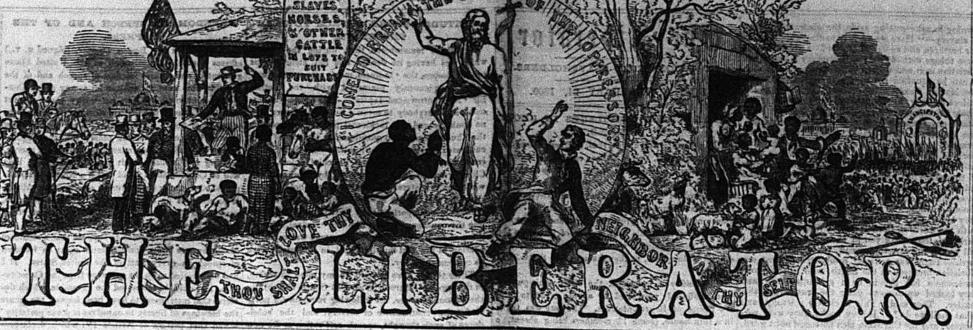
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an-

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directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, anylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soare authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the its of the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ED-END QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

This United States Constitution is 's covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

- WILLIAM BLEET CHANNING.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1522.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1860.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 27, 1859. The poet Saxe lectured here on Friday evening.

It was a poem, and I understand was full of patriotic and Union-bring sentiments. I did not hear him, though I the very desirous to do so. The truth is, I lost so auch time in getting here, and am so anxious to get away, that I could not afford to spare two or here hours time from proof-reading, and thus cause another day's delay. Of quite a different character, I presume, was the lecture last night, by Wendell Phillips. As it was Saturday, and no sork in the printing line could be done to-day, I had plenty of time to hear him; but I did not choose to contribute fifty cents towards the support of a rife traitor to the Republic, and a lying underer of the whole South. His subject was Toussaint L'Ouverture,' the leader of the negro insurrection in St. Domingo. I remember to have read, rears ago, a novel written by some lady who was afflicted with an excessive love for the negro race, of which Toussaint was the hero, and in which the ignorant and bloody-minded brute was assigned a place by the side of Washington. I do not know how far Wendell Phillips may have drawn as that novel for his facts, or how far his imagination supplied them; for I have seen no one who

hard him, and the Sunday Dispatch, (an abolition sheet,) of this morning, makes no mention of his The Southern reader, who has heard so world Wendell Phillips, may be curious to know that manner of man he is. He is described to me Ba tall man, with a most unpleasing expression of santenance, cold, gloomy, and impassive (!!)— vibout the least animation of manner, or one indistion of genuine, honest feeling. (!!) He is a radiate of Cambridge, and practised law until 1840, when he took up the trade of abolition lectuer, and has since lived upon the profits of that address pursuit. His lectures are all delivered be money. They are carefully written out, and exhit an accurate knowledge of the English lan-rage, and a correctness of literary taste which is

tage, and a correctness of literary taste which is sameful to see employed for such foul purposes as these to which he perverts them. He is said to be, personally, a wretched coward, and that he would be the last man in the country to trave himself the dangers to which he is constantly erging others. By the way, this is no uncomm phenomenon. I have witnessed it often, and it has as often furnished me with a theme for curious speculation .- Corr. Memphis Enquirer.

THEODORE PARKER.

Theodore Parker's letter from Rome-his second canonization of a traitor—is about the strong-st and most foolish piece of Osawatomie Brown fanaticism that has appeared. He goes in for a fight between the North and the South; a fight not with paper pellets but with leaden fullets; not with the eword of the spirit but with interial, rapiers; not at some future day but for this day. He holds that John Brown, in drawing about his neck a hulter. of April morning, 1775, when they drew upon them the fire of the British grenadiers; that is, he has made the one nation of the North and South in peace into two nations at war! Thus Theodore writes in the semisth of his blasphemous nonsense, the masterly eloquence of Seward could not accomplish, even he his manly appeal to the higher law, nor the energience of Phillips and Sumner, addressed to the reason and common sense of the people, seems likely tessebrought to pass by John Brown." the man's daft .- Boston Post .

PANATICISM STILL LIVES.

Fanaticism, indeed, still lives. But the monster to longer what he was. Bis cars grow shorter ly degrees, like the tresses of the mat-brown maid sal there is reason to hope that im care never again make so many fools on this continent, as he did during the loggy, know-nothing, free-love, spiritrapping period referred to. In other words, the rican people have so far recovered the sterling cannon sense, which has made them a great na tion, as to see and admit what we often told them -- namely, that the real enemies of the Union are the very parties who were most unscrupulous in charging the Irish with treason against their adopted They know, by this time, that if ega influence ' has been at work against the Union, comes not from Ireland, but from Ireland's oppressor. The London Times has tried to divert attention from the well-founded charge openly made against the British government, (not to mention the Exeter Hall Abolitionists,) of contributing large sums from the secret service fund towards widening the breach as much as possible, between the North The means adopted are character istic of the 'leading journal.' Crocodile-like, it fretends to weep over the 'unhappy strife;' and but thing attaches to say that slavery is not such a ing after all. But that large sums of money are regularly furnished in London, for the support Abolition publications in this country, is beyond a doubt. The journals thus subsidized in order that they may deluge their country in blood, if the the power, not content with playing the taitor, under the guise of philanthropy, make it a joint to sneer with all the little sarcasm of which they are capable, at the Irish and their religion. But the thing does not pay, even with the addi-tion of the Exeter Hall fund. The Anti-Slavery Sandard, for example, has never been able to sus tan itself, but is constantly making 'appeals' for apport to the friends of the cause agazine survived the first of its Abolition lucubrations only one year; and its publisher saved ands to die. Even with this precaution, he had a barrow escape from being crushed. Nor has the in the real cause of the failure of Messrs. Phillips. Suppon & Co., is now well understood. We migh sell fear for the Messrs, Ticknor & Fields also, amhe as their resources are; but they are 'wide trake. It is, we believe, pretty generally known that they risk very little, if anything, more than their name on the title page. Otherwise they would be far too shrewd, as business men, to leave it still in the hands of Mr. Russell Lowell, the regextrespondent and chief contributor to the Ast. Savery Standard-to make it at once an Aboion organ of the darkest dye, and a medium of priodical attack on the Irish and their religion. Lowell does all in his power to please Exeter but all the Halls from this to Delhi, and again by Timbuctoo and Congo, could not es the English people, or any other people of ate, to read his 'poetry,' except to laugh it to Lagish Poets! Thus the real enemies of the Union precisely those who are most disposed to give to petty spite against the Irish; but who, it Persant to add, have too poor an intellect to reany but their publishers, save fanatics like has Brown and his followers.—Boston Pilot. SENATORIAL LEGERDEMAIN.

sue with him in relation to his views on State rights,

open enemies of the Union. It is a fair sample of the straightforwardness and sincerity of the party which is laboring might and main to bring the quar-rel between the North and South to such a pass that compromise will be impossible, while they are loudest in their shouts of 'long live the Constitution! We are reminded by this policy of the scene in the quaint allegory of Bunyan, where the pilgrim beduaint allegory of Bunyan, where the prigrim of holds a man pouring water upon a fire which, not-withstanding, blazes more brightly every moment, the solution of the wonder being found in the fact through the Northern States, and witness the prosstream of oil upon them. Such tactics are unworthy profane the highest legislative body in the nation. There was a time in our history when such pitiful diation of any Senator by his constituents; but these t invades the precincts of the Senate of the United States, once the synonym of all that was pre-emi-nently dignified, honorable and patriotic.—St. Louis

SELECTIONS.

