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[3" All remittances are to be made, and all letters. relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inseried three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00.

IT The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,

Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soceties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE IF The following gentlemen constitute the Finanral Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-

MEND QUINCY, SARUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

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

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in diding other States in binding on men an

enrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathers, in

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE

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

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with munly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 53.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1859.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1514.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from Mrs. Muson of Va. to L. Maria Child. Airo, King George's Co., Va., Nov. 11, 1859. Do you read your Bible, Mrs. Child? If you do, By you real your blote, arts. Could I if you do, real there. Woe dute you, hypocrites,' and take to yourself with two-fold damnation that terrible sentence; for, rest assured, in the day of judgment it shall be more tolerable for those thus scathed by the awful denunciation of the Son of God, than for 741. You would southe with sisterly and motherly the heary headed murderer of Harper's Ferry A man whose aim and intention was to incite the horrors of a servile war-to condemn women of your own race, ere death closed their eyes on their sufferings from violence and outrage, to see their husband, and lathers murdered, their children butchered, the ground strewed with the brains of their Toe antecedents of Brown's band proved them to have been the off-couring; of the earth; and what would have been our fate had they found

as many sympathizers in Virginia as they seem to

bave in Massachusetts?

Now, compare yourself with those your 'sympathy' would devote to such ruthless ruin, and say, no that 'word of honor, which never has been broken,' would you stand by the bedside of an old negro, dying of a hopeless disease, to alleviate his safrings as far as human aid could? Have you ever watched the last, lingering illness of a conamptive, to soothe, as far as in you lay, the inevtable fete? Do you soften the pangs of maternity is those around you by all the care and comfort you ran give? Do you grieve with those near you, even though their sorrows resulted from their own misenduct? Did you ever sit up until the 'wee burs! to complete a dress for a motherless child, that she might appear on Christmas day in a new me, along with her more fortunate companions? We do these and more for our servants, and why? Because we endeavor to do our duty in that state of afe it has pleased God to place us. In his revealed word we read our duties to them-theirs to us are there also - Not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward.'-(Peter ii: 18.) Go thou and do likewise, and keep away from Charlestown. If the stories read in the public prints be true, of the suf-ferings of the poor of the North, you need not go far for objects of charity. 'Thou hypocrite! take first the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to pull the mote out of thy neighbor's.' But if, indeed, you do lack objects of sympathy near vor, go to defferson County, to the family of George furner, a noble, true-hearted man, whose devotion to his friend (Col. Washington) causing him to risk his life, was shot down like a dog. Or to that of old Beckham, whose grief at the murder of his negro subordinate made him needlessly expose himself to the aim of the assassin Brown. And when you can equal in deeds of love and charity to those around you, what is shown by nine-tenths of the Virginia plantations, then by your 'sympathy' whet the knives for our throats and kindle the torch that fires our homes. You reverence Brown for his clemency to his prisoners! Prisoners! and how taken? Unsuspecting workmen, going to their daily duties; marmed gentlemen, taken from their beds at the dead hour of the night, by six men doubly and trobly armed. Suppose he had burt a hair of their heads, do you suppose one of the band of despera-does would have left the engine-house alive? And

I will add, in canclusion, no Southerner ought, after your letter to Gov. Wise and to Brown, to read a line of your composition, or to touch a magazine which bears your name in its list of contribu tirs; and in this we hope for the 'sympathy,' at least of those at the North who deserve the name of M. J. C. MASON. Woman.

did not he know that his treatment of them was his

only hope of life then, or of elemency afterward?

Of course he did. The United States troops could

not have prevented him from being torn limb from

Mrs. Child's Reply.

WAYLAND, Mass., Dec. 17, 1859. Prolonged absence from home has prevented my answering your letter so soon as I intended. I have to disposition to retort upon you the 'two-fold damnation,' to which you consign me. On the contrary, I sincerely wish you well, both in this world and the next. If the anathema proved a safeto valve to your own boiling spirit, it did some good to you, while it fell harmless upon me. Fortunately for all of us, the Heavenly Father rules His uniso by laws, which the passions or the prejudices

of mortals have no power to change.

As for John Brown, his reputation may be safely trasted to the impartial pen of History; and his natires will be righteously judged by Him who insweth the secrets of all hearts. Men, however great they may be, are of small consequence in com arison with principles; and the principle for which in Brown died is the question at issue between us. You refer me to the Bible, from which you quote the favorite text of slaveholders :

Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear

good and gentle, but also to the froward.'-1

Abditionists also have favorite texts, to some of which I would call your attention :

Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them.

Hide the outcasts. Bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee. Be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler. —Isa. 16:3, 4. Then shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not

oppress him. -- Deut. 23: 15, 16,
Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge lighteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.—Prev. 23:8, 9.

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgress: Israel their sins.'—Isa. 58: 1.

I would especially commend to slaveholders the following portions of that volume, wherein you say God has revealed the duty of masters:

'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and

owing that ye also have a Master in heaven.'-(Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, eva Christ; and all ye are brethren.—Matt. 23:8, 10.

Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.—Matt. 7:12.

'Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the burds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let heavy burdens, and to let heavy burdens, and to let heavy burdens, and that ye break every yeke?'—in 55:6.

They have given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for ise, that they might drink.'—Joel 3:3.

He that oppresseth the poor, reproscheth his Maker.'—

707. 14:31

He that oppressed the poor, replaced the poor; neither oppress Prot. 14:31.
Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the affected. For the Lord will plead their cause, and test the soul of those who spoiled them —Prov. 22:22, 23: We canto him that useth his neighbor's service without ways, and given him not for his work.—Jet. 22:18.

SELECTIONS.

[REGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.]

NTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

[From Mrs. Masson of Va. to L. Maria Child.]

[Individual of the properties of the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant, when they concluded in the medial properties of the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant, when they concluded in the medial properties when the state of the supreme of the late Judge Grimke, of the Supreme of the sup

maid-servant, when they contend with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer Him? '—Dob 31:13, 14.

'Thou hast sent widows away empty, and the arms of the fatherless have been broken. Therefore enares are sound about thee, and sudden fear troubleth thee; and darkness, that thou canst not see. —Job 22:9, 10, 11.

'Behold the hire of your laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the carth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just.'-James 5:4.

If the appropriateness of these texts is not apparent, I will try to make it so, by evidence drawn entirely from Southern sources. The Abolitionists are not such an ignorant set of fanatics as you suppise. They know whereof they affirm. They are lamiliar with the laws of the slave States, which are alone sufficient to inspire abhorrence in any humane heart or reflecting mind not perverted by the prejudices of education and custom. I might fill any letters with significant extracts from your statute-books ; but I have space only to glance at a few, which indicate the leading features of the sys-

tem you cherish so tenaciously.

The universal rule of the slave State is that 'the child follows the condition of its mother.' This is an index to many things. Marriages between white and colored people are forbidden by law; yet a very large number of the slaves are brown or yellow. When Lafayette visited this country in his old age, he said he was very much struck by the great change in the colored population of Virginia; that in the time of the Revolution, nearly all the household slaves were black, but when he returned to America, he found very few of them black. The advertisements in Southern newspapers often describe runaway slaves that 'pass themselves for white men.' Sometimes they are described as having 'straight, light hair, blue eyes, and clear complexion.' This could not be, unless their fathers, grandfathers, and greatgrandfathers had been white men. But as their mothers were slaves, the law pronounces them slaves, subject to be sold on the auction-block whenever the necessities or convenience of their masters or mistresses require it. The sale of one's own children, brothers, or sisters, has an ugly aspect to those who are unaccustomed to it; and, obviously, it cannot have a good moral influence, that law and custom should render licentiousness a profitable vice.

Throughout the slave States, the testimony of no colored person, bond or free, can be received against a white man. You have some laws, which, on the face of them, would seem to restrain inhuman men from murdering or mutilating slaves; but they are rendered nearly null by the law I have cited. drunken master, overseer, or patrol, may go into the negro cabins and commit what outrages he pleases, with perfect impunity, if no white person is present who chooses to witness against him. North Caro-lina and Georgia leave a large loop-hole for escape, even if white persons are present, when murder is committed. A law to punish persons for * maliciously killing a slave ' has this remarkable qualification: 'Always provided that this act shall not extend to any slave dying of moderate correction. We at the North find it difficult to understand how moderate punishment can cause death. I have read several of your law-books attentively, and I find no cases of punishment for the murder of a slave, except by fines paid to the owner, to indemnify him for the loss of his property: the same as if his horse or cow had been killed. In the South Carolina Reports is a case where the State had indicted Guy Raines for the murder of a slave named Isaac. It was proved that William Gray, the owner of Isane, had him a thousand lashes. The poor creature made his escape, but was caught, and delivered to the custody of Raines, to be carried to the county jail. Because he refused to go, Raines gave him five hundred died soon after. The counsel for Raines proposed that he should be allowed to acquit himself by his own oath. The Court decided against it, because white witnesses had testified; but the Court of Appeals afterward decided that he ought to have been exculpated by his own oath, and he was acquitted. Small indeed is the chance for justice to a slave, when his own color are not allowed to testity, if they see him maimed or his children murdered; when he has slaveholders for Judges and Jurors; when the murderer can exculpate by his own oath; and when the law provides that it is no murder to kill a slave by 'moderate correc-

Your laws uniformly declare that 'a slave shall e deemed a chattel personal in the hands of his owner, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.' This, of course, involves the right to sell his children, as if they were pigs; also, to take his wife from him ' for any intent or purpose what-soever.' Your laws also make it death for him to resist a white man, however brutally he may be treated, or however much his family may be outraged before his eyes." If he attempts to run away, your laws allow any man to shoot him.

By your laws, all a slave's carnings belong to his master. He can neither receive donations nor transmit property. If his master allows him some hours to work for himself, and by great energy and per-severance he earns enough to buy his own bones and sinews, his master may make him pay two or three times over, and he has no redress. Three such cases have come within my own knowledge. Even a written promise from his master has no legal value,

because a slave can make no contracts. Your laws also systematically aim at keeping the minds of the colored people in the most abject state of ignorance. If white people attempt to teach them to read or write, they are punished by imprisonment or fines; if they attempt to teach other, they are punished with from twenty to thirty-nine lashes each. It cannot be said that the Anti-Slavery agitation produced such laws, for they date much ther back : many of them when we were Provinces. They are the necessities of the system, which, being

itself an outrage upon human nature, can be sus-tained only by perpetual outrages.

The next reliable source of information is the advertisements in the Southern papers. In The North Carolina (Raleigh) Standard, Mr. Micajah Ricks advertises, A few days before she went off, I burned her with a hot iron on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M.' In The Natchez Cou rier, Mr. J. P. Ashford advertises a ranaway negro girl, with 'a good many teeth missing, and the let-ter A branded on her cheek and forebead.' In The Lexington Observer (Ky.), Mr. William Overstree scars from a dirk on his left arm, and much scarred with the whip. I might quote from hundreds of such advertisements, offering rewards for runaways dead or alive, and describing them with 'ears out off,' 'jaws broken,' 'scarred by rifle-balls,' &c.

Another source of information is afforded by your 'Fugitives from Injustice,' with many of whom I advertises a runaway negro with ' his left eye out, scars from a dirk on his left arm, and much scarred

the late Judge Grimke, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, testifies as follows: I left my native State on account of Slavery, and deserted the home of my fathers to escape the sound of the lash and the shricks of tortured victims. I would gladly bury in oblivion the recollection of those scenes with which I have been familiar. But this cannot . They come over my memory like gory species, and implore me, with resistless power, in the name of a God of mercy, in the name of a crucified Samue, in the name of humanity, for the sake of the slaveholder, as well as the slave, to bear witness to the horrors of the Southern prison-house.' She proceeds to describe dreadful tragedies, the actors in which she says were ' men and women of the first families in South Carolina; ' and that their cruelties did not, in the slightest degree, affect their standing in society. Her sister, Angelina Grimke, declared: While I live, and Slavery lives, I must testify against it. Not merely for the sake of my poor brothers and sisters in bonds; for even were slavery no curse to its victims, the exercise of arbitrary power works such fearful ruin upon the hearts of slaveholders, that I should feel impelled to labor and pray for its overthrow with my latest breath.' Among the horrible barbarities she enumerates is the case of a girl thirteen years old, who was flogged to death by her master. says: 'I asked a prominent lawyer, who belonged

to one of the first families in the State, whether the murderer of this helpless child could not be indicted, and he coolly replied that the slave was Mr. —'s property, and if he chose to suffer the loss, no one else had anything to do with it.' She proceeds to say: 'I felt there could be for me no rest in the midst of such outrages and pollutions. Yet I saw nothing of slavery in its most vulgar and repulsive I saw it in the city, among the fashionable and the honorable, where it was garnished by refinement and decked out for show. It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction that this is a cause worth dying for. I say so from what I have seen, and heard, and known, in a land of Slavery, whereon rest the darkness of Egypt and the sin of Sodom. I once asked Miss Angelina if she thought Abolitionists exaggerated the horrors of Slavery. She replied, with earnest emphasis: . They cannot be exaggerated. It is impossible for imagination to go beyond the facts.' To a lady who observed that the time had not yet come for agitating the subject, she an-I apprehend if thou wert a slave, toiling in the fields of Carolina, thou wouldst think the

time had fully come.' Mr. Thorne, of Kentucky, in the course of his eloquent lectures on this subject, said : ' I breathed my first breath in an atmosphere of Slavery. But though I am heir to a slave inheritance, I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage, a complication of crimes, and wrongs, and cruelties, that make angels weep.

"Mr. Allen of Alabama, in a discussion with the students at Lane Seminary, in 1834, told of a slave who was tied up and beaten all day, with a paddle night, his flesh w ed to a jelly. The punishment was inflicted within hearing of the Academy and the Public Green. But no one took any notice of it. No one thought any wrong was done. At our house, it is so common to bear screams from a neighboring plantation, that we think nothing of it. Lest any one should think that the slaves are generally well treated, and that the cases I have mentioned are exceptions, let me be dis-tinctly understood that cruelty is the rule, and kindness is the exception.'

In the same discussion, a student from Virginia, after relating cases of great cruelty, said: 'Such things are common all over Virginia; at least, so far as I am acquainted. But the planters generally

avoid punishing their slaves before strangers.'
Miss Mattie Griffith of Kentusky, whose entire property consisted in slaves, emaccipated them all. The noble-hearted girl wrote to use: "I shall go forth into the world penniless; that I shall wor with a light heart, and, best of all, shall live with an easy conscience.' Previous to this generous re-solution, she had never read any Abolition document, and entertained the common Southern prejudice against them. But her own observation so deeply impressed her with the enormities of Siavery, that she was impelled to publish a book, called 'The Autobiography of a Female Slave.' I read it with thrilling interest; but some of the seenes made my nerves quiver so painfully, that I told her I hope they were too highly colored. She shook her he sadly, and replied: 'I am sorry to say that every incident in the book has come within my own know

ledge. St. Geo. Tucker, Judge and Professor of Law in Virginia, speaking of the legalized murder of run-aways, said: 'Such are the cruelties to which a f Slavery gives birth-such the horrors to which the human mind is canable of being recon '76, he said: 'While we proclaimed our resolution to live free or die, we imposed on our fellow-men, of different complexion, a Slavery ten thousand times worse than the utmost extremity of the oppression of which we complained.

Gov. Giles, in a Message to the Legislature of Virginia, referring to the custom of selling free colored people into Slavery, as a punishment of offences not capital, said: 'Slavery must be admitted to be a punishment of the highest order; and, according the just rule for the apportionment of punishment to crimes, it ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order. The most distressing reflection in the application of this punishment to female of fenders is that it extends to their offspring; and the innocent are thus punished with the guilty. one hundred and twenty thousand innocent babes in this country are annually subjected to a punishment which your Governor declared ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order.

