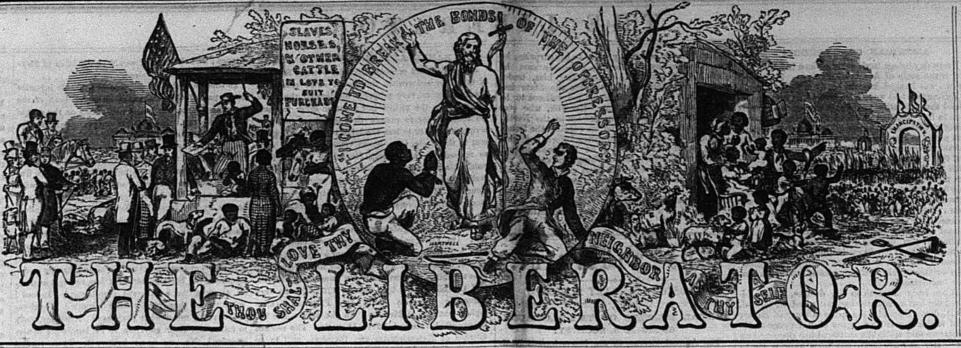
18 if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to

pricted, (POST PAID.) to the General Agent.

Advertisements making less than one square ind three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, anylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soes are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Financommittee, but are not responsible for any of the has of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-100 CONCT, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

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

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

VOL. XXX. NO. 3.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1517.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

The adherents of Democracy, even in the free Sates, have at length come out boldly in advocacy Sales, have at length come out tooldy in advocacy of Slavery as just, and blasphenously quote Scripter in its support. Mr. O'Connor, a distinguished ad able lender of the party in New Yerk, gave uttrace, at the great Union-Saving Meeting in that ey, to the following sentiments : -

Is negro Slavery unjust? If it is unjust, it vio-hos that first rule of human conduct, 'Render to erry man his due.' If it, is unjust, it violates the erry man as his of God, which says, 'Love thy neighbor as thyelf,' for that requires that we should perpetrate no isjustice. And, gentlemen, if it could be maintained that Negro Slavery was unjust, perhaps I might be prepared, perhaps we ought to be prepared, to go with that distinguished man, to whom allusion is sith that distinguished man, to whom aritision is frequently made, and say there is a 'higher law' which compels us to trample beneath our feet the Constitution established by our fathers, with all the lessings it secures to their children. But, gentlesan I insist-and that is the argument to which we must come, which we must meet, and on which must come to a conclusion that shall govern our ation in the future selection of Representatives in the Congress of the United States—I INSIST THAT NEED SLAVERY IS NOT UNJUST; [bravo and cheers;] it is not only just, [hisses, applause, and cries of put him out, 'put him out,' sit down,' 'or-

Mr. O'Connor. Order, order, if you please.

Mr. O Connor. Order, order, it you piease.

Mr. O Connor. Let him stay there, order!

Voices. Put him out.

Mr. O Connor. Serpents have the privilege of bising; good men will be silent and hear. I maintain, gentlemen, that NEGRO SLAVERY IS NOT UMUST-[No, sir; and applause]—that it is BE-MSN IN ITS INFLUENCES on the white man arien the black man, [that s so, and cheers;] that is sordAINED BY NATURE; that it is a necesas of crated by nature itself; that it carries with it care for the black man, and duties for the white, which duties cannot be performed, except by the restration, and, if the gentlemen please it, the FERPETUATION of the system of Negro Slavery.'

Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, in his speech in the House of Representatives on Monday week, gave atterance to the following version of the Democrat-

If you exclude Slavery from us, it will prove the emuption of every tie. We will have expansion of Sarry in the Union, or outside of it, if we must. If you want to know my advice to Mississippi, I say, the somer we get out of the Union the better; for the loger we stay it, the worse for us. The South have made up their minds to sustain Slavery. We don't intend to be prescribed by present limits, and it will not be in the power of the North to coerce he three millions of freemen at the South with arms their hands, and prevent their going into the sarrounding Territories. Gentlemen must remem-ber that a gallant son of the South, Jefferson Davis, ed our forces into Mexico, and, thank God, he still

perhaps to lead a Southern army The South will expand to Mexico, that country eing without government, and they can administer the estate for themselves. Whenever a man like Mr. Seward or Mr. Hale is elected to preside over the destinies of the South, there may be expected an undivided front in that section, and all parties will be united in resistance to the aggression.

SOUTHERN VIEWS.

We of the South love the Union with a holy love. la our ideal, it is a league of brotherhood; a pledge of pace and mutual good offices and affection at home; a guarantee of national respectability and gory abroad. It is sanctified by many glorious reollections, it is associated with many glorious hopes. We love the Union, and we love Union -we mean such men as stand up now, as Pat stood up in British Parliaments to denounce be tyranny and deplore the folly of those who destroyed the Union then. There are many such, and they stand a noble host. But spare us, we again demand, spare us the mockery of Union prosions from Seward and from Hale,-from the king of Republicanism or from the king's jester!

We do not want 'Republicans' to clank chains er creak prison doors in our ears, in the prostituted tame of Union. But when Buchapan, or Dickin-sa, or Everett speaks, or a host of others whom he Union to endure that they may love us, and not that they may oppress us; when they show us siken cords instead of iron manacles,—then, we hear the voice of brothers, and of true Union men, and

we gladly listen and cordially respond.

But as the tyrant Norths of 177β destroyed the Union then, while swearing by ships and armies that it should not die, so Northern tyrants will as tarly destroy it now, if they do not bring forth the fruits of affection and justice, instead of rely-ing on force to sustain them in the aggressions sich they are perpetrating. The cry of Union their lips is an insulting, mocking, hypocritical cy, which shows that the ennobling sentiment coneted with an honorable and patriotic Union, is stranger to their thoughts. We would listen with Bown sympathy meeting .- Alexandria (Va.) Sen-

A CLERICAL CONSPIRACY.

A circular is now being sent forth extensively, avery Society,' which, as indicating a menacing hase of sectional fanaticism, is worthy of a brie assise. The officers of this organization are J. C. Webster, President; Henry T. Cheever, Secretary; William Claffin, Vice President; I. Washburn, Irosarer. Executive Committee—Deacon Timothy Ghert, Boston, Mass., Baptist Church; Rev. Sambel Hand Proceedings of the Committee Committee Church; Rev. Sambel Hand Procedures and Church; sel Hunt, Franklin, Mass., Congregational Church; Re. John H. Twombly, Worcester, Mass., Methodist Church; Rev. George T. Day, Providence, R. I., Freewill Baptist Church; Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York Church; and ex-Sea York city, Congregational Church; and ex-President, Congregational Church; Rev. Henry T. Cherrer, Jawett City, Conn., Secretary, Congregabonal Church; Hon. William Claffin, New Nos., Vice President, Methodist Church ; Hon I. Washburn, Worcester, Mass., Treasurer, Congregadisal Church. This Committee, pursuant to a role of the Society, have appointed 'its Secretary (a Congregational pastor of Jewett City, Conn.) General Agent of the Society for one year, to correspond with the churches, and urge combined action against Slavers and the receive such pecuniary aid Interpretation of the churches, and urge combined action against Slavery, and to receive such pecuniary aid individuals and churches may bestow for the purpose of the Society, and bespeak for him a hearing before the churches of all denominations, and a larty co-operation by the people of God in the plans of the Society, so far as they are in according why should they not believe themselves possessed of an equal control over those of the merchants, manufacturers, and laborers here? Certainly, the conduct of the Websters, Choates, Everetts, Pierces, is not gold enough in the Carolinas, nor real or fandacturers, and carbon and the conduction of the Websters, Choates, Everetts, Pierces, is not gold enough in the Carolinas, nor real or fandacturers.

fered a premium for a tract on Slavery. They re-commend a quarterly or monthly concert of prayer for the enslaved, with contributions, of course, and a form of constitution for a local church Anti-Slave-North—a sample of which may be seen in the one

ton and of our own New England ancestors, embracing thousands of the best and purest men that ever lived. The reverend plotters recommend all hibited by the relicious in the so-called Free reads, verbatim et literatim, thus :-

The Church and the Maistry to form the con-science of the nation in respect to slavery, and to make it loyal to the law of God, against all unjust judgments of Courts, and unrighteous legislation of

We will venture to say that there is not a man among the authors of this manifesto who is not a howler against the priestcraft of Rome-who does not go in for a proscription of a portion of our fellow-citizens, because in addition to the heinous sin of foreign birth, they are falsely charged with being honest one, a conviction that their action was just under the influence of their spiritual teachers in and humane, could induce them so to jeopardize secular affairs. But that the Christian charity, their pecuniary interests, as this man, in the publi-which is ignored by these self-constituted apostles cation of their names to their Southern customers, forbids, we should charge them with being conspirators of the deepest dye. We should say that as intelligent men, they were, knowingly, enemies of the Christian religion, dire focs of the colored race, and enemies of their country; for all intelligent men know that Anti-Slavery agitation in the pulpit has broken up and is breaking up congregations; that the fierce and fratricidal war on the South only tends to rivet the fetters of the slave and restrict his privileges; and to set up a higher law than that of anarchy, disruption, ruin. The men, therefore, who put forth the sentiments expressed in this 'Anti-Slavery Church Declaration of Principles,' are either conscious disturbers of the public peace and plotters of public ruin, or they are monomaniaes maddened by dwelling on a single idea. On one or the other horn of this inevitable dilemma they must be impaled .- Boston Post.

SELECTIONS.

From the (Edinburgh) Scottish Press, of Dec. 20.

SLAVERY STILL AT ITS DIRTY WORK. [The writer of the following letter, Miss Remond, young lady of color, now spending the winter in London. It shows the unjust treatment of such persons on board the Cunard steamers,-and the manner in which they are received at the office of the American Minister in this country.)

Sir,-Every colored American knows, from bitter experience, the liability to receive insult from is the atter want of moral principle shown by the the majority of the American people. We do not expect it under English influences. My sister, Mrs. Putnam, and her friends had first-class tickets from Boston to Liverpool. After the purchase of the tick-ing of justice, or religion, or freedom, or manhood, and the convictions to the convention of th ets, they were informed that they would not be allowed equal privileges with other first-class passengers. Mrs. Putnam remonstrated with the Boston agent. The health of two of the party was the object of the voyage, more particularly that of one who left our climate by the advice of his physician as a last resource for the restoration of his health. No mitate Americans, the only reason for colored they could not go to the table with other first-class your Divine Master like Peter, or sell him like J

States. I asked to have it vised for the purpose of going to Paris. The Secretary said I was not a citizen of the United States, and he could not sign t. I informed him that I was a citizen of Salem in Massachusetts, and Massachusetts acknowledged my

Massachusetts, and Massachusetts acknowledged my citizenship—and the fact of my having the passport was a proof of my citizenship. The Secretary still refused to sign it, and said I ought to be satisfied with his refusal. During the conversation, I turned to my sister and said, 'Thank God we are in a country where our rights are respected, and I have also have a country where our rights are respected, and I have no doubt we can obtain passports which will take us to France.' This remark called forth from the gentlemanly Secretary this reply, 'If you do not cease this conversation, I will have you put out of this house.' Most earnestly would I ask all who read this letter to judge what the spirit of a country is that will allow such treatment to its citizens, the spirit which enslaves four millions of men and women, and insults the free colored population of the United States? You may read the facts, but no words can express the mental suffering we are obliged to bear because we happen to have a dark complexion. No language can give one an idea of

the spirit of prejudice which exists in the States. I am most respectfully yours, SARAH P. REMOND. London, December 4, 1859.

From the Abington Standard. WARNING-JOHN BROWN'S FRIENDS

GIBBETED. MR. EDITOR :- The Charleston (S. C.) Courie of the 9th inst. publishes the call for the John Brown meeting held in this town on the 2d inst., which the editor says was furnished to him by

and as a warning to all those who have been so fooland as a warning to all those who have been so foolish as to suppose they did not sell themselves, as well as the goods they have sent to the southern market.

They are so much in the habit of buying and selling men the other side of Mason & Dixon's line, it is perhaps not to be wondered at if they should fancy them equally the subject of barter on this.

Don't they buy negroes, bodies and souls? And why should they not believe themselves possessed of an equal control over those of the merchants, mannafecturers, and laborers here? Certainly, the configeturers and laborers here? Certainly, the con-

who furnished the article for the Courier, with a We need not copy in full the Declaration of Prin-ciples they put forth as the basis of their movement; ble alacrity they do the dirtiest and meanest work is enough to say that, under the guise of philan- of Slavery, by turning spies and informers against thropy, it reeks of 'hatred, malice and all uncharitheir former friends and neighbors,—there is, at tableness.' Slaveholding is a deadly sin, and slave- least the shadow of tableness.' Slaveholding is a deadly sin, and slave-holders all sinners and anti-Christians. This, of acted upon in Congress and through the South, that course, heaps with infamy the graves of Washing- the merchants of the North bargain away their prin-

churches of their stamp to rebuke all others differ-ing from them, and the refusal of fellowship to that section of the visible church which defends slavery.

Abolition is demanded 'at once.' Article eight known to the civilized world, goes to confirm the belief. How many are there, like the witness on the stand, who said to the lawyer, 'Only tell me what you want I should say, and I will say it!'-How many are there who say to the slaveholders, Only tell us what you want done, and we will do

There are two things particularly observable in connection with this expose of the gentleman who plays the mousing owl for the Charleston paper. The first is the involuntary testimony to the si ty of those who signed the call for the John Brown meeting in this town. What other motive but ar cation of their names to their Southern customers, virtually declares they have done. They had noth ing to gain in the way of trade, but everything to lose. There is, then, the best evidence of honesty of purpose, and simple obedience to the dictates of conscience and the noblest impulses of humanity, on the part of those who are thus hung up before the exasperated people, writhing under the conscious-ness of wrong-doing, and in an agony of fear lest their victims shall be stimulated by the sympathy of the great popular heart to rise and break the rivileges; and to set up a higher law than that of of the great popular heart to rise and break the supreme law of the land, will infallibly produce yoke, as their forefathers did that of Great Britain.

Was there ever seen such a sight? A whole people driven into ecstacies of fear and madness by the attempt, on the part of twenty men, to run off a portion of the slaves of Virginia! Slaves, too, so much in love with their condition, that nothing can induce them to forsake the elysium of happiness in which slavery has placed them! What a lesson is taught in the folly, the ferocity, the worse than savblood-thirstiness of the South, in connection with the Harper's Ferry affair, as in all other efforts to open the dark den of Slavery to the warm radiance of the sunlight of liberty!

This blind and merciless spirit, the 'gentleman' in the Charleston Courier would let 'loose' upon former friends and neighbors, who honestly earn the bread they eat, and are not disposed to keep silence when, in the judicial murder of one of God's noblemen, a great outrage is committed upon the principles standing at the base of the government, and which are the life of liberty and law. he must follow his affinity, and will have his re-

The second thing observable in this publication, American vessel will take colored passengers except ington and the North, who have been living for for-with similar restrictions, and if English steamers ty years by Southern trade, or who wish to live that time to come, stifle your convictions strike hands persons to take the former in preference is that they with the slave-owner—shut your eyes to manifest are sure of kinder treatment on board the English robbery and injustice—still the throbbings of your ressels. A short time after the Europa left Boston, hearts in behalf of the suffering and the dumb, af-a waiter informed Mrs. Putnam and her friends that firm that darkness is light, and light darkness; deny passengers. They asked to see the captain; the das, if you can only save the Union, which means, steward then came, and Mrs. Putnam remonstrated secure the thirty pieces of silver! Cotton is kingwith him, but he said, as the waiter had said, that Slavery is on the throne—bow down and worship she and her friends could not be allowed to go to the it! So trade shall flourish, and a golden stream table. The captain did not come. The only point shall run into your coffers. No better arvice has is this—whether men and women guilty of no crime over been given than that of Iago, 'Put money in but having a dark complexion, shall be liable to your purse.' As the great panorama of historic is this—whether men and women guilty of no crime but having a dark complexion, shall be liable to such injustice on board English steamers?

The facts relating to the passport are these:—I called at 24 Portland Place—the office of the American Minister, Hon. Mr. Dallas, with my passport which I had obtained before leaving the United has been sold in the market, or starved in its hovel.

'Truth forever on the scaffold,

and be wise in your generation as I have been, and though you will lose your manhood, you may proably fill your pockets!

Whether the 'gentleman' aforesaid is fully aware of the motive which actuates him, and by which he

has sought to influence us, I cannot say. It may strike other people differently, but this is the look the whole thing wears to me.