THE TRIAL OF STEVENS.

SPEECH OF GEORGE SENNOTT, ESQ.

lar cause, in the midst of a justly indignant and corn, and make it into brooms at the bottom, and on defence, to express sentiments unpleasing to you all. you may see the air, the earth, and the water, all at It is serious to the unfortunate prisoner, and it is work for them. But at the same time, the ocean is serious to you; gentlemen; for the providence of God, whitened to its extremities with the sails of their has brought you together upon a case wherein broth- and usefulness. Massachusetts is perhaps the moers and friends are assembled to judge a friend and flourishing of the Northern States. Yet of natural brother, and condemn him, perhaps, to inevitable death,—not because he was worthy of moral blame, but because he violated a municipal law,-the first case of the kind that ever has occurred in our history. May Heaven in mercy grant it to be the last! My countrymen, was there ever under heaven a land happy as ours has been for the last forty years? What other race of man, since his creation, ever reother modes of expeditious intercommunication knit ceived from God benefits so many and so great? the whole country into a closely compacted mass, Separated from every enemy on every side—overflow-through which the productions of commerce and of each other, or compete with each other, any more han man can rival woman, or woman compete with sympathy. proud of a common and most illustrious ancestrygoverned by a common law, and bound together in the loving, melting, heart-moving music of a common mother tongue—what madness has overwhelmed us all, that we find ourselves suddenly glaring at each other with blood on both our hands; and, what heart and brain set on first of half first heart and brain set on first of half first on the first of producwhat heart and brain set on fire of hell first entered our Western Eden, and set us on each other? Ah, youthful West. Because nature has been prodigal to fellow-citizens of the dis-United States, it was no us, we seem to think it unnecessary to do anything infernal spirit from the other world that wrought ourselves. The industry and skill that have converted us so dire a mischief. It was a small source from the inclement and barren hills of New England into which those horrors sprang. The thing that did it a garden, in the genial climate and fertile soil of the all has neither heart nor brain. It has only a tongue South would create almost a paradise. Our natural and a belly—a tongue to twaddle, and a belly to fill. It is that feeblest production of the decay of Amercan statesmanship, to wit : the professional politiian. A statesman, the gift of heaven to distracted nations, is as rare as a prophet. But the race of politicians is cheaply propagated, and is as numer-ous and as useful as the thistle and the burr. It was after the establishment of the Missouri compromise when, every advantage and energy have been more that this miserable breed began to annoy us. The than doubled. Yet to-day, owing to the machinagreat old statesmen who had laid the foundation of tions of foolish, unprincipled politicians alone, and our greatness broad and deep, were going calmly to from no other earthly cause, it is safer to be a murtheir great reward. Discussions upon slavery, and derer, dripping with blood, in many parts of the slave South, than to hail from the illustrious Common-States themselves. You had almost reached the wealth of Massachusetts, or the imperial republic of end the detestable thing—and do it yourselves with-out assistance, or even advice from us, your broth-At the North, he is likely to be a bankrupt shoeers. It was emphatically an era of good feeling, maker, who prefers to swindle and go half starved We were all one people, and many men still living rather than work and pay his honest debts; in the remember with regret the happy and cordial inter- South, he is more than likely to be a lawyer without Northern commerce, who met round the hospitable stock in trade of one is anti-slavery gabble; the tables of the Capital to felicitate each other on the magnificent progress of a common country. All at ter. The respectable people of their several localionee, a small society appeared in the city of Boston. magnificent progress of a common country. All at once, a small society appeared in the city of Boston. It was a very insignificant company then—very much resembling a missionary or a peace society, and composed apparently of the same sort of people unmentionable disorder; they abandon the polls to —enthusiastic men, and respectable, benevolent and them; they stay at home in Massachusetts to the sympathetic women, old and young. Its purposes number of 120,000 votes. The fellow-loafers of the sympathetic women, old and young. entirely peaceful. Its numbers were utterly insignificant, and its personnel of no manner of in luence, except that some of the ladies belonged, l believe, to high Boston society. Such as they were, the member of Congress at that time did not think them of sufficient consequence to notice their ques-tions on the subject of slavery. Happy would it have been for us all if his successors and their oppo-nents and friends had ever since followed his exam-

ple. But it was not so to be. Instigated by some

contemptible political rogue, an unruly mob of well dressed blackguards surrounded their place of meet-ing—offered insult to the assembled ladies, drove them

neek of one of the men to hang him. That rope may Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, is a gentleman one day strangle the life out of the American Consti-fond of nice distinctions. He is as acute as the tution. That man was William Lloyd Garrison. Alcelebrated Linkum Fidelius, who could abstract the most about the same time, other and similar outcolor, taste, smell, shape and all other appearances rages were perpetrated in various cities of the North, of the orange, and then contemplate the substance and one of the earliest and most vivid recollection of which these were qualities. He can admire and of my childhood, is the recollection of the horror I applaud the traitor at the same time that he repro. felt when I was told that the man I saw pelted down bates the treachery. He can take to his heart the the street, by a shouting crowd, was a 'vile abiliformer, and abhor the latter. He can love the Union tionist.' I did not know what that meant then, but with a devotion supreme and deathless, and can ven- thought it must be a monster, of course. I grew up erate as a hero the man who has declared that the almost to manhood with similar feelings, and can Constitution is 'a league with hell and a covenant truly say, that for a long time I saw an abolitionist with the devil.' He 'never in his life breathed about as often as I saw a negro—a race of men not hostility to the Union '—not he; but he 'did at- much encouraged at the North. At school and at tend an abolition festival in Boston, and made a college, it was nearly the same. An abolitionist was speech. Garrison was present, and raved and blasseldom heard of or seen, and when he was, he was phemed as usual; and though Mr. Wilson took is pretty severely saubbed. If, during these years, a Southerner or anybody else had told us that the and so forth, yet he admired Garrison for his de- North was to be abolitionized, or that we thought votion to what he believed a duty.' He had also about the South in any way except as a country full of paid a tribute to the abolition party in England who generous, hospitable people, we would undoubtedly iberated eight hundred thousand slaves in the West have thought him unsound in mind. We were ful Indies, and left them more abject in their misery of our own affairs, and never, I venture to say, so than any body of laborers in the world; but still he much as thought of your existence, except to your advantage. The South to us had a traditional rep-This is the substance of the defence which Mr. Wilson set up in the Senate when arraigned before statesmanlike and scholarly men. In those happy, the country for fraternizing last summer with the and it may be irrevocable days, a Northern man open enemies of the Union. It is a fair sample of would come here without being thought to be an abolition sneak, and a Southern man could visit us without being considered a blustering humbug. Southern men respected us, and we loved them. Mr Preston, an eminent man from South Carolina, for example, paid us, during those happy days, before his own constituents, one of the finest compliments we have ever had. With your Honor's leave, I will