Jefferson said : ' One day of American Slavery is worse than a thousand years of that which we rose in arms to oppose.' Alluding to insurrections, he said : ' The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest.' John Randolph declared : ' Every planter is a sen-

tinel at his own door. Every Southern mother,

when she hears an alarm of fire in the night, in-stinctively presses her infant closer to her bosom.' Looking at the system of slavery in the light of all this evidence, do you candidly think we descree two-fold damnation' for detesting it? Can you not believe that we may hate the system, and yet be truly your friends? I make allowance for the excited state of your mind, and for the prejudices in-

in ready and accomplished speakers. But few men dare treat public affairs with reference to the great justice, and the American Democracy nay, few with reference to any remote future, of even with a comprehensive survey of the present Our public writers ask what effect will this opinion nave on the Democratic party, or the Republican party; how will it affect the next Presidential elecon; what will the great State of Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or New York, say to it? This is very unfor tunate for us all, especially when the people have to deal practically and thus speedily with a question concerning the very existence of Democratic institu-

soul, bravely takes his stand among the trumpeters.

makes common cause with rough-shod reformers.

loquence. On the extreme orthodox side is set

hest intellect of the age is active in hunting it

LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER TO

steamer of Nov. 2 brought from Boston, that the

Court found Capt. Brown guilty, and passed sentence

Ferry, and of the sayings of certain men at Boston,

ant of power is left to me in defence of the True

America is rich in able men, in skillful writers,

L. MARIA CHILD.

you will not even allow your own citizens a chance In my best esta e, I do not pretend to much po-

you will not even allow your own citizens a chance to examine this important subject. Your letter to me is published in Northern papers, as well as Southern; but my reply will not be allowed to appear in any Southern paper. The despotic measures you take to silence investigation, and shut out the light from your own white populption, prove how little reliance you have on the strength of your cause. In this enlightened age, all despotisms ought to come to an end by the agency of moral and rational means. But if they resist such agencies, it is in the order of Providence that they must come to an end by violence. History is full of such lessons.

Would that the vail of prejudice could be removed

In my best esta e, I do not pretend to much political wisdom, and still less now while sick, but I wish yet to set down a few thoughts for your consideration. They are, at least, the result of long meditation. They are, at least, the result of long meditation. They are, at least, the result of long meditation. They are a part of the Public Knowledge of all enlightened men.

1. A man held against his will as a slave has a natural right to kill every one who seeks to prevent his enjoyment of liberty. This has long been recognized as a self-evident proposition, coming so directly from the primitive instincts of human nature, that it neither requires precise nor admits them.

2. It may be a natural duty of the slave to denelop

History is full of such lessons.

Would that the vail of prejudice could be removed

that it neither requires proofs nor admits them.

2. It may be a natural duty of the slave to develop

from your eyes. If you would candidly examine the this natural right in a practical manner, and actually statements of Governor Hincks of the British West kill all those who seek to prevent his enjoyment of lib-Indies, and of the Rev. Mr. Bleby, long time a Miserty. For if he continue patiently in bondage: sionary in those Islands, both before and after eman- First, he entails the foulest of curses on his children cipation, you could not fail to be convinced that can and remains the louise of curses of misching cipation, you could not fail to be convinced that and, second, he encourages ofter men to commit the crime against nature which he allows his own mas-Lash, and far safer also. One fact in relation to ter to commit. It is my duty to preserve my own those Islands is very significant. While the working-body from starvation If I fail thereof through those Islands is very significant. While the working-people were slaves, it was always necessary to order out the military during the Christmas helidays; loathing of my acquaintances while I live. It is not but, since emancipation, not a soldier is to be seen. less my duty to do all that is in my power to preserve A hundred John Browns might land there, without my body and soul from Slavery; and if I submit to that A hundred John Browns might land there, without my body and souttrom Stavery; and it is upont to that exciting the slightest alarm.

To the personal questions you ask me. I will reply and suffer what thraugh cowardice, I not only become a bondman, and suffer what thraplom inflicts, but I incur also the contempt and bathing of my acquaintances. would be extremely difficult to find any woman in Why do freemen soon and despise a slave? Because our villages who does not see for the poor, and they think his condition is a sign of his cowardice, and believe that the outside the refer death to bond. watch with the sick, whenever occasion requires. and believe that he ought to prefer death to bond-We pay our domestics generous wages, with which they can purchase as many Christmas gowns as they contempt, though mothers of their children. Why? please; a process far better for their characters, as Simply because the Africans are slaves; that is, bewell as our own, than to receive their clothing as a cause the Africans fail to peform the natural duty charity, after being deprived of just payment for of securing freedom by killing their oppressors.

their labor. I have never known an instance where 3. The freeman has a natural right to help the the spangs of maternity did not meet with requisite assistance; and here at the North, after we have helped the mothers, we do not sell the babies.

3. The freeman has a natural right to help the slaves recover their liberty, and in that enterprise to do for them all which they have a right to do for themselves.

I readily believe what you state concerning the themselves.

This state This statement, I think, requires no argument or kindness of many Virginia matrons. It is credit-able to their hearts: but after all, the best that can

4. It may be a Natural Duty for the freeman to be done in that way is a poor equivalent for the per-petual wrong done to the slaves, and the terrible li-abilities to which they are always subject. Kind as means to that end, to aid them in killing all such as oppose their natural freedom. as oppose their natural freedom.

masters and mistresses among you are merely lucky accidents. If any one *chooses* to be a brutal despot, If you were attacked by a wolf, I should not only your laws and customs give him complete power to do so. And the lot of those slaves who have the kindest masters is exceedingly precarious. In case of death, or pecuniary difficulties, or marriages in the family, they may at any time be suddenly transferred from protection and indulgence to personal degradation, or extreme severity; and if they should make it less my duty to help you out of the hands of your enemy? Suppose it is not a kidnapper who found that the same. have a right to aid you in getting rid of that enemy of your enemy? Suppose it is not a kidnapper who would make you a bondman, but a slaveholder who try to escape from such sufferings, anybody is authorized to shoot them down like dogs. With regard to your declaration that 'no South- would keep you one, does that remove my obligation

erner ought henceforth to read a line of my composition, 'I reply that I have great satisfaction in the consciousness of having nothing to lose in that quarter. Twenty-seven years ago, I published a book (the impossible is never the obligatory). I ter. Twenty-seven years ago, I published a book called 'An Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Airicans.' It influenced the minds of cannot help the slaves in Dahomey or Borneo, and to my own neighborhood, and I ought to do so several young men, afterward conspicuous in public My duty is commensurate with my power; and as life, through whose agency the cause was better served than it could have been by me. From that my power increases, my duty enlarges along with time to this, I have labored too earnestly for the freedom as easily and effectually as I can aid the slave to be agreeable to slaveholders. Literary poprunaway at my own door, then I ought to do so. plarity was never a paramount object with me, ever

These five maxims have a direct application to youth; and, now that I am old, I am utterly America at this day, and the people of the Free indifferent to it. But, if I cared for the exclusion States have a certain dim perception thereof, which, you threaten, I should at least have the consolation fortunately, is becoming clearer every year.

of being exiled with honorable company. Dr. Thus, the people of Massachusetts feel that they Channing's writings, mild and candid as they are, ought to protect the fugitive slaves who come into breathe what you would call arrant treason. Wm. C. Bryant, in his capacity of editor, is openly on Hence come (1st) irregular attempts to secure their liberty, and the declarations of noble our side. The inspired muse of Whittier has inmen, like Timothy Gilbert and others, that they cessantly sounded the trumpet for moral warfare will do so even at great personal risk; and (2) the statute laws made by the Legislature to accomplish with your iniquitous institution; and his stirring tones have been answered, more or less loudly, by Pierpont, Lowell, and Longfellow. Emerson, the

that end.
Now, if Massachusetts had the power to do as Plato of America, leaves the scholastic seclusion be much for the slaves in Virginia as for the runaways loves so well, and, disliking poise with all his poetic in her own territory, we should soon see those two sets of measures at work in that direction also, Geo. W. Curtis, the brilliant writer, the eloquent

I find it is said in the Democratic newspapers that ecturer, the elegant man of the world, lavs the Capt. Brown had many friends at the North, who wealth of his talent on the altar of Freedom, and sympathized with him in general, and in special aped of this particular scheme of his; and they The genius of Mrs. Stowe carried the outworks of furnished him with some twelve or twenty thousand your institution at one dash, and left the citadel dollars, it would seem.' I think much of that is true of us. If he had succeeded in running off one pen to besiegers, who are pouring in amain. In the church, on the ultra-liberal side, it is assailed or two thousand slaves to Canada, even at the exby the powerful battering-ram of Theodore Parker's pense of a little violence and bloodshed, the majority of men in New England would have rejoiced, not huge fire, kindled by the burning words of Dr. Cheever. Between them is Henry Ward Beecher, only in the end, but also in the means. The first successful attempt of a considerable number of slaves ending a shower of keen arrows into your entrenchments; and with him ride a troop of sharp-shooters rom all sects. If you turn to the literature of Enghow deep is the sympathy of the people for and how strongly they embrace the five principles I mentioned above. A little success of that sort will and or France, you will find your institution treatserve as priming for the popular cannon; it is alilized world proclaims Slavery an outlaw, and the

attempt had been made to free the slaves in a certain part of Virginia, nor should I be astonished if another 'insurrection ' or 'rebellion' took place in A FRIEND IN BOSTON.

ROME, Nov. 24, 1859.

DEAR SIR,—I see by a recent telegraph which the teamer of Nov. 2 brought from Boston, that the General Causes which move all human kind to hate Wrong and love Right. Such 'insurrections' will upon him. It is said Friday, Dec. 2, is fixed as the day on thanging him. So, long before this reaches you, my friend will have passed on to the reward of his magnanimous public services, and his pure, upright John Brown and all that family, but she cannot private lile. I am not well enough to be the min- hang the human race; and until that is done, noble ster to any congregation, least of all to one like men will rejoice in the motto of that once magnani-- Sic semper Tyrannis! Let such be

Ol course, I was not astonished to hear that an

that which, for so many years, helped my soul, mous State-while it listened to my words. Surely, the Twenty-the end of e Eighth Congressional Society in Boston needs a the end of every oppressor.'

It is a good Anti-Slavery picture on the Virginia minister, not half dead, but alive all over; and yet, shield—a man standing on a tyrant, and chopping while reading the accounts of the affair at Harper's his head off with a sword; only I would paint the swordholder black and the tyrant white, to show the whom you and I know only too well, I could not immediate application of the principle. The Ameri-help wishing I was at home again to use what poor can people will have to march to rather severe music, think, and it is better for them to face it in season A few years ago, it did not seem difficult first to check Slavery, and shen to end it without any bloodshed. I think this cannot be done now, nor ever in the future. All the great charters of humanity have been writ in blood. I once hoped that of American Democracy would be engrossed in less costly ink; but it is plain, now, that our pilgrimage must lead through a Red Sea, wherein Pharaoh will go under and perish. Alas! that we are not wise enough to be just, or just enough to be wise, and so

gain much at small cost!
Look, now, at a few notorious facts:

1. There are four million slaves in the United States violently withheld from their natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Now,

rected to the masters only, have been met with violence and abuse almost equal to that poured on the
head of John Brown. Yet surely we, as a portion
of the Union, involved in the expense, the degeneracy, the danger, and the disgrace, of this iniquitous and fatal system, have a right to speak about
it, and a right to be heard also. At the North, we
willingly publish pro-slavery arguments, and ask
only a fair field and no favor for the other side. But
you will not even allow your own citizens a chance

(I), they are our fellow-countrymen—yours and
mine, just as much as any four million white men.
Of course, you and I owe them the duty which one
man owes another of his own nation—the duty of
instruction, advice, and protection of natural rights.
The burrals and the offices they get are poor compensation for falseness to their own consciences.

In my best esta e. I do not pretend to much poward them. ward them.

There of men in all the Northern States who feel the obliction which citizenship imposes on them—the duty to help those slaves. Hence arose the Ax-TI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which seeks simply to excite the white p ople to perform their natural duty to their dark fellow-countrymen. Hence comes Capt. Brown's expedition—an attempt to help his countrymen enjoy their natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

He sought by violence what the Anti-Slavery So-

ciety works for with other weapons. The two agree in the end, and differ only in the means. Men like Capt. Brown will be continually rising up among the white people of the Free States, accompting to do their natural duty to their black countrym that is, help them to freedom. Some of these efforts will be successful. This, last winter, Capt. Brown himself escorted eleven of his countrymen from bondage in Missouri to freedom in Canada. He did not snap a gun, I think, although then, as more recently, he had his fighting tools at hand, and would have sed them, if necessary. Even now, the Underground tailroad is in constant and beneficent operation. By and by, it will be an Overground Railroad from Mason and Dixon's line clear to Canada; the only tun-neling will be in the Slave States. Northern men

When Thomas Garrett was introduced to a meeting of political Free-Soilers in Boston, as ' the man who had helped 1,800 slaves to their natural liberty,' even that meeting gave the righteous Quaker three times three. All honest Northern hearts beat with admiration of such men; nay, with love for them. Young lads say, 'I wish that Heaven would make me such a man.' The wish will now and then be father to the fact. You and I have had opportunity enough, in twenty years, to see that this philanthropic patriotism is on the increasent the North, and the special direction it takes is toward the liberation of their countrymen in bondage.

appland the brave conductors of that Locomotive of

Not many years ago, Boston sent money to help the Greeks in their stroggle for political freedom (they never quite lost their personal liberty), but with the money she sent, what was more valuable and far more precious, one of her most valiant and hereic sons, who staid in Greece to fight the great battle of humanity. Did your friend, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, lose the esteem of New England men by that act? He won the admiration of Europe, and

Nay, still later, the same dear old Boston Hunk-ers had never been more than rats and mice in her house, which she suffers for a time, and then drives out twelve hundred of them at once on a certain lay of March, 1776; that same dear old Boston sent the same Dr. Howe to carry aid and comfort to the Poles, then in deadly struggle for their political existence. Was be disgraced because he lay seven-and-forty days in a Prussian jail in Berlin? Not ward sent him a gold medal, whose metal was worth as many dollars as that philanthropist lay days in the despot's jail. It is said, 'Charity should begin at home.' The American began a good way off, but has been working homeward ever since. The Dr. Howe of to-day would and ought to be more ready to help an American to personal liberty, than a Pole or a Greek to political freedom, and would find more men to furnish aid and comfort to our own countrymen, even if they were black. It would not surprise me if there were other and well-planned attempts in other States to do what Capt heroically, if not successfully, tried in Virginia Nine out of ten may fail-the tenth will succeed. The victory over Gen. Bargoyne more than made up for all the losses in many a previous defeat; it was the beginning of the end. Slavery will not die a dry death; it may have as many lives as a cat; at last, it will die like a mad dog in a village, with only the enemics of the human kind to lament its fate, and they too cowardly to appear as mourners.

II. But it is not merely white men who will fight for the liberty of Americans; the negroes will take their defence into their own hands, especially if they can find white men to lead them. No doubt, the African race is greatly inferior to the Cauca-sian in general intellectual power, and also in that instinct for Liberty which is so strong in the Teu-tonic family, and just now obvious in the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and America; besides, the African race have but little desire for vengeance-the lowest form of the love of justice. Here is one example out of many : In Santa Cruz, the old slave laws were the most horrible, I think, I ever read of in modern times, unless those of the Carolinas be an exception, If a slave excited others to run away, for the first offence his right leg was to be cut off ; for the second offence, his other leg. This mutilation was not to be done by a surgeon's hand; the poor wretch was laid down on a log, and his legs chopped off with a plantation ax, and the stumps plunged into holling pitch to stanch the blood, and so save the property rom entire destruction; for the live Torso of a slave might serve as a warning. No action of a Court was requisite to inflict this punishment; any master ould thus mutilate his bondman. Even from 1830 1846, it was common for owners to beat their offending victims with 'tamarind rods' six feet long and an inch in thickness at the bigger end-rods thick set with ugly thorns. When that process was over, he nanchineel, a poison tree, which made the wounds ister, and long remain open. In 1846, the negroes were in 'rebellion,' and took

cossession of the island; they were 25,000, the whites 3,000. But the blacks did not hurt the hair f a white man's head; they got their freedom, but they took no revenge! Suppose 25,000 Americans, but they took no revenge! Suppose 25,000 Americans, teld in bondage by 3,000 Algerines on a little island, bould get their masters into their hands, how many if the 3,000 would see the next sun go down?

