Advertisements making less than one square inthree times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.09. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, ania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soa ste authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

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

VOL. XXX. NO. 2.



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 con-

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

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

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in

PRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

BIOHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

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

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1516.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

# SELECTIONS.

THE MILITIA LAW AS AMENDED-VETO OF GOV. BANKS---OPINION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The following is the concluding portion of the reest Veto of Gov. Banks upon a bill entitled An Act for Revising and Consolidating the General Statare of the Commonwealth ' of Massachusetts :-

In the controversy upon the adoption of the Fedand Constitution in this, as in other States, very arnest debate arose upon the question, what pov were reserved to the States, and the Constitution ray finally adopted by the requisite number of States, with an understanding that the provisions afterwards embodied in Article Tenth of Amendments hould be incorporated into the Constitution, to wit: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Dowers not delegated to the Onton States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the The division of powers, therefore, is perpapie.' The division of powers, therefore, is per-jetly clear so far as the subject is concerned. That which is not granted to the General Government, nor incident to the powers granted, is reserved to

the States, unless expressly prohibited.

The power to 'provide for organizing, arming and them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of officers and the training the alitia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress,' is one of the powers expressly conceded to the Federal government in the first article, eighth scion of the Constitution of the United States.

The power granted in express terms to the Federal by this section of the Constitution is at of 'organizing, arming and disciplining the militia: that reserved to the States is the appointmatter officers, and the authority of training the matter of a ceording to the discipline prescribed by Cagress. The power to organize includes that of determining what classes of persons shall be so ormiled; and this has been determined by an act of Congress approved May 8, 1792, entitled ' An act nereffectually to provide for the mutual defence, by stablishing an uniform militia throughout the

The persons who, by these provisions of the Constitution and Legislature of the United States, are to be organized, armed and disciplined as an uniform militia throughout the United States, are ' each and ergry free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of 18 years, and under the age of 40 years. It is not, in my judgement, within the power of the Legislature to change this basis of enrollment, or marge or diminish the classes of men embraced in this organization of the militia. It is not sufficient answer to say that, in changing the phraseology of the statute of the United States in the enactment of our own militia laws, we still leave public officers, in the enrollment of the militia, to follow the laws of the United States, without committing the people of this State to a recognition of distinctions between men that are not acceptable. The militia is a national institution.

In all that pertains to organization, arming and disciplining the milita, our laws are but a republieation of the laws of the United States, for the information and instruction of the citizens of this State; and if in this republication we misrepresent the law, we lead them into innumerable and remediles difficulties and constantly embarrass the administration of our laws. Still less it is to be urged. that assuming a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to be rash, that certain persons are not citizens, and therefore their exclusion need not be expressed or implied in our re-enactment of the militia laws. The statutes of the Commonwalth are yet free from the most distant recognition of the doctrines of that decision, and I trust may forever so remain.

For these reasons, believing the changes proposed in the basis of enrollment to be palpably in contra-rention of constitutional law, and that they cannot be executed by this department of the government without an infringement of the Constitution which have sworn to support, I have thought it un imperative duty to withhold Executive approval—and I therefore return the Bill to the House in which it originated, that it may be considered by the Legislature, conformably to the provisions of the Consti-

tation of this State.
Under ordinary circumstances, I should not hesitate, in a case like the present, to act upon my own algment; but, inasmuch as a disapproval of the gislative proposition to which I have referred impass upon me the necessity of rejecting, without discimination, every statute approved by my predecessors, from the foundation of the government, and every amendment proposed by the present Leg-sliture, I have thought it to be my duty, not only being the contract of the to give to the subject the most serious consideration, but to seek direction from the high legal authorities thich the Constitution and laws enable me to con-

It is unnecessary for me to ask of the Legislature a candid consideration of these able State papers. They cannot be too carefully considered by legislaters or by the people. It is unnecessary for me to call the attention of the Legislature, in view of the ragged paths of national life upon which, too obisly, we are entering, to the expediency of maintaining the institution of the militia, and perpetuaing the harmony of feeling and interest of its members, with the principles and institutions of the disvernment, of which as citizens and soldiers they

are a cheap support.

Nor is it necessary to enlarge upon the expediency. in every consideration of public policy, of a constant and faithful adherence to constitutional obligations. We can present no more reliable evidence of strength than the fact, that we can maintain our own privilwithout invading the rights of others; and for a State inflexibly determined to submit to nothing wrong, there is no safer rule of action than to ask nothing that is not right.

I requested the Attorney General, therefore, to prepare an opinion upon two propositions, which I have the honor to transmit to the Legislature, and subsequently, upon the request of the Governor and Cancil, the Supreme Court submitted an opinion apon the same questions, which has been transmitted to me by the Honorable Chief Justice of that Court, and which I have the honor now to lay before the two Houses of the Legislature. These opinions are elaborate, learned and decided. That of the Su-

of riots and to aid civil officers in the execution of the laws of the Commonwealth. It seems to me to

Nor is this question, in our opinion, affected by be a public wrong of the highest character, by an the laws of the Commonwealth. It seems to me to be a public wrong of the highest character, by an incorrect statement of the law, to mislead civil offi-cers in the performance of their duties, or to require cers in the performance of their duties, or to require of the Governor of the Commonwealth to transmit right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not to the Department of War an enrollment palpably, be infringed. in conflict with the laws of the United States NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

After the message was read, the clerk proceeded to read the Attorney General's opinion, which concludes as follows :

I, therefore, most respectfully submit, as the re-

sult of my investigations, that—

1. The Legislature of this Commonwealth cannot militia of any persons other than those enumerated in the act of Congress, approved May 8, 1792, entitled 'An act more effectually to provide for national defence, by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States.'

2. The aforesaid act of Congress, as to all matters therein provided for, and except as amended by subsequent acts, has the force of law in this Common wealth, independently of and notwithstanding any State legislation, that all officers under the State government, civil and military, are bound by its provisions.

LEMUEL SHAW,
THERON METCALF,

sequent acts, has the force of law in this Commonwealth. In the absence, or even conflict of State legislation, all military officers, under the State government, are bound by its provisions, and must ren-der both active and passive obedience. All officers whose functions are purely civil must obey it as the paramount law of the land, and cannot obstruct its execution; but they cannot without consistent State legislation be required to enforce it, or to lend the fluence or authority of their offices in carrying it into effect

[Signed] STEPHEN II. PHILLIPS, Attorney General.

The opinion of the Supreme Court was then read. It is as follows:

INTERROGATORIES

PROPOUNDED BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUN-CIL TO THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.

Whether the Legislature of this Commonwealth an constitutionally provide for the enrollment in the militia of any persons other than those enumerated in the Act of Congress, approved May 8, 1792, entitled 'An Act more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States '?

Whether the aforesaid Act of Congress, as to all natters therein provided for, and except as amended by subsequent Acts, has such force in this Commonwealth, independently of or notwithstanding any State legislation, that all officers under the State government, civil and military, are bound by its provisions?

The undersigned, Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, having considered the above stated interrogatories, propounded to them by the Governor and
Council, do hereby, in answer thereto, respectfully
of the veto power, and to hope that the House would Council, do neredy, in submit the following opinion :

The Constitution of the United States having charged the general government with the administration of the foreign relations of the whole Union, and the military defence of the whole, provides, (article 1, section 8,) 'That Congress shall have power to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions: to provide for organizing, armine and distribute to provide for organizing, armine and distribute to provide for organizing, armine and distribute to the second section of the second s ing and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, re-spectively, the appointment of the officers, and the uthority of training the militia, according to the

discipline prescribed by Congress.'
Organizing' obviously includes the power of deorganizing obviously includes the power of de-termining who shall compose the body known as the militia. The general principle is, that a militia shall consist of the able-bodied male citizens. But this description is too vague and indefinite to be laid down as a practical rule; it requires a provision of positive law to ascertain the exact age, which shall might think the suitable ages to be from 18 to 19, others from 16 to 30 or 40, others from 20 to 50. Here the power is given to the general government to fix the age precisely, and thereby to put an end to doubt and uncertainty; and the power to determine who shall compose the militia, when executed, on the shall compose the militia, when executed, on the shall compose the militia, when executed, on the shall not be shall not equally determines who shall not be embraced in it, ecause all not selected are necessarily excluded.

The question upon the construction of this pro-

the Constitution is whether this power to determine who shall compose the militia is exclusive. And we are of opinion that it is. A power when vested in the general government is not only exclusive when it is so declared in terms, or when the State is prohibited from the exercise of the like power, but also when the exercise of the same power by the State is superseded, and necessarily impracti-cable and impossible after its exercise by the general vernment. For instance, when the general gov-nment have exercised their power to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy, that is, laws for senuestering and administering the estate of a living insolvent debtor; when one set of commissioners and ssignees of such estate have taken possession of property. The one power is necessarily repugnant to the other; if one is paramount, the other is void. We think the present case is similar. The general government having authority to determine who shall and who may not compose the militia, and having so determined, the State government has no legal authority to prescribe a different enrollment.

This power was early carried into execution by the act of Congress of May, 1782, being an 'Act more effectually to provide for the national defence, Mr. Sporroup of Newburyport replied to Mr. by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States.' This act specially directs who shall be, and by necessary implication, who may not be enrolled in the militia. This is strengthened by a provision, that each State may by law exempt persons embraced in the class for enrollment, according as the peculiar form and particular organization of its separate government may require that these is the separate government may require that these is the separate government may require that these is the second of Newburyport replied to Mr. Griffing of Newburyport replied to Mr. Storfford of Newburyport replied to Mr. Griffing of Newburyport replied to Mr. Griffing of the said that he was induced to vote for the statutes, in spite of the objectionable clause. He claimed not only to be consistent, but far-sighted would accept or reject the whole work, he could not refuse to do what the public necessity seemed to work.

bright of the Substitution of the most luminous and States, and of this Commonwealth, that judicial history presents.

The assessors of the several cities and towns, are annually required, in the month of May, to make a list of persons liable to enrollment; to place a certified copy thereof in the hands of the clerks of their respective towns and cities, and to transmit returns of the militia thus curolled to the Adjutant General. A certified copy of the returns is annually transmit.

ted to the Government at Washington by the Government of this Commonwealth.

The militia thus enrolled are liable to be called into active service at any moment, in case of war, of invasion, to prevent invasion, for the suppression United States, and, as we understand, in the questions and the aid civil offerers in the evention of the commonwealth.

of the following tenor: 'A well-regulated militia

This, like similar provisions in our own declaration of rights, declares a great general right, leaving it for other more specific constitutional provision or to legislation to revide for the preservation and practical security of such right, and for influencing and governing the ment and conscience of all legislators and man rates, who are thus required to recognize and respect such rights.

In answer to the second question proposed, we

1. The Legislature of this Commonwealth cannot constitutionally provide for the enrollment in the as to all matters therein provided for, except so far as it may have been changed by subsequent acts, has such force in this Commonwealth, independently of

GEORGE T. BIGELOW PLINY MERRICK, EBENEZER R. HOAR,

Boston, Dec. 23, 1859.

The Clerk then read the provision of the Constitution, relating to the action of the Legislature, and the Speaker put the question: Shall the bill pass, notwithstanding the Governor's objection?

Mr. WENTWORTH, of Lowell, after some preliminary remarks, said the House now has before it the opinion of the Supreme Court, and it has knowledge that the law, if passed, cannot be enforced; for the moment a question is raised under it, it will be deformer legislation on the subject. He said that the bill should be rejected; and then a new bill could be introduced, passed in half an hour, and so the assent of all branches of the Government be obtained to the statutes.

Mr. Sporrond, of Newburyport, referred to the action of the minority in opposing the striking out of the word 'white.' Now, said he, we are backed up by the Republican Governor and by the opinion of the Supreme Court. He hoped that the Legislature would retrace its steps without delay.

Mr. Tucker, of Boston, said he felt much better

to-day than yesterday. He had been sneered at yesterday by the gentleman from Boston (Mr. Kimball), as being one of the immortal five who voted against the bill yesterday. Mr. Kimball, however, was more consistent than the gentleman from Newburyport, (Mr. Spofford,) who could not see the unco stitutionality of the law yesterday, for he voted for it. (Great laughter.)
Mr. Tucker proceeded to express his admiration

Mr. Russell, of Boston, said he should vote to sustain the veto, but he rebuked the the gentleman of the Democratic party in claiming greater wisdom and reverence for the Constitution

than other men.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston, said he was not going to dissent from the opinions of the Supreme Court or the Attorney General, but he should not yield his personal opinion, which was that the law unconstitutional. Has it occurred to the Governor, when he certifies to the enrollment, that all the provisions of the United States law have not always been complied with? Perhaps not. But when the cry of 'Nigger, nigger' is raised, great alarm is taken,

and extraordinary samples all at once spring up.

Mr. Kimball then read from an opinion of the
Supreme Court in 1838, which he deemed to be at variance, in some respects, with the one now given. He was glad, for his part, that at lesst the S Massachusetts was the first to inform Congress that an amendment of its law was desirable. He besieved esitive law to ascertain the exact age, which shall that it was not unconstitutional to scrike out the deemed neither too young nor too old to come word 'white.' It is the State's concern, at least

One body of legislators, ages to be from 18 to 19, 0, others from 20 to 50, to the general government of the general gover

publican majority upon the fact that their Governor had converted the Union-saving majority to Union and Constitution doctrines.

The gentleman from Newburyport, brought ap at

the feet of the Gamaliel of Union-savers, had himsel been converted. (Great laughter.) Mr. G. proceed ed to say that on the questions submitted to the Supreme Court, they were clearly right. But she question submitted to the Court was not the question involved in the present law. The Legislaure had not said, that any persons excluded by the law of Congress shall be enrolled. Our law must be interpreted according to the law of Congress, which

We have not said that 'colored' should be serted, in place of white. Mr. G. said he was not in the House when the section was voted on, but he should have voted for it if he had been present. He property, with power to sell and dispose of it, and did not, however, regard the question as of much distribute the proceeds, another set of officers, under importance. It was a matter of some regret that we another law, cannot take and dispose of the same could not have the services of colored men, for judging by Gov. Wise's speech to the sawbones, he thought they would strike more terror into Virginia

than any white force.

He has quoted Gov. Wise's remarks, in which h expresses his regret that he had not a steamer in Hampton roads, with which to pursue the British steamer, and capture Fred. Douglass. It is a misfor-

its separate government may require; but there is no such provision for adding to the class to be enrolled.

We are therefore of opinion that the Legislature of the Commonwealth cannot constitutionally provide for the enrollment in the militia of any persons other than those enumerated in the act of Congress of May, 1792, hereinholders gited

On motion of Mr. WARREN of Weston, the previous question was then ordered.

The question was then stated: 'Shall the bill be

passed, the objections of the Governor to the contrary notwithstanding?

The Constitution requiring that the question shall be decided by a yea and may vote, the roll was called

The House then refused to pass the bill, by a vote of 46 years to 146 mays.

Mr. WENTWORTH of Lowell asked leave to intro-

duce a bill, and leave being granted, the same was read for information. The bill was the same as that read for information. The bill was the same as that the original, the following letter written by John word white."

Brown, in answer to one received by him from Mr. Mr. WENTWORTH then moved that the rules be

suspended, so that the bill should take its several by Brown since his imprisonment, speaks the spirit readings at the present time. This motion was of a true hero and martyr. agreed to. Mr. KIMBALL of Boston said he earnestly protested

The bill for revising and consolidating the General ministers of the Commonwealth, which had previous-ly passed both branches of the Legislature, and been My knees will not bend in prayer with them while transmitted to the Governor for his approval, has their hands are stained with the blood of souls. Representatives with his objections to certain provisions of chapter 13 of said bill. That thereupon, pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, the

stood that the only alteration was the insertion of the word white' in the two sections of chapter 13, where it had been previously struck out.

They have suffered much, and it is hard to leave them

he distinctly reaffirmed the opinions he had express-ed when the matter was previously before the Senate. He then cited the Constitution, and argued that the ction of the Legislature was in accordance with it. He said that the opinion of the Supreme Court had ow been indirectly foisted upon the Legislature, and EXPULSIONS OF CITIZENS OF KENTUCKY this he considered should be carefully examined, as by a too free asking of opinions from this Court, the Legislature might eventually delegate its duties to the Judges. He was very severe on the executive in the matter an

the amendment, and considered the Governor was right in obtaining the opinion of the Supreme Court. John G. Fee.

to this opinion, as a course had been pursued without precedent in the history of our Commonwealth. amendment to chapter 14 was adopted, which Gov-ernor Armstrong objected to. Finding this, he sent a message to the Legislature, requesting that this charter might be sent to him separately.