perity, the industry, the public spirit, which they exbut they especially misbecome and which life is rendered comfortable and respectable without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home, double-dealing would have secured the prompt repu- There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated, no man idle, no waterfall, even, unemsimple and unsophisticated times have gone by, and ployed. Every person and everything performs a Yankee smartness is a badge of distinction, even when part toward the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and railroads, and public edifices, and towns canals, and railroads, and public edifices, and towns and cities. Along the route of the great New York canal, (that glorious monument to the glorious mamory of De Witt Clinton,) a canal, a railroad, and a turnpike, are to be seen in the width of perhaps a hundred yards, each of them crowded with travel, or overflowing with commerce. Throughout their course, lands that before their construction would scarcely command five dollars the agre, now sell for fifty, sevcommand five dollars the acre, now sell for fifty, seventy-five, or a hundred. Passing along it, you see no space of three miles without a town or village, and you are never out of the sound of a church bell. of the South are mistaken in the character of these MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,—I appear before you with unfeigned solicitude. The case is a most serious one. It is se-It is se- they set up their little manufactory of wooden buttons highly excitable people, and may be obliged, in the its top they erect a windmill. Thus, at a single spot, working out great ends in most mysterious ways, ships, and the land is covered with their works of art ice. Absolutely nothing but rock and ice! Every-thing else of her commerce, from which she derives so much wealth, is artificial-the work of her own hands. All this is done in a region with a bleak climate and sterile soil, by the energy and intelligence of the people. Each man knows that the public good is his individual advantage. The number of railroads and ng with riches and with strength—with producons so diversified and so correlative that what one edge, are universally diffused; while the close interhad the other needed, and thus we could not rival course of travel and business makes all men neighbors, and promotes a common interest and common than man can rival woman, or woman compete with sympathy. In a community thus connected, a single man—crowned with a common historic glory— flash of thought pervades the whole land almost as record of a common and most illustrious ancestry— rapidly as thought itself can fly. The population becomes, as it were, a single set of muscles, animated by one heart, and directed by a common sensorium. How different the condition of things in the South! Here the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No improvement is seen going on-nothing is done for posterity-no man thinks of tion, and when exhausted, are abandoned South would create almost a paradise. Our natural advantages are among the greatest with which Providence has blessed mankind, but we lack the spirit to enjoy and improve them. The rich ore is beneath our feet, yet we dig not for it. The golden fruit hangs

And this was said of us twenty years ago, since conclusion, now so distant, that you were ready to New York. Permit me here to tell you, though change of benefits and good wishes between the fine a brief, and often without a book, whose practice is confined to the bar of the village hotel. The whole ly too much occupied in money-making, to vote them down, but they shun these brawlers like an unmentionable disorder; they abandon the polls to two specimens of rogues elect them; and now two men are appointed to look after the interests of the men are appointed to look after the interests of the country, who are not acquainted even with its geography. And they are entrasted with the business of the nation, who have been chiefly remarkable for reckless and fraudulent neglect of their own. These men meet each other perhaps in the balls of Congress—not to consult, for they can only vituperate the counsel, but to harmone—not to enact gress—not to consult, for they can only vituperate —not to counsel, but to harangue—not to enact useful laws, but to invent ways and means to get themselves re-elected. And thus they have done again and again by abusing men and institutions of which they respectively know nothing, and playing upon, and trading with, the passions of the most frivolous of the people. Such is the material which makes up the bulk of what we are pleased to call eminent out of their hired hall, and in open day, and in the heart of the most peaceful and orderly city in the whole civilized world, actually put a rope round the

from the bough, and we lift not our hands to gather

politicians, on both side of Mason and Dixon's line, men followed an old man into the town of Harper's high are the men whose want of sense and want of Ferry. The old man was one whose character ex-Such are the men whose want of sense and want of principle have led, step by step, to the unpremeditated horrors of Harper's Ferry. You may say, if you please, that abolition teaching did this. But what produced abolition teaching, and gave it its was politically affected abolition teaching. It was politically with one proper execution, they followed widespread effect? I will tell you. It was politi-cal rescality undertaking to put down freedom of speech by force, that made men help on the aboli-tion movement, who were not then, and who never will be abolitionists. Let me prove it, gentlemen, by well known, historical facts. The mobbing of abolitionists by their own fellow-citizens had hardly abolitionists by their own fellow-citizens had narmy you do not leave that saved his life after beased, when a few people petitioned Congress to It was your fellow-citizens that saved his life after be was wounded. It was the care of your people that staunched his gaping wounds, and raised him almost Gentlemen, did you save him considerable as they had been when first dispersed out of the grave. Gentlemen, did you save him from the bullets of the soldiery and nurse him for so many days, only to deliver him at last to the hangman? The indictment is founded upon a statute of left unnoticed? Were they quietly and sensibly sent about their business? No, your Honor; no, Mr. Foreman. If any quiet and sensible counsel had prevailed, the politician's occupation was gone. The mischief-makers then in Congress seized it as a galsend. They wanted something to twaddle about, and they reached into the ark of our covenant for their subject. They laid their dirty hands upon the their subject. They laid their dirty names upon the sacred right of petition, belonging as a birthright of the United States. This new indictment is one of the sovereign people of the United States. They brake up the hearthstones of the edifice of the Union to pelt away a few of the poor tenants with the saw it, for the first time, on Thursday evening. The fragments, and then affected surprise at the indignation of the owners. Fro n that dilapidated house, through Kunsas, the road leads straight to Harper's Ferry, and the poor prisoner came in that direction before you.

question; for we all detest slavery-all of us. We It is our turn now to cry out; and however much the dead. It will not be many months before you will find us more conservative than will be agreeable to you. It will be a sad mistake of yours, if you gauge the sincerity of the North and East by your politician unite to advertise their respective wares, and cheat you into paying for them. Do not diswheat together until the harvest. It is exactly this is that there can be no conspiracy of Steven

Gentlemen, pardon me for dwelling so long on the national aspect of the case. The opening of the government enabled me to do it—indeed, it in some measure compelled me to attend to that branch of it. We will now, if you please, attend to the indictment and the testimony.

