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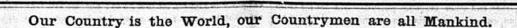
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is a covenant with

death, and an agreement with bell !

The free States are the guardians and essen-

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

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

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED 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 look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and

Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

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

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1521.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

## SELECTIONS.

RICHARD REALF UPON JOHN BROWN. To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

Sig. Permit me, who have barely escaped from being lynched as an Abolitionist in the South, only t, find myself denounced as a recreant apostate in the North, and who therefore can hardly be suspected of hidding for sympathy from either section, to say a word or two in answer to the allegation, asserted with so much heat and clamor, ' that the Harper's Foreg insurrection of John Brown was the natural, legitimate, and inevitable consequence of the teachings of the Republican party. In contradicting and disproving this charge, I am moved, not by any particular regard for Republicanism, nor any particular hatred of Democracy, but only by a desire to do justice to the memory of John Brown, between whose principles (which I revere) and their latest mode of application (which I condemn), a great many persons seem unable to distinguish.

The charge thus alleged is wholly and altogether untrue, and this for the simple reason, that the movement of John Brown was conceived and originated at least a score of years antecedent to the formation of the Rapublican party. While yet Clay was in the zenith of his fame, and Webster had not sold himself to the South, and the issues which have since torn the country were unknown, John Brown was broading upon his scheme. In the Convention held at Chatham, C. W., he made a speech declaratory of his purposes and expressive of his views, wherein he stated, that for twenty years the project which has resulted so fatally to himself and disistrously to the slaves, had been the absorbing passion of his nature, to which all other pursuits and purpases had been rendered subservient. year 1851, he (being then an Ohio wool-grower) went to England, bearing samples of wool as his contribution to the great International Exhibition; and this journey was undertaken solely on account of the reasons which follow:

With a view to the abolition of Slavery, he had been a close student of the theory of mountain and guerilla warfare, through a long series of years; and, being desirous of practically examining the different modes of fortifications, entrenchments, &c., employed in the States of the Old World, he chose for the period of his visit that in which London would naturally be thronged with the representatives of Continental Europe, and when, consequently, it would not be a difficult matter to provide onealf with letters of introduction to people in all parts of those countries. Immediately he had secured such letters, he crossed into France; whence, after a very careful inspection of its fortifications, he started for Spain, Italy, Austria, Prussia, &., through which countries, especially their mountainous portions, he mule a lengthened tour, with the sole view of applying the knowledge thus obtained to the prosecution of the enterprise in which he died. This was in 1851. The Republican party had no existence until The statement, therefore, that the incursion into Virginia resulted as a consequence of the in-culcated doctrines of Republicanism, is now dis-

Nor was Brown himself, nor were any of his co adjutors, committed to the Republican creed. Henry Wilson, in 1857, advised that party in Kansas to se cure the legislature to themselves by voting under the provisions of the Lecompton Constitution. The milvide was taken, and the result predicted was scholered. Not one of Brown's original party voted. Some of us were at that time correspondents of the Lettern press; and in the interim between the Grasshopper Falls Convention, (when it was decided ussa to vote,) and the day on which the election searred, we opposed the action of the party in secry possible way, by letters, speeches, and in every latte manner, for which we were denounced as Abolitionists by the leading Republican journal of that

Once more: the only representative of Republi canism who received any scrkling of John Brown's plans, learned them from a hostile quarter, and took amediate steps to put its out of Brown's power to commit any illegal act whatever. I allude to Senator Wilson, and his letter to Dr. Howe, of Boston John Brown, in his heart, despised the Republi can party, whether rightfully or wrongful cours I do not undertake to say. He called it a party who had assumed the name of Liberty, and prostituted it to base purposes. He said it declared all men to be free, equal, entitled to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and yet deprecated any intererence with Slavery in the States where it existed : a craven-heartedness which met only with his contempt. So, putting no faith in the professions of that party, he undertook to abolish Slavery him-

They who assert that, in this enterprise, he was moved rather by hatred of the slaveholder than affection for the slave, do his memory most foul wrong. The love of his heart comprehended and encompassed both. He believed that, unless the interference of some third party should anticipate and thus preyeat the interference of slaves themselves, these ter would, one day, overthrow the institution by a bloody war of extermination against their masters; and it was to prevent the havor and carnage which. as he conceived, threatened the South, that he entered upon his ill-fated movement. For, he argued, the same elements of resistance to oppression which would result in all bloody excesses if not wisely and properly directed, might be made subservient to the recomplishment of high purposes of humanity, if the governing intelligence was at their side. Wherefore, in order to supply that intellectual sagacity which the slaves lacked, and thus enable them to achieve their Freedom, while restraining them from the cruelties into which their instincts would hurry them, he gave himself to this enterprise.

In regard to his personal character, I must, though I reside in the South, where I expect to live and die be permitted to say that it has been most studiously and elaborately misrepresented. There never lived a man whose desire to promote human welfare and human happiness was more inextinguishable. Men have grown hoarse with calumniating his memory. who were never worthy to unloose the latchet of h shoes. Venal politicians, grown sleek upon public plunder, and men who cannot perform an act that is not stained with some deadly sin, have lifted up their hands in holy horror, and yelled out their exe crable execrations against his name. John Brown was no tongue-hero-no virtue-prattler. He was s reticent man; and when he did apeak, the utterance was from his heart, and not his lungs. His faith was very simple. He desired society to be pure, free, unselfish—full of liberty and love. He believed it capable of such realization. The whole history of his life is that of an upward endeavor. Liberty L' that was the key to his soul; the mas ter-passion which controlled all his other ambitions personal, social, or political. It swayed him like a frenzy. But he had too much individualism of character, and he was too sensitive to the sufferings of others, to be able to reason calmly on the every-day practical concerns of life, where abstract right is modified by a thousand conditions of expediency; and he was too indignant against all forms of wrong be able to discriminate between a theory and its

how it was limited and restrained on all sides by other principles; thus drawing his purpose so near for reading the Bible, his Lordship went on to exthe eye as to shut out all other things; and thus, press his astonishment that, in the United States of

Brown, and it is known that I now reside in the to condemn it, they were not only not sympathized South. That which follows is in regard thereto. With, but were themselves condemned by public There was a time when I thought our contemplated opinion. insurrection to be abolutely right. I had occasion to lter my opinion : thus. The evidence upon which committed myself to that enterprise was available only in the court of conscience. Now, in the depths of my being, even below the law of distinct consciousness, there lurked the instinct and impulse of than Watson and Dr. Alexanderanother law that forbade the exercise of those feelngs which would connect themselves with such a deed. With this impulse, thus dimly working, the he heartily concurred in everything that had been promises I had made came in conflict; and my consaid by preceding speakers. I believe (he said) cience, divided against itself, plucked me on and plucked me off, suggesting the resolution but preventing the performance. However much I multiplied reasons and motives in favor of the deed, there yet sprung up from a depth in my nature, which reflection has never fathomed, an impulse against it which I could neither account for nor resist. I could not translate that which appeared to be an outward call of duty into a free, spontaneous moral impulse; and, as I could not perform it until I had so translated it, of course it was not performed at all.

nature and character of that Institution, to oppose battle rather than submit to tyranny-I am bound my own feelings, in relation thereto; and it may some of those who, at the safe distance of a thousand miles, are so profuse in lip-philanthropy. But God ma I have gained one lesson, which I thought never to death. is worse than her professions, the South is better than her laws.

Most respectfully,

RICHARD REALF.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 30, 1850.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune :

to correct some misapprehensions affect in the country, through the medium of a small book, namely, that John Brown was guilty of several murders, among which were the wives of two men, whose bodies (the wives) he burned to ashes to escape deliberty, operates so powerfully against them, both for the world when they march south to Cap morally and politically.

burning of the bodies of mardered wives seld during the last few weeks of his earthly caer, testify conclusively and unmistakably to the

character of the man. Truly yours,
MARY ANN BROWN. North Elba, Jan. 17, 1860.

LETTER FROM SALMON DROWN. NORTH ELBA, Dec. 27th, 1859.

DEAR SIR: You letter to my mother was received o-night. You wish me to give you the facts in regard to the Potawatomie execution, or murder, and to know whether my father was a participator in the act?

I was one of his company at the time of the homeide, and was never away from him one hour at a time, after we took up arms in Kansas; therefore, say positively, that he was not a participator in the if he had been there; for it was the grandest thing that was ever done in Kansas. It was all that saved the Territory from being overran with drunken land-pirates from the Southern States. That was the first act in the history of Kansas, that proved to to give blows as to take them. It was done to save fe, and to strike terror through their wicked

I should like to write more, but I have not time Yours respectfully. SALMON BROWN.

From the Edinburgh Witness, Dec. 24. SYMPATHY FOR DR. CHEEVER IN EDIN-BURGH.

A large and influential public meeting took place n Thursday afternoon, in the Queen Street Hall, convened for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Rev. Dr. Cheever, under the painful cirumstances which that eminent divine has lately been called on to occupy with reference to slavery Among those on the platform were the Lord Pro vost, Sir James Forrest, Sir John Melville, Rev Dr. Candlish, Rev. Dr. Guthrie, Rev. Dr. Alexaner, Rev. Mr. Cullen, Rev. Jonathan Weston, Rev. Mr. Graham of Newhaven, Rev. Mr. Pulsford, Dr. ireville, Dr. Russell, Mr. J. F. Macfarlan, Mr. H. ). Dickie, Councillor Fyfe, Mr. Cruickshank, Mr Burn Murdoch, Jr., Dr. Snody, &c., &c. Cn the motion of Sir John Melville, the Lord Provost was called to the chair. The meeting having been opened with prayer by Mr. Pulsford, The Lord Provost briefly stated the object of the

very usual character in Edinburgh. They were called together to express sympathy with a Chris-tian minister in very peculiar circumstances; a man was entitled to the sympathy of all Christian and contributions from individuals and from Churche well-thinking men in this country. (Applause.) would be freely given in behalf of the cause which After remarking that it was by no means uncom-

becoming a monomaniae, mistaking his own America, which vaunted so loudly of their freedom, conscientiousness for a call unto him from Heaven. civil, political and religious, there should not only
I have now a word to say in relation to myself. be a toleration of the abominable system of slavery, t is known that I was formerly associated with John but that, when Christian men opened their mouths

**然而思乐是,** 

Dr. Candlish, who was received with loud cheers, then addressed the meeting.

For the speech of Rev. Dr. Candlish, see the Liberator of last week.] After speeches by Rov. Jona-

Dr. Guthrie, in seconding the motion, said that,

late as was the hour, he could not help saying that

slavery to be the sum of all villanies; I believe it to be the origin of the worst evils that afflict hu-manity (cheers); and I entirely agree with that old Englishman, Dr. Johnson, when he proposed as one of his toasts-and although I am not in the habit of drinking toasts (laughter), I would be disposed to give this one, premising it by saying under circumstances that promise success, 'The next insur-rection of the slaves!' (Loud cheers.) I hold that by the honor which I render to Sir William Wallace, to William Tell, to the men who broke Upon returning from Europe, I passed into the Stuart yoke—by the honor which I render to Southern States, for the purpose of investigating the our Covenanting fathers, who took to the field of which, the faculties and resources of my being have to render honor to the slaves themselves, if they can been so taxed and strained. I have my own thoughts, work out and light out their freedom in America. (Cheers.) No man under God's heaven has a right chance that, in the end, it will appear I have not to sell me, my wife, or my children; and I say, that been as unmindful of my duties to humanity as have if a man seizes my wife or my children to sell them, I hold myself justified in using any arms which God may have given me, to resist him to the very I premise what I have said by observing, have learned. This, namely: that while the North that the rising against slavery is a matter of pradence and of Christian judgment, and that it should not be done if the end of it is only to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slave; but, if there is a fair prospect of the slaves asserting and making good their freedom, they are as much entitled to A LETTER FROM THE WIDOW OF JOHN rise against slavery and to resist it, as are the Italians to resist the Pope of Rome. (Cheers.) I won't blink that question. I would so act, if I Size: Through the columns of the Tribune, I wish fold of John Brown, and stand before my God on the judgment day, than stand in the place of those ministers of the gospel who put the lock of silence on their lips, in regard to this matter, in their pulpits. (Chears.) I have been often asked to go to bodies (the wives) he burned to ashes to escape de-dection. Now, permit me to say to whom it may fore. I have the highest opinion of the United concern, that it is not at all strange to me that Pro- States of America. I think that the people of Slavery men should rack their inventive genius, fired by frenzy, even to the last extreme and desperation, to fabricate and set affect false statements to prevent a sale of the memoirs of the life of one and that they would break the chains of the slave. whose influence, with that of others, in the scale of Lthink, if that were done, it would be a happy day False witnesses appeared against the great Saviour God shut them up within their territories—may He with their Protestant truth and liberty; but may of men, both before and after his death; and is it never allow them to set a foot southward or northnot enough for the servant if he can fare as well as ward of the continent which they occupy, if they his Master did? The public may rest assured that are to carry with them the accursed system of Mr. Brown never committed the murders and the slavery. (Cheers.) I have been, as I told you, to ashes, asked to go to America; and I will tell you the which are so muliciously alleged against him; nor reason, plainly and publicly, why I will not go. If ever confessed any such thing. Neither do the read- I went, I could not keep my temper (laughter)ng, thinking, liberty-loving part of community be- and I might have to meet the fate of John Brown, se that such reports have even the shadow of a for anything I know. I could not go and see a midation. The spirit and tenor of his letters, his fellow-creature-a little child or a woman-set up eghes, and his deportment, read by the civilized to auction to be sold, perhaps with a horse or wheelbarrow; it would stir my blood, and I could not hold my tongue. I could not stand the sight of such things in the South; and there are things also in the North which I could not stand. I could not go into one of their pulpits, and see a large sea of white faces, and then behold some poor negro, in whose beaming eye, in the tears rolling down whose cheeks I see a loving heart towards my Lord and Saviour, and who, perhaps, is a believer passing any in that house—I could not see that man standing in a corner, and professing Christians refusing to sit down with him at the Lord's table the man who, perhaps, will go into the kingdom of m all-these are things which heaven in front of the I could not stand. Neither could I stand this in a railway carriage-a poor woman, whose misfortune misfortune-to be black, and who positively, that he was not a participator in the hecause she is black, is turned out of that carriage and dares not set foot amongst her white-footed and proud oppressors. These things I could not stand and, therefore, I have never gone to America. They may think there is little loss in that (laughter); but I never will, till they abolish slavery. (Loud cheers.) I love the Americans. In the months of the demon of Slavery that there was as much room August and September, I see the clergy of every denomination, and men of every profession. I throw open my doors to them, and I am never happier to see any than Americans; but I make it a moral duty, when they are breakfasting with me, to dose them on the subject of slavery. (Loud laughter.) And it has always seemed to me that, the moment

I touch upon that subject, it is like getting near a man or woman with corny toes. (Roars of laugh-Dr. Guthrie then briefly noticed the remarkable progress made by the United States since its comencement sixty or seventy years ago; referred to its noble school system, its churches and its missionaries; and said, that it was his prayer that God in his providence might lead that great people to break the yoke of their slaves. The existence of slavery had led many to doubt the work of the revival in the United States; and the Churches of America were at this moment upon their trial be-fore the world. He then stated that his Kirk Session, and that of Dr. Candish, had resolved to have collections in behalf of Dr. Cheever; and he hoped that the other ministers and congregations of Edinburgh would adopt the same course, and thus let the Americans see they were in earnest on this

matter. The resolution was then unanimously agreed to. The Rev. Wm. Reid proposed the next resolution The Lord Provost briefly stated the object of the to the effect that the present appeal in behalf of meeting, which, he was happy to say, was not of a Dr. Cheever afforded a seasonable opportunity for opportunity for bearing an emphatic practical testimony against American slavery, as well as for expressing sympa-thy with those who, on Christian grounds, dewell known to the people of this country by his nounced it, and suffer loss for so doing; and that writings and by his admirable illustrations, he believed the best of all others, of John Bunyan, and one who at the present time needed all our sympators who at the present time needed all our sympators work, to show the testimony which the and encouragement. He therefore to be promptly and liberally met. thy and encouragement. He thought there was he bore against slavery, and the state of the Ameri-sufficient in the information which had been received to warrant him in saying Dr. Cheever, by saying that he trusted that, not only in this city his manly and admirable denunciations of slavery, but throughout the length and breadth of Scotland

NEW PHASE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Every fever has its crisis. The moral fevers of the world are no exceptions to the rule. The fevers of crime, of panic, of corruption, of enthusiasm, of persecution, all pass through that culminating stage which is to determine whether death or recovery shall be the result. In America, the fever of wickedness appears to be at its height, nay, sometimes we are tempted to think that the fever has passed its height, and that the work of decay has already begun. It is a new thing in the world's history, that a company of civilized men, of nom-inal Christians, should meet for the purposes of legislation with arms in their hands, and not unfrequently garnish their discussions with threats, or even with deeds, of personal violence. It is a new thing in the history of civilization, that the citizens of a free country, not content with subjecting a foreign race to all the horrors of slavery, should torture with fiendish cruelty everybody suspected, on the slightest grounds, of disapproving the sys-tem, or deprecating the evils which it has brought themselves. It is a new thing since the days of the French Revolution, that magistrates should act as the mere creatures of the mob, and illegally imprison unoffending persons for the expression of an opinion. It is a new thing, since the days of Pontius Pilate, that they should hand over their dered, by a frantic rabble thirsting for blood, be-cause their sins were reproved. But the atrocities ommitted by the citizens of Carolina sink into nothing, compared with the monstrous proposition made in cool blood by some citizens of Maryland.