No doubt, it is through the absence of this desire if natural vengeance that the Africans have been re-luced to bondage, and kept in it.

But there is a limit even to the negro's forbearance San Domingo is not a great way off. The revolution which changed its black inhabitants from tame slaves into wild men, took place within the memory of

It shows what may be in America, with no white nan to help. In the Slave States, there is many possible San Dominge, which may become actual at any day; and if not in 1860, then in some other than any other country to excite the slave to love liberty, and the effort for it. We are always talking about 'Liberty,' boasting that we are 'the freest people in the world,' declaring that 'a man would die, rather than be a slave.' We continually praise We continually praise our Fathers who fought the Revolution.' We build monuments to commemorate even the humblest beginnings of that great national work. Once a a year; we stop all ordinary work, and give up a whole day to the noisiest kind of rejoicing for the War of Independence. How we praise the 'champions of Liberty'! How we point out the 'infamy of the British oppressors'! 'They would make our Fathers slaves,' say we, 'and we slew the oppressor—Sic sexuen Tyrannis!'

Do you suppose this will fail to produce its effect on the black man, one day? The South must either give up keeping 'Independence Day,' or else keep it in a little more thorough fashion. Nor is this all; the Southerners are continually taunting the negroes with their miserable nature. 'You are only half human,' say they, 'not capable of freedan.' 'Hay is good for horses, not for hogs,' said the philosophic American who now 'represents the great Democracy at the Court of Turin.' So, liberty is good for white men, not for negroes. Have they souls? I don't know that. Non mi recordo. 'Contempt,' says the proverb, 'will cut through · Contempt, says the proverb, will cut through the shell of the tortoise; and one day, even the sleggish African will wake up under the three-fold stimulus of the Fourth of July cannon, the whip of the slaveholder, and the sting of his heartless mock ery. Then, if * oppression maketh wise men mad, what do you think it will do to African slaves, who are familiar with scenes of violence, and all manner of cruelty? Still more: If the negroes have not general power of mind or instinctive love of liberty equal to the whites, they are as much our superiors in power of cunning, and in contempt for death-rather formidable qualities in a servile war. Ther already have been several risings of slaves in this century; they spread fear and consternation. The future will be more terrible. Now, in case of an insurrection, not only is there, as Jefferson said, 'ne attribute of the Almighty' which can take side with the master, but there will be many white men who will take part with the slave. Men like the La-fayettes of the last century, and the Dr. Howes of

hem among its heroes of noblest mark.

If I remember rightly, some of your fathers wer in the battle of Lexington, and that at Bunker Hill I believe, in the course of the war which followed every able-bodied man in your town was in actua service. Now-a-days, their descendants are proud of the fact. One day, it will be thought not less heroic for a negro to fight for his personal liberty, than for a white man to fight for political independence, and against a tax of three-pence a pound o tea. Wait a little, and things will come round.

this, may give the insurgent negro as effectual aid as that once rendered to America and Greece; and the public opinion of an enlightened world will rank

III. The existence of Slavery endangers all our Democratic institutions. It does this, if only tolerated as an exceptional measure—a matter of present convenience, and still more when proclaimed a an instantial principle, a rule of political conduct for all time and every place. Look at this:— In 1790, there were (say) 300,000 slaves; soon they make their first doubling, and are 600,000; then their second, 1,200,000; then their third, 2,400,-000. They are now in the process of doubling the fourth time, and will soon be 4,800,000; then comes the fifth double, 9,600,000; then the sixth, 19,200. 000. Before the year 1900, A. D., there will be

twenty million slaves!

An Anglo-Saxon with common sense does not like this Alricanization of America; he wishes the superior race to multiply rather than the inferior. Be-sides, it is plain to a one-eyed man that Slavery is an irreconcilable enemy of the progressive development of Democracy; that, if allowed to exist, must be allowed to spread, to gain political, social and ecclesiastical power; and all that it gains for the slaveholders is just so much taken from the free

.Look at this :- there are twenty Southern Representatives who represent nothing but property it man, and yet their vote counts as much in Congress and, and yet their vote counts as much in Congress as the twenty Northerners who stand for the will of 1,400,000 freemen. Slavery gives the South the same advantage in the choice of President; consequently the slaveholding South has long controlled the Federal Power of the nation.

Look at the recent acts of the Slave Power! The Fugitive Slave bill, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the

red Scott decision, the fillibustering against Cube (till found too strong), and now against Mexico and other feeble neighbors, and, to crown all, the actual re-opening of the African slave-trade! The South has kidnapped men in Boston, and mad

the Judges of Massachusetts go under her symbolic chain to enter the court of justice. She has burned houses and butchered innocent men in Kansas; and the perpetrators of that wickedness were rewarded by the Federal Government with high office and great pay. Those things are notorious; they have stirred up some little indignation at the North, and free men begin to think of defending their liberty; thence comes the Free-Soil party, thence the Republican party. It contemplates no direct benefit to the slave, only the defence of the white man in his national rights, or his conventional privileges. It will grow stronger every year, and also bolder. It must lay down principle as a platform to work its measures on: the principle will be found to require much more than what was at first proposed, and even from this platform Republicans will promptly see that they cannot defend the natural rights of freemen without destroying that Savery which takes away the natural rights of a negro. So, first, the wise and just men of the party will sympathize with such as seek to liberate the slaves, either peacefully or by violence; next, they will declare their opinions in public; and, finally, the whole body of the party ill come to the same sympathy and the same opinion. Then, of course, they will encourage men like Capt. Brown, give him money and all manner of help, and also encourage the slaves whenever they shall rise to take their liberty, at all hazards. When called to help put down an insurrection of the slaves, they will go readily enough, and do the work by removing the cause of insurrection—that is, by de

An Anti-Slavery party, under one name or another, will before long control the Federal Govern-ment, and will exercise its Constitutional Right, and ment, and will excress its Constitutional Right, and perform its Constitutional Duty, and 'guarantee a Republican form of government to every State in the Union.' That is a work of time and peaceful legislation. But the short work of violence will be often tric'l, and each attempt will gain something for the cause of humanity, even by its dreadful process of

IV. But there is yet another agency that will act against Slavery. There are many mischievous persons who are ready for any wicked work of violence. They abound in the City of New York (a sort of sink where the villainy of both hemispheres settles down, and genders that moral pestilence which steams up along the columns of The New which steams up along the columns of The New York Herald and The New York Observer, the great escape-pipes of secular and ecclesiastical wickedness) mmit the great crimes of violence and rob bery at home, plunder emigrants, engage in the slave-trade, or venture on fillibustering expeditions This class of persons is common in all the South One of the legitimate products of her peculiar institution, they are familiar with violence and read to murder. Public opinion sustains such men. Bully Brooks was but one of their represen-tatives in Congress. Now-a-days they are fond of Slavery, defend it, and seek to spread it. But the time must come one day—it may come any time— when the lovers of mischief will do a little fillibus tering at home, and rouse up the slaves to rob, burr and kill. Prudent carpenters sweep up all the shav ings in their shops at night, and remove this food of conflagration to a safe place, lest the spark of a candle, the end of a cigar, or a friction-match should swiftly end their wealth, slowly gathered together The South takes pains to strew her carpenter's shop with shavings, and fill it full thereof. She encourages men to walk abroad with naked condles in eir hands, and lighted cigars in their mouths then they scatter friction-matches on the floor, and dance a fillibustering jig thereon. She cries, 'Well done! Hurrah for Walker!' 'Hurrah for Brooks!' · Hurrah for the bark Wanderer and its cargo o slaves! Up with the bowie-knife! Down with Jus tice and Humanity!' The South must reap as sh sows; where she scatters the wind, the whirlwind will come up. It will be a pretty crop for her to reap. Within a few years, the South has BURNED ALIVE eight or ten negroes. Other black men looked on, and learned how to fasten the chain, how to pile the green wood, how to set this hell-fire of Slavery

from man to man, from town to town. What shall put it out? The white man's blood! Now, Slavery is a wickedness so vast and so so rich and so respectable, supported by the State, the Press, the Market, and the Church, that all those

agoing. The apprentice may be slow to learn, but he has had teaching enough by this time to know

the art and mystery of torture; and, depend upon it-the negro will one day apply it to his old tormen-tors. The Fire of Vengeance may be waked up even in an African's heart, especially when it is fanned by the wickedness of a white man; then it runs

agencies are needed to oppose it with—these, and many more which I cannot speak of now. You and I prefer the peaceful method; but I, at least, shall welcome the violent, if no other accomplish the end. So will the great mass of thoughtful and good men at the North; else why do we honor the heroes of the Revolation, and build them monuments all over our blessed New England? I think you gave money for that of Bunker Hill. I once thought it a folly; now I recognize it as a great sermon in stone, which burn the bouses of freemen, ride abolitionists on burn the bouses of freemen, ride abolitionists on now I recognize it as a great sermon in stone, which

men by the gallows. But it shows the weakness of them from that quarter. How can we do it?

the greatest Slave State in America, the worthless-

like a saint. His noble demeanor, his unflinching moral power of anti-slavery to withdraw from the bravery, his gentleness, his calm, religious trust in field and extinguish itself, is no better than a fool. God, and his words of truth and soberness, cannot How, then, can we avert the rending catastrophe? fail to make a profound impression on the hearts of There is but one way clean of blood. The free fail to make a profound impression on the hearts of Northern men: yes, and on Southern men. 'For every human heart is human,' &c. I do not think the money wasted, nor the lives thrown away. Many acorns must be sown to have one come up; even then, the plant grows slow; but it is an oak at last. None of the Christian martyrs died in vain; and from Stephen, who was stoned at Jerusalem, to Mary Dyer, whom our fathers hanged on a bough of 'the great tree' on Boston Common, I think there have been few spirits more pure and devoted than John Brown's, and none that gave up their breath in a nobler cause. Let the American State hang his body, the American Church damn

tells its story in my health, and certainly does not the interests of freedom and righteousness, as they

Ever affectionately yours, THEODORE PARKER.

THE HISTORIC PURCHASE OF FREEDOM BY REV. WILLIAM R. ALGER.

The Lecture Committee of the Fraternity Association, whose course of lectures has been so popular the present winter, generously offered to their patrons an extra lecture, which was delivered on Thursday evening, Dec. 22d, at the Music Hall, by Rev. William R. Alger, who took for his subject, 'The Historic Purchase of Freedom'-an appropriate theme for Forefathers' Day. The audience was large, the hall being almost entirely filled, and the lecture one of great ability, abounding in vigorous passages, and expressed in most felicitous language. It occupied an hour and a half in the delivery, and held the undivided attention of the audience from the first sentence to the last-frequently eliciting the most enthusiastic applause. It has since been published in a handsome pamphlet, with a valuable appendix, by Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street, Boston. We can find room for only the latter portion of it, the perusal of which, we are sure, will quicken the desire to possess it unabridged.

Many respectable men affirm, in deprecation of this agitation, that it results in unmixed evil, exasperating the South to an insane tenacity. Even if triotism consisted in brawling at corrupt caucuses, so, the inference is not sound. Shall Nathan refrain screeching fiendishly for the flag, whether right or to lift his finger and cry, 'Thou art the man,' for wrong, living on the public treasury, and threaten-fear David will be enraged and cleave closer to his ing to deluge our streets and villages with fraternal sin? But I vehemently disbelieve, that had no blood rather than have that darling supply of salaabolitionist sound been heard, whole States would ried pap cut off. I thought patriotism sacrificed before now have abolished slavery. The reverse is selfish interest, that its country might stand pure the truth. The fiercar determination of the South and honorable among men. I dreamed that the is a natural growth from its own pampered spirit, and from the increased value of the property. When keep his life clean and his tongue truthful, for her and from the increased value of the property. When in contact with the benightedness and ferocity of sake.

Southern civilization, we place the fact that the winning of one new territory to their domain instantly adds a hundred million dollars to their into the safe channel. The slaveholders swear if it wealth, and helps them towards a preponderance of be done, they will scuttle her. Their northern allies power, who believes that slavery would have died help them to keep her on her fatal course, crying, there, had Mr. Garrison not been born here? In his 'The Republicans mean to sink the ship!' They seventh of March speech, Daniel Webster says, desire but to rescue the ship from her mad pilots, (Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno!)— What have been the causes which have created so new a haven. And these calumniators know it perfectly feeling in favor of slavery in the South? I suppose, well. sir, this is owing to the rapid growth of the COT-TON plantations.' The plea which asks us to serve TON plantations.' The plea which asks us to serve our cause by being dumb, is the sophistry of cow-rage which have recently shot through the South, ardice and indifference. Have we not, with our own eyes, seen a definite and solid good won by determined agitation? Like Venus from the foam of great State pale and blustering, a balf ludierous, the sea, the Goddess of Liberty rose out of the dust of the commotion in Kansas!

dilating controversy. First, through the singleness of purpose and avalanche will of the South, and through an increased servility in the North, the slave power may triumph, and, in its supremacy, make slavery national in usage as it already is i theory. My God! shall this ever be permitted? Among the green hills of Vermont shall gangs of Negroes be driven afield beneath the constellation of the Whip? Shall the click of the planter's revolver, the snap of the overseer's lash, and the clank of the chattel's gyves, be added to the sounds of our Massachusetts forge, and loom, and press, while some meet successor of the insolent and lugubrious Toombs calls the roll of his slaves at the Bunker Hill, and great Warren's statue crimsons through the marble? If that ever happen, fare well, a long farewell to the yearning expectations of mankind! For in the dismal future following, is seen, far away, a horoscope of demoralization, im-poverishment, brotality, and rottenness, sinking off into the night. We must prevent that. It is our duty to prevent it. A bottomless damnation awaits us if we do not prevent it. Unquestionably we shall prevent it : although Charles O'Connor stand up in the free city of New York, and say, Slavery is just, wise, and beneficent, and ought to be perpetuated.' Indignant ghost of O'Connell, why didst thou not arise, and blast thy recreant countryman! Insulted shades of Curran, Gratian, Emmett, why were ye not invoked to rise and lay the renegade Irishman who dared to utter, in the face of a free people, sentiments of such transcendent

atrocity ! Secondly, in consequence of the deepening exaspe ration of feeling, and widening opposition of inter-est, between the advocates of slavery and its assailants, the Union may be shattered by a fratricidal convulsion, and the question settled by violence. Should such a crisis of desperation arrive, however rent, blackened, drenched the confederacy, there can be no doubt as to the result. The right and the strength and the certain victory are all on one side, where stands the solemn group of the Pilgrims,— Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, John Alden and Priscilla, the Standishes, both Miles and Rose, -pointing down to the group of their great Revolutionary sons — Washington, Franklin, Adams, Henry, Laurens, Rutledge, Jefferson—and both to-gether adjuring us to stand fast in the ranks where they stood, fight valiantly in the cause they fought for, and finish the historic purchase of freedom to-

wards which they paid so heavy an installment!