This, Mr. PARKER said, was the manly course, but Gov. Banks had not even done this, but keeps back his knowledge of this objectionable feature until the last day of the session, and then forces the alternative on the Legislature either of rejecting the Revision or adopting this amendment. If he had the choice either of defeating the Revision or violating his principles, he would stand by his principles. The opinion of the Supreme Court enunciated a doctrine more infamous than any by the King's Bench in the time of James and Elizabeth of England. He

called the attention of Senators to the significant entioned in the whole of the lengthy opinion, and this he thought might be attributed to the fact that the Judges were desirous of dodging the issue of put-ting a brand on the black man. He wished these Judges were within the reach of the people, as he thought then the opinion might have been different. He concluded by saying he should oppose the amend

The yeas and nays having been called and ordered on passing the bill to a third reading, the bill was so passed by the following vote:

YEAS-Messrs. Bacon, Bigelow. Conn, G. L. Davis, Evans, Fabens, French, Knight, Nerton, Odiorne, Osgood, Rich, Sawin, Simmons, Wil-

Navs-Messrs. Atwood, Boynton. Branning, Cornell, Daggett, R. T. Davis, W. T. Davis, Hotch-kiss, Luce, Metcalf, D. F. Parker-11. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed as amend-

Mr. KIMBALL of Boston asked leave to introduce the following bill: An act to amend chapter 13 of the General Statutes.

SECT. 1. So much of chapter 13, section 1, line 1, of the General Statutes, being the chapter of the militia, as provides for the enrollment of the militia, as provides tor the enrollment of the militia, is hereby amended so as to provide that the words 'such persons as are designated by the acts of the Congress of the United States' shall be substituted for the words 'every able-bodied white citizen.'

From the Wooster (Ohio) Republican LETTER FROM JOHN BROWN.

By permission of the Rev. J. W. McFarland, of McFarland. The letter, like all the others written

JAIL, CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 23, 1859. REV. McFARLAND-Dear Friend: Although you against being sold for a small matter of expediency, write to me as a stranger, the spirit you show to-but he did not see how it could be helped under the circumstances. He did not want to lose the whole makes me feel toward you as a dear friend. I would After a very brief discussion between Messrs.

Tucker of Boston, and Mr. Griffin of Boston, the previous question was ordered.

The definition of the way of the way of salvation by Christ.

From my youth, I have studied much on this sub-Mr. Griffin of Malden called for the yeas and axys, which were ordered, on the pending question, riz., passage to a third reading. nays, which were ordered, on the pending question, viz., passage to a third reading.

The bill was then passed by a vote of 170 yeas to 1 nay, the negative vote being east by Mr. Freeman of Mendon.

The bill was then sent to the Senate.

The Senate having reassembled, the following message was received from the House, through its Clerk.

The bill for restricing and consolidating the General ministers who profess to be Christian, and hold

been returned by His Excellency to the House of The subject you mention as having been preaching pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, the House of Representatives proceeded to reconsider said bill; and having reconsidered the same, and the yeas and navs having been taken thereon, the House refused to pass the bill, two thirds of the members present, and voting thereon, not having voted in the affirmative.

I am further instructed to inform the Senate that the House, under a suspension of its rules, has passed through its several stages to be engrossed, a bill, &c., which is hereby transmitted to the Senate for its concurrence.

The bill having been received, it was moved and The bill having been received, it was moved and in similar circumstances. My conscience bid me do carried that it be read by its title, it being under-that. I tried to do it, but failed. Therefore I have

Mr. Davis of Bristol said that, notwithstanding uncared for. But God will be a husband to the the original bill had been vetoed by the Governor, and that the amendment would probably be adopted by the Senate, yet he solemnly and deliberately believed that the former action of the Senate was constitution. I have frequently bent a few more days, stitutions. lieved that the former action of the Senate was con-stitutional, and in view of his constitutional right, he distinctly realirmed the opinions he had express-cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Your friend, and the friend of all friends of Lib-rty. JOHN BROWN.

### FOR ENTERTAINING FREE STATE SENTIMENTS.

The Cincinnati Commercial of Dec. 31 says that closed by stating that he should vote against the tucky, on the 30th, having been warned to leave the State for the crime of believing slavery to be a Mr. ODIORNE of Suffolk advocated the adoption of sin. They are from Berea and vicinity in

right in obtaining the opinion of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Parker of Worcester said that although he was a young man, he would not let this amendment pass without raising his voice against it. This was a question as to whether the crack of the slaved driver's whip shall rule in Massachusetts, or whether the voice of the representatives of the people shall be heard. There had been laid on the desks of Sanators an opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and he for one exercised his right to take exceptions.

John G. Fee.

Among the exiles are Rev. J. A. R. Rogers, principal of a flourishing school at Berea, and his family; J. D. Reed and family; John S. Hanson and a hard-working, thrifty man. He had recently erected a steam saw-mill, and owns five bundred acres of land in Madison county, Ky. The Rev. J. F. Boughton; E. T. Hayes and S. Life, carpenters; A. G. W. Parker, a native of South Carolina; ters; A. G. W. Parker, a native of South Carolina; — Toney, a native of Tennessee; John Smith, a native of Ohio, a farmer, who has lived in Kentucky some years. Mr. Smith is described by Mr. Fee as a gray-haired father, a man of prayer, indeed of eminent piety and usefulness. More than half of the exiles are natives of Southern States, and several are native Kentuckians. The only offence charged against any of them is that of entertaining abolition sentiments.

The movement for expelling these men arose from

The movement for expelling these men arose from the excitement of the John Brown foray. At a pro-slavery meeting held at Richmond, at which, accord-ing to the Kentucky papers, the 'oldest, most re-spectable, and law-abiding citizens were in attend-ance,' it was resolved on the ground of 'self-preser-vation,' to appoint a committee of sixty-five, to remove from among them J. G. Fee, J. A. R. Rogers and so many of their associates, as in their best judg ment the peace and safety of society may require.
The committee were instructed to perform this duty The committee were instructed to perform this duty 'deliberately and humanely as may be, but most effectually.' At the meeting, a letter of J. A. R. Rogers was read, inviting any gentleman of the County who, from rumor or otherwise, has formed an unfavorable opinion of the community of Berea, to visit it, and learn its true character. He says:—

· We do not profess to be faultless, but hope that the compliments for industry, probity and good citizenship, that have been paid us by those of the first rank in the county for wealth and influence, who have made our acquaintance, may be more and more deserved.

It is universally known that most of us, in common with Washington and a host of others, whom we all delight to honor, believe that slavery is a mor-al and political evil; that it is the duty and privilege of those holding slaves to free them at the ear-liest consistent moment, and in such a way as to pro-mote the general good; and that complexion is not t for the regard or privileges that should be extended to a man. We believe, too, that moral and political means only should be used to remove slavery. Insurrection finds no favor here. Brother Fee never has, and if his words be known, I doubt not does not now give the least countenance to the use of force in hastening the end of slavery.

Hoping that our confidence may be fully and in-telligently placed in Him who once was despised, but is now exalted to be a Prince and Saviour, I remain yours respectfully.' The committee were ordered to carry out the de-

every able-bodied white citizen. signs of the meeting within ten days, and Mr. Rog-The act shall take effect from and after May 31st of ers thus describes the warning which he received:— · He was in his cottage, when a summons for him

Mr. Krenall said that the House had caved down upon an important principle, under the instructions, as he might call them, of the Governor and the Supreme Court. The bill which he offered was not open to the objection urged by the Governor. He thought that the time might come when the word white' would be stricken out of the United States laws, and he wanted the Statetse of Massachusetts to be put in order for that time. All that he proposed was to get rid of the word 'white.'

After remarks by Mr. Griffin of Malden and Mr. Johnson of Abington, Mr. Kimball withdrew his principles were incompatible with the public peace, and that he must go. The charge against him was abolitionism—the penalty, expulsion from the State.

No harsh or personally disrespectful language was used. He was even told with much courtesy of word and manner, that he was esteemed as a gentleman, but his presence was offensive on account of his principles. They laid it down as an axiom, that such sentiments as he entertained were not to be tolerated sentiments as he entertained were not to be tolerated by a slaveholding people—that abolition doctrines and slaveholding were not to be permitted together— that one or the other must go under, and that they were resolved he and his friends must go. They warned him peaceably, but any amount of force ne-cessary to carry out the objects of the Richmond meeting would be unhesitatingly employed. They appeared now in peace, but if he did not heed the arning, they would re-appear for war.'

The committee represented the wealth and respectbility of Madison county, and was sustained for the most part by public sentiment. There were, howev-er, quite a number of slaveholders residing in the vicinity who were opposed to the proceedings of the higher law pro-slavery zealots.

The Commercial in continuation says:-

A paper was circulated through the county for signatures, (over seven hundred of which were ob-tained,) endorsing the action taken by the Rich-mond meeting, and expressive of the sense of the com-munity, that the abolitionists must be driven out. Those who had charge of this paper do not seem to have had any objections to procuring signatures under false pretences. A slaveholder was called on, and asked whether he approved of the John Brown foray. Of course he said he did not. He was then told to sign that paper.

He did so, and when he found out the nature of the description and the real object of obtaining his

the document, and the real object of obtaining his signature, he was indignant and wished to withdraw his name, but was deterred by threats from doing so. No signatures to this paper were obtained in the immediate vicinity of Berea, except in this way, a fact which indicates that the neighbors of the Free-Soilers did not think them dangerous citizens.

There were some friends of the proscribed persons willing to risk everything and stand by them, but knowing that fighting would be unavailing, they concluded to be without the State within the time assigned for their removal. And they are consequently exiles in our midst, and afford a lesson of the nature of the intolerant despotism of the slave power which should not be lost upon those who are solicitous as to the status of the American States.'

Before leaving, they made an appeal to Gov. Magoffin for protection, and a committee of them presented the Governor the following petition:— To His Excellency the Governor of the State of Ken-

We, the undersigned, loyal citizens and residents of

the State of Kentucky and county of Madison, do respectfully call your attention to the following facts:

1. We have come from various parts of this and adjoining States to this county, with the intention of
making it our home, have supported ourselves and
families by honest industry, and endeavored to promote the interests of religion and education. mote the interests of religion and education.

mote the interests of religion and education.

2. It is a principle with us to 'submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; unto governors as unto them that are sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doors, and the praise of them that do well, and in accordance with this principle we have been obedient in all respects to the laws of this State.

3. Within a few weeks, evil and false reports have been put into circulation, imputing to us motives.

been put into circulation, imputing to us motives, words and conduct calculated to inflame the public words and conduct calculated to inflame the public mind, which imputations are utterly false and groundless. These imputations we have publicly denied, and offered every facility for the fullest investigation, which we have earnestly but vainly sought.

4. On Friday, the 23d inst., a company of sixty-two men, claiming to have been appointed by a meeting of the citizens of our county, without any shadow of legal authority, and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the State and United States, called at our respective residences and places of business, and not

and laws of the State and United States, called a con-respective residences and places of business, and noti-fied us to leave the county and State, and be without this county and State within ten days, and handed us the accompanying document, in which you will see that unless the said order be promptly complied with. here is expressed a fixed determination to remove us In view of these facts, which we can substantiate by

the fullest evidence, we respectfully pray that you, in the exercise of the power vested in you by the contitution and made your duty to use, do protect us in our rights as loyal citizens of the Commonwealth of e State of Kentucky. SWINGLEHURST LIFE. J. A. R. Rogers, JOHN SMITH. J. G. HANSON.

E. T. HAYES. JAS. S. DAVIS, JOHN F. BOUGHTON, A. G. W. PARKER, W. H. Torney, Benea, Madison Co., Ky., Dec. 24, 1859.

Berea, Madison Co., Ky., Dec. 24, 1859.

Gov. Magoffin, says the Commercial, received the bearers of the petition (Reed and Hayes) courteously, and advised them, for the sake of preserving the peace of the State, to leave it. He said that the public mind was deeply moved by the events in Virginia, and that until the excitement subsided, their presence in the State would be dangerous, and he could not engage to protect them from their fellowcitizens who had resolved that they must go.

He promised them security while taking their departure, and that their property should be protected. They say that for the most part they were treated politely by those who have driven them from their homes, and they have hopes that presently the people of Kentacky will take a sober thought, and allow them to return to their several places of abode

ow them to return to their several places of abode and accustomed avocations. It is certainly not a light matter to drive out of a State men who build steam saw-mills, improve farms, keep schools, and labor faithfully as ministers of the Gospel, and who give no provocation to any in any way—who offend against no law—who make no war way—who offend against no law—who make no war upon society—and who merely hold that slavery is a sin, and teach that it should come to an end in God's own good time. The steam-mill of Mr. Hanson was doing well until he was constrained to abandon it. The school of Mr. Rogers was in a flourishing condition, having nearly a hundred pupils during the last term, a great portion of them the children of slaveholders. Kentucky cannot afford to drive beyond her borders the men who build mills and academics.

The exiles seem in good spirits. They do not indulge even in unkind words about those who have made them homeless. They seem to be divided in opinion as to their course in future. They all hope to go back to Old Kentucky, and live, labor, and lie on her soil. Some fear they cannot go back, and think of looking out for employment in the free States; and they have vague ideas of appealing for protection in their rights and immunities as citizens to the Federal Government.

The state of society around Berea is deplorable. The people are poor, uneducated, ignorant. Many men and women among the people surfounding the colony are unable to read or write. Their habitations are poor—many of them containing but one room without windows. Their clothing is poor, and many are, even in the present inhospitable weather, but half covered. Among such a people, this mission was established, to the waking up of a limit interest in many places, in favor of education. lively interest, in many places, in favor of ed

and of truth. The children of many slaveholders were attending the school, and the prospects of bus-iness around were improving: the land was looking up in price, and many facilities for a more comfortable life were being introduced as the result of the labor of the few who were engaged in the work.—

Much good had in this way already been accom-Much good had in this way already been accom-plished. Men from the North were obtaining a fa-worable recognition as men of enterprise and of real worth in the community, and he (the speaker) had so attracted the attention of one slaveholder that there was talk of his being employed to oversee his farm. In the midst of all this, came the news of the Har

per's Ferry affair, the fear, the expulsion. Last Sabbath was an interesting and solemn day at Berea. Assembled in the school-house and church, address-es were made by those who were to be driven from es were made by those who were to be driven from their homes, and by others, and afterwards with many tears, and with much of regret, a parting took place. A few days after, the people in whose midst the now exiles had labored, entertained them at a dinner. On Thursday followed the exodus. In the rain, the mud, and the cold, they set out for this region. The ariles in all this were honeful and this region. The exiles in all this were hopeful and happy, the poor ones left behind tearful and mourn-ing. Those who expelled this colony were not the fiery fanatics or the rowdy class, but the wealthy and the strong, who had long studied upon it, but who, ignorant of the designs of the mission, thought it unsafe to allow its existence in their midst. During the first excitement, there was no delay in the continuation of the work, nor any wavering in the prosecution of the details of business. All believed it safe to remain until the determination to force an exile or to exterminate by death became apparent; then but two alternatives remained, flight or fight. Friends were around who would have resisted even unto death; but the colonists believed that they should carry on their labor in love and in peace, and they preferred exile, with the silent preaching their sence would furnish, to the shedding of blood. There is in these silent monitors which are left be

'hind in the church, the rough houses and the few vacant acres of land, a tongue to speak louder than could any of the exiles, and already good has result-ed. Some, even of the slaveholders, that knew them best, have not only expressed by words the sympathy they feel, but others have apologized for the actions of the many, and one made proffer of money to en-able the victims to reach a more generous home.

EXPULSION OF FREE NEGROES FROM ARKANSAS .-Large Arrival in Cincinnati-Their Reception by the Colored Population. At the late session of the Arkansas Legislature, an act was passed giving the free negroes of that State the alternative of migrating be-fore January 1, 1860, or of becoming slaves. As the time of probation has now expired, while some few individuals have preferred servitude, the great body of the free colored people of Arkansas are on their way Northward. We learn that the upward bound boats are crowded with them, and that Seymour, Indiana, on the line of the Ohio and Missis-sippi Railroad, affords a temporary home for many

A party of forty, mostly women and children, arrived in this city last evening, by the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. They were welcomed by a committee of ten, appointed from the colored people of the city, by whom the refugees were escorted to the Dumas House, on McAllister street, between Fourth and Fifth, at which place a formal reception was held. They were assured by the chairman of the reception committee, Peter H. Clark, that if they were industrious and exemplary in their conduct, they would be sure to gain a good livelihood and many friends. The exiles, as before stated, are mostly women and children, the husbands and fathers be-ing held in servitude. They report concerning the emigration, that hundreds of the free colored men of Arkansas have left for Kansas, and hundreds more are about to follow .- Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 4.

The New York Tribune, in giving the revolting particulars of the tarring and feathering, and bloody scourging by the lash, of an unoffending Irish workman, named James Power, in Columbia, S. C. (falsely accused of being an abolitionist) says:

After he had travelled he supposes fifty miles, a master-mechanic of Charleston, pitying his suffer-ings and exhaustion, gave him a cup of coffee and a biscuit: whereupon the mob around the station threatened that person, swearing also death to him-self. Some came into the car, and seized him by the hair, saying, 'Let's look at you, you God damned abolition son of a b.h.' Some desired to give him a fresh coat of tar and feathers, but, not able to find any of those staples, they applied cotton to the tar already on him. The mob were likewise of opinion that there were a whole lot of abolstionists in the cars who ought to be hanged. He arrived at Charleston and was put in prison.