Of these negroes many were born free, others have obtained their freedom with a great sum, others have been set free by the gratitude or scruples of their former masters. But some citizens of Maryland find this freedom a great eyesore. The unity of their State is destroyed, and the peace t their minds grievously disturbed. A free negro is as hateful in their sight as Mordecai was in the eyes of Haman, and probably for much the same eason. If Mordecai had been Haman's humble servant, had done all that Haman wished, had never stood in Haman's way, he would not have run so great a risk of the gallows. If the free negroes would only be slaves of the whites-if they would do work just at the bidding and will of the whites -if they would never compete with the whites for labor, or stand in the way of their getting a good ob, their presence might be passed over with digice. They need not be touched or thought about, but, at all events, might live under the shield of contempt in tolerable safety. It seems, however, that like all despised races, kept down by the force of public opinion and by the enactments of State laws, they have many of the vices which free people naturally dislike. Their habits are often vagrant; they take day work, instead of hiring themselves as laborers for a year; they are often dishonest, slovenly, idle. Many of them get into jail, and many more deserve the same lot. such, at least, are the allegations of the citizens of Maryland, whose petition we print in to-day's columns; and though, of course, they have tried to make matters as bad as possible, we may fairly beieve that the statements contain a great deal of truth. The truth, however, is a matter of but litle importance; for, as in the celebrated precedent wolf and the lamb, they are quite prepared with another charge in case this fails. If the free negroes don't work, their idleness calls for the State interference; if the free negroes do work, their competition with the white workmen calls for the State interference. In either case, therefore, the citizens of Maryland are provided with an unanswerable charge against the free negroes. The power of the State must be called in; for, as the Government was, instituted for the benefit of the white man, and as he has to sustain its burdens by axation, and defend its safety by his own life, it is is legitimate and exclusive right to have all the enefits it affords; 'and, therefore, 'to allow the ree negro to compete with the white citizen in the ndustrial pursuits of life, is gross injustice on the part of the State.' The legitimate conclusion from hese arguments is, that ' slavery and free negroism cannot much longer exist side by side; ' and the practical result is, that these citizens pray the hon-orable and general Assembly of Maryland 'to pass aws enslaving the free negroes for life to the citiens' of that State.

How many citizens of Maryland may be so utterly possessed with the slavery madness as to put their names to this hideous proposition, time only will show. We trust, indeed, that very shame will withhold those who are not kept back by higher motives, from handing their names down to perpetual infamy by affixing them to such a document But what must we say to the moral feeling of a State in which such a petition could even be gravely suggested? If anybody in this country were to propose enslaving all working men who had not had regular employment for a year at a time from one master; if he were to propose that henceforth they should never be listened to as witnesses in a Court of Justice, they should be placed under the absolute dominion of a master who might flog them nearly to death, might work them quite to death, might separate them from their wives and children, might sell the whole family into different parts of the country, might treat them as oxen or horses, or any other possession; if anybody were to propose this, or a tithe of this, in our 'aristocratic' country, what man would believe him sane? He would treated as the most hopeless lunatic. His proposition would seem so utterly wild, that fear of its consequences would be the last feeling we should entertain. Pity for the unfortunate man who proposed it, would be our only sentiment upon the subject. Yet here is a proposal equally monstrous, capable of no better defence than could be set up in the case we have supposed, not only made openly and unblushingly, but going about the State seeking for supporters, and having, we may suppose, in the eyes of the originators, a fair prospect of success At all events, the idea is not too wild to be broached it accords sufficiently with the public temper to make it valuable as a hint. It will not be driven with hisses off the stage, even if it does not 'cal' down the house,' and obtain a decided run of success. Such a state of feeling is a sign of the times which cannot be neglected. It indicates an eclipse of every feeling of right, of every sentiment of hu-manity. It shows that passion has at present got the better of everything noble, generous, or even reasonable, in the breast of the Southern Americans.

The slavery question has turned them from men into fiends. If this state of things is to continue long,

every claim to respect which could be derived from resistance to crime and advocacy of freedom, or a

either the North must ignominiously surrend

practice; and thus, by his very self-denial, his becoming the resolution, said the nevolence, his moral courage, he was precipitated upon the deed which brought him to the scaffold. Seized by this principle of liberty, he proceeded, as he thought, to carry it out; never stopping to think how it was limited and restrained on all sides by tions, it has rendered labor a badge of infamy, it has converted their citizens into buccaneers and pirates, it has driven them to wholesale spoliation and breaches of public faith; and now it threatens to sunder their Union and destroy their existence as great nation. Truly, they have already paid a dear price even for such a crime as that of slavery.

But the end is not yet.'—Leeds (Eng.) Mercury.

#### SPURGEON ON SLAVERY.

From the Boston Christian Watchman and Reflector. Mr. Spurgeon, as will appear from the following letter, cannot be silent under the imputation of suppressing his views on slavery, to gain favor with Southern readers. No one, who knew him, could suspect him of such moral cowardice. He does not believe the policy of the Tract Society to be manly or Christian, and gives utterance to his opinions in language not to be mistaken. Like Englishmen, in general, he loathes the system of slavery, and seems to make no allowance even for those masters who would emancipate their slaves, if Providence opened the way for such a movement. Dr. Guthrie has recently expressed similar opinions in a speech at Edinburgh. American Christians, with a breader comprehension of the subject, have more charity, and while loathing the system, regard differently from Mr. Spurgeon, some of the masters who are its born victims. Mr. Spurgeon will probably rennocent prisoners to be tortured, and nearly murs ceive from his publishers a volume of sermons from an eminent Southern divine, and as he reads its pages, he will confess instinctively that the preacher has felt the power of the cross. We may abhor the sin, and yet exercise due charity for those who are involved in it-especially when the circumstances of The population of this State consists of about the relation are not of their own creating, nor sub-700,000 persons, of whom 500,000 are whites, ject to their control. It is well known that such 100,000 slaves, and nearly another 100,000 free necesses are numerous. cases are numerous.

Eds. Christian Watchman and Reflector:

I have always considered it to be my duty to deal with those sins which I perceived to be most ram-pant among my hearers. We miss the mark when we preach of absent individuals. It is very easy to talk about the brutality of the uneducated when addressing my lord and my lady, but I prefer to tell these gentry their own sins, and not to flatter them by comparing them with others. This rule has brought me at divers times into no little trouble, which I have very cheerfully endured, and have re-joiced therein. But now a new outcry is raised in your land, and I am charged, not with being too severe with Brother Jonathan, but with letting him off too easily. Having no slaveholders in England, I should have been beating the air if I had preached against slavery to my people, for this is the very last crime they are likely to commit. It is far more probable that any slaveholder who should show himself in our neighborhood would get a mark which he would carry to his grave, if it did not carry him

I do, from my inmost soul, detest slavery anywhere and everywhere, and although I commune at the Lord's table with men of all creeds, yet with a slaveholder I have no fellowship of any sort or kind. Whenever one has called upon me. I have considered it my duty to express my detestation of his wickedness, and would as soon think of receiving a murderer into my church, or into any sort of friendship, as a man-stealer. Nevertheless, as I have preached in London and not in New York, I have very seldom made any allusion to American slavery in my ser-This accounts for the rumor that I have left out the anti-slavery from my American edition of sermons. This is not true in any measure, for, as far as my memory serves me, I cannot remember that the subject was handled at all in any of my printed sermons beyond a passing allusion, and I ave never altered a single sentence in a sermon which has been sent out to my American publishers beyond the mere correction which involved words not sense. However, if any think me capable of such double-dealing, I doubt not that they judge of me by themselves, and from such persons esteem is I have this much to say to all who respect me in America: I did not want to be blaming you constantly, while there are sins enough in my own country, but I shall not spare your nation in future. shall remember that my voice echoes beyond the Atlantic, and the crying sin of a man-stealing peo-ple shall not go unrebuked. I did not know that I had been so fully adopted a citizen of your republic,

selves, I will speak out quite severely enough, and perhaps more sharply than will meet with appro-I have not been altogether silent upon the subject, for I have spoken burning words when the matter has been on hand; but as this has usually matter has been on hand; but as this has usually been upon the platform, and not from the pulpit, these utterances have not reached the press. I must see that there are some such things in the sermons, if not in England, at least in America. Messrs, Shellon & Co. are ready to publish anything I may have to say on the matter, and I shall also avail myself

but finding that you allow me to be one of your-

of the Watchman and Reflector.

Finally, let me add, John Brown is immortal in the memories of the good in England, and in my heart he lives. I am yours most truly, C. H. SPURGEON.

Clapham, London, Jan., 1860.

DISABILITIES OF AMERICAN PERSONS OF COLOR.

The following is the correspondence which took place between Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, and Miss Sarah P. Remond : ' No. 6 GRENVILLE STREET, BRUNSWICK SQUARE, W. C., Dec. 12, 1859.

'SIR: I beg to inform you that, a short time ince, I went to the office of the American Embassy, to have my passport vised for France.
'I should remark, that my passport 'I should remark, that my passport is an American one, granted to me in the United States, and signed by the Minister in due form. It states-what

is the fact-that I am a citizen of the United States I was born in Massachusetts. Upon my asking to have my passport vised at the American Embassy, the person in the office re-fused to affix the vise, on the ground that I am a

person of color.
Being a citizen of the United States, I respectfully demand as my right that my passport be vised by the Minister of my country.

As I am desirous of starting for the Continent,

I must request an answer at your earliest conven-ience. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, 'SARAH P. REMOND. The Hon. - DALLAS, American Minister, No. 24 Portland Place.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, LONDON, Dec. 14, 1859. MISS SARAH P. REMOND: I am directed by the

of Europe; but when the indispensible qualification for an American passport, that of "United States citdoes not exist-when, indeed, it is manifestly an impossibility by law that it should exist— a just sense of his official obligations, under instructions received from his Government as long ago as the 8th of July, 1856, and since then strictly conformed to, constrains him to say that the demand of Miss Sarah P. Remond cannot be complied with. 'Respectfully, your obedient servant, 'BENJM. MORAN,

"Assistant Secretary of Legation."

Sin: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt f your letter of yesterday's date.

The purport of your communication is most extraordinary. You now lay down the rule that per-sons free-born in the United States, and who have You now lay down the rule that perbeen subjected all their lives to the taxation and other burdens imposed upon American citizens, are to be deprived of their rights as such, merely because their complexions happen to be dark, and that they are to be refused the aid of Ministers of their country, whose salaries they contribute to pay. · I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

'SARAH P. REMOND.'

' PASSPORT. I, the undersigned Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern, to permit safely and freely to pass Sarah P. Remond, a citizen of the United States, and in case of need to give her all lawful aid

Given under my hand, and the impression of my seal of the Department of State at the City of Washington, the 10th day of September, 1859. in the 83d year of the Independence of these United States. LEWIS CASS. Department of State.'

THE POLICY OF COERCION.

Week before last, the Charleston Mercury gaetted the firm of Claffin, Mellen & Co., New York,

as Beecher abolitionists, and especially unworthy of Southern patronage. It has since been furnished with the names of such retail merchants in Charleston as trade almost exclusively with the unfriendly firm, and the names of such firms as never trade with them; and it is 'surprised to find how few are in the latter category.' The charge against the firm is, that they all attend Beecher's Church, in Brookvn. and one of them has subscribed \$6000 towards the new Pilgrim Church. It seems that Charleston merchants will not be allowed to trade with them any more, however. The edict has gone for . The Mercury says :

'We are pleased to announce that a card is suggested in King Street, which shall pledge its signers not to contribute towards the prosperity of such open and manifest enemies, by purchasing supplies at their speak out.

We doubt whether Boston merchants would submit to such espionage and dictation in their business as the Mercury assumes, even if there was a paper here base enough to enter upon the dirty

This system of coercion and insolent bullving on the part of Southern politicians is no new thing. It has been repeatedly resorted to, not only to manufacture pro-slavery men at the North, but for other political objects. The game of coercion, by which Southern politi-

cians have to some extent heretofore controlled the political affairs of the North, is about played out. t has been overacted. There may be some few traders here who now crouch like whipped spaniels at the threats of the pro-slavery Democratic presses. but there is a feeling of manliness and independence among the great majority of our people which has been thoroughly aroused. The arrogant bluster of these politicians, and their reckless and disorganizing attempts in Congress to intimidate the North, are doing more to strengthen the Republican party than was accomplished even by the aggression Kansas. The Democratic music of the Presidential campaign has been set to too high a key, and is too liscordant to entice new recruits, and it is driving off in disgust some of their tried soldiers.

THE 'IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT' A TWO-EDGED Sword. The South is laying about with its anti-abolition weapons with such blind fury that friends as well as foes are struck down. An incident illustrative of this recently occurred at Columbus, Miss. The agent of a northern mercantile house visiting the city was suspected of being an abolitionist in disguise, and having left town for a day or two, Mr. James Blair searched his trunk for proof of his treasonable character. He found on opening the trunk a copy of a letter to a friend, which commenced by saying that it was 'all right with him and the Brown family;' then Mr. Blair's excitement was reported to have been very great, and he threw down the letter, confident that he had detected trea-

A bystander picked up the letter, and upon a furher perusal discovered that the 'Brown family in question was not that of Osawatomic, but was the family of old Mr. and Mrs. Brown, who had a certain daughter that had captivated the unfortunate drummer; then followed an overhauling of the correspondence of the unfortunate swain, which resulted in some very interesting developments in the way of soft sentiments. At this juncture of affairs, Dr. Shepherd came up and pronounced the procedure an outrage; Mr. Blair replied with a curse, saying that if he took sides with the northern igents, he was no better than one of them. Shepherd then told him that he would have to answer for his remarks, or something to that effect, and arming himself with a walking-stick, for a day or two was on the watch for Blair to show himself in the streets. That individual, however, kept out of the way until the second night after the words were passed, when they met, and Shepherd commenced aning Blair, whereupon Blair drew a pistol, and shot him three times, Shepherd continuing to cane him until he fell dead. Thus was the Doctor's life sacrificed to a blind rage against abolitionists. Dr. Shepherd formerly resided in Texas, and held the position of Secretary of the Navy under Gen. Houston, in the time of the Texan Republic. He was the special friend of Commodore Moore of the Texan Navy.

ANOTHER MECHANIC DRIVEN FROM THE SOUTH .-Mr. Perley Seaver, of Oxford, a year ago last May, went to South Carolina to superintend a steam saw mill, his employer also being an Oxford man. By industry and economy, he accumulated sufficient funds to purchase a house, and he thought himself settled for life. Mr. Seaver, says the Worcester Transcript, was a quiet, religious man, and as there was no preaching or other religious exercises in the place, he was wont to call his neighbors together on

EXCITEMENT AT ABBEVILLE, MISS. The Oxford Mercury of Thursday, 24th, says :

Considerable excitement was produced in our neighboring town of Abbeville, last Sunday and Monday, by a gang of ten peddlers. Some stories represent them to us as having been Irish or Germat, and others that they were Abolitionists, en deavoring to stir up an insurrection. The neighborhood became greatly alarmed when they appear ed, as so many of that kind of traders do not travel together. They were, the whole ten, arrested on Monday, and taken to Abbeville and examined, but no proof was elicited against them, except that several were operating without license. They were ordered to leave the State within a given time.

The Norristown (Pa.) Republican says :-Christian Stout, a good Democrat, long a resident of Upper Dublin, and for a year or two of Plymouth township, removed to Maryland a few years ago twork a farm for Wm. Earnest, Hon. John McNair and others, and has resided there ever since. About two weeks ago, he appeared amongst us again, and informed us that he was a fugitive from his home. He says that a short time after the opening of Congress, and the introduction of Clark's resolution, a wealthy Englishman, his neighbor, handed him Helper's book to read. He read it, and then seeing his neighbor, he told him that he was done with it, and desired him to take it; but he said, "No, never mind giving it to me, hand it to one of your neigh He did so, and shortly afterwards the Englishman was arrested, as were some others. He was then informed that the slaveholders had sixty-two names on their paper of persons who were to be ar-rested for circulating Helper's book, uttering abolition sentiments, and sympathizing with Brown. As his name was among the proscribed, he suddenly left The Englishman was bailed in the sum of \$2,500, and immediately left for New York, intending to forfeit the bail, and abandon the State. Before Stout left he consulted a lawyer, who told him that although they might perhaps not convict him, they would probably keep him in jail a year or two, and put him to much cost, so he conciuded he had better leave. He is now waiting the result of the trial of others.'

A young man named Baker, formerly an organist and daguerreotypist at Rome, New York, and son of Rev. Mr. Baker, of Utica, was lately driven from Augusta, Georgia, by aslave Holding mob. Mr. Baker went to Augusta to take the position of organist in an Episcopal church, and had played but one Sabbath when he was warned to leave, or submit to a coat of tar and feathers.

THE APPEAL OF ONE IN BONDS. The Rev. Daniel Worth writes from Greensboro' Prison, N. C., that he is held to answer in two counties in that State on a charge of circulating Helper's Book, and he asks all persons wishing to write to him to abstain from allusions to slavery, and all else which can excite the South, as his letters undergo a close scrutiny, and all inflammatory matter will greatly prejudice him. He adds:—'Lines of Christian condolence and sympathy gladly received, and the prayers of all Christians earnestly solicited.'

MR. ANDREW BEFORE THE HARPER'S FER-RY COMMITTEE.