I had written thus far when the Standard of this

week came to hand, containing a letter from Charles-ton, S. C., and signed 'C. T. Dunham.' It appears to be intended for the benefit of the signers t call for the John Brown meeting, and points to him as the 'gentleman' who furnished the material for the article in the Courier. He appeals in moving terms certainly to the 'grave Senator,' the 'Representatives elect,' the ministers who have ' donned the sacerdotal robe to enter into the arena of wild fanaticism, &c.' and to the 'manufacturers,' with means and without, who have lived ' forty years,' more or less, by trading with the South, entreating them not to let loose upon the country a population happy, peaceful and contented, to riot, rob, burn and pil-lage wherever their footsteps might lead them.'

It would be bad, would it, 'to let loose a peace-ful, happy and contented population to riot, rob, burn and pillage 'anything or anybody? At other times, and of another sort of people, the question would naturally come, 'How is it possible for such a population to run loose for such a purpose?' But that is out of order, and will not be permitted.

The gentlemen who are thus peremptorily ar-raigned at the tribunal of this adopted son of the South ' are all able to speak for themselves, if they gentleman, together with a list and classification are disposed to answer the summons. Although I had the good fortune to be one of the signers of the I wish you to print the list for the information . Knell, yet as I am only a 'laborer,' one of a class and as a warning to all the sum of the signers of the signers. whose normal condition, they tell us down South, is that of fixtures of the soil, to be bought and sold with it, —one of the 'mud-sills of society,' as de-fined in the dictionary of Senator Hammond—it will not be expected or desired that I should plead at all.

lions, reaching out through the present into the removed and indefinite future, John Brown was a fitting type and representative. God bless all such!

And he will!

During the ten minutes he was kept on the scaffold with the rope round his neck, that certain military displays might be perfected, he neither blenched nor wearied.

The porel to a fellower is the scaffold with the rope round his neck, that certain military displays might be perfected, he neither blenched nor wearied.

North Abington, Dec. 22, 1859. Hon. Mr. WHITING, the writer of the above, is

From the London Morning Star.

iously sliding through the hour-glass of life. He this is not the time to pass judgment—but it is not was an angular bit of granite that kept its place on the shore of events—though all the surges of the sea unselfish idea. There is something in this spectacle rightful estimate of his personal qualities. We do one of the historic sights of the world. not treat him as a martyr, but as a man. The world is full enough of those who, in supine case, shrink from the discharge of tame duties, and if unselfish heroism gleams on the world from a scaffold, it should not want acknowledgment

OSAWATOMIE BROWN! 'What a name to fill the

Kew-gardens-Brown as he lay in churchyards, or cared nobody else. He was what is sometimes denominated a 'square man,' with a 'back-bone per-fectly straight.' Very firm men incline a little from the perpendicular. Brown inclined none. He was no 'stump orator.' His mental composition was Brown inclined none. He was Carlylesque. He acted; and stood by his acting. His countrymen who did not sympathise with his principles, even those widely opposed to him, could not but feel gratified at the American nerve he displayed unflinchingly to the end. He was wounded hen taken, and lay on a bed in court on his trial. His counsel set up a plea that he was insane. The prisoner raised himself up and said, 'that while he was not insensible to the intentions of his defender. nor regardless of the power of the court, yet as an honest man he must say that he was of sound mind. He was not the intentional cause of the calamities which had occurred, but what he had done he in tended; ' and he stated with distinctness and correctness his own course of conduct. His obvious truthfulness, which no vanity amplified nor any fear abridged, was conspicuous. He neither braved his sentence nor shrunk from it. His conduct was utterly free from effect-making. His speech was always that of a modest, determined, shrewd, sensible well-possessed man. Mrs. Brown herself seems ar equally remarkable woman, and is described as being courageous without insensibility, tender without weakness; and her bearing in the last interview

was worthy of a Roman wife.

Brown, shortly before his execution, addressed a letter to his wife, in which he enters with a practical good sense into his views of the future, a education of his children, which few moralists would surpass. The advice he gives is as well conceived and as applicable to the firesides of New England and Old England as the pithy apothegms of Dr. FRANKLIN. The noble passage deserves the distinc-

tion of repetition. He says : -· Let me say a word about the efforts to educate our laughters. I am no longer able to provide means to help towards that object, and it therefore becomes me not to dictate in the matter. I shall gratefully sub-nit the direction of the whole thing to those whose ing of the schools to enable them to transact the comgether with that thorough training to good busines habits which best prepares both men and women to be useful though poor, and meet the stern realities of life with a good grace. You well know that I always claimed that the music of the broom, washtul, needle, spindle, loom, axe, scythe, hoe, flail, &c., should first be learned at all events, and the piano, &c. afterwards. I put them in that order as most conducive to health of body and mind; and for the obvious reason that after a life of some experience and much observation, traitor, but in a higher sphere than that of politics I have found ten women as well as ten men who have we may venture to award a truer verdict.

cied blessings enough in the 'Union,' to make me acter of his life and mind. It is also remarkable ceived letters of condolence from many of the best affirm that a system, in whose category human beings are written down, and in the words of South Carolina law, declared to be 'goods and chattels' that their bones should be calcined and their ashes emulate each other in caring for his family, as a personal, to all intents, purposes and constructions purified by fire. But the tone in which he declined whatsoever, has in it one element which can awake any religious ceremony after his death has a majesthe sympathy, or command the respect and support tic mournfulness in it. 'He said that he desired no of a single genuine man on the globe. I say, moreover, that those who are thus struck from the scale scaffold, from ministers who consent to or approve of humanity, and classed with the brutes, have an the enslavement of their fellow-creatures; that he indefeasible right, from God and nature, to throw would prefer rather to be accompanied to the scafoff the yoke, and assert their claim to the dignity
and position of men, the best way they can. These
are my sentiments, and I am ready to follow and
abide by them through all their natural and legitiincompanied to the scaffold by a dozen slave children and a good old slave
mother, with their appeal to Gop for blessings on
his soul, than all the eloquence of the whole clergy
abide by them through all their natural and legitiincompanied to the commonwealth combined.' This intense reliance on humanity the late Leigh Hunt would have When the millions of laboring men in this coun- recorded as one of the heroic utterances of the ' Retry come up to this standard, the hour of Slavery's ligion of the Heart.' Brown's end became his life, doom will be struck. Of all those countless mil- During the ten minutes he was kept on the scaffold

bombast, commands for him respectful recognition. He knew that his life was forfeited, and he made no thing savoring of menace.' This last word proves that Brown was strong and wise as well as brave, THERE WAS NO 'BUNKUM' IN BROWN. and we believe that when the irritation of the South North and South in the United States admit that there was, to use a favorite and expressive phrase of Brown's character, it will be seen that he was a theirs, the true 'grit' in Brown. There was no worthy foe; and if wrong-headed, at least right-fine sand in his composition, sleekly and ignomin-hearted. Upon Brown's act for which he suffered, beat against it. He was a gnarled oak, unbending which will ever stir the pulses of men. We end of before the tempest. In this place, nor at this time, titled and pompous egotism may attract the vacant we neither discuss his aims nor his conflict; neither glare of the fool, or the praise of the hirely graves: its wisdom nor its consequences; we have to do to- but the bier of the brave, however humgle, who die lay with a stern, single-minded, Gon-fearing, Puri- for others, brings the throb to the leart and the tan-souled man, who has died for an idea, and that tear to the eye; and many who here clanes unheedidisinterested and generous one. We will not aliow any opinion upon his principles to jar with the that distant Virginian scaffold which to-day becomes

From the Manchester [England] Examiner and Times. THE EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.

The gallows has lately closed the career of a man OSAWATOMIE BROWN! 'What a name to fill the peaking trump of fame!' He must be in a way a man of genius to reconcile the fastidious cars of Europe to such a patronymic. Yet for the space of six weeks that name has eclipsed all others occurring in the free press of two worlds. Our news columns have informed our readers of the events of Harper's Ferry—the subsequent capture, trial, and sentence of one John Brown, oftener called 'Old Brown,' and better distinguished as 'Osawatomie Brown,' and better distinguished as 'Osawatomie Brown,' The ast American mail brought, as our readers of yeserday saw, particulars of his execution. Brown, 'Pilgrim's Progress' did for him what Swift's 'Pilgrim's Progress' did for him what Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' did for Cobbett. Cobbett read in Kew-gardens—Brown as he lay in churchyagds, or following the troops of his country engaged in reading the troops of his country engaged in the sum of the entire State and broops of the entire State and the career of a man characteric, of course, to the execution of John Brown, the troops of his entire called the execution of John Brown, the troops of his entire can This is only one aspect of the retributive effects of following the troops of his country engaged in pa-following the troops of his country engaged in pa-triotic struggles. Brown had a Puritan mind. He triotic struggles. Brown had a Puritan mind. He great and civilized nation to connive at an enormous great and civilized nation to connive at an enormous wrong, without paying the penalty in some form or another. The righteousness which governs the world will not be mocked and evaded with impunity. Twenty millions of white men are physi-cally competent to hold four millions of black men in slavery, but it is totally out of their power to frustrate the inevitable consequences of such a vio-lation of the moral law. Their own consciences will create avengers. However selfishness may blunt the perceptions of those who are engaged in the crime, the instincts of every honest heart will pro-test against their miserable sophistry, and brand them as assassins of the most sacred rights, as traitors at the bar of God and man.

The act for which Brown has been hanged is,

f course, legally a crime. It is an offence against he State. He conspired to set men free, to rescue them from the condition of chattels, and restore to them the full enjoyment of the prerogatives which belong rightfully to all men. If the laws of the United States had been in harmony with justice, there would have been no room for the commission of such a crime. We do not wish to blink the fact that Brown sought to effect his end by violent measures. He believed it right to appeal to the sword, to enlist bloodshed on the side of freedom. There was not the slightest chance of success in such an attempt, and hence he is chargeable with a grave, perhaps a criminal, responsibility. But viewing his conduct in the very worst light, we find nothing to prevent us from placing him side by side with those patriots of all ages who have loved liberty, not wisely, but too well. He aimed at a righteous object, he was inspired by the loftiest sentiments, he risked his life for the welfare of the oppressed of another race than his own, he has ex-piated his chivalrous daring by a death at the hands of the executioner, and he has borne his fate with the lofty spirit of a martyr. The world's opinion is usually stamped by success. If Washington had failed in the War of Independence, and en hanged at New York, he would have figured in history merely as an unsuccessful rebel, instead of being idolized as the Father of his country. If the direction of the whole thing to those whose enerosity may lead them to undertake it in their belaff, while I give anew a little expression of my ownchoice respecting it. You, my wife, perfectly well
anow that I have always expressed a decided preferonce for a very plain but perfectly practical education
or both sons and daughters. I do not mean an education so very miserable as that you and I received in
as it is, we know he is the greatest man in Europe, the French generals who were apprehended in their beds early on the morning of the 2nd December, early life, nor as some of our children enjoyed. When I say plain but practical, I mean enough of the learnould have placed himself at the head of the black race in North America, driven the planters over the Missouri, and founded a flourishing republic of colored men, with New Orleans for its capital, his the world would have voted him a place among its greatest beroes. For the crime of failure, he felon. We do not question, for a moment, the po-litical necessity which has dealt with him as a

I have found ten women as well as ten men who have made their mark in life right, whose early training the lofty fanaticism of this man. It might have been a blunder to have set him free, but it is unquistionably a political misfortune that the Americans what it was consistent with his personal character and the discipline of his household. It is singular that this man should be written about and divides the Northern from the Southern States, and gular that this man should be written about and spoken of as a fanatic. Had he been that, we had not drawn attention to him. He was no more a fanatic than a tradesman or an artist, who discharges his duties in a right line, is a fanatic. He was no more a fanatic than George Stephenson or James Watt, or any of the men whom Dr. Smiles discourses of in his 'Self-Help.' We repeat, we do not discuss here the object of Brown, but the char-

emulate each other in caring for his family, as a tribute to the father's worth. The day of his execution was kept in Boston as one of general mourning. The colored people wore crape on their arms, the bells tolled, and at a great meeting of the citizens, held in Tremont Temple, his portrait was exhibited underneath a cross of evergreens, and surrounded with a laurel wreath. The conduct of the unhappy man was in strict harmony with these demonstrations; composed, resigned, sustained by religious thoughts, indemitably firm without any mixture of hardihood or bravado.

If the United States can afford to hang such men, they are a fortunate people. It would be a glorious thing if the whole race of planters and Wallstreet speculators could be made to possess a tithe of the virtues of old Brown. He is hanged mainly because, bating a few errors, he preferred the service of God to the service of the Devil; and it cannot but go ill with any country where that preference is made by law a hanging matter. This is the real evil to be abated, and not the likelihood of more The Knew that his life was oriented, and he imade no words a noble representative of the working-classes of New England, and Senator from Plymouth in the present Legislature of Massachusetts.]

Harper's Ferry insurrections. A nation may outlive an occasional riot, but it cannot outlive determinate, wholesale treason against the first principles of natural equity. They must resolve to half for pardon or commutation, as well as everythe attempt to get out of the difficulty, even in the honestest and most straightforward manner, will be necessarily arduous. Will the long-continued conspiracy against human rights be satisfied with a less inexorable expiation than the rupture of the Federal tie? This or something worse would seem to be imminent, if any credit is to be attached to the Southern declarations published in the New York Herald. If those threats are authentic, and being authentic, anything more than bombast, the Northern States must consent to be plunged into a deeper slough of villany, or withdraw from an unholy alliance with men-owners. How they will resolve on this point remains to be seen, but assuredly half a dozen executions of such men as old Brown would settle the question.

The Liverpool Mercury, in an article on the proba-ble effects of John Brown's death, draws this con-

'A man must be himself a slave-owner to think slavery a safe, solid, legitimate and permament basis of social existence, or to view it otherwise than as a chronic provocation to the worst of anarchies. The

their cause, contemptible by the exaggerated militatary precautions they have taken against imaginary foes. All things considered, we do not anticipate that the southern party will gain political strength by this Harper's Ferry affair, rather the reverse. The so-called abolitionist invasion of Virginia has had the effect of disclosing the frightful insecurity of a social condition based on slavery; and it, has brought out the character of a slave-owning comnunity in a light at once odious and ridiculous no point of view does it appear calculated to inrease either the numerical or the moral force of the South and its adherents."

AN INQUIRY.

Editor of the Transcript: Mr. Everett, in his speech at Faneuil Hall, Dec. 8th, requested leave to read a few sentences from the historian of the Revolution of St. Domingo. He read the following

The largest sugar plantation on the-plain was M. Into largest sugar parameters in the town, the ne-groes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say, 'Il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet,' (he is as happy as one of Gallifet's regroes.)

Mr. Everett then tells the story of the white infant on the stake. It appears to me that the orator could not have been more unhappy in his selection, and that he has wholly mistaken the true meaning of the phrase, 'Il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet.' The actual truth is, that the slaves of iallifet were subjected to the most dreadful torures. In order to force the largest amount of work from them, every species of cruelty was used,— whips, thumb-screws, racks, &c. I was told, in conversation last evening, by a lady who resided some time in St. Domingo, that she had visited the plantation of Gallifet. Her description of what she aw, was this:

From the house a thick wall of stone ran for some listance. At intervals in this wall, dungeons of only sufficient size to admit the body of one human being were constructed. They were partly underground, and in wet weather were partly filled with mud and water. In these dungeons, refractory or other slaves were placed, the front was then bricked up, and the wretched prisoners left to die of starvation. It was in summer when I was there, and of course the ground was dry. By stooping down and brushing away the grass, I was able to look into these dungeons. I resched my hand in and took out parts of chain grass, I was able to look into these dungeons. I reached my hand in, and took out parts of chains. The bodies of those who had been confined there ha perished away, and nothing but the irons remained.

It was in view of these terrible cruelties that the ironical saying arose. When any one wished to express the lowest condition that any one could attain, he said, 'Il est heureux comme un negre de Gal-lifet,' heureux not being used in the sense of happy, but 'lucky.' Mr. Everett's impaled infant does not

but 'lucky.' Mr. Everett's impaled inlant does not look so horrible in this light.