Some months ago, about twenty misguided young

perdition. With one poor exception, they followed him blindly and without complaint. The rocks, the river and the hungry gallows devoured the blood of most of them, and the poor remnant is before you. patiently waiting if you want more blood, and ready for either fortune. Gentlemen, you cannot, four lines. There are three counts in it. It, with two other indictments, takes the place of one older indictment now disposed of. The older indictment was the one I was prepared to try, if any was tried here; but I did not think any case would be tried here. I thought, when I was here before-indeed, I was assured, and had reason to think-that Stejury was empannelled on Friday morning. Such an examination as was possible, under those circumstances, I have given to it; but I have often had more time to examine an indictment for assault and hattery than I have had to examine this indictment, Now, gentlemen, allow me to give some informafounded upon a most sweeping statute, embracing tion that I hope will not displease you. If it does, the most shadowy title of the criminal law, and excuse it, for it is true, and presented from good with death in every line. Gentlemen, the law of Virginia gives you power to judge of the law. This places the law of the land upon the same level with

I know the sentiments of the people where I live. I main the people, not the politicians, who have no sentiments that they are not the testimony of the witnesses; and if you have a ready to sell. We are all sound on the slavery reasonable doubt of the application of the first, or of the credulity, or even the competency of the cannot help detesting it. But we ardently desire second—and by that word competency I mean, gento let it alone. It is your institution-not ours, tlemen, its fitness to come before you-you must thank God. 'Hands off-let it alone-mind your give the prisoner the benefit of that merciful doubt. own business,' these are the expressions that suit us. Let me make myself plain to you, gentlemen. Have to use when Northern men attempt to meddle practically with you. But then we have an institution which is ours, if not yours—it is Irsedom of to talk as if you really needed to have matters speech, and we want you not to meddle with that. to and do go to hear my honored acquaintance, Wendell Phillips, or that I am proud of the friend- case, you have the right to say to yourselves: 'We ship of Dr. S. G. Howe, or that I admire the char- will act as if we never heard that. We will leave acter of Wm. Hoyd Garrison. It is true you can- that out, whatever it was, or even if the Judge did not help yourselves, and I am glad you cannot in-not stop it when I asked him, as you know I have terfere about it; but it is an offence and an outrage very often. If you think the witnesses all tell the for you even to try—so do not try. Let us alone—truth, then you must look at the law, and make up hands off, if you please. Mind your own business. heard them say. And if Judge and counsel differ, we detest slavery, don't undertake to keep us from it appears, after all, that you must decide. The saying so or thinking so, as long as we never med-dle, practically, with you and yours. That med-each count, as we call it. The first charges him dling, foolish men on both sides have undertaken to with advising slaves to rebel, and even tells us who practice with what did not concern the slaves were. Is that true? Col. Washington them at all, is the cause of all our difficulties, from has told you what he heard and saw. You rememthe hanging of William Lloyd Garrison down to ber it; we have not defied it. It seems that Ste the execution of Captain John Brown and the trial vens, with others, armed to the teeth, took master of this young man beside me. And now, hear the and slaves all prisoners together; that the slaves determination of the young men of the North. Were very much frightened; that Mr. Alstadt's house was broken open forcibly, and his negroes one million of actual votes. We, I mean, who have bitually attend to making money, and who com-monly abstain from voting. We have hitherto cared nothing for politicians or their gabble; but this Harper's Ferry affair would haply have awakened it has even been boasted of. Now, how can you believe all that, and believe that Stevens, or any one else, advised them to do anything? If it were said he forced them or compelled them to rebel, that would be true, and the truth is that Stevens forced knowledge of the transparent hypocrisy of the every one, and had no time to persuade any one. Union meetings. They are Union meetings, in- Do not let the government lead you astray by deed, where the political tradesman and the trading telling you that advice can be given without a believe the sincerity of the slowly moving voters be-believe the sincerity of the slowly moving voters be-cause you understand the motives of Mr. Caleb accomplished, as the lawyers say, by force and Cushing; and as for your counsellor, Mr. O'Conor putting in fear.' To advise has many meanings, —he does your law business, I am informed, and but to force or compel is certainly not one of them. does it well-could you not instruct him to stick to You may be told that Brown, or some others, adyour law business, and let the defence of slavery vised the slaves, and that the advice of one of the alone? It is not singular that you wish Northern band was the advice of all. It was, if all consented men to let you alone on that point, for whenever to it at the time it was given. It was, if the adthey touch it, even as friends, they do you damage. vice was in accordance with the original design. If When Mr. O'Conor, reciting his argument in the not, it was not. If you doubt any of these partic-Lemmon case to the New York tradesmen's meet- ulars, you must acquit, and if you doubt whether ing, tells us in your name that if slavery is not the evidence concerning it was rightly admitted, you morally right, the Union ought not to endure, he must give the poor prisoner the benefit of not only makes you doubt his patriotism, and even doubt, for you are judges of the law, and a doubt his sincerity, but he gives up to Wendell Phillips of the law on your part is as fatal to the govern-more ground in one instant than the Democratic ment's case as a doubt of the fact. You know that party can recover for you in twenty years. 'If much law was discussed—you heard the discussions, slavery is not right, then the Union cannot and only you, after all, must decide them. The next ought not to endure!' Great God! what more count charges us with conspiring with the slaves to formidable postulate could the devil himself require make insurrection. Gentlemen, the word conspire for our complete destruction? Why, this is the comes, you know, from two Latin words, and means very thing we have been trying to keep out of poli- literally to breathe together, that is, to agree enties; it belongs to ethics. Gentlemen, sin is not tirely together to do something not lawful, right, but the Union can and ought to endure, for course, it has a bad meaning—worse than the word Providence has seen fit to leave the tares and the agreement. With this understanding, how plain it illogical application of the rules of theoretical slave, unless they agreed about it! And it must be ethics to the conduct of practical life, that has al- mutual. Bad as the agreement may be, it must be ways distinguished the fanatic and ideologist from an agreement, or there is no conspiracy. It takes the man of sense, as completely as would a wing or the consent of two minds to make a bargain, even the declarations of these gentlemen. It is from a sociates forced the slaves to take up arms, there of a professional politician, of any grade, that you It was force on one side and fear on the other, or scertain what the carnest and thoroughly else your testimony is not true, and the constant awakened North will do with our part of this vast assertions that your negroes would not join the ininheritance, which is yet, I believe, an undivided vaders cannot be true. Here, gentlemen, is a matportion. We have not attended to your grievances ter for you to settle. If Stevens is guilty, then before, because we really did not stop to see if you had any. But now we are ready to remedy some faithful, then Stevens never did conspire, and you of the mischief by resolutely overwhelming with the honors of which is not guilty. And if you really canthe honors of private life, some of our ablest partinot tell whether the negroes were faithful or not,
sans, beginning with the principal savers of the but only suspect it, for God's sake do not hang a