John A. Andrew, Esq., of Boston, seems to have given the Harper's Ferry Investigating Committee the benefit of his views in a plain and unreserved man-ner, which we trust was satisfactory to his questioners. We take the following from the N. Y. Tribune's

· John A. Andrew, of Boston, also appeared before the Committee. He was summoned because the Committee had learned through Mr. Chilton of this city, that he had been retained as counsel for the defence of John Brown, through Mr. Andrew. The Committee desired to know from what source funds were derived, what interest he represented, and what motives influenced his intervention. Mr. Andrew stated, that when intelligence reached Boston that John Brown had been urged to trial without time for preparation, without opportunity of being reached by his friends, and have his case properly examined, and while prostrated on his bed, and unable to sit up and instruct counsel, if he had any, the whole proceeding met, as a judicial outrage—certainly without any parallel in the history of Massachusetts. He sup-posed Virginia was strong enough to conduct such a case with justice and propriety, and without being exsited by unfounded apprehension. He confessed, tan, sympathy for a man whom he believed the victim idea, and whose misfortune had probably been presipitated by what his family and friends had seen He had entertained a good opinion of him as a hen're and conscientious defender of the Free State wase, which he considered the cause of liberty and good government, in which all free settlers of Kansas, whether from North or South, had a common inserest. In consequence of his own reflections, and the suggestions of others representing all shades of opinion, and as there we see time to lose, he assumed the responsibility of engaging Southern counsel in gton and Richmond, whose business it should be to secure John Brown the fullest and fairest trial of which the circumstances would admit. He ac cordingly guarantied and paid \$1300 in fees, of which Mr. Chilton of Washington received one thousand, and Mr. Green of Richmond three hundred dollars. This money was refunded by the voluntary contributions of various gentlemen, when they became inof his interference, and who approved its purpose and accomplishment. Many contributed who were less anti-slavery than himself, but who thought the excitement would be quieted by a proper defence. concealment was observed or desired, in the whole

The Committee inquired Mr. Andrew's opinion concerning John Brown's conduct in Kansas, and the transactions attributed to him, particularly horsestealing, and the Potawatomie homicides. Mr. Andrew answered, he had always understood that in the conflicts between the Free and Slave State parties, the horses were regarded as the spoils of war, and he was not aware that Brown formed any exception. He had no belief, from information which had reached him, that Brown was present at the Potawatomic homicides; but he had long since heard that Brown and many other people were convinced that the Potawatomic affair was one of imperative necessity, as a

sas, he could not speak of personal knowledge.

The Committee inquired if Mr. Andrew would have felt a sympathy for Brown on account of his services to the Free State cause, if he had known that Brown went to Kansus to train himself and others, and organize a settled plan of violence to invade the slave States. Mr. Andrew replied, certainly not. His convictions were anti-slavery, but he was opposed to their propagation by violence and arms. Reason and intelligence were the only weapons he desired to em-As a Republican, he felt great cause to complain of the Harper's Ferry affair as most unfortunate and unjustifiable, from any point of view in which he could regard it. But, since his opinions were asked, he would give them frankly. Intending no disrespect to anybody, he considered John Brown and Harper's Ferry as the fruit native to the tree which the slave power had planted; that in view of the aggressions upon Free State men in the Territories, organized in the slave States, and approved by leading Southern men, and the sufferings and disasters to those settlers which flowed therefrom, he did not think it remarka-ble that a few men should have been educated thereby up to the point of armed retaliation. However much transaction was to be condemned or deployed, it was not comparable, in point of public danger, to the assault made upon a Senator of Massachusetts on the very floor of the Senate, and for no other reason than nest discharge of his duty and a fearless expres sion of his opinions, which was generally applau throughout the South. That was a direct and deadly blow aimed at civil liberty and representative government in America. Among other facts, Mr. Audrew stated that he had never seen Brown but once, and that accidentally. That while he impressed him as a man of decided character, he then believed his mind was strangely disturbed; and in writing here to Judge Blair to provide counsel for his defence, he had expressed the opinion that evidence of his insanity could be procured from Boston to Kansas, which was afterward literally verified. After answering these and other questions, Mr. Andrew desired to his protest against this assumption of undelegated

# The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, FEBRUARY 17, 1860.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

In the Tremont Temple, Boston, Jan. 27, 1860. Mr. CHAIRMAN-I hardly know what to say, in addition to the resolves which I have submitted to the illustration and enforcement of the propositions therein wise brutally outraged, and driven out from that sec-

truthfulness. in regard to the removal of our lamented friend, are Northern teachers-what business have they to CHARLES P. HOVEY, I think I observed that every teach in a slaveholding State? They are engaged in ing the fiery trials through which they have been looked for, none ever attempted. The submission to course of nature, they must be summoned, ere long, and cowering slaves on the plantation! to their eternal home; and so, one by one, they are But suppose the tables were turned; suppose there dropping off-though we will thank God that the existed here a little of the spirit of '76, such as our new recruits are outnumbering those who are called fathers manifested in their treatment of the tories at

than before. The last year has been the most remarkable in the faithful and long-tried Treasurer, SAMUEL PHILBRICK; think 'our glorious Union' would hold together we have lost him to whom I have just alluded-our How many victims would be subjected to Northern generous associate, Charles F. Hover; we have lost Lynch law, before the South would bring this matter our venerated friend, EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, who to a head? And yet, there are scores of Northern was as early in the field as it was possible for any men so treated at the South,-not one of them an man to be, after the first sounding of the Anti-Sla- Abolitionist, or in sympathy with their movement,very trumpet; and now, while we are in session, the and the intelligence excites no popular indignation sad tidings come to us that our dear, faithful, early, among us, and scarcely elicits a comment from the loving coadjutor, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, is no more! press. In one half of the country, there is, practi-The blow has come so suddenly that I have no words | cally, no Constitution or Union now; there, all constito express the feelings of my heart in view of the tutional rights are ruthlessly violated in the persons event. I am reminded by it of the glorious spirit of of those who believe in the Declaration of Indepenher martyr-companion, the widely lamented Professor dence and the Golden Rule; there, a bloody usurpa-CHARLES FOLLEN. I remember who and what he tion holds undisputed sway. Go to the South, ye tyrant. I remember his early support to this unpop- served '-who are ready to fulfil all the pro-slavery his reputation, his position at Harvard, and almost you dare, and, taking the Union, the Constitution, everything that men usually regard as worth having, and the star-spangled banner along with you, in vin-It is praise enough to say that he was as true here, dication of your citizenship, proclaim your hostility to based upon principle, and proof against every tempta- again! (Laughter and applause.) tion and trial. For, alas! of the great mass of those dom there, in their own behalf, nearly every one of widely we may differ in sentiment from each other, if

count rank in this country, and most respectably Republican party !- knowing, as it does, that, at the tenance or support in her anti-slavery efforts in that preference at the South for Mr. Fremont, without direction. But she did not count anything dear to being outraged in his person, and compelled to flee to her, in comparison with that beneficent cause to which the North to save his life-yet still shouting, 'Our she gave her fine endowments, her literary talents, and | glorious Union forever! Was ever fatuity like this? her philanthropic labors, with a never-tiring zeal. What do you expect, Republicans, in regard to the Hers was, indeed, a world-embracing, Christ-like coming Presidential election? Are you going to exspirit. I never looked into a human face where I ercise your constitutional rights at the South? When saw more of divine love and benevolence than in that the campaign shall be fairly open, the Democratic of hers. She did not need any translation to be- gatherings at the North will be addressed by such come an angel, for she was an angel here.

for whatever Slavery must inevitably and necessarily system. They will spit their contempt upon the Reand supremacy. We want not merely intelligence, and denounce free society and free institutions genbut a heart. Abolitionism does not mean any holiday erally; and they will do it, not only without personal recreation-absence of the cross-something that will danger, but with all possible impunity. Well, ye lead on to fame and popularity, to office and power: Union-loving Republicans, will Mr. Seward go to but it means self-sacrifice-opposition to a corrupt Virginia, Mr. Sumner to Carolina, Mr. Wilson to public opinion-a willingness to bear the cross as Georgia, Mr. Hale to Alabama, Mr. Fessenden to Jesus himself bore it the most entire faith in the Louisiana, Mr. Wade to Florida, Mr. Sherman to overruling wisdom and goodness of God, and the cer- Mississippi,-will anybody, conspicuous in the ranks sainty that, in due time, the right will triumph, and of the Republican party, volunteer to go to the South, the wrong be put down. And how many have we and there advocate the election of the Republican of that stamp? On the right hand and on the left, candidate for the Presidency? Why, to ask the there is any amount of Anti-Slavery profession; but question is to answer it. Nothing of the kind is how much Anti-Slavery consistency of conduct? I even dreamed of! All constitutional freedom is ansee but very few who are disposed to carry out what nihilated at the South, and the right of free speech is demanded by the exigencies of the times, and the in all parts of the country is to be exercised only by principles to which they have given their subscription. 'the lords of the lash' and their servile Democratic What do you expect of a Christian in an idolatrous country? That he will stand up, as Paul did, and say, 'I glory in the cross of Christ.' But what if you see him compromising with those who are bowing down to stocks and stones-allowing Christianity to the approaching campaign, as there was none at the tianity, in the midst of idols, you would say, is not a Christian. Of course he is not : the moment he undertakes to join hands with idelators, to any extent, he a Christian. So, any man who says he is on the side of liberty, and then strikes hands with slaveholders, whether in the State or in the Church,-does it thereby hopes to promote his own ends, -is he not a hypocrite?

things as they are, if we will let the Spirit of Truth rious Union,' forsooth, in one half of which they anoint our eyes, and purge our vision. The Aboli- dare not say their souls are their own, and will surely tionists are simply carrying out their own heaven- be lynched if they shall venture to make the atattested principles, and, in so doing, they have won for themselves the hatred of the tyrants, and the blessings of the oppressed. A pro-slavery Church trembles at their approach, and a blood-stained State behave in this truckling manner; and I do not think is uneasy in their presence; for they cannot be put down, nor turned back by any device.

Let no man talk about the day of moral power being over, nor say that, henceforth, the work to be done must be after the manner of John Brown at that tragedy has wrought any great moral change in the sentiments of the people. What if John Brown had fired his gun twenty years ago? It would have been the judgment of the nation, generally, that he and admiration now so widely felt for him prove how marvellous has been the change effected in public opinion during thirty years of moral agitation,-a change so great, indeed, that whereas, ten years since, there were thousands who could not endure my lightest word of rebuke of the South, they can now easily swallow John Brown whole, and his rifle into the bargain. (Laughter and applause.) In firing his gun, he has merely told us what time of day it is. It is high noon, thank God! (Renewed applause.)

What compromise shall we enter into, and with whom? Liberty is not to be compromised. The slaveholders are for maintaining slavery intact : they are consistent. They are for sacrificing whatever stands in the way of their slave system : they are consistent. They boldly call for the suppression of free the people to assemble to discuss the subject of slavery: they are consistent. In whatever they do, and in whatever they say, in support of slavery, they are would stand by this Government, if it should turn

Now, what we want on our side of the line is, jus that uncompromising spirit on behalf of Liberty. Whatever stands in the way of this sacred cause, put it down. If it is a party, let the party be abandoned; if it is the Church, let the Church be anathematized; if it is the Government, let the Government be repudiated. Let us, at least, have Liberty to begin with, and we will achieve everything worth having, afterward, with Liberty. (Applause.)

But where are our natural, inalienable, constitu TIONAL rights? What protection of them in any portion of the South, where the 'reign of terror' is in Society, from time to time. They constitute my abo- full operation? It is a matter of daily occurrence for litionism; and though I might multiply words in Northern citizens to be tarred and feathered, or otherset forth, I could add nothing at all to their manifest tion of our common country, under the pressure of Lynch law, without any proof or imputation of crime. Let me make a passing reference to our general be- It is enough that they are from the North, and susreavement. At the last New England Convention, in pected of preferring Liberty to Slavery-what business the course of some remarks which fell from my lips have they south of Mason and Dixon's line? They such gathering as this is, in the nature of things, a trade and other laudable pursuits—it is not for them farewell meeting to some of us. The early and tried to expect either protection or toleration! And for Abolitionists have been wonderfully preserved, dur- such atrocities there is no remedy; at least, none is called to pass, for thirty years. But now, in the them is as absolute as that exacted of the scourged

hence, and we are therefore stronger, numerically, that time, and we should catch, and tar and feather, every slaveholder coming into this Commonwealth, by way of retaliation, and to show our jealous appreciaweight of these bereavements. We have lost our tion of the sacred cause of freedom-how long do you was, -- an exile from his own native land to ours, be- Republicans, who are 'no abolitionists' -- who vocifcause he was not willing to submit to the rod of the erously insist that the Union must and shall be preular enterprise, which cost him, for the time being, compromises of the Constitution-go to the South, if on American Soil, to those in bondage, as he was true the further extension of slavery! A long farewell to in his own land to the cause of his own countrymen. you, if you go! Be sure and make your wills before He was a rare instance of a universal love of liberty, leaving, for you will in all probability never come back

Do I exaggerate? Is there any justice, any personal who come over to us from the Old World, who have security at the South for Northern freemen, unwilling been in some measure faithful to the cause of free- to wear a padlock upon their lips? No. However them has proved traitorous to the cause of struggling | we do not recognize slavery as an institution too sacred humanity here, about as soon as he has touched our to be assailed or circumscribed, we are all equally doomed the moment we step over the Southern bor-Mrs. Follen was of a spirit kindred to that of her der. O, was there ever a party so lacking in self-reheroic husband. She was of high social rank, as we spect, true courage, and moral consistency, as the connected here in Boston, though she had no coun- last Presidential election, no man could express his men as Senator Mason, Senator Toombs, and Gov. Turning to the subject, for the consideration of Wise, who, whether standing upon Plymouth Rock, which we are here assembled, it seems to me that all or in Fancuil Hall, or on Bunker Hill, will not hesiof us need to understand, thoroughly, what Slavery tate to preach absolute loyalty to the Slave Power, and is, in its spirit, in its claims, in its purposes; that, cheerful obedience to the Fugitive Slave Bill, and to having obtained this knowledge, we may be prepared insist upon new safeguards for their horrible slave

minions!

Yes-nothing is more certain in the future than that there is to be no constitutional Presidential election, so far as the entire South is concerned, in be disparaged, insulted, and proscribed? Why, a last; for when, in one half of the Union, all freeman who would thus play fast and loose with Chris- dom of expression and choice is destroyed by brute force, and independent electors are kept from the polls by armed ruffians, it is not an election-it is a mockery, a bloody usurpation; and such we are all he is treacherous to the cause of Christ, and cannot now living under, in the person of James Buchanan. And yet, the very party that is ostracised and outlawed in all the South, and is not allowed to present its own candidate for the Presidency in that section. intelligently, does it deliberately, does it because he is at this very time throwing up its cap heaven high in praise of 'the glotious Union,' and making fresh professions of unabated loyalty to it! O, the meanness Where does all this lead? It leads to our seeing the cowardice, the fatuity of such conduct! A 'glotempt!

Now I maintain, that, if any men deserve the treat ment meted out to them at the South, it is those who this a harsh expression.

O, this American Union, falsely so called !- what a sham, what a snare, what a curse it has been from the beginning, and how entirely one-sided and sectional There is no North,' said Mr. Webster, and the Harper's Ferry; for we greatly mistake if we think declaration still remains true. Tell me not that the Constitution of the United States is an Anti-Slavery instrument-that it was made to subserve the purposes of liberty, as against all injustice. I know the history of this country; I know the American peodied as a fool and a madman. But the sympathy ple; and I know that they never did make, nor intend to make, a Constitution whereby they rendered slavery unlawful in our country. I know that they agreed, in veiled phraseology which all understood, that the piratical foreign slave-trade should be prosecuted under our national flag for a score of years which agreement was fulfilled to the letter. I know that, in veiled phraseology, they provided for a slave representation in Congress; and it is enjoyed to this hour. I know that, in veiled phraseology, they provided for the hunting and seizure of runaway slaves in every part of our broad domains; and this is still conceded to the South. And I know that, in very plain phraseology, they pledged the whole strength of the country to put down every insurrection in the land; and it was this strength that put John Brown and his associates into the murderous hands of Virspeech, even at the North, and deny the right of ginia. Now, if this is not 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, what is it? Make yourselves the victims of it. Is there a man here who

acting with logical consistency, from beginning to him into a chattel, or take from him his wife or his himself a blue coat and brass buttons—he was still a children? No! never!

> late elements essentially and eternally antagonistical. stitution, they would still have been a Pro-Slavery But I have a thousand more reasons for denouncing people, because State Street, and Harvard College those who uphold the Constitution at this hour, than and Princeton, and every one of the advance guards I have for denouncing the framers of it; for while the of what are called the Free States, are Pro-Slavery; litter were without excuse, they did not clearly see they are made out of a public opinion that is willing the end from the beginning, as we now see it. They to support slavery for certain ends. I maintain that had not the terrible experiment fairly wrought out, so there is no irrepressible conflict, and has not been, for that they could understand exactly the consequences sixty years, between the governing influences of these that would inevitably grow out of it. But, to us, all Northern States and those of the South. If there is 'open, palpable as a mountain'; and we are left had been, there could not have been peace between without defence or apology. The people are rendered | the two sections of the Government-which there has powerless in the presence of slavery, by the compro- been. The money of the North and the money of mises of the Constitution. If it had not been for these the South were identical. The religion of the North compromises, neither Thomas Simms nor Anthony and the religion of the South were identical. The Burns would have been carried from Boston, back to literature of the North and that of the South were chains and stripes. In the presence of those dreadful identical. And they framed the Government. But scenes men stood paralyzed, because of their admitted we were like a family of children, all in loving harconstitutional obligations. Hence, I say,-Accuraged mony; we couldn't live separated, while we were HE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES! (Loud boys and girls. Our dispositions lie cradled and applause.) If, however, any man can make out the folded, and character does not come out, strong and Constitution to be anti-slavery, honestly and consci- broadly marked. We are beginning to grow; we entiously to himself, let him do so; but let him take have got to be twenty-one, and thirty, and forty, and care that he votes for no party that does not agree fifty-married, and have children; we have entered with him in regard to the instrument. (Renewed ap- into business. The keen competitions of active manplause.] Let him take care that he does not, in one hood have begun among thirty States; and with breath, say it is anti-slavery, and in the next acknowl- them has commenced the irrepressible conflict to edge it to be pro-slavery, by voting for a man who which Mr. Seward alludes. does not believe a word that he says on that point. If It will necessarily be a very slow progress, as it to it; but tell him, beforehand, he has got to begin by But it took three centuries to put Constantine on the converting the people of the United States to his throne of that Roman Empire. Meantime, Christhroughout the nation.