Again, Mr. Everett should have mentioned that on the very day when the insurrection broke out, the principal white inhabitants were assembled at Cap in open rebellion against the government of France, and decided to offer the island to England. it was this which gave the negroes the opportunity or rise. The whites were clearly responsible for the mpaled infant. What caused the rebellion of the rhites against the French government? When the rench Revolution broke out, the free mulattoes supposed that they were to have equal representation with the whites. This the whites denied, and murdered with horrid cruelties Vincent Ogé and his brother. The impaled infant again! This time the impaling was done by the whites to grown men. The cruelties inflicted on Vincent Ogé interested many influential persons in Paris in the cause of the mulattoes. The Abbe Gregoire pleaded for 4 hem i

LETTER FROM MISSOURI.

the National Assembly, and on the 15th of March was passed the celebrated decree which gave the mulatices the rights of French citizens,—of suffrage and to seats in the parochial and colonial assemblies. Robespierre said, 'Perish the colonies, rather than sacrifice one iots of our principles.' The meeting of the whites to resist this just decree gave the negroes the opportunity to impale white inlants as the whites had impaled grown mulattoes.

Subscriber.

CONTROL OF STREET SHOWS OF

FALSEHOOD IN SUPPORT OF SLAVERY. From the Boston Atlas and Daily Bee.

You have well said, Mr. Editor, of Caleb Cust ing's speech at the 'Union-saying' meeting, on Thursday, at Faneuil Hall, that it was, as was to be expected, 'in the highest degree partisan.' You also say that it was 'jesuitical,' and, moreover, that t was 'distinguished by that gentleman's peculiar t was 'distinguished by that gentleman's peculiar mental characteristics.' If, by this expression, you mean to imply that the speech was most thoroughly and impudently mendacious, you were quite correct. The person who began his political course with perjury, is not likely to hesitate at mere falsehood, especially when working for the Democratic party; and the falsehoods with which this speech was filled and the falsehoods with which this speech was filled (saturated with a malignity even more detestable than their falsehood), were a fit prelude to its suggestion of the assassination of prominent Abolitionists, as a remedy for existing evils.

In a partisan speech from Mr. Cushing, falsehood is to be expected. The highest degree and the greatest abundance of it may be confidently looked for from that quarter and an angle an operation. But

from that quarter, and on such an occasion. But Mr. Everett (we have judged) is a man of a very different character. Direct and atrocious violations of truth would surprise us in him, would they not? If, in defence of his favorite institution, slavery, he goes somewhat beyond the very verity, if, to preserve a well-nigh fractured Union, his lips, once called Reverend and Honorable, utter a sophism, or a mis-representation, will not this be the utmost extent of their transgression in this wise? Will he violate the truth further than to call men and women ' property,' or to designate this Union 'a glorious Union,' and this country 'a free and happy country '? Let

Speaking (generally) of the things which John Brown undertook to do in Virginia, and particularly of the allegation that the weapons collected by him were designed for defensive, not offensive, purposes, Mr. Everett says :-

No, sir; it was an attempt to do on a vast scale what was done in St. Domingo in 1791, where the colored population was about equal to that of Virginia; and if any one would form a distinct idea what such an operation is, let him see it, not as a matter of vague conception in the mind of a heated fanatic, but as it should in the sober pages of history, that record the revolt in that island; the midnight burnings, the wholesale massacres, the merciless tortures, the abominations not to be named by Christian lips in the accommandons not to be named by Christian hips in the hearing of Christian ears—some of which, too un-utterably atrocious for the English language, are of necessity veiled in the obscurity of the Latin tongue. Allow me to read you a few sentences from the history of these events :

'In the town itself, the general belief for somtime was that the revolt was by no means an extensive one, but a sudden and partial insurrection only The largest sugar plantation on the plain was that of Mons. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and had so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people, in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say, il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet (he is as happy as one of M. Gal-

infet's negroes).

'M. Odeluc, an attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the General Assembly, and, being fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in opposing the insurgents; to which end he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town guard, which was grant ed him. He proceeded accordingly; but on approach-ing the estate, to his surprise, he found all the negroes arms on the side of the rebels, and (horrid to tell) their standard was the body of a white infant which they had recently impaled on a stake!

I wish, first, to inquire into some details of the 'happy' condition of M. Gallifet's negroes, and into the probable reasons why M. Odelue, the agent of that worthy man, and the personal administrator of such 'happiness' as his negroes enjoyed, 'desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town guard' before he approached them. Fortunately, the means are at hand.

I have before me, a pamphlet of 96 pages, printed at Cape Henry, Saint Domingo, in October, 1814, dedicated to King Henri I. (who is known to usonly by his surname, Christophe,) and written by Baron De Vastey, entitled 'Le Systeme Colonial Devoile.' nial System Unveiled). It gives an account of the destruction of the original Haytians, of the origin and horrors of the African slave trade, and of those frightful cruelties, systematically perpetrated under slavery, which led to the mass the slaveholders. The writer understands the importance of giving details, and he specifies the names nd the individual acts of some of those planters and agents who were most distinguished, at the time of the insurrection, for hideous and atrocious cruelty to their slaves. Strange to say, these dreadful narrations are made in sorrow, not in anger.— Strange also (to those who have depended on the honor and veracity of Mr. Everett), the names of his chosen representatives of the humanity—let me be accurate—the 'kindness and liberality' of slavebolders-Gallifet, the proprietor, and Odeluc, his agent, appear in this list, as follows:

. Gallifet and Montalibor destroyed their unfortunate blacks by the most horrible sufferings, under the scourge, and in miry dangeons, where the vic-tims perished, their bodies lying continually in wa-Gallifet was accustomed to cut the ham-strings

of his slaves, 'After the terrible quatre piquet (the punishment called the four stakes, to be described hereafter), Odeluc, agent of Gallifet, caused brine to be poured upon the bleeding bodies of his victims, with Cayenne pepper, and other acrimonious substances.—

After describing (p. 64) a variety of kinds of dun geons horribly adapted to inflict suffering, the wri-

Other dungeons were made in muddy places, (such were those of Gallifet, Montalibor, Milot, Latour Duroc, and almost upon all the residence of the great planters where the victims perished lying in water, by a cold and dampness which suppressed the circulation of the blood; besides e frightful dungeons, there were a thousand varied instruments of torture invented by the ferocity of the colonists, bars, enormous iron collars with projecting branches, thumb-screws, hand-cuffs, muff-lers, iron masks, chains, for Abd when lers, iron masks, chains, &c. Ah! why, great God! was all this apparatus of death and agony reserved for innocent victims, who fell on their knees at the least sign!!! Finally, the terrible quatre piquet, which was always ready in the plantations, the towns and villages; the victim was fastened to it by the four limbs, the middle of the body being kept firm by a band which prevented him from mov ing: others extended the sufferer upon a ladder well supported by ropes, while two executioners (re-lieved by two others when they were weary), by lashes a hundred times repeated, lacerated and man-gled the body of the wretched one.'—pp. 64-5.

'The ruins of these frightful dungeons (which have been demolished by order of the government) still exist on these plantations; those who doubt can come and see them.'—p. 64, note. [1.]

We see now what must have been the meaning o the fearfully sarcastic proverbial expression, 'a

happy as a slave of Gallifet'!
Did Mr. Everett know the terribly significant facts which I have quoted, and the real meaning of the proverb in question? Who can tell! We know proverb in question? Who can tell! We know the extent of his knowledge, and the persevering in-dustry with which he searches out facts when the facts are on his side. But so much as this it is safe o say: even if Mr. Everett had read the pamphlet in question, and had uttered his praise of Gallifet and Odelue with a full knowledge of the directly and frightfully antagonistic facts—even then he would not have told a more deliberate and absolute lie than when he said, at the commencement of the above extract from his speech, that John Brown' enterprise ' was an attempt to do on a vast scale wha was done in St. Domingo in 1791.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE December 10th, 1859.

(1.) Les debris de ces affreux cachots qui ont ete demolis par ordre du gouvernement, sont encore ex-istans sur ces habitations; ceux qui douteront de le verite peuvent venir les voir.

AMERICAN COLORPHOBIA.

Every day brings fresh evidence how indelible and foul is the stain of American slavery. Poor John Brown was hanged because he felt a noble impulse to deliver men and women wickedly held in bondage, —and the antipathy to color is so deep scated that even in free England it denies the ordinary courtesies of civilized life to ladies whom Henry Brougham was proud to recognize, and who are deemed no un-worthy associates of the elite of our female nobility. But this is not all: on board English steamers plying with the United States, ladies are being insulted, for the mere purpose of gain, that American caprice may be gratified; and on board our Cunard steamers, persons of refined manners and educated tastes have been rudely thrust aside, and denied equal privileges because their skin was not of the orthodox hue. We cannot read of these indignities practised on unoffending women, seeking a temporary asylum in free Britain, without our blood boiling, not so much for degraded America, as that any man, with Englishman written on his forehead, should ape her miser

able exclusiveness.

When Lady Macbeth in her dreams, which followed the foul murder she had instigated, exclaimed Out, damned spot! 'she spoke as truly of slavery ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHU-as of murder; and we may say of Americans as the as of murder; and we may say of Americans as spectators said while she muttered her sleeping hor-- Her eyes are open, but their sense They see the state of matters, yet they refuse to fol-low it to results. They hear the rumble of the volcano, and (as at Harper's Ferry) they see a spark of (morning and afternoon) will be held in the Manon that will one day burst its bounds. Our object toThe evening meetings will be held in the Tarmon day is not to discuss slavery—illustrated though it recently is by the fate of Brown, its last victim but to call attention to a letter in our columns from Miss Remond, describing the double indignity offered to her sister and that lady's friends on board an English Cunard steamer, who were first-class passengers from Boston to Liverpool, and by the Secretary of the American Embassy in London, who threatened to have Miss Remond and Mrs. Putnam at the root of the Upas tree of Slavery, instead of the Company of and illegal—namely, a refusal to vise their passports to Paris, on account of their being persons of color.

Over Mr. Dallas's alter ego wejhave no control,be known to the slavery-hating people of Britain, on ing, Jan. 25, at Music Hall,) let the gathering be whose goodwill these steamers live and thrive, the ent bestowed on unprotected citizens of abe United States of America by persons in charge of the ressels. Nay, more, unless these steamers openthe vessels. Nay, more, unless these steamers open-ly stipulate that persons of color shall not enjoy certain privileges, an outrage on public opinion on which they would not readily venture, it is not to be doubted that the proprietors might be sued at law for breach of contract-when the exposure would probably put an end forever to such proceedings .-How can we expect to make any impression upon the upholders of slavery in America, when they find our own countrymen ready to imitate their practices and do homage to their prejudices, actuated by the sordid motive to which slavery itself appeals, the love of gain? We only trust the press of Britain will do its duty. However the journals of America may attempt to drown its voice by noise and vulgar abuse,—its earnest protest would at least succeed in putting an end to those vexatious practices on board English ships, which not only do discredit to our country, but encourage the slave party in the States to maintain their vile system in the face of the world.—Scottish Press, Edinburgh.

KENTUCKY.

From the Indianapolis Journal, Dec. 24. COVE SPRING, Mercer Co., Dec. 20, 1859. Mr. B. R. Schorove: - Dear Sir: I will endeav-or to write you arfew lines, and I know it will surprise you and my friends. I started from Indianap-olis last Monday, the 14th. Little did I think, when I got here, that I would be notified to leave the State, or take a coat of tar and feathers for being an Abolitionist. On Saturday I went up to Har-rodsburg from here; and when I came back, there being a negro-stealer from the North, and they no-tified me to leave the State. I told them I was igno-rant of the laws of Kentucky, but I thought the but I thought they would have a warm time of it before they got through. That is what they call here-the man that can scare and catch

remain longer, to let them know that they can't scare me: and if anything worse occurs, I will try and let you know. Yours, WM. S. DEMOTT.

will do-but I want it distinctly

Since the above letter was put in type, we have seen Mr. Demott himself, who has returned home. He says he was arrested on Monday following the writing of his letter, and put in jail till the next day, when he was released on \$500 bail. The charge against him was that he was tampering with some body's slave. He was on a visit to some of his rela-tives, and his guilt has just the extent, and no more, able. of being an Indianaian. His atterneys, Hon. J. F. Bell, the Opposition candidate for Governor last fall, criminal purposes of the mere presence of free State men; and while this feeling lasts, it is actually usefor an Indianaian to visit the interior of Kentucky, unless he chooses to play the lick-spittle to their prejudices. The arrest of Mr. Demott, from all that we can learn, was nothing, and was intended to be nothing, but the most offensive mode of insulting and outraging his Republican opinions He made no concealment of them, though he die not offensively parade them, and his imprisonment shows the appreciation that Kentuckians have of freedom of speech and opinion. People from that State will never be molested here for an expression of their opinions. May be they may learn some time that it will be wisest for them to show equal liberality.

A NINE YEARS' RESIDENT DRIVEN AWAY

FROM ALABAMA. We have authentic information that a gentleman, who has resided for nine years in Alabama and Georgia, was driven away from home a few days ago, and forced to take a hurried passage to the North, leaving behind his wife and children, and a thriving business which must go to wreck. What was his crime? He had not only never spoken against Slavery, but always in favor of it. estly held Southern sentiments, and was always ready to avow them, although he never could persuade himself to own a slave. His profession that of a teacher of vocal and instrumental music. A fortnight ago, a book agent was arrested in a town in Alabama for soliciting subscribers to 'Fleet-wood's Life of Christ,' published by a Northern publisher. The Methodist Conference was in session at the time, and the case was noticed on the floor of that body. The members advocated the unfortunate agent's immediate expulsion from the place on the ground that his continued presence would be dangerous to the existence of Southern institutions. A paper was drawn up, adopted, and published in the newspapers, setting forth the grounds of their action substantially as follows:

We have examined this man's case. We find no evidence to convict him of tampering with slaves, but as he is from the North, engaged in selling a book published in the North, we have a right to suspect him as being an Abolitionist, and we therefore commend, in order to guard ourselves against possible danger, that he be immediately conducted by the military out of this county into the next adjoining.

Accordingly the militia were called, and the poor ook-peddler was summoned to receive military honors. But this was not all. The musician of nonors. But this was not all. The musician of the most and the Hostesses at their homes, whom we have spoken, a nine years' resident, whom nobody ever suspected of being an Abolitionist, was called upon to ride at the head of the procession, and play-the flute. He immediately declined, and Rut it is recovered to avoid delay at the suspect. and play-the flute. He immediately declined, and took occasion to express his opinion that the agent had done nothing worthy of his expulsion. The procession accordingly marched without the flute- and address of the guest.

player. In the evening, greatly to his surprise, he received an anonymous letter, (whose source he could not fail to detect,) commanding him, under penalty of tar and feathers, to leave the State immediately. He knew the people too well not to be wise enough to take the hint. His wife, who was a Southern lady, and had never been in the North, was thrown into great grief on reading the letter, but advised her husband to leave before daylight, as she feared for his safety if he remained longer. So at three o'clock in the morning, he saddled his horse, and taking with him what clothes he could put in his saddle-bags, galloped away—an exile from put in his saddle-bags, galloped away—an exile from home and friends! He has since reached a Northern city, and is now making arrangements to bring his family to a place where they can breathe freez

The Liberator.

BOSTON, JANUARY 20, 1860.

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 TEMPLE, commencing at 7.

All those who are believers in the 'irrepressibl conflict' between Freedom and Slavery-in making ' put out of the house,' because they spiritedly re-monstrated against conduct equally ungentlemanly stitutional nourishment and protection—and in making Massachusetts free to every fugitive from oppres sion the moment he breathes her air-are cordiall invited to be present, and to participate in the delib we can only hold up his conduct to the indignant invited to be present, and to participate in the delib-scorn of public opinion. Over the Cunard steam-ers we have control of various kinds. It ought to ti-Slavery Subscription-Festival, (Wednesday evenu precedentedly large.

Among the speakers confidently expected to b predat are the following:

WA. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ED. MUND QUINCY, C. C. BURLEIGH, CHARLES L. REMOND, WM. WELLS BROWN, ANDREW T. FOSS, THEODOR TILTON, Esq., of New York, Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, Rev. U. M. Fisk, o Taunton, Rev. FREDERICK FROTRINGHAM, Dr. ROCK. In behalf of the Board of Managers,

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

THE TWENTY-SIXTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION.

The Anti-Slavery families who have so long made Boston the seat of this annual social occasion, grate fully renew their invitation to all the early friends o Freedom, and cordially extend it to the multitudes of EXPERIENCE OF AN INDIANAIAN IN new friends in every part of the land, whom the past year has made; earnestly 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 ning the same as last year.