word; so can threats. A man can advise another to lend him money, but when he advises him with sans, beginning with the principal savers of the Union. Help us, gentlemen, by a good beginning on your side. Extend to us the right hand of brotherly love, and in it hold out the gift of the life of Stevens. With this living proof of the magnanimity of Virginia, I could collect as many Union meetings in the next two years as there are meeting-houses in the Northern States. And they would mean something. I should not be afraid to say to you, that even what you call the compromises of the Constitution might then be enforced to some extent. For men, you know, would often do for gratitude what they could not be got to do for money; and many men not now so triendly, would be grateful to you for sparing the life of Stevens.

Gentlemen, pardon me for dwelling so long on

has been dreadfully avenged. The active abolitionists are all destroyed or captured. You can afford to be magnanimous now. You are told he has broken the law. Well, duellists break the law broken the law. Well, duellists break the law every month, and come dripping with blood before juries, who yet acquit them. I recollect—you probably never have forgotten—that a fine young man, the son of one of your own citizens, was stabled to the heart in open day, in a neighboring place, by one of his schoolmates. The murderer was tried, defended by nine lawsers, and when he was neguited. defended by nine lawyers, and when he was nequit-ted, the town was illuminated for joy. This man here never murdered a human being—never threatened to murder-never laid a bloody vindictive hand upon any one in all his life. His moral character is above reproach. You heard your own jailor say he had not heard a profune or impatient word from him during his long confinement. Could I have had notice of the time of trial, I could have pro-duced strong evidence before you that he never com-mitted a crime in his life, except the crime of insubordination. He was trained in the North to hate slavery. He was forced to fight in Kansas. With a mind fanaticised by what he saw, he is here to day, having, after all, rather attempted to break law, than succeeded in actually breaking it. Can't you extend to this misguided, fanatical young man, the same mercy that you show to the mur-derer and the duellist? You may be told that, on the authority of the law, mercy is not yours. Gentlemen, I tell you, on the authority of God, 'Vengeance is mine—I will repay, saith the Lord.*
Aaron D. Stevens may soon die. You and I must follow him. Some of you may precede him. It is you, and not the sheriff, who will put the rope around his handsome neck. It is you, and not the sheriff, that will answer to our Lord. That responsibility is yours alone. And I would rather mount the gallows, I would rather be riddled with shot in the street, I would rather perish slowly in torment, and there end, than fall into the hand of Him who can destroy the soul and body in hell, with such a dreadful doubt upon my shrinking soul. with such a dreadful doubt upon my shrinking soul. Gentlemen, it has been said here that Stevens threatened profanely to kill the prisoners and burn the town. I shall not impugn the testimony, except to say that I do not believe it. It is inconsistent with all we know or ever heard of him. sistent with all we know or ever heard of him. Stevens is a brave young man. We all understand that. He showed that at Harper's Ferry; he shows it here to-day. Now, I will hot-call names, lest I should offend delicacy; but we have brave men in Jefferson county, as brave as Stevens, or even as Brown himself. You all know who I mean. If anything at all distinguishes this class of men basids their courses it is their kindness and tender. beside their courage, it is their kindness and tender-ness of heart. It is with Stevens as with his jailor. He is too brave to be cruel, and the infamous thought of burning and slaughter never came into or out of his heart. Gentlemen, I see white hairs among you. The hair of Stevens' old father is white-his heart is very heavy. You can cause it to sing for joy, or bring down that gray hair in sorrow to the grave. The man writes to me that 'Aaron was a good boy to him; he thought he would be a comfort in his old age.' Gentlemen, you may take away that comfort judge you for it. May He direct you. I can say @ no more, except to leave the case in your hands, hoping, rather than confiding, in your justice and

This address was listened to with profound attention by the jury and the large crowd of spectators present.

From the New York Tribune.

REPORT ON PERSONAL LIBERTY. Mr. Powell from the Select Committee on the subject of a law to protect personal liberty and to pre-vent slave-hunting in this State, made a written report to the law Assembly on Saturday. We give low an abstract of its principal points. The Committee recommend the enactment of a

law in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners, for the following reasons, among others: Because God has explicitly forbidden the rendition

f fugitive slaves to their masters. He has said, Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.' Deut. xxxiii. 15. 16.

Because protection is the first duty of civil government; and the state that does not protect all the rights of all human beings within its jurisdiction, forfeits its claim to the allegiance of human beings, disbands society, and compels its citizens to protect themselves, each with his own arms, as he best can-And a government that cannot protect personal liberty, can protect none of the minor rights that grow out of it.

Because, so far from its being true that the enactment of an effective Personal Liberty law by the State of New-York would injure, disaffect, and alienate our brethren of the South, the reverse of this would be true. Of the ten millions of 'our brethren of the South,' about the South,' about firm of the South, 'about firm of the South,' about firm of the South,' and alienate the south,' and the south firm of the south the South,' about four millions are slaves or free persons of color, who would hail with delight such a statue. Of the remaining six millions, who are free whites, only about one-fourth of a million are slaveholders, or could have any interest in the reclaiming of fugitive slaves; while the five and three-fourth millions of non-slaveholding whites could have no de-sire for their being sent back among them, to com-pete with and degrade their free labor. So that only one-fourth of a million among ten millions, or a pro-portion of 25 to 1000, or 2 1-2 per cent. of all 'our brethren of the South' could have the least objection o the most stringent Personal Liberty bill that could be enacted by the Legislature of New-York. The union and fraternity that are yet to be between the citizens of the North and of the South would be greatly promoted and accelerated by such an enact-The Committee further maintain, that

The clause of the Constitution respecting 'persons held to service and labor,' furnishes not the

sons held to service and labor, lumisces not the shadow of a pretext for the Fugitive bill of 1850, as expounded and enforced by the Federal Commissioners, in respect to fugitive slaves. The Constitution speaks of 'persons.' But, according to the code of Slavery, slaves are not persons, but the code of Slavery, slaves are not persons, but things, chattels. It speaks of persons held to service and labor.' But slaves are not, by the 'service and labor.' But slaves are not, by the Slave code, 'held to service '—they are only held as chattels. The Constitution speaks of 'persons held to service and in one State under the laws thereof.' But there are no State laws holding slaves to 'service.' By the testimony of John O. Calboun, Senator Mason. Judge Matthews, Judge Porter, and other prominent statesmen and civilians of the South, holding slaves, there are, in the Slave States, no laws establishing or creating the relation of Slavery. The Constitution speaks of persons from whom service or labor is 'due.' But nothing, by the code of Slavery, can be 'due.' But nothing, by the code of Slavery, can be 'due' from a clave, for he 'can make no contract' and incur no debt. The slave is held as property, and nothing can be 'due' from property to its currer. The letter of the Constitutional provision, therefore, does not warrant its application to slaves. Neither does its

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PRINTER MADE IN THE STATE OF THE

the enactment of a law by the people and State of New York for 'securing the blessings of liberty' to

all their inhabitants.