MR. PHILLIPS, on rising, was greeted with cordial applause. He said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN-I have been requested to by two of the first artists in their line of art, Messrs. did not know him, but only look upon it as a work of ling States. (Applause.) art, have found themselves compelled, as it were, to | But now the irrepressible conflict has begun. The acknowledge one of the most impressive and masterly only difficulty is, that men are so half-and-half awake heads known to sculpture since Michael Angelo that they do not know themselves, and are trying to blocked out his Moses for the admiration of three resist the very influences of their own creation. Now hundred years. This print, the inspiration of your begin the free press, the individual conscience, the

about words. I went down, recently, to lecture in ent quarters. Bristol, Rhode Island. As I passed out of the town, Mr. Garrison has told us that we cannot go to the sanctions slavery, to the extent that slavery rules the we need not concern ourselves about the precise wording of the instrument that represents it. I said, to an audience somewhat larger than this, last Sun-

naked savage. And if the American people, in 1789, Our fathers were verily guilty in trying to assimi- had painted upon themselves an Anti-Slavery Con-

any man can scare up an Anti-Slavery party in this has been. The only thing that I know like it, is the country, under the Constitution, I have no objection introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire. opinion, (laughter and applause,) which is tantamount tianity had been doing exactly what we have been to an entire revolution of sentiment and feeling doing-remodelling literature, undermining the army, changing domestic life; it left law inoperative, au-But I will not continue these remarks; for I want thority powerless, an altar deserted; and the irreto hear my friend Mr. Phillips, and I know that you pressible conflict between the two ideas went on, withdo. I want to hear him, because what is unpleas- out the sword, by the undermining and converting ant to the ear of the tyrant, is very pleasant to mine, influence of thought, until, at last, Christianity as-(cheers,) because I know that his are words of great rended the throne, and took her place as the controllpower, as well as of great beauty and eloquence, and ing element of the future, and Paganism died away. because he has a statesmanship of mind, and a grasp Just so will it be with slawery. For sixty years she of philosophy, comprehensive, enlightening, and in- has held the empire. There has been no irrepressispiring; and under his magnificent leadership we all | ble conflict, because the whole nation was a slave govof us may march on hopefully and exultingly, to the ernment. No freedom in Massachusetts, any more goal that is before us, -Universal Emancipation, than in the South, -that is, no freedom against anything that South Carolina wished to oppose. From the very first moment, there has been no such free-SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. dom. Sam Dexter, of this State, merely launched a taunt in the first Congress, at the slave system. The oath of naturalization, you know, requires, if a stray noble comes, that he must renounce his titles. Dexbring to your notice a picture executed, in this city, ter merely proposed to add, that if a slaveholder comes, he should renounce his slaves; and he was a Black & Bachelder, from a recently finished bust of bankrupt politician, thenceforward, in Massachusetts. John Brown by Mr. Brackett, who, you will recol. Nobody knew what killed the Federal Party. The lect, visited Charlestown during the imprisonment of difficulty was, they had found out the secret which Captain Brown, and enjoyed what little opportunity no American dared utter, that in the Presidential chair the tear of Virginia would allow him, to see the liv- sat the slave whip; and they were foolish enough to ing head of the martyr. From measurements, this attack it. The party died of the mistake; and there glimpse, and the pictures in existence, he has exe- has been none since, that has not taken a lesson by cuted what every one who knew Captain Brown re- that fatal mistake, and avoided the revelation of that gards as an excellent likeness, and what those who Mokanna, the veiled President of thirty masquerad-

houses, the monitor of your daily life, the model of interests of trade, the natural independence and the one whose memory is to be kept ever before you, awakened conscience of the Northern people, to inmore freshly by this living remembrance, is just fin- terfere with the South. It began, first, in this matter ished. It is hoped that every Abolitionist will begin of fugitive slaves. We were unwilling to return the education, and will continue his daily and public them. Our Christianity rose to that level. It was protest, by that best of all provocatives of discussion, the first symptom of life in the Northern conscience. the sentiments or the lineaments of those who have You could not return the fugitive slave. A law safely been identified with this irrepressible conflict. Hang defied touches its downfall. The moment that, even this picture up in your rooms, that every comer may in a dozen or a score of towns, the Fugitive Slave know on which side you are. Nail your colors to the Law of '93 was safely defied, it touched its downfall. mast, by letting this be your daily monitor. And The moment that, in the towns of the South, that every one that stands beneath your roof, if he has provision of the Constitution, which gives you and the disposition to ask you why, will lead to a debate mearight to go there, is safely defied, it has touched its that shall be the best Anti-Slavery lecture, the first downfall. That is the reason it does not cease to exlesson of an Anti-Slavery education, the best banner ist. But, to-day, within twenty years, in this generaunder which you can sail. There are some for sale tion, we have launched a new issue. You know when here at the platform; and those who have not the the Great Eastern was launched, she had two ponderdo, or attempt to do, to preserve its own existence publican party, brand it as factious and treasonable, leisure to attend to it this evening, will find, at the ous engines, of immense power, splendidly finished. studio of Mr. Brackett, 24 Tremont Row, not only the product of two rival machine shops: and the these, but even the better sight of the original bust. head of each shop claimed the right to go to sea with I exhort them to avail themselves of the privilege. his own machine, one, of course, hating the other, Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know what I can and each meaning to prove, within twenty-four add to the discussion of these six sessions. Almost hours, that the other's engine was a failure. The everything appears to have been said, and I can only consequence was, that while one went forward, the come to glean a little, after such efficient reapers. I other backed water; and the Great Eastern stood hardly know were to begin. Mr. Garrison has said a still. (Laughter.) Just so stand the thirty States at little in regard to what he calls an Anti-Slavery or a this moment,-William H. Seward, representing the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution. Well, average of Northern intelligence and commerce and after all, friends, where do you go to learn the char- thrift,-feeling that, for once, the shield he has hung acter of the Constitution? Do you go to the parch- out to the nation has been touched, and the chalment, laid up at Washington? Suppose we take it lenge made; and, of course, the nation rocks in the out, and, as the Roman Catholic used to carry his trough of the sea, and can make no headway. One saint's image in days of pestilence or storm, in order after another commence the evidences of this irrepresto bring back health or peace, suppose you carry it sible conflict. An honest clergyman, who thinks he up and down the streets of Charleston, South Caro- lives in a Free State, preaches a sermon, somewhere lina, when they are about to tar and feather a North- in the country, against the system of slavery; they ern merchant who has been guilty of the sin of turn him out, and he comes to Boston to beg bread; passing a Massachusetts bank bill-do you think it and he is one of the evidences. The Tribune puts in will save him? Suppose you take it, sacred and cov- competition the merciless satire of Congdon : and he ered with the hoar of seventy years, and bearing the puts eighteen millions of people, twice a week, on a name of Washington-take it to Syracuse, on the eve- broad grin-another evidence of the conflict. The ning when Gerrit Smith-God bless him! (applause) wit of the North, that irrepressible love of fun which and some dozen others are met, debating the ques- marks it, and in which the South, in her phantomtion of the rescue of Jerry, and one anxious inquirer house of horrors, seems to have no share -her coninto the means of salvation says, 'Mr. Smith, what science is too much disturbed to love frolic-the freedo you think of muskets?' 'I don't think the time hearted, jovial North, from the Atlantic back to the has come for that,' said Gerrit. 'Well, what do siver, who has no concealed skeleton at her feasts; it you think of axes?' 'The more of them the better.' is that really creates American humor; and the high And so they walked out with axes, and Jerry walked priest of it stands in the Tribune, with his pitiless arto Canada. (Applause.) Do you think the parch- rows assailing the system of slavery, in the face of ment of the United States Constitution would have the world. And, better than all, Puritan conscience held back Gerrit Smith, and the immortal jury of awakes, and flings its spear down into the centre of twelve that followed him, armed with axes, although Virginia, in the revolt of John Brown; and the world they couldn't quite stomach rifles in that early period, says, Do I approve of him? Well, he is your eldest in the twilight of the chapter of violence? I trow born, you ought to know him; he bears your lineanot. I do not learn the Constitution of the United ments, you ought to acknowledge him. He is the States in the parchment at Washington. I learn it natural product of the thought of the North, seeking in Wall Street and State Street. For Constitutions vent somewhere. The irrepressible conflict has beare not made; they grow. Our fathers made, proba- gun-not between State street and Charleston-there bly, the best Constitution they could make; for they is none. As Vespasian said, when they brought him were the mere scribes to write out the prevalent will the tax from a foul source, non olef, it does not smell; of the American people. And as long as slavery ex- so State street touches the gold that comes from the ists, and controls thirty States, there is no question coinage of New Orleans, and says, It weighs as much whether the Constitution - properly speaking; the as that which comes from the free State of Califorgovernment of this country-is a Pro-Slavery or an nin; it doesn't matter to me, so long as it is gold, Anti-Slavery instrument. For that government of and rings on the counter of the bank vault. No, the which slavery takes the control, must be a Pro- irrepressible conflict has not begun there; it will be Slavery government. But this is a mere dispute a long time before it begins. It has begun in differ-

I rode through a very fine farm, and was told that South, and talk anti-slavery, yet we will allow a slavethe man who owned it was very much disturbed by a holder, in Massachusetts, to talk slavery forever. question which had risen up between Warren and Aye, to be sure; but the case is different. If you Bristol, whether that farm, which had hitherto be- were walking down Washington street, to-night, and longed to Bristol, should be set off to Warren; and saw a match, even burning, you would not care, you the old farmer objected, and went up to town-meeting, wouldn't step aside and tread it out. No, you must very much agitated, and said: 'I don't want to be have a whole house in conflagration before you will set off to Warren; for Bristol has always been a cry fire, and send for an engine. A Southerner here healthier town than Warren'! (Laughter.) Just as is nothing but a dead match-what do we care? idle is the discussion as to what the parchment says There is nothing for him to set on fire. (Applause at Washington. Constitutions grow; they are not and laughter.) But every man who walks Oliver made; and while the Constitution of this country Whipple's powder manufactory, if he sees even a dead match, stoops down and throws it out of the window. country, the government is a Pro-Slavery one, and South Carolina has a keen scent for a Northern match-it may be even a dead one-she doesn't like the look of it. (Renewed laughter and applause.) When the Spaniards and English took a town from day, -and probably most of you heard it, -that it re- the French, in the Peninsular war, if there was a minded me only of the anecdote of the savage that manufactory or a mill of powder, they always went Bayard Taylor, I think, met, who had painted upon searching among the stones, to see whether the treach-

erous French had put a flint there, so that the first motion of the revolving wheels would strike fire, and blow the whole to pieces. Now you might send down Nehemiah Adams, dead as a flint-but he had a mother, and a grandmother—and if you should put even him between the upper and nother millstone of a Southern persecution, I am not sure but he would a Southern personal strike a little of his grandmother's sparks out. (Great merriment.) It is the single man, therefore, like the single match, that is too dangerous in a powder factary like the whole South; she doesn't wait for a conflagration, she doesn't want all Massachusetts; a sam. ple brick is as perilous. This irrepressible conflict, then, has begun in just

This irrepresents we are doing is to acknowledge, to recognize, to confess, to bid it God speed, to see it wherever it starts up, to keep the public informed of how far it has travelled. Men say there will be insurrections at the South. Well, you can buy drunken marines to put them down; you can gather the tefuse of New York and Boston, and pay ten dollars a month, and it will do anything. Put out its eyes, and it will be just as good; it has no need that it should see; only let it hear the order, and it will act. But I doubt much whether if Virginia should rise-I mean the only Virginia that has a right to come to an honest man's imagination when he pronounces the words-the Virginians that live on the bread ther earn, and that make the soil blossom and bear some. thing, in the providence of God-not the tyranis that live by selling, and keep safe by shedding, the blood of honest men,-if Virginia and Carolina should rise to-morrow, I doubt, much, whether you could requit an army in New York and New England to go down and put out an insurrection in these States, as the Constitution calls it. The irrepressible conflict has gone that far. The people of the North are very willing that South Carolina should keep her slaves if she can; they never will help her. They are willing she should enlist militia, at our expense, if she can get them ; but I doubt, very much, if she can get Northern men to go down and put out insurrections, We have reached a very distinct and unequivocal point. · We will do nothing to help slavery '-I am speak. ing now in the name of the masses- We will do nothing to help, and we will do nothing to harm; let them fight it out.' I think-and it is a very important point-that the Yankee says, 'I have no time to help you abolish slavery; I am making needles and pins, cotton and woollen, money and bread; I have no time to help you put down slavery, nor to help you put down insurrection; settle your own must.' I think that is the mood of the public mind; it is a great gain. In 1826, Edward Everett said, on the floor of the United States House of Representatives, · I will buckle on my musket, readily, to aid you to put down an insurrection of slaves.' Twenty years later, Robert C. Winthrop said in this city, to a friend of mine, 'Do you know that Mr. Everett never meant to be reported ? He said that, it is true, and then they made him print it ! ' (Laughter.) Poor man ! He meant, like any other weed, to drift on, and always be found on the crest of the wave; but they nailed him down in the trough, and there he is to-day, (Fresh laughter and applause.) But, meantime, the sorry apology shows where the public mind tround him had travelled. They were not ready for such a sentiment. The Northern mind has got beyond it: the South feels that this is so. She knows that only so long as she clasps the Government does she clasp safety. The moment it goes out of her hands, the moment the latent public sentiment can get itself organized, that Government itself will be on the other Now, what have we to do? It seems to me that we

are simply to go about warming into life these little spots on the surface of the dead body of the State, that show where the blood begins to circulate. We are to take, for instance, the text of John Brown's movement in Virginia-not merely to elevate the man,-he needs no eulogy of ours,-history has gathered him into her bosom, and marches proudly down to posterity with her immortal trust-(applause)what we need is, to take the ethics which he has started, the collision of principles which he has made evident before the American people. May a slave rise? May and ought a man to help him? Has this nation any fulcrum upon which to criticise revolts? All these questions we are to carry out into the Church and State, fearlessly. There will be a dreadful shaking of the dry hones. It is one of those dividing t riods when men shrink back from the issue. "It is a fresh movement of the upper and under stones of the mill of public retribution; and Ward Beecher has been ground to fine powder in the crisis. (Applause and laughter.) He has not stood the conflict to which one man's gallant moment of life has summoned him. Tried, and found scanting, will be written on many s man who calls himself an Abolitionist. He never believed that the black man was, in reality, the same to the white. Charles, Remond touched the very kernelof the question-he thought he did, but that man ran out the inference to its logical result, and he started back from it. What is to be our twelve or twentyfour months of labor? That argument. It does not need another revolt; it does not need another bullet. They will come, beyond all doubt; the echoes in those Virginia mountains will be repeated, further South and further West, till the great organ-hymn of insurrection ascends to the presence of God. (Applause.) You will not live twelve months, nor six months, without hearing them; it is not possible that the North and Northwest, as excited as ourselves, such a torch should have been lighted, and no other configration be seen except that at Harper's Ferry. But, whether you see that conflagration or not, like the touch which genius gives us, and all else is imitation, the first blow struck at the slave system, with the public mind in such readiness to interpret and respond to it, is, as Mr. Garrison said, to show us the hour of the day,and is striking a new hour-a mark of the time-a new epoch. We have turned over a leaf-we see a new side of American cha arcter.