He had been kindly counseled to make no com-plaints, or he would get 130 lashes more. A physi-cian who attended him told him he escaped easily; for there were seven men, accused of being Northern pickpockets, arrested at the Agricultural State Fair, and committed to jail. One of them had received 500 lashes, another a less number; that the man who received the 500 was near dying. Power had not read of any trial of these men so accused and punished. Oil and water were given him to cleanse himself. Silence was enjoined on him, lest the mob should get hold of him. He paid his own passage money from Columbia to Charleston, the negro taking \$5 from his pocket-book. He heard that it the negroes of Columbia had olished that made a subscription to pay his passage. On Saturday last, at 7 in the morning, he was put on a steamer for New-York.

When the Christmas festivities were at their hight on Monday, this ' poor Exile of Erin,' with the blood-lash marks on his body—inflicted under the ægis of the Constitution and laws, for some maudin words or childish talk in Columbia, South Carolina—ar-rived at this great metropolis. He is reduced in flesh, but is sturdy in spirit. He asks work, not alms. It is a pity he could not have arrived in time for the Union meeting, southat Charles O'Connor, Esq., could have presented him to the Union-savers, and illustrated the effects of the patriarchal system on the person of an Irishman.

A letter from a Boston gentleman who has gone South for his health, states that on the first day out from Washington, he had a pistol held to his head, and that he was dogged by four Southern men for hundreds of miles, annoyed and insulted until he challenged the whole crowd of them to figh him, whereupon they backed out. All his news papers from Boston have been withheld from him, and his letters have been broken open before they reached the post-office to which they were sent.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT. A letter dated

'Three persons (preachers) were arrested for tampering with negroes in Madison county, Ky., last week, They were tarred and feathered, and sent back to the North from whence they came. They are considered murderers here. A Rev. gentleman has been notified to leave the State. The people here are determined to drive all such persons out

We learnfrom the Auburn Signal, that som short time ago, near Society Hill, Macon county Alabama, a man named L. Stearns, claiming to b from Montgomery, was caught tampering with a Mr. Richardson's negroes. He was driven off, and a party of citizens caught and whipped him. Two of cotton set on fire.

An Italian grocer, named John Ginochio, narrowly escaped being lynched by the citizens of Petersburg, Va., last Monday, for saying that John Brown was a good and very useful man, and, instead of being hung, he ought to have been made President of the United States.

Benj. F. Winter, a blacksmith by trade, has been ordered to leave the town of Hamilton, Harris County, Ga., by a meeting of citizens, for avowing abolition and incendiary sentiments.

A passenger on the Mississippi Central Rail-road was pushed off the train while it was in full motion, for denouncing Gov. Wise and lauding John

The steamer Huntsville, which arrived in New York from Savannah, on Monday, December 19th, brought several passengers who had been driven away from different parts of the South. Among them were two gentlemen whose heads were shaved qu one side! They had been exiled from the chivalrous State of South Carolina. One of the victims avowed determination speedily to return to execute ven

TOBERLIN CIRCULAR. A MONUMENT.

To Commemorate the Manly Virtues of those Noble Representatives of the Colored Race of the Nineteenth Century, JOHN A. COPPLAND, LEWIS LEARY, and

The funeral of John Copeland was held in the Oberlin Church on the last Sabbath, and although but short notice of the meeting was given, fully three thousand persons were present to unite in congratulations, and to mingle their tears with those who

wept.
Our esteemed fellow-citizen, the Hon. James Monroe, member elect of the Ohio Senate, and a Profess or in Oberlin College, had just returned from his humane mission to Virginia, and presented an inter-esting statement of his earnest, though unsuccessful efforts to recover the body of our friend. (Other and efforts to recover the body of our friend. (Other had carlier efforts for the same object, though intended to be efficient, had likewise proved a failure.)

Professor H. E. Peck, of Oberlin College, (one of

the men who lay in Cuyahoga jail for eighty-five days, for alleged complicity with those who rescued a fellow-being from the grasp of man-stealers,) preached an eloquent funeral sermon. He marked the providence of God which had furnished for the ed race a not less firm, heroic and Christ-like champion than had the white race in the person of the immortal John Brown.

Young Copeland was a man of incomplete education, and of few words, but brave and energetic. He was favorably known in our community; and was honored as the second man who entered the room, and faced a forest of revolvers, when the noted ' John

How brightly do his virtues shine when the cirrounstances of his last days are carefully considered. Falsely published by the highest authority of Virginia as craven and trembling—fearful, doubtless, that the base slander might be believed—uncheered by the friendly assurance of admiring thousands which so greatly sustained other patriots-surround ed by those who never dreamed of pobleness in a him with Christian courage to nobly represent a race; and how worthily did he represent them!

The Baltimore Sun says: A few moments before leaving the jail, Copeland said, 'If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause—I had rather die than be a slave!' A military officer in charge on the day of the execution says, 'I had a position near the gallows, and carefully observed all. I can truly say, I never witnessed more firm and unwavering fortitude, more perfect composure, or more beautiful propriety, than were manifested

by young Copeland to the very last.' The following extracts from his recent letters, on of which was written on the morning of his execution, will exhibit this noble young man to the admiration of every lover of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

Charlestown, Va. Dec. 10, 1859. My DEAR BROTHER :- I now take my pen to write you a few lines to let you know how I am, and in nswer to your kind letter of the 5th instant. Dear to meet its God. Brother, I am, it is true, so situated at present as scarcely to know how to commence writing; not that my mind is filled with fear, or that it has be come shattered in view of my near approach to death. Not that I am terrified by the gallows, which I see staring me in the face, and upon which I am so soon to stand and suffer death for doing what Geo. Washington, the so-called father of this great but slavery-cursed country, was made above the death of the start o cursed country, was made a hero for doing, while h n dead, his name was immortalized, and his great and noble deeds in behalf of freedo taught by parents to their children. And now r having lent my aid to a General no less brave, and engaged in a cause no less honorable and glorious, I am to suffer death. Washington entered black men flowed as freely as that of men did an equal share of the fighting for American Independence, and they were assured by the whites that they should share equal benefits for so doing. But, after having performed their part honorably they were by the whites most treacherously decrived -they refusing to fulfill their part of the contract. But this you know as well I do, and I will therefore say no more in reference to the claims which we, as colored men, have on the American people.

It was a sense of the wrongs which we have suf-fered that prompted the noble but unfortunate Captain Brown and his associates to attempt to give free dom to a small number, at least, of those who are now held by cruel and unjust laws, and by no less cruel and unjust men. To this freedom they were entitled by every known principle of justice and humanity, and for the enjoyment of it God created them. And now, dear brother, could I die in a more noble cause? Could I, brother, die in a manner and for a cause which would induce true and honest men more to honor me, and the angels more readily to receive me to their happy home of ever-lasting joy above? I imagine that I hear you, and all of you, mother, father, sisters and brothers, say-No, there is not a cause for which we, with less sorrow, could see you die.' Believe me when I tell you, that though shut up in prison and under sentence of death, I have spent some very happy hours here. And were it not that I know that the hearts of those to whom I am attached by the nearest and most endearing ties of blood-relationship—yea, by the closest and strongest ties that God has instituted—will be filled with sorrow, I would almost as lief die now as at any time, for I feel that I am now

prepared to meet my Maker. Dear brother, I want you, and all of you, to meet me in heaven. Prepare your souls for death. Be ready to meet your God at any moment, and then, though we meet no more on earth, we shall meet in heaven, where parting is no more. Dear William and Fred, be good boys—mind your mother and father—love and honor them—grow up to be good men, and fear the Lord your God. Now, I want you, dear brothers, to take this advice and follow it; remember, it comes from your own brother, and is written under most peculiar circumstances. Remember it is my dying advice to you, and I hope

you will, from the love you have for me, receive it. You may think I have been treated very harshly since I have been here, but it is not so. I have been treated exceedingly well-far better than I expected to be. My jailor is a most kind-hearted man, and has done all he could, consistent with duty, to make me and the rest of the prisoners comfortable. Capt. John Avis is a gentleman who has a heart in his bos-om as brave as any other. He met us at the Ferry, and fought us as a brave man would do. But since we have been in his power, he has protected us from insult and abuse which cowards would have heaped upon us. He has done as a brave man and gentle-man only would do. Also one of his aids, Mr. John has been very kind to us, and has done all he could to serve us. And now, Henry, if fortune should ever throw either of them in your way, and you can confer the least favor on them, do it for my sake.

Give my love to all my friends. And now, my dear brothers, one and all, I pray God we may meet Good bye. I am now, and shall remain, your af-JOHN A. COPELAND.

CHARLESTOWN JAIL, Va., Dec. 16, 1859. Dear Father, Mother, Brothers Henry, William and Freddy, and Sisters Sarah and Mary: The last Sabbath with me on earth has passed

The last Saboath with me on earth has passed by the President of the United States with the con-away. The last Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday that I shall ever see on this earth, have now passed by. God's glorious sun, which he has placed in the heavens to illuminate this earth—whose nounced by the government officers as by the people;

warm rays make man's home on earth pleasant—whose refulgent beams are watched for by the poor invalid, to enter and make as it were a heaven of the room in which he is confined—I have seen declining behind the western mountains for the last time. Last night, for the last time, I beheld the soft bright

Century, John A. Coperand, Lewis Leary, and Shields Green, who, for the Cause of Freedom, laid down their lives at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown, Va., October 17, and December 16, 1859.

The Citizens of Oberlin have undertaken the work of erecting a Monument to the memory of these their honored friends and townsmen. But, as they are representative men, of whom every colored person in the land has reason to be proud, we have not thought it right to withhold from such, nor indeed from any, the privilege of sharing the honor with us.

We make no stirring appeal for funds—preferring to say, in the language of the blessed book which was the solace of our friends as they approached the hour of their mortal agony—'Let every one whose trong ties, (yea, the strongest that God ever instituted,) the ties of blood and relationship. I am welf, both in body and in mind. And now, dear ones, if it were not for those feelings I have for you—if it were not that I know your hearts will be filled with sortow at my fate, I could pass from this earth without a regret. Why should you sorrow? Why the 'Monument.

The funeral of John Copeland was held in the Charlestown, and the last time, I beheld the soft bright moon as it rose, casting its mellow light into my felon's cell, dissipating the darkness, and filling it with that soft pleasant light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like circumstances with myself. This morning, for the last time, I beheld the soft bright with that soft pleasant light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like circumstances with myself. This morning, for the last time, I beheld the soft breast time, I beheld the soft bright with that soft pleasant light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like circumstances with myself. This morning, for the last time, I beheld the soft breast tight wi not everything to gain, and nothing to lose by the change? I fully believe that not only myself, but also all three of my poor comrades who are to ascend the same scaffold—(a scaffold already made sacred to the cause of freedom by the death of that great champion of human freedom. Cart. Leave.

champion of human freedom, Capt. Joan Brown,)
are prepared to meet our God.

I am only leaving a world filled with sorrow and woe, to enter one in which there is but one lasting day of happiness and bliss. I feel that God, in his mercy, has spoken peace to my soul, and that all my

numerous sins are forgiven.

Dear parents, brothers and sisters, it is true that I am now in a few hours to start on a purney from which no traveler returns. Yes, long before this reaches you, I shall, as I sincerely hope, have met our brother and sister who have for years been worshiping God around his throne—singing praises to him, and thanking him that he gave his Son to die that they might have according that they might have eternal life. I pray daily and hourly that I may be fitted to have my home with them, and that you, one and all, may prepare your souls to meet your God, that so, in the end, though we meet no more on earth, we shall meet in heaven, where we shall not be parted by the demands of the

cruel and unjust monster Slavery.

But think not that I am complaining, for I feel reconciled to meet my fate. I pray God that his will done, not mine.

in to meet death, which I should regret, (if I should express regret I mean,) but that such an unjust-institution should exist as the one which demands my life, and not my life only, but the lives of these to whom my life bears but the relative value of zero to the infinite. I beg of you, one and all, ed by those who never dreamed of pobleness in a negro, why did he not sink? Answer—God inspired will thank God that he spared me to make my peace will thank God that he spared me to make my peace with him.

And now, dear ones, attach no blame to any one for my coming here, for not any person but myself is to blame.

I have no antipathy against any one. I have freed my mit. of all hard feelings against every living being, and I ask all who have any thing against me to do the same.

And now, dear Parents, Brothers and Sisters,

oust bid you to serve your God, and meet me I must with a very few words close my correspon

dence with those who are the most near and dear to me: but I hope, in the end, we may again commune never more to cease. Dear ones, he who writes this will, in a few hours be in this world no longer. Yes, these fingers which hold the pen with which this is written will, before

to-day's sun has reached his meridian, have laid it aside forever, and this poor soul have taken its fligh And now, dear ones, I must bid you that last, long, sad farewell. Good by, Father, Mother, Henry, William, and Freddy, Sarah and Mary! Serve your

God, and meet me in heaven. Your Son and Brother to eternity. JOHN A. COPELAND. One three cent piece keep as a token.

Nor was Lewis Leary an unsuitable associate o the heroic Copeland. A Christian man-driver forth amid a shower of rifle balls from the land of his fathers, because of efforts to ' deliver him that was spoiled out of the hands of the eppressor,' he still fearlessly pursued the same godlike calling in the home of his adoption. For this purpose, and for nothing else, Leary and his associates went to Harglorious, I am to suffer death. Washington entered the field to fight for the freedom of the American people—not for the white man alone, but for both black and white. Now were they white men alone who fought for the freedom of this country. The foe, and covered with mortal wounds. Why did he will be found to the freedom of this country. white rush on death? Not that life was a weariness to men. Yes, the very first blood that was spilt was that of a negro. It was the blood of that heroic man, (though black he was.) Crispus Attucks. And some of the very last blood shed was that of black men. To the truth of this, history, though prejudiced is compelled to attest. It is true that black in force and so the property of conjugal love and the winning smiles of helpless of infancy could not change his purpose to do and dare nobly for the deliverance of his brethren.

SHIELDS GREEN was but little known to us, except ing as he has been made known to the nation and he world by his manly conduct, his patient and heroic endurance in prison, and his pious, courage ous and consistent deportment as he stood on the fatal gallows. Our messenger to Virginia saw him as he lay in

a garret, naked, frozen and bloody; his dead eyes open, and looking straight to heaven as if he would say, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not udge and avenge our blood?

The great congregation assembled at young Cope-land's funeral contributed nearly one hundred and seventy-five dollars towards the monument and expenses, although five other public collections had been made within thirty days.

We wish to do a worther thing. The more money

we raise, the more noble the MONUMENT we rear to the memory—not of a man only—but of a race.

Please make such efforts to secure funds for this bject as seem advisable, and forward the money with in four weeks, if possible, to the Treasurer,

J. M. FFECH, Oberlin, Ohio. (Signed,) A. N. BEECHER, J. M. LANGSTON MONBOE, WATSON, G. KINNEY. W. E. KELLOG, H. EVANS. S. GRIMES, S. PLUMB, J. M. Firon. Oberlin, Dec. 29, 1859.

GOV. BANKS ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE

On Friday last, Gov. Banks communicated his an nual message to the Legislature. We give, below that portion of it which relates to our present complicated national affairs, growing out of the existence

NATION.

of the accursed slave system at the South :-Recent occurrences call attention to the measures tendencies and principles which seem to control the National Government. Great changes have occur-red during the last five years, in the opinions of the people, but far greater in the policy of the govern-

ment.
There has not been in this Commonwealth, at any time in twenty years past, a more general concurrence of opinion, or less agitation of political topics, than

the opening of the thirty-third Congress, after a somewhat compulsory, but general acquiescence in the compromise measures of 1850.

This harmony of feeling upon the subject of slavery was not disturbed in this Commonwealth by philanthropists, agitators, declaimers or theorists. The public records of the times will show this. Ideas are very powerful, but revolutions in opinion or government rarely or never occur unaccompanied by events commensurate with them and their results. There is no greater error than that which attributes to the speculations of scholars, or the denunciation of enthusiasts. It is attributable to historical events over memorable events; events connected with the government, and which were alike beyond the con-trel of agitators, philanthropists, abolitionists, and

even of the people themselves.

