Her cabins, once elegant, are now in a dirty condition. She has now on board some 250 from south of Mason and Dixon's line. In resterday's hundred such that the port of the cabina come of the cabin bushels potatoes, 25,000 gallons water, large quantities of bread, and other articles. Her water is stowed in iron tanks, which are placed in the hold and run of the vessel, and so made as to fit closely to the internal shape of the vessel. Her cabin is a very large one, considering the size of the vessel. Upon raising the carpet, the loose floor of the cabin can be taken up, revealing the stores secreted in the hold. Her appearance is rakish, and she possesses great sailing power. ance is rakish, and she possesses great sailing power. Hundreds visited the wharves to get a look at the new lion of the wave, and the latest sensation of the city. The yacht was formally taken possession of, Saturday forencon, by United States Marshal Watson Freeman. Mr. Welton, it appears, quietly telegraphed of his coming to the Marshal or District Attorney Woodbury, from Tarpaulin Cove, and a libel was accordingly issued, charging her with being a slaver, by virtue of which she was seized.

The following are the names of the crew: Charles Cole, Wm. Davis, Thos. J. Murphy, Nathl. Allen, Geo. C. Chesterfield, Wm. Leni, John Smith. Allen, Geo. C. Chesteraeld, with Lent, John Smith, J. B. Kenny, Henry Pratt, Albert Morgan, George Pepper, Henry Sunthers. The names of the two Portuges woman are Annie Felice and Mary Ann Jose. They are retained as witnesses.—Boston Atlas

THE 'WANDERER' Case.-The case of the yacht Wanderer, libelled as a slaver, is undergoing an investigation by the United States authorities in this city. The examination for good reason is not to be made public at present. The two mates and crew of the vessel, together with the two Portuguess women who were taken on board at Santa Cruz, were brought become commenter A. S. Cushman vesterday noon. fore Commissioner A. S. Cushman yesterday noon, and ordered to be held as witnesses. A formal complaint has been made against the captain of the Wan-

Patten, of this city, was in any way connected with the schooner Wanderer, is a gross fabrication. Capt Patten has been at home for some time, seen and known of all men, and possesses not one of the char-acteristics attributed to David Martin.

LATER FROM LIBERA-A NEW PHASE OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—New York, Dec. 21. Advices from Liberia, Africa, to the latter part of Sept., report a new and most extraordinary phase of the Slave trade. The Rebecca, a Baltimore clipper, commanded by Capt. Carter, arrrived here in July, last, with 42 colored immigrants from New Orleans, liberated from the Mo-Donough estate. She was under a charter from the Colonization Society, but having landed the free blacks she moved off to the Southwest Coast, and took in a full cargo of slaves, with which freight she is now

What an extraordinary revelation !

LETTER OF GOVERNOR WISE TO GOV.

Governor Chase's Reply. STATE OF ORIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, COLUMBUS, Dec. 1, 1859.

On the 20th of October at 9 P. M., Lincoln Patten, under the assumed name of David Martin, first having succeeded in getting on board the schooner about fifteen men to assist him in getting stores and provisions, came himself, accompanied by Edward Talbot and Captain T. Black, shipping agent for the vessel, and drawing a revolver, swore he would shoot the first man who refused his assistance, or offered resistance in getting the vessel to sea. He loaded both cannot with grape shot, armed his crew, and made every preparation to resist the United States revenue cutter, if she interfered in his progress down the river.

He compelled Edward Talbot to pilot her down, in doing which she was twice run ashore, and remained

paration to resist the United States revenue cutter, it she interfered in his progress down the river.

He compelled Edward Talbot to pilot her down, in doing which she was twice run ashore, and remained immovable for five hours. Having supplied the crew copiously with liquor, he made sail and proceeded to sea, carrying most of the men away contrary to their wishes. Mr. Talbot and Capt. Black he sent back.

The voyage purported to be for Matanzas and Nassau, N. P., for fruit, and back to Savannah, some on board having signed articles to that effect; but Capt. Patten, calling all hands on the quarter deck, declared the vessel to be without papers, the collector refusing a clearance. He declared his intention to proceed to the rose to be without papers, the collector refusing a clearance. He declared his intention to proceed to the rose to be without papers, the collector refusing a clearance. He declared his intention to proceed to the rose of Africa for a cargo of seven hundred negroes, and from thence to Cardenas to dispose of them at the rate of \$650 each. He stated he was well acquainted with the trade, having already landed several cargoes in the barques Niagara. Ocean Tyrant, Frances Ellen and several other vessels.

In the hurry of leaving Savannah, he took neither chronometer, charts, or nautical almanae, and we were compalled to yo entirely be vidence transmitted by you or otherwise, that unlawful combinations are being formed by any persons or at any place in Ohio, for the commission of crimes against her people, it will undoubtedly become the duty of the Executive to use whatever power he may possess to break up such combinations and being to vidence transmitted by you or otherwise, that unlawful combinations are being formed by any persons or at any place in Ohio, for the commission of crimes against her people, it will undoubtedly become the duty of the Executive to use whatever power hemay possess to break up such combinations and eleat their unlawful represents or the propose of the people, it wil ed; and the people of this State will require from het authorities the punctual fulfilment of every obliga-tion to the other members of the Union. They can-

His Excellency, HENRY A. WISE, &c.

CHARLESTOWN, VA., December 21. The military are daily leaving as fast as the railros can carry them homeward. The Fincastle Guard left this morning. The military government will cease on Saturday, when Gen. Taliaferro and his staff will de-part. The restoration of the civil government and civil rights will be the occasion of a grand jubiled

among our people.

President Buchanan has addressed a note to Andrew Hunter, asking whether Stevens will be tried in the United States Court or by the Virginia authorities. He was unable to give any definite answer, on account of the refusal of Attorney Harding to enter a nolle

CHARLESTON, Dec. 20 .- A despatch from Columbis, dated 19th, says that both Houses have adopted resolution that South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and their property from every enemy, and that, for the purpose of military preparation for any emergency, the sum of \$100,000 be ap-Proprieted.

The Senate also adopted a resolution that, while

still deferring to her Southern sisters, she respectfully announces to them that, in her judgment, the safet and honor of the slaveholding States imperatively de-mand a speedy separation from the free-soil States of the confederacy, and earnestly invites and urges het sister States of the South to originate the movement of Southern separation, in which she pledges herself to unite.

letter from Governor Wise, acknowledging the received a letter from Governor Wise, acknowledging the reception of the proceedings of the Union meeting from this city. He says, 'Your State in the late disturbance has acted the part of a sister State. We rely upon her loyalty to conservative principles as they are embodied in the Constitution of the Union, and are assured that the manufacture of the Union, and are assured that the manufacture of the Union. sured that the mass of her citizens would be our brethauren in arms against wrongs to either Commonwealth. I will invite the Legislature of Virginia now in session to take an order upon the presentation of a flag, which I pray may be a sign of our union forever.