The Committee give, in an appendix, the substance of the different Personal Liberty laws in the Free States, as follows:

In 1850, Vermont led the way, immediately after the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill, by adopting a stringent Personal Liberty law, which has since been made still more effective.
In 1855, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed

one yet more stringent which was vetoed by Gov. Gardner on May 21, 1855, and immediately passed over his head by 32 to 3 in the Senate, and 230 to 76 in the House, and it is still the law. Michigan has adopted a similar law.

Wisconsin adopted a yet more stringent law af terward, declaring all liens or executions upon judg-ments obtained under the Fugitive Slave law absolutely void; and this law has been enforced. All these laws secure trial by jury to every fugi-

Maine has forbidden all State officers from assist ing in capturing or holding fugitives from labor, and has denied the use of her jails.

These laws will be found in Laws of Massachu-

setts, 1855, p. 924; Laws of Michigan, 1856, p. 413; Revised Statutes of Wisconsin, ch. 158, p. 912; Revised Statutes of Maine, 489, 491; Laws

In this State the Liberty bill received 84 votes last winter, against 22 in the Assembly, and failed in the Senate, the Committee thinks, only from want of time—not of votes.

The action of this State in favor of Freedom i

traced down from John Jay's administration through those of Tompkins and Seward to the present time. The record is honorable to the State, and the Committee believe it only wants the enactment of an effective Personal Liberty law to make New York in fact as in name a Free State. No worthier monu ment they say could be crected to the honor of Jay, Tompkins, Seward and other champions of Liberty, than such a statute.

JOHN BROWN NOT AT POTTAWATOMIE MEDWAY, Mass., Feb. 8, 1860. To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

In a reminiscence of John Brown, published in Th Journal a few weeks since, I gave it as my impression that Judge M. F. Conway (Member of Congress elect from Kansas under the new Constitution) had informed me that 'Old Brown,' in a conversation with him, admitted being present at the killing o Doyle and his confederates on Pottawatomie Creek Not feeling absolutely certain in regard to the matter, I enclosed the paragraph to Judge Conway, asking whether I had understood him correctly; and have received from him the following reply. the Boston Courier, the Journal of Commerce, Express, and other journals which copied the original statement, also publish Judge Conway's letter, in justice both to the living and the dead? A. D. R.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 28, 1860. My Dear Friend: You are mistaken in supposin I told you that Brown confessed to me complicity in the affair on Pottawatomie. He said the very oppo site. My recollection of our conversation is, told you he said to me that he was not at the killing but he approved it. This is, at any rate, the fact ne solicitude to be correctly represented in I have so the matter, because the Old Man was one of the no blest of those who stood up in defence of Kansas and no Kansas man can see his memory unjustly aspersed without indignation-much less, he himsel used to asperse it, without regret and anxiety. I of course exonerate you from any intention to do in justice. Ever truly yours, M. F. Conway.' justice.

We have received a letter from Judge Conway reiterating in the most positive terms this denial and adding : · It is, indeed, a wonderful circumstance, taken

from any point of view, how many persons have reong since confided cently sprung up to whom Brown le a dreadful secret—a secret which, if exposed, would have cost him his life—and which not being exposed, made every one in it liable to the penalties of a cap-And still more wonderful that all thes persons are of a class with which Brown never had any sympathy, and towards which he always entered a profound aversion! These witnesses are entirely too swift. They pretend to have been the bosom friends of the old man, to have shared with him the most awful secrets of his soul; and yet they are among the loudest in execration of his memory. They pretend to be in possession of a secret which most sacred private friendship; and yet they are roady to expose this secret, to blacken the name of This is unnatural and impossible. distrust all such testimony. From what I know, am convinced that Brown never had any personal participation in the killing of the men on the Pot-Cawatomie; and that, of course, he never told anybody he had. My recollection of what I said to Mr. ardson on this topic, is very distinct, and to this effect, namely, that John Brown said to me in Boston, two years prior, thas he was not at the killing on the Pottawatomie, but that he approved of it. Mr. Richardson could not have been do honor of giving me his attention at the time, or he would not have so far misapprehended me. The statement and to me by Brown was precisely

the same made by him to all his best and most confidential friends, touching the subject, and may be very safely taken for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in the matter. The fearful story of his seizing five or six men in their beds at night, tearing them away from their weeping wives and children, killing them by slow degrees, within hear-ing of their families, and then wantonly mutilating their dead bodies, was invented and propagated by one of the most notoriously lying rascals in the United States—an individual who has been doing all manner of base work for three years past, in this territory, for the Democratic party, and getting paid wretched service in hard cash. course, seized on by all the enemies of old Osawatomie as soon as it appeared, and hawked about the country, as embodying the indubitable record of the Pottawatomic Massacre.' But it is utterly unworthy of credit, and should be discarded by every honorable mind, as a malignant attempt to injure the fame of one, who, whatever in the of some may have been his errors or his crimes, was the purest embodiment which the century affords exalted self-sacrifice; and as such, dear to every friend of humanity.

DR. WAYLAND ON SLAVERY.

At a recent meeting of the Providence City Tract Society, an auxiliary of the Boston, Anti-Slavery, American Tract Society, Dr. Wayland delivered an address of considerable length, defending the act of separation from the American Tract Society in New York, on account of its refusal to publish anything against slavery. He said, that 'no man had a right to carve out the word of God; distribute a portion here, seal up a portion of it there; but that the whole word of Christ was to be sent abroad among the nations everywhere, whether men like it or not. and if they did not like it, there was all the more reason why they should have it.' He considered that the silence of the Society on the subject of slavery had been a tacit acknowledgment of the jus-tice and beneficence of the institution, and that hence the South have begun to defend slavery as right. Dr. Wayland says:

'I am old enough to recollect the time when yo did not see and could not find a Southern Christian. They would say at once, "slavery is wrong, we know it, and want and should be glad to get rid of it; we will do anything which you will point out; we shall be happy to receive any instruction or help whatever; we wish to know anything you feel to be wrong in the sight of God." A change, I say, has come over us; slavery is now held to be right, not only in the abstract, but slavery just as it is. There ist not be a hair of it touched, with all its bold nce of the laws of God and man. It has been said that slavery is allowed and approved by the Son of God; that the undefiled and harmless Saviour approves of the sin of slavery, and approves of shut-ting out men from the knowledge of God.