I know Northern men have hardly dared, hitherto, to pronounce the veto on national conduct. It was not possible for a man to do it. We blame Henry Wilson, we have blamed Daniel Webster. What are they? Creatures, only, of their times, as good as the times called for-the results of things about them. They stood up as much as we held them. I think it is the saddest logic-the very saddest of all logicto stand in front of that bronze statue before the State-house, and argue for an Anti-Slavery Constitution. It is only for me to look up at the great slave catcher, idolized, and a monument erected for him. by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the model of thirty States-it is enough to show me the chafacter of the Constitution. He was not born to eat dirt. He didn't inherit from hi New Hamp shire hills any proclivity to creep upon his belly, like the first accursed brute. No; he way born a man; God gave him a brain, and his motate gave him a heart. But he went down to grind is the mill of the Egyptians, because, as in too many cases in history, man is not iron enough to stand up against the temptations of his time and his country. He is proof enough of the character of the Gorenment, for it crushed him, and it must have taken all the mo-mentous force of the collected Government of thirty States to crush the iron energy and will that God put into that magnificent body, and still more magnificent brain. I believe in the wickedness of the American Government, as I should believe in the passage of a caravan over the desert; because, as I trace its path, it is marked with the skeletons of honest men: and such is the history of sixty years. The Constitution of the Polish Diet secured to every knight the right of giving a veto upon the act of the majority; but the man who dared to cry 'Veto." bought the fleetest horse in the kingdom, got to the edge of the assembly, mounted, with spurs sharpened, and, the moment he shouted the word, put spurs

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Harriette M. Carlton,

Lucy M. Rogers,

Francis Jackson,

Catherine Clap,

Mary Willey, A. Simonds,

Helen E. Garrison,

Martha B. Goodrich, 1 00

1 00

30 00

Sorse, and fled. So the American who dared, saff years to say in politics, 'Veto!' to the herry demands of the South, if he did not put o his horse, sunk, at once, into the grave of a te have created the possibility of a man's doing

the have clear. It is possible Wm. H. Seward, who sid it, may yet live to stand in the Presi-Libope to God that he will. Not that I believe sorthing remarkable as an Abolitionist-not believe he would carry there the purpose to Slavery. I believe, and South Carolina knows, that she could not have a safer man in the ent's chair than William H. Seward. But she is an unfortunate position. The South has Elect Seward, and I will leave the Union. ald like to try her. (Laughter.) If Seward be elected, and she did not leave the Union, s cut of the balloon. (Great laughter and ag.) And if we elect Seward, and she does at of the Union, the devil has gone out of Para-Benewed merriment.) It is worth trying. I like to have the Republican party get that aiof victory, if it were only to try the experiof it were only to see whether the Carolinas what they say. If they did have a few heroic cians who dare to call a Convention of States mate measures for a dissolution, and that Conton should flatten out, as all previous Southern tions for such a purpose have, we should hear set of disunion. That cuckoo cry would be done we should, at least, have another turn on the d bed, and hear something else. The organer would have gone to the next house, and we have a new tune. (Laughter.) Better still that, I think, if the Slave States saw, on one eming up like the veto of Fate, the popularity hn Brown for his attack, with muskets, on the sistem, and, on the other, the political threatrof the election of the very man they had deed, and the man that dared to fling his spear so to the very thickest of the enemy as to pronounce ords 'irrepressible conflict'-to take the term om the kennel where the Abolitionists had carit, and place it in a clean spot in the United Senate-if they were to see that man elected, nk they would begin to believe that the beginof the end had come, I think they would be almost y to say, . Let us negotiate, let us bargain, while may; let us sell the system as dearly as we let us see how much can be saved out of wreck; for the shrouds and the masts and the ng are all gone, and unless we float now, we at forever.' I think they will come to that conit I hail, therefore, such a step of progress. that I fully approve of Republicanism. No; but the twilight dawn of the irrepressible political et. (Applause.) Wilson is an uncertain twinkle te Eastern mountains, (laughter,) and Sumner is mader sunlight spreading over the arc of the ern heavens, (cheers,) and by and by we shall the sun himself start to view in the face of the es - some radical Abolitionist, with a heart in tht place, with unfettered lips, after the model an Randolph, an Arab in the United States te, butting on either side, carrying his principles no burden of a President on his back, sure to althe public opinion which our Pioneer will give and which the pulpit of America, with Cheever s feelern hope, will yet baptize into the Christy of America. (Cheers.)

W SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. s announce, with much pleasure, the issue of new and valuable Anti-Slavery Tracts. They of the freshest and most interesting matter, seinvite to them the attention of all our read-As they are to be sold at the simple cost, (or we hope that orders for them will be numerous. series is to be continued, from time to time. The e already published are as follows:

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Price of the first two of the above, fire cents single; cents the discuss; \$3.50 the hundred. Of No. 3, ents single; 60 cents the dozen; \$4.00 the hun-

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VIRGINIA TESTIMONY, 1845. In August, 1845. TUCKER of Virginia was on board a steamboat Old Point Comfort, Virginia; and as the boat ed the fort there, a company of soldiers were to come forth, preceded by a wretched-looking a, who was undergoing the punishment of being and out of his regiment for desertion. The man taken in a boat to an unoccupied island in the ity, and left there. Seeing these things, Judge ther remarked to a lady, (who is our authority for story, and who is now residing in this immediate ity.) that 'The Army System, Duelling and arery were the three greatest curses of the country, the hoped to see them all pass away."

P New BEDFORD friends, and all in that vicinwill see that FREDERICK BROWN, brother of Capt. Brown, with DANIEL BONSALL of Ohio, and LESOX REMOND, will hold a meeting in city on Sunday next, 19th inst., afternoon and

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Mr. Brown is a true man, and a worthy brother of treat Martyr of Liberty. Let all see and hear

F The Atlantic Monthly for February is received. following are the contents:

unting and Measuring; My Last Love; A Shet-Shawl; Roba di Roma; The Amber Gods; The 's Friends; The Memorial of A. B. or Matilda a; Some Account of a Visionary; The Truce of staqua (a poem by Whittier); The Maroons of ra; The Professor's Story; Mexico; Reviews Literary Notices; Recent American Publica-

Co., Boston, at \$3 per an-

Mone SLAVE-HUNTING. Another hearing were ted by the Joint Committee of the Massachu-Legislature, on Tuesday forenoon, in the Hall he House of Representatives, to the petitioners for w, forever abolishing slave-hunting in this Comwealth. The Committee were addressed by Rev. a Pierpont, Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., Francis W. Esq., and William Lloyd Garrison. Mr. Piera made a very able and elaborate argument in dee of the 'Higher Law,' as against and paraint to all wicked laws and covenants of men-Sewall submitted the form of such a statute as ought would meet the wishes of the petitioners. orable response is expected from the Committee, hive exhibited every wish to give the petitionthe fullest hearing. Upwards of a hunded petihave been sent to the Legislature, containing

Thanks to Charles O'Conor, Esq., for the clearquestion involved in the matter of American Slavery; ity to the inward Light, have passed away. The acwhich question he understands to be,-Is slavery sin, or is it innocent? Is it a curse, or is it beneficent? Admit, says Mr. O'Conor, the premises of favored ones on whom their mantles have fallen, half the Abolitionists, that slavery is a sin and a curse, and you cannot escape their conclusions; it is your duty, even, to accept them, promptly and fearlessly, The government that upholds it, the Union that sup- now to think that they perform the most sacred duports it, (slavery,) does not deserve to live.

Now, clearly enough, this is the question. Mr O'Conor takes his position-he goes for slavery-he calls it good and wholesome, both for the master and the slave. No matter how many, having tasted the draught, pronounce it more bitter than gall, he per- Remonn cannot yet give up all his earthly rights and sists in declaring it sweet. Very well for Mr. hopes without resistance unto blood and death. Bur-O'Conor. Most of us happen to be of a very different row has some faith yet in the higher and more opinion, however. Nevertheless, if circumstances Christian principles of peace. An honest man must should, in the future, so strangely conspire as to be respected, though in error. A spirit which I canplace Charles O'Conor, Esq., of New York, in the not respect is that which would honor Washington hands of some new race of Barbary Corsairs, claim- and Lafayette, and dishonor the still more generous ing him as property, backing the claim with the and unselfish Brown. He won the crown of a marplausible argument, that the two races could not pos- tyr, by carrying in his bosom too many of the virtues sibly inhabit the same country except as masters and and principles of peace to succeed in war. slaves, we might feel it to be our duty to permit the I ought to say that there was one man at the meetgentleman to imbibe, as deeply as possible, of the ing, in the garb of a Friend, who dared to stand on the happy fellow into the acceptance of our standard Remond, and boldly lift up his voice to proclaim a of bliss for his own, well remembering how tastes truth; and to blast an error. Of course, he was not differ.

that plen. Your detestable ethics, practically illus- stones cry aloud. trated, enslaves both white and black; and why should you not wear the chain, as well as many others white as yourself? And what is the amount of the argument of superiority of race? The sublime to eternal bondage would be exceedingly refreshing. were it not so intensely diabolical. Standing in New with thousands to applaud, Mr. O'Conor may posstrength of his logic. But he forgets that the heart do the realizing, hearing masses of humanity let way; and until this heathenish oppression ceases seizing upon first principles, with a precision which her to occupy.

She set forth in plain words the absurdity of aldoms and constitutions, to the consummation of the

Yes; there is a logic of Instinct, as well as of Reason. One is the carthquake and the volcano; the rags. elemental forces of Nature, that toss in the seas, slumber in the ground, smile in the blossoms, and laugh in the fruit ;-the other is a moon-beam-a ray like him, we say, the first of the powers, the terrible arms. If announce yourself ready for the conflict. So are we. You seem to be confident of victory, and perhaps really she are so; but we must say, your chances do not appear St. Paul had been placed there with a cudgel to keep half so good as Satan's, before the awful encounter with the embattled hosts of Heaven; or the moment before that little 'brush ' with faithful Abdiel, which is thus chronicled by the poet:

· Reign thou in hell, thy kingdom; let me serene In heaven, God ever bless'd, and his divine -Behests obey, worthiest to be obeyed; Yet chains in hell,\* not realms expect; From me returned, as erst thou saidst, from flight, This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high. Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight, Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield, Such ruin intercept. Ten paces huge He back recoiled; the tenth on bended knee His massy spear upstayed; as if on earth Winds under ground, or waters forcing way, Sidelong had pushed a mountain from his seat, Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seized The rebel thrones, but greater rage to see Thus foiled their mightiest; ours, joy filled, and shout Presage of victory and fierce desire

Gentlemen! are you quite sure you have figured up all the forces that will be inevitably marshaled differed in this respect from the free State men genagainst you? When a Webster mustered in your ranks, when an Everett volunteered, armed and equipt, in your service, when a Choate rolled along your lines his 'rattling ordnance of rhetoric,' and when a Southside Adams came sweating under the said but few were in their secret, although many were weight of an old Queen's arm-with all these accessions to your army, you felt yourselves mighty, if not State government at the ballot box, was because I invincible. We, too, have those of whose intellects saw in such a policy an end to the disturbances, and we might boast—but we forbear. In kindness, in the consequently to his hopes of a revolution.

Hence he, and those with him, who were chiefly mercy to your souls, we give you this parting admonition: listen, ponder and beware.

ranged on the side of the victors. Those errors of humanity and justice, common to our race, have theology and morals, and those crimes of govern of the reporters, who were in the scheme, against ments, that fly in the face of the deeper and humane impulses of the heart, are the surest to be displaced. overthrown and avenged!

E. R. PLACE. . D' ve mind that now, ye O'Conors?

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT SOUTH

DANVERS. FRIEND GARRISON !

Lest you should have no report of the meeting at the Town Hall, Feb. 5, I will send you a few words, giving merely my impressions of the same. For me, there was a mingling of pleasure and pain through the entire meeting. It gave me pleasure to see an unusually large number, for the place, at an Anti-Slavery meeting. It gave me pain to know that among them was more of curiosity to see and hear the brother of John Brown, than strong and heartfelt Phillips and Redpath, as well as many other papers sympathy with the slaves we hold. It gave me pain to feel that the brother of the martyr could come before us, and justly accuse us of standing cool and carehallowed selfishness, the hearts of many seemed thrilled with a new sensation, as if they caught glimpses of a higher and better life from the living words of the man before them. All hope of arousing the consciences of men need not be given up, until the last dim perceptions of truth are wanting; and they who san best lead men to any work of high moral reform are those who are uncompromisingly faithful and unmistakably sincere. It gave me pleasure to see even one man who could, with zeal and appreciative earnestness, urge us to be true to our highest and holiest perceptions of right, and, without fear or favor of man, be guided by the Light within.

It was pleasant to see these four or five members of that Society of peaceful men, whose early standardbearers were Fox, and Barelay, and Pennington, and but they express no doubt of her recovery. Penn; but it was painful to know that they, in their human and Christian sympathy, were there without

CHARLES O'CONOR AND THE ISSUE. | the approbation of the Society to which they are joined. The men who, by unwearied efforts, founded ness and boldness with which he has stated the real a church upon the principle of individual responsibiltive, loving, earnest, working men, who made place on earth for such a church to stand, are gone. The forgetting that they too should be governed and guided by the Light Divine, look backward for their duties to ancient men, and records, and forms. They seem tice by standing carefully, though uselessly, in the worn garments of those worthies of olden time.

I understood, from some remarks of his, that FRED ERICK BROWN has still some faith in war as a last means of defence, and a last resort against despotism.

sweet, delicious draught,' and not attempt to coerce the platform with even a Buffum, a Brown, and a of New England, but from Ohio. Doubtless, he felt Very likely, the ungrateful recipient of so much that, in performing that duty, he no more endangered happiness would cry out, in the agony of excessive his distinctive principles than if he were seeking joy, 'It was not white, but negro slavery which I de- moneyed profits in constant intercourse with more fended. O, give me liberty, or give me death, for I unprincipled and mammon-worshipping men of the belong to the superior race!' The plea is inadmissi- world. Truth-loving people must some time learn ble. Mr. O'Conor's negro slavery does lay its iron that neither benevolence, nor kindness, nor truth, yoke on white, as well as black. Not only in that it nor love, nor light, can be chained in forms and creeds. degrades and makes wretched the poor whites, which Always new needs brings new duties. Whatever of may possibly be denied by men without eves, but any creed crumbles at the touch of an honest man that many of the so called negroes are nearer white had better fall. It were well to remember that, where than black, and so present us our own race in bond- truth is, there is God; and that, where evil is, God's age-a fact which will not be denied by men having foremost messengers should be. The unfaithful meseyes. No, Mr. O'Conor, we can't release you on sengers of Christ do hold their peace until the very

N. PAGE, JR. Respectfully. Danversport, Feb. 6, 1860.

EQUAL PRIVILEGES FOR WOMAN. Mrs. J. Eliza complaisance with which some persons consign others | beth Jones, of Ohio, lectured in Music Hall on Sunday last, on the above subject, by invitation of Rev. Theodore Parker's society. In commencing, she referred to the American Revolution, and the inde-York, exclusively surrounded by the dominant race, pendence which followed it, and which had made white male citizens of the United States the freest sibly have satisfied himself of the soundness and people in the world. Then she alluded to other evi dences of our sympathy with the oppressed in other countries who are struggling for freedom. She would has its logic, as well as the head; and in every great confess to a weakness in regard to her country. But epoch, in every great revolution, the bounding pulse it was her duty, on that occasion, to show the faults of a rising people has proved an overmatch for the as well as the advantages of our government. And of a rising people has proved an overmatch for the one of its principal objectionable features was, its icy, glittering fetters of rhetoric and intellect. Then loose the imprisoned forces of the human breast, and woman could never fill the sphere God designed for

the head cannot excel, and a power which it cannot lowing a half-witted drunkard to vote, while an inequal, rush on, like a resistless avalanche, crashing telligent woman, though endowed with all the ability through States and sweeping away thrones, king- of a statesman, is forbidden to appear at the polls and bow with submission to decrees effected by this tyrannical abuse of the franchise. great desire; -and all with a mighty, iron-linked stricted in all the pursuits of life, and a pittance was chain of sequence which the heart only knows, and allowed to her where a male would receive good it alone can execute. She then alluded to the many women who chose to shut themselves up in garrets, plying the needle and clothed in unwomanly What wonder that they fall?

If they do not go astray, they are patronizingly complimented as the 'virtuous poor;' if they do, they are looked upon with horror, while the man who is equally a participant in the crime, and who effected of light without heat. To Charles O'Conor, and all her disgrace, is welcomed back to society with open woman aspired to intellectual pursuits, she logic of Instinct, you have got to encounter! You was barked at by theological students, joked about by lawyers, jeered by doctors, while editors devoted squibs to her, and her own sex tossed their heads as e passed. If she aspired to the pulpit, she found lecturer made, and she was listened to with close at-

> NEW YORK, Feb. 11. (Herald Washington correspondence.) The Harper's Ferry Investigating Committee continues its session from day to day, and are examining witnesses. They are making but little The committee are considering the propriety of sub-ponning Governor Wise, with a view of getting at the facts in his possession in regard to the matter, and also the documents and evidence in his possession, going to show that various schemes were started for the rescue of John Brown. If the committee determine to bring the Governor before them, the evidence will undoubtedly take a wide range, and there is no telling when and where it will end.

> The committee have not decided to subporna Gerrit Smith. They are informed that his mind is not en-

> Gov. Robinson, of Kansas, testified to-day before the committee, to the effect that Brown did not go to Kansas to settie, but on account of the difficulties expected would extend until the country generally should become involved, and slavery be abol shed. His object was not peace, but revolution, and erally. The only other person who avowed to the witness a similar object was James Redpath.

> After he had lost all hope of accomplishing his ob ject, he related to the witness the designs of himself and some others, who were operating with him. He operating with them. The reason of his opposition to taking possession of the Territorial and Lecompton

eporters of the press, made war upon all who were likely to aid in securing quiet, in order to destroy their The most calamitous defeats with which parties or influence with the people. He said they acted on the armies have ever met, are those where the instincts of principle that the end justified the means, and they hesitated at no falsehood or libel against any man who

those who opposed them.

Witness knew of but one attempt to set on foot revolution. This was led by Col. Lane, who, Mr. Redpath said, was under a strong pledge to act as their leader in fighting. Soon after the creation of the Military Board, witness heard Gen. Lane say that he had given orders to the Brigadier-Generals to strike at several points in the Territory, with a view, as he understood, to effect a general slaughter of Pro-Slavery men. His orders were never obeyed, if given, and soon after he went into Southern Kansas, with the purpose, as Mr. Leonhart, one of his officers, afterwards told witness, to march upon Fort Scott.

Some United States troops were in that vicinity at the time, and Mr. L. said Gen. Lane showed the white feather, and backed down.

Witness supposed, until the conversation with Redpath, that this was an insane movement of Lane's alone, but he now understands that it was a concerted plan of the revolutionists. This was the end of that class of operations, so far as witness was cognizant.

The New York Tribune was used by these men, and they claimed that by means of the press, to which they had access as correspondents, they could make

or destroy any man.
It came out in the evidence that Realf, Hinton, and less on his bowed and fettered form. Put I was glad less on his bowed and fettered form. Put I was glad less on his bowed and fettered form. Put I was glad less on his bowed and fettered form. Put I was glad including Phillips and Redpath, are foreigners. Mr. Conway, elected to Congress from Kansas, will testify to-morrow.

> THE ACCIDENT TO MRS. H. W. BEECHER. The New York Commercial Advertiser of Thursday evening, says: 'Her head is much bruised, but the skull is not fractured. Her face is bruised also; but t is feared that, in addition to this, she has received internal injuries of a very serious nature. She vom-ited blood last evening, and this, with other symp toms, has led her medical attendants to suppose, that the injuries are such that serious consequences may be apprehended. The child Herbert, aged about ten years, and the servant girl, are comparatively slightly injured. Mr. Beecher was immediately sent for, an arrived at home during the afternoon.