We, who now unite in this heartfelt invitation, as not of Northern origin exclusively; some are of the South, and some have been slaveholders. But all seewas a company of slaveholders here to arrest me for ing clearly that the present must be a year of un wonted 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 law of the land was that before they could hang a man, they must find him guilty, and therefore I should not go until I got ready; and if they chose to apply the tar and feathers, they could pitch in; 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 the most men from the North here is the man they intend to run for the next Congress. But I told earlier and later friends. In the mean time, we entreat them I did not come from Indiana here to be run off all who love their native land, and are beginning to feel by a pack of ruffians. I told them I lived in a free deeply moved, to serve and save it, to consider the State, and was a Republican; that every man spoke his sentiments there, and, thank God, I was glad of it. They may hang me yet—I can't say what they presence, if possible-at all events by letter and by am no negro-lover. (sympathy. The names of such as have reasons for I was going to start back to-morrow, but I shall avoiding publicity will be sacredly kept, and our sympathy. The names of such as have reasons for grateful expressions conveyed to them by private acknowledgment.

Let none who sympathize with us be absent because 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 un-

We entreat any whose love of the cause induce and Mr. Fox, certify that there was no evidence of the truth of the charge. The fact is that the feeling small subscription, to remember that while the largest in Kentucky, as in all the other slave States, makes 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 WESTMIN CHAPMAN, MARY MAY. LOUISA LORING, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, L. MARIA CHELD, HENRIETTA SARGENT. ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL. FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON. SARAH P. REMOND. MARY WILLEY. SARAH BLAKE SHAW. SUSAN C. CABOT. ELIZA ANDREW. SARAH 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 MARY E. STEARNS.

To obviate the difficulty we have found, while trying to forward special invitations, of obtaining accurate addresses, we entreat of all such as wish there were no such thing as Slavery, the pleasure of their company, assuring them of a most cordial welcome AT THE MUSIC HALL,

January 25th. Hours of reception, from 12 to o'clock in the day, and at 7 o'clock in the evening. No admittance fee is permitted; but Notes of invitation may be had of all the Hostesses at their homes,

GOV. BANKS AND THE MILITIA LAW. stituted; and therefore it would be the labor of Siav-In revising and consolidating the General Statutes phus, tantalizing and useless. of this Commonwealth, the recent extra session of the Legislature very properly obliterated the word on the part of Gov. Banks, or either or both of the white from the militia law; but, in order to com-pel them either to restore that invidious and pro-the Legislature. Let senators and representatives rescriptive term, or to lose the labor of months, at great member that they must meet their own responsibilicost to the State, Gov. Banks vetoed the entire code its, within their own legitimate sphere; and that as revised by them; first, (to screen himself from they are bound to uphold all the rights of their conpublic blame,) adroitly procuring the Attorney Gen- stituents, by a solemn oath to God, whether the Sueral's opinion, and then the opinion of the Supreme preme Court or the Governor will co-operate with Court of Massachusetts, that, in striking out the them or not. We have been assured that they will word 'white' aforesaid, the Legislature transcended do this, and we trust the information is well-founded. its constitutional powers. The alternative thus pre- In their decision on this point, Judge Shaw and his sented to the Legislature was a very embarrassing associates think to put an end to all further controone. On the question being put, 'Shall the bill versy by oracularly declaring- The general govern pass, notwithstanding the Governor's objection?' the ment having authority to determine who shall and House, by a vote of 46 yeas to 146 nays, refused to who may not compose the militia, and having so depass the bill. The word 'white' was then restored, termined, the State government has no legal authorand the bill passed by a vote of 170 to 1-the very ity to prescribe a different enrollment.' Indeed honorable exception being Mr. FREEMAN, (most What power, then, can be more despotic? Do those rightly named,) of Mendon. In the Senate, the bill judges really mean what they say? Are they ready as amended received 15 to 11 votes. The colored to follow out their assertion to its legitimate conse citizens of Massachusetts are, therefore, still to be quences? No-we do not believe it. Their verdict ostracised, in this particular, on account of their is neither unbiassed nor rational. They are respecters

us see on what ground they rest their decision.

'The militia is a national institution,' says Gov. Banks. What has that to do with the merits of the citizens 'armed and equipped for military duty,

1792, which enrolls 'each and every free able-bodied in all military arrangements. WHITE male citizen of the respective States, resident It is very evident that the pretence of Gov. Banks this organization of the militia."

So says the young Attorney General Phillips, and rendered null and void. Shame on the men who can so says the venerable Supreme Court. resort to such a contemplible subterfuge! so says the venerable Supreme Court.

Is this declaration true, or reasonable, or in accordance with the constitutional rights of citizens? of citizenship. True, the odious law of Congress is In the House, Mr. Kimball of Boston, and Mr. been resisted, denounced and repudiated when it was the sooner justice is done, the better. first submitted to Congress, on the all-sufficient ground that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.' The citizens of each State are equal to those of

fourth of the Constitution, it is declared, 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." as commend themselves to the reason of things. zens on account of their complexion, is not reasonable,-is unwarranted by anything in the letter or rians, or Baptists, or Methodists, in the same manner. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston. But this would breed a revolution, because these parties are too powerful to be insulted with impunity. Alas for our colored fellow-citizens! they are few raged !

who make the government, enact the laws, and do cause, BOURNE SPOONER, Esq., presided. The reso all the voting, are undeniably citizens in the highest lutions presented for discussion were the following: and most comprehensive sense of the term. Nor is it Resolved, That the 'irrepressible conflict' now go to be supposed that they will either ostracise them- ing on in this country between Liberty and Slavery selves, or allow others to ostracise them, for causes is not of man's devising, but of God's ordering-orig over which they have no control, and which have insting in elements diametrically and eternally op nothing to do with their loyalty or fitness.

complexional distinctions among her people are unknown to her Constitution and her laws. The black- are either fully recognized and enjoyed, or entirely est of her citizens stand side by side with Governor subverted, without regard to race or complexion. Banks, Attorney General Phillips, and Judges Shaw, Resolved, That the spirit of Southern slavery is Metcalf, Bigelow, Merrick, and Hoar; they are eli- ready to trample upon the rights of white men as gible to every office in the gift of the people; by upon those of black men, in order to preserve its pow their votes, as well as by those of others, a State er, and to accomplish its purposes; hence, the con government is rendered possible, the United States tinual violation of the constitutional as well as the government is kept in existence; the executive, the natural rights of Northern citizens at the South, susjudiciary, the army and navy, are created ;-hence, pected of holding anti-slavery sentiments, by the inan insult offered to one of them is (or should be) fliction of the most brutal and dastardly outrages an insult offered to the whole people. For Congress upon their persons, and subsequent expulsion from to exclude such from the militia, merely to gratify the soil; all demonstrating that there is no commo the slaveholding malignity of the South, or the preju- country, Constitution or Union for freemen, but only dice of a portion of the North, is an intolerable usur- for slaveholders and slave-traffickers, and hence that pation. The power which calls into being is greater the time has fully come for a separation between the than the thing created, and therefore cannot be cir- free and the slave States, to avoid degradation and incumscribed by it. Without voters, there would be no sult on the one hand, and guilty complicity and ruin representatives; without States, no senators. Every on the other. voter, therefore, is clothed with complete sovereignty when voting for a national Congress, a President dell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. L. Remond of the United States, as well as for all State officers; John Wyman and Ichabod Morton. The proceedand no man is his superior in political power, or in the ings were intensely interesting, and in all respects rights and dignity of citizenship.

Massachusetts is as solemnly bound to protect her She taxes them all alike; she imposes upon them all the same burdens; she demands and expects of THE SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL AND ANthem all the same allegiance; she knows nothing of them as to their height, bulk, or complexion, but only as men and citizens. Hence it is her duty at once to to be unconstitutional in its excluding her colored citizens from enrollment in the militia, and to re-Congress to enact that none but 'each and every free the one now under consideration. Let the present Legislature vote to strike out the hateful word It may be said, that even if the Legislature should take the desired action, and Gov. Banks should waive chusetts A. S. Society on Thursday and Friday. his objections to it, still we know that the new law would be pronounced unconstitutional by the Su-

To this we reply, no possible or probable injustice

of persons, and cater to the unchristian spirit of caste. To cover this iniquity, Gov. Banks and the Su-preme Court use a multiplicity of words, in empty generalization, but without venturing to allude dis- of the infamous Judge Taney, that the colored cititinctly to 'white' or 'black,' or any other color; as zens of this State have no rights which the white ones if conscious they are engaged in a very shabby busi- are bound to respect; and, therefore, they are not ness. Throwing aside all this worthless verbiage, let qualified to hold any office, or to cast any vote, or to enter any complaint.

Of course, it is not that we desire to see our colore (aside from the injustice of their forcible exclusion, He says that the power is granted by the U.S. that we have made these remarks; for we believe it Constitution to Congress, of 'organizing, arming and abolishing all military organizations, as a consistent disciplining the militia'; and that 'the power to or- advocate of peace. But we hate and despise every ganize includes that of determining what classes of proscriptive act; and until men of every color can b persons shall be so organized'; and this has been led to see the superiority of spiritual over carnal weapdetermined by an act of Congress approved May 8, ons, we want them to be placed upon the same footing

therein, who is or shall be of the age of 18 years, and and the Supreme Court of profound regard for the act under the age of 40 years.' Gov. Banks coolly adds- of Congress of 1792, as rigidly to be obeyed, is quite It is not, in my judgment, within the power of the hollow; for, by the existing mode of 'playing train-Legislature to change this basis of enrollment, or en- ing' in this Commonwealth solely by volunteer com large or diminish the classes of men embraced in panies, (which are no part of the militia of the United States,) the aforesaid act of Congress is practically

It gives us pleasure to record the manly and elo quent protest made in the Senate by Mr. Davis of We affirm that it is not; that it is an outrage upon Bristol, and Mr. Parker of Worcester, against the veto common sense, and utterly at war with all just ideas of Gov. Banks and the decision of the Supreme Court.

an old one; true, its constitutionality has never been Griffin of Malden, made some keen and effective critiquestioned by any legislative body till now; still, it cisms, though they finally yielded their own convicis none the less indefensible, and it ought to have tions. But the conflict is an 'irrepressible' one, and

> REMEMBER THE TERMS. To our Subscribers. Those of our subscribers

who have not paid for the current year, -that is, from January 1st, 1859, to January 1st, 1860,-are reminded of the standing rule by which their papers will every other State; hence, in section second, article be discontinued after February 1st, 1860, unless payment for the same be previously sent in.

The Financial Committee, in calling attention to the above standing rule, would also ask every sub-It is among the prescribed powers of Congress 'to scriber, for the sake of the cause, as well as for the provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the sake of the paper, to do what in him lies to extend militia'; but, of course, not to do this invidiously, the circulation of the Liberator, at least to the extent proscriptively, tyrannically, but only on such grounds of procuring each one an additional name for our list.

But to disarm or degrade any class of recognized citi- THE PETITION FOR PROHIBITING SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Friends! the time is short, and the work of secur spirit of the Constitution. The present militia law ing names to the PETITION should be taken up and does thus disarm and degrade a portion of the citi- completed without loss of time. Do not let the work zens of this, as well as of every other State in the be thrown entirely on one or two persons in any place. Union ; therefore, it is plainly unconstitutional. For, In every town let a committee, of men and women to assume that Congress has unlimited power in this representing all parts of the town, be selected, who particular, is to render State sovereignty a farce, will see that the petition is presented at every house and to place every class of citizens at the mercy of By this division of labor, the work will be easily and that body. If it may exclude from the militia all speedily done. Let It needs only this effort to secure native-born free colored citizens, it may also all nat- tee believe, the names of five-sixths of the men and teo uralized Irishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, &c., &c. men of Massachusetts to the petition. Many hearts Nay, a Democratic Congress may enact that none but and hands are now at work for this object throughout Democrats shall constitute the militia of the several the North. Let Massachusetts not be found wanting. States, to the exclusion of all Republicans; or vice Legislature; or, if preferred, send it to the care of

MEETINGS AT OLD PLYMOUTH.

The annual gathering of the friends of emancipe and uninfluential, and therefore may be safely out- tion took place at old Plymouth on Saturday, Dec 31st, and Sunday, Jan. 1st. The attendance was ver-Whatever may be the shades of meaning attached encouraging and highly respectable. Four consecu to the word 'citizens,' by which distinctions are recog- tive public meetings were held in Davis's Hall, over nized in regard to age, sex, and qualification, they which that estimable and well-tried friend of the

posed to each other, and therefore utterly beyond the It is to the honor and glory of Massachusetts that power of legislation and the devices of party manage-

The principal speakers on the occasion were Wer worthy of Plymouth Rock. The resolutions were adopted without dissent. The hospitality of the Plycolored citizens, in all cases, as she is her white ones. all from abroad.

NUAL MEETING.

Next week will be a busy and an important one i reference to the GREAT STRUGGLE in our land declare the act of Congress, approved May 8, 1792, for the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, in the matter not only of placing on record those moral testimo nies which powerfully help to mould and concenfuse to be governed by it. She should do this with trate public opinion in the right direction, but specially the same promptness and spirit which she would were with reference to providing the MATERIAL AID necessary to carry on the operations of the American able-bodied coloned male citizen of the respective Anti-Slavery Society, in the spirit of disinterested States, resident therein, shall constitute the militia of the country; and Congress has constitutionally as country. The SUBSCRIPTION-FESTIVAL at much right and power to make this classification, as Music Hall, on Wednesday evening next, bids fair to be numerously attended by such as are ready to as sist the cause by their pecuniary gifts as well as b white'; and let Gov. Banks again veto the rightcous alteration, if he dare. The people will then of interest and pleasure. Those scho cannot be pres put their veto upon him, at the earliest opportunity. ent personally, send your donations by mail or proxy.

We anticipate a spirited anniversary of the Mass

We have received a letter from our esteemed preme Court of this State, or if not, most certainly by friend John G. Whittier, in reply to our criticism the Supreme Court of the United States, as now con- which we are obliged to defer till next week.

Sr. Louis, Dec. 19, 1859 The aggressive spirit of the North is never satisfied. We cannot whip a negro, but it sets them all a say, elling; nor sell a dirty wench, but we must here moral lecture on the wickedness of parting husband and wife, parents and children. Our Northern bets. and wife, parents and their everlasting intermedding

that they make it a matter of conscience to lilera our slaves; and hence the outbreak by John Brown our slaves; and hence the subordinates, their Iva We of the Slave States feel deeply aggrieved. No. merically, we are in a minority; and the North tal ing advantage of our weakness, have appropriated to themselves every important office of the Grami Government. Every president, and nearly every vice Government. Every president, many every vice president, have been in their interest. The speaking of the house of representatives, have all been apposed to slavery; and have so constituted the tor gressional committees as to oppress, and nearly nia, the Slave States. Every judge of the supreme court of the United States is so prejudiced against slaver, that, in all issues between liberty and slavery, he decides in favor of liberty; he declares that slavebel ers have no rights that his court is bound to we ers have no right extremes have the North tuned their war against slavery, that whenever a sire holder, or a friend of slavery, has been nominated a a judge, the senate have rejected him for that simple reason. Nearly all the heads of the departments a Washington have come from the North. All the rol. lectors of customs, the foreign ministers, our consulour land officers, our officers in the army and the navy, are, and have been, Northern men and oppnents of slavery. No territory has ever been in nexed for the benefit of slavery; but how often have we been threatened with Canada and Nova Scota, to make Free States! We have been driven out of Kansas, cheated out of California, and are denied Nicaraugua and Cuba. We are oppressed and robbed at every turn of the wheels of government, Our slaves are aided to escape, while none assist u in pursue and catch them, but National Democrat and drunken vagabonds, who do it for the offered revel Neither merchants, politicisns, lawyers, nor price, ioin us with alacrity, as they ought to do. Some day passes, in which our Southern people an ag compelled to send to his Northern home, or to al some pestilent abolitionist, having first given ha gratis, a coat of tar and feathers, for his benefit a the cold country to which he is bound, and t free ride on a rail to expedite his journey. These are atministered for incendiary thoughts against our parts archal institution. The kind, friendly, and freel treatment abolitionists have received during their sojourn at the South, we trust, will tend to reten those friendly relations between the North and South that formerly subsisted, but which, of late, have been sadly rent by northern aggression. The utmost visilance is, however, required of our postmasten is breaking open, examining, and burning, incendure documents, such as are calculated to induce the slaves to revolt. It is no argument that slaves near receive communications through the post-office, but

In addition to all these wrongs, heaped upon us be the North, we have to sustain a thriftless, idle, vagibond race of shrewd and cunning free negroes and mulattoes, which the North have imposed upon us by passing laws to prevent them from settling in the Free States. These free blacks and mulatters are constantly teaching our slaves what they should an know. They incite them to run away; direct then where to go, and how to escape when pursued; and their presence is that of evil, and of evil only. They are mostly slaves who have been emancipated for their faithfulness by well-meaning, but weak pesons; or, they are the descendants of gentleme, who did not like to see their children driven a slaves. So wholly unbearable have these worthleswretches become, that, at the last session of our legislature, we passed through the lower house a bill n sell them into slavery, for the purpose of educator our children. Our State loses over two millions of dollars every generation, by her culpable neglect to claim her rights, and sell the free negroes and mulattoes, who are much better off as slaves than as freemen. The law referred to, also confiscated their property, for the support of the poor. That property, this county, is over two millions of dellars. The bill, however, went to the Senate, where it laid over esent session for the want of time. But it has been brought up, and passed, after a look and interesting debate, in which it is difficult to decide whether patriotism or piety predominated. It was so modified before it passed the senate, that all the money goes into the county treasury without approprintion. Enclosed, you will find a copy of the bill, from which you will see that all the truly consciettious members have an abiding faith that Godines is great gain'; but what per cent, they expect it will pay, they do not disclose.

that they cannot read them if received : we must close

the mail against them.