It is worth our while to consider some of these na tional occurrences; such as the repeal of the Mis souri Compromise,—a conspiration against the peo ple of the South as well as the North; the invasion of Kansas by bands of men, armed with the plunde of public arsenals, to overawe the officers appointed by the President of the United States with the col

the sacking of towns and the murder of their inhabitants; the rejection by Congress of a Constitution framed by the people, and the effort to force upon them against their will, and against all principle and precedent, another framed by Congress; the illegal and defiant renewal of the foreign slave trade; the attempt to force a surrender of the political rights of the States and the people, by referring political questions to judicial decision; the deadly assault upon a Senator of this Commonwealth while in the constitutional performance of his duty in the Senate chamber; the sacrifice of a Senator on the Pacific Coast, because, as he said in the agony of death, he had opposed the extension of slavery; the neglect of every interest of labor and of commerce, by government, and the prostitution of all its powers to the spirit of slavery propagandism; the invasion of the mails and the threats of disunion and revolution, whenever a check by constitutional change of national policy is suggested; these are among the events that have contributed to the present state of public opinion. It required incidents of no less magnitude te produce such results. Were the press suspended and every lip scaled with the silence of death, they te produce such results. Were the press suspended and every lip sealed with the silence of death, they would still incite every manly heart to indignant, though fruitless resistance.

But it is not merely that which is past that dis-

turbs the country; it is the fear of that which is to come. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was come. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the most stupendous public wrong ever committed in this country, or that men will ever live to commit; not because of its effect on Kansas, but that it initiated liey of violence inconsistent with liberty or just government, freedom of opinion, the interests of labor, the rights of States, the equality of the people, the observance of constitutional limitations, or the perpetuation of free institutions. A violent policy must be sustained by violent measures. violent policy m ust be sustained by violent measures History proves it, and our experience, as that of

other nations, will verify it.

It is idle to charge upon the body of the supporters of the national administration any deliberate intention to establish measures inimical te the public interests. They probably have no such purpose and may justly disclaim it; but it is nevertheless true that the men who direct that policy will allow, and can allow, no peace. They must submit themselves to the law of necessity which governs them. The administrations of 1852 and 1856 were in direct and absolute contravention of every declaration of purpose, personal and official, on the part of their leaders; and it is not difficult to forsee that similar and it is not difficult to forsee that similar results will again occur if power is continued in similar hands. We may go further, and name the time when such invasions of the settled policy of the country will happen. The interval between Presicontests, when elections are unimportant, and decide nothing, are convenient periods and decide nothing, are convenient periods for the consummation of revolutionary measures; and the return of the grand contests for political power is equally auspicious for threatened dissolution, and appeals to the fears of some classes and the magnanimity of others; for an acquiescence is conceded wrong, upon the pretence that it is to silence dissen-

sion and terminate all controversy.

It is unnecessary to say that this Commonwealth is opposed—inflexibly and almost unanimously— alike to such principles and such policy. Her prin-ciples are those of the fathers of the government. She recognizes the existence of State and National governments, each sovereign and independent with-in its own sphere of action, and dividing the jurisdiction between them, not by territorial limits, and not by the relation of superior and subordinate, but classifying the subjects of government, and designating those over which each had entire and independent jurisdiction. Within her own horders, she asserts the liberty and equality of all men. Non-responsibility, and non-intervention, as to the domestic relations of men in other States, is alike her choice and her law. Her policy is pacific and not violent, constitutional

not revolutionary, submitting to constitutional au- them to hesitate about making what they account a thority, and seeking the general good, rather than small subscription, to remember that while the largest selfish gratification or isolated aggrandizement. No sum is small in comparison with the grandeur of the act of violence, no infringement of the rights of others, whether of States or of men, no denial of the provisions of the Constitution, no impeachment of the union of States, is consistent with her principle or her policy.

Her people, under all circumstances, are inflexibly

opposed to, and will resist, by every constitutional right, the extension of slavery, the re-opening of the foreign slave trade, the consolidation of despotic power in the federal government, or restrictions up on the freedom of speech, of the press, or of opinion She asks of the government the neglect of no in-terest,—State or National,—but claims protection for all, and is as ready to concede the rights of oth-

ers as to maintain her own.

She will support the Constitution and the Union. not because they are respected elsewhere, but because she knows their cost, and appreciates their value. The revolution began in Massachusetts. Here arose the earliest dissensions with the mother country; here the people were first prepared for revolt; here patriots were first proscribed, independence was first contemplated; here fell the first martyrs of liberty; the first British ensign was here struck to American sea-men, and here was first unfurled the American flag. We require no instruction upon the subject of our duties, and will submit to no infringement of our rights. The Union must be preserved, and so must

the State of Massachusetts.

I hesitate not to affirm that the action of this government is consistent with these principles. It is not my purpose to declare that there is universal ac not my purpose to declare that there is universal ac-quiescence in such views, that individuals do not hold different opinions, or that in periods of great ex-citement, and under great provocation, public sym-pathy is not exerted in behalf of those who suffer rom misfortunes, or required to pay the penalties of

law.

No one who is connected with the administration of justice, and witnesses the strength of sympathy for hardened offenders, will be surprised that public udgment should be momentarily swayed by the exhibition in any man of the highest qualities—a love of truth, as rare as it is beautiful, an integrity as unbending as his spirit; one in whom great suffer—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUing had perverted judgment, who accepts the responsibilities of his acts without complaint, and meets death as a sailor doubles a Cape. Opinion is free and sympathy unrestrained, and it is as little ree that it should be manifested in such a case, as that in other parts of the country public meet-ings should be held to justify an assault upon a Senator of the United States for words spoken in debate. The evening meeting will be held in the TREMONT But it does not represent the government nor the matured conviction of the people as to their politi-

my judgment, dissolution is one of the evils not with cate its bed, and turn back upon themselves the my-riads of bubbling springs and mountain rivulets that have nourished the father of rivers from the time father of rivers from the time tion upon physical considerations, but the possession of such cities as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, that pay four-fifths of the revenues of the gov-ernment, will be of sufficient importance to hold together the eastern line of States, on whichsoever side political power may be lodged. Disunion is not among the impending evils of this country, but the tendencies to radical and despotic changes in the form of government are more imminent, and must erious apprehensions of the friends of constitutional liberty.

The settlement of these great controversies will not devolve upon the legislature. Nevertheless, we are called upon with the people of other States to weigh well the dangers that surround us, and to reflect upon the remedies constitutionally within our magnanimous recognition of the liberty-loving heromagnanimous recognition of the liberty-lovi flect upon the remedies, constitutionally within our power. Men may well differ as to the course to be pursued. For myself, I can only submit with deference the results of my own reflection. Legislative expedients do not seem to me to be equal to the crisis. Extreme measures divide friends and unite opponents. The concurrent action of that portion of ponents. The concurrent action of that portion of the American people whose principles harmonize, is the only sure reliance. It is a period which demands concession in immaterial things and co-operation in the great ideas of the age. With such a spirit, silent, steady and united action will restore the peace of the country, and re-establish the ancient policy of

So long as Massachusetts is ready to support knowledged pro-slavery compromises, so long will she as we do to a Joshua or Gideon, a Washington or be proportionately responsible for all the guilt, danger Warren, and especially not to do him the slightest inand trouble arising from the continuance of slavery. justice. Though he was far from being a non-resis-

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JANUARY 13, 1860.

REMEMBER THE TERMS To our Sussenmers. Those of our subscriber sho have not paid for the current year,-that is, from January 1st, 1859, to January 1st, 1860,-are remind ed of the standing rule by which their papers will be discontinued after February 1st, 1860, baless payment for the same be previously sent in.

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

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 year has made; carnestly entreating the satisfaction of their company at

THE MUSIC HALL, BOSTON,

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

We, who now unite in this heartfelt invitation, ar not of Northern origin exclusively; some are of the South, and some have been slaveholders. But all seeing clearly that the present must be a year of unwonted moral exertion, if our country is to be carried successfully through the present hopeful crisis, unite in entreating our friends to meet us in this way at its opening, for mutual understanding and co-opegation, counsel and encouragement, sympathy and congratulation. Never were the signs of the peaceful extinction of slavery so full and propitious to the eyes long trained to read them aright.

We shall shortly send special invitations to both the earlier and later friends. In the mean time, we entreat all who love their native land, and are beginning to feel deeply moved, to serve and save it, to consider the necessity of steady, long-sustained, unremitting exertion, such as we carry on, and to uphold it now by presence, if possible-at all events by letter and by sympathy. The names of such as have reasons for avoiding publicity will be sacredly kept, and our grateful expressions conveyed to them by private acknowledgment.

Let none who sympathize with us be absent be ause our special invitation may fail to reach them for accident and omission, however carefully guarded against, are almost unavoidable in issuing invitations on so large a scale: and the occasion is one that will, we trust, bring to our acquaintance many now unknown to us, whose co-operation will be most valu-We entreat any whose love of the cause induce

sum is small in comparison with the grandeur of the Cause, the smallest may be the expression of high 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 PORRING CAROLINE WESTON, SARAH P. REMOND. MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, ELIZA ANDREW. SARAH CABOT 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.

SETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Jan. 26th and 27th. The day meetings (morning and afternoon) will be held in the Mejo NAON, commencing at half past 10 o'clock, A. M TEMPLE, commencing at half past 7.

All those who are believers in the 'irrepressible Nor do I apprehend that the restoration of the conflict' between Freedom and Slavery-in making no government to its ancient policy will weaken its bonds, or tend to the dissolution of the Union. In issue presented by them, in the spirit of freemen, unin the scope, if it be within the purpose, of human much be scope, if it be within the purpose, of human at the root of the Upas tree of Slavery, instead of the upas tree of Slavery, instead of those which spring from the wish or will of interested men. The Pacific Coast is an indivisible empire. Whoever shall divide the Mississippi must possess the power to dissipate its rolling floods, dessision the moment he breathes her air-are cordially invited to be present, and to participate in the deliberations of the meetings. In connection with the Anwhen the evening and morning stars first sang to-gether. The Atlantic coast is susceptible of separa-ing, Jan. 25th, at Music Hall,) let the gathering be unprecedentedly large.

Able and eloquent speakers will be present on the occasion. [Further particulars hereafter.] In behalf of the Board of Managers,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

WHITTIER ON JOHN BROWN. We have copied into our poetical department, from

magnanimous recognition of the liberty-loving hero-ism of John Brown, which is found in many of the poet's effusions relating to the war-like struggle of 1776, and 'our revolutionary fathers.' For example -he speaks of 'the rash and bloody hand'-the guilty means' with 'the good intent'-the grisly fighter's hair'- the folly that seeks through evil good '-' the said of midnight terror '-' the outlaw's pride of daring,' &c. There is an apparent invidiousness or severity of imputation in these epithets, which does not seem to be called for, though softened by some approving allusions in close juxtaposition. Let such of us as are believers in the doctrines of peace be carethe Constitution and the Union,' with all their ac- ful to award to John Brown at least as much credit

tant, yet he was not a man of violence and blood is a lawless sense, any more than those Jewish and Aber. lawless sense, any more reproachful epithets ought to can heroes; and it no represent the parties out to be cast upon their memories, none ought to be on be cast upon their moral transfer, upon his. In all that constitutes moral grander, upon his. In all that constitutes moral grandered character, and entire disinterestedness of action is character, and entire distance of action he was their superior. He perilled all that was detty he was their superior bloomy for himself and was their superior.
him, not to achieve liberty for himself, or those of he him, not to achieve morely between the fetters of a new complexion, but to break the fetters of a new own complexion, out own, most wickedly attempt on colored like his own, most wickedly attempt not colored like this and subjected to a bondage in of unutterable wee and horror. But, even in of unutterable were arranged behalf, he sought no retaliation nor revenge, but my behalf, he sought no record and rivings, below, (if possible) a peaceful exodus from Virginia E. (if possible) a pracerul earness from sugmit its explicitly declared to the Court - I never had my explicitly deciared to the country of any person, nor my day design against the liberty of any person, nor my day design against the treason or destroy property, or to position to commit treason of descript property, or to excite or to incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.' And what fair-minded man doubt the word of John Brown? His weapons were purely fe self-defence on the part of the flying bondmenself-defence on the particle after Chiefextremity, which, eighted of Catholic and Pajustifies their use in and in accordance with the onmon law of the world. He was of such staff a th Waldenses and Albigenses, the Scotch Corranting the Smithfield martyrs, the Mayflower Pilgrins was composed; apparently as true to his conviction of composed; apparent of the duty toward God, as any man who ever walled the duty toward God, as his does not prove that he his earth before min. And the spiritual weapon for well to rely on some other than spiritual weapon for the success of his plan; but it does demand that the fullest justice should be done to his character, and that every reference to him should be as repetid and as appreciative as to any of the patriots and any and as appreciated the civilized nations of the and bow down in homage. Every man who votes to uphold (as does the Quaker poet himself) the Constant tion of Massachusetts and the American Constitutes votes to uphold the war system-army, nary, nary, with all their accompaniments; and no such person therefore, can consistently speak of 'the rish ad bloody hand of John Brown, nor of the fally that bloody hand of bond, —that is, that seeks through evil good, —that is, that seeks themas. cipate the enslaved, peaceably if it can-forthy it

Possibly, before entering Harper's Perry Lib Brown had been reading the following soul-sing lines of Whittier, -giving them a more literal interpretation than perhaps the poet intended :-

· Speak out in acts !- the time for words Has passed, and deeds alone suffice; In the loud clang of meeting swords The softer music dies!

Act—act, in God's name, while ye may!

Smite from the Church her leprous limb! Throw open to the light of day
The bondman's cell, and break away .The chains the State has bound on him!

One last great battle for the Right,-One short, sharp struggle to be free!\_
To do is to succeed—our light Is waged in Heaven's approving sight— The smile of God is Victory!

It is certain that when John Brown was at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Hoston last Mer. he was heard to say, at its conclusion-These mes are all talk: what is needed is action-action!' He did unconscious injustice to the men alluded to, but it shows what was then uppermost in his mind. In the following lines by Whittier, the mertial references are very different from those in his effusion in the Independent :-· Our fellow-countrymen in chains!

Slaves -in a land of light and law! Slaves—in a land of light and law!
Slaves2—crouching on the very plains
Where rolled the storm of Freedom's war!
A groan from Eutau's haunted wood—
A wail where Camden's martyrs fell— By every shrine of patriot blood, From Moultrie's wall and Jasper's well! By storied hill and hallowed grot, By mossy wood and marshy glen,

Whence rang of old the rife-shot And hurrying shout of Marion's men! No-by each spot of haunted ground, Where Freedom weeps her children's fall—
By Plymouth's Rock, and Bunker's mound—
By Griswold's stained and shattered wall—
By Warren's ghost—by Langdon's shade—
By all the memories of our dead!

By their enlarging souls, which burst The bands and fetters round them set-By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed

Be ours th' indignant answer-NO! So, too, in the following verse, there is the same appreciation of heroism, without any damaging im-

· When Freedom, on hednatal day, Within her war-rocked cradle lay, An iron race around her stood, Baptized her infant'brose in blood, And, through the storm which round her swept, Their constant ward and watching kept.

Again :-

God bless New Hampshire !- from her granite peaks, Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks! But John Brown was nobler in his sim, and less bloody in his spirit, than either Stark or Langdon Again, says the poet :-

The voice of free, broad Middlesex-of thousand

as of one-The shaft of Bunker calling to that of Lezington! Is Harper's Ferry a whit behind Bunker Hill or Lexington in all that constitutes true devotion of soul, or a quenchless love of liberty? Again, alluding to the invasive march of the Slave

· It is coming, it is nigh! Stand your homes and altars by: On your own free thresholds die Perish party-perish clan; Strike together while ye can. Like the arm of one strong man!

Power through the North :

Finally, Yorktown is celebrated in the following · From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still, Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill: Who curbs his steed at head of one; Hark! the low murmur: Washington! Who bends his keen, approving glance, Where down the gorgeous line of France

Where down the gorgeous line of Fran Thou too art victor, Rochambeau! Oh! veil your faces, young and brave! Sleep, Scammel, in thy soldier grave! Sons of the North-land, ye who set Stout hearts ogainst the bayonet, And pressed with steady footfall near

The monted battery's blazing tier.
Turn your scarred faces from the sight—
Let shame do homage to the right! Neither Washington, nor Rochambeau, nor Scammel presented such exalted traits of character as John Brown : why, then, should he be the subject of special moral criticism and rebuke by the poet? was his effort 'a midnight raid with bloody hand, while theirs was made brilliant and imposing by knightly star and plume of snow," and by successfully meeting bayonet with bayonet?