Mrs. Beecher was somewhat better this morning nature of her injuries is not stated by her physicians

The last accounts from Mrs. Beecher are fa-

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE AT CENTRALIA .- We take the

A gentleman, who was an eye-witness of the affair informs us that at Centralia on Friday of last week, as the noon train was about starting for Chicago, a negro apparently about twenty-five years of age stepped M. W. Chapman up to the ticket office, and called for a through ticket. D. Weston, As he did so, several persons who were probably on the watch for him, sprang upon him, claiming that he waren Low, was a fugitive slave. Several of the bystanders came E. F. Burnham, M. W. Chapman, to the negro's assistance, but were repelled. One of them was instantly knocked to the floor, two of his teeth being driven out by the blow. His son, who saw the fellow strike, drew his dagger and forced him A. K. Foster, to the wall, but the presentation of a revolver caused him to lower it and retreat. A border-ruffian in the J. M. Aldrich, crowd was prevented from shooting the d—d George Miles, Abolitioniist, as he called him, by persons seizing his arm. During the scuille the negro managed to elude C. C. McLauthlin, their grasp, and started on a run up the track, followed by several of the crowd. One of them discharged his pistol, but missed him; the discharge, however, Adeline Hardy, frightened the poor negro so that he stopped, and was Charles E. Hodg overtaken by his pursuers. H was handed over to a Dr. J. H. York, Charles E. Hodges. constable, who promised to produce him when called E. Richards, for. The negro suffered materially in wardrobe and A. F. Tilton, R. Richards, person during the fray. The man who fired at him J. Buffum was afterwards arrested, and held to bail in the enor-A. H. Harlow mous sum of four hundred dollars. Charles W. Warren S. H. Cowing,

E. P. Ayres, G. H. Smith, A letter to the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, dated St. Helena, Nov. 30, says H. M. S. Viper, steaming round our island, quietly dropped anchor under 'ladder Hill' on the 21st ult., just from the D. Kimball. E. H. Merrill, Otis G. Cheever coast, having on board 94 negroes, being a portion of 519 poor souls stowed away on board the brig 'Tavernier, of New York' (so reads her sternboard), which E. P. Perkins, George W. Gilmore, vessel was captured on the morning of the 4th of November, off Bahai Fonda. She is a French built ves-D. B. Bartlett. sel, but evidently fitted out in New York, and arrived S. May, Jr., here with the balance of her cargo two days after the steamer, having lost 74 of the wretched souls in the W. Lloyd Garrison, 1 00 space of eighteen days, and the commander assures E. Quincy, C. K. Whipple, me that not more than two hundred of the whole could possibly have been landed in Cuba. I learn that the trade was never more thriving than now. The American fleet were hourly looked for on the South Coast, David Merritt, and can make a rich harvest if actively employed. Joshua Perry, The beautiful bark 'Rebecca,' which took out some George W. Stacy. of the emigrants of the McDonough estate to Monrovia, P. B. Southwick and consequently had every preparation legally mani-Stephen Albee. fested for such a voyage, has lately gone from the Nancy L. Howes, Congo with a cargo of 900 negroes; and among other successful escapes have been the 'Lameus' (fitted as a whaler), the 'Star of the East,' the 'Ottawa,' and the 'Asa Fitch,' all with full cargoes. I am also informed that the famous 'Orion,' recently seat home by the 'Marion, and escaped condemnation, has just Thomas P. Knox, H. G. Jackson, Lydia G. Jarvis, E. D. Draper, Anna T. Draper. Innah B. Draper arrived out in the Congo again, with the same captain, the same kind of fittings, and as bold as such an escape and daring can make her; and what is more, Varren W. Dutcher, 1 00 A. Keith, Mrs. N. White, these captains make no secrets of their intentions. Lima H. Ober, R. H. Ober,

New York, Feb. 11. (Tribune Washington cor-F. Hinckley, G. M. Rogers, respondence.) A personal difficulty happened after the adjournment of the House. As Mr. Hickman was returning home though the Capitol grounds, he was overtaken by Mr. Edmundson of Virginia, who, upon approaching him, called out and drew his hand to strike. Mr. Clingman, who was accidentally passing, hastened up and seized his arm, when Mr. Edmundson struck at Hickman with his left hand, knocking off his hat, but doing him no injury.

The whole affair was instantaneous, and seemed to

Mrs. W. B. Trask, 1 00 surprise Mr. Hickman. Mr. Breekenridge who came up, took him away, and the scene ended. The alleged provocation for this attack was an insulting reflection pon Virginia, contained in a recent speech of Mr. Hickman's, in which he charged that seventeen men and a cow had frightened the State.

Business Operation .- The Cincinnati Gazette of the 6th, says that a Dr. Handy, of that city, per-suaded a likely negro boy that both could make a good operation by the boy allowing the Doctor to sell into slavery at Louisville, and then taking the underground road again to liberty. The Doctor took the coy to Louisville, sold him for \$1100, and pocketed the money. The boy, however, found himself in a tight fix, and could not so easily find the 'track,' and therefore divulged the fraud. Louisville officers have arrested the Doctor at Cincinnati, and he will probably land in the Penitentiary.

THE SLAVER AT CHARLESTON. The two mates who were brought into the port of Charleston on board the brig Delicia, have been discharged from custody. The Delicia being a Spanish vessel, her crew all Spaniards, and the Spanish government being no party to the Tripartite Treaty of England, France, and the United States, for the suppression of the slave trade, there is no act of Congress under which these parties can be prosecuted for the charge brought against them. The first mate confessed to the Commissioner that they were on the coast of Guinea for the purpose of taking a cargo of slaves, when they were captured, the captain and supercargo being on shore making the preliminary negotiations. In regard to the disnosition of the vessel itself, the U. S. District Attorney has referred the matter to the authorities at Wi

membered that at the Southern Convention held in Vicksburgh last May, the vote of Mississippi was cast in favor of opening the African slave trade. The Legislature however, has set the State right on that subject. The bill to repeal the State law against the introduction of Africans into that State, was rejected on the 26th ultimo, by a vote of three to one. On a motion to indefinitely postpone the whole subject, the yeas were 66, navs 22.

JOHN BROWN EXCITEMENT IN HAYTI. Capt. Haskins, of the schooner Sarah Burton, from Aux Cayes, 23d ult., arrived here this morning, reports that the people of Hayti were making great preparations to show in a suitable manner, on the 26th, their respect for the memory of John Brown, the illustrious vic-

tim of Harper's Ferry.'
By the brig Echo, at New York, files of Hayti papers are received, from which the New York Post learns that the John Brown affair is creating a great excitement in Hayti, and is much commented on by the journals. Le Progres is in mourning for the late hero of Harper's Ferry. On the 20th of January, mass was chanted in commemoration 'of the frightful martyrdom of the abolitionist, John Brown, by the infamous ruffians of the Southern portion of the American Union.' The papers give the full details of the execution of Brown, and devote several columns to editorial comments which are far from complimentary to 'le juge Parker' and the slaveholding jury of

On Friday night, the 27th ult., the house of Mr. Luther Briggs, of Daveport, Del., was consumed by fire, and five of his children perished in the flames. Mr. Briggs and his wife were away from home at the time. A sixth child, a lad of fifteen, saved himself by jumping out of the window. The fire broke out after the children retired to bed, and is supposed to have caught from the stove.

The Governor of Florida has recently vetoed bill excluding free negroes from that State. After commenting on the occurrence, the Pensacola Observer says: 'The news of its failure was received by a large number of the good citizens of this place, with the most lively manifestations of satisfaction, who entertain for this class of our population sentiments of re-spect and feelings of the warmest personal attach-

An Escape .- While the U. S. Marshal at Harper's Ferry was at Auburn, N. Y., a few days ago, he accidentally came across a fugitive slave from Harper's Ferry, who lived only a few doors from him. He was the slave who showed John Brown the Armory. The negro made his escape before the Marshal could take

The Kansas Territorial Legislature passed the bill prohibiting slavery in Kansas on the third day of this month. If the Governor should veto the bill, it will be passed, nevertheless, as all but six members of the House voted for it. The new American Cyclopedia has been burned

in Mississippi as an abolition publication; also a book entitled, 'Cotton is King.' P. W. Cregar, a nurseryman from Rochester

N. J., was recently expelled from Knoxville, Tenn., despite the efforts of some substantial citizens to protect him. The slaveholders were afraid, probably, that he would sell 'liberty trees.' William S. Bailey, proprietor and publisher of the

Free South, at Newport, Ky., has commenced suit against the parties engaged in the destruction of his newspaper press and printing apparatus, on the 29th of October last, laying his damages at \$15,000. Ex-Governor Salmon P. Chase has been elected U. S. Senator by the Ohio Legislature. His principal competitor was Mr. Pugh. Chase had 75 votes; Pugh 54; Cnrwin 5.

total loss; also the mails and treasure.

COLLECTIONS. By Finance Committee, for Expenses of Annual Meeting, January, 1860. 1 00 S. Dodge, Jr., 1 00 1 00 Caroline Wellington, 1 00 Edward B. Perkins, Caro. White, Rebecca Howland, Mary Osborn, Eliza A. Lawton, John T. Sargent, R. R. Crosby, Bourne Spooner, 1 00 C. Lenox Remond 1 00 George W. Simonds, 1 00 E. L. Hammond, 1 00 1 00 Wm. H. Hammo John T. Page, A. Stanwood, Samuel Barrett, C. Pitts, J. K. McIntire, Alvan Howes, G. C. Hickok, Abby S. Stephen C. B. McIntire, Nelson W. Cook, L. D. Gray, D. J. Griffin, J. T. Hilton. 1 00 Ambrose Merrill, M. S. Jenkins, 1 00 L. M. Child, Wm. Sparrell, 1 00 Society. Joseph Merrill, Danversport, to redeem pledge, Greene, Catharine L. Barba-Lydia H. Chase, Salem, donation, Nathaniel H. Whiting, to redeem pledge, D. Whitney, John B. Pierce, Lynn, George Draper, Mary M. Brooks, L. S. Thaxter, Maria W. Chapman, L. A. Allen, Miss L. Simes, Anna E. Gray, Mrs. R. W. Hen-1 00 1 00 shaw, - Brigham, R. Locke, Jr., 1 00 P. Shaw, C. Cowing, Mrs. J. K. Lawren T. Bicknell, W. H. Logan, L. S. Pease, W. I. Bowditch, 1 00 Mrs. A. Kent, 1 00 Paulina Gerry, Mrs. Richardson Richard Clap, L. S. Richards, J. C. Lindsley, Georgina Otis. Mrs. E. A. Lawton, 1 Mrs. Emerson. M. B. Richards Melzar Sprague, Robert Hassall, Frederick Frothingham, 1 00 Mrs. J. M. Robbins, 1 00

DONATIONS To Mass. Anti-Slavery Society; Annual Meeting, 1860.

Mrs. Eliza F. Eddy, 1 00

various amounts, 18 8.

Friends, and Cash in

Francis W. Bird, Walpole, \$50 00 A. M. Chase, Canton, J. M. Aldrich, Fall River, 20 00 Samuel Barrett, Concord, Mercy P. Osborn, Dover, N. H., Abner Sanger, Danvers, Joshua Coolidge, Jr., Watertown. An Absent Friend, Martha B. Goodrich, James N. Buffam, Rev. Edward C. Town, Braintree. 5 00 Miss Anne Alley, Lynn, Mrs. Dr. Fifield, Weymouth, Mrs. C. F. Hovey, Mary G. Chapman, Henrietta Sargent, Ezekiel and Alice H. E. Thacher, Barnstable, Nancy L. Howes, Barnstable, U. Ritchie, Boston, William Jenkius, Andover, 5 00 N. White, Sylvester C. Fay, 5 00 Wellington, George Miles, Westminster, 3 00 N. J. Holden, Lynn, Mrs. J. P. Mendum, 3 00 Lucy G. Ives, Salem, D. L. and L. M. Child, Mrs. S. A. Barnard, J. Sawyer, Mrs — Jackson, E. G. Lucas, 2 00 Helen E. Garrison, 1 00 E. F. Burnham, Danvers, S. A. E. Ford,

Thomas Gairett, Wilmington, Del., One of the Finance Committee's papers, having upon it sundry Pledges, and cash payments to the amount of \$37 50, is missing; the payments cannot, therefore, be now acknowledged; but any corrections will be made, which are made known to SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

PLEDGES To the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Annual Meeting, January, 1860.

Francis Jackson, \$200 00 Wendell Phillips, William I. Bowditch, 100 00 James N. Buffum, Samuel May, Jr., Weymouth Female A.-S. Society, Mary M. Brooks, Concord, 20 00 Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridge, T. C. Severance, Roxbury, L. M. & C. L. Remond, Salem 10 00 Mrs. L. A. Reed. 10 00 N. H. Whiting, J. G. Dodge, C. B. McIntire, 3 00 H. G. Brockway,

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slaver Society, from Jan. 1, 1859, to Jan. 1, 1860. Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1859, as rendered, Rec'd for donations and collections at annual meeting in Boston, 432 94
Rec'd from Treasurer of National Anti-Slavery Subscription, for donations of friends, Rec'd from donations and collections at New England A. S. Convention, 590 31
Rec'd from contributions at Framingham, 97 50
Rec'd from Abington celebration, 76 78
Rec'd from proceeds A. S. Fair at Worcester, 200 00
Rec'd from pledges, subscriptions and donations from individuals, as published in Liberator, from month to month, 2065 92

\$9863 78

EXPENDITURES Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 1, 1859 to 1860. Office rent, five quarters, R. F. Walleut, for services, thirteen months, 460 46

S. May, Jr., for services one year, and expenses, 644 17
J. M. W. Yerrinton, reporting. 93 00
J. S. Cloutman, for sign for office, 22 62 Francis Jackson, Treasurer American Anti-Slavery Society, Expenses New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

Towards expenses of John Brown meeting.

R. F. Walleut, for 50 copies Liberator, sent to members of Congress. Sallie Holley, for services as Lecturing Agent,

C C. Burleigh, E. H. Heywood, A. T. Foss, "Henry C. Wright, " Charles L. Re Balance to new account, 591 31

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

Jan. 24, 1860. I have examined the original accounts wrecked Jan. 16. Eleven passengers and twenty-two of the crew were lost. The vessel and cargo were a total loss; also the mails and treasure.

Chase had 75 from which the foregoing abstract is taken, and find them properly vouched and correctly cast; and the whole amounts received and paid, and the balance in the Crew were lost. The vessel and cargo were a stract, are correct.

WM I. ROWDITCH designed. WM. I. BOWDITCH, Auditor.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

MR. GARRISON : DEAR SIR-I hasten to acknowledge the following sums, just received from Mr. CHARLES FOLLEN, for

the National Anti-Slavery-Subscription :-Fulfilment of the intention of Mrs. ELUA LEE FOLLEN, \$50 00 Miss Susan C. Cabot, Mr. Charles Follen, Mr. Russell Scott, 50 00 40 00 Mrs. George Lee, 20 00

\$185 00 MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 1 to Feb. 1, 1860. Rec'd of Wendell Phillips, to redeem pledges, Rec'd from estate of Samuel Philbrick, to

redeem pledge, Rec'd of Wiltard Comey, East Foxboro', donation. Rec'd from estate of Charles F. Hovey, toredeem pledges,
Rec'd of Varnum Lincoln, to redeem pledge,
of Edmund Quiney,
of Edward S. Cushing,
of Georgina Otis,
of Abigail Newhall, 400 00 Collections at annual meeting Mass. A. S.

Mary R. Stickney, EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Masachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:-

Taunton, in Universal- Sunday A. M., Feb. 19. " evening, Raynham. West Bridgewater, East Bridgewater, Tuesday. 21. Wednesday, " Hanson, Pembroke, 22. Thursday, " Friday, .

FREDERICK BROWN,

Brother of the late Captain JOHN BROWN, accompanied by CHARLES LENOX REMOND, will visit the lowing places, and address audiences therein on the

Friday eve'g, Feb Sunday after'n and eve'g, " Abington New Bedford. 19. Fall River, Monday eve'g Wednesday eve'g, Providence, Thursday " Pawtucket, 23. Friday Woonsocket, Worcester, Sunday WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in

MILFORD, (Mass.) on SUNDAY afternoon next, Feb. 19, on 'The Plenary Inspiration of the Bible,' and in the evening on 'The Relations of the Anti-Slavery Movement to the Harper's Ferry Tragedy." CARD-Susan R. Capen, M. D., Physician

and Accoucheur, 57 Bartlett street, Charlestown, (for several years a successful practitioner in Sharon,) offers her services to treat the diseases of Women and Children; and is ready to attend Midwifery cases.

A PRINTER WANTED!

ONE well acquainted with Book, Job, and Letter-Press Printing, will hear of a good situation on an Anti-Slavery paper in the country, at fair wages, with chance of becoming a partner. Subscription list of said paper exceeds 600,—job work abundant. Applicant for said situation must be a man of sobriety, and good business habits. For particulars, inquire at the office of the Liberator, of WM, LLOYD GARRISON or R. F. WALLCUT.

30.000 COPIES SOLD IN ADVANCE OF PUBLICATION.

The only Genuine and Reliable Biography, authorized by, and for the Benefit of the Family.

THE LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN

BY JAMES REDPATH. With an Auto-Biography of his Childhood and

Youth. 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.

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 approval, as may be seen by the following letters :-

Extract from a letter of Mary A. Brown, widow of Capt. John Brosen. NORTH ELBA, December, 1859.

MESSES. THAYER & ELDRIDGE:
DEAR FRIENDS—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

is a very good one. Yours, respectfully, MARY A. BROWN.