NEWARK, N. J., Dec. 23 .- A large and enthusiasti

Errigy-Bunning .- The students at Princeton Col Southern sentiment and practices. They marched in procession bearing such banners as 'John Brown, the horse-thief, murderer and martyr: 'Down with Seward;' 'Down with Henry Ward Beecher, &c. They also bore effigies of Seward and Beecher, and burned them in front of the College with a wild hur-rah. Princeton should be purged.

THE MEDICAL STUDENTS MAKE AN MRIT. - Th

An Envoy From South Carolina to Vinginta.—
The Charleston Courier, of Friday, says there is good reason for believing that the Hon. C. G. Meminger will be clothed with the honorable and important of fice of representing South Carolina as the Special Commissioner to the State of Virginia, according to the provisions made by the Legislature that has just

The correspondent of the Philadelphia Ledge

"I learn that Governor Wise has laid before the joint Legislature over 500 letters and documents, sent him upon the subject of the Harper's Ferry Invasion.
Part of John Brown's correspondence is also in Richmond, and more of it in Charlestown, Va. This correspondence is also in Richmond, and more of it in Charlestown, Van respondence was wide-spread between Kansas and New England, and though names, and dates, and places of writing are obliterated from some of the letters, it nevertheless implicates persons, I am told, now little suspected by the country. The Committee in the Senate will bring these facts to light, but in all cases proof will be difficult."

Browne, editor of the Washington Constitution. chief democratic or; an of the nation, is charged with having applauded Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, when that gentleman made his disunion speech in the House. Had a Republican thus acted, the last of is never plaint has been made against the captain of the Wanders. The alleged owner of the yacht is said to be done in the South. The case is likely to on his way from the South. The case is likely to bring up some interesting points, not the least of which is where the poor crew are to get their pay.

—Atlas and Bee, 28th inst.

BATH, Maine, Dec. 26th.—The story that Lincoln Pattern of this city, was in any way connected with

Senator Wilson was called to account, in the Senate on Monday, by one of the Southern masters, for attending a public meeting in Natick. He succeeded in giving such apology as was condescendingly accepted, and has been allowed, therefore, to retain his seat. Had he told the scoundred to mind his own business, it would have seemed more in accordance with that Constitutional equality of which the Southern lords are always boasting.—Natick Observer.

see how the organ of South Carolina nullification treats them and their efforts:—

But, let the jugglery go—it will amuse somebody, we suppose. "Jack, stand one side, and let the montey sneeze. It is a funny basst." "—Charleston Mercury.

THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN.

THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN.

Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston, are about to publish the life of Captain John Brown.

The Harper's Ferry affair has been a fruitful harvest to many pictorial journals, and to writers whose regard for truth was never much above zero. The country will probably be soon flooded with various volumes, each purporting to be the life of John Brown. No one should purchase such a work, unless entirely satisfied of its reliability. What we need and desire is, a true picture of the old hero; and if we can get it in such form that each sentence will sound like the crack of a rifle, and each page seem a miniature Bunker Hill, so much the better—it will be in keeping with John Brown's character.

Who can so well write the life of Osawatomic Brown as James Redpath, who was with him in Kansas, and fully identified in feeling with the noble object of the old man's life? Had John Brown selected a biographer, James Redpath would unquestionably have been the man; and it is he who is engaged upon the work the firm above named are about to issue.

Anti-Slacery Bugle.

-Anti-Slavery Bugle.

Legislature of Missouri, having passed the Senate, to sell or banish all the free negroes of the State. A correspondent sends us the following summary of its

The first section prohibits the emancipation of a Priend at Hackney, England, by Rev. S. J.

proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

Sec. 5. The purchaser to have the same rights to the negro as if he had always been a slave.

Sec. 7. The proceeds to be paid into the County Treasury.
Sec. 8. The Sheriff to notify free negroes before

Sec. 3. In a Sherin to notify free negroes belove September, 1860, of the act. Sec. 9. Free negroes under 18, after September, 1860, to be bound out as apprentices until 21, by the County Court, and allowed twelve months after that

time to leave the State.

Sec. 11. Should such free negro be found in the State after that time, he shall be sold as provided in

Sec. 15, punishes the officer who neglects his duty. Sec. 17. Any free negro who comes into the State, and remains in it twelve hours, is subject to be sold a

New York, December 25th .- The Washington cor-New York, December 20th.—The Washington cor-respondent of the Herald telegraphs that the officers of the Brown raid Investigating Committee are busy obtaining witnesses. To-day, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate subpensed Judge Arny, of Kansas, with whom it is supposed John Brown left some papers of value. It is said that they related wholly to his finanvalue. It is said that they related whosh to his head-cial affairs, and had nothing to do with his incursion at Harper's Ferry. Arny refused to receive them, and be responsible for them, and they were left with Mr. Conway, Congressman elect, before Brown left Kan-sas, and Mr. Conway put them in his safe. Mr. Consas, and Mr. Conway put them in his sate. Mr. Conway, who is on his return to Kansas, will be sent for to testify. Augustus Wattles, formerly one of the editors of the Herald of Freedom, at Lawrence, Kansas, will be subpensed. He is the author of a letter found in Brown's bag.

Capt. Montgomery, one of Brown's companions in driving Hamilton from Southern Kansas, will also be

brought here. Hamilton has since died in Arizonia. Fitchburg, G. P. Lowrey, Adjutant General of the Free State forces under Gov. Reeder, now practising law in New York, will be sent for. As Chairman of the Committee of Safety at the time the treaty of peace was made between Robinson and Gov. Shannon, Gen. Lowrey caused Brown to be arrested for attempting to stir up the people against any attempt of the Free State men the people against any attempt of the Free State ment to make peace with the pro-slavery party. Dr. Howe, of Boston, and Mr. Sanborn, of New Hampshire, who figured conspicuously in Brown's correspondence, will soon be subpensed if they can be found. Also Gerrit Smith, if his health will warrant his coming.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.—We have been informed that Richard Realf, the John Brown Secretary of State, was seen in Broadway last night. If this be so, it is more than probable that the messenger from the Senatorial Committee to Austin, Texas, will be disappointed in finding the object of his search.—New Fork Tribune, 27th inst.

Inconsistency.—We copied a few days ago, a strong recommendation of non-intercourse between Virginia and the free States, from the Richmond Enquirer, which paper declared that Gov. Wise was an advocate of this non-intercourse system as the highest and necessary policy of the South. In that same Richmond Enquirer of yesterday—the non-intercourse-with-the-North Enquirer—we find ten editorial laudatory no-York or Boston, with any number of advertisements of goods for sale of purely Northern manufacture, and some headed with Northern and Eastern titles. Could there be a more explicit declaration that the talk about non-intercourse is just so much buncombe, and nothing more?—N. Y. Commercial.