A change, too, has come over the North. This matter has been brought home to us in a great variety of ways. The press has devoted much s to it, and facts have been continually devel which have aroused the Christian conscience of whole Northern country. Christian men are be-

ginning to ask-setting aside the abstract question of slavery-" Have we no duty to discharge to these our brethren and sisters in Christ? Can we see all our orethren and sisters in Christ? Can we see all these things without bearing testimony? Here are Christian men and women suffering oppression such as can be equalled nowhere, not even in Austria. The Madiai family were punished and sent to the galleys in Italy, for reading the word of God. The whole Christian world is aroused, and different Protestant operations are the content of the conte estant governments have sent to beg their release. The Mortara boy was caught in Rome, and they de-termined to make a Papist of him, and the Christian world is all remonstrance. Here are two or three millions of enslaved men and women, and hundreds of thousands of Christian people among them; and did it not behoove us to bear testimony in behalf of these outcast children of God, and also to bear testimony to those who were oppressing them, whether they knew they were wrong or not, in accordance with the words of the Saviour: 'What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in the light; and what I tell you in the ear, that speak ye upon the housetops.' There was a wrong committed against our Christian brethren at the South, who in their own consciences felt this to be a grievous wrong, and they looked up to us to utter the truth upon this matter. They said, 'This is clearly a wrong, and what shall we do?' If they spoke, they were perwhat shall we do? If they spoke, they were persecuted, and the Christian men here said not a word, and the oppressors of the slave defended themselves by the action of the Christians at the North; they said, 'We never heard a word from you upon this matter. You do not think it wrong yourselves. Whatever we have done, you have approved of. You never gave us to understand that you believed slav-ery to be contrary to the Gospel.' So they continued to think until they came to believe that it was the Gospel."'

ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.

The Abolitionists of Massachusetts who assem bled themselves together, according to their annual usage, the last week, had their meeting again baptized in sorrow. Last May they had to mourn over the instant loss of the earnest and generous Hovey, and all, against the measure, and the advantage of as the year before they had had their gathering a moment when the House was thin, the bill was darkened by the funeral of the long-tried and beloved Loring. The pang which this newest grief struck to many hearts, was the keener for its suddenness. The last illness of Mrs. Follen was short, and was known to most of that Anti-Slavery assembly first by the announcement of its fatal ending. The tidings could scarce be believed. It was hard to think that Death could still the play of those The agitation for equal school rights in Rhode Island beaming features, and quench forever the light of those lustrous eyes. None could believe that more than three-score and ten years had passed over one whose heart still glowed with more than the enthusiasm of youth, and whose face was radiant with a better than youthful beauty. What had Death to do with such an one as she?

And yet it was not an unmeet time for her departure from the earth. A life that had given the ower of its prime of womanhood, and the ripe fruition of its age, as a free-will offering to the of the American Slave, was not unfitly ended at a tute of that class, have visited, in company with the season especially appointed for his helping. In life, Rev. Mr. Grimes, the quarter of the city where they she would not have failed to lend the light of her countenance, the sympathy of her heart, the wisdom of her counsel, to that congenial Anniversary. In death, she hallowed it, and made it epochal in dependent on casual charity. These persons are all the memories of many hearts. Mrs. Follen has been over sixty years of age, from that to eighty and so long an integral part of the Anti-Slavery movement, that it is hard to understand how it can exist without her. Very lew indeed, none but the very carliest founders, could claim precedence of her in its hanner was units list of honor. As soon as folded, she and her admirable husband-her fitting they can for them, the churche that they belong mate, and a man whose character it is no vulgar to have done semething, and private charity some abuse of terms to call illustrious—were among the very first that rallied to it, in the days of its very smallest things. So small were they, that the fur of the storm it was soon to excite was looked for by none. But when it came, they faced it together, and stood unshaken when it was at its fiercest. danger in which social position, ancient friendships, professional standing, the chances of useful labor even, were being swept away, never daunted those serene and faithful souls. Nor did metaphysical refinings, however recommended by warm personal friendship, and urged by the highest intellectual skill, ever lure them to descend to a lower plane of principles or of action than the one on which they had first planted themselves. The fidelity of both ask their co-operation in this charity, and it is hoped was unswerving unto death. Neither of them knew selfishness or fear.

conducting of the Movement, as a member of the Home for the Destitute. Committees of the American and the Massachusetts and of hand.

Few persons have ever had more direct power over all that came within the reach of her influence. or such a gift to set the mind thinking and the body busy in whatever work she had in hand. To her long experience in the cause she added an intuition into its nature and its needs, at each successive crifrom the singleness of her devotion to the Anti-Slavery Cause. It was entire, disinterested, fearless. Though baptized into the spirit of love, and believing in the power of love as the motiver power of the friends. machine rather than in that of criticism, she had no mawkish sentimentalism which shrunk from the true characterization of baseness, cruelty, or hypocrisy. Bringing, as she did, the powers of her acute and well-cultured intellect to bear upon the development and organization of her intuitive apprehen

sions of what was right-'The reason firm, the temperate will, Endurance, foresight, strength and skill 'those only who have rejoiced in her sympathy and her help can fully understand the loss her death brings to them, and to the cause she loved best.

It was this principle of perfect love, which not only casteth out fear, but giveth clearness of vision and perfectness of action, that informed her whole character, and shone from her whole presence. To love, with her, was to live. While here below, she was but a little lower than the angels,

Who by to love, do apprehend to be.'