Can the slaveholder extinguish the North Star turn back the band on the dial-plate of time, erase the teachings of history, uneducate the human race and pluck the moral law from the throne of God Besieged by the civilized world, four millions of slaves within his camp, God frowning on him, the very air teeming with phantoms and hurtling with invisible weapons to his disordered fancy, what can of the Constitution, in defiance of the civilized world, the Southern despot do, but either, with self-fired in defiance of decency, in defiance of God? Does a petard, hoist his all, or surrender! Let disunion and conflict come,—and the abolition of slavery will be the consequence, as surely as the sun sets. But so long as there is a better way, we do not court that method of the issue. Nor will it come, unless

ests of the South.' It is the South alone that constantly threatens withdrawal, and plots treason. Her governors write it in their messages; her legislators engross it in their records; her congressional delegation speak it in the halls of the capitol; her barbecue orators, great and little, scream it amidst bowie knives and pistols; her newspapers keep it standing in their columns; her mobs yell it as they burn the houses of freemen, ride abolitionists on tails, in coats of tar and feathers, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot schoolmasters before their now I recognize it as a great sermon in stone, which is worth not only all the money it cost to build it, but all the blood it took to lay its corner-stones. Trust me, its lesson will not be in vain—at the North, I mean, for the logic of Slavery will keep the South on its lower course and drive it on more swiftly than before.

'Capt. Brown's expedition was a failure,' I hear it said. I am not quite sure of that. True, it kills fifteen men by sword and shot, and four or five mitted to make them come. It is our duty to prevent men by the gallows. But it shows the weakness of them from that quarter. How can we do it?

the greatest Slave State in America, the worthlessness of her soldiery, and the utter fear which Slavery
genders in the bosoms of the masters. Think of the
condition of the City of Washington while Brown
was at work!

Brown will die, I think, like a martyr, and also
Brown will die, I think, like a martyr, and also
Brown will die, I think, like a martyr, and also

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Brown will die, I think, like a martyr, and also
Brown will die, I think, like a martyr, and also their breath in a nobler cause. Let the American State hang his body, the American Church damn his soul: still, the blessing of such as are ready to perish will fall on him, and the universal justice of the Infinitely Perfect God will take him welcome home. The road to heaven is as short from the gallows as from a throne; perhaps, also, as easy.

I suppose you would like to know something about the cheek of every honorable man in it burn with shame, by flaring an atrocious eulogy of slavery in the eyes of the actions! The civilization of the age, and our own compromised moral sensibility, command us to cry, No slavery propagandist in any governmental place! Let the offices of the country, and made the cheek of every honorable man in it burn with the cheek of every honorable man in it burn with the eyes of the actions! The civilization of the age, and our own compromised moral sensibility, command us to cry, No slavery propagandist in any governmental place! Let the offices of the country, from that of the president down to that of the tide-way the country with men pledged to has treated me to bad weather, which waiter, be filled scrupulously with men pledged to tells its story in my health, and certainly does not mend me. But I look for brighter days and happier nights. The sad tidings from America—my friends in peril, in exile, in jail, killed, or to be hung—have filled me with grief, and so I fall back a little, but hope to get forward again. God bless you and yours, and comfort you!

The sad tidings from America—my tree to fill with men generally devoted to the input of slavery and partizanship, and there will be of slavery and partizanship. or offices, will grow considerate, allow the right of free discussion, begin to apprehend the true economical bearings of the question, and seek how to bring herself up to the standard of the rest of the country. And, perhaps, by soon obeying the voice of her brave Helper, and introducing the redemptive force of Northern institutions, she will quietly avert her 'Impending Crisis.' Our last duty, therefore, in the free States, is, by the ballots of a majority of the population, to grasp the government, and ad-minister it fairly in the interests of truth and humanity. In such hands alone will the country be redeemed, and the Union be safe.

The Southern party in the North brand themselves with infamy by the audacious cry they keep up about the disunionist and incendiary spirit of the free-soil voters. They profess to monopolize the civil virtues.
All others hate their country and their fellow-men. Precisely the same inversion of the truth was made in the sud early day of our Religion. Nero, in his cruel and crazy frolic of fiddling, set Rome on fire, and then accused the CHRISTIANS of it. And Tacitus says: 'They were convicted less of this crime than of hatred of the human race!' Nero and his pagans loved the human race! Christ and his followers hated the human race! Henry A. Wise and Franklin Pierce love justice, mercy, and men-kind! Ralph Waldo Emerson and John G. Whit-tier love robbery and murder, and hate mankind! At least, following Tacitus, so teaches the Boston Courier, and the infallibility of that meek journal is well known. I did not know that American pa-

The falsely named Conservative party of the North the fear and hate which, at the apparition of twenty half pitiable spectacle. For that party have assured the commotion in Kansas!

It is clear that there are but three issues for this filating controversy. First, through the singleness of purpose and avalanche will of the South, and brough an increased servility in the North, the elements, no wonder they quake and are filled with rallying wrath when their pretended friends inform them that millions of the people of the free States with murderous malignity, are fomenting an insurrection among them, and are reash to march to its support with flags and canoon. Boll he not know, then he said it, that he was eructing a naked lie huge enough to split any other throat, and virulent enough to blister any other lips?

Listen! 'A part of the pulpit has set up among us a religion of hate, such as belongs only to the condemned devils in hell.' A band of drunken mutineers, under the black flag of the pirate, with the death's head fore and aft have seized the commonwealth, and are about to blow her up, with all she contains.' 'All the political influences dominant here are founded on the single emotion of treacherous, ferocious, fiendish hate of our fellow-citizens in the Southern States 'This is the soothing message which the Conservative wealth, learning, respectability, and conscience of Massachusetts, in Fancuil Hall assembled, send out to the agitated half of the confederacy, through the immaculate mouth of Caleb Cushing! A more outrageout slander was never uttered. A more inflammatory falschood was never blown Southward Caleb, Ca leb, was ever the Presidency in this humor wood

Was ever the Presidency in this humor won?
That meeting in Faneuil Hall was to be cor emned because it accused the great majority of Northern voters of a treasonable Northern voters of a treasonable purpose and a de-moniacal sentiment they do not harbor, and are known not to harbor. Our dear and loyal New England stands by the Fathers, the honor, and the duty of America; and whenever confronted with her slave-breeding sisters, conscious of her innocence and good aims, she may proudly say to them, as noble Banquo said to the hags on the heath of Fores, 'I neither beg nor fear your favors nor your hate.' That meeting in Faneuil Hall commands not

respect, because, stripped of verbiage and disguise it really expressed but three things, neither of which is moral, or dignified, or deserved such pomp and circumstance of expression. First, it said, timidly, Gentlemen of the South, we are frightened, we will compromise principle for peace; put your feet on our necks!' Secondly, a little louder, it said, 'Gentlemen of the South, some of us are holders of office, others are candidates for office, and we want your votes; put your feet on our necks!' And, thirdly. voice like multitudinous waters, it said Gentlemen of the South, we want your trade and money; please put your feet on our necks a little more!' Such selfish sycophancy is simply loathsome.

Is not the foreign slave trade carried on by the of the Constitution, in defiance of the civilized world. mion week pass in which some helpless traveller, pedler, will or piano-forte tuner, is not subjected to the coward-But ly and brutal violence of a Southern mob because he expresses noble principles? Has not the price of five thousand dollars been set on William Lloyd precipitated by the South, drunk with passion. The North desires simply freedom, justice, honor, not disunion. Do not all our Northern politicians boast to sail in the magnetic equator, or line of no dip?

But the slaveholders attempt no concealment of their the slaveholders attempt no concealment of their the nearest tree? Did not the unhappy person who enormous Southern inclination. Our watchword is represented South Carolina try to murder a Massa-

ehusetts Senator in his seat? Did not slaveholder Davis say in the House of Representatives fourteen days ago,—'Virginia has hung the traitor Brown, and if they get hold of Seward they will hang him '?—hang, simply because he opposes slavery, the illustrious senator who ought to be the next President of the United States. Was not the reward of ten thousand dollars recently offered by responsible persons for the delivery of Joshua Giddings, in the city of Richmond, that a mob might tear and trample him? What have we ever done corresponding to these acts? *Caleb Cushing, if we are animated by 'the single emotion of treacherous, ferocious, by 'the single emotion of treacherous, ferocious fiendish hate,' what, in Heaven's name, must the No, gentlemen of the South'-thus would

THE LIBERATOR.

Faneuil Hall meeting, expressing the genuine feeling of the Freedom Party, say—we do not hate you We feel kindly towards you. We wish you al blessings. The anti-slavery sentiment is nourished solemn convictions of conscience, allegiance to mankind, and obedience to the will of God; and does not rest and feed on hatred of you. Oh, lay not that flattering unction to your souls! When Virginia sent over the Union her appeal for the relief of pestilence-stricken Norfolk, while from all the other slave States she received only twelve thousand dollars, did we not send her forty-two thousand sand? You must discriminate the asserted maligni-ty against yourselves, which we do not feel, from the undying has a we cherish for slavery; an institu-tion which sustains barbarism and mob law is a sure source of strife and danger, destroys the sanctity of the mail, adopts the Austrian passport system, and tends equally to degrade its victims into animals, and to inflame its lords into fiends. Opposed to the iniquities of your system, we wish you well. We beseech you to refrain from those mobocratic acts, every one of which drives up to the heart through the warm runnels of our blood, more fervor of anti-slavery conviction than a dozen ethica demonstrations would generate. Violence is a los ing game for you, gentlemen! Sowing the wind o border-ruffianism in Kansas, did you not reap the whirlwind of John Brown at Harper's Ferry?— John Brown, the fifth lineal descendant of Peter Brown, who landed from the Mayflower on Plyto-day! You strangled him, but could not strang the power of the lessons he taught, nor the idea shape of splendor which rose from his gallows to hover over the historied continent forever. A friends, we tell you you had better desist from your guilty advocacy. We implore you to put aside the braggadocio attitude and the fillibuster array by which you offend our moral sensibilities, and disgrace us before mankind. We ask you to cause your-selves to be represented in the national councils by your cultivated Christian gentlemen, who will bring grammar in their brains and purity in their hearts not by your vicious braggarts and fanatics, with butcher knives in their bosoms and revolvers in their pockets. We invite you to grant us our rights as the majority, and fraternally to co-operate with u in prudent measures prospective to emancipation. Do this, and all will be well. But if you obstinate ly refuse, remember we are stronger than you, are in the right, and shall no longer submit to be driven by you. That is the true voice of the free States. We hate not the slaveholders. We hate not the their shadow. And we say to them, 'For God's sake cease to nourish it!' A French naturalist

Union. But we do hate the sin which thrives in once saw, in the fastnesses of a mountain land, an enormous black serpent coiled at the foot of a cliff on whose summit was an eagle's nest, into which two of the serpent's young had crawled and destroyed the eggs. The eagle, suddenly returning, tore the intruders from his nest, flung them mangled away, and darted on the parent snake. The reptile twis ted and struck at its assailant with its fangs. When the contest had continued for some time, the bruised and wearied snake sought to retreat into its hole; but the determined bird, planting himself before th entrance, guarded his body with one wing, while with the other he struck his enemy prostrate, and with one blow of his beak laid its head open—and the conflict was over. We say to slavery, Beware lest by straying beyond your home, and attempting to thrust your offspring into the nest of Public Ter-ritory, to suck the unhatched eggs of freedom there, you provoke the assault of the aroused Genius of the Republic!

We are also bound to rescue the general govern ment from the Slave-Power, by the claims of consis tency, as well as to prevent the otherwise threatened The inalienable right of every disunion and war. The inalienable right of every man to the pursuit and enjoyment of the blessings of existence is the basis on which our country proper-ly stands. We flaunt this principle on our great charter, and have proclaimed it to the whole earth. And now to stand up in the face of mankind, and declare that we mean freedom and equality for ourselves, but abject bondage for those in our power, is conduct so flagrant, it is no wonder our me fluence is neutralized, and our name a hissing. America is now represented before the world by that illicit Captain, w o, when seized on the which he had ordered two hundred manacled slaves to be hurled overboard in his fight, and beneath which were crowded five hundred more, had in his bosom a bowie-knife, bearing on one side the inscription, 'THE LAND OF THE FREE AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE; ' on the other side, ' Do unto others as you WOULD HAVE THEM DO UNTO YOU! ' duty to reverse all this, why then there is no duty Let us pledge ourselves to discharge the obligation We can do it. We have nothing to give us distrust either in Southern propagandists or Northern apologists. The allegiant East affiliating itself with the Middle States, and the generous North West, must put a stop to the fearful demoralization and political degeneracy of the country, and restore the nobler strain of the Fathers. Rescuing the administrative power of the land from its long perversion, and guiding its policy and patronage to issues of right-cousness and liberty, the Freedom Party, if they will, can save the country and fulfil the mankind, showing that not even the most formidable league of falsehood and power can always avai to hide the omnipotence of justice, or To fetter the Truth as she moves through the world

With her hand to the sword and her banner unfurled Friends, Citizens of the Free States! if we do our duty without flinching, civil strife, bloodshed and will be forever averted. The national con science will be thoroughly awakened, the public mind illuminated, the common heart touched. brightening fires of truth and love will burn so in tensely and so widely, that all fetters will melt, the collected corruptions of ages be consumed, the coun try agree with one consent to put an end to this evi thing, and the splendid vision of a Republic realiz ing the logical consequences of the Declaration o Independence, will emerge on the gaze of the world Independence, will emerge on the gaze of the world. Swiftly the time will speed forward when the enjoyment of the prerogatives of humanity shall be the universal birthright, not the purchased privilege, of man. Then, as from the far-off and blackened peaks of the Past, the gathered generations, amid the meteor lights and crimson standards of war, with deadly weapons in their hands, shout across the intervening chasm, 'With a great sum obtained we this freedom' - from the green summits of the Present freedom. from the green summits of the Present the congregated multitudes, under the white flags o peace, and in the sweet smile of heaven, with im-plements of industry and symbols of plenty in their hands, shall cry, in glad and grateful response. But we were free-born.

To The Postmaster at Lynchburg, Va. having no-tified Mr. Greeley that he must stop sending copies of the Tribune to that place, on account of its 'incendi-ary' character, Mr. Greeley replies as follows:—

MR. POSTMASTER OF LYNCHBURG, VA.—Sir:—I take leave to assure you that I shall do nothing of the sort. The subscribers to the *Tribune* in Lynchburg have paid for their papers; we have taken their money, and shall fairly and fully earn it, according to contract. If they direct us to send their papers to some other post office, we shall obey the request; otherwise, we shall send them as orig-inally ordered. If you or your masters choose to steal and destroy them, that is your affair at all events, not ours; and if there is no law in Virginia to punish the larceny, so much the worse for her and our plundered subscribers. If the Federal Administration, whereof you are the tool, after monor olizing the business of mail carrying, sees fit to ! come the accomplice and patron of mail robbery, suppose the outrage must be borne until more hon suppose the outrage must be sorne until more non-est and less servile rulers can be put into high places at Washington, or till the people can recover their natural right to carry each other's letters and printed matter, asking no odds of the Government. Go ahead in your own base way. I shall stand steadfast for Human Liberty and the Protection of all natural rights. Yours, stiffly,
HORACE GREELEY.

The Liberator. BOSTON, DECEMBER 31, 1859.

REMEMBER THE TERMS. To our Subscribers. Those of the current year,—that is, from news has this instant reached us. A respite is grant, and him. It is not until the lith him.

ment for the same be previously sent in. The Financial Committee, in calling attention to The Financial Committee, in causing accounts is a noble land. The sentiment of humanity is the above standing rule, would also ask every subthe above standing rule, would also use the quickened among a free people. Wahope that Berry scriber, for the sake of the cause, as well as for the quickened among a free people. Wahope that Berry scriber, for the sake of the cause, as well as the sake of the paper, to do what in him lies to extend may be saved. If it were otherwise, if Brown should be saved. If it were otherwise, if Brown should be saved. sake of the paper, to do what in him the control of the paper, to do what in him the circulation of the Liberator, at least to the extent die on the scaffold on the 16th of December, what a circulation of the Liberator, at least to the extent of procuring each one an additional name for our terrible calamity!

THE TWENTY-SIXTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION.

The Anti-Slavery families who have so long made Boston the seat of this annual social occasion, gratefully renew their invitation to all the early friends of Freedom, and cordially extend it to the multitudes of new friends in every part of the land, whom the past new friends in every part of the land, whom the past one feels at such a catastrophe. A single State ought year has made; earnestly entreating the satisfaction not to have the power to dishape of the land. of their company at

THE MUSIC HALL,

On Wednesday, January 25th. Soirée at 7 o'clock. The general arrangements for the day and evening the same as last year.