Union-Saving Down South .- What a humiliating commentary upon the Union-saving servility of the North was the recent attempt to hold a meeting on that subject in Washington! The South, and the South only, threatens to dissolve the Union. The two Houses of Congress are the focal point of these treasonable utterances. Right there, under the eaves of the capitol, where, above all places in the country, such a meeting was needed, some simple-minded peosuch a meeting was needed, some simple-minded people gathered an assembly. Of course, it was broken up in a row. The peaceful portion of the audience escaped amid the jeering strains of martial music. Whether the tune was Hail Columbia, or the Rogue's March, the telegraph has not informed us. Could hypocrisy further go! How long will Northern men, who hold the title deeds of their own souls, consent to perform service and labor for the South in this Union-saving business? After this exhibition at Washington, one would think that even Commercial Doughfaceism would have pluck enough to refuse to be sold in market overtly by frightened fossils and political tricksters.—N. Y. Tribune.

UNGRATEFUL. The southern fire eaters are not at all satisfied with the efforts of the 'Union Savers' i all satisfied with the enterts of the combines and public men declare this in so many words. McRea of Mississippi even finds fault with Gen. Cushing's speech at Fancuil Hall, as lowering the standard to the enemy; Stewart, another member of Congress, from Maryland, says the Union meetings of the North amount to whice the Charleston Mercury ridicules the contact of the Charleston Mercury ridicules the connothing; the Charleston Mercury ridicules the con-servatism of Edward Everett, because he is opposed to slavery, they say; the Richmond Enquirer says the election in New York city is worth more to them than all the resolutions that may be published; and all of them view Gov. Lincoln's speech as against them. These Southerners who growl at their friends here. who will not swallow a whole negro, little know wha those friends have to sacrifice to support them.

THE RESULT.-While the diminished vote of Gov. THE RESULT.—While the diminished vote of Gov. Banks is doubtless owing in some measure to the want of interest felt by the Republicans throughout the State, owing to the absence of any exciting topic, and the confidence of success without great effort, it cannot be denied that it was due also, to some extent, to the dissatisfaction felt by many Republicans at the policy of the Governor, and the inefficiency of the Legislature. We cannot otherwise explain the fact that Gov. Banks's vote has decreased nearly ten thousand, while that of Butler is but two ox/free thousand, while that of Butler is but two ox/free thousand less than Beach's, notwithstanding the distracted sand less than Beach's, notwithstanding the distracted sand less than Beach s. Bovernam Mr. Briggs re state of the Republican party, and Mr. Briggs re ceives some three thousand votes more than Mr Lawrence did last year. Mr. Banks's recommenda Lawrence did last year. Mr. Banks's recommenda-tion of the purchase of the Hancock estate, his oppo-sition to the personal liberty bill, his advocacy of placing the Webster statue in front of the State House, and the general disposition he has manifested to court the favor of the hunkers of Boston, have been received with dislike by many Republicans, and have tended to keep them away from the polls.— New Bedford Rep. Standard.

Dz. Rock's LECTURE. The lecture by this intelligent and cultivated colored gentleman, last evening, upon Mme. de Stael, at Mercantile Hall, was well attended. The speaker gave a full sketch of the great writer's life from early childhood to her last hours, inwriter's life from early childhood to her last hours, interwaving the prominent European events with which, by her genius and character, she was connected. This field of study, which will never fail to interest the cultivated and the curious, was worthily traversed, the lecturer taking occasion to present his own views pointedly, while naturally developing his subject. He showed a vast range of reading, with a happy mastery over his materials. These were set off with a style of elocution which, though entirely devoid of pretension, was at once easy, dignified and impressive. We have listened to many a lecture which had the benefit of a distinguished name, that did not reveal half the merit of this. We trust that Dr. Rock may always have that hearing before the community which his excellent qualities deserve—and we know he wishes nothing more.—Boston Journal.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections for the Tract Fund, by Carolins F. Put-

Miss Susan J. Newhall, Portland, Me., Neal Dow, Esq., \$5, Mrs. Elias Thomas 5, Portland, Me., Portland, Me., 1
B. D. Peck 3 50, Nathan Winslow 2, do.
Miss Octavia Fox 2, Mrs. Fitch 1, do.,
Miss Titcomb, Mrs. Horton, Mrs. A. Ware, Mrs.
Warren, Miss Jane McLellan, Thos. Hammond, do., 1 dollar each,
5 others in Portland,
16 persona in Ellsworth, Me.,

"Bancor" Bangor, "Cherryfield, "Hallowell, "S. Bridgton, "Mechanic Falls "Orland, "New Portland, "St. Stephens, N. B. St. Stephens, N. B.,

The first section prohibits the emancipation of a slave, unless the master gives bond, with sureties, to move the slave out of the State within ninety days.

Sec. 3, dooms to slavery every free negro who shall be a resident of the State after September, 1861, and over 13 years of age.

Sec. 4, requires the Sheriff to bring every such negro before a magistrate, who, on proof of his freedom, gives the Sheriff a certificate, who, thereupon, must proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

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, Edmund 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.

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

E. H. Herwood, on Sunday evening next, Jan. 31st, in Lyceum Hall. Lecture to commence at 7 o'clock. Single admis-CAROLINE BALCH.

Rec. Sec. Salem Female A. S. Society.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massa nusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will feeture as fol Barre,

Friday, Dec. 30.

Saturday and Sunday

evenings, Dec. 31 and Jan. 1.

3 Petersham, Tuesday, Wednesday, Athol, Athol depot, Thursday, Baldwinville, Friday, Sunday,

CHARLES SPEAR will speak in Boylston Hall next Sunday afternoon, on American Despotism, and in the evening on Virginia Tragedies. A New Year's Celebration will be held in the same Hall on Monday evening, Jan. 2d, at 7 o'clock, in aid of the cause. DIED-In Westminster, Dec. 23d, of consumption, Lucy W., wife of Benson Bioelow, aged 50. In her passage to the heavenly home, her children have lost a true-hearted mother, her husband a faith-

ful and earnest companion, society one ever ready to labor as her strength permitted in every cause de-At Ann Arbor, Michigan, Dec. 9, MARY F WENDELLINE, only child of G. B. and CATHAR NE A. STERRINS, was born to a higher life the day before her third birth-day.

Another hand is beckoning us, Another hand is becoming us,
Another call is given,
And glows once more with angel steps
The path that leads to heaven.
Fold her, O Father, in thine arms, And let her henceforth be A messenger of love between Our human hearts and thee. Between us and the wrong, And her dear memory serve to make Our faith in goodness strong.

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This work will contain an Autobiography of BROWN'S EARLY LIFE,

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never before published, which is the most characteristic and interesting production of the kind since the
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be allowed. This work will not be put in the bookstores, and must be procured of the publishers'
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ers. 50 cents.