If there is danger, on the one hand, lest therems be a repudiation of the doctrine of non-resistance, through the sympathy and admiration felt for John Brown, there is more danger, on the other hand, that the brutal outery raised against him as an outlaw, traitor and murderer by those who are either too cowardly to avow their real convictions, or too proslavery to feel one throb of pity for those in bondard will lead to unmerited censure of his course. Diffcult as it may be to hold an equal balance in such ! case, it is still the duty of every one to do so-

We copy, unsolicited, from the New York Herald, a letter from Hon. Henry Wilson to Henry C. Wright, which is very suggestive in the way of conments, but our columns are too crowded for remark.

very Socia liscourag to the ove owing to both thes both An Church in what s even nam this debt I think inculcation have alls nity at lar jury to the and our d of the inj case of th impr asio we recog ness in of wrong in behalf relation o highwaysome of t the slave ship in his as if, whi right to e the right of and justice and to say his will. such strer leave this you interfe me first ! non-resist this meth of great p

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NON-RESISTANCE AND ANTI-SLAVERY There are no more thorough abolitionists than the small and despised set of men and women, who, having renounced the use of injurious force, call themselve Non-Resistants. Small as this number is, I believe the two chief characteristics of the American Anti-Slavery Society-the vigor and pertinacity of its moral warfare against slavery, combined with a disuse and discouragement of the application of physical force to the overthrow of that sin-are alike, and equally. owing to them. Recognizing, thankfully, my ow indebtedness to these men-having learned from them both these great constituent parts of Christian truth both Anti-Slavery and Non-Resistance, after the Church had given me her full course of instruction in what she called Christianity without including, or eren naming them—I will now pay one instalment of this debt by a little friendly criticism; which will perhaps apply to my own past labors, as well as to

I think it may be, that in the earnestness of ou inculcation of Non-Resistance with Anti-Slavery, we have all somewhat helped to mislead, both those abolitionists who were not non-resistants, and the community at large. I fear that our earnest deprecation of injary to the slaveholder, even for the freedom of the slave, and our demand for patient forbearance on the part of the injured, more frequently in connection with the case of the slave than in other cases, has produced an impr ssion-a feeling-among our auditors, as though we recognized, after all, some element of rightfulness in the claim of the master, or some element of wrongfulness in the interference of a third person in behalf of the slave; as if we did not recognize the relation of slaveholder to slave to be precisely that of highway-robber to traveller; as if we did recognize some of the absurd and monstrous pretences by which the slaveholder tries to make out a claim of ownership in his brother man, as having a partial validity ; as if, while admitting that the slave has a perfect right to escape clandestinely, we hesitated to admit the right of his next friend, or of any friend of right and justice, to confront the slaveholder in his behalf, and to say ... Tom shall not be confined here against his will, and be made to work without wages, while such strength as I have can help him! If he wishes to leave this place this moment, he shall do so ! And if you interfere to prevent him, you must interfere with me first!' I say, I fear our manner of inculcating non-resistance has been by many persons misinterpreted, to the extent of supposing that we disapprove of this method of helping the slave. If so, there is need of great plainness of speech, and also of great emphasis, in clearing away this misconception.

To remove a preliminary difficulty here, it is needful to say that non-resistants have often incautiously allowed themselves to be entrapped into the relinquishment of other departments of right and duty while they are defending non-resistance. We must be careful to distinguish between cases in which this element stands by itself, and those in which it is associated with other elements and incidents.

Was it right for France to assist the United State in throwing off the yoke of Great Britain? Certainly.

Do you approve of war, then?

I do not; and there is no such connection between these two things as your second question attempts to insinuate. It was a positive and indispensable duty for France to help the United States in their vindication of their just rights. The manner in which this duty should be performed is another matter; it is an incidental question, to be decided by circumstances. But so much as this, at least, is clear. The unfortunate fact that France was a fighting nation, which had never reached even the idea of the high Christian principle of Non-Resistance, did not at all relesse her from the obligation to perform the plainest and most common duty of humanity, the giving ef help to one in need. It is her duty, at all events, to help. If she knows no other way to help than by fighting, it is clearly her duty to help in that way.

By precisely the same rule is John Brown's enterprise in Virginia to be judged. And the first thing to be done in regard to it is to shake off the opprobrious epithets by which it has been unjustly stigmatized, to show their unfitness, and to refuse to receive ill names as the description of a righteous and

If I am asked-Do you approve of Brown's raid, Brown invaded no man's rights in Virginia. As to the fourth, insurrection is a rising against the oppressor, an attempt to overthrow and subjugate him. Brown's direction-a strict and emphatic directionwas, that no man should be harmed, except such as actually (and thus criminally) interfered to prevent the freedom of the slaves. The two men who were shot before Brown was besieged in the arsenal were shot in direct violation of his orders. And the evidence now conclusively shows that his purpose was to enable the slaves, escaping from their respective places of bondage, to make a stand in the mountains of Virginia, with arms to defend themselves if they were assaulted, and thus to furnish one place t which all the slaves of that region might resort for safety, until their numbers should enable them to make terms securing the concession of their permanent freedom. Brown's final statement-and Brown's word is more to be trusted than the oath of another man-is, that the language of his final address to the court had been misinterpreted, and that he had not intended to convoy his freed men from Virginia to Canada, but to enable them to make a stand on their native soil; to establish a city of refuge on the Shenandoah mountains; and thence to make known to all the slaves within fifty miles the existence of that citadel, and to give to such of them as might seek it the means of standing at bay, instead of fleeing towards an indefinite distant freedom, with every man's hand

against them until it was reached. The one great, characteristic, peculiar, essential feature of John Brown's enterprise was, the openness of his offer to help the slaves in regaining their liberty; the fact that this offer was made in presence of the slaveholders, accosting them as a band of robbers. and setting at nought alike the laws and customs by which they had attempted to sanctify their villany and the force by which they proposed to uphold it.

This is the essence, the great distinctive characteristic of John Brown's enterprise. If I am asked-Do you approve this ?- I answer, Yes! with all my heart, and soul, and mind, and strength.

When we come to the subordinate, incidental fea tures of this enterprise, each must be judged on its own ground. I do not claim perfection for Brown nothing but a fair estimate of his merits and demerits

Let us examine the charges that remain. Was he right in seizing Lewis Washington an

John H. Alstadt, in putting them under restraint.

and keeping them prisoners? I reply, Undoubtedly he was right. Those men were robbers individually, and also active members of a band of robbers. They ought long since to have been seized and kept under restraint, as dangerous person by the police of the town in which they lived. If the band of which they were membershad already succeeded in getting the police, and the magistraey, and the courts, and the military into their power, so that the regular representatives of law and order were powerless against them, so much the more need that some enterprising individual should commence the administration of justice, and (as the first settlers of Connecticut are said to have done) act upon the laws of God until there was leisure to attend to the enactment of proper human laws. The restraint of evil-doers by uninjurious means is neither a wrong thing in itself, nor at variance with the Christian doctrine of Non-Resistance. And, as to Brown's alleged interference with an existing law, order, and gov-

language, and reason, and justice, in one expression. LETTER FROM HON. HENRY WILSON TO To speak of an organization which compels one set of men to work without wages, and which drives out of its territories all who presume to censure this ty- MR. HENRY C. WRIGHT: ranny, and which allows and perpetrates every sort of wickedness. The more such an organization is predominant and successful, the more disorder reigns in that place. That which now calls itself a governthe allegiance of any human being. To set that or-

government' there. But another incidental feature of Brown's plan was to apply such money and other available property as the North to incite slaves to resistance, and to sid he found in possession of the slaveholders to the benefit of the slaves. Was this right?

I reply, Certainly it was right, because these things are already the property of the slaves—the products of their labor-the wages wrongfully kept back from them-the property stolen from them, piece by piece, as it was earned, and, by a double injustice, perverted boast it was, that they lived in luxury without earnthe traveller's property from the highwayman, to restore it to the traveller?

One piece of private property, however, was unjustifiably taken, namely, a sword, which was one of the few articles which really belonged to Lewis Washington; one of the few things in his possession which did so without casting any reflections on you who had he had not stolen from the men and women whom so wantonly misrepresented me. Every fair-minded he held as slaves. This sword, descending from Fredcrick of Prussia through George Washington, came into the hands of Lewis Washington by gift or inheritance, not by plunder. This was taken by Mr. J. B. Mann, a gentleman of intelligence, who was Cooke, not by Brown; and when the latter knew its at the meeting, in a communication in the Boston history, he promised Lewis Washington that it should Journal, says : be returned to him whenever the necessity of his con-

It will next be asked-Was it right for John Brown to seize the United States arsenal?

I reply-Certainly it was right. This was the place where a still larger gang of robbers had stored their plunder; the place where a large amount of property, taken from the country at large, North and South, ostensibly to be used for the rightful purposes of a Democratic government, had been applied, by the grossest perversion from its legitimate purpose, to the defence of an oligarchical banditti which had overthrown the Democracy. That arsenal, with its contents, belonged to THE PEOPLE of the United States, black and white, South and North. And whatever portion of that people, taking possession of this property, will use it for the purposes specified n the Constitution of the United States, namely-TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, ENSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY, will at once arrest the perversion of this public property, and restore it to its original and legitimate purpose. To rescue swords, muskets and pistols from the possession of robbers, and from being a reserved force to fortify the practice of robbery, is neither a bad nor a doubtful thing, but a positively good thing. Lastly, I shall be asked-' Allowing the rectitude,

and even the high nobleness and heroism of John Brown in remembering those in bonds as bound with them, in openly presenting himself to the slaveholder as the ally of the slave, and in doing his utmost to help the slaves to liberty, do you approve the manner of his doing this? namely, his using weapons of death, and placing weapons of death in the hands of his followers, liberated slaves or others?

To this I reply-I, a Non-Resistant, can no more approve this than I can approve the use of such arms by Washington, Warren, and Lafayette in the American Revolution, by Tell and Winkelried in Switzerland, by Bozzaris in Greece, by Koseiusko in Poland, by Toussaint in Hayti, by Nathaniel Turner in Virginia, or by Garibaldi in Italy. I utterly repudiate carnal weapons, and the shedding of blood, and the use of all injurious force. I hold human life to be absolutely inviolable. I hold liberty to be the right of slaves to resist their masters, and the right and duty all, except those whose persistence in aggravated of the North to aid them in it. This statement rime makes their liberty incompatible with the safety of the community; in which case I would have untrue. You had an object to gain, and that object them (always by the use of uninjurious force) subjected to restraint, combined with the best means of ameliorating discipline that the resources of the community could furnish, until freedom could safely be restored to them. If Brown, or any of the noble persons above named, who have deemed it right to shed the blood of others, as well as offer their own, in the cause of liberty, had asked my counsel before commencing their several enterprises, I would have advised that they refrain from the use of all injurious force, and strive to overcome evil with good. But, if they had rejected my counsel, and chosen, in full view of less their duty to oppose themselves to the prevailing tyranny of their respective times. It was imperatively their duty to oppose this tyranny, and to help the victims of it: and their means of doing this must of course be such means as their minds and consciences jadged to be right and best. Our duty is, applauding them wherein they did well, to learn by their errors, and do better the things wherein they failed, but by and do better the things wherein they failed, but by . Resistance to Tyrants is obedience to God, in no means to censure them because their action was reference to the conduct of John Brown at Harper's not guided by our light.

Moreover, in justice to John Brown, we must remember that he-was a disciple and child of that American church which has always been the active and tion' as you assert -- but to hear you 'lecture.' five or determined opponent of Non-Resistance. The church six hundred people of this town assembled; not less here, as in most other countries, is the ally of the gov. than three hundred of the number were legal voters ernment, prays for it, praises it, inculcates obedience of the Republican and Democratic parties. They came to it, and seeks to give an ill name to all who oppose in response to the call, to hear your lecture, and not it. The history of the Non-Resistance Society shows to discuss or to act. After the meeting assembled, you that its official Agents, its advocates generally, and took the desk, asked the meeting to appoint a chairits movements, have encountered their most virulent man : the getters up of the meeting appointed one, and and persistent opposition from the clergy. They seem- you submitted a resolution. You made a long speech ed to hate it with a perfect hatred. Hundreds of times no one else uttered a word; the resolution was put were the Agents of that Society (themselves ordained and some ten or fifteen persons out of five or six hunministers) refused admission to the pulpits of brother dred present voted for it. The great mass of the the clergy have entered largely into official alliance to be in any degree responsible for its action. In no with war, by acting as chaplains in the army and sense was the resolution an expression of the sentinavy, and by preaching annually, for the past two ments of the meeting, for more than nine-tenths of the centuries, complimentary sermons before the Ancient persons present had no part in its action, and nineand Honorable Artillery (as it calls itself) of Boston. It was much-a very notable interposition of Prov-

idence in John Brown's behalf-that he was led out from the influence of the church as far as the upholding of slavery was concerned; that he was plucked, as
C. Wright on the 20th of November. I printed the
notice of the meeting which was summoned to hear ing of slavery was concerned; that he was plucked, as a brand from the burning, out of this department of her snares. But her mischievous doctrine that the true God is the 'God of battles'—that the universal Father is the 'Lord of hosts,' authorizing 'some of His children to hang, behead, stab and shoot others. His children to hang, behead, stab and shoot others—this detestable doctrine the church had instilled inminutes; no one else uttered a word, and it was in no to him so effectually that he never escaped from it. sense a discussion. The vote in favor of the resolution was small, not exceeding twelve. The mass of And he probably never took pains even to look at the And he probably never took pains even to look at the the meeting declined to take any part in its action, or question of Non-Resistance as an open question; a to be bound in any way by its doings. No one presdoctrine that might, perhaps, be true; a principle which might, as its advocates declared, lie at the very root of Christisnity. Nothing, then, could be more unjust than to judge him by the same standard as if Brown's invasion, and all illegal and violent action by the same than to judge him by the same standard as if Brown's invasion, and all illegal and violent action by he had recognized this principle. We cannot have anti-slavery men, and you declared that such acts grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. But we inured to the interests of alavery. Mr. Wright's speech and his resolution seemed to me to be simed at speech and his resolution seemed to me to be simed at can, we must say that, so far as his light extended, the position assumed in your speech in opposition to the Brown nobly, gloriously, did his duty to the Brown's raid, and to be in opposition to your well-known opinions, and this was the opinion of many others present.

Congress still remains unorganized, and there seems to be no chance of agreement at present.

HENRY C. WRIGHT. NATICK, Mass., Dec. 27, 1859.

Sin-On my way to Washington, I read your let subordinate outrage needful for the perpetuation of ters to John Brown and Gov. Wise, concerning a resothese two primary outrages to speak of this as a lution passed at a meeting in this town, to the effect government, legitimately claiming the allegiance of that 'it is the right and duty of the North to incite the citizen-is to utter absurdity combined with slaves to resistance, and to aid them in it.' In you letters you said that 'although a United States Senator and a United States Postmaster were present, yet not a voice was raised against it by them, nor by any ment in Virginia has not the slightest just claim upon one else.' I was surprised and pained at this act of injustice on your part, this wanton attempt to place ganization at naught, to reverse its decrees, and to me in a false position before the country, a position in establish that freedom which it has proscribed, are sympathy with a doctrine my heart and judgment indispensable pre-requisites to the establishment of alike condemn. Sir, when you referred to me in your letters, you knew that I had no sympathy whateve with the sentiment that 'it is the right and duty o them in it.' When you associated my name with the action of yourself and a few other persons in that meet ing who generally concur with you in sentiment, you knew you were doing an act of injustice; that your words would be used to excite, mislead and deceive those already excited, misled and deceived. Yes, sir, you knew those words would place me in a false poto the use of their oppressors, whose special pride and sition—that they would be used to inflame the pas sions and the prejudices of the people of the South ing anything. Is it wrong for the constable to take against me, and against those with whom I act, and against the cause we advocate. I have no words to characterize this act of personal unkindness and of wrong towards one who has never wronged you.

When called upon in the Senate to explain my po sition in the meeting which passed your resolution, man present at that meeting will admit the correct ness of what I said in the Senate concerning the pas sage of your resolution and the action of the meeting

'The meeting was not properly a meeting of the citizens of Nat's, called for the purpose of expressing their opinion on was notified in the usual manner of meetings called timerant lecturers who wish to speak to the personal transfer of the meetings are quite common, and are attended by all classes of men—friends, opponents and the indifferent, who usually go and hear in silence, and let the lecturer have his say unmolest-

At the meeting referred to, Mr. Wright offered resolution to the effect 'that resistance to tyrants' i obedience to God,' and therefore the slaves should be incited to resist their master. He spoke an hour and forty minutes, and explained the meaning of his reso-lution to be, not armed and forcible resistance, but resistance by moral, religious, social and commercia resistance by moral, religious, social and commercial means, to make slavery unpopular and unprofitable. But very few voted on the resolution, and no one spoke but Mr. Wright.

As Gen. Wilson had addressed a large meeting in

the same place only a few evenings before, and had given his views at length and with much explicitness condemning the action of John Brown in the strong est manner, he probably did not deem it necessary to depart from his usual custom of listening in a quie depart from his usual custom of listening in a quiet way, and let those who hired the hall do as they

leased, and take the responsibility.