We, who now unife in this heartfelt invitation, are whosoever we may be—for whom the democratic cause We, who now unite in this neutrinos are of the is a common country—feel ourselves in a manner South, and some have been slaveholders. But all see- compromised and hurt. If the scaffold should be South, and some nave been stavellocated ing clearly that the present must be a year of unwonted moral exertion, if our country is to be carried voices of history would thenceforward testify that the successfully through the present hopeful crisis, unite august confederation of the New World had added in entreating our friends to meet us in this way to all its ties of holy brotherhood a brotherhood of at its opening, for mutual understanding and co-ope- blood, and the fasces of that splendid republic week at its opening, for interest arrangement, sympathy and be bound together with the running noose that has congratulation. Never were the signs of the peaceful from the gibbet of Brown. extinction of slavery so full and propitious to the eyes long trained to read them aright.

earlier and later friends. In the mean time, we entreat we remember that he is about to die, slaughtered by earlier and later friends. In the mean tally all we remember the in additional to the American republic, the crime assumes the paper all who love their native land, and are beginning to feel the American republic, the crime assumes the paper. deeply moved, to serve and save it, to consider the tions of the nation which commits it; and when we necessity of steady, long-sustained, unremitting exertion, such as we carry on, and to uphold it now by man race; that—like France, like England, like Ge. presence, if possible—at all events by letter and by many—she is one of the organs of civilization; that sympathy. The names of such as have reasons for she sometimes even out-marches Europe by the avoiding publicity will be sacredly kept, and our sublime audacity of her progress; that she is the grateful expressions conveyed to them by private ac-

cause our special invitation may fail to reach them, from the idea of so great a crime committed by so for accident and omission, however carefully guarded great a people. against, are almost unavoidable in issuing invitations on so large a scale: and the occasion is one that will, an irreparable fault. It would penetrate the Union we trust, bring to our acquaintance many now un- with a secret fissure which would in the end terr it known to us, whose co-operation will be most valu-We entreat any whose love of the cause induces

them to hesitate about making what they account a cy. You preserve your shame, but you sacrace your small subscription, to remember that while the largest glory. sum is small in comparison with the grandeur of the Cause, the smallest may be the expression of high the light of humanity would be celipsed; that even feeling, high thinking, and self-sacrifice. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,

MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING. ELIZA 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. ELIZA ANDREW, 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 GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

VICTOR HUGO ON JOHN BROWN. The following eloquent and impressive letter to the Editor of the London News, from the distinguished French poet, patriot, and exile for Liberty's in such a country! Can there be an incongruity more sake, Victor Hugo, will be read by millions with thrilling emotions. All honor to the man !

To the Editor of the London News.

America, a majestic figure rises to the mind- pedestal of Washington! It is a thing unheard of Washington. Now, in that country of Washington, I say more, it is impossible. Such a spectacle would see what is going on at this hour !

There are slaves in the Southern States, a fact which alone is enough to destroy it. strikes with indignation as the most monstrous of contradictions, the reasonable and freer conscience of the lustrious people, who for seventy years have measured Northern States. These slaves, these negroes, a white the progress of civilization by their march, demonstrated man, a free man, one John Brown, wanted to deliver. strated democracy by their power, and liberty by their Certainly, if insurrection be ever a sacred duty, it is prosperity! Slavery in the United States! It is the against slavery. Brown wished to begin the good duty of this republic to set such a bad example no work by the deliverance of the slaves in Virginia. longer. It is a shame, and she was never born to bow Being a Puritan, a religious and austere man, and full her head. of the gospel, he cried aloud to these men-his broth- It is not when Slavery is taking leave of old asers—the cry of emancipation, 'Christ has set us free!' tions, that it should be received by the new. What The slaves, enervated by slavery, made no response to When Slavery is departing from Turkey, shall it res his appeal: slavery makes deafness in the soul. in America? What! Drive it from the hearth of Brown, finding himself abandoned, fought with a Omar, and adopt it at the hearth of Franklin? No. handful of heroic men; he struggled; he fell riddled No! No! with bullets; his two young sons, martyrs of a holy cause, dead at his side. This is what is called the or less slowly, which fashions, which redreses accord Harper's Ferry affair.

John Brown, taken prisoner, has just been tried rits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals, the prewith four of his fellows-Stephens, Coppic, Green ple; or better, under all numan things, there are and Copeland. What sort of trial it was, a word will things divine.

Brown, stretched upon a truckle bed, with six halfclosed wounds—a gun-shot wound in his arm, one renounce Slavery, or they must renounce Liberty in his loins, two in the chest, two in the head—almost They cannot renounce Liberty. They must renounce bereft of hearing, bleeding through his mattress, the Slavery, or renounce the Gospel. They will seed spirits of his two dead sons attending him; his four renounce the Gospel. fellow-prisoners crawling around him; Stephens with four sabre wounds; 'justice' in a hurry to have done with the case; an attorney, Hunter, demanding that VICTOR HUGO. with the case; an attorney, Hunter, demanding that it be despatched with sharp speed; a judge, Parker assenting; the defence cut short; scarcely any delay allowed; forged or garbled documents put in evidence; the witnesses for the prisoner shut out; the are presented with this number gratuitously, which defence clogged; two guns loaded with grape brought will make the volume for 1859 consist of FIFTY TREES into the court, with an order to the jailers to shoot the numbers. It is freighted with most valuable matter prisoners in case an attempt at rescue; forty minthe Letter of Lydia Maria Child to Mrs. Mason (#5 utes' deliberation; three sentences to death. I affirm, presume Senator Mason's wife) of Virginia—the letter but in America.

of the civilized world. The universal conscience of the cration of Rev. W. R. Alger-&c. What a treat

mankind is an ever-watchful eye. Let the Judge of Charlestown, and the whole population of Virginia ponder it well: they are seen! They are not alone in ponder it well. At this moment, the gaze of Europe is

John Brown, condemned to die, was to have been To our Susscriners. Those of our subscribers hanged on the 2d of December—this very day. But January 1st, 1859, to January 1st, 1860, —are remained and of the standing rule by which their papers will The interval is short. Has a cry of mercy time to be discontinued after February 1st, 1860, unless paying the voice.

Perhaps a second respite may be granted. Americ

Pari three as I lectic coun last, he he is frare hou that pleas continued in the interest of t

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The executioner of Brown, let us avow it openly (for the day of the kings is past, and the day of the people dawns, and to the people we are bound frankly to speak the truth)—the executioner of Brown would to speak the train, be neither the Attorney Hunter, nor the Judge Pg. ker, nor the Governor Wise, nor the State of Virginia; it would be, we say it, and we think it with a shad der, the whole American republic. The more one loves, the more one admires, the

more one reveres the republic, the more heart-sick not to have the power to dishonor all the rest, and is this case federal intervention is a clear right. Other. wise, by hesitating to interfere when it might prevent a crime, the Union becomes an accomplice. No natter how intense may be the indignation of the gener. ous Northern States, the Southern States associate them with the disgrace of this murder. All of u,

This is a bond that kills.

When we reflect on what Brown, the liberator, the We shall shortly send special invitations to both the champion of Christ, has striven to effect, and when brow an immense light of freedom; we affirm that Let none who sympathize with us be absent be-

In a political light, the murder of Brown would be asunder. It is possible that the execution of Brown might consolidate slavery in Virginia, but it is certain that it would convulse the entire American Democra-

In a moral light, it seems to me that a portion of the idea of justice and injustice would be obscured a the day which should witness the assassination of Emancipation by Liberty. As for myself, though I am but an atom, yet being,

as I am, in common with all other men, inspired with the conscience of humanity, I kneel in tears before the great starry banner of the new world, and with clasped hands, and with profound and filial respect, I implore the illustrious American Republic, sister of the French Republic, to look to the safety of the universal moral law, to save Brown, to throw down the threatening scaffold of the 16th December, and not to suffer that beneath its eyes, and I add, with a shudder, almost by its fault, the first fratricide be outdone.

For-yes, let America know it, and pender it well -there is something more terrible than Cain slaying Abel-it is Washington slaying Spartneus. VICTOR HUGO.

Hauteville House, December 2, 1859.

VICTOR HUGO ON AMERICAN SLAVERY. In this connection, the republication of the fallowing admirable letter from the same gifted writer, written some time ago to Mrs. MARIA WESTON CHIP-MAN, will be gratifying to our readers :-

Maname :- I have scarcely anything to add to your letter. I would cheerfully sign every line of it. Pursue your holy work. You have with you all great souls and all good hearts.

You are pleased to believe, and to assure me, that my voice, in this august cause of liberty, will be istened to by the great American people, whom I love so profoundly, and whose destinies, I am fain to think, are closely linked with the mission of France. You

desire me to lift up my voice. I will do it at once, and I will do it on all occasions. I agree with you in thinking, that, within a deficite time-that, within a time not distant-the United States will repudiate Slavery with horror! Slavery monstrous? Barbarism installed in the very heart of a country, which is itself the affirmation of civilization; liberty wearing a chain; blasphemy echoing Sin :- When one thinks of the United States of from the altar; the collar of the negro chained to the destroy itself. The light of the Nineteenth Century

What! Slavery sanctioned by law among that il-

There is an inflexible logic which developes more ing to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to great spi-

Let all those great souls who love the United States,

Accept, Madame, with my devotion to the casse

6. Juillet, 1851, Paris.

SUPPLEMENTAL. The subscribers to the Liberatus on my honor, that all this took place, not in Turkey, of Theodore Parker on the John Brown Expedition, (which the Fraternity Association will speedily pub-Such things are not done with impunity in the face lish in pamphlet form)—the letters of Victor Hugo

PARKER PILLSBURY IN ILLINOIS. EARLVILLE, La Salle Co., Ill.,)

DEAR MR. GARRISON: - As our beloved friend, picker Pillsbury, seldom reports his own labors, Parer the Liberator, nor indeed elsewhere, so far through the have felt it a duty (until now neglected) incumbent upon myself to give you some account of his visit and labors in this place in October jest, on his return from Dunleith, Wisconsin, where he had been to see some of his family connexions.

I need not say that it was an occasion, with us, as I need not say and that especially me and my house have never enjoyed a more blessed season than during his three days' sojourn among us. The pleasure and benefit of friend P's rare social and enversational qualities by the fireside, were only exconversations, quantity of the interior, were only exintellectual and oratorical efforts before the public. To those acquainted with Parker Pillsbury, it will not seem like exaggeration to say, that before an audience under favorable circumstances in his greatest moments, 'he has no parallel except himself.' It is moments, and a decided genius, whose intellectual range is so wide, and at the same time so minute, who is speaking extemporaneously many times in succession pon the same theme, do not find it impossible to apon the same thoughts, as well as the same illustrations and figures of speech. And I am well aware that it is bestowing the highest praise, when I say that Mr. Pillsbury rarely, if ever, is his public addresses, though constantly on the rostrum, repeats a thought in the same dress. I have travelled with him on a lecturing tour, and have listened to his speeches every day for weeks together, and have been astonished to hear, in every successive effort, a fresh speech, and could scarcely have been more interested and benefitted in listening to a succession of new speakers of the first class. And what is as rare, as it is necessary to the highest success, in extempore speaking, is, that what Mr. P. says, the thoughts as well as the illustrations seem to be quite as new and deeply interesting to himself, as to his sudience; which could not be the case if he worked up old speeches into new ones. Mr. P. is always in carnest; what he says comes from his heart, and is sure to reach the hearts of his listeners. He is unlike any of his contemporaries in his style of oratory, as well as in his method of treating his subject He never arranges a speech beforehand, never depend in the least upon artificialities, or 'studied contrivanees of speech, never introduces anything which smells of the lamp, or suggests an ostentatious display of learning, but always speaks wholly extempore; and yet never oppears to lack a fresh and an appropriate illustration, either imaginative, classical, or scientific. Mr. P. is not an amusing speaker. He does not amuse, but deeply interests his audience, and stirs up the depths of the feelings and conscience, and wakens and arouses the utmost powers of the intellect and the imagination; and by his ability and

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he does, speak the truth with effect that he meets with opposition, and is misunderstood. All good great men, from Jesus to John Brown, have been misunderstood, and of necessity will continue to be misunderstood, whenever they appear on the stage. Men understand and generally applaud only what is on the plane, or below the plane they ecupy themselves, but misunderstand and generally

faithfulness, calls out the flercest opposition to, or the

most carnest endorsement of, his views. He is some-

made by those who misunderstand or intentionally

misrepresent him. No man living is more mild and

eenial in spirit, or more fair and candid in argument,

than he. It is not because he does not, but because

denounce what is above and superior to themselves. But I did not take my pen to draw a portrait o friend Pillsbury, which others have often done, and can do with far more skilful hands than I can, and doubtless much more satisfactorily to himself and the public. Therefore I will stop short, whatever I have already done or left undone.

Friend P. spoke three times in Earville, on three successive evenings, in the Methodist Episcopal Church. As every body knew him, by reputation at least, every body went to hear him, if from no other motive, out of mere curiosity. Mr. Pillsbury never can have done more honor to himself as an antislavery orator than he did on these occasions. Each lishers say, embracing the whole field of Anti-Slavery reform. I have never listened to three abler or more effective anti-slavery efforts, and I do not expect

soon to do so again. oon to do so again.

Freedom of discussion was invited, if any one felt disposed to correct or controvert any statement or position of the speaker. The last evening, a pious Presbyterian red-haired Dutch school-master entered the lists, backed by a renegade Methodist minister, who, I have heard it said, divides his time between preaching, horse-stealing, and hunting 'niggers.' The school-master said he agreed generally with Mr. P., but thought it very improper to use such language as 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, which he said he was confident had 'a vulgar origin.' Mr. P. enlightened him as to the origin of the 'vulgar sentence' referred to, much to the merriment of the audience, and the discomfitare of the well red, but 'awful green' knight of the ferule. The preacher, &c., made a great fuss about Mr. P's 'abuse of Washington,' as he called it. Mr. P. inquired if he had said any thing at all of Washington, except that he signed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793? It was admitted that he had not: but then the noisy fellow went on a long time to make ' much ado about nothing,' greatly to the amusement of Mr. P., as well as of his audience, which, it being late, dispersed while the poor man was in the very belly

of his inflated harangue. Yesterday, Dec. 2d, was observed in all the prin cipal cities of Northern Illinois and Wisconsin by appropriate services, such as prayer-meetings, speaking, the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, &c. Never yet, in this country, has the public heart been so generally and so deeply moved as by sympathy for John Brown. Never was there such an anti-slavery revival as now. Never have words been spoken so eloquent, so laden with power, in the slave's behalf, as those which have come from the martyr John Brown; and never before has an anti-slavery lecturer had such an audience! John Brown has multiplied himself ten-thousand and by his glorious death!

The feeling produced throughout the West by the noble deeds, nobler words and noblest death of John Brown, is strikingly akin to that which was produced throughout England by the perfidious attempt of Charles to impeach Hampden, Pym and Hollis before the House of Lords, which speedily resulted in bringing the head of the tyrant to the block, and in placing Cromwell virtually upon the throne. A desire is expressed on every hand to avenge the death of this noble martyr to liberty. Burning words of de nunciation are muttered by laborers and mechanics, who take no general interest in public affairs. Cool, conservative Democrats are willing 'to join an army to wipe out slavery, or die in the attempt.'

What outward substantial form this universal sym pathy for John Brown will take, it is impossible to predict with certainty. But one thing is certain from all history, that when the great mass of common hu manity begin to growl and mow,' woe to the tyrants who have roused their vengeance! A. J. GROVER.

Te A few colored people of Simcoe, Canada West have sent \$3 to aid the families of John Brown and his fellow sufferers. This proves that those who fly from American oppression can not only support themselves, but, though poor, can give something to aid THE PRESENT CRISIS. Рательово', (N. Y.) Dec. 11, 1859.