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Ayer's Sarsaparilla,

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

Serofula AND Scropulous Complaints, Erustions and Eruptive Diseases, Ulcrus, Pintles,

PIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PINPLES, BLOTCHES, TUNORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, SYPHILIS AND SYPHILITIC AFFECTIONS, MERCURIAN, DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALGIA OR THE DOCLOUREUX, DEBILITY, DYSPEYSIA AND INDICESTION, ENTERPRICAR, ROSE OR ST. ANTHONY'S FIRE, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from IMPURITE

whole class of complaints arising from IMPURITY or 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 sea, son 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 cruptions 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 sorest cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it whenever it is foul, and your feelings will tell you when. Even where no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy better health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood. Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this pabulum of life disordered, there can be no lasting health. Sooner or later something must go wrong, and the great machinery of life is disordered or overthrown.

Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputa-

Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputa-Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reduction of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of it, partly because the drug alone has not all the virtue that is claimed for it, but more because many preparations, pretending to be concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla, or 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, secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle. DR. J. C. AYER & CO.

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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,

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THE RIVEN OAK. Firm the oak upon the hill-top, Though its branches may be torn,

Standeth in its solemn glory,

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Though the lightning rend asunder,

With his sons in blood and death

Like the dragon's teeth when planted, Serried armies shall bequeath.

You've surely reckoned now without your host,

That a new saint hath entered Heaven's courts,

And where the sweetest music ever floats,

Thou who his blood hast spilled?

Your solemn music over land and wave.

Of one as true as steel, whose noble heart

And died the sictim of accursed laws.

And lives to haunt the tyrants of mankind,

To wake new zeal in every noble mind,

Beat with flerce courage in the bondman's cause,

Who with God's poor so greatly chose his part,

THE LIBERATOR

THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

A DISCOURSE,

Dec. 4, 1859,

BY REV. PREDERICK PROTHINGHAM.

Whose open gates receive the welcome guest;

No more by tyrants pierced he finds his rest-

Peace his reward; but, ah! no peace for thee,

Proud, cruel land, cursed with this infamy,

Sing praises for him, then—the good, the brave!

DAWN.

And prostrate the noble bole,

Acorns that have fallen under

So old Brown of Osawatomie,

A voice already sounds along our coast,

O, Henry Wise!

Borne from the skies.

His duty all fulfilled.

Toll on, sad bells!

The requiem swells.

His spirit liveth still;

And nerve heroic will.

· IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

ANT BRIDE SETTE SE

Lette

Air Dorread to you a sent it she that a you. The mand as me have suffer ever sumptitude in the can g thousand hours that the that a the table to the that a the table to the that a the table to table to the table to the table to the table to table to

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PP answard of no dam work to y ly ly from more than the gree par John the control of no only Pet

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived beauti

from it.

Persons personally known to us have come voluntarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or Iriends, who have used it before it became anean in St. Louis.

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Incomparably the best preparation we have enu N. Y. Ecuspeliat. All are compelled to acknowledge Mus. S. A. At LEN's as the Hair Restorer. N. Y. Independent Mns. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restores has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.'

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Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advent, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. ALLEY's.

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like cole Another objection to type is the unine-like cele and appearance they cause the hair to assine, and the only way to have grey hair assume its xarrant youthful colon, is to use that which will be effect unl and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's World's and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's world's and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's world's and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's world's and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's world's and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allex's worl HAIR RESTORER will do this." In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted a

the greatest discovery of the present day, it is re-freshing to come across that which is what it ru-TENDS to be. A really excellent article is Mr. 5 sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a min by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly hamles, it being a chemical compound of ingredients tales-lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair. Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston, Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or

losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Han RESTORER 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 heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair, res-SESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A PIL.

Philadelphia Metary. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has

Acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. ALLY:
WORLD's HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and he never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most ap-propriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.'

We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciat-

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 remark-Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

From 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 reommended) 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 notice and use of those of our readers who needs re-medial agent of this character.'
St. Louis Ledger.

'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoree-As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we isferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some convension 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 papers, and acquainted herself with the various rene dies for decaying hair, and at length determined 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 luxur wen and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was cor firmed by other members of the family, while se were informed that is, the same neighborhood there were informed that is the same neighborhood sewere other instances where the same happe assignal effect had been produced by applying Mr. 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 care as serving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hare Research.' 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. Raheay Advocate and Reguler.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer is the best preparation extant for the various diseases ind-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and scalp, and is warranted by a store the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many many years, and its efficacy in restoring inrigoraling, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in numerous instances, upon the public as genuine.

Hrooklyn Morning Journal.

This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair.

possesses none of the burning, cautering powers
of the old dyes, but gives the hair a health, glowly
appearance almost instantaneously. The Restore
is easily applied, and well not stain the faste lines,
is easily applied. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in airestieement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hall RESTORER are correct.' Boston Olive Branch.

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this with success.' Boston I want.

It is just what it purports to be.' Clere. Leader.

TRY IT.

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 princips of the U. S., Cuba, or whose the contents in the U. S., Cuba, or Contents.

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. where address all letters and inquiries.

thrown upon it. Yes, the President of the United
States, who had no troops to suppress Border Ruffisnism in Kansas, when soldiers stood idly by while
outrage on the lives, praperty and peace of the citizens
serene soul—a soul that knew no fear save the fear whom he has sworn to protect happened daily and of wrong-doing. And since the trial closed, each nightly there, sent a body of United States marines new fact has deepened the interest and charm of this to suppress the terrific outbreak—of two and twenty extraordinary man. He has shown no weakness, no men. Presently we found ourselves spectators of a terrible tragedy. Interested, thrillingly interested spectators! Its chief actors a calm old man, so sublimely great that his very enemies revere him, and great work of his life, such as belong only to the a motley crew so savage in their terror that neither highest order of men, shone more and more brightly helplesaness, wounds, nor the sanctity of death, and to the last. His greatness grew with every grow-hardly even the heroism of a noble daughter of Poc-ing hour—his closing hour his greatest. And he ahontas, sufficed to protect from their ferocious bar-died at last, his manhood unsullied by a stain; greatbarity. And then one after another of our noblest ly, severely, consistently good; of that poetle virtue and best were pointed at as actors behind the scenes.