The resolution of Mr. Wright, as interpreted by him, contained nothing but a simple expression of op-position to slavery by all proper and legitimate means, but it was artfully drawn by Mr. Wright, so as to convey to those who did not hear his explanations a meaning of a different character, doubtless with a view of increasing the alarm and excitement now prevailing in the South. Whatever may be the sins of Gen. Wilson in the matter of slavery, it is not true that he has approved the act of Brown either in public or in private, but has uniformly deplored and con-

Not content with the wrong done me in your letter to Governor Wise and John Brown, you have, in letter addressed to me, which I find in the New York Herald of the 24th inst., attempted to sustain your original act of misrepresentation. . Sir, this act of injustice, this deliberate effort to associate my name with the sentiment embodied in your resolution, and to hold me responsible for the acts of a meeting in which I was a mere spectator, fills me with amazement. It being your purpose to deceive, it does not surprise me that you should have commenced your letter to me with an untruth, a palpable falsehood. In the first sentence you say that I was called upon 'to give ar account to the slave-drivers for attending a meeting to discuss a resolution affirming the right and duty of was to raise a doubt in regard to the correctness of what I said in the Senate. The New York Herald, in commenting upon it, declares that 'Henry C. Wright, the alleged lecturer, flatly contradicts Wilson-it das not a lecture, but a meeting for discussion, publicly called.' The meeting was not called, as you say it lecture upon resistance to tyrants is obedience to

was, 'to discuss a resolution affirming the right and duty of slaves to resist their masters, and the right and duty of the North to aid them in it,' but it was called to hear you 'lecture;' yes, sir, to hear you God, in reference to the conduct of John Brown at it, the opposite method, it would have remained not Harper's Ferry.' The principal notice for the meeting

'Rev. Henry C. Wright will lecture in School House Hall, Sunday next, at the usual hours of church service, upon the following subject:

Fact and Fiction in Religion, or the existence, oc-cupation and location of the soul, after it leaves the Also in the evening, at 6 1-2 o'clock, upor

NATICE, November 17, 1859. In response to this notice-not to 'discuss a resoluministers to echo the precept of Jesus- Put up thy meeting did not vote; they looked on in silence, and sword into the sheath!' While on the other hand, declined to take any part whatever in the meeting, or tenths of those present, if called upon, would so state.

Mr. Willard, the editor of the Natick Observer, in a note to me, says:

Sir, you say in your letter to me, that 'a Mr. Brown asked, in an insolent tone, if you were present and | toward the highest Christian position?

countenanced the meeting; and that, when I ex- AWFUL CALAMITY AT LAWRENCE, Mass plained, the slave-driver, who held the lash over Fall of the Pemberton Mills-Seven Hundred Persons you, said "I am satisfied." There can be no mistaking the object of language like this. You wish to convey the impression that I do not, in the Senate, LAWRENCE, Mass., Jan. 10—9 P. M. One of the most terrible catastrophes on record occurred in this speciated my name with the sentiment, that it was the right and duty of the North to incite slaves to esistance, and when asked by Mr. Brown, in respectful language, tone and manner, to explain the matter, did so by stating the true character of the meeting; and this you are pleased to denounce as 'submissive' different stages of mortally wounded, besides some 50 in an analysis of mortally wounded, besides some 50 in the sum of the most terrible catastrophes on record occurred in this city this afternoon. The Pemberton Mills fell, with a sudden crash, about five o'clock, while some 600 or 700 operatives were at work. The Mills are a complete wreck, and some 200 or 300 are still supposed to be buried in the ruins.

Eighteen dead bodies have already been taken out, and some 25 mortally wounded, besides some 50 in stand by my words and acts at home. Sir, you had the right and duty of the North to incite slaves to ful language, tone and manner, to explain the matter, I did so by stating the true character of the meeting; and this you are pleased to denounce as 'submissive -an attempt 'to deprecate the frowns and strifes of the insolent lords of the lash.' This charge is base and dastardly. My words in Congress, during the past five years, are on the record. That record will past five years, are on the record. That record will show that I have never qualified, disavowed or relives to rescue the unfortunate persons, many of whom tracted one word or act of mine out of the Scuate. That record will show that I have spoken more plainly and more severely of slavery and the slave power to the face of slaveholders, in the course of debate, than I have out of the Senate, before sympathizing throngs. During the past fifteen years, I have traveled more than fifty thousand miles in seventeen States, and delivered nearly six hundred addresses to many thousands of persons. I have been connected with the public press, and harwritten much upon the issues growing out of the slavery question; but, at all times, and upon all occasions, in the press and before the people, in conventions and in legislative halls, at home and in Washington, I have maintained but one position-that of peaceful, legal and constitutional opposition to the extension of human slavery in America, and to its existence where the National Government is responsible for it. To this position I still adhere with inflexible firmness, and while I abkilled in their humane efforts. al opposition to the extension of human slavery in hor slavery and pity the lot of the bondman, I shall not cease to remember that slavery in the States is local, not national, and that our appears must be dressed, not to the slaves to resist their masters, not up by an inquest.

The building had never been considered as stance. It was built about sever local, not national, and that our appeals must be adconscience of our countrymen of the South, upon whom rests the fearful responsibility of the slave sys-

You charge me and other Senators with attempting to throw a glamour in the eyes of Southern members'-you say that I 'would have them think that "regret and condemnation" of Brown and his objects are universal at the North,' and you assert that the masses of the North are in sympathy with Brown and his deeds.' That the people of the North deeply sympathize with the personal attributes of Brown, that they admire the rare heroism of character manifested by him, no one can doubt, but that they approve of his invasion of Virginia, I do not for a moment believe. Pending the recent election in New York, I addressed thousands of people in Brooklyn, Syracuse, Rome, Watertown, Auburn, Geneva and other places, and during the canvass of two weeks, I everywhere expressed my 'regret and condemnation' of his armed invasion of Virginia, and during that time I conversed with no one who did not regret and deplore it. And in this Stase, and in this town, where you declare the people approve of Brown's lawless act, I have met few, very few indeed, who approve that act. My conviction is, that while the people of Massachusetts are nearly unanimous in their sympathy for the fate of Brown, and in their admiration of his personal qualities, they are quite unanimous in their 'regret and condemnation' of his lawless raid at Harper's Ferry. Believing this to be the sentiment of the people of Massachusetts and of the North, I have so stated in public and in private. I may be mistaken in my views, but I feel confident that I am not. If I am mistaken, if the time has come when the liberty-loving and law-abiding people of Massachusetts are convinced-as you assume they are-that "it is the right and duty of the North to incite slaves to resistance, and to aid them in it "-that it is the right and duty of Northern men to gather in armed bands to invade slaveholding States 'to incite slaves to resistance and to aid them in it '-then I am not the representative of their sentiments and opinions. Within the Union and under the Constitution I shall, in the future as in the past, in public and in private life, give my voice and vote for just and peaceful legal and constitutional action against slavery. This my position. I believe it to be the position of a vast majority of the people whose representative I am. When Massachusetts abandons this policy of penceful, legal and constitutional reform, which patriotism, Utica, and religion sanction, and accepts your Oswego, policy of 'insurrection'—when she requires me to up-hold the doctrine that 'it is their right and duty to Hudson, Wednesday, hold the doctrine that 'it is their right and duty to incite slaves to resistance, and to organize armed Easton, bands and invade sister States 'to aid them in it'there will be a vacant chair for her to fill in the Senate of the United States. HENRY WILSON.

'THE PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN.'

The last two or three numbers of this excellent pa-

per have been largely occupied with articles from the pen of its editor, Adin Ballou, severely condemnatory of the course of John Brown, and of all who have expressed any sympathy with him-articles that seem o us to be somewhat lacking in magnanimity, in tenderness of spirit, and in a philosophical view of events, but rather characterized by haste and heat; by a tone ference to Moses, or Joshua, or Washington; and by a process of reasoning which is to us far from being conclusive or satisfactory. We have a process of reasoning which is to us far from being conclusive or satisfactory. We have very great respect for the intellectual clearness and moral insight of our ell, Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, Susan B. Anthony, and for the intellectual clearness and moral lines.

Hopedale coadjutor, and for many years past have others.

Convention to commence at half-past 7 o'clock, Hopedale coadjutor, and for many years past have seldom found occasion to dissent from his convictions in any direction; but we cannot view the Harper's Ferry event as he does—arbitrarily and invidiously, as it appears to us—and therefore must be true to our own convictions. We fully appreciate his anxiety to own convictions. We fully appreciate his anxiety to united voice of the Empire State for a Personal Liberty Law. to be left consciously to violate our peace principles; but there is scope for an honest difference of opinion but there is scope for an honest difference of opinion CONVENTION will be held in Association Hall as to what is such a violation, without any heat or ALBANY, Feb. 3d and 4th, commencing at half-pas dogmatism. We are not tenacious of defending the 2 o'clock, Friday P. M. extract made in the Practical Christian from our speech at the Tremont Temple; but, thanking our Jones, Frances D. Gage, and others. bro. Ballou for inserting it, we are content to leave is to the good sense and fair judgment of all who may PIFTEENTH ANNUAL COURSE OF ANTIread it, in connection with the criticisms appended to it in that paper. What we then said, we said deliberately; nor do we feel called upon to alter one word, by a fresh examination of the subject. Our language was, that, as an ' ultra' peace man, we were prepared to say, whenever commenced, - Success to every slave insurrection at the South, and in every slave country ! Our bro. Ballou, on the contrary, says he 'wisher them no success, but the speediest failure '! In such a conflict, then, he hopes the oppressor will succeed against the oppressed; that the wrong side will triamph over the right; that the fetters may be more strongly riveted rather than broken; and that U. S. marines and Virginia troops may overcome the Vir- freedom?" ginia slaves in every encounter! Had he lived in ' the times that tried men's souls,' he would have wished that the mother country might vanquish the Ameriat Yorktown, instead of Washington! And so of every other struggle for liberty with the sword since the world began! But it is not possible that he mean this; yet, if he does not, he has made a false issue with us, and is using words to no purpose. 'We de-plore,' he says, 'that this case of John Brown should have been turned so effectively against Christian non resistance, and made so seductive an argument for bloody resistance, insurrectionism, and revolution. We have no such fear, and gome to no such conclusion. Where freedom reigns, though obtained by the sword, we expect a growth of the peace principle which is utterly impossible where slavery holds undisputed mastery. Is there no such thing as progress

Buried in the Ruins-Two Hundred Lives lost by

Fire-The Whole City in Mourning. LAWRENCE, Mass., Jan. 10-9 P. M. One of the

different stages of mutilation.

The Agent of the Mills, Mr. Chase, and the Treas urer, Mr. Howe, escaped by running from the falling building.

Huge bonfires are burning, to light some two by

Every few minutes some poor wretch is dragged from his or her prison, and it is heart-rending to hear their cries as they are drawn out, with legs and arms

erushed or torn out.

One man, shockingly mangled, and partly buried nder the bricks, deliberately cut his own throat, to

end his agony.

The whole city seems in mourning. Many are running through the streets, and with frantic cries are

searching the ruins.

Temporary hospitals have been arranged for those who have been taken from the ruins.

Many stand at the ruins, frigid with despair. Often a terrible crash, caused by the clearing away, threatens death to all those who may still be alive in the

Gen. H. K. Oliver is active and conspicuous in di-

Surgeons are coming in from every quarter, and everything that can be done at such a painful moment is being done for the suffering victims of the featful calamity, the mystery of which will have to be cleared

as it ought to have been. It was built about seven years since, and was then thought a sham; indeed, before the machinery was put in, the walls spread to such a degree that some twenty-two tons of iron stays were put in to save the building from falling by its

own weight.

Mr. Chase, the Agent, and Mr. Howe, the Treasu-Messrs. Chase, Clark, Tatterson, Melvin, and Winn, (overseers and clerks) are safe. Mr. Branch, an overseer, has not been found, and it is supposed he is still

The City Hall has been converted into a temporary

ospital for the dead and wounded, to remain there until recognized by friends.

Scores of both dead and mangled and wounded, are recognized when taken from the ruins, and immed

ately taken to their homes.

The laboring force of the mill was about 960, and it is supposed that about 700 human beings were tually buried in the ruins. Calamity Succeeds Calamity! Within the past ten

minutes (midnight), the whole mass of ruins has become one sheet of flame!

The screams and moans of the poor, buried, burn-

ing and sufficating creatures can be distinctly heard, but no power on earth can save them. Probably not less than two hundred human beings

Pire companies are present from Methuen, Andover, Bradford, Haverhill and Lowell.

Between forty and fifty physicians are in attendance at the City Hall, and other places, wherever the injured need their services.

The ruins having burned up, it will be many days before a true knowledge of the number of killed and

wounded can be arrived at. The fire, which finally sacrificed the buried human beings, caught, without doubt, from a lantern con-taining burning fluid, which was accidentally dropped. One fireman dropped down dead in the street, prob-ably from over-heating and over-exertion. His name

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS. Collections by Maritis R. Robinson In Macedon, N. Y., \$0 75 Penn Yan, "W. Winfield, " Cedarville, "
Jerusalem Hill, " FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions will be held Monday and Tuesday, Jan. 16, 17. Tuesday and Wednesday, Friday, " 27. Saturday and Sunday, " 28, 29. Troy,

The Conventions will be addressed by Parker Pillsbury, Aaron M. Powell, Marius R. Robinson, Su-san B. Anthony, and others. The sessions will commence at 2 and 7 o'clock,

of each day.

The platform will be free to all candid discussion

of the subject.

Let there be a grand mustering of the hosts of Freedom, to provide, by the enactment of a Personal Liberty Law, for protecting our State from the prowling kidnapper; and to remove the whole slave system before God shall arise in his anger, and swell the HARPER'S FERRY scenes into a Red Sea deluge for the destruction of our werse than Egyptian op-

NEW YORK STATE ANNUAL ANTI-SLA-

IF NEW YORK STATE WOMAN'S RIGHTS

SLAVERY LECTURES.

The Sixth Lecture of this series will be given by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, on Sunday evening next, Jan in Lyceum Hall.
 Lecture to commence at 7 o'clock. Single admission, 5 cents.

CAROLINE BALCH, Rec. Sec. Salem Female A. S. Society Salem, Jan. 12.

DEBATE ON GARRISONIAN ABOLI TIONISM.—The debate at the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, on Monday evening, Jan. 16, is to be upon the question—'Has Garrisonian Abolien of any practical service so the cause of

Gentlemen and ladies are invited to attend.

TO FARMERS OR OTHERS IN THE that the mother country might vanquish the Ameri-can colonies, and that Cornwallis might be the victor North, desires a place for the winter in the country; can do most of the ordinary work of a farm, a desires immediate employment. Terms very reaso able. Apply to Samuki May, Jr., 21 Cornhill.

> CLOTHING FOR FUGITIVES, especially for men, and suited to the season, is much wanted, and may be sent by any well-wisher to No. 21 Corn-

> > The Thinker:

DEING the 5th volume of the 'GREAT HARMONIA,'
by A. J. Davis, is just published and ready for
pelivery. Price One Dollar. Single copies sent by
mail, postage free, on receipt of the price. The usual
discount on wholesale prices.
Address BELA MARSH, 14 Bromfield street
Boston, Dec. 16.

Scrofula, or King's Evil, is a constitutional disease, a corruption of the blood, by which this fluid becomes vitiated, weak, and poor. Being in the circulation, it pervades the whole body, and may burst out in disease on any part of it. No organ is free from its attacks, nor is there one which it may not destroy. The scrofulous taint is variously caused by mercurial disease, low living, disordered or unhealthy food, impure air, filth and filthy habits, the depressing vices, and, above all, by the venereal infection. Whatever be its origin, it is hereditary in the constitution, descending "from parents to children unto the third and fourth generation;" indeed, it seems to be the rod of Him who says, "I will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon their children."

Its effects commence by deposition from the blood of corrupt or ulcerous matter, which, in the lungs, liver, and internal organs, is termed tubercles; in the glands, swellings; and on the surface, cruptions or sores. This foul corruption, which genders in the blood, depresses the energies of life, so that scrofulous constitutions not only suffer from scrofulous complaints, but they have far less power to withstand the attacks of other diseases; consequently, vast numbers perish by disorders which, although not scrofulous in their nature, are still rendered fatal by this taint in the system. Most of the consumption which decimates the human family has its origin directly in this serofulous contamination; and many-destructive diseases of the liver, kidneys, brain, and, indeed, of all the organs, arise Scrofula, or King's Evil,

tion; and many-destructive diseases of the liver, kidneys, brain, and, indeed, of all the organs, arise from or are aggravated by the same cause.

One quarter of all our people are scrofulous; their persons are invaded by this lurking infection,

and their health is undermined by it. To cleanse it from the system we must renovate the blood by an alterative medicine, and invigorate it by healthy food and exercise. Such a medicine we supply in

AYER'S

Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla, the most effectual remedy which the medical skill the most effectual remedy the most effectual remedy for this every where prevailing and fatal malady. It is combined from the most active remedials that have been discovered for the expurgation of this foul disorder from the blood, and the rescue of the system from its destructive consequences. Hence it should be employed for the cure of not only scrofula, but also those other affections which arise from it, such as Enuprive and Skin Diseases, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose, or Erystrelas, Pimples, Pustules, Blotches, BLAINS and Bolls, Tunous, Tetter and Salt RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, RINGWORM, RHEUMATISM, RHEW, SCALD HEAD, RINGWORM, RHEUMATISM, SYPHILITIC and MERCURIAL DIREASES, DROPSY, DYSPERSIA, DEBILITY, and, indeed, ALL COMPLAINTS ARISING FROM VITLATED OR IMPURE BLOOD. The popular belief in "impurity of the blood" is founded in truth, for scrofula is a degeneration of the blood. The particular purpose and virtue of this Sarsaparilla is to purify and regenerate this vital fluid, without which sound health is impossible in continuously constitutions.