Letter from Salmon Brown, son of Capt. John Brown. NORTH ELBA, December, 1859.

MESSRS. THAVER & ELDRIDGE:

DEAR SIRS—I was somewhat acquainted with James Reduath 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, 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.

CHARLES HAZELTINE, PIANO-FORTE TUNER

REPAIRER.

Orders may be left at Russell & Tollman's, 291 Washington street, and at the Neponset Post-

Mr. H. has permission to refer to Thomas Ryan, Wulf Fries, and their fellow-members of the Men-delssohn Quintette Club: also, to Woodward & Brown, and Wm. Bourne, Piano-Forte makers; B. F. Baker, and W. R. Babcock.

Resistance to Slaveholders!

THIS day published, a pamphlet of 36 pages, en-THE NATICK RESOLUTION:

OR, Resistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty of the Southern Slave and Northern Freemen, BY RENRY C. WRIGHT.

RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD." Price, 10 cents. To be had at Bela Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, Beston, and at the *Liberator* office, 21 Cornhill.

Boston, Jan. 11.

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### POETRY.

For the Liberator. TO NEW ENGLAND. New England, quickly ground thine arms, Heed not the toesin's wild alarms; Speak never more the Adams name, A 'nation's deep reproach and shame : Let hunters trail upon thy soil The bleeding fugitive from toil; Give tyrant lords thy worthless rights In Bunker Hill and Groton Heights, That they may revel, burn and kill, Insult and ravish at their will, Until within thy borders none Their right to rule shall scorn to own; Then shall the Union be secure, And Congress agitations fewer, While Yankees all may safely go Where pitch-pine trees and cotton grow. Ashaway, R. I., February, 1860.

From the English Woman's Journal. LOSS AND GAIN. Thou hast done well to kneel and say : Since He who gave can take away, And bid me suffer-I obey.

And also well to tell thy heart That good lies in the bitterest part, And thou wilt profit by her smart.

But bitter hours come to all, When even truths like these will pall: Sick hearts for humbler comfort call.

Then I would have thee strive to see That good and evil come to thee As one of a great family.

And as material life is planned, That even the loneliest one must stand, Dependent on his brother's hand;

Bind every other soul to thine, In one great brotherhood divine. Nor with thy share of work be vext; Though incomplete, and even perplext,

So links more subtle and more fine

It fits exactly to the next. What seems so dark to thy dim sight May be a shadow, seen sright, Making some brightness doubly bright.

The flash that struck thy tree-no more To shelter thee-lets Heaven's blue floor Shine where it never shone before.

Thy life, that has been dropped aside Into Time's stream, may stir the tide In rippled circles spreading wide.

The cry wrung from thy spirit's pain May echo on some far off plain, And guide a wanderer home again. Fail-yet rejoice. Because no less

The failure that makes thy distress May teach another full success. It may be that, in some great need.

Thy life's poor fragments are decreed To help build up a lofty deed. Thy heart might throb in vast content, Thus knowing that it was but meant

As chord in one great instrument : That even the discord in thy soul May make completer music roll

From out the great harmonious whole. It may be that when all is light Deep set within that deep delight

Will be to know why all was right; To hear life's perfect music rise, And, while it floods the happy skies, Thy feeble voice to recognize

Then strive more gladly to fulfil Thy little part. This darkness still Is light to every loving will.

And trust-as if already plain How just thy share of loss and pain Is for another fuller gain.

I dare not limit time or place Touched by thy life; nor dare I trace Its far vibrations into space.

ONE only knows. Yet if the fret Of thy weak heart, in weak regret, Needs a more tender comfort yet,

Then thou may'st take thy loneliest fears, The bittest drops of all thy tears, The dreariest hours of all thy years.

And, through thy anguish there outspread, May ask that God's great love would shed Blessings on une beloved head.

And thus thy som shall learn to draw Sweetness from not that loving law That sees no failure and no flaw Where all is good. And life is good,

Were the one lesson understood Of its most sacred brotherhood,

ADELAIDE A. PROCTOR

From the New York Tribune. AN INVOCATION FOR THE TIMES God of the Free! is not thine awful brow Girt with the lightning of Sinai now? Spreadest Thou not sackcloth darkly o'er the sky Of this, the fabled Land of Liberty? Where sleeps thy sword of vengeance? Thou art just Bow down thy heavens, and smite us to the dust! Marshal against us air and earth and sea, And scourge us back to righteousness and Thee! Thine elder Israel dared provoke thy rod. And, in their leader, found a jealous God. We, too, have wandered; bring us back, we pray E'en though with blood we mark the toilsome way: A perjured nation, we thy wrath invoke ! Bind once again the chains our fathers broke; Humble our pride, and let our shame be seen; · Purge us with hyssop, and we shall be clean '; From fiery trials we shall purchase gain, And strength renewed from Freedom's cause obtain.

Yet, if thine anger slumber, oh, must we Fill up our measure of iniquity, Our sun go down at noon, and Freedom's shrine Be but the landmark of our swift decline? Rise! God of nations! for our succor come! Bid the foul tongue of Anarchy be dumb; Let Justice triumph ; give to Right success; Crush out the Wrong, and send the wronged redress Cleanse the dark fountain whence Corruption flows, And banish Vice with all her brood of woes: In dust and ashes we our sins confess: Sow in our borders seeds of holiness; Purge the high places of the land of shame; Let Honor boast a more than empty name ; Bind ermined Infamy to Freedom's car, A fettered captive, in this bloodless war: And overturn, until, from sea to sea, We hail a just, a goodlike Liberty!

REMEMBER. 'Tis well to walk with a cheerful heart, Wherever our fortunes call, With a friendly glance and an open hand,

And a gentle word for all. Since life is a thorny and difficult path, Where toil is the portion of man, We all should endeavor, while passing along, To make it as smooth as we can.

# THE LIBERATOR.

ATTITUDE OF THE 'RELIGIOUS' PRESS TOWARDS SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLA-VERY.

Will Mr. Garrison please insert in the Liberator the following article, which has been refused admission into the Congregationalist? Though a month has elapsed since the publication of the intensely proslavery article to which this is intended as a reply, no editorial or other answer to it has appeared in the Congregationalist; a fact the more noteworthy, as the clerical editor of that paper is exceedingly prompt to expose and refute any divergency from technical orthodoxy in the articles of his correspondents. I know that this exclusion of matter really anti-slavery, is the customary policy of the papers that call themselves 'religious'; (!) but the Congregationalist has obtained, among church-members, the reputation of being anti-slavery !-c. x. w.

REPLY TO A PRO-SLAVERY ARGUMENT. To the Editor of the Congregationalist :

DEAR SIR-Your correspondent J. S. R. (Jan. 13) gives us an article, entitled 'Rights of the Slaves to Forcible Resistance.' The scope of the article is to deny the existence of such a right, to assume the utter absurdity of that theory of the slave's relation to founded, and to ask certain questions which he assumes that 'the most sanguine Abolitionist' must answer in his favor.

In my judgment, truth and justice require these questions to be answered in the very opposite manner. In my judgment, the things which your correspondent pronounces absurd are perfectly accordant with reason and the nature of things, I will therefore, with your permission, answer his questions, and reply War, and reject the doctrines of the Non-Resistants.

Your correspondent lays great stress upon the declaration of Scripture, that 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' and upon the duty of submitting peaceably to existing authority, 'not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.' I have no complaint to make of these quotations, nor of any meaning which shall be found legitimately to belong to them. But it is certain that our most pious clergymen and our most learned commentators on the Bible explain these passages (and those other quotations from Scripture by which the Non-Resistants try to defend their theory) in a manner to allow the correctness of our Revolutionary War, and the right of an oppressed people generally to throw off the yoke of their oppressors by an armed revolution. These representations of the clergy and the commentators have been accepted and admitted by the churches, almost without exception; this portion of the community share, in common with the rest of our citizens, a perfect arms, both defensively and offensively, to maintain that independence until its acknowledgment was extorted from our opponents; and they honor, as patriots, our fathers who joined in this armed resistance, and stigmatize as 'tories' those who refused to join in it, maintaining that all this constitutes no violation of the intent and meaning of those much-quoted passages- 'The powers that be are ordained of God'and, 'Be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.'

Why does J. S. R. now attempt to lead us away from the settled and accepted meaning of these passages, and represent them as having, in regard to the stares, just that meaning and force which the Torics pretended in 1776, and which the Non-Resistants pretend now? Is the real meaning of the Bible thus variable? Does he not thus give countenance to the saying of irreverent triflers, that the Bible is a fiddle on which any tune can be played?

If we assume that the true meaning of these passages does not impugn the right of revolution, and the overthrow of a government which inflicts even the moderate amount of oppression against which our Revolutionary fathers rose, still less would it prowhich they suffer. It appears, then, that the Seriolength (entirely undesired by him) of stamping Washington and Warren as traitors, rebels and murderers.

What else has he to stand upon? After stating the slave has been stolen from himself, and has at all times the right to resume possession of the stolen property, whenever and wherever he can come by it-J. S. R. proceeds to controvert the doctrine thus:-

· However true such assertions may be of an African just stolen from his native country, they are ut-terly absurd when applied to classes of men whose mutual relations have been established for many generations, and have become incorporated with all their modes of life and habits of thought, and interwoven with the whole frame-work of society.'

What makes the above assertion of the Abolitionist 'utterly absurd'? When a system of robbery (J. S. R. admits that such was its origin) has been established for many generations, and become incorporated with all the modes of life and habits of thought of the robbers, and interwoven with the whole framework of the 'society' established by them, is the vicious character of the robbery thereby destroyed, or in the least degree diminished ? Has not the last person robbed the same right to regain possession of his plundered property as if several generations had not been robbed before him? Our Declaration of Independence asserts for every human being an inglienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The utter absurdity ' is in J. S. R's assumption that time and custom sanctify the invasion of rights, and finally turn wrong into right.

We have seen J. S. R's perversion of Scripture and recklessness in false assertion. His attempts at him attempting a Socratic argument with the Abolitionist, as follows :-

'Suppose, now, that the whole South should be ddenly convinced of the evils of slavery, and should in earnest set about its abolition. Suppose that nition of them as chattels, should cease at once—that their testimony should be cautiously admitted in courts of justice, and that other prerogatives of freedom should be conceded as fast as it could pru-

This is the very state of things that Mr. Garrison justice, (not to mention the fact that lying is a vice of slaveholders quite as much as of slaves,) and prugiving of all the prerogatives of freedom at once, feeling in the mines of the freed towards their vol- the noble cause it advocates. untary benefactors. This would immediately place

felt called of God to interfere for their help. I repeat it. If that which J. S. R. above 'suppos were done, the whole work of the abolition of slavery already being made to consider and carry out her would be accomplished, and a foundation laid for the suggestions.

commencement of civilization and Christianity in the Southern States. But see what unspeakable folly he proceeds to deduce from this proposition :-

· Would the most sanguine Abolitionist venture once to do away with compulsory labor, or to propose political equality with the whites, involving universal suffrage? If not, we must infer that at least some elements of the present system are not only lawful, but even desirable, in the present condition of the black? of the blacks.'

Your correspondent actually does not see that hi own proposition has already done away with com pulsory labor; with the legal authority (there was never any rightful authority) to extort it, and with the pretended necessity for trying to extort it. Now the natural state of demand and supply has taken the place of violent injustice. The planters, merchants, mechanics, manufacturers, want work done; the lib crated slaves want wages, wherewith to support them selves and their families. Those who want work go to the laborers and hire them, as the custom is in civilized and Christian countries; and the end of the matter is, that the relation between employer and la borer becomes just instead of unjust, and the work is better done than it ever was before, because now, for the first time, the laborer has an interest in doing it promptly and faithfully.

So much for the work. But J. S. R. fears, and imagines, in his ignorance, that the Abolitionists also the slaveholder upon which that alleged right is fear, the giving of political rights, including suffrage, to the freedmen. Let me call to his mind a few of the self-evident truths of his political catechism, the Declaration of Independence :-

. We hold these truths to be self-evident-that a men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments ar instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; whenever any form o to the more important of his positions, taking for the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and the granted, throughout, that both you and your corres- institute a new government, laying its foundation pondent approve of the American Revolutionary on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'

There can be no doubt that the slaves are 'govern ed,' very much governed! Their 'consent' to the government, then, and their voice in making it, are matters of justice. J. S. R. perhaps supposes himself to be a Christian. Has not his Christianity taught him so much as that old heathen knew, who said-Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!" Let him take with him also this crumb of comfort : how much soever ignorance may interfere with the best use of the elective franchise, intelligent wickedness will abuse it yet worse; and the adult male freedmen cannot possibly vote so ill, either for themselves or the country at large, as the slaveholders have done!

But, with headlong recklessness, J. S. R. goes on t say of the present government of this country, with its frightful tyranny over the blacks, both South and North, and with its suppression in Southern States of freedom of speech, of the press, of the mail, of the confidence in the rectitude, both of the act by which preaching of the Gospel, and of the free residence we first declared our independence, and of the use of and locomotion of Northern citizens, (not to speak of brutal assaults, mainings and lynchings inflicted on white people from the North who have committed no crime,) -of this, he proceeds to say-

· Such a government, with all its faults, is not only much better than anarchy, but better, probably, than any government which the blacks, if set free to-morrow, would be likely to establish for themselves."

J. S. R. is enormously in error in both particulars of this statement. To take his latter assertion first : if the slaves should receive their liberty and their franchise to-morrow, and should vote with perfect unanimity (an absurd supposition,) they could only modify, not control, the next election, since they are far inferior to the whites in numbers. But the delusion that any government is better than anarchy, habeen so often repeated, and so quietly accepted without examination, that it needs a more careful refuta-

I affirm that a government so unjust, so despotic. and so enormously depraved as ours has should stitled to be since the passage of the Fugitive Slan Law, is much worse than anarchy.

Certainly, anarchy has very great evils attending it. But it is what physicians call a self-limited dishibit the rising of the men and women whom we case; it always tends, and very strongly tends, to the call slaves against the ten-fold worse oppressions reëstablishment of government; its present evils are so acutely felt, and its possibilities so intensely fearture quotations of J. S. R. do not in the slightest de- ed, that the community feel very strongly urged to gree help his argument, unless they go the further adopt any sort of government that will rid them of. those evils; to do this as speedily as possible; and to leave all other business until this is accomplished. Anarchy, then, is constantly tending to bring itself argument of the Abolitionist, namely—that the to an end. Its evils, having plenty of rope, immediately hang themselves. As a matter of fact, anarchy has never lasted long among any people.

What are the particular evils which make anarchy so dreaded? and against which, government, any sort of government, is instinctively and immediately sought as the natural remedy?

They are the irresponsible exercise of power by every stronger person in the community against every weaker one. This is an enormous and intolerable group of evils; and even if the remedial government established be a despotism, it is so framed as to be a remedy for the existing evils, and the great tyrant actually protects the weak against the numerous small tyrants.

But, under our government, those very evils which

constitute the fear and the danger of anarchy, name-

ly, the irresponsible power of rich and strong individuals over poor and weak individuals, is permitted, established and perpetuated by law. The slaves and their friends suffer already, in a form tending to be chronic and permanent, those very evils which are so much feared in anarchy, but which anarchy so strongly tends to bring to an end. Our United States government, then, is worse than anarchy; just so much worse as the existence of a certain evil. surrounded with ramparts, defences and allies, is worse than the same evil in a temporary and fugitive form. No government,' spontaneously tending to an emendation of its evils, is vastly less dreadful and dangerreasoning are not less amazing—and amusing. See stituted as to protect, perpetuate and extend those same evils.

I say, therefore, confidently, that even a temporary anarchy, the overthrow of our present atrociously wicked government by any means whatever, would all buying and selling of slaves, and all legal recog- probably leave us in a better and more hopeful condition than at present. But the measure proposed by the Abolitionists, a peaceful separation of the Free States from the Slave States, and the adoption, by the former, of a Constitution, a code of laws, a Judiciary and an Executive which should really secure and his associates have always been trying to bring liberty to every human being within their boundaries, about. And, moreover, it is the very state of things and also to every immigrant who, without crime, that was brought about, in a single day, in the should seek their protection-this would be a state of British colonies of Antigua and Bermuda--to things not only unspeakably better than our present the unspeakable advantage both of the black and position, but positively good, great and glorious; a white population. As to J. S. R's reservations, tes. state adapted to secure, not only the blessings of libtimony is always 'cautiously' admitted in courts of crty, but the blessing and favor of God .- c. x. w.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR.' We volunteer, with dence, in an emancipation of slaves, would dictate the great pleasure, the publication, in subsequent columns of the Liberator, such notices of this valuable and adleaving no oppression to be resisted, and no arrears of mirable work, by Mrs. C. H. Dall, of Boston, as have rights for the attainment of which to make insurrec- fallen under our observation, trusting they will help tion; but, instead, establishing gratitude and good the sale and circulation of it, and thereby promote

We have heard, from a reliable source, that a highly the two classes in their right relation to each other. distinguished chemist has already intimated to Mrs. And it is precisely for want of such action by the Dall, that he will thoroughly train three or four masters that the Good Samaritan, John Brown, (the young girls to the practice of his own profession. Lafayette of the black race in this country, as Na- This would open to woman, at once, the mysteries of thaniel Turner of Virginia was their Washington,) the drug-shops, and the chance of a scientific career and is a most valuable offer. We feel quite sure that Mrs. Dall must feel deeply grateful for the attempts

a treatment full of practical good sense, in a small one says anything about its literary ability or the handsome volume of only 184 pages, by Mrs. Dall, beautiful mechanical execution of the work.—Tranpublished by Walker, Wise & Co., in Boston.