Now that John Brown and most of his confederates are killed and hung, Virginia will, we here, be permitted to rest. The hanging was just and right. Brown has been guilty of treason, insurrection, and murder, because the jury said so. They were under oath, and it must be true. It cannot be gainespel nor denied. Then consider what a mean part Bress acted in Kansas. When Henry Clay's Dunder Pale went out from Westport in Missouri, with thirty men, to take Brown and his eleven men prisoners, Brown, instead of surrendering, as it was his duty to do, on the true democratic principle that a majority should govern, took Dunder Pate and his party prisoners; and he ought to be hung for that. His friends killed the Doyles, and the Doyles' neighbors who acted with them, for nothing in the world but stealing their cattle, horses, and hogs; burning their houses and shooting the abolitionists; -when it est be proved that Doyle sent them word fairly, and gave them all the time necessary, to remove and except death. But, instead of going as they ought, they combined together, and, without sending the Doyles word, as Doyle had sent them, cruelly murdered them all in one night. The amiable Mrs. Dorie, who sent a halter to Gov. Wise with which to hard Brown, requesting that her surviving son might at as hangman, ought to have had that reasonable dears gratified. We are happy to see that her pecuniary necessities are to be cared for. One New Jung democrat has already donated two dollars; and we may reasonably hope that there are thousands who will be equally benevolent and democratic.

There can be little expected of the North, anchord as she is in ignorance and prejudice. She has past of the elements of progress. How different, in this respect, are the Slave States. Look at our schools and our lecture-rooms. See your pulpits and your courts. filled with priests and lawyers from our Southers seminaries; your schools filled with gentlemen and lady teachers from the South; your land filed with the machinery made in our Slave States. Where, it the North, can you find a hardy, industrious ! manry, so well educated, so enlightened, so inches gent, or so independent and happy, as the error erackers, the sand-hillers, and clay-eaters of Carlina and Georgia, -men so powerful that they have only one senator in their State legislature, to rest four from other parts of Carolina? Note, also, the progress made in political science, in morals is in all the movements that mark the progress of the enlightened age. One of our great men, - great ers in our Slave States, - in a fit of enthusiasm claimed, 'Give me liberty, or giveme death!' have corrected this highly-colored adage, and, in secordance with the revised edition, we say, Gire slavery, or give us death ! The old Virginia coat arms says, 'Death to all tyrants.' The new design cratic correction is, Death to the fees of tyrans. When the people walked in darkness, their manis

was, 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' Now, we know better, and say, ' Slavery is the chief corner stone of liberty. In the former days of ignorance we had a maxim, that 'Every man was presumed inpotent until he was proved guilty. Now, he is presumed guilty, and punished, 'unless he can give a good account of himself.' In former times, the 'milinry authority was subject to the civil; but experience has clearly shown, that to receive the blessings of liberty, the civil must be subject to the military sutherity. A leader of the old fogy school said. All men were created equal.' We have proved, by old fogies themselves, that nobody but white men were created equal; and that negroes were not created equal at all. We have recently ascertained, and proved, that the golden rule does not extend to negross, mulattoes, nor abolitionists. The South is now discussing two very important moral and political questions. The precedents and authorities are about equal, and they must be decided on their merits The old practice was, to imprison the rogues, and let honest men alone. It is now proposed to imprison the honest men, and to give the rogues, the liberty of the town. The other change proposed is, to hang the benevolent and conscientious men, instead of the riscals, as formerly. Both these changes are sustained by the maxim, that 'turn about is fair play.' We wish to act understandingly, and have therefore imprisoned quite a number of innocent men, while we have permitted any number of rogues to run at large. We have also hung a few good men, and left a goodly number of murderers-like the murderers of Thompson at Harper's Ferry-pass unnoticed. We think the proposed change desirable. Considering our enlightened and liberal views, we are at an utter loss to conceive why our Slave States, with the greatest area, the best soil and climate, the greatest mineral resources, do not outstrip the Free States in population. Here, we do not have to work; our slaves do that, while we meet at our village saloons and improve our minds over a social glass, or discuss the affairs of the nation. Why we should fall behind the North in population, when we excel her in everything else, is an unexplained mystery. If we can banish about one quarter part of our present population of anti-slavery sentiments,-a population that renders our property so insecure, -we think we could regain our numerical ascendancy, and acquire the control of our General Government, of which we have been so long, and so unjustly, deprived. There seems to be nothing to prevent this consummation but the aggressive villany of the North.

DIVISION OF THE STATES. The declaration of Mr. Seward, that there is an

'irrepressible conflict' between free and slave labor, which can only be terminated by the total destruction of one or the other, has been extensively commented upon, by pro-slavery presses and orators, in a manner indicative rather of alarm than of incredulity. No attempt is made to disprove this proposition; but it is everywhere denounced, as if atrocious in its, purpert, or tending to disastrons consequences. When it is considered that this doctrine is not original or new with Mr. Seward, but has often before been expressed, that its truth has been proved by the abolition of slavery in Western Europe, and the emancipation of serfs now in progress in Russia, and the experience of our own country, which has for several years been the arena of a bitter political conflict on the subject of slavery, in defiance of the efforts of leaders of all parties to quell agitation, by compromising 'finalities'; and when we perceive that the declaration is only an abstract theorem in political economy, not proposing er contemplating any overt action, we may well be surprised that it should be met with such an excited hostility. This treatment of it is significant; it betrays fears of its influence in destroying the Slave Power, and unmasks sentiments subversive of our free institutions. It is, therefore, now highly important that this proposition and its results should be attentively considered. I shall at once assume the truth of the propisition

in question so far as to say, that slave labor and free labor cannot permanently exist together, in any noticeable degree, under the same government or political connection, without an incessant political conflict; and the inference I draw from this is, not necessatily that the cessation of such a conflict must be terminated by the complete abolition of one or the strength, and equally resolute; but will be far more likely to be accomplished by political separation from each other. It is obvious that the opposing views of slavery in the free and slave States have, within a few years, become more and more discordant, not only in regard to the benefit or evil of the institution, but radically, as to its moral character; and that a crisis is now approaching, when a struggle will commenceperhaps in the Congress now convened-which will give no hope of a settlement in legislation, either by victory of either party, or a compromise. The presidential election of next winter will probably bring this contest to a decision. In case of the election of a President in favor of free labor, the leading aristocratic powers of the South proclaim their resolution to secede from the Union; and there is no sufficient reason to doubt their sincerity; at any rate, it would be unsafe to rely on any anti-slavery sentiments in the slave States to avert this occurrence; and should this measure not be resorted to, still, such nullifying resistance will be made to Federal enactments as will destroy the peace of the Union. On the other hand, if the friends of the present Administration shall still continue to wield the powers of the government, emboldened by success, they will unavoidably, and in necessary consistency with the Dred Scott decision, attempt to extend the existence and protection of slavery over all the free States. But the free spirit of the North cannot submit to this, and it will be resisted by legislation, or by force even unto bloodshed.

There seems, therefore, to be a real danger of civil war, which it is not wise to slight. In this 'impending crisis,' it is highly important equally for the friends of peace and liberty to give timely attention to such proposals as may tend to avert it; and we can discern none more effectual and unobjectionable than that of a peaceful separation of the free from the slave States, by mutual consent; which, we trust, they will have the wisdom of adopting. It is true, this would not be an abolition of slavery where it now exists; but it would be the removal of all fear of it in the free States and the Territories; and they would have no more complicity with it, or mortifying responsibility for it, than they now have for its existence in Asia or Africa; and it would be easy to show that such a separation must, in a few years, be followed by entire emancipation, to be attained in no other way; but this is a consideration into which I do not now enter.

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I have said that this measure is unobjectionable. It could not be disagreeable to the people of the South, or their leaders, if there is sincerity in the proud assertions made in their papers, that they are perfectly competent to sustain a Republic of themselves; that their progress in prosperity is obstructed by their connection with the North; that their intercourse with foreign nations would be freer and more direct without it; and that they would be less dependent on Northern industry for manufactured articles. It would be a great relief to the people of the North and West, not only from the degrading complicity with slavery mentioned above, but from the apprehensions of foreign war, in which slavery is most likely to involve us, and in which we should have an internal, as well as an external, enemy on our hands; an odious 'Pugitive Slave Law,' oppressive to humanity, would no longer enchain us; and, above all, we should be released from that iniquitous obligation we are now under to sustain and aid the tyrannical Slave Power in its suppression of every vesige of the dearest rights of man, promised to all

to the assertion of which we owe our own republican

But it is thought that a separation would be follow ed by a war. This is a groundless fear. If the di- Some of the most heart-rending scenes have ocvision was by mutual consent, neither party could curred in the room where the dead were vision was by mutual consent, neither party could have the least object or motive for such a war; each would, by the simple separation, have obtained all it professes to desire. In the present temper of the present seminary of the present seminar

also groundless; the natural wants of each section maniac, exhibiting a feeling as strong as could be maniac, exhibiting a feeling as strong as could be maniac, exhibiting a feeling as strong as could be pictured by the most extravagant imagination.

Mrs. Barrett, wife of James Barrett of Lawrence. change of commodities would be the same, regardless of governmental interference; even if either government should be unwise enough to impose duties on passage of the lines, such a regulation could not be

the sincerity of these threats, and silence at once all further attempts to terrify the North by them; and if, in case of a Republican administration, they should show a resolution to carry this threatened separation into effect, they should be cheerfully permitted to do summer rain.

JOHN BROWN'S INTENTIONS. Boston, Jan. 13, 1860.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR-In your criticism of Mr. Whittier's poem on John Brown, you have made one error, which, I notice, is shared by many of the old warrior's friends. You say-

· He perilled all that was dear to him, not to achieve liberty for himself, or those of his own complexion, but to break the fetters of a race 'not colored like his own, most wickedly abhorred, universally proscribed, and subjected to a bondage full of unutterable horror. But, even in their behalf, he sought no retaliation nor revenge, but only (if possible) a peaceful exodus from Virginia, &c. &c.

from Virginia, peaceful or otherwise, but to liberate tilication.

Margaret Coleman's body was taken from the ruins comes from his reference to his exploit in Missouri,

Hunter? By reading it, you will see that there was in a fainting fit.

The remains of Catherine Sweeney, aged 22, daugh no real contradiction in his statements.

Now comes the question-How did he intend to

Mr. Emerson never said a truer word than when he described John Brown as a pure Idealist. It would An incident is related of a young and beantiful described John Brown as a pure Idealist. It would concession to the Southern creed, to call a rising of the slaves an insurrection. The whites of the South are now in insurrection. Southern society for two centuries has been an insurrection. John Brown, therefore, went down to Virginia not to incite, but to therefore, went down to Virginia not to incite, but to extinguish, insurrection. He went down to Virginia as an abolitionist and compensationist—to free the slaves, and pay them for their past unrequited services. If any man had presumed to oppose this right-cous action, John Brown would have summarily cous action, John Brown would have summarily another girl, said, 'You've he bought pikes, and Sharpe's rifles and revolvers. me. The story carries its own reflections. other; especially if the parties are nearly equal in strength, and equally resolute; but will be far more Carolina and Alabama. He intended to put the Dec-

tended, it is true, to incite or excite insurrection, even picted in her tearless eyes, upon the bodies, as one in the Virginia sense of the word; but as he would undoubtedly have been resisted, he would unquestionably have stirred up a terrible revolution. Yet, day afternoon outside of the wall, on the southeast to say that he would have been the cause of it, is to ural, there being few bruises upon the head. The cover the crimes of slavery with the mantle of legiti-

Wm. Wells Brown submitted the following resolutions, which, being discussed by the mover, John J. Smith, Dr. J. S. Rock, Rev. J. B. Smith, Dr. Knox, Rev. J. Sella Martin, Wm. C. Nell, John Oliver and several others, were, on motion, adopted :-

Resolved, That we regard the reasons given by Gov. Banks, in his veto message to the late Legislaits unconstitutionality, to be wholly groundless.

Resolved, That this meeting appoint a Committee, white' from the statutes of this Commonwealth, and that said Committee solicit a hearing before the Legislature.

In compliance with which resolutions, the following persons were appointed said Committee: Wm. mi Wells Brown, Wm. C. Nell, Dr. J. S. Rock, Robert Morris, Esq., Rev. J. Sella Martin.

Crosby, Nichols & Co. have just published 'The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1860 '-crowded with all sorts of edge for the Year 1860 —crowded with all sorts of valuable information respecting the complex affairs of will be accounted for by those who are said to have the general and State governments. No where else gone to their homes immediately after the accident, so he found collected such full details in regard to without giving any account of themselves to the such that the second state of the second sta the Executive and Judiciary, the finances, schools, thorities. According to the above figures, and the charitable institutions, and pauperism and crime of most reliable statements as to the number of percentages. It also contains tables of railroads the several States. It also contains tables of railroads three hundred persons escaped uninjured. in this country and in Canada, and of the surveyed routes to the Pacific; of telegraphs and submarine routes to the Pacific; of telegraphs and submarine telegraphs; of colleges and professional schools in the United States; of the population of the several States at the decennial periods; of the debts, prop-livered discourses more or less exclusively appropri-States at the decennial periods; of the debts, property and expenses of the States; of the times of the State elections and the meetings of the State Legislatures, and of the votes at the different Presidential

We learn that a very interesting discussion of S. S. Foster's scheme for a new political party was held, some days since, in Brinley Hall, Worcester, at a meeting called for that purpose. A friend who was present says,- 'A young man, a student in a Law Office here, by the name of Sheridan, undertook to defend slavery, whereupon ABBY KELLEY FOSTER gave him the severest castigation I ever heard from mortal lips. Her speech, though perfectly extemporaneous, was one of surpassing eloquence. I would give a good deal for a verbatim report of it.'

Americans in the Declaration of Independence, and PURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE TERRI-BLE CALAMITY AT LAWRENCE.

AFFECTING SCENES AT THE CITY HALL

professes to desire. In the present temper of the sections, a civil war is far more likely to occur, while nominally under the same government; as the Federal power is pledged to the enforcement of law, however tyrannical. The separation may therefore be a means, perhaps the only means, of averting fraternal bloodshed. The destruction of life in the late affair at Harper's Ferry was effected by United States marines, supported by the votes and money of the North, for an action which causes grief and indignation in every Northern bosom.

The fear of Northern merchants and politicians is, that commerce with the South will be destroyed by separation, and pecuniary loss thus accrue. This is also groundless; the natural wants of each section

passage of the lines, such a regulation could not be executed, could not be injurious or permanent.

It is not here intended to recommend an immediate proposal, on the part of the free States, for a separation from the slave States; but only to give such a view of the events to be expected as to encourage Republican members of Congress, when threatened with secession by slaveholders from the South, to express a readiness to accord with it, and to enter into a plan for the purpose. This will be at least a test of the sincerity of these threats, and silence at once all

Among the missing first reported was James Harty. Among the missing first reported was James Harly.

Bo. It is far better that they should be friendly aliens, without the Northern government, than discontented and hostile citizens.

J. P. B.

LOHN BROWN'S INTENTIONS.

Among the missing first reported was James Harly.

He came from New York nearly a year ago, accompanied by his only sister—his only relative in America.

They are long the missing first reported was James Harly.