Thus we found ourselves not merely lookers on, but, lence, but was supposed impossible in our money-makstrangely enough! implicated; and grave questions ing land. He died surrounded by cruel and yet admircame home to every man, requiring answer either to ing enemies; with his spirit's eye beholding the coming hithself or to the world. What answers they have multitudes of sympathizing and revering friends. received! Truly, men have been brought to judg- His country shall yet cherish his memory as one of taken their place among the goats! This, perhaps, as her redeemer from the disgrace of a long line of is the most tragical portion of this mournful tragedy. degenerate children. She shall yet point to him as a

should it speak with doubtful tone. So far as it can, it is bound to point out the right in all this mass of wrong. Let me then try to meet the questions which we all become! face us all. And

Delivered in the Park Street Church, Portland, Me This past week is a marked one in our country' history. It has brought us a new and startling ex-

perience. For nearly eighty years, we have been drinking the wine of iniquity. Cup after cup has been presented to our lips. At first we did not like it. It made us sick. Then it became sweet. Gradnally we found that it was stealing away our heart and brain, and making us prematurely old. We shook our head, and thought that to-morrow we would abstain. To-morrow did not come. Meanwhile, we dashed down draught upon draught, each more nauseous than the one before, till at last, on the very verge of hopeless drunkenness, we have swallowed one so intolerably acrid, so unmistakably poisonous, that we are startled. Sobered, for once, by our terror, we seriously ask what is next to come. Well may we, if indeed it be not too late. It may be that we are so besotted, that only through the delirium tremens of fratricidal war, and the self-destruction thence to come, is deliverance possible from the horrid thraldom that has bound us so long. It may be that the mene, mene, tekel, upharsin of God's judgment has gone forth against us-that we have been weighed in the balance, and found wanting. To-day, the American Church remembers the death

of her Lord-the great malefactor of eighteen and a half centuries ago-slain for no crime save his ex ceeding holiness; for he did no sin, neither was guild found in his mouth; slain because wicked men said We have a law, and by that law he ought to die. It might be thought that one such instance should suffice for all time. It was reserved for a land calling itself after that ancient malefactor, for an agself-complacent on account of the wide diffusion o his principles, for a people which owes more, per haps, than any other to him, to prove the contrary and with a deeper guilt than blackened Scribe and Pharisee-for they knew not what they did -to put to a malefactor's death one of his truest followers. And this not for crime, but because 'we have a law' law he ought to die. Day before yesterday-the day consecrated, as is their wont, by many professing followers of Christ, to preparing for the commemo ration and communion of this day-perished, by the hangman's rope, all that could die of nearly the no blest man our country has produced. He perished because he loved God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. Could there be conceived a fitter preparation for a thorough understanding of the Master's death?

His enemies thought they had extinguished the ancient malefactor. But they mistook. The deadly cross blazed with the glory of imperishable life. The ignominious tree lifted him into the light of an unfading honor. His enemies know enough of that ancient story to assure them that they have not ex tinguished the American malefactor; that their deadly gallows shall blaze with the glory of imperishe ble life, their ignominious punishment lift him into an unfading honor. They feel that it has already done so with themselves, and they are troubled Their feeling is prophetic. The end is not here, but the beginning of the end is; an end so certain, per haps so sudden, that the word may come into ou mouth as into David's of old-I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like green bay-tree. Yet he passed away, and lo! he wa not; yea, I sought him, but he could not be found. Brown's death, like that of his Master of old, is th sign of the close of the beginning of the end. In Christ's death, sin was slain. In John Brown's i slain the sin of slavery. But as Christ died, no hair of an enemy's head injured, but Brown with his en emies' blood upon his hands, so beware lest, as sin's night shall pass away before the peaceful rising of the Sun of Righteousness, the blackness of slavery's night pass away before the lurid blaze of the fires of bloody strife. If we go on as we have been doing, it surely will. Brown is the Jeremiah of that con summation. But if we rise in our might, and say no only that slavery shall go no farther, but that it shall not be even where it is, it may not be too late to avert

the Master's fate! It gives me my text:

And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will dra

The drama of Harper's Ferry may now be said to be closed-i. e., in the same sense as a Paixhan shell's, when it has been fired from the gun into a city full of combustibles, and no man knows where it shall strike or what it shall do. It has given that petty Virginian village a name in history, from its connec tion with one of the world's heroes. In coming time, men shall make pilgrimages thither, as to a holy shrine, and fondly trace out every spot consecrated by the presence of the martyr for liberty.

deserve serious treatment. It had even a ludicrous aspect. That twenty-two men-let us name the very largest number-should capture, without resistance, a town of 2000 inhabitants, put them to flight, and hold many of them prisoners, seemed a joke more worthy of the redoubtable Munchausen than a grave reality; as such, best met by being let alone. But I misjudged. Slavery is too sensitively conscious of as such what would thus be most effectually settled. So it magnified this police affair into a widely-branch-

ing insurrection. The troops of three States were thrown upon it. Yes, the President of the United States, who had no troops to suppress Border Ruffl.

States, who had no troops to suppress Border Ruffl. say this to injure them, but as regarding their weakment. With what awful alacrity multitudes have her most heroic sons. She shall name him with pride This is no time for the pulpit to be silent; nor creation of her ideas, and a true embodiment of her spirit. Into what pigmies dwindle by his side some whom it is the fashion to call great! Yea, how small

I wonder that any can refuse to call him grea Have they lost their heart, that their vision of excellence is so darkened? If to be great in virtue, in courage, in simplicity; in thought, in word, in act; in justice, in humanity, in plety; in consistency, in self-devotion, in faith; in purity, in strength, in believed in God with all his heart. Strange delu- ica has seldom had and does not hold in honor. Our fathers fought for liberty, and kept their brethren in whom his fellow-countrymen oppressed. Can any honest mind doubt which is the greater? Of him we

A man he was, take him for all in all. Wer ther attestation needed, we might refer t you to understand, he says, in his noble conversation his scaffold high in view of the whole nation. The very rope with which they were about to hang him of Carolina cotton-how significant the symbol!-was tendance. It was a retinue becoming the death of a

And this man, whom our country has had the ho to produce, she has had the wickedness to put to a bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up felon's death. And she covers her crime by calling him madman-for she dare not call him wicked; as if that did not add to her guilt the baseness of cruelty. As another has nobly said : 'It is the madness of Arnold of Winckelried, gathering into his boso the sheaf of spears; the madness of the three hur dred who went to die at Thermopylæ; of the six hundred who rode into the Jaws of Hell, to perish in vain, because it was their duty to do and die. It is a kind of insanity of which a few specimens are scattered along the course of the human race, and whenever they are found, they make the glory of of a civil war, or a fiercer war of races. It was no human nature, and give us more faith in God and

tion is, What shall we think of his object?