With the impulsive energies of the poetic tempera ment, she possessed its sympathetic and magnetic forces. No one could be in her society without feeling how magical a sway her mind exerted over his. Her powers of conversation were of the highest and rarest description. Mrs. Follen was an authoress of no small reputation. She has written many books, some of which have a wide reputation, and will become a permanent portion of English literature. Her life of her husband has been pronounced, by high English critical authority, a perfect exam le of that most difficult kind of composition. Some of her fugitive poems are among the most beautiful in the language. But no one who judges of her powers or graces by her published works can have any adequate idea of them. Her, fluent tones, her wealth of pictured words, her fertility of imagery and illustration, her flashing wit, her earnest elo-quence, the musical contagion of her laugh, are hings which have died with her, or live only in the remembrance of those that knew and loved her. But they are many. She made friends everywhere. It was an essential element of her being. Virtue went out from her, and drew those wfrom she ap-proached close to her, heart to heart. Widely distant from one another, scattered over two continents, will loving hearts grieve in common over the tidings of her death, and mourn with the mourners she has left desolate in her home. Yet not desolate for her love and her example, which had blest, and perhaps shaped, their truest life, will dwell with

Thus much to the simplest sense of duty to our dead friend—so benignant, so honored, so beloved, demands to be said at the soonest moment after our great loss. Scarcely parted from the presence of the dead, almost breathing the air of the home she had made so happy, stirred by tender memories going back through the entire of life to the earliest days of childhood, we have not the heart, if we had days of childhood, we have not the heart, it we had the gift, to attempt to portray her fitly. To deline-ate the fine shades and delicate contrasts of her mind, to treat of her genius as well as of her worth, as it should be done, must be left to more discrimias it should be done, must be left to more discriminating minds and firmer hands than ours. And we are sure that this is a labor of love which love will not permit to rest long undone.—A. S. Standard.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, FEBRUARY 24, 1860.

EQUAL SCHOOL PRIVILEGES IN RHODE TST.AND.

It is generally well known that, in Rhode Island, for everal years past, there has been carried on, through the persistent efforts of George T. Downing and others, a movement for the abolition of the colored or raste schools of that State. These now exist only in the towns of Providence, Newport and Bristol. The novement has yearly grown in favor, and it was sincerely hoped that, this year, a sense of justice on the part of the legislators would command the separate schools to disappear, as they have in this State. Put not yet.

On Monday of last week, the bill for this purpose was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 30 to 28 in the House of Representatives. The vote was taken in a thin house, (some 13 members being absent,) a very unusual course. The opponents of the bill fearing the result that might happen with full branches, immediately waived to reconsider the vote to indefinitely postpone, and then moved to lay that motion on the table, which prevailed. The whole matter was hurried through, in some instances, in open violation of the rules of the House,

The entire press of the city of Providence, with al the social influence, has been against the measure. The entire legal talent (four lawyers) that spoke upon the bill, opposed it strenuously, and resorted to some very disingenuous courses in their opposition. Still, with the entire press, four lawyers, social influence. lost by only two majority. This was almost a triumph.

We hear that the subject may come up in another form, this session. Whether or not, we know it will another year, if our devoted and earnest friend, Geo T. Downing, and his coadjutors, are permitted to live. will not die, and sooner or later, there as here, shall there be known, under the School law, no distinctions of color, race, condition or sex. Renewed effor

AN APPEAL TO THE BENEVOLENT.

Some persons in this city, having had their atten tion directed to the condition of the colored popula tion, with a view to the relief of the aged and destilive, and find, to their surprise, that there are twentyfive aged women of color in a destitute condition and ninety; and one there was, who has passed away since she was visited, who had reached the age of 111 years. None of these women have any permanent means of support; their colored friends do what thing; but it was well ascertained that they had often suffered from cold and hunger. It is thought desirable that a house should be pro-

cured where these persons can be taken care of together. It may be asked, why not send them to the Charles Street Home? The reply to which is, this house is not only full, but there are a number now waiting for admission. It is said by those well acquainted with these subjects, that after a house procured, there is no difficulty in supporting it. A committee has been appointed to wait upon charitaask their co-operation in this charity, and it is hoped and expected that a community which has never For more than half of her anti-slavery life, Mrs. failed to respond to all calls upon its charity, whether Follen has been immediately connected with the foreign or domestic, will lend a liberal aid to this new

We most heartily commend this benevolent moveher rare natural gift of organization, which was to be seen in the daily beauty of her domestic life, sure, will not allow it to fail for the lack of the necand the details of her refined and happy home. essary means; and it is gratifying to know that a very No one was clearer of vision as to what should be encouraging beginning has already been made. It is done, and as to the method of doing it. Nothing in good hands, and all possible reliance may be was too great or too little for her activity of mind laced upon those who have it in charge

MRS. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. In another column we have copied from the Anti-Slavery Standard a wellwritten and well-merited tribute to the memory of this much lamented woman, whose life was one of into its nature and its needs, at each successive crisis of its fate, and an enthusiasm of feeling and of manner, in developing it, which made her the wisest, the discreetest, the best and the most delightful holy; whose presence was full of spiritual magnetism, of counsellors and of co-workers. The secret of it and an abiding benediction; whose literary efforts all lay more in the heart than in the head. It came have done so much to interest and elevate the rising generation; and whose rare worth will be long cherished by a large circle of admiring and sorrowing

·Thou art gone hence !- our joyous hills among Never again to pour thy soul in song,

When spring-flowers rise! Never the friend's familiar step to meet With loving laughter, and the welcome sweet
Of thy glad eyes.

By the bright waters now thy lot is cast .-Joy for thee, happy friend ! thy bark hath past The rough sea's foam ! Now the long yearnings of thy soul are stilled,-Home! home!—thy peace is won, thy heart is filled
—Thou art gone home!

WARRINGTON, (Eng.) Feb. 4, 1860. DEAR SIE-We have much pleasure in sending you fifteen pounds sterling, in a bill of exchange payable on demand, as the contribution of friends in

DONATION FROM ENGLISH FRIENDS.

this neighborhood for the year 1860, towards the of jects of the American Anti-Slavery Society, receipt which you will please acknowledge in due course; It gives us great pleasure to hear that there is probability of seeing you in England in the course of the year; and we hope your health will be such as to

help us in forwarding your great cause in this coun-With kind regards to yourself and co-workers in

America, we are Yours, most sincerely.

ANN ROBSON.

HENRIETTA BOLTON. P. S. We know you will be glad to hear that Mis REMOND is well. She is now in London at her studies. She has lectured eleven times during the vacation.

REMOVAL OF THE WEBSTER STATUE. In the Mass sachusetts House of Representatives, last week, the following petitions were presented and referred :-Of C. Cutter and 8 others of Warren, of A. L. Bab cock and 96 others of Sherborn, of Henry Elwell and 30 others of Manchester, of Albert Gould and 121 others of Leicester, of G. S. Beaman and 108 others of Princeton, of John Clement and 84 others of Townsend, of Charles T. Pool and 52 others, and A. A. Gifford and one other of Westport, severally praying for the removal of the statue of Daniel Webster from the State House grounds.

The Committee on Federal Relations grant earing in the Representatives' Chamber, on Friday (this) morning, at 10 o'clock, to the petitioners for removing the word WHITE from the Militia Law, and will be addressed by Robert Monnis, Esq., WM. C NELL, Dr. JOHN S. ROCK, and Rev. J. SELLA MAR

A full report of the proceedings of the recen Woman's