Among the missing first reported His body was recognized by a key and portemonnaie in his pocket; added to this evidence, his boot was pulled off, and upon his stocking was found his initial etter, which had been carefully threaded there by his dear sister, who now sought him, and thus found him in her despair. The trunk of the deceased was taken to the City Hall, and the key found in his pocket fitted the lock. To add to the grief of the sister, while it proved again that the vilest depravity can exist among the most awful scenes, the trunk was broken open by some villain while it remained at the City Hall, and all that was practically valuable, as well as all that was highly prized as sacred mementoes, were

stolen from it.

The body of Miss Mary Murphy was recognized or Saturday by the clothes upon it, which were a brown lyonese dress and a white flannel skirt. Beyond John Brown did not intend to make any exodus these, there was nothing to furnish evidence for iden-

the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in their native State, and to support them the slaves in The bodies of Catharine Harrigan and Ellen Ahern which was given as an explanation of the fact that were also taken out and identified by the same means. slaves might be liberated without bloodshed; not as an indication of the mode by which he intended to Before that, she had no thought that she was by the side of what was her fair and beloved daughter. Have you not seen his letter of explanation to Mr. was overpowered by the scene, and was borne away

ter of Cornelius Sweeney, who lives in Common-St., were found and identified by two thimbles and a support himself in Virginia without insurrection? | comb in the pocket of her dress, and by a bandage

have been as easy to drive a shadow into the centre girl employed in one of the upper stories of the mill, who, when the crash came, was thrown prostrate who, when the crash came, was thrown prostrate upon the floor by a piece of shafting which tell across into his brain or heart. Truly regarded, is it not a her neck, preventing her rising. The coupling which her neck, preventing her rising.

resisted him to the death. That was the why give this to my father, and say good-bye to him for

One of the most constant visitors to the entranc laration of Independence through from Harper's
Ferry to the Gulf of Mexico.

There was no intentional deception in John Brown's Incre was no intentional deception in John Brown's ment before the alarm, but has not seen her since, language to the Court or elsewhere. He neither in- dead or alive, and gazes with dreadful anxiety de-

in and around each newly recovered body.

The body of Lafayette F. Branch was found Sunfingers were somewhat mutilated, and one leg was broken. The body was found lying face upwards, in MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.

Pursuant to notice, a large meeting convened at the Bethel Church, on Monday evening, Jan. 16th, which was organized by the choice of Henry Weeden as broken. The body was found lying face upwards, in a straight and natural position. His wetch was found in his pocket, the crystal unbreken. The watch was supposed to be the exact time of the caush. By the position of the body, it is believed that he jumped from the window, but was overtaken by the falling walls before he could get away. Mr. Branch was a Chairman, and A. N. Gale and C. H. Gardner, as member of the last city government, and he was universally respected in the community. He was foreman of the dressing-room in the fourth story, where he was at the time of the accident. He was the only

overseer killed. The number of bodies exhumed on Saturday was thirteen. These, like all which have been recovered since the fire, were burned beyond the passibility of identification, save through the medium of patches of dress and articles which chanced to be found upon

Some bodies have been recovered, with no reture, for refusing to sign the revision of the statute semblance to the human form; and some are burned because the word 'white' had been erased, owing to into such a misshapen mass that the workmen are obliged to saw them spart to get them into coffins In some cases, nothing remains of the forms which Resolved, That this meeting appoint a Committee, so recently were animate, but fragmentated charred whose duty it shall be to draw up a memorial to the limbs and portions of the vitals, so effectual was the present Legislature, asking it to strike out the word work of the devouring element.

THE SUM TOTAL OF THE DISASTER. By the dis patches of our reporters at Lawrence, it will be seen that the following figures represent the sum total of the latest investigations, as to the dead, wounded and

ssing: Dead,								117
Injured				٠				119
Missing	sligh	itiy,	•		•	•	۰	89
		Total,				1		525

It is supposed that but a few more bodies will be

SUNDAY SERVICES AT THE CHURCHES. Although

RELIEF FOR THE SUFFERERS. The following touch RELIEF FOR THE SUFFERERS. The following touching appeal from the Mayor of Lawrence was received by the Chairman of the New England Society, Saturday. It should open the purse-strings of the most penurious, and will, we trust, swell the subscriptions for the relief of the suffering and meritorious operatives to an amount which will not fail to keep want from their doors:

'CITY OF LAWRENCE, Mayor's Office, Jan. 13. My Dear Sir : We as yet know but little of the

least three thousand were dependent for support, are out of employment. Young children have lost their parents. Brothers and sisters, dependent upon each other, are separated. Aged and infirm parents, dependent upon their children, are now childless.

One terrible case came under my personal observation. A little girl about fifteen years of age, who supported her younger orphan brothers and sisters, was buried in the ruins, but not injured. We had nearly extricated her; ten minutes more, and she would have been safe—but the flames came. You must imagine the rest. I can't write it. Oh, how fervently our prayers joined with hers to God!

There are many very sad cases. I can't write—it unmans me. Yours truly,

D. SAUNDERS, Jr. Mayor.

D. SAUNDERS, Jr. Mayor. Hon. NATHAN APPLETON, Boston, Chairman Com-

FRED. DOUGLASS AND THE HARPER'S FERRY IN SURRECTION.—The Rev. R. L. Carpenter, of Halifax, England, at which town Frederick Douglass is at present staying, states that the latter was concerned in the recent insurrection in the following way only:

He is charged by Capt. Cook with having abettedthe Harper's Ferry insurrection, and then deserting it.
As he has informed the American public by letter,
which has appeared in many of their papers, Capt.
Cook is wholly unknown to him, and his accusation is untrue. Unless Capt. Cook was a person who once called on him with Capt. Brown, he does not even

who he is. With Capt. Brown Mr. Douglass has long been very intimate, and he entirely approved of his plan of help-ing the slaves to escape to the mountains, and secure their freedom. He was cognizant of the Harper's Ferry plan, but did his utmost to dissuade him from it. In his anxiety to avert what he deemed an impracticable scheme, he went, about a month before the event, to visit Capt. Brown at Chambersburg, about twenty-eight miles from Harper's Ferry. His arguments were, however, unavailing; and his visits would no doubt be taken as an evidence that he was a party to the plan. He is in no way, therefore, mixed up with the insurrection, except in so far that he did not betray his knowledge of it, and he is not in any way chargeable of deserting Capt. Brown, since Capt. Brown well knew that he was opposed to it.

THE FREE-NEGRO QUESTION .- The question of expelling free negroes just now occupies a considerable share of attention in several of the slaveholding States. Hon. Ab. Caruthers, of Tennessee, publishes an elaborate opinion in the Nashville papers. He says:

'My conclusion is, that the act of emancipating a slave only confers upon him the capacity of acting as a freeman, subject, as the same capacity in a white man is, to all curtailments of his liberty that may not be forbidden by some specific guaranty of the Constitution; that he is not a freeman in the sense of the declaration of rights, and therefore may be exiled."

The Memphis Enquirer thinks that, under present circumstances, 'when so numerous and active a body of fanatics are openly and professedly determined to

of lanades are openly and professedly determined to make them dupes, and then assassins, 'this class of population should be removed.'

Among the laws passed by the late Legislature of Georgia was one which provides that free negroes wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral, or profligate course of life, are hereafter to be deemed and considered as vagrants, and may be indicted as such. In case of conviction, they shall be sold into slavery for any given time, in the discretion of a Judge of the Superior Court, not exceeding two years for the first offence; but upon conviction of a second offence, they must be sold into perpetual slavery: In Florida, the free-negro bill failed to become

law, for want of the Governor's signature. The negro question is involved in many perplexities, but fortu-nately does not require the aid of Northerners to assist

HELPER'S BOOK.

To the Editor of the Norristown Republican : I would inform the public, through your indepen-dent and fearless journal, that Mr. Dale, the President of the Norristown Railroad, has forbidden the news agent who rents the stand in the gentlemen's apartment at the Philadelphia depot, to sell Helper's book; and further, it is reported that the boy who serves papers in the cars has also been forbidden to Really, I would like much to inquire of Mr. Dale, through you, whether the character of Norristown Railroad authorizes any such discrimination as to what kind of books travellers may read? Is not Mr. D. a little too anxious to preserve travellers from heresy? A DAILY TRAVELLER.

The project for enslaving the ninety thousand free blacks of Maryland is again agitated by the pro-slavery papers of that State; and petitions to the Legislature praying the passage of an act by which the proposed enslavement may be authorized are being circulated for signatures. We are glad to say that that sterling Opposition journal, the Baltimore Patriot, denounces the wickedness with all the indignation and scorn that honorable and just men ought to fee with a proposition so infamous is submitted for appro-val. The Patriot assures its readers that the pirates overrate their strength, and that the iniquity at which they are at work will not be accomplished.—Missouri

go Press and Tribune asks us what has become of the Bolivia, Mo., Slave insurrection. Our answer is, that THE MISSOURI SLAVE INSURRECTION .- The Chicathe accounts furnished by the Southwest (Warsaw) Democrat, which were telegraphed to our paper, seem to have been mere exaggerations of a Christmas row between a gang of drunken negroes and a party of frolicksome white folks. The design of the Warsaw paper was no doubt to operate upon the Legislature and create votes for the infamous Free Negro bill.—

MR. SEWARD IN THE SENATE. Mr. Seward made MR. SEWARD IN THE SENATE. Mr. Seward made his first appearance in the Senate, since his return home from his European tour, on the 9th inst. in fine health and spirits. He received a warm greeting from his political friends, but it is stated by the correspondent of the Baltimore Sun that not more than two or three Southern men went forward to speak with him.

heart, in the 60th year of his age.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF INTERESTING CHARACTERS. Heywood & Heard. 10 Tremont Row, who justly rank among the first artists in the country, have just got out a superb photograph of Wendell Phillips. No one will fail to pronounce entirely life-like—the distinguished orator just as he looks and is. They have also just produced likenesses of all of the Brown family, leading off with the hero-martyr, John. All of these pictures indicate a high style of art, and show that these gentlemen undertake nothing which they do ish and complete with the utmost skill. Our readers should not fail to visit their rooms .- Boston Atlas and Bee.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions will be held in the State of New York, as follows :-Poughkeepsie, Monday and Tuesday, Jan. 23, 24. Hudson, Wednesday, 25.

Friday, " 27. Saturday and Sunday, " 28, 29. 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.

NEW YORK STATE ANNUAL ANTI-SLA-VERY CONVENTION will be held in Association Hall, ALBANY, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 31st and Feb. 1st and 2d. 31st and Feb. 1st and 2d.

Speakers—Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury,
Marius R. Robinson, Leonard Gibbs, Aaron M. Powell, Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, Susan B. Anthony, and

Convention to commence at half-past 7 o'clock, Tuesday P. M. Let every county in the State be represented. This, surely, is the hour for the friends of Freedom to rally at the Capital, that our rulers may feel the united voice of the Empire State for a Personal Lis-

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows :-

Kingston, Saturday eve'ng, Jan. 21.
Sunday, " 22.
Duxbury, Monday, " 28.
Plympton, Tuesday, " 24.

My Dear Sr. We as yet know not inthe of the heart-rending agony that is crushing our people. Instances are hourly brought to my notice, which make me long for a time to weep. I have steeled my nerves, yet they almost break.

There are many cases which call for speedy aid and sympathy. Nine hundred people, upon whom at

RECEIPTS Of Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Socie ty, from Oct. 3d, 1859, to Jan. 1, 1860. George and H. B. Draper, Hopedale, to redeem pledge, Proceeds Anti-Slavery Fair at Worcester, Mary G. Chapman, to redeem pledge, Mr. Smith, of Charlestown, to redeem pledge, Pemale A. S. Society, Concord, Caroline R. Putnam, Salem, Francis Jackson, 50 00 100 00 20 00 25 00 ben D. and Anna T. Draper, J. N. Buffum, Edmund Jackson, David Joy and wife, Weymouth A. S. Society, Mary C. Sawyer, to redeem pledge, Sylvanus Smith, Jacob Leonard, EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

LE NEW YORK STATE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will be held in Association Hall ALBANY, Feb. 3d and 4th, commencing at half-past Addresses by Wendell Phillips, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Mrs. Lucy Cutler, J. Elizabeth Jones, Frances D. Gage, and others.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL COURSE OF ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

The last Lecture of this series will be given by GROHOR W. CURTIS, Esq., on Monday evening next, Jan. 23, 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.

ABINGTON ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR AND LEVEE.

The Anti-Slavery friends of Abington and vicin ity will hold a Fair and Levee at Union Hall, North Abington, on the afternoon and evening of Tuesday, January 31st, when they will offer for sale a variety of useful and fancy articles, together with refresh ments, and aundry amusements to render the occasion pleasant and profitable to those who may favor them

with their presence.

In the course of the evening there will be speaking

ocal and instrumental music. On Wednesday evening, February 1st, there will be a Social Dancing Party, commencing at 7 1-2 o'clock, for which good music has been engaged.

Tickets for admission to the Fair and Levee, 25 cts. for the Dance, 50 cts. All are invited to attend. North Abington, Jan. 17, 1860.

THE COMBINATION EFFORT, to sid the widows of the colored American heroes of Harper's Perry, and to promote the erection of a Monument to their memory, will take place at the Meionaon, on

Tuesday evening, Jan. 24.
The exercises will consist of Declamations, original and selected, by several young men, interspersed with appropriate music, by a Volunteer Quartette Club, and three pianists. For particulars, see Programme. Tickets, 25 cents each, to be obtained of William C. Nell, Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, of George L. Ruffin, of Madame Christiana Bannister, and at the

Doors open at half-past 6 o'clock; exercises to commence at half-past 7 o'clock.

MARRIED-In this city, Nov. 26, by Rev. John W. Lewis, Mr. WM. H. JACKSON to Miss LOUISA PROPIETT, both of this city.

Jan. 12, by the same, Mr. Milton Crew to Miss ELIZA P. ALEXANDER, both of this city.

> LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN. BY JAMES REDPATH.

This highly interesting work is now out of press, and in rapid circulation. The enterprising publisher Messrs. Thayer & Eldridge, have taken unwearie pains to get up a good book, both in its biographical and literary character, and its mechanical execu and the acknowledged ability of Mr. Redpath for this undertaking ought most certainly to commend the book to the appreciation and patronage of the friends of the family of John Brown, and the friends of humanity in this country. The General Agent for Suffolk County has made ample arrangements to give every one in the county an opportunity to ob-tain the book, by having in employ several efficient assistants:—among them, Mr. Wm. C. Nell, Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill; Mrs. Sarah A. Taylor, Intelligence Office, 140 Cambridge street; Mr. Jack-son Neal, 12 Groton street; and George Coffins, 13 South Cedar street,-who will call on the citizens in JOHN W. LEWIS,

Agent for Publishers in Suffolk County.

Boston, Jan. 20, 1860.

30,000 COPIES SOLD IN ADVANCE OF PUBLICATION.

THE LIFE OF

CAPT. JOHN BROWN. BY JAMES REDPATH.

With an Auto-Biography of his Childhood and

In one elegant volume of 408 pages, printed on superb paper, and handsomely bound in gilt cloth, fully illustrated, and embellished with a MAGNIFICENT STEEL ENGRAVED PORTRAIT

OF THE GLORIOUS OLD MAN

Macaulay, the scholar and historian, is to be added to the list of the illustrious dead of 1859. He died in London on the 28th ult., of disease of the heart, in the 60th year of his are. PATRIOT which has yet appeared.

GF All at the Extremely Low Price of One Dollar.

Comprising an account of his early life up to the period of his going to Kansas; together with an in-tensely interesting narrative of his career in that Tertensely interesting narrative of his career in that Ter-ritory, giving authentic accounts of his famous bat-tles, with all the details of his last attempt to liberate the slaves at Harper's Ferry, Va., including his entire prison correspondence, and the PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS PAMILY, NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED. Also.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIPE, BY CAPT. BROWN HIMSELF.

This important document has not, and will not, appear in the public press, as it is the desire of the friends who contribute it that it should appear exclusively in our publication, for the Benefit of his family, and any re-printing of it will be prosecuted as an infringement of copyright. Of this Autobiography it is sufficient to say, that nothing of the kind, since the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN, has been published, which is at once so characteristic and so interesting.

A large per centage on every copy sold is secured by contract to the family of John Brown, and this work is published under their sanction and spproval, as may be seen by the following letters :-Extract from a letter of Mary A. Brown, widow of Capt. John Brown.