There are not wanting those who denounce coolish and wicked. Yet how few know what his object was! Surely it were well to find out before calling it such hard names. What was it? Let him who best knew answer: 'To free the slaves, and only that.' Was that foolish and wicked? 'I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on Brown's statements, nobly careful not to implicate either side, moving them through the country, and others, clearly show that we do not know all. Per- finally leaving them in Canada. I desired to have because he seemed to fail, be consistent, and call was all I intended.' Was that foolish and wicked? Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Jesus, Paul, so too; for If it were, the Underground Railroad, in which we they all had the same delusion, and all died leaving take so much satisfaction, must be an abominable intheir work apparently undone. Be this, however, as stitution, our sentiments of justice, humanity and it may, his character was in keeping with it. He pity must be very foolish and wrong, nay, our reli-

lay the fears of those who believed we came here to rounded with triple ranks and guarded with extraorburn and kill. How serene, how thoughtful, how dinary precaution. Does that look like a foolish courageous he was in the midst of his foes! Strong scheme? A scheme ill-adapted to its end? I am in his convictions of right, he, despising words, spoke willing to suppose that they knew best who were imwords that were half battles. Mr. Mason he told to mediately concerned. This is within the limits of

wrong to God and humanity-I say it without wish- . Some blame Brown less for his object than for having to be offensive-and it would be perfectly right ing failed to reach it. Let me again ask you to susfor any one to interfere with you, so far as to free pend your judgment until it is plain whether he has those you wilfully and wickedly hold in bondage. failed. Did Curtius fail when he lesped full armed Asked if he called his movement a religious one, he into the yawning chasm? Did Arnold of Winekel answered, 'It is, in my opinion, the greatest service ried, when he gathered into his bosom a sheaf of the a man can render to God.' When trial was pushed enemy's spears? Did Leonidas and his three hundred when they fell at Thermopylie? Did Jesus when he gave up the ghost upon the cross? Or his followers, when, one after another, they died for their faith? It is true he failed to free a parcel of slaves. That is all that we can certainly say. Has he done nothing else? Had he succeeded in that, it might have been only to die in some bloody foray, or alone among the mountains of Virginia. He would not have been known, or known-so corrupt and per-"Had I interfered in this manner . . . in behalf of verted are our notions of right and wrong-mainly as a daring and dreaded disturber of the 'rights of prop-erty.' How much success would that have been compared with what God has already wrought through him? But what has God wrought through him A success greater and higher than Brown eve

dreamed of. He has presented a man so unmis

for its giant sin.

ed, his object divine.

insurrectionary-what shall we say? and his Italians, Kossuth and his Hungarians, Tell ical. The spirit is the same, the form different; and his Swiss against Austrian, Kosciusko and his in both cases how sublime! Poles, Schamyl and his Circassians against Russian, V. This brings me to my last point-the Result Cromwell and the Puritans and the Scottish Cove- of the tragedy just acted. nanters against Royalist, Orange and his Dutchmen | What these shall be, it is of course impossible t up and aiding its progress. If you deny this, un- be looked for. earn the praises which you heap on the orators of your Revolution, and strip from Lafayette's honored only consistent man among you-the only one true to converts to a new and better life.

But other grounds justify him still farther. Washself; showing in double wise the wickedness of the down, shoots up a forest of saplings.

blow it to splinters.

into strong light.

up thus, made thus great, because of his fidelity to ness of slavery be not more imaginary than real. liberty, and his unconquerable hatred to slavery. Nothing now is plainer than the insecurity of slavery, Liberty again justified of her child. His name is in and the case with which it can be overthrown. Would What a preacher he is-this man who despised the of itself. Southern society, the very men whom you say we ances and crimes, away forever.

ought to preach to. Yes! more than that, he has Again, what we are becomes plain—and the sight preached to the four dusky millions new and strange is not very flattering. People say, 'Oh, I am as doctrine. He has told them, through his hanged anti-slavery as you are. Show us how to get rid of body and shed blood, that in the white heart, there slavery.' Garrison gives us one-oh! he's impractibeats sympathy for the black; that the Abolitionist cable. Burritt a second, corresponding to our own is the slave's friend, ready to live and to die for him. expressed notions—nobody heeds him. Brown a He has quickened dangerous hopes in those oppres- third-so practicable that it instantly paralyzes slased bosoms. He has breathed a sweet comfort and very with mortal fear-him we heed, and hang him. assurance from on high into them; and, as if by a We raise our hands in holy horror at the thought of word falls fruitless. Some centurion in the Southern ting-out hand of God. band will be converted. The vile institution has been shaken to its foundations—the vail of its temple ing. This marvellous virtue is trained in the school

of Satan sent from top to bottom; and the nation of Liberty. The air of politics was too rank rotter has before its eyes a new idea, in a new man, slain to nourish it-the religion of the land too weak to feed In view of all these facts, it seems to me hardly nurture it. And what a growth it is! Here is the wise or right to call his object foolish or wicked. If second conspicuously great, among many less prom-I do not greatly mistake, posterity will call him bless- inent, trained in that healthful school-Garrison the III. But suppose his object was as men think it, different. He is Garrison's exalted heroism trans-If we believe in fighting, if we believe in the right bloodshed can understand. He is second only to Garof armed revolution, if we believe that resistance to rison. Garrison made him possible-prepared the rants is obedience to God,' I see not how we can con- public mind to do him fitting honor. The spirit sistently or justly deny the slaves' right to insurrec- which, in Garrison, on his lofty height of non-resis tion. Virginia herself teaches as much. Her State tance, brave enough to dare be called a cowardseal represents Liberty armed cap-a-pie, her foot on brave enough to dare stand side by side with Jesus tyrant's neck whose head she has cut off, saying, there, to die for his cause, but not to slay for it-Sie semper tyrannis'-'Thus always to tyrants.' Garrison too far ahead of his time to be appreciated Where is the tyranny so grinding as slavery? If we or understood-deliverer of his country in a noble ustify Washington and the rest of our fathers in sense than even our immortal Washington-is incar-

against Spanish, Spartacus and his fellow-bondmen tell. None may appear for a little while. But when

brow the laurels with which you have crowned him. liverance has gone forth to the four dark millions The only question, then, is a question of expediency. borne by his terror-stricken enemies, to fan the flame And this no forethought can wholly settle. It can be of discontent. They learn afresh the weakness of the decided at last only by trial. To-day's failure en- power that oppresses them, and a teaching of help sures to-morrow's success. If, then, Brown's object that they never heard before. Though dead, he yet were insurrection, you who believe in fighting are speaketh words that shall deepen the indignation of inconsistent and unjust in denouncing him. You Slavery's enemies, convert cold indifference into acmay blame him for imprudence, but not for aiding tive opposition, arouse many to think who never slave insurrection. He, insane in your eyes, is the thought before, and in the very slave States make