MR. GARRISON: On looking over the Liberator of the last week, I saw an article, copied from the Boston Post, containing the following most terrible threat, that 'the Democrats of New England intend to live under the Constitution, maintain this Union, and protect Southern

need be, with arms in their hands'! Well, we are not much scared yet. Did the like editor of the Post ever happen to think this arming and fighting was a game that fee could play at Of this, however, I think he and his compeers, North and South, may be assured-that among the freemen of the North, the child's play is over! and they must not dream that the abolitionists of the future are to be the patient, long-forbearing creatures of the past. The lesson these braggadocios should have learned years ago must be taught them now. The abolition- The pen of history has recorded both transaction ists ought, years ago, to have done what events now oblige them to do, viz: arm themselves fully, and repel any and every attack upon their rights. Had they done this years ago, when their meetings were responds Virginia. The prayer of the Jew has been broken up, and their halls and homes burned, one half of the outrages they have suffered would have been avoided, and the insolence of the Slave Power, North and South, would never have reached its present gigantie proportions.

Two thousand armed Virginians stood aghast at John Brown and his seventeen brave men, the long day through, at Harper's Ferry; but twenty-five hundred men, thoroughly armed with artillery and cavalry, after days and nights of trepidation, succeeded in abolitionists!

The fact is, the Slave Power, North and South is cowardly. Brooks did not dare to assault Sumner until he knew he was unarmed, and then not till Wilson and others had left the hall, and even then he did not till he knew that Keith, with pistol in hand, was at his elbow; and we all remember how he backed out when the brave little Burlingame, God bless him! gave him a warm invitation to a little rifle practice in Canada.

Moreover, so far as I know, not a single poor fugitive slave has yet been taken under the Fugitive Slave Act who was known to be armed, and ready to use his weapons !- and since the fugitive slave learned Gorsuch that beautiful lesson at Christiana, Pa., slavehunting has been considered rather a risky business. Why, after Knight and Hughes obtained their writ for the arrest of the Crafts, the United States marshal, with fear and trembling, refused to serve it. No threats or persuasions could induce him to visit the house of Lewis Hayden, who so nobly sheltered the fugitives. Why? Because he knew that Crafts and his friends were all armed, and would, beyond doubt, defend themselves. He knew that the road cost to him would be rather more than the Slave Power would be ready to make up to him; and so times, perhaps often, charged with being harsh and the Crafts remained quietly, and when they got ready, they went to England. uncharitable, but such charges are false, and are

Twenty-five years ago or more, Gerrit Smith and his friends had their meeting broken up, and were driven out of Utica by a fierce mob. They adjourned to Peterboro', and the mob threatened to follow; but in an hour or two after the news of the violence reached Peterbero', sixty good men, well armed and ready for action, stood in line on Peterboro' Green, (they would come in thousands now,) but they did not come, not they!

Men will blow for slavery, will lie for slavery, will ter twenty-five years of close observation, I have never yet seen the man who was willing to DIE for slavery! indignation, which is not a pleasant prospect generally to professed politicians and supporters of human slavery. For these reasons, we may not feel a great deal

of alarm at the belligerent demonstrations of the Post, much confidence in the declaration of their Northern friends of their readiness to fight for slavery. and the poor trembling slaveholders should not put The very selfishness which makes the Democrat of mighty, making Him a prominent party to the blackthe North the pimp of the Slave Power, simply for est crimes. There is something so shocking in this, what he can make out of it, will ever induce him to that the mind sickens at the thought, and turns away keep his precious carcass out of the way of a rifle in utter loathing from the whole system. We are in

The slaveholders of the entire South are in great ceuses of alarm. These are but the first drops of good and wise purpose, and that we sin when we inthe storm-their first draught from that ' cup of trembling ' which God always presents to the lips of the oppressor. Let them drain it to the dregs!

It must be fun alive to you in Boston to see the gathering of the fossils in Fancuil Hall, ' to stop the agisation.' I expect to see the stony 'trilobites' of the lower strata wag their stony old tails yet!

Has Everett forgotten how he failed, years ago, to et the Legislature of Massachusetts to indict some of you agitators for talking about slavery ? Cannot even a fossil learn by experience? Look back, good editor of the Boston Post, look back through your files, and see the amount of ink and venom you have in past years wasted, yes, absolutely wasted, on Wendell Phillips, Garrison, and the Anti-Slavery Cause, and don't try it any more.

And the Fancuil Hall meeting ! We remember the Fancuil Hall meeting, more than twenty-five years ago, when Lovejoy died at Alton, when Austin, the Attorney General, said, ' Lovejoy died as the fool diech,' and when the youthful Phillips, in that hour of darkness, sprang upon the platform, and bade the pictured lips of the heroes above him break their sience, and rebuke the recreant American ! ' He called upon the earth to 'yawn and swallow him!' The Slave Power in Boston never yet recovered the blow that fair-haired, brave young man gave it, on that night. To-day he is ripe and strong, and perfectly imbedded in the hearts not only of the people of Massachusetts, but of all the Free States, and a nation pauses to listen when he speaks. Will the denunciations of the Post or the Union-savers at Faneuil Hall harm him now ? Surely not.

And the agitation. If they could not stop it a quarter of a century ago, can they hope to quell it now? Then, only a few thunder-clouds loomed along the horizon; now, the storm is up, and the heavens are black with clouds! Can they dissipate the tempest by Union-saving resolutions, or threats of fighting, etc.? The storm now up will never abate till slevery is in the dust ! So let the last great struggle come, and God defend the Right!

G. W. P. Yours, truly.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. PROTEST BY DR. HARRIOT K. BUNT.

To FREDERICK U. TRACY, Treasurer, and the Asser sors, and other authorities of the city of Boston, and the citizens generally:

Your remonstrant, in the compulsory payment of her taxes for the current year, protests with increased earnestness against the infringement of that article of the Constitution which declares that there shall be no taxation without representation.

Now, at this period of conflict between liberty and oppression, this month of human sacrifice, the taxpaying woman, ignored in representation, fully recognized in taxation, still protests against supplying the treasury with means to sustain laws, and encourage extravagances, which violate her perceptions of jus-This is respectfully submitted.

HARRIOT K. HUNT. Boston, Forefathers' Day, 22d Dec., 1859.

DEAR GARRISON:

Your work will soon be done; your life-labor is

near its consummation. Virginia has done a deed

that has but one parallel in the world's history The sacrifice of John Brown is a striking reproduction of the tragedy on Calvary, by which the nam of Jew became a loathing and hissing among all narights and Southern men; and they will do it, if tions unto this day. Vincinian! God be thanked ! am not a Virginian! The Calvary sacrifice scaled the doom of a nation older, stronger and wiser than the mother of Presidents.' If like causes produce like effects, the end of the Charlestown butchery is no vet. Eighteen hundred years of civilization and Christianity have brought us back to Pilate's judgment hall, with all the mockery of trial,-Wise with his men of war, and the maniac multitude clamorously thirsting for the victim's blood,-all has been most vividly re-enacted in the martyrdom of Brown and the one is as imperishable as the other. . His blood be upon us and upon our children, cried the Jew; 'His blood be upon us and on our children, answered; now let the Slave Power read, and, possible, understand. We can hardly be reconcile to the fact, that we are living in the nineteenth cen tury of the Christian religion. Vinet, an able Christian writer, says, 'Even now, after eighteen centurie of Christianity, we may be involved in some enormous error, of which the Christianity of the future will make us ashamed.' The second of December shows clearly that we are involved in some enormous error or scenes so full and running over with devilish could never transpire. I cannot find half the miti-There's courage for you! Aint you scared now, O gating circumstances for Virginia that can be found for Jerusalem. The Jew acted under the profound conviction that the worship of the true God was at stake. Virginia had no such conviction, but feared lest the black hell of nameless atrocities should be thrown open, and the imprisoned and tortured escape. It will be hardly worth while to call upon the D.D.'s of this sin-fostering and man-killing religion to review and reverse their creeds. As well might Peter at I John have called upon the Sanhedrim to re-read with greater care, Moses and the prophets. They work have been answered with curses and jeers, and we should be answered with jeers, if not with curses- Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us? Nay, gentlemen, we do not presume to teach you; we have not lost our common sense so far as to engage in a task so hopeless. We do not expect the Ethiopian to change his skin, nor the leopard his spots. We still say this, however the martyrdom of John Brown would never have been recorded had Christianity been the religion of the country. Every precept within the lids of the New Testament forbids the act, yet ye knowingly suffered in silence the consummation of that foul deed of darkness and blood. Ye suffered sin upon your brothto hell lay over Lewis Hayden's threshold; and the er—the slaveholder—by allowing him, without a word of warning, to bring blood-guiltiness upon his soul. For all this, you must give an account to the coming ages.

What if we do not approve the overt act of John Brown-does the Christian religion require that one wrong should be met by a much greater wrong ?-Here and there, we now hear a few notes of clerical disapprobation; but it is the long silent man in the heart that speaks, not the priest-it is the voice of nature, struggling to free itself from the meshes of a false theology-a religion, stupid and barbarous. I would not waste a single penful of ink in discussing the merits of a religion that tolerates in silence the horrible system of American Slavery. We dispose of creep in the dust and lick the spittle from the feet of the whole subject in a single sentence— It is earththe slaveholder, for office and emolument; but, af- ly, sensual, decilish.' I come, therefore, to the conclusion, that the less any man has to do with such a religion, the better. Humanity has little to hope from for, after that little event takes place, all chance for it; and the sooner it takes its place among those who wealth and office is supposed to cease; and there is go down to the sides of the pit, the sooner will the a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery world breathe freely. I speak of a slaveholding and man-killing religion-not of the Bible, nor the principles it teaches. Were the book allowed to utter its voice, it would honor its author, and cover the evildoer with eternal shame and confusion of face.

It is astonishing how far theologians-from the days of Origen down-have succeeded in blotting out great danger of becoming Atheists, in head and heart, when we are told by the sober and sanctified, that Slavery exists by the appointment of God, for some terfere with his decrees. If all the men that ever wore a black coat and white neck-tie should tell me it is of God, I should reply, in the language of John Brown to the slaveholding minister, 'I worship a different God from vours."

Theologians have yet to learn that an age of restitution is to follow the present, though the fact is taught by almost every writer in the Book ;- an age wherein the wrong-doer must restore us the uttermost farthing, or perish forever from a Universe that he has dishonored and polluted. But, theology has found a panacea for the troubled conscience, by transferring guilt to the account of the innocent. I should not be at all surprised if some Solon should yet discover that John Brown died for the sinsenf the slaveholder. He certainly died on account of their guilt. Their sins made him a curse; 'fer it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree.' But for the sins of slaveholders, John Brown would never have died a malefactor's death. He died that they might live, and they may truthfully say, 'By his death we are saved.' It is the salvation of a respite: - would to God they might understand! Almost every passage applied to Christ, as suffering death for the sins o others, may be truthfully applied to John Brown. Would it be anything wonderful, then, if, after fifty years, we should find Brown churches all over the South? The colored race can say at this moment, · He died for us'-and soon they may add, 'By his tripes we are healed.'

I have said that your work is nearly done. God grant that, in joy and peace, you may live long to rejoice over the fruit of your self-sacrificing labors! I may say something hereafter of the 'enormous error' contained in our present type of Christianity.

Yours for the truth, DRUMGOOL

EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN. Demonstration of the Colored Citizens of Detroit, Michigan, in favor of Captain John Brown, on Friday

evening, Dec. 2d, 1859.

Pursuant to previous notice, a densely crowded meeting of colored citizens convened at the Second Baptist Church, Chrogan Street. The meeting was called to order by Wm. Lambert, who briefly referred to the solemn event of the day as the cause of the meeting. He then introduced the evening's exercises, according to the following programme:-Prayer by Rev. Wm. Webb; reading IX. Psalm by Rev. A. R. Green ; music- Ode to Captain John Brown,

by Prof. Martin and Thompson; religious and antislavery character of Brown, by Rev. Messrs. Anderson and Green; music- Daughter of Zion'-by Liberty songsters; Brown's Christian fortitude, by Rev. Wm. Webb; music-' Might speed the right'by the Liberty songsters.

The religious exercises now being over, Mr. George H. Parker, President of the Old Captain John Brown Liberty League, took the chair. The meeting then assumed a more deliberative and revolutionary character; whereupon Wm. Lambert presented and read the following Declaration of Sentiment and resolves, to her own higher interests, to a higher destiny! which were enthusiastically received :-

headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his life, to-day, as a ransom for our enslaved race; there-

fore, be it Resolved. That we hold the name of Captain John Brown in the most sacred remembrance, as the first disinterested martyr who, upon the true Christian principles of his divine Lord and Master, has freely delivered up his life for the liberty of our race in this country. Therefore will we ever venerate his character, and regard as our temporal redeemer whose name shall never die.

Resolved, That as the long lost rights and liberties of an oppressed people are only gained in proportion as they act in their own cause; therefore are we now loudly called upon to arouse to our own interest, and to concentrate our efforts in keeping the Old Brown Liberty Ball in motion; and thereby continue to kindle the fires of liberty upon the altar of every determined heart among us.

Resolved, That we tender our heartfelt sympathy to the family of Cantain John Brown in their sad bereavement, and pledge to them that they shall ever be held by us as our special friends, in whose welfare we hope ever to manifest a deep interest.

After the reading of the Declaration, the 'Marseilles Hymn' was sung, with soul-stirring effect. Able and eloquent speeches were made by Rev. Messrs. Anderson, Green, Webb, and John D. Richards. After a general expression upon the Declara tion, it was

Resolved, That the several colored churches b dressed in mourning for thirty days, and that an appointment be made for the preaching of the funeral sermon of our much beloved friend, John Brown, within that time.

Rev. Mr. Webb, from the finance committee, re-

·16th inst., the choir singing the patriotic song-'On, on, to battle-we fear no foe '-&c. G. HANNIBAL PARKER, Pres. O. C. J. B. L. L.

WILLIAM LAMBERT, Chr. P. A. C.

JOHN BROWN' IS DEAD!

'He sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle.' The rope with which Virginia strangled the old man to death was the result of slave labor. Slavery has at last put its iron grip upon the throat of Liberty. The Vulture and Eagle have met. The Eagle ell, but amid the stormy splendor, soared again to gaze upon the Morning Star of Liberty in a world of peace, where the monarch merchant and mendicant slave are equal before the throne of God, and the strifes of tyrant scease. The 'gallows' of noble and patriotic Virginia has done its barbarous work, but the great principle written by Nature on the heart of John Brown will survive the 'wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.' His name will echo in every slave-hovel in the more than arctic midnight confines of Slavery, and the motive of his action will illumine every heart like the blaze of a million beacons. While the hearts of Virginia as coward soldiery quaked with fear, he smiled on their ' brisfling steel,' and bore their gibes and jeers with heroic fortitude. His thoughts are 'thoughts that breathe,' and his 'words will burn' in the breast of all honest men, when the ashes of the soldier's camp-fires shall be scattered to the four winds Man cannot hide what Go1 would reveal.' The oppressor for every broken law will feel the retributive power of insulted justice.

. The vote that shakes the turrets of the land, The freemen will cast with unpur chased hand,

and that which to-day is denounced as criminal before the law, will be the Golden Rule of life; and the 'sad music of humanity ' will cease, and our country be the 'Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave.' In defence of Liberty, four millions of slaves will

fill the rank and file, and redress the accumulated infamy which ages have heaped upon their forefathers. It will be no 'tea-party sizzle,' or Harper's Ferry bubble; for the indomitable spirit of John Brown will go before them, like a 'pillar of fire by night,' and light them to the proud eyrie where the eagle now dreams in her nest. One scream from her now strangled throat, and every slave would be a tiger in his den, throat, and every slave would be a tiger in his den, own; let us have arts of our own; let us have manu thirsting for blood, and the 'pound of flesh' alone factures of our own; let us have trade of our own

all fallen, and gone down to their dishonored resting

JOHN BROWN.