NORTH ELBA, December, 1859. MESSES. THAYER & ELDRIDGE:

DEAN FRINNDS—I am satisfied that Mr. Redpath is
THE man to write the life of my beloved husband, as
he was personally acquainted with him, and I think
will do him justice.

I think that the Portrait

will do him justice.
is a very good one.
Yours, respectfully,
MARY A. BROWN. Letter from Salmon Brown, son of Capt. John Brown

NORTH Elni, December, 1859.

NORTH ELBA, December, 1859.

MESSES. THAYER & ELDRIDGE:

DEAR SIRS—I was somewhat acquainted with James Redpath in Kansas. I am also familiar with his writings, and I consider him an able biographer, and THE MAN ABOVE ALL OTHERS to write the life of my beloved father. I believe him to be a man of undoubted veracity, and fully believe he will do justice to the work he has undertaken.

Yours, respectfully,

Yours, respectfully, SALMON BROWN. SALMON BROWN.

Copies of this book will be furnished to any address, postage paid, on the remittance of \$1, and 21 cents in stamps.

THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS. 114 and 116, Washington street, Boston.

Scrofula, or King's Evil,

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, eruptions 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 scrofulous contamination; 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;

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 AYER'S

Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla,

the most effectual remedy which the medical skill of our times can devise 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 Energy and Skin Diseases, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose, and Skin Diseases, St. Annual's torches, or Eryspelas, Pinples, Pustules, Blotches, Blains and Boils, Tunors, Tetter and Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Ringworm, Rheumatism, SYPHILITIC and MERCURIAL DISEASES, DROPSY, DYSPEPSIA, DERLITY, and, indeed, ALL COMPLAINTS ARISING FROM VITTATED 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 Sarsapa-rilla is to purify and regenerate this vital fluid, without which sound health is impossible in con-

Aver'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: Costierness, Heartburn, Headache, arising from disordered stomach, Nausca, Indigestion, Pain in and Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Ffaulency, 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 RAPID CURE OF Coughs, 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 numero

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 starming 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 of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our 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.

DR. J. C. AYER & CO. LOWELL MASS.

BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland ;

J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H. Sold by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every

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JUST PUBLISHED,

The John Brown Invasion, 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 Cornbill, Boston. For sale by J. J. DYER. & CO., A. WILLIAMS & CO., REDDING & CG., and by Newsmen and Periodical Dealers throughout the Free States. Dec. 30.

Resistance to Slaveholders!

THIS day published, a pamphlet of 36 pages, ea-THE NATICK RESOLUTION;

Besistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty of the Southern Slave and Northern Freemen. BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

RESISTANCE TO TTRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOL Price, 10 cents. To be had at Bela Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, Boston, and at the Liberator office,

21 Cornhill.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE VIRGINIA LADY'S LAMENT.

Pairest fair, Virginia Lady!

Though thy hero be away,

Still thy trembling, hush thy terrors-

Thou art safe-be calm and gay.

Lady, thou art pale with watching,

Anxious, weary, and distrest;

Do not faithful slaves surround thee,

· Faithful slaves! we bought some dearly,

Some were raised on our own land;

But what care they for their mistress?

There's not one in all the band-

No, not one among their number,

At my bidding though they fir,

· Yet I dress them gay and splendid;

Seldom flog them, feed them well;

But, of course, I mean the house-hands-

Would, if they beheld me dying,

Oh my terrors, who can tell!

Even now perhaps they're plotting

Schemes to take my life away;

All the night I dream of murder,

Not a slave in all your household

To defend you, not even one!

No, they're all ungrateful creatures,

House and field-hands all alike;

When we threaten or we strike.

· They would run away and leave ns.

Saying freedom is their right,

But I'll send to Harper's Ferry;

Tell my husband not to waste

Time in trying Brown and others;

Not for him do I feel anxious:

But I tremble for my children,

Now their father is away;

Be they with me, be they absent,

They're not safe by night or day.

· Why did Brown come to Virginia?

We had plague enough before

Oh that I were in some free State,

Where a mistress need not fear

Every footstep that draws near!'

Crouched beneath the broken tree-top,

In the forest lone and wild,

On a bed of withered oak-leaves

Little heeded she the serpent,

Slept a mother and her child.

Coiled, and hissing in her ear;

All her senses locked in slumber.

Shutting out the dreary past,

She was dreaming of the future-

Little thought she of the wild wolf

That perchance was lurking near.

Dreams of bliss too bright to last;

Slavery's cursed and blood-stained shore,

Brutal men, who chained and wronged her,

Blackening all her youth and prime

With his whip, his chain and bound.

To her breast she clasps her child-

Hark! there comes a sound more fearful

Up she springs with fainting terror-

Down below her rolls the torrent,

Over rocks a whirlwind, wave,-

Quick as lightning down she dashes

And she watched the bright waves catch it,-

Loud she laughed as on they came -

As with shouts they spied their game.

Now we have her!' cries the master,

Till the hound had almost reached her,

Then she plunged into the flood.

Down the dashing waters bore her-

Rushed to save his human chattels,

Save the mother and her child.

But the God of mercy heard her

Cry of anguish, and no more

Toiled the spirit-broken Cora

On the old Virginia shore.

In the long silence of the night,

Nature's benignant power

Woke aspirations for the light

Within the folded flower.

Its presence and the gracious day

While woman's eyes dropped tender dew

Then blossomed forth a grander flower,

Untouched by Slavery's bitter frost,

Far shining through the gloom,

It conquered ruler, judge and priest,

Grim Death seemed proud to a soul

And the gallows only proved to him

Each cheerful word, each valiant act,

Spoke to us through the reverent hush

. That moment when the brave old man

Which sanctified that time.

A stepping-stone to heaven.

God-watched, that century plant uprose,

Made summer in the room,

In the wilderness of wrong,

A soul devout and strong.

Filling a nation with the breath

Of a noble life in bloom.

A life so powerful in its truth,

And held them at its feet.

A pature so complete,

So beautifully given,

So simple, so sublime,

Went so serenely forth,

On the little rose in bloc

· Seize her, Terror!' Still she stood,

Down the tyrant rushed, all wild,-

For the Liberator.

WITH A ROSE,

That bloomed on the day of John Brown's mar-

Her loved infant to its grave!

Waiting calmly ber pursuers

'Tis the bloodhound on her track!

With the blackest, foulest crime.

For the silvery waves that bounded

Parting it from lands of Freedom

What cared she for hissing serpents,

Or the howl of wild wolf then?

Beasts of prey were tender keepers

By the side of brutal men ;

With the darkest, direst curses,

Now she deems her trials ended,

No slave-hunter can pursue her

Closer, closer in her dreaming,

She is thinking of its father

In the far Canadian wild.

To her ear than rifle's crack !

That upon Ohio's ground

She had safely ferried o'er.

For the Liberator.

THE FUGITIVE.

Every member of her household,

Tenterden, (England.)

With our slaves, to keep them under ;

Now we shall have ten times more.

Hang him, and return in haste !

The insurgents are but few-

Few, and wounded; they can't harm us,

And our troops are strong and true.

And that they are born our equals,

And that black is good as white.

Though they speak us fair, and tremble

Fairest fair, Virginia Lady,

List each footstep through the day.'

Are there none whose love you've won,

Shed a tear, or heave a sigh.

Guardians of thy peaceful rest?

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

Persons personally known to us have come volunta. rily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became knewn in St. Louis. St. Louis Presbyterian.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE given universal satisfaction, wherever it has be a used. It can be used with perfect safety, and in perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a vay 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 Chronicle. 'Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used.'

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. AL LEN'S as the Hair Restorer. N. Y. Independent N. Y. Independent. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.' Michigan Christian Herold.

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

Knoxville Presbylerian Witness

There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Adveste, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestion-ed standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. Allen's." Buffalo Christian Advocate

Another 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 NATURAL TOUTHPUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effect used 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 te-freshing to come across that which is what it rea-tends to be. A really excellent article is Mn. 8 A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. As an ma-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 calcu-lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair.' Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston.

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Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey er losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Ham RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair, res-BESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DIL' Philadelphia Mercury.

There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Alles's World's Harn Restonen. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprie-tor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most anpropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.

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

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HATE RESTORES. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable.' Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly rec-ommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and We therefore most cordially commend it to the no-tice and use of those of our readers who needs remedial agent of this character.'

St. Louis Ledger.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restores.-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 inthat she had attained the age of sixty. So we in-ferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation, she spoke of her hair in the state of her hair in the spoke of her hair in the state of her hai she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various remedies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as laxurous, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

Providence Daily Tribuse. Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Ristor-ER. It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertions made in in favor by scores and hundreds of the most respecta-

Rahway Advocate and Register. Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is the best preparation extant for the various discuses inci-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorat-I beautifying the hair fully estab ing, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in numer-

ous instances, upon the public as genuine.

Brooklyn Morning Journal. This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and heautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glossy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorais easily applied, and will not stain the finest lines. The effect is save in every instance, if applied ac-The effect is sure in every instance, it applied according to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in savettisement of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER are correct. Boston Olive Branch.

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this It is just what it purports to be.' Cleve. Leader.

We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

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

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

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.

where address all letters and inquiries. where address all letters and inquiries.

Some dealers try to se'll articles instead of this, on which they make more work. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine is signed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink.

Bev are of counterfeits.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

With footsteps whose unfaltering tread Re-echoed through the North.

The sword he wielded for the right Turns to a victor's palm: His memory sounds forevermore, A spirit-stirring pealm. No breath of shame can touch his shield. Nor ages dim its shine:

Living, he made life beautiful,

Dying, made death divine. No monument of quarried stone, No eloquence of speech, Can grave the lessons on the land His martyrdom will teach. No eulogy like his own words, With hero-spirit rife,

'I truly serve the cause I love, By yielding up my life."

THE LIBERATOR.

HARD TO PLEASE. Ever since Maria Edgeworth's beautiful tales were written, tales illustrating high and noble principles, mises and no constitutions that offer a barrier to its and exemplifying a worthy and beautiful life, alike desolating march. Look, look, ye worshippers of for childhood, youth and mature age, -a certain set of compromise, at the conduct of the South! The Conpeople have been finding fault with them, and warn- stitution guarantees freedom of the press and of ing the public against them, as un-religious, some speech, does it not? Behold, how faithful is the even going so far as to say irreligious. The people South to her allegiance! The Constitution requires, who admired the high moral tone of these works, that citizens of Massachusetts, traveling in another and who thought themselves fortunate in being able State, on a peaceful and lawful errand, shall be treated to put into the hands of their children stories at once with all the respect due to a sovereign State. Does so pleasing and so useful as those of 'The Parent's the South do this? Does she not imprison our citi-Assistant, 'Moral Tales' and 'Popular Tales,' ven- zens,-insult and brutally assault them? Has she tured to suggest that they certainly taught good moral not, a hundred times over, heaped outrage upon outlessons. The critics, ingeniously converting this culo- rage upon our rights as men, and our sovereignty as gy into a reproach, stigmatized the author in question a State, one single instance of which, in any foreign as a teacher of 'mere morality.' The objection evi- nation, would be held good cause for war, unless dently was, that in these stories (which pretended only speedily redressed? Bear witness, Hoar, fleeing for to delineate human life and character in such a way thy life, with thy invalid daughter, before a howling as to give some useful practical lesson) neither the author nor the better class of her characters made any 'profession' of religion. The writer of stories South because a faithless and cowardly mother, who was blamed for not incorporating religious profes- accepted the .. h of your fealty, has basely left you sions and theological ideas into her narratives.

world a Monthly Magazine which announced itself famous law to facilitate man-hunting in free States,-· Devoted to Literature, Art, and Politics.' The au- a law that makes pagan hospitality a crime, repeals thors of some of its papers in the department of 'Lit- the moral law, dethrones the God of Justice, and erature'-perhaps warned by the wide-spread ap- crowns the Moloch of blood and cruelty, annula proval of the criticisms above mentioned to avoid the your boasted right of trial by jury, disarms the State inculcation of 'mere morality,' perhaps impelled to of all power to protect its citizens from outrage and speak of religion by their conviction of its peramount slavery, - when we point you to the Missouri Comimportance-introduced into their stories and sketches promise demolished, that slavery may pour its lava an occasional appeal to religious considerations; point- tide of woes and crime over lands it had, in the most ing out the correctness of those views of religion solemn manner, pledged itself, for a consideration which they thought just and true, and also the incor- promptly paid, to leave untouched forever; and then, rectness of those contrary views which they thought maddened at the prospect of losing, after all her false and mischievous. Strange to say, the same class perfidy, the stake for which she had bartered her of people which formerly found fault with Miss Edge- honor and her soul, the South sends her armed rufworth for not putting religious considerations into her fians into Kansas, drives honest and peaceful settlers stories, now attacked the writers just mentioned, and from their humble homes, burns down their houses, the proprietors of the Magazine in which they wrote, steals cattle, violates women, shoots down unarmed for the expression of their ideas respecting religion. travelers, drives legal voters from the poles, them-And the reason they gave for this objection, most selves voting in their stead, and fraudulently multiastonishing of all, was that a publication of the plying even that fraudulent vote, and a legislature character in question was neutral ground; that there thus chosen enacting a code which, for injustice and was a tacit understanding that, in such a publication, villainy, for cold-blooded atrocity and diabolical wickno such ideas should be expressed, no such considera- edness, stands unsurpassed by anything of the kind tions appealed to; and that the people who had sub- in the civilized world; -when, O ye Thomases, who scribed for 'Literature, Art, and Politics,' were some- doubt what freedom is, and what she requires; when, how deceived and imposed upon if you threw in, O ye Aarons, who exalt a calf as the object of your

priate label.

and with Washington Irving, because they had not

siders that it should hold a 'neutral' position in re- bound to respect. ligion was first made, we find evidence that this outcry was a partizan one from the beginning, and that the persons who made it had never any objection to the introduction, in that place, of ideas belonging to their theological party. Thus, not a lisp of objection was W. L. Garrison: heard to the elaborate detail of a religious experience which, in the judgment of an orthodox minister, fitted its subject for membership in an orthodox church. 'Ann Potter's Lesson,' coming to this result, had no not belonging to the system self-styled 'orthodox,' then we have indignant remonstrance, and a theory of 'neutral ground'; which theory, on examination, 'Heads, I win ; tails, you lose!' C. K. W.

SLAVERY HAS NO RIGHTS THAT AN HON-EST MAN IS BOUND TO RESPECT.

as if it had rights. Monstrous thought! Most fatal the very soul of all its interests, social, commercial mistake! What is Chattel Slavery? It is a crime and religious, yet there are souls, even with white exagainst man! Where, then, are its rights? It is a teriors, in the American Union, that are literally crime against God! Where, then, are its rights? burning with holy and intense desire that every child It is the sum of all crimes, the expression of all con- of Adam should be free. To me, this is a glorious ceivable outrage. Again: where are its rights? In thought, and the more so, as I cannot but believe the nature of things, it has none, - no, not one ! Do you speak of moral rights? The very term is

an utterance against you. The question of moral rights involves the duties of rational beings towards esting meeting at Framingham, to which I have aleach other. Your doctrine, then, in plain terms, is, ready referred, I returned to Boston, and, as an Eggthat one man may seize another man, subject him to lishman and friend to liberty and independence as his will for life, and reduce him to the level of a brute! the only springs that can safely work the interests of He has a mind, but you deny his right to use it; ca- the human family, I fully sympathized with the flowpacities of improvement, but you will not allow him ing joy of the day; but when at night the great batto test their extent, or their quality; a heart that can the of Bunker Hill was represented by fire-works, love as broadly and as deeply as your own, but you and the inscription, Bondmen, which was highly crush its yearnings, lacerate its tenderest fibres, and elevated in the air, was represented as falling, and snap asunder its dearest ties. If Slavery possesses than of 'Freemen' as gloriously rising, I felt that moral rights, it has a right to perpetrate all these whatever of truth there might be in it, there was also wrongs. Nay, these are not wrongs, if, on the side a deplorably humiliating inconsistency which clung of the perpetrator, there is right. But few, however, to it; and I asked myself, how can they be free, who are so morally debauched as to affirm slavery to be interests are all bound up in chains, which deprive morally right,-at least, in this community. But their fellow-beings of the right of calling their wives, there are many who talk of its legal rights. A legal their children, or even their very souls, their own? right, not based on a moral or natural right, is a legal Such is man, and such is America. Truly, I do refiction; not exactly, perhaps, what is known in law joice that, on the subject of slavery, there are such by that name, but, nevertheless, the most fruitful men in the United States as Wm. L. Garrison and the most purulent to a more monstrous one. If we the accursed thing; men who feel that their country felt any inclination to argue the point at length, the is not, and cannot be free, while any of its citizens, or highest authority, and legal authority, too, might be fellow-beings, writhe in chains. That you will triadduced in support of our position. Such names as umph is sure as the eternity of truth and righteous-Seneca, Cicero, Grotius, and Blackstone, Sydney, ness; for the grand anomaly of a free republic in Milton and Burke, with a host of others, might be chains is too great a violation of the commo quoted on the side of the laws of nature against the mankind to become permanent; nor can the legal exlaws of man. The way we propose to deal with this ecution of those who die, because they would that all matter is a shorter, and, we think, an effectual one. men should be free, retard the progress of right and

We affirm Chattel Slavery to be the greatest crime truth; for the glorious moral Sun, from which emaknown among men, or imaginable among devils. nates all of heaven to man, can no more be arrested Every man's consciousness supplies the evidence in his course than the bright orb that rules the day. and demonstration, or it fails to testify of his man- Would that your warnings, prayers and entreaties, so

nies so plain a statement disturbs not the axioms, but hews asunder the foundation of his own welfare, the guaranty of his own safety. And in this position we leave him, that he may gather from experience what he should have known from intuition; to be taught, under the rod of a despot, the lesson he might have learned in the school of common sense. There is another view of the extent of our obliga

tion to tolerate slavery. We would press upon the attention of those who still cling, a little reluctantly, perhaps, to the letter of the law which killeth, to the neglect of the spirit which maketh alive. These doubting Thomases and lagging Peters are thrown completely off their moral balance by what they call the 'Compromises of the Constitution,' - a name given to a notorious device of the Old Serpent, in which he compounds for our denial of his right to curl his schole vile length on our hearthstone, by wheedling from us the privilege of introducing his fanged and venomous head into our cradles! Now, whatever of sanctity, whatever of binding

force might once be attached to said compromises. we affirm that it is completely annulled and destroyed by Slavery's own act. Slavery respects no compro-Charleston mob! Bear witness, ye sable mariners now pining in the swamps and on the plains of the to perish among thieves and robbers! When we Well, time passed on, and there appeared in the point you, O worshippers of compromise, to that ingratuitously, a few suggestions about religion.