invites aggression. Slavery has exposed its utter ington and these others fought for their own free- weakness-and when quiet comes, will despise itself dom: Brown for those whom his fellow-countrymen for its display of cowardice. It will assail itself. It oppressed. They fought because they would not be will be assailed by others. A blow has been struck trampled down; he, from reverence to God and love under which Slavery reels. That blow has crowned lation of all law, human and divine. Any one may Slavery's a charmed life is broken. Think you that destroy it, so that his means be not wrong. It is the the glory that surrounds that noble head, now sleepsum of all villanies, the extreme of tyranny. It is ing in the dust, will fail to charm other adventurous insurrection against God and man. Insurrection minds-yes, to charm them way from crime, where against it is insurrection against Satan; an attempt, now, alas ! satisfaction is largely sought-into a path of rude and harsh indeed, but still an attempt, to restore such dignity and honor as this of giving liberty to the kingdom of heaven. Is it not cruel, you ask? the slave? You may depend that other Browns will Yes, but less cruel than slavery. Its cruelty is only arise-men less scrupulous and childlike, but not less the receil of slavery's abominable teaching upon it- daring than he. A tree of life so vigorous as his, cut

slavery's attempts the soul. What is the destruction esies, if we repent not, the coming of 'a dark and of a thousand bodies to the crippling of one immor- dreadful day of the Lord,' and Brown-a man evital soul? And beyond all these, insurrection is in-, dently sent of God-is the sign of its coming-a sign evitable. The responsibility of it lies not on its oppo- at once dreadful and beautiful-showing that it may nents, but on slavery itself involved in the very exist- not yet be too late to repent. You know the story ence of foul crime. If Brown do not kindle it, Smith of the Sybilline books-that they were offered to the will; and if Smith do not, the nation will some day Roman ruler at a price-that he refused, thinking it rise in mighty rage, and sweep the monster from the too great-that one was burnt, and the same price earth. There are but two ways of preventing it-sn demanded for the rest-that, still refusing, he saw impossible and a possible. The impossible, the sup- another burnt, and the same price still demandedpression of every thing good; the possible, the cast- that, contumacious still, he beheld another perish, ing out of slavery itself. If your house is full of gun- and paid at last for a remnant the full price of the powder, the most harmless spark from your fire will whole. It is a most impressive story. Would to If, however, we do not believe in fighting, if we word of peace and deliverance, through Garrison. We consider the resort to arms in no case justifiable, our turned a deaf ear. It comes again in a more terrianswer must be different. We can then approve of ble form in Brown, breathing of deliverance still, no resort to arms. We cannot recommend armed in- through peace, if we will, for God's forbear surrection, but victory by moral force. This, I own, ance is not yet exhausted; but if not, deliverance is my position. I admit its difficulties. I do not see though at cost of blood. A new era in the struggle my way through them. But something within me has begun. The strictly moral has done its work tells me it is the true position. In Jesus I see its the physical has been inaugurated. Slavery foretole glory, its power, its victory. I am prepared to carry it by assault in the Senate of the nation. I know out the principle logically, and to say that I think what terrible evils these words imply. I dread Washington, Victor Emanuel, Tell, Kosciusko, I deplore, would to God I could prevent them Schamyl, Cromwell, &c., would have achieved a no- Freedom is not responsible for them. It is the corbler victory and a holier honor, had they conquered rupt tree brings forth evil fruit. Slavery, its aidas the early Christians, by shedding their own, but no ers and abettors among those calling themselves, but brother's blood. So, with all reverence, would I say not willing to make others, free, and the selfish prinof him before us now. This is all my condemnation. ciples on which most of us act, are responsible. They 'Union-saving' now is recreancy to liberty. To atnot give it, but suffer blood to come through their that is good in all men, 'twere surely 'folly,' 'fanati-

remissness or cowardly selfishness. Least of all, them cism, is 'insanity' or wickedness to resist. No-Rewhose bread and butter are saturated with the tears pentance is the present need. Repent! Then to the and sweat and blood of the slave.

IV. So much for Brown and his object. I ask you 'Thus far and no farther,' but as Jesus, with authornow to observe a few facts which his attempt brings ity divine, to the fiend: 'Hold thy peace-come out nto strong light.

The first is, the cowardice, weakness, ferocity and gone. How he shook and foamed and gnashed his parbarity of slavery. The Southern white man is teeth at John Brown's touch! How quickly would ern ; nay, claims to be more so. How came he then How suddenly this has all come and gone! Truly

reward rather than punishment. And now thoughtful, in that moment, of others who had made erroneous statements about him! I hear that it has
the world, are fixed on him by an irresistible facci-

every mouth, his honor in every unperverted heart. the North but keep hands off, it would soon take care power of words! And to what an audience he This shows, secondly, that we at the North are preaches! In his prison, he has preached abolitionsm to Senator and Governor, to the so-called elite of burden, therefore, of putting it, with all its disturb-

Lastly, we can now see where is the root of heal-

abominable sin. Its cruelty touches only the body- This, friends, is the teaching of history. It proph-God that we heeded its lesson! God's word came, a

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1. What of John Brown?

Many are prompt to call him a madman or a villain, or both. At first, I thought him insane. That was the verdict of my ignorance. Now that I have examined, I confess, and make what reparation I can. If he be mad, our case is hopeless. If a villain, we power-if this make not greatness, what, in Heaven's are beyond salvation. His great trouble was, that he name, is it? True, his greatness is of a type Amersion! And, still stranger! he thought God actually meant what he said when commanding him to love slavery. Brown fought for liberty, but for those his neighbor as himself, and showing him that his neighbor was the poor wretch who had fallen among thieres, and by them been stripped and wounded and may truly sayhalf killed, and whom priest and Levite had left bleeding in the way. The simple old man could not understand the modern interpretation of that sucient parable. He was not sharp enough to see why God did the closely hours of his life. What a tribute his ennot love a negro as well as a white man. 'I want emies unwittingly paid his greatness! They built with Mason and Vallandigham, that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of colored people, oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do exhibited to thousands. His noble wife permitted

those of the most wealthy and powerful.' Why, only a brief visit, and then guarded by files of solwhere did he get that doctrine? Hardly, even in diers, her lone womanhood too mighty to be allowed New England churches, could be found teaching so unwatched admission. Three thousand-some say radically just as that. His tender heart could not five thousand-men in battle array, to watch his excomprehend why a slave could not feel as keenly as ecution. Well might he be pardoned a flush of joy a freeman, and be included within the Gospel's glad and triumph at such an acknowledgment of his power tidings as well. As himself says, in his speech after and the wisdom of his schemes. Not to common his trial-'I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be criminals, not to fools or madmen, give we such atthe Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that king or a conqueror. men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that, to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did no wrong, but right." Surely, he forgot the curse of Ham! And, more extraordinary still! he actually believed that God had raised him up, the American Moses,' to use the words of one who knew him, 'predestined by Omnipotence to lead the servile nation in our Southern States to freedom; if necessary, through the Red Sea 'mad idea,' 'concocted at a fair in Ohio,' but a

mighty purpose, born of religious convictions, which he nourished in his heart for half a life-time.' As he says himself. 'No man sent me here: it was my own prompting, and that of my Maker, or that of the devil, whichever you please to ascribe it to.' Thirty years long had this grown up in his mind. Call this delusion, if you will, ye who believe there is no God, or that God does not govern the world. But ye who think otherwise, wait until you see its results before you pronounce upon it; wait till you test it by comparison with his character. The end is not yet. we never shall But if you call him deluded done the same thing