Martyrdom was not the creation or the making of ers of her peace. the character of John Brown of Pottowottomie memory, more especially of Harper's Ferry note. It was but the blossom of a life intent upon the liberation of those that are in bondage. The scaffold was the place of ascension of a brave, truthful liberation liberation of a party of white men in the public place of ascension of a brave, truthful, liberty-loving

old man. His madness against oppression drove him rashly upon it.

His execution was the Virginia stamp—her seal of his enmity to her cherished institution, robbery of human freedom. The scaffold has raised and elevated his memory to the notice of the humane world. In the most obschre and hidden places, however distant, men of reflection and feeling, love and hope, will visit memory to the notice of the humane world. In the most obschre and hidden places, however distant, men of reflection and feeling, love and hope, will visit tack, but at last accounts the excitement had somewhat subsided. in thought this scene of scenes, and dwell much upon

His death was a two-fold birth—the one immortal, into the world of light, the eternal abode of the spirit; the other, the spirit of his life, the essence of his actions, his historical nature, into the hearts of philanthropists the world over, where it will be cradled and cherished from generation to generation, far away adown the stream of time.

WENDELL PRILLIPS AND THE HARPEN'S FERRY INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.—We hear it intimated that Wendell Phillips will be summoned to Weshington to testify before the Harper's Ferry Investigating Committee of the U. S. Senate. Mr. Phillips, however, has publicly stated that he had no knowledge whatever of the plans of John Brown in his Virginia invasion.—Boston Traceller. His death was a two-fold birth-the one immoraway adown the stream of time.

We behold his image of kindness and compassion. of truth and firmness, overhanging old Virginia, that pears, according to advices received by the Arago, that Capt. George 'Walker,' alias David Martin, of that Capt. George 'Walker,' alias David Martin, of the slave yacht Wanderer, who was deserted by his officers and crew while on board a French barque with four of his men, has been landed at Teneriffe. spirit is excited within us, we shall see the dark outlines of Virginian character, policy and laws, her

Whereas, we the oppressed portion of this community, many of whom have worn the galling chain, and felt the smarting lash of slavery, and know by sad experience its brutalizing effects upon both the body and the mind, and its damning influence upon the soul of its victim; and,

Whereas, we, by the help of Almighty God, have been enabled to make our escape from the prisonhouse of slavery, and partially to obtain our liberty; and having become personally acquainted with the life and character of our much beloved and highly esteemed friend, Captain John Brown, and his band of valiant men, who, at Harper's Ferry, on the 16th day of October, 1859, demonstrated to the world his sympathy with and fidelity to the cause of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his headed monster in its den, freely delivering up his headed monster in its den, freely delivering the street of the suffering slaves of the country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by hearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of this country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of the suffering slaves of the country, by bearding the hydra character of the suffering slaves of the suffering slaves of the country, by bearding the hydra character is the suffering slaves of the country slaves of the suffering slaves of the not assent : nor would the citizens allow the negro go one step further until an examination into the mat-ter was had. The negro obtained the services of Judge Lockwood. Some others were running here and there drumming up the 'friends of liberty,' and adjuring them, by all they held sacred, to resist any attempt to remove the negro, even to the bitter end. But the citizens promptly frowned down all demonstrations of mob violence. Quiet apparently was restored to the citizens promptly frowned down all demonstrations of mob violence. Quiet apparently was restored to the place, when an armed mob, from Sergeant's Bluffa, entered the town, and surrounded the hotel. This was about eight o'clock in the evening, and the first intimation our citizens had of their presence was a formal demand for the negro. After consulting together for a few moments, they announced themselves willing to abide the result of an examination, and to 'let the law have its course,' but insisted that the trial should take place immediately. Durand felt confident of establishing his claim to the negro, and, believing they would offer no serious obstructions to a fair investiwould offer no serious obstructions to a fair investi-gation, consented to the arrangement. When all things were ready, the Marshal, in whose charge the negro remained, started with Bill for the Commission-er's office. He had hardly reached the open air when the was seized by a number of stalwart fellows, and the negro torn from his grasp by force. The latter then started for the river, through the darkness, on a keen run.—Dacotah (Nebraska) Herald of Dec. 17th.

> THE TABLES TURNED. OSAWATONIE, Kansas, Dec. 15th, 1859.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat :

Report, of a reliable character, says that a man named Bell, living on Mulberry Creek, in Bates county, Missouri, stated he had lost a negro, and had heard of him near Osawatomie, in Kansas. He employed a Mr. Bennett and Mr. Brown to go with him in pur-suit of said negro. The three started from West Point, Missouri, about the 7th inst., and returned the 9th. They reported that they stopped at a house to stay all night in the vicinity where the negro was

hidden. Capt. Snyder, hearing of them and their business

Rev. Mr. Webb, from the finance committee, reported that the League had twenty-five dollars on hand, ready to send to Mrs. Brown, which would be forwarded to her.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be presented to the city papers for publication, and that copies be sent to the several Anti-Slavery papers throughout the country, requesting them to publish the same. Adjourned to meet on Friday evening, the lefth inst., the choir singing the patriotic song—*On. hand, some distance, and calling a nair, stripped the overcoat off the master and put it on the negro; also, took the pistols of the master, and belted them on the negro. They also took the hat of the darkey, and put it on the head of one of the invaders, and mounted the negro on his master's horse. They then told them they would let them go, provided they would pay the expenses of the war. After having stripped them of erses and equipage, they required some money to

pay contingent expenses.

The owner of the slave presented them fifty dollars, and asked them if that would do. The captain remarked that would be sufficient. They hired a carriage, and reached West Point on the evening of the 9th. One of them reached home bareheaded, as he did not choose to wear the negro's hat. J. C. H. S.

Southern slaves was somewhat strangely manifested by the actions of a slave in Tennessee, who recently ran away from his master, and when pursued and overtaken, placed his hand on his breast, and told his pursuerers they might shoot him, but he would not surrender. The Nashville Gazette, of December 24th,

One day last week a runaway negro man, belong one day last week a full of the state of the known that he was a desperate character, a party of three or four gentlemen went to capture him. Upon their approach to his place of concealment, the negro came out and assumed a defiant tone. They ordered him to surrender, but, placing his hand on his breast he told them he would as lief die there as elsewhere in the breast of all honest men, when the ashes of the soldier's camp-fires shall be scattered to the four winds of heaven, and those who built them forgotten; for ly killed. He did not, therefore, draw any weapon, but persistently refused to surrender. him, they were compelled to shoot him, producing slight wounds in his arm and leg. When captured, it was discovered that he was armed with a Colt's reit was discovered that he was armed with a Cost at volver and a large bowie-knife. He stoutly refused to tell where he got the arms, or who furnished him with the provisions found in his hiding place. Dr. DeMoss sent him, in charge of his overseer, to his

GOV. WISE'S ADDRESS TO THE RETURNED MEDICAL STUDENTS. - In his address, delivered at Richmond or the 22d, to the two hundred medical students returned from Philadelphia, Gov. Wise defined his position in the present aspect of affairs. He does not propose disunion, but is in favor of beating back abolition invaders, and chasing them and their aiders and abettors. into Canada. He would have Virginia make herself truly independent of the Northern States by internal enterprise. He has no doubt, for instance, that medical science can be as well taught in Richmond as in Philadelphia, and adds—Let us have science of our thirsting for blood, and the 'pound of flesh' alone would cancel the deep damning wrong they seek to revenge. The North would have no voice in this; it would be the oppressor and the oppressed; and the beauties of 'disunion' would be seen and felt, and the South be heard to exclaim, 'God save the United States of America!' not the institution of Slavery. States of America! not the institution of Slavery.

John Brown failed for the hour, but success will grow out of the rashness of his act. The South have sown the seeds of discord broad-cast among the slaves: those who 'sow the wind will reap the whirlwind'; the wrath of God will overtake the wicked, and the 'Green Bay Tree' will flourish, when they shall have all felles and case down to the institution of Slavery.

ders that if she found a British packet with the negro Fred. Douglass on board, to take him and convey him to Virginia, there to be hung, regardless of anything become independent by the development of her own natural resources and skill, he would arm the people and demand of the North the repeal of the statutes which are hostile to the constitutional rights of the South. He would say to the Northern States - You shall quit warring upon us; and, above all, he would call upon the President of the United States to demand of England that she should not suffer her Canadian possessions to be used as a place of refug for violators of the laws of the South, and the disturb

ATTACK BY A PARTY OF NEGROES.-ST. LOUIS, De-

square.

The whites finally rallied and drove the negroo

WENDELL PRILLIPS AND THE HARPER'S PERRY IN

CAPTAIN 'WALKER' OF THE WANDERER -- It ap-

SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA .- The bill for the prohibitio institution of oppression of a poor and weak race of God's people in its accursedness. May this awaken old Virginia to a sense of human rights, to progress, to her own higher interests, to a higher destiny!

P. P. P.

SLAVERY IN NERRARY.—The bill for the prontoition of slavery in Nebrasks, which passed the lower branch of slavery in Nebrasks.

SLAVERY IN NERRARY.—The bill for the prontoition of slavery in Nebrasks.—The bill for the prontoit of slavery in Nebrasks.

Statement of the prontoit of slavery in Nebrasks.—The bil

FUORTIVE SLAVES.—Mr. Grover, on the 13th, introduced into the Legislature of Kentucky a resolution instructing the Representatives and Senators from that Stats in Congress, to urge upon the treaty-making power of the Government the necessity of inserting in the treaty of 1842 a provision making the rendition of fugitives from labor equally binding upon Great Britain with that of those from justice. The resolu-

A severe accident occurred on the Per vania Railroad, near Galitzen, Va., on Thursday, which resulted in the death of Edward Riley and Bernard Blake. They were walking on the track, and were struck by a passing train. The remains of both were so shockingly mutilated, that it was impossible to say to which the different fragments belonged, and they were consequently placed together in a coffin prepared for the purpose.

Among the signers for the Union meeting to be held in Haverhill—which is understood to be a bid for the Southern shoe trade—is the name of the man who presided at a meeting in the same town to raise funds for John Brown's family.

master General Holt, Mr. Jesse Thorn, Postmaster at New-Market, Middlesex County, New Jersey, has de-cided that Abolition documents, and especially Hel-per's Impending Crisis, shall not be delivered from his office. It is stated that under the late decision of Post-

The Legislature of Virginia, by a joint resolution, has accepted the flag presented to that Common-wealth by the citizens of Philadelphia, receiving it as a renewal of the evidence of its heroic donors' devoted patriotism.

night, in Bergen cut, New Jersey, by being run over by a train of cars. He attempted to cross the track

PREE NEGROES IN TENNESSEE. Hon. John C. Catron has written to the Nashville Union and American a letter, protesting exnestly against the proposed legislation of Tennessee, to exclude free negroes from that State. Judge Catron, it will be remembered, is one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. United States.

A bill is before the Minnesota Legislature, the object of which is to prevent the immigration and settlement of free negroes in that State. Also, reso-lutions condemning the Harper's Ferry conspirators, and their attempt to incite servile insurrection, and affirming allegiance to the Constitution and the Union.

The Richmond Whig says :-

· If Virginia and the South can't be saved, without being Democratically saved, they both may be damned to all eternity, so far as we and the Southern Opposition generally are concerned.'

Among the acts passed by the Legislature of Georgia, which adjourned the 16th inst., was one to prohibit the post mortem manumission of slaves, and another to abolish the public execution of criminals.

It has been decided, by the Republican National Committee, that their party's National Conven-tion shall meet on the 13th of June, 1860, at Chicago.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 2. A meeting was held here to-night in commemora-tion of the execution of John Brown. Over 5000 peo-ple were present. Able addresses were made by D. R. Tilden, R. P. Spalding, C. H. Langston, A. G. Piddle, and Reverend Messrs. J. C. White, W. H. Riddle, and Reverend Messrs. J. C. White, W. H. Brewster, Crooks and H. W. Toohey. Resolutions were adopted, and the hall was dressed in mourning.

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 Stramour consults and 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 com-pound will do it has been proven by experiment ou many of the worst cases to be found of the follow-ing complaints.

ing complaints: - SCROPULOUS COMPLAINTS, ERUP-TIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PINPLES, BLOTCHES, TUMORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, STRILLS AND SYPHILITIC AFFECTIONS, MERCURIAL DISEASE, DROFSY, NEURALGIA OR TIC DOULOUREUK, DEBILITY, DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION, ERYSPE-LAS, Rose on St. Anthony's Fire, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from IMPURITY

OF THE BLOOD.

This compound will be found a great promoter of health, when taken in the spring, to expel the foul humors which fester in the blood at that sea. 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 eruptions and ulcerous sores, through which the system will strive to rid itself of corruptions, if not assisted to do this through the natural channels of the body by an alterative medicine. Cleanse out the vitiate blood whenever you find its impurities burstin blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, or sores; cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it whenever it is foul, and your feelings will tell you when. Even where no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy better health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood. Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this pabulum of life disordered, there can be no lasting health. Sooner or later something must go wrong, and the great machinery of life is disordered or overthrown.

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

any thing else.

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 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 it. 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 cradication from the system, secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.

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

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

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

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

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

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JOHN BROWN MEETING AT FLORENCE

On Friday evening, Dec. 2d, a meeting was held is Florence, to express the feelings of the people in relation to the execution of John Brown, and to contribute in aid of his family and those of his companions. It was well attended, and conducted without formal organization. When the people were generally assembled, C. C. Buntmon said he supposed it was understood by all, what the object of the meeting was, as the notice which had called us together had informed them. We wish a free expression of the sentiments felt by the people in this region, in relation to this event which has taken place to-day, -the death of one of the noblest men the country has produced a martyr to liberty; a martyr to his consciencehis faithful obedience to what he believed to be the divine will. There is no need of any formality here to-night, but every one present, according to the custom of this place, is free to give utterance to such remarks as may seem to him best. As many of you are aware, from having been present, a very well attended. and very interesting meeting was held in Northampton this afternoon, where many gave utterance to their feelings, and adopted a series of resolutions, expressing the sentiments of the meeting in regard to John Brown and his companions, and recommending a contribution in aid of their bereaved families. I will read these resolutions to be adopted, or not to be as you see fit, before we close. By way of giving substantial proof of sympathy with those bereave families, a collection, as recommended, was taken up, amounting to about \$44. One will also be taken up here, to give opportunity to those who had not the means to give at that time, and those who were not at this afternoon's meeting, to make such contributions as they see fit.

Mr. Burleigh here read the resolutions; also a poem by David Barker, Esq., of Exeter, Maine, published in the Liberator of December 2d.

Mr. Burleigh said that when slaveholders talk about dissolving the Union, and setting up a separate government, it would be well for them to look at this invasion of Harper's Percy. Virginia has raised 2,500 men to guard the place of John Brown's execution Now, any where else but in a slaveholding State, this would not be done. The fact that slavery has placed the whole political fabric upon a false foundation makes them feel that the slaves are their natural enemy. You speak in the open air, and your voice sounds as that of one man; but if you go into a deep eavern and speak, the reverberations make it sound as if a whole troop were there. Now the voice of John Brown in the dark vaults of the slave land is just like that; they think when they hear it, that whole legions are up in arms against them. They have been told, by one of their own most distinguished citizons, that the Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with them in a contest with their slaves.