It really seemed, by the talk of these objectors when, in addition to this dark catalogue of crimes, about 'neutral ground,' and by the general way in of wrongs and insults, at the ruthless hand of Slavery, which their objections were stated, (namely, as if we cite you to its avowed purpose of repealing the for the benefit, not of their party only, but of the laws against the infernal slave trade, or, failing that, whole community,) that they had quite changed their to re-open the traffic in defiance of all law, human or ground since Miss Edgeworth's time, and come to the divine,-we know we shall only echo the honest utconclusion that, however excellent religion might be terance of your heart, when we say, that, with the in itself, it ought not to be mingled, insinuated, or South, there is nothing sacred but Slavery! Now, sifted in with other things, and should never be we assert, that the South, by her own voluntary act, served up, except pure, unmixed, and with its appro- has dragged the monster, bodily, over all real or supposed compromises. We affirm, that, by her disre-These things being so, all at once—as if a magician, gard, boldly avowed, of all compromises, constituwith his 'Presto, change!' was playing his tricks tions and Unions, that do not bow to the behests of with these people-they have now thrown a somer- slavery and decry liberty, she brings this whole quesset back to the old Edgeworth position-and have tion into the forum of conscience, and herself abbegun to find fault with Alexander Von Humboldt solves us from all obligation to heed the verdict of intermingled appeals to religious considerations, the calf, your captor has unbound you and your prison one with his science, the other with his literature! doors stand open, will ye not at once make good your What has become of the 'neutral ground' theory? | escape? Come! come! come to the ranks of the These self-contradicting movements by themselves free; join with the hosts of the brave; come, and are suspicious. But, on tracing back the contents of echo with us the war-cry of Freedom, the slogan of the Magazine, in regard to which this claim of out- the free,- Slavery has no rights that on honest man is

> LETTER FROM REV. M. B. BIRD, ENGLISH MISSIONARY TO HAYTL

Sr. HELIERS, (Jersey,) Eng. Dec. 2, 1859.

DEAR SIR-One of the greatest pleasures which I have in looking back upon my visit to the United States is, the remembrance of the privilege which was afforded me of taking part in your great and interestunfitness for a Magazine devoted to 'Literatuse, Art, ing meeting at Framingham Grove, on the celebrated and Politics.' But when an equal earnestness of re- 4th of July last, a meeting at which every true Chrisligious feeling is applied to the suggestion of ideas tian lover and friend of the unconditionis and uni versal freedom of the human race ought to have been present, whatever might have been the hus or shade of his religious opinions; nor can I for a moment proves precisely equivalent to the boyish formula-doubt, that the time is fast approaching in the United States, when the great question of humanity and freedom will triumph over every consideration of sect or party ; for, notwithstanding the heavy curre, in the form of slavery, which now presses sorely and heavi-It is the habit of some to speak of Chattel Slavery by upon your great Republic, and which enters into that such desires are fed, sustained and fanned by the smile of heaven.

After leaving your great, and, to me, deeply interimagination never gave birth to a greater fiction, nor Wendell Phillips, who will allow no compromise with

ever, not without hope. with friends in Europe.

bood. Crims can have no legal rights. Who de- long and so perseveringly made to your country, could mentality for the accomplishment of the same great

reach every heart !-- for the horrors of St. Domingo

opgate Street Within, London, will find me. and commemorate his noble deeds, both by speech Yours, truly,

JOHN BROWN IN PRISON.

The following-written by a noble Anti-Slavery such as are familiar to the common mind, such as the

common people love to sing to popular, simple and woman in Ohio-was sent to us before the execution of John Brown, but it has been excluded from our expressive music. As a slight approximation towards such humbler strains, the following unpretending columns till now by the pressure of other matter.

Mr. Garrison: There is but one thing to write stanzas are offered. The writer is aware that some about now-but one subject for orator or journalist may discover either in the versification or verbal expression some little indication of the presence of the to hope will be of particular, not to say of absorbing interest to the public-but one object for our country | parodic element, sufficient perhaps to remind them of to contemplate, for the world indeed to gaze at, as- a certain well known serio-humorous ditty that altounded. No need to designate; no need to say most everybody, sometime or other, in the course what scene the most sublime, the most revolting, of his lifs, has either heard or sung; but this I since Christ's crucifixion, is now transpiring before us. am sure will constitute, in no reasonable mind, a se History will pause long before it. Poets, painters, rious objection. Forever cherished be the fragran sculptors will find it to tax the highest resources of memory of John Brown of Osawatomie! their art to translate its language into their several vernaculars. They can have none of modern times, at least, grander than John Brown in the presence of

Ralph Waldo Emerson has said, 'Should he be executed, the gallows will henceforth be glorious like the cross.' I would add, not in levity, but from deep and solemn conviction, that the humble pallet of that wounded hero will henceforth be held as another Sinai, upon which, as a sacred mount, one man, elevated by his Christ-like spirit and aims, and his sublime self-abnegation, above the throng around him, with its passions of the pit, and from which issue lessons, such as a people receive only once or twice in a thousand years.

Go, then, sensualist, man of selfish ambition. you who have wriggled your way up to what the world calls distinction, through the mire of a petty policy, and see how a man, a hero, and a martyr looks a death, and how he earns an immortal name! Granted that he was 'unsuccessful,' as men estimate suc cess, that his scheme was wild, and, as it appears to us, impracticable; the question is not of the balance of battles or elections. We have something else given us to think about. This is not a selfish or vain man overreached in his policy, or failing in his efforts through want of skill and sagacity, even, for he appears to have had qualifications for leadership such as very few possess; but that is not to the point. The great decisive battle is being fought now, and he will be the victor. In his own simple and noble words, 'I am not sure that this is not the best.' How other wise could so much have been achieved? The kind of success at which he aimed is certain, for God and his immeasurable hosts are on his side.

The affair at Harper's Ferry drew upon him the attention of the scorld, and now he wields the sword

ordinary debate, could not otherwise have produced. Southerners ask, 'Who instigated you to this?' Brown steadily answers, ' God alone !' and they begin to suspect it is true, for there is something almost supernatural in his steady coolness, courage and self-posession, as they think.

When some of us first heard of his attempt, and its termination, it was with the feeling that the recital of it was too distressing to listen to, regarding it as the bitter fruit of slavery, in which there was no flavor of good, that a good and sensible man should become mad in consequence of its aggressions, and lead other rash men to pull down upon themselves a few stones from the citadel, too few to endanger slavery, but enough for their own destruction. But like Mr. Conway, when he said Brown ' would excite but little sympathy,' we reckoned without our host. He has aroused the whole humanity of the nation, and every noble impulse will take sides with him.

hrough his fiery trials, and draw from them a blessing of such august meaning to the world. Does history afford a parallel?

God bless those noble women who have offered him help and sympathy! May I venture to say, every womanly heart is with them. There is not a mother or a sister in the North who would not deem herself an object of contempt, and severe condemnait an honor and a privilege to take that grey head upon tion. her knees, to dress its wounds, and wipe away the clotted blood.

'I never lost command of myself but once,' said the noble old soldier, and that once was in obedience to an impulse of humanity. What a lesson to youth ! If for nothing else, he deserves immortality. There can never be too much said of the principal actor in the scenes at Harper's Ferry, but what of the others? is his name, and not Coppie, at it is printed.) that brave and beautiful youth with the blue eyes and pleasant countenance, who goes smiling to a felon's death. Can no mother, sister, or, perchance, 'a nearer one yet, and a dearer one,' be admitted to cheer the last days of his brief life, with the tender care so natural to his years? His mother (a widow) whose taken up and passed by a majority vote :nome is in our vicinity, has gone, I am told, to Har- Whereas, the American clergy and the American and dear ones will weaken the fortitude of the brave the slaveholder; therefore, prisoners. But true love is heroic, and one may hope | Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting everything from a woman like Mrs. Brown. May they deserve only our contempt, until, by well-di wife and mother both be enabled to send the beloved rected efforts in behalf of the oppressed, they shall souls soothed and strengthened on the dark but short entite themselves to our sympathy and respect. way up to the Hall of Heroes'! How I wish we had one great Church where all

could meet to spend the fatal day in prayer! Yours.

JOHN BROWN.

courage, and stern integrity,

means of removing wrong; and although the great martyr actually used instrumentalities for the also redemption which I lack both the physical courage and the moral conviction that would prompt me to use such, still, I should shrink from imputing to the hero of Harper's Ferry a less holy motive than that which actuates me in the choice of a different instru-

Counted all else but loss; Henceforth that hateful gallows tree

He walks the peaceful spheres, While Freedom's foes, who shed his blood, Are quaking with their fears.

John Brown still lives ! let us rejoice That souls cannot be slain. Nor listless lie in paradise, But come to earth again.

Come, then, John Brown, inspire us all With purpose true and streng, And we will write our thoughts in deeds, Till right shall conquer wrong!

Springfield, Jan., 1860.

A meeting was held at Lexington, Lagrange Co. of the Spirit, on the right hand and on the left, Indiana, on Sunday, Dec. 18, to listen to an oration with such effect as legions of men, and centuries of on the death of John Brown and his associates. Wm. Hern, of Lexington, was chosen President, John F. Brothwell Vice President, and D. W. Rupart, Secre-

After singing by the Springfield choir, Mr. Rouse addressd the meeting at some length, and was listened to with attention. The Chairman followed with a few brief remarks, when the following gentlemen were chosen to draft resolutions : D. W. Rupart, S. Prentice, J. A. Fox, Geo. Gale, and J. T. Rouse

The meeting adjourned till half-past 2 o'clock. AFTERNOON SESSION. The house was called to order by the President; and, after singing by the choir,

Whereas, John Brown and his brave companions, in their recent attempt at Harper's Ferry, have proved themselves true friends of freedom and humanity and whereas, they, on the 2d and 16th days of De

1. Resolved, That we owe it to them to cherish their memories, and to make their bereaved friends the objects of our special care and sympathy.

gency, and will meet it with a brave, unyielding

4. Resolved, That while we cannot subscribe to all the acts of Brown and his associates, yet we feel to honor them and hold the self-sacrifice they made in Stephens, the superb Roman, and Coppock, (for that sult from the example they have set, of noble courage, and in striking terror to the heart of the Slave

The resolutions were taken up separately, and unan-

The following preamble and resolution were ther

per's Ferry. What will be the result, no one can church have, by their reprehensible silence on the tell. I almost fear that the presence of these near slavery question, served to strengthen the hands of

D. W. RUPART, Sec'y.

Rev. Mr. Troy, of Windsor, C. W., addr

a large meeting in London on the evening of the 15th ult., on the condition of the fugitives in Canada. He stated that the number now there had reached 45,000, This man must live in the world's history, and in the affections of all true lovers of freedom, so long as there are souls to appreciate noble self-sacrifice, true at Windsor, the terminus of the Great Western Railcourage, and stern integrity.

I had a slight personal acquaintance with him, and differed with him somewhat radically as to the best lation of 16,000 escaped slaves, and he was now seek-

might well be regarded as the mere explosion of un-righteous principles; yea, the cries of the down-trod-Brown, even though it should be proven that he den do at last enter heaven, and the reply, the vials of righteous indignation, are sometimes poured out. Such men as Dessalines are fearful rods when used sas; for, while no allowance is to be made in favor of by a righteous and justly offended God. Is it not a the bloody agents of slavery, much, very much is to significant and warning truth, that Hayti, weak, and, be forgiven to the spirit of liberty that urged John humanly speaking, helpless, triumphed over a power far superior to herself? Truly, the race in this case it must also be considered that he had great provocation, under which he must have been something I am laboring to get out a small volume on Hayti, more than human, if he could have conducted himbut I searcely know whether I shall be able to meet the difficulties of publication in England. I am, how-der-rufflans and murderers in Kansas as we, his critics, exhibit here in Massachusetts, in our peacefu During the last month or two, I have travelled a parlors, surrounded by our families. Faults he had, no doubt; and who has not? but, with all of them, and pleading the general cause of missions, which, I and in spite of them, we love him still. The fact that am thankful to say, still stands high in the esteem John Brown was hated and put to death in the flesh and feelings of the English public, and at the same by slaveholders, is a prima facia warrant to every time awakening sympathy for the destitute at home. person that hates oppression for keeping his memory in grateful remembrance. But when it is also considcousness, and universal love, is the glorious aim and ered that he exhibited a towering heroism, and ar design of our common Christianity. Nor can we almost unexampled spirit of self-sacrifice in behalf of doubt its perfect adec to this sublime and mighty the poor and down-trodden, together with unblench task. I am also thankful to say that our enterprise of ing integrity of principle and varied moral excellence a Girls' School for Port au Prince, in Hayu, has met such as astonished and awed Virginia slaveholders and all his other enemies, except such as are repre I fully hope to visit Boston next summer, on my sented by the Vallindighams and that other class o way to Hayti, and I shall earnestly hope for the sym- human monstrosities still more obdurate, which finds pathy and help of the friends of Hayti in America on fitting exponents in the conductors of the New York my way back. Anything sent to my address to the Observer; when this is considered, I say, it become Wesleyan Centenary Hall and Mission House, Bish- the duty as well as the privilege of all in the thickening ranks of Anti-Slavery to celebrate his virtues

Nor should we withhold our admiration of John

JOHN BROWN IS GONE!

and song : by vigorous prose and lofty verse; and

also in humbler strains, truthful but not towering

TUNE-Auld Lang Syne. John Brown is gone, that good old man, We'll see his form no more; He gave his life to free the slave old Potomac's shore.

John Brown is gone, that good old man, Whose heart was warm and true; He scorned to ask of other men More than for them he'd do.

John Brown is gone, that good old man, Who ne'er the poor refused; Like him of Nazareth, he set

John Brown is gone, that good old man, Who sought th' oppressed to free, For which the tyrants in their wrath Condemned him to the tree. John Brown, to help the helpless slave,

Is glorious like the cross. John Brown still lives! a martyr-crowned,

JOHN BROWN MEETING IN INDIANA.

the Committee reported the following preamble and

We did not dream that he could so sustain himself cember, 1859, have by their deaths become at once the heroes and martyrs of the age; therefore,

> 2. Resolved, That Virginia, in her base and cow ardly conduct toward these brave men, has rendered

3. Resolved, That while we deplore the bitter and rancorous spirit existing between the two sections of the Union, nevertheless, we are ready for any emer

Power.

imously adopted.