obeyed the voice within, even to death. Do you gion itself the consummation of folly and sin. He who condemn obey the voice you hear? He was a is charged with plotting and exciting the slaves to man of prayer. He consulted God in his hours of insurrection. But this he utterly denies. 'I never edifficulty. His Bible was his close companion. He did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of learned there-so he thought-and fully believed, property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or the old Puritan doctrine of fighting for the right. He to waken insurrection.' John Brown never lies. despised talking, could see no use in it. 'Talking is Why then have arms? The reason appears from his a national institution, but it does no good for the own showing and the nature of the case. It was a slave. 'He thought it an excuse very well adapted dangerous business, and meded arms for self-defence. for weak men with tender consciences. 'Christonce Ye who believe in fighting, was that foolish and armed Peter, he said; 'so also, in my case, I think wicked? he put a sword in my hand, and there continued it so But, you say, his scheme was a cruzy one. Do you long as he saw best, and then kindly sook it from know what it was, that you pronounce so decidedly me.' In his camp he would allow no profanity. 'No upon it? I have found no one yet who knew, and I

man of loose morals was suffered to remain there would at least wait until I know before judging. We unless, indeed, as prisoners of war.' 'I would rather who know nothing about the case, may well trust have small pox, yellow fever and cholera all together somewhat to his experience especially as that is in my camp, than a man without principle.' 'Give backed up by two or three important facts. He knew me men of good principles-God-fearing men-men so well what he was about in Mansas, that he probawho respect themselves.' Morning and evening bly did more than any one case to accure to Kam prayers were offered in his camp, and no food was what freedom she has. He probably had no slight eaten till God's blessing had been sought. A man of influence in opening Missouri's eyes to the insecurity justice so rare and humanity so tender, that once, of slave property. Successful there, he may well when he had arrested a horse-thief and taken him to have thought he could be still more so nearer the

jail, and the man was afterwards convicted and im- heart of slavery. This looks rather like profound and prisoned, he furnished the man's family with provision humane wisdom than like folly and wiskedness. But and clothing while he was in prison. And was it the best way to find out is to ask those who know not his humanity which occasioned the failure of his best. Ask the slaveholders, and mark their answer. plans? As himself says and Brown never lies - I Three States beside themselves with terror, a trial should have gone away, but I had thirty odd prison- hurried through with indecent and cruel haste to a ers, whose wives and daughters were in tears for their decision illegal and unjust, three thousand troops safety, and I felt for them. Besides, I wanted to al- under arms, yea, the very scaffold of the martyr sur-

his face, 'I think, my friend, you are guilty of a great their apprehension.

with cruel haste, though weak and haggard, he refused the mockery of justice. 'I beg for no mockery of a trial-no insult; nothing but that which conscience gives or cowardice drives you to practise. No plea of insanity would he allow. His writing he acknowledged, 'ready,' he said, to 'face the music. And when the foregone conclusion had been reached and he was declared guilty of treason and murder

how dignified his bearing, how noble his speech! the rich, the powerful, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this enterprise, it would have been all right. Every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. And how thought-

the coming Nemesis of blood.

How close is the parallel between the disciples and

The first act of this drama appeared too trifling to its weakness and guilt to understand lokes; or to treat

divine power, he has pressed his bitterest enemies insurrection among slaves, and honor our fathers into his service. The Slave Power, by its terror, its for the very same thing-we worship Lafayette, and admiration, its gallows-tree, its formidable military give a felon's doom to a greater than he. And how array, is spreading his influence throughout its bor- eager we are to condemn this grand old man! unders. Its newspapers are now so many abolition doc-uments; its orators so many teachers of insurrection. measured our admiration of certainly the most chi-It is laying the train for its own destruction, valrous virtue our time has produced! How cruel If it would extinguish its firebrands, it must hang its and savage the distribes, which some have hurled at 250,000 slaveholders. No need of Garrison there- him! And who would have believed that, in a they are greater firebrands than he. And besides all country with such ancestry and such privileges as ours this, Brown has preached such lessons of Resolution, it has been possible to so minutely re-enact the dra-Justice and Freedom to all the North, as all the pul- ma of the cross as to hang as a criminal almost the pits in the free States together have not taught these noblest man the country has produced, for a deed hofifty years. Can be be fairly said to have failed, who lier than our fathers attempted? With what shame in a brief seven weeks has preached such doctrine to and grief must they look down from their seats above such an audience? Were there no other success, on their degenerate children! But a small spark of

this, unspeakably greater than he had planned, were their fire had rendered this huge crime impossible. enough to satisfy a soaring ambition, worth a life Can degradation go much farther? Verily, we must laid down. But there is other success. No true ere long stop, if not by our own free will, by the blot-

its burly strength. The life of Liberty alone could

first. In some respects they are alike; in others, very lated 'into a dialect that all believers in force and

fighting against British oppression, Victor Emanuel nated Moral Power, is in Brown incarnated as Phys

against Roman, Leonidas and his Spartans against an extraordinary man is sacrificed on the altar of Persian-and if ever fighting was justifiable, it was extraordinary crime, and has the world for spectators. in these cases—the slave is more than justified. The and the sympathy even of his foes, yes, makes them right of insurrection involves the right of stirring it his missionaries, it is plain that results not small may It makes slavery more than ever dangerous. From that old man's scaffold the word of sympathy and de-

Weakness, when divorced from trust and courage

honor his courage, his humanity, his unfaltering will come, nay, worse would come, were the giant intrust in God, his terrible and lonely fidelity to duty. iquity let alone. Freedom is our only hope of pre-He was true to his light. God give me grace to be vention or cure. This is no time for political intrigue But let no man hypocritically or from cowardice tempt to stay the rising tide of Freedom is to try to place himself on this platform. It needs more brave- turn back the inevitable. That stream whose puny ry than fighting does. Let not them whose peoceful tide carried away every opposing dam, fast growing cote could to-morrow break every chain, and yet will to a torrent, now, by help of all good men, and all

and sweat and blood of the slave.

not by nature less brave and humane than the North- he vanish even at our slightest word! to do what Humanity sickens, and even Shame is as a thief in the night! Only seven weeks ago it be abashed, to behold? How came he to do by a help-less and magnanimous foe what the long horrors of died which cannot go out. A Life has been manifested a bloody siege would scarcely palliate, and is hardly which cannot die. A Grave has been dug in which outdone by Nana Sahib himself? Through the cor- sleeps what could sleep of a hero, saint, martyr. A rupting, emasculating and barbarizing influence of Power has gone forth stronger than Death. Let us the infernal institution. Nay, more. The fear heed and take courage. Let us be faithful as Brown,