Ayer's Cathartic Pills. FOR ALL THE PURPOSES OF A FAMILY PHYSIC.

FOR ALL THE PURPOSES OF A FAMILY PHYSIO, are so composed that disease within the range of their action can rarely withstand or evade them. Their penetrating properties search, and cleanse, and invigorate every portion of the human organism, correcting its diseased action, and restoring its healthy vitalities. As a consequence of these properties, the invalid who is bowed down with pain or physical debility is astonished to find his health or energy restored by a remedy at once so simple and inviting.

Not only do they cure the every-day complaints of every body, but also many formidable and dangerous diseases. The agent below named is pleased to furnish gratis my American Almanae, containing certificates of their cures and directions for their use in the following complaints: Costireness, Heartburn, Headache, arising from disordered stomach, Naussea, Indigestion, Pain in and Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, Jaundice, and other kindred complaints, arising from a low state of the body or obstruction of its functions.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, FOR THE BAPID CURE OF

Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for

the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease. So wide is the field of its usefulness and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other medicine of its kind is too apparent to escape observation, and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections.

oy for the distressing and dangerous affections pulmonary organs that are incident to our While many inferior remedies thrust upon climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten. PREPARED BY

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JUST PUBLISHED,

AN AUTHENTIC HISTORY -OF THE-

HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY: WITH PULL DETAILS OF THE

CAPTURE, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF

THE INVADERS,

and all the incidents connected therewith; with a LITHOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT of Capt. John Brown, from a Photograph by Whipple. Published by JAMES CAMPBELL, 62 and 64 Cornhill, Boston. For sale by J. J. DYER & CO., A. WILLIAMS & CO., REDDING & CO., and by Newsmen and Periodical Dealers throughout the Free

# Resistance to Slaveholders!

THIS day published, a pamphlet of 36 pages, en-

THE NATICK RESOLUTION,

on,
Resistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty
of the Southern Slave and Northern Freemen. BY HENRY C. WRIGHT. "RESISTANCE TO TIRANTS IS GREDIENCE TO GOD."

Price, 10 cents. To be had at Bels Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, Boston, and at the Liberator office, 11 Cornhill.

### WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER

The only preparation that has a

EUROPEAN REPUTATION. Warranted not to contain deleterious substances

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most dist guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

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

rily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known St. Louis Presbyteri MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE! given universal satisfaction, wherever it has be a used. It dan be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet."

Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Mass MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE-

STORER is worthy of confidence. Philadelphia Christian Chronick. Incomparably the best preparation we have ever

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has kind.' Michigan Chairties of the Michigan Christian Beraid. Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy."

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

YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effect, ual and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's HAIR RESTORER will do this.'

U. S. Journal In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is re-freshing to come across that which is what it pre-A really excellent article is Mrs. 8

A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. As an as. sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmles, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the natural growth of hair.' Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston. Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hall

render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, res SESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DYR. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wohld's Hair Restorer. Why is this? Simply because it is a proparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprie-

propriately the . World's Hair Restorer." We have reason to be assured that ' Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, full

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

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

observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the no-tice and use of those of our readers who need a remedial agent of this character.'

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.-AS we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she d feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various reme-dies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as luxurious, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was con-

I have not been favored by hearing Miss Remond for she has not come so far South; but I am told that a friend of mine has had that pleasure, and also mel

I feel sure that the presence of the Rev. S. J. May in England has given a new impetus to John Bull's

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

At a meeting of the gentlemen endorsing the projected institution to meet the increasing literary wants of the colored people of Chatham, Canada West, the following resolution was unanimously a-

A Washington Republican letter-writer says:

'The Republicans, in the meanwhile, are in no

to the cause which the noble old hero espoused, viz: to the slave, and claiming public attention at a meeting of sympathy for the down-trodden and oppressed! Well, murder will out. We know where to find this impartial human liberty; and those three were, first, a Swedenborgian, from the Bay State; 2nd, a Spiritupretended minister of Christ. A writer in the ' Natick Quaker from R. I. ;-and by far the bitterest of the Observer has given this Rev. Mr. George what he richly deserves.

er.' &c., were epithets which he belched forth, with The Natick meeting was fully attended, and gave all the bitterness of a model Democrat. I think the vidence of an advance spirit for the right kind o watch-word, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' will be Anti-Slavery-that something more than 'curiosity

more cherished here than it ever has been before, and governed the men and women present. that a higher standard of Anti-Slavery will be erect-

THE NORTH CAROLINA CASE.

ast, I noticed in the Washington National Era ar A public meeting of the citizens of Marlboro' (Mass.) was convened in the town hall on Friday evening, Dec. 2, to express their sentiments respecting the execution of John Brown, and their sympathy with his afflicted family. The meeting was called to order by O. W. Albee, Principal of the High School. Mr. Howe was chosen Chairman, and Win F. Brigham, Secretary. Mr. Howe made a few remarks on the event that had called the people together, and then called on Mr. Albee to address the meet ing. Mr. A. responded by referring to the tragic event of to-day, and then passed to a review of the aggressions of the Slave er, and their effect on such Nothing is known to us of the circumstances which

led to the apprehension of these men, or the grounds on which they were suspected of the crime charged but, it seems, they were tried at a Court in Wilmington for their lives, under a law of North Carolina, ar extract of which I send you herewith. The trial was had under Judge D. F. Caldwell, and the result of believed in gunpowder as well as in prayer; and, actit, as well as the character of the men, is shown by the following statement rendered to Mr. Tappan by his correspondent :-

point, he saw a heroism and an unselfishness rarely ton, N. C. on the 25th August, 1859, as to four color-

> in Edinburgh City, N. C. and went to Port Haven, or ome other village North of Boston, and has a wife acquitted, but retained in prison, on the motion of Robert Strange, the State's Solicitor for the 5th Judicial Court of N. C., for the reason that the Indictment was defective, and that no judgment could have been rendered if he had been found guilty, and therefore he is liable to be indicted again for the same of fence, and to be tried for his life again.

> from St. Kitts, West India Islands-tall, black, cannot talk plain. He was found guilty, and Judge Caldwell granted a new trial for him; for the Jury, through misapprehension, (strong prejudice, I think,) found against His Honor's charge.

Ohmahoo. He was acquitted out and out, and dis-4th. John Williams, from Sierra Leone, Africa-

equitted out and out, and discharged. 'MORE MONEY IS WANTED. Dec. 20th, 1859.'

I think you will agree with me, that there can be no doubt of the entire innocence of these men, when they were all arrested together; and three of the four were at once acquitted by a jury, and the other by a Judge, in a Southern Court; and yet, two of them are OBSERVANCE OF THE DAY IN ALBANY, again to be tried for their lives, at 'New Hanover In Albany, three meetings of sympathy for John Superior Court,' on the 23d of March, 1860. The Brown were held on Friday-morning, afternoon, and very slightest presumptive evidence or misapprehenevening-Dec. 2. Between the hours of 12 and 2, sion may be sufficient to condemn them, and a plain minute guns were fired from the foot of State street. Judicial murder be thus committed, in the present exasperated state of mind in the South against all black and colored people, as well as the citizens of the North. Resolved, In the language of Henry Clay, that while The publication of the statement I now present to you may possibly have some effect to prevent this, especially if copied into other papers; and as the best defence is requisite to effect 'prejudice," may not the pockets of wealthy anti-slavery men be touched

Respectfully and cordially, J. P. BLANCHARD.

[Cory.]

or if any person shall wilfully conceal any slave, the the person so offending shall suffer DEATH.'- Revised

izens of a Free State, to absolve ourselves from all complicity with Slavery; that one of the most important and feasible measures in this direction is the My DEAR SIR :

I send you some lines, written on the spur of the John Brown. If they hang him, they will gibbe themselves. What stirring times are the present! May God prosper the labors of yourself and friends for the freedom of our black brethren! I quite agree with you in your objections to war with the sword that seldom helps a good cause, and but does evil that good may come. Yet all do not think thus, and each has a right to his own opinion, as well as to express it by word or pen.

hatred of slavery, and I congratulate you, and all other friends of the slave on his safe return.

dopted :-

the contemplated School and Lyceum property of the School now taught by Mrs. A. F. Shadd and M. A. S. the wholesale slanderer of Wm. L. Garrison and all Cary, are thoroughly satisfied with the report made by Mrs. Cary of her labors and success in raising funds for the object, during her recent visit to the Church. He is the veritable man who came to Mil- Eastern States, and we unite with the teachers in our ford, and gave a re-hash of his tirade of personal abuse thanks to the benevolent for their donations thus far

S. R. ALEXANDER, Chairman.

What folly and criminality to leave uncared-for

FRIEND GARRISON :- In the month of September

count of the arrest and imprisonment of four colored amen, said to be at Washington, (though it after wards proved to be Wilmington, N. C.) on the charge of being engaged in the abduction of slaves, and an urgent appeal for funds for the expense of their de ence, to be sent to Lewis Tappan, Esq. of New York and I forwarded to him a small donation for this pur pose, and afterwards, by his request, a slip from the Era, with the account of this transaction. I have just now received a letter from Mr. Tappan, enclosing some documents, from which he requests me to make a statement of the case, to be published in the Liber-

Statement of the trials and the case at Wilming-

painful an event, and expressed a determination to be 1. William Tubbs, who stated he was brought up more devoted to the cause of freedom than he had

there-very intelligent-of yellow color. On the trial · 2nd. Thomas Lansfield, or Thomas Winsfield,

'3d. William Summers, of Sandwich Islands.

charged.

maintain that an oppressed people are authorized, through their hearts?

'If any person shall wilfully carry or convey any slave, the property of another, without the consent of the owner, or the guardian of the owner, with the intent and for the purpose, of enabling such slave to escape out of this State from the service of his owner or any one having an interest in such slave, present or future, vested or contingent, legal or equitableproperty of another, with such intent and purpose-Code of North Carolina, Chapter 34th, Section 11, page

TENTERDEN, (England,) Dec. 1, 1859.

enactment of a stringent and effective Personal Lin-ERTY LAW; and that we will not cease to petition for moment, on the late cool and atrocious cruelty of the such a law until it is duly incorporated among our slaveholders to God's and Nature's nobleman, Capt.

> How many noble men and women America con tains! God bless them all, however they differ with respect to the means by which they seek to do good, and lead society onward and upward!

her in society, and was much pleased with her.

Resolved, That we, the Trustees appointed to hold in aid of the work.

This Rev. gentleman was the first speaker introduhis remarks showed him to be as friendly as Gov. Wise of Virginia. He said—the golden rule was not always to be observed or obeyed; that a criminal on whom the judge is about to pass sentence. might say that they are the property of the control of whom the judge is about to pass sentence, might say that they are by no means responsible for John to him—remember the golden rule,—'Do unto others Brown's invasion of Virginia, although some who to him—remember the golden rule,—'Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.' In a case like this, he remarked, the duty of the judge would be \$\ \text{to pass sentence} on the criminal, because he had violated a law. Slavery is constitutional, therefore lawful; consequently, the cases of the criminal and slave are parallel—one has violated a law, and must slave are parallel—one has violated a law, and must be the form the slave states. I set with the Republican party, with hundreds of thousands of others, simply because the Republican party resists the extension but does

he cause of all our troubles and perils!

WM. vol

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KUND QUI

PRILLIPS.

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. Al. LEN's as the Hair Restorer.' N. Y. Independent

Knoxeille Presbyterian Witness

Buffalo Christian Advocate A nother objection to dyes is the unlife-like cole

and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its xarrait

RESTORER a preparation that will speedily charge the hair to its natural color, and at the same time

we begin to think that it is denominated most ap-

demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.'

Raheay Register.

From individual cases that have come under our own

firmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. Providence Daily Tribune.

Among the very few preparations that we deem de-

ER. It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it, and to deny its excel-lence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respecta-ble persons. Rahway Advocate and Register. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer is the best preparation extant for the various diseases incident to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural colors.

natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorating, and beautifying the hair fully established, by host of ing, and beautifying the hair fully established, of hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully, palmed off in numerous instances, upon the public as genuine.

Brooklyn Morning Journal. This preparation is superior to any heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It

possesses none of the burning, cauterizing powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glosy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorer appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorer is easily applied, and will not stain the finest lines. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied secording to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia. cording to the directions." We are satisfied that the statements made in savertisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wolld's Hale Restorer are correct. Boston Olice Branch.

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this

It is just what it purports to be.' Clere. Leader. We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

We export these preparations to Europe even, and they are superseding all others there as well as in the United States. the United States.

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

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

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this. on which they make more rofit. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Gennine is signed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written is ink. Bev are of counterfeits.

See next issue of this Paper for mere information or send to Depot for Circulers.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. SONNETS --- TO JOHN BROWN.

'Tis not all man can do will make thee vile, Tis not what man can say makes a name base : Noble, strong-hearted Brown! such is thy case : Slavery may hold thee in its grasp awhile, Paint, weary, wounded; and triumphant smile, Hoping to crush thee, and disgrace thy name; They but mistake. Each outery, and each sneer, But show her cruel cowardice and fear;

Thy memory to future times how dear, When Slavery is rooted from the land. And Afric's children, free, unfettered, stand, Sharing with their white brethren equal laws; Oh, generous martyr to a glorious cause!

Such terror, ill-concealed, but spreads thy fame.

11. And dary they threat that grey and bleeding head, Survivor of thy sons for Freedom slain, Slain to free Kansas' soil from Slavery's tread, And to unclasp the wretched negro's chain? Yes, 'Southern Chivalry,' like some of old, For base revenge, and sordid lust of gold, Ye may hang high your victim! But, beware The wicked deed ! He is above ye now, And so shall still remain. Your sons will bow With shame, that they such fathers' names should

bear ; The rope that slays your victim drags ye down To your unhonored graves, unwept, forlorn; And passers-by survey them with a frown, Pointing the finger of reproach and scorn. Tenterden, (England.)

FRIEND GARRISON-I send you a few lines that were read, the other evening, in this place, upon the character of John Brown, the martyr. It is the production of a mechanic while at work at his lathe-s man of no education. It had a good effect upon the

Plainville, (Ct.) Jan. 2, 1860.

JOHN BROWN. John Brown, of Osawatomie, I vindicate to-night; For he, like men of other times, Did battle for the right.

And though his Waterloo has come, His name shall live in song, And, arm in arm with Washington, In Freedom's name be borne.

A beacon-light to man-John Brown, of Osawatomie, Will lead in Freedom's von. America shall own his worth, United vet as one;

A history for coming time-

And old Virginia blush to tell For what his martyrdom. Each child upon his mother's knee Will learn his history o'er; And, as our Washington, he'll be Remembered evermore.

In every land where Freedom strikes The still untiring blow, His fate shall nerve the patriot's arm With vengeance on the foe. High in the scale of being stands

A martyr such as he; And few on earth will die so well, Of all the crowds that be. Scarce in the history of the past Such nobleness we find,

As one who perils life and all To benefit his kind. But such there were in early days, And such all time will see, Till o'er the earth in every land

The human race are free.

THE MARTYR OF HARPER'S FERRY. No longer plain John Brown, But now enshrined a saint, Such as of olden time

The masters loved to paint. For the Liberator. APPEAL TO THE SOUTH. Benighted South! why will ye not awake?

It is already dawn ! From off your eyes the scales of blindness shake! No longer scorn The honest counsel of your truest friends. Not they who smile so basely on your sin, Who have at heart naught but their selfish ends, And meanly lick the dust your grace to win.

Not these indeed! But they who of your danger give alarm, Who seek your good alone, and not your harm-Their counsel heed!

From the New York Independent. BROWN OF OSAWATOMIE. John Brown of Osawatomie Spake on his dying day-I will not have to shrive my soul A priest in Slavery's pay. But, let some poor slave mother, Whom I have striven to free, With her children, from the gallows-stair,

Put up a prayer for me!' John Brown of Osawatomie, They led him out to die; And, lo! a poor slave mother With her little child pressed nigh. Then the bold, blue eye grew tender, And the old harsh face grew mild, As he stooped between the jeering ranks, And kissed the negro's child!

The shadows of his stormy life That moment fell apart : Without the rash and bloody hand, Within the loving heart. That kiss from all its guilty mean Redeemed the good intent, And round the grisly fighter's hair

The Martyr's sureole bent!

But the Christian sacrifice.