The question is not treated by her in the manner of the Woman's Rights, Conventions, that is, by declamation and appeals; but by a calm presentation of copious facts, based upon very careful study and observation. She invokes no other charity than that of thought. She is willing to allow for the pressure of habit and adverse taste. But starting from the fact, which is beyond denial, that most inglift those wrongs. We have read much upon the 'woman question,' but nothing more convicing or more powerful than this. The question of the pressure of the press women in the world have to support themselves, and that at least half of the hard work is done by them, she insists that what is wanting is not so much money to help the needy, (whether men or women,) but thought, to enable them to help themselves. She shows from Dr. Sanger's terrible book of New York misery, and Mayhew's Statistics in of New York misery, and Mayhew's Statistics in London, and Duchatelet, and other competent authorities, that the few avenues of employment open is full of startling facts and heart-moving experiboldly whether women are not poorly paid because wrongs involve every interest of society. We earthey are poor workers, she shows quite clearly that nestly commend the whole work to the thoughtful the difficulty lies in a want of respect for women as attention of all our readers. We wish it might be workers, based upon other considerations than their read aloud at every fireside in the land.—Antiindustrial ability; and then a jealousy of them on Slavery Standard. the part of other laborers. By showing what women have done, and what

spheres might yet be opened to them, and goe brayely into enumeration and detail. Nor does she by a woman, let him obtain and carefully perus of women in the higher work of the world. book concludes with some practical plans by which | Gazette. the young women of a happier fortune in life, and who are constantly asking what they can do in the matter, may find something to do. The whole 'Woman's Right to Labor, or Low Wages and work is prepared in the most carnest, practical, intelligent spirit. She does not forget that, in the Nov. 1859, by Caroline H. Dall, and now published order of nature, there are peculiar cares that fall by Walker, Wise & Co. In the first lecture - Death upon women. But she does not also forget-what or Dishonor '-the author brings startling facts, to

the consideration of all thoughtful men and women. Whether you agree, or whether you differ, you will hardly dony, when you have read it, that this is the way in which the question is to be discussed.

-Harper's Weekly.

gests what other pursuits, hitherto untrodden, may actual methods. They will lead to other suggestions. The first lecture shows the low rate of wages paid to women for work equal to that for that gets at once the widest circulation. Therewhich men are paid much more; shows that many fore, we are not sure that Mrs. Dall's book, on are driven into the grave, and many into lives of 'Woman and Her Right to Labor,' has yet found a sin, by starvation; shows the hardships, sufferings, circulation equal to its merits. It has quietly found sent by the want of occupations suited to their na- sympathize earnestly with the author's purpose, or ture and varied to their demand for it. We do not have been attracted to her topic by such notices of see how any practical man, any man of common it as have appeared in the public journals. sense, can read these statements, and not feel their this book should be read carefully in every family, force. If he will, he may abate one half for exag-geration, (though we see no need of it.) and there tions imposed by their human relationships; for will remain enough for full conviction. The second Mrs. Dall's topic is of the first importance to lecture shows that women have already succeeded, ciety, and there needs to be a truer and more genunder special circumstances, as inventors, agricul- erous public sentiment in regard to it. turists, masons, translators, teachers of languages, ers of china, type-setters, newspaper editors, post-thought and feeling. She has given the subject mistresses, cashiers and tellers in banks, book-much carnest attention, and she has the ability and keepers, fisherwomen, ticket-sellers on railways, intelligence to treat the subject properly. Her en-makers, wood-engravers, steel-engravers, drug- views are illustrated and enforced by gists, calculators for the Coast Survey and the Nau- facts which will surprise those who have not sick; as wood-carvers, makers of preserves, &c.; the way.' ministers or deaconesses, as distinguished from those to whom they may be new. Mrs. Dall main-preachers; teachers of schools for servants, and of tains that, in most cases, the wages of working gestions, which we can only refer to, in regard to some other improvements. This book, we repeat, responsible. In the second and third parts of the is one to be bought and kept and read.—Christian

This book comes to us just as we are sending our last sheets to the press; but we cannot forbear sec-onding its benevolent nim by a few earnest words. demanded, not only in justice to them, but also to Of the many controverted questions under the head of 'Woman's Rights,' Mrs. Dall says nothing.

She pleads only for the undoubted right of the ment. Why should a woman be paid less than a multitudes of her sex, who must work, suffer, or man, for doing the same work? If there be a valid ity of compensation with their brethren which, in | The views urged by Mrs. Dall are nowhere so

We are glad to see that this book is attracting son can spend a week in says: 'Mrs. Dall undervalues her book, in calling it 'A song for the women,' and in L'Envoi at the close, '' beautiful.'' It is better than a song, better for the time than beauty. It is solid, wholesome use. It is crammed with facts—cannot be summed up in a book notice—is a book to be bought, kept, referred to, and lent. Its suggestions will be tried, and become actual methods.' We cannot help thinking that Mrs. Dall had some hope of this last result. If it were otherwise, would she not have extended farther her remarks on the introduction of women to the charge of female prisons.

We tried to no purpose, until they are given it to somebody in marriage. The custom and encouragement of society should afford them much more than this. There should be open to them such ways to varied and profitable employment as will give them that independent and self-relying existence in the world, without which they cannot be well fitted for any human relationship or work that life may have for them. It seems to us that but little observation and thought are necessary to show that the expression of our hore that Mrs.

A subject which has excited a great deal of discussion, and which the laws of the various States are constantly recognizing more and more, has just received most thoughtful treatment, and therefore the treatment seems to have taken hold of the critics; no the treatment full of the critics in the constant of the constant of the constant of the critics. script.

We envy not the moral characteristics of the man whose heart this little work does not set throbto woman force upon her the awful problem of ences. It is an appeal to all that is most Divine in Death or Dishonor; and then, meeting the question human nature, in behalf of those whose rights and

If any one desires to read a work of the deepest in they are now doing, she reminds us how many terest and of unanswerable reasoning upon which is commonly called the 'Woman question,' presented forget to allude to the moral amelioration of affairs these lectures by Mrs. Dall. She has spoken a that would ensue upon a more general participation word both bold and kind, and deserves the gratitude The of women and the approbation of men .- S. School

I have just read, with much interest, a book called

is so universally forgotten—that upon most women, show that, from the present wages paid for wo-whether mothers or not, the necessity of labor is man's work, there is, oftener than is supposed, the whether mothers or not, the necessity of labor is main's work, there is, oftener than is supposed, the heavily laid. 'Plenty of employments are open to them,' she says, 'but all are underpaid.' And she poor pittanee which barely enables her to eke out existence, is quite too small if a helpless parent, inwomen of the higher classes, by engaging in some valid sister or children are to be cared for. She kind of work, create a respect for women's labor: clearly shows us the truth contained in the girl's and women of the higher classes never will do this remark, when she said, 'A whole day's work brings until 'American men feel what all American men only a few pennics, a smile will buy me a dinner. profess—a proper respect for labor as God's own demand upon every human soul.'

The sisterly, sensible and just views which the audemand upon every human soul.' demand upon every human soul.'

thor takes of her subject, must meet the approbation of every well-wisher to woman, to man also so earnest, and it is so interesting with curious for she falls not alone. In the second, 'Verify you facts and comparisons, that it properly challenges credentials,' she brings reliable statistics, the result of much care and labor, to show what practical opposition man offers to her advance; what faults lie in herself; and presents much interesting information as to what woman has accomplished and is able to do. She maintains that there are evils which can be remedied only by an increased respect Mrs. Dall has done in this book what has not for woman and for labor; that all women need an been done before, and what was wanted. She has occupation, since there is no greater enemy to body given us the reasons, sad and stern, why woman's and soul than idleness, unless it be the absurd pub-opportunities for work should be enlarged. She lie sentiment which compels to idleness. Much has shown what women are already doing, and have that is wrong in society may be ascribed to the done, in a great variety of occupations. She sugshould be to get a husband; and too many are fitted be opened to them. The work is timely. To how for nothing else. It is to be hoped that all who many young women, longing for some sphere of read the work, (and every one should,) will see the usefulness, it may bring the hint of that which God necessity of fitting girls, as well as boys, for some meant them to do in the world. Mrs. Dall under useful occupation. In the third lecture, 'The values her book in calling it, in her motto, 'A song opening of the Gates,' she makes many excellent for the women, and in 'L'envoi, at the close, and practical suggestions whereby the laboring class beautiful. It is better than a song; better for of women may be benefitted; she shows how much the time-being than beauty. It is solid, whole-more numerous are the occupations open than is me use. It is a practical treatise on an important generally supposed. The work has much valuable, social question. The good, however, of it is in the interesting, and sometimes saddening information, fact that a resume of it cannot be given it in a gathered from all quarters, and pertinent to the book-notice. It is crammed with facts. Its merit subject, which has been carefully studied by the is in its being a collection of numerous details con- author. The evidences of a kind heart, close obsercerning all that women have succeded in doing, and vation, faithful labor, and clear, strong reasoning in regard to all wherein they may succeed. For this faculties, are visible in the work, which is multum reason it is a book to be bought, kept, referred to, in parco, and deserves a place in every family.—Monand lent. Its suggestions will be tried and become treal Pilot.

It is not always the best and most needed book coarse and degrading labor, into which women are its way into the hands of many persons, who either

Mrs. Dall has not manufactured the book to which &c., set-captains, watch-makers, physicians, paint- we refer. It was an irrepressible growth from her tical Almanac, astronomers, dentists, school-com- led to pursue the subject carefully. The first part mittee women, (in the town of Ashfield.) registers of her book, which she entitles 'Death or Disof deeds, painters, sculptors, librarians, lecturers, honor, treats of the circumstances under which actresses, &c. The third lecture suggests that they some women are led to lives of shame through want be educated and employed as inspectors of hospitals, and friendlessness. She introduces the topic by prisons, factories, &c.; as box-openers, check-takers, saying,-- Already the chemist furnishes the attar &c.; as barbers and hair-dressers, especially for the of Cashmere from heaps of offal that lie rotting by Then follow explanations and statements assistants in jails, insane asylums, hospitals; parish of fact which will awaken wholesome emotions in industrial schools, &c. It also contains some sug- women are inadequate, and that such women are often exposed, by want and friendless circumstances offices of intelligence on an improved plan, and to temptations for which society is, in a measure book are shown the great varieties of employments for which women are adapted, and some of the obstructions in the way of such just and generous arrangements in regard to working women as are

It is not possible to contradict her facts; and we worse than suffer, to remunerative employment. In reason for it, in one case, there must be in all her first lecture, she brings forward a formidable others. But, in some departments of work, there array of facts to prove that the alternative of starvis unquestioned equality in the matter of wages, ation is the most frequent cause of female infamy When a paper of first rate excellence is offered for and ruin, -a statement amply confirmed by May publication in the North American Review, or the hew of London, and Dr. Sanger's History of Pros. Atlantic Monthly, the publishers do not wait to titution. The second lecture is devoted to the cre- know whether it comes from a man or woman, bedentials of female competency to various employ- fore determining the rate of pay. In such cases, ments, furnished by their actual success; and the there is no confident assumption that a woman must third, to practical suggestions as to avenues which work for half or quarter pay. And there should might, to the advantage of all parties, be opened for be none in any case where the work is precisely the female industry and enterprise. There is—we are same. In all cases, pay should be regulated by the surprised to find it so—no ultraism in the book, not character and quality of the work, not by the sex word which could alarm the sense of propriety in of the worker. Yet it is necessary to understand the most inveterate conservative; but it is full of that the injustice here attacked is not the work of considerations which need only to be placed before any single individual, nor of any special class of the public to insure the thoughtful heed of every individuals. It is more or less interphilanthropist, and gradually to lead to a social twined with the very framework of society, and, condition, in which the women who need employ-ment shall be able to find it, and with it that equal-in a half century.

the same or similar callings, has hitherto been de-nied them. Mrs. Dall's explicitness, directness, generally much better educated than women in and earnestness, in so worthy a cause, claim our Europe; and, at the same time, we believe, they hearty commendation.—North American Review. are more rigidly excluded from many kinds of work to which women seem especially adapted. No per-Paris, it is said, without the attention the subject deserves. The vigorous seeing the difference. Most of our young women editors of the North American Review and the have no opportunity to develop habits of profitable Christian Examiner have given in their hearty God- industry and skilful self-reliance. Custom has no speed, and we hope soon to see able articles in both career for them, beyond a few limited opportuniperiodical on the matter involved. The Examiner ties for employment. They must wait at home says: 'Mrs. Dall undervalues her book, in calling living to little or no purpose, until they are given it "A song for the women," and in L'Envoi at the to somebody in marriage. The custom and encour-

tion of women to the charge of female prisons, houses of reformation and the like? Here is a Dall's book will have a very wide and general cir point where the whole world must be ready to help her. The experiment has been tried with success in the Tombs at New York. There, the daughters of Isaac T. Hopper, and other virtuous and noble women, can go unattended, and help the helpless.

Here, no lady can get at the female prisoner in time

carefully cannot be without profit. - W This volume is made up of three lectures of the by Mrs. Dall, in Boston, during the last The author appears to have given much to her subject, and to have given much therein her subject, and to have consulted the best and who have written upon it. She sets forth he advantages of the present position of weather advantages of the present position of weather suggests such remedies as she thinks would set with a suggest of women's position. The book was much that is suggestive to thoughtful present would gladly do something to remedy the grass would gladly do something to remedy the grass cial evils of the day.—Boston Advertiser.

Mrs. Dall makes a noble and eloquent woman, and vindicates her claim to all the and dignities of honorable and suitable lab and dignities of honorant and saturate laber considers the disabilities and difficulties upder woman suffers, -her capacities too often timated and overlooked, and the men she may be elevated to her proper rank in of honorable industry. Mrs. Dall is an er clear-headed woman, and her book comin and arguments which every philanthropis and ponder with grave consideration.—Provides had Journal.

It is made up of three Lectures delivered is let ton, last month, by Caroline II. Dall, a lette known for the ability and zeal with which seek known for the double sex; in other and more season the cause of her sex; in other and more words, the cause of universal humanity. So has of your 'terribly in earnest' women, and the reason that she should be in carnest, s are the sources of immense suffering, and they with tremendous pressure upon women, that me portion of the human family who are least the portion of the frame. More employment for what and therefore higher wages for them, is what needed. By more employment, we mean that a men should be hired to perform several kinds a bor that are now nearly monopolized by men, h which the other sex are better adapted that men; and the men should take to larming mile men; and the men should have to arming and ilar manly callings, which, under proper direct would be found far more lucrative, as under up cumstances they would be far more beatlife some pursuits in which men now engage, to own loss, and that of the other sex. own loss, and that or the control of any gives many facts, in straight-forward largar. gives many mets, in straight-lorward ingene, are calculated to enable people to labor mellein the cause of social reform; and the tiger which she discusses matters must please era to who doubt the soundness of her opinions. - & Traveller.

Thank God! a song for the women as rely the men, exclaims Charles Auchester. The his contains three lectures upon opening the areast productive and profitable industry to the inc sex. The reasoning is cogent, unanswerile. examples to illustrate the author's position and chosen and applicable; and so far as we car in she has made out a plain case. She proposite to open the departments of labor and affecting tunity to women to perform honorable, reas tive labor, and escape a life of shame and easi ence.-N.Y. Evening Post. The question of death or dishonor, which sife

noment stares thousands of wretched women in face in every country under heaven, is in the h tures brought earnestly, affectionately, testale, the consideration of the favored class, who may complish by their efforts a happier solution than seems probable. Of the ability and necessitis women to labor, Mrs. Dall brings terrible issues from all parts of the world-even at our owndown To the consideration of the practical opposit man offers to her advance, what fault lies in here how much more numerous are the occupation or than is generally supposed, and what soul obers tions have prevented her taking advantaged the she brings reliable statistics, much interesting, and painful information, extensive observation, pel sense, and logical reasoning. The main care this deplorable state of things she traces, and a think rightly, to a want of respect for labor, said want of respect for woman. Let American labor train their daughters to regular employment they do their sons, and the whole class of walk women is at once raised, both in regard to be wages and to their position in the communi-Many of the practical suggestions in this valu-seem feasible and valuable, and we hope them be carried out .- Boston Journal

This book is well calculated to do good. It book of many facts. It shows conclusively that it wages paid for female labor is far too low, conput with what is paid for man's. It shows also far the prejudice against woman engaging in these ployments for which she is well fitted bees be from them, and not her sex. It is a book to

The papers in this volume are timely, able, as philanthropic. The Women of America owe it themselves to disseminate this work by tens of the sands .- Philadelphia City Item.

This little book comprises three lecture gives the benefit of the women of the present day. I lectures are well written, showing evidence of earnest consideration given to the subject, and the author's sincere desire for the welfare of ber The first treats of the degradation of a large t of women, attributing much of this deplorable a to the low wages which are offered for waman's bor, and bringing forward many facts dram has reliable sources, in proof of the assertion. There ond lecture shows the capacity of women for me ing in many of the professions and occupations which they have generally been excluded, cling, a support of the proposition, noted examples of the who have achieved celebrity in literature and art. say nothing of the thousands who, in the hunder walks and more retired circles of life, have seen plished much outside of the commonly accept here of the sex. In the concluding lecture, author makes a feeling and foreible appeal to t women of the, so-called, higher clases, who com plain of having 'nothing to do,' and at the same time are wearing away their lives in the pursuits
the fashionable follies of society, to spen the gate
to their suffering sisters, and to denote a portis
of their time. of their time and of their superfluons means inth establishment of schools and institutions in which the poor may find honorable employment.

The subject so ably and carnestly discussed Mrs. Dall, is one of the most important, and, the same time, one of the most difficult of treatment of all the great questions of the ameteenth certain The duty of society to the 'perishing classes' that should engage the attention of every ther book as an excellent stimulant in aid of a gr public sentiment, which shall regard all mer women as the children of a common Father, the heirs of a common inheritance.- Dedacase

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