I suppose we are all of one mind, and all that any one will say will be little more than an echo of what is in the hearts of all. The resolutions express the feelings of all hearts here. These resolutions were adopted unanimously at the meeting in Northampton, and I thought it would save trouble to have the same passed here, as this is only a continuation of the same meeting, and for the same purpose. We affirm that this execution which has, no doubt,

taken place to-day, was no common execution of a common criminal. Gov. Wise did not believe that it was, as he has told you through the newspapers, in his testimony to the courage, the firmness, the frankness and truthfulness of the victim; making him out, in short, a very noble man; then winding up by sending his sheriff to put a halter around his neck! It would have been well for the Governor and the people of Virginia to inquire, how comes it that we must take a good, honest, man-a hero of this time-and deliber ately put him to death? This question the people will ask : Why did you do that deed? And the spirit of John Brown will be abroad, and his words will go out among the people, and will make their impression. The public mind is all alive to the influence of this man and his deeds; and Virginia feels this and is unwilling that his last words shall reach the sars of men. Gov. Wise, we are told, has so ordered the arrangements for his execution, as to admit nonbut the soldiery within the sound of his voice. Virginia stands before the world as confessing that she dare not face the words of a dying old man. Cowards ! Do they suppose that the betraval of their cowardic will shield them from the consequences of it? It is plain that this execution of John Brown is no common affair. All men feel that it is not the execution of a eriminal. They feel that it is the execution of a hero; a martyr to the principles he has so fearlessly defended. It has been always so, that when falsehood, conscious of its weakness, has resorted to the axe and the stake, she has wrought out her own overthrow by the very means she has taken to defend herself. It has been said, and cannot be too often said, that

They never fail who nobly die for right; God's faithful martyrs never suffer loss; Their blazing faggots sow the world with light, And Heaven's gate swings upon their bloody cros

Ralph Waldo Emerson said the other day in Boston that the death of this saint of our day is to make the gallows glorious like the cross.' This is the way with falsehood and wrong. They try to brand some noble champion of right with ignominy, and so they use whatever is ignominous to them to set that brand upon their chosen victim; the result is, their brand of disgrace becomes a symbol of glory. Goodness, nobility and loftiness of soul, these are divine, and cannot be touched with the defilements of earth, or stained with the fumes of the 'nether pit.' Virginia, we suppose, has led John Brown to the scaffold to-day and passed her halter around his neck; but has she killed John Brown? She may as well try to drive God out of the universe as to annul His charter of immortality to that heroic soul. She stretches out her hand, and grasps nothing but the dry hask from which the vital essence has escaped. John Brown is out of her reach. He still lives, a power in the warfare against slavery, mightier than when his blow a Harper's Perry sent a panic through the South.

There will be a funeral one of these days, ar around the open grave will words be spoken which will stir men's hearts like a trumpet-blast; and every year, as it comes round to the anniversary of this day will make fresh the memory of John Brown, and gather multitudes to commemorate his heroism and his fate, and renew their allegiance to the principles for which he suffered; and thus shall he have done more this day for the cause he loved, than he could have done in prolonging his earthly life through the few short years which the course of nature would have yet allowed him. The yearly recurrence of this duty will give enlarged and still enlarging opportunity for spreading anti-slavery truth, and creating antislavery feeling; and the good work will go on till the Slave Power will find itself hemmed in on every side by an enemy more formidable than bands of armed men. Gov. Wise, if he had known enough to understand his true policy, would never have permitted rope to touch the neck of that noble old man; never ould have permitted that body to go down to the martyr's grave, which will be a resort of the pilgrims of Liberty from every quarter of our land where freedom has a votary. But 'whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad.' Men talk about John Brown, and call him mad; but was there ever such madness as this-to think that they can trample truth under foot, and smother out the life of liberty, by gethering up a few dry husks from which the immor tal substance has departed, and planting them in the grave over which they write 'ignominy'; while der the very hands which trace it, the instription

that even the 'conservative' presses of the great commercial centres have, with but three or four exceptions, scarcely a word to say for her. I know not whether Virginia or the South adequately estimates the force with which the deed of to-day recoils against the slave system; but I cannot help feeling that when they see the expression it calls forth from so many and so varied sources throughout the North, many and so varied sources throughout the North, many states that the slave system; but I cannot help feeling that when they see the expression it calls forth from so many with unweatied flight, Mid clouds to enjoy th' last faint gleam of light, With jet clouds to enjoy th' last faint gleam of light, With delouds to enjoy th' last faint gleam of light, With gleating eye glanced o'er the watery waste, And saw her flag by Mussulmen disgraced, Nay, heard her children, on Numidia's plains, Sigh for their homes, and clank Abdallah's chains. The generous bird, at that incensing view, Caught from the clouds her thunder as she flew, With dreadful shriek alarmed the guilty coast, And launched the bolt on Caramelli's host. and launched the bolt on Caramelli's host. even of the slaveholders will ponder the question-I said if Goy. Wise could have known enough to Though to the brave a rich reward is given,— The arms of Houris, and the bowers of Heaven,see his true policy, it would have been a very different And Eaten trod in triumph o'er his foe, Where once fought Hannibal and Scipio.' one from this, but then, of course, he could not. We know that it is morally impossible for a slaveholding

And another of our poets, popular at that day

Through Lybia's desert sands He led his venturous bands, Hovering to save, Where Fame her wings ne'er spread O'er Alexander's head

And the whole country echoed the sentiment of these poets. We see that here was something deemutterance of free thought with tongue, or pen, or press. What is that but barbarism? Civilization needs not, asks not, the suppression of free speech, but thrives best in the air of mental liberty. Slavery cannot breathe in such an air. If a man raises his voice to speak those words which every unprejudiced man must feel to be true and right, the bludgeon is the only argument she can meet him with. Where Slavery is, there can be no freedom. There is not a pair of free lips in the whole South. Slavery is so wicked. so unwise, so destitute of any reasonable defence, that If any man dares to speak for freedom, he is banished from the land of Slavery. We see this in the case of more. When lynch law crushes out every attempt barbarism? You cannot expect anything, therefore, from a slaveholding community but the vindictiveness of barbarism towards those who assail their system. It is generally admitted that John Brown's motive was good; that he regarded his deed as a solemn duty. The very men who have killed him feel in their hearts that he believed himself to be doing a great and good work. We have their attestation of his truthfulness and sincerity; and in the face of all this, we have the history of to-day-what we suppose is to be the history gatorial journey to get there. How will this read in work. How will it read in the history of this whole country, which claims to be free and liberty-loving? How will it read, that John Brown dies the death of a criminal, for a deed which every man admits was counselling bloodshed, even for the slave's deliverdone under a high sense of duty, love for his fellowance. We think you have erred in your choice of means; that is not the Christian way of redressing wrongs,-to take up the sword.' But what right has vading Virginia; and the wrong-doer is answerable for any man to say that, who considers it right to fight all the consequences-even though unintended-of for his own life and his own freedom; and yet admits his wrong-doing, be his motives what they may. Well, his duty to love others as him self? You might, inif you say this, you must inquire which is the original deed, perhaps, consistently call in question John wrong-doer ?- where was the first aggression ? You Brown's course on the ground of expediency; might say, must not stop in the middle of the whole transaction? I do not believe in striking a blow till it is certain to

and tell what had provoked the assault. John Brown wrong. Taking that ground, the worst thing which was not the aggressor. Virginia had been for years can be said of him is that, he acted imprudently .humanity, trampling the rights of That may be true; or-if we estimate the prudence of men under foot, and converting manhood into chat- the measure by its results-it may not be true. That telism; had gone on robbing, to the very furthest pos- he has not come out where he desired to come out, is sible extent of robbery, hundreds of thousands of her plain enough; yet it is not certain that he has not inhabitants. Is it replied that John Brown was not a come out at a better place for his ultimate design. special object of that aggression? What then? Are His seeming failure may prove a more complete sucnot La Favette, and Steuben, and Pulaski, and other cess than he anticipated. I believe that John Brown's foreigners remembered with grateful admiration all expedition into Virginia has been more successful for over this country, for the part they took in a quarrel which was not specially theirs? Yet what did they, years ago into Missouri, where he succeeded in running off a few slaves in defiance of the Border Ruffians, and the State and Federal authorities. I believe that this apparent defeat will be more promotive of the downfall of Slavery, than would have been the carrying out of his original design; for it brings out distinctly to the general approphension the moral ele-ment of his enterprise, which is its real power; the unselfishness of it, the spirit of self-sacrifice for the right, and for others' good, which ansmated it. But, was imprudent until you know his whole plan; and shed by the men of the Revolution too. If you hold vised, are liable to some hindrances which no pruaccount. It must be so, for man is fallible; and, unyou, on that account, condemn him? If oppression less he were all-seeing, it could not be otherwise justifies an appeal to arms, I say that John Brown and Doubtless, something of this sors deranged Brown that appeal than our revolutionary fathers and their achievements, and giving due weight to the considerforeign helpers had. Jefferson, you know, has said ation just suggested, we cannot be sure that this is that one hour of the slave's bondage is fraught with not one of those cases in which seeming rashness is more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose the truest prudence. But granting that it is not

Brown has not a right to interfere on the slave's be- sistently gainsay it, with her own coat of arms before half. This is answered from Brown's stand-point, her. very concisely. He would simple point you to the Virginia will storm and denounce for a time; but, Golden Rule. If he would like another to interfere by and by, she will feel that he has done nothing for him, then he held it his right, his duty, to in- which contains the moral essence of a crime, for h terfere for others. He believed he was to love his has acted from no base or selfish motive. She will neighbor as himself. Had he a right to fight in feel, too, that, when it comes to this, that men are self-defence :-- to bill for the preservation or recovery willing to die for the slave's sake, -- that slavery is so of his own liberty? Then, why not for his neigh- odious as to arouse such a spirit as this against it, its bors too? Suppose he were sailing along the coast days are numbered. The time is coming when slavof Barbary, in the days when Algerine corssirs en- ery will be a thing of the past, remembered only as slaved all Christians they could lay their hands upon; by-gone barbarism; and the memory of it will be as and one of these corsairs had run out from one of the remembrance of the nightmare of last night's those piratical dens, and tried to seize and make a dream. When that day comes; when the people of lave of him-would it have been right for him to the South awake from their fearful dream, relieved of resist unto blood? You say—the country says—it their terrible nightmare, shall see things as they are, would. I remember well that a little handful of then the South also will own in her victim a hero men were sent out from this country to right the wrongs done to some of our countrymen by one of ness and her terror she deemed John Brown worthy those Barbary States; and that, having gathered a to die for the deed which he has done. (Applause. few auxiliaries there, they fought battles and gained | Brief addresses were made by E. L. Hammond rictories till they menaced the chief city of the State, Frederick Day, Julius Phelps, J. O. Whitehouse, S. S. and would have taken it had not a treaty of peace Hill, James Flood, M. Machol, and D. W. Bond. procured the release of the captives. And I remem-

means to the difficulties of his task; for it is admit-

the right of the slave to use violence to achieve his ted that the object he desired was noble; the journals

own freedom, the question next arises, whether John all over the North say it; Virginia herself cannot con-

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changes to a glowing record of honor and undying fame? I have been glad to see that, all over the

North, the expressions of sympathy with the brave ber that one of our popular poets celebrated the old martyr have been numerous and hearty, and that deed as honorable to themselves and their country to such an extent indeed, that the South complains told how

To what is all this tending?"

people to adopt a wise and sagacious policy towards

the open and earnest enemies of their institution.

Possibly, if Gov. Wise had been left to himself, he

might have been willing to interpose for the old hero

he could not help admiring, and save him from what

was meant to be an ignominious death; but even if he

were magnanimous or shrewd enough to meditate so

politic a course, he could not resist the surrounding

pressure. In a slaveholding community, barbarism,

fierce bigotry for the popular idolatry, and intolerance

towards all who will not bow down and worship ac-

cording to its rites, must control the public sentiment.

We know that slaveholding is itself a barbarism.

This trampling men under foot, and making them

brutes,-what is it but utter barbarism-brute force,

triumphant over right and reason? Slavery can

defend itself only by brute force; by repressing the

she feels herself obliged to stiffe all free discussion

men, and love for his God?

But it will be said that he was a wrong-doer in in-

innocent look stand with my hands behind me while

the aggressor, because at that moment I was doing

which, in principle, was not what John Brown did?

-though, in the degree of fearless, unselfish, whole-

souled devotion to that principle, their deeds hardly

If we could make the comparison, standing outside

of all personal or national partialities, I think we

should all see that John Brown's exploit, as a display of high, heroic qualities-of courage, of disinterested

self-sacrifice for the sake of others, of a deep sense

of the worth of manhood and freedom-transcended

far the deeds of the Revolution. Not for himself, not

for his own class, not for those who could requite his

services, he put his life in peril; but for a race de-

graded, feeble and despised; whose only claim upon

him was, that they are human and that they are suf-

fering. Our fathers fought for their own freedom,

and that of their posterity; and their foreign helpers

fought for a people enlightened, powerful, able to

is right to shed blood in defence of freedom, how can

in rebellion to oppose. The proportion of justifica-

that, too, in the slave's favor. Now, if you admit

deserve to be mentioned in the same week with his.

took up the strain of eulogy, and exclaimed :-

Who for the brave could feel? Who warm with generous zeal His country's veins? Eaton, a glorious name, Struck from the flint of fame A spark whose chemic flame Dissolved their chains.

ed meritorious; something to be proud of. What was it? Fighting for liberty; killing men who would not let a few slaves come into the enjoyment of their rights. The faith of this country is, that a man-at least one of John Brown's race-has a right to kill for his freedom: has a right to wade for his liberty through seas of blood, or climb to it over mountains of the slain. Now, put along side of this article of faith the doctrine which is also professedly believed in here, which is preached in all the pulpits, and has at least the intellectual assent of the people generally, that we ought to love our neighbor as ourselves, and of course, ought to value his rights as highly as our n-and what follows? John Brown believed in that doctrine, not merely with the brain, but Helper, of Hedrick, of Underwood, and of numbers with the heart; believed in it with that sort of faith which impels to action. He reasoned thus :- If it is to speak against existing evils, what can come of it but right for me to kill the man who would rob me of my liberty, then I have the right to kill the man who would rob another of his liverty, if only so the robbery could be prevented.' Not that he delighted in bloodshed. He would not take life wantonly, recklessly; only when he believed it absolutely necessary to the ends of justice and humanity. You have read the instruction which he gave to his men just before they started on this expedition. He says-Let me press this one thing on your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your of to-day. Now put these two things together, and lives are to your friends; and, in remembering that, then imagine yourselves fifty years in advance of today; and how will Virginia look then? Taking one as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of the best men within her borders, -taking him in of any one, if you can possibly avoid it; but if it is the face of all these admissions as to his character,- necessary to take life in order to save your own, then and deliberately putting him to death; sending his make sure work of it. Here is the key-note of his soul where, if she ever goes, she will have a long pur- heart. Be as true to others as you are to yourselves; shed no blood needlessly; but if it becomes necessathe history of Virginia? How will it read in our history ?- for we are so closely connected with her, that good counsel, even merciful, if killing must be done we cannot wholly escape responsibility for this day's at all. Of course, if they might rightfully attempt it, they ought to make sure work of it; strike a blow so sure that it would not need to be repeated. A few of us have a right to say, 'You are wrong in

If I strike you in the face, and then with a meek and be effectual. We have no right to run such fearful risks, and involve others in them, without a reasonable you return the blow, it will not do for me to call you prospect of a countervailing measure of success. But, then, you must censure Brown merely for being you no violence. I must go one step further back, imprudent; not for having done anything in itself

aside from this, and considering his attempt as a military enterprise alone, you do not know that the man that, it is now probable, you can never know. My first impression was that, even aside from the question of principle, it was a terrible missake. I am not sure that I do not now think differently. I meline to believe that, tried by the ordinary rules of estimating success and failure, it is at least not proved that the appreciate and reward the friendly act. Are we told attempt was not, on the whole, what men call expeof the blood which Brown has shed? But blood was dient. All human undertakings, however well deto the faith-which alone can justify them-that it dence or sagacity could have foreseen, and taken into those whose sad condition prompted him to his bold plans. He claims, I think, something like this; and enterprise, had ten thousand times more ground for knowing what we do of the man, and of his former

still, I repeat, the worst you who believe in fighting tion, then, in the two cases, is as ages to hours, and can make of it is, that he did not well proportion his