Perish with him the folly That seeks through evil good ! Long live the generous purpose Unstained with human blood! Not the raid of midnight terror, But the thought which underlies; Not the outlaw's pride of daring,

Oh! never may you blue-ridged hills The Northern rifle hear, Nor see the light of blazing homes Flash on the negro's spear ! But let the free-winged angel, Truth, Their guarded passes scale, To teach that right is more than might,

And justice more than mail ! So vainly shall Virginia set Ier battle in array; In vain her trampling squadrons knead The winter snow with clay. She may strike the pouncing eagle. But she dare not harm the dove

And every gate she bars to Hate,

Shall open wide to Love!

THE LIBERATOR.

JOHN BROWN COMMEMORATION MEET-ING AT WEST BROOKFIELD, VT.

DEAR MR. GARRISON-Of the many meetings held the ground, including those of John Brown and his on Dec. 2d, I will give you a brief sketch of one in sons. Two of his sons were also taken prisoners, and the little mountain-environed village of West Brook- exposed to such hardships and cruelties, that one of field, Vt. The people of that place, and some of the adjoining towns, to a much greater number than could have been expected on such a rainy evening, assembled to give expression to their views of the execution of John Brown, and sympathy for his afflicted family. The meeting was opened by Rev. Jehiel Claffin, who read a chapter from the Bible concerning the crucifixion of Christ, and offered prayer. under laws imposed upon them by invaders from They then organized by appointing Rev. J. Classin President; J. Hutchinson, Jr. and J. M. Coburn Vice Presidents; E. F. Claffin, Treasurer; Mrs. Abby Again was ill-fated Osawatomie attacked, and one of John Brown's sons shot dead while engaged in his Hutchinson, Secretary. The following series of reslutions was presented, and earnestly and interesting-

1. Resolved, That the recent tragedy at Harper's Ferry, on the 17th of October last, is but the legitimate fruit and outworkings of the abhorrent slave system in our land, and is a new and startling proof that we are on the eye of a mighty revolution, more noble, more patriotic, and more sublime, than the revolutionary struggle that gained our national indepen-

2. Resolved. That in the language of Thomas Jefferson, 'one hour of the slave's bondage is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose; therefore, the patriotism and heroism of Capt. John Brown, in his recent and wellmeant, but unsuccessful attempt to rescue, at the peril of his life, four millions of men, women and children from the grasp of tyrants, and from the unendurable wrongs and cruelties of American Slavery, far transcend those noble qualities in Gen. Washington or La-

3. Resolved, That the malignity and guilt of those who have this day taken the life of Capt. John Brown upon the gallows, find their parallel only in the crucifiers of the Son of God upon the Cross.

4. Resolved. That as 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church,' so the death of Capt. Brown will intensify the 'irrepressible conflict.' and hasten the downfall of the slave power and its despotic rule -thus disappointing the hopes and defeating the wicked purposes of tyrants and oppressors.

5. Resolved, That Osawatomie Brown has justly earned an immortality of fame, and his name, in all the coming ages of the future, will stand in enviable contrast with many illustrious names that adorn the pages of history. 6. Resolved, That the people of the North will show themselves arrant hypocrites and cowards, if they do

not avenge the blood of John Brown, in demanding the immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave within the precincts of the American Government. 7. Resolved, That the deeply afflicted family of Capt. Brown are peculiarly entitled to, and have a strong claim upon the sympathies and aid of all who love liberty, and hate oppression; and all should feel it a privilege to contribute of their mites in aid of said

family, who have this day been wickedly bereft of their worthy and honored head. 8. Resolved, That in the conflict we have engaged with Slavery, in this land, our motto henceforward

shall ever be-Victory or DEATH! There was a diversity of opinion concerning the policy of the last great project of John Brown, but none whatever concerning the indescribable evils of the system with which he waged war to the death. It seemed difficult for some to define their feelingsthey were so conflicting as to baffle analysis; yet their sympathy with John Brown himself, their abhorrence of slavery, and determined intention to use their utmost endeavors for its overthrow, were manifestly

Those who gloried in our war of independence, and justified a resort to physical force for any purposes, gave their entire approval of the last act of John Brown, and believed him a hero, before the lustre of shall also remember how John Brown and his Sparwhose name the glory of the revolutionary fathers tan band went into a slave State to aid men in getwould grow dim. They believed we had reached a ting their liberty; and for it they all must die. Such crisis in our national affairs, which demanded just is America to-day. History will tell to future ages such decisive measures. One gentleman remarked a sad story of the first three-quarters of a century that we had tried the ballot-box long enough; he of American independence. But the future is full was for exchanging it for the cartridge-box. He of hope. 'The lesson of to-day' will have an effect thought the slaveholders would have a much greater but few can even imagine. ear of the latter. Rev. J. Claffin spoke at greater slave system-said our government, measured in the balance of essential justice, was found wanting. He thought the nation would never sleep over the awa-

kened interest of this occasion-expressed deep sympathy with John Brown and his family, and the slave The meeting was free and familiar, and many expressions of sympathy were given. A very credita-

ble contribution was taken in aid of the bereaved the thoughts of generations yet to be. The South Bells were tolled in Braintree and Randelph, and

in Randolph a public meeting was also held. What did all the gatherings, enthusiasm, interest and sympathy of that day betoken, save the outpouring of the great heart of the people in resistance to the system of slavery, which our government protects and fosters? And when the people become suffi-

ciently aroused, can their power be resisted? ABBY HUTCHINSON, Sec'y. REMARKS OF JAMES HUTCHINSON, JR.

At the John Brown Commemoration Meeting at West Brookfield, Vt. MR. PRESIDENT-To-day, another illustrious nam has been added to the long list of martyrs who have given their lives for the good of others. The tolling of a thousand bells has announced to the people, all over the land, that John Brown has been executed by the slaveholding power of one of the States of this Union, and the many public meetings like the one

However much any one may question the proprie ty of the undertaking which has resulted so fatally | Resolved, That as the possibility never had occur to him and his associates, all will admit that so brave red to us of men being tried, condemned, and conand valiant a band deserved a better fate. It is true victed, and executed by law, for their faithfulness to that he violated the laws of a slave State: for he en- the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Indepen deavored to aid his fellow-men in gaining their free- dence, under the Constitution of the United States dom-and that is the worst of crimes in one half of as at present construed and carried out, the gloriou the States of this Union. It is said also by some, stars and stripes, and the blessed Union: so we that he intended to incite a rebellion among the slaves, from henceforth, place no confidence in those institu and bring on a revolution; and for this he must die. tions for the protection of life or liberty, under the Although John Brown says that such was not his in- present administration of Government. tention, yet let us not forget that Washington, Jef- Resolved, That we will with our might, mind as ferson, Franklin and Adams were once charged with strength, do our utmost to make Illinois a free State. the same crime; and the only reason that they did not suffer the same fate that he has to-day suffered, city papers. . is, that their revolution was successful, while John Brown, with a score of men, was conquered by the allied forces of the Federal Government and the State of Virginia. But there are others here who will speak

something of his previous efforts to aid the oppressed. His love of free institutions led him to settle with his sons in Kansas, at the time when the Slave Pow- The amendment was made with the ostensible ob ject of making it conform to the sense of the meeting er was determined no abolitionist should settle there. They made their homes at Osawatomie, which was I think, however, that, as it now reads, it conform destined soon to be the theatre of a bloody strife be- quite as little to the sense of that gathering as you tween roving bands of Border Ruffians on the one side, will see that it does to an article called con and the peaceable settlers on the other.

act of the brave man who has fallen. I will say

was a still more unfortunate sufferer. The attack was made so suddenly, that, before the scattered in habitants could collect in sufficient numbers to meet the enemy, more than twenty houses were burned to them became, for a time, insane. Driven almost to madness-by these multiplied suf ferings, he resolved to take the field at the head of a small band of brave men, who, like himself, were ready to risk their lives for the good of the outraged territory. His first and most determined object was to release his two sons; but they were held prisoner slave State, and guarded by United States dragoons.

THE

hireling bands from Missouri. This time, John Brown

LIBERATOR.

alist from the Green Mountains; and, 3d, a renegade

trio was the 'unfriendly Friend.' 'Robber.' ' murder-

Yours, for the war against Slavery,

EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.

minds as his who had that day passed to heaven from

a Virginia gallows. John Brown could not have been

true to his convictions of right and duty, and have

done or suffered less. He said he (Brown) was a be-

liever in the Old Testament as well as in the New, and

ing up to this standard, he inevitably must meet such

an end. Mr. A. would not argue that all his actions

were judicions; but, viewed from Brown's stand-

Charles Brigham expressed his deep sorrow for

Rev. Mr. Wakefield, of Feltonville, was the next

equalled, and never surpassed, in history.

heretofore been.

THOS. REID.

ed and maintained than heretofore.

peaceful employment. The sorrow-stricken old man, as he that day reurned to his desolate, adopted home, met the remaining members of the family mourning over the dead body of the son and brother who had been murdered in his absence. The brave old hero could en dure no more. Dropping upon his knees, he supplicated the Supreme Ruler for the protection of his remaining family: then, taking a solemn oath that he would never cease his labors till Kansas was free from such hordes of murderers, he started to arouse his neighbors to action; and he did not sleep till he had overtaken and made prisoners of more than twenty of the 'law and order' ruffians.

For this he was indicted for treason, and for month he was called an outlaw by a government that had refused to protect him or his family. But I need not tell more of his sufferings and labors in Kansas. The history of that Territory is full of accounts of his bravery and generosity. We are also well aware that our national government encouraged the invaders, who caused so much suffering, outrage and murder by giving their leaders all the offices of honor and profit, and at the same time hunting down and im-

prisoning the most prominent free State settlers.

By and by, Mr. President, John Brown had don his duty in Kansas. By him, and other like noble spirits, fre now was secured to the 'Italy of America.' But his work was not yet done. He felt that he owed the ame duty to the black man who toiled on the plantations of Missouri, that he did to the white man on the prairies of Kansas. A slave went to him and implored his assistance and protection toward free land. He with ten others, was to be sold the next day; and Brown, true to his convictions of duty, accompanied him to his quarters, effected their re lease, and conducted them in safety to the land where the colored man is free. Again he returned to his home; and again, so successful had he been in all his undertakings, that he began to think himself a man of destiny, chosen by the Almighty to lead the slave from his bondage. A grand and noble scheme wa devised, of liberating thousands by a single blow. It was an idea worthy of the man; the man was worthy of the idea. Had he been successful in his enterprise, the world would have applauded, his name been revered, and his memory cherished long after the sys-

We may say he was rash and imprudent in under taking so hazardous an enterprise, in the very heart of the nation, with only a score of men : but let all withhold censure, in consideration of his unselfish benevolent intentions. Mr. President, were I a slave and compelled to toil unpaid for a Southern masterforbidden to call my wife, my children, or my life my own-liable to be chained and sold, with no rights in the present, no hope in the future but in rebellio and revolution-I should cherish the name of John Brown, the martyr of to-day, as the brightest star

tem of American slavery shall have passed away.

in the galaxy of American patriots. The nation will not soon forget the experience through which we are passing. We shall remembe how hundreds of pro-slavery ruffians marched into Kansas, and for two years attempted to subdue and drive out all settlers who were opposed to slavery; and that the government encouraged them. We

length than either of the speakers, but I am unable ful tidings that their best friend has fallen; and in the to report his words. He considered the Harper's stillness of darkness, they will whisper their firm re-Ferry tragedy a natural result of the workings of the solves to try alone the dangerous path over which he Speech. would so gladly have led them.

John Brown was born in New England, and he eve

loved the free institutions of his native land; but he was a citizen of the world, and his large heart embraced all mankind. He would have all share alike the blessings of liberty. Virginia may boast that she has taken his life but his spirit still lives to cheer the hopes and inspire

may think with John Brown dies all the hope of the enslayed, but let her remember that · Freedom's battle, once begun,

Bequeathed from bleeding pire to sun, Though baffled oft, is ever won.' Mr. President, while we contemplate the life and fate of John Brown, let us not forget his last request to the American people, that we should re

THE 2d OF DECEMBER AT WAUSEGAN

nember his afflicted family.

WAUKEGAN Dec. 11 1850 PRIEND GARRISON, -In common with a great man others, we had a meeting here commemorative of the death of the glorious old martyr, John Brown, a which the following preamble and resolutions were

constrates that American slavery victimizes the bravest and best of men; therefore Resolved, That we will neither be a party in its present but give expression to the general indigna- turpitude, nor obey its behest, but will strenuously strive now and ever to banish it from every foot of American soil.

Whereas, The late execution of John Brown de

Moved, That the Resolutions be published in both

President BUCHANAN. The underscored part of the second resolution inserted on motion of a would-be Member of Congress of the causes and the consequences of the last great who agrees when elected, to swear to support the Con stitution of the U. S. as he understands it, and who on the Slavery question, seems very anxious to have a face on the back part of his head.

Moved, That a copy be sent to Gov. Wise and

sense. However, the resolutions-especially the firs Osawatomie was among the first towns to be de- two-elicited quite a discussion, and left an impres stroyed by the invaders, and John Brown and his sion on the minds of those in attendance which I thin family were among the first sufferers. Again the will be lasting, in the expression of opinion, by those town was built up, and again was it destroyed by the who spoke. With three exceptions, they were favorable

Execution CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN.

for John Brown and his martyr spirit. bitterness, he will long be remembered. Now for a

revelation of his true character and position.

ced. He claims to be a friend (?) of the Slave, and answer for it; the other is lawfully a slave, and must the Republican party resists the extension not be assisted to freedom, nor strive for it himself, not seek the abolition of slavery." because such acts would be unlawful.

speaker: and for more than thirty minutes he spoke with a fervor and eloquence rarely surpassed-portraying the wrongs of the slave, the outrages inflicted upon Kansas, the stirring scenes through which Brown and his compeers had passed, and the terrible destiny that awaits this guilty nation, and the certainty that

disunion and bloodshed must be the final result. Rev. Mr. Alger, late pastor of the Unitarian socie ty, was the next speaker.' He said he was not pre pared to make a set speech ; but he expressed in glowing terms his approbation of the sentiments of the last speaker, and believed the conduct of Brown justifiable, but perhaps wanting wisdom. But who is not fallible in judgment?

Isaac Osgood contrasted the present state of feeling existing between Virginia and Massachusetts, and that of 1776, and thought the experiment at that time was an entire failure, so far as freedom was concerned. He would not care, when he came to look for the last time on the setting sun, to know that this Union was preserved, but would wish that that orb might not rise upon a master nor set upon a slave. A collection was taken for the family of Brown

At the forenoon meeting, the following resolutions were adopted :we 'would not force liberty upon other nations,' we

and the meeting closed.

Liberty and Human Rights.

whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters.' (See speech March 24, 1818.) Resolved, That so long as Pulaski, Kosciusko, De Kalb, Steuben and Lafayette, are justly honored for their devotion to the freedom of a people not their own, the equally heroic and disinterested efforts of John Brown to give liberty to a race alien to his own, must receive the sympathy and honor of all lovers of

Resolved. In view of the recent arrest of Dr. Breed. in the city of Washington, for 'an expression of opinion,' we adopt the language of the Evening Journal, of this city :- 'The questions of Compromise, of the new States, and of the regulation of Ter ritorial affairs, which have convulsed our Union, are all insignificant compared with the RIGHT OF FREE Resolved, That it is more and more our duty as cit-

The following were adopted at the evening meet-Resolved. That while Christians may disagree as to the merit of John Brown's act, all must recognize the parallel between his effort and the more successful one made by Moses, when he led the Israelitish bondmen

Resolved, That while patriots may not all approve the course of John Brown, yet sogiong as the remembrance of the effort of Decatur's men to liberate the American captives from the Algerines, and the conally heroic attempt of the two Americans who went to Austria to rescue Lafavette from the dungeon of Olmutz, remains, we must accord to John Brown honor and glory equally with those brave heroes of the past.

The day was dark and gloomy, and, as one of the speakers remarked, like as on another memorable day, the sun refused to shine.' Large placards were posted about the city, reading

BROWN MEETING AT NATICK. The citizens of this town held an effective meeting

GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH!

Among those who consented to take an active part and to address the meeting, was Rev. N. L. George, who sympathize with this type of Anti-Slavery. Mr. George is the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal and slander, which you, friend Garrison, answered both at Natick and Milford. And for his vituperation and

Pretty logic this for a man calling himself a friend

serving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's HATE RESTOR-JANE ASHRY.

on the evening of Dec. 2d, to express their sympathy

By order of the Board.

States, ha ture in it terance, a city, to th · Is neg ates that every man law of Go self,' for injustice, that Negr prepared,

frequently which co Constitut blessings i men, I ins we must co action in the Congre NEURO SL. it is not put him der, order Mr. O Mayor Voice Mr. C hissing; tain, gent UNJUST

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[Applaus Mr. Si House of utterane ic creed : " If you disruption Slavery in If you wa the sooner longer w don't int it will n the three surroun ber that led our

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In our i

of peace home; a glory al recollect hopes. men;— Pitt sto the tyri stroyed and the again defessions king of We cor creal name oo son, or we mig the Union that it surely the fru ing on which on their cry, we bected strang less off Brown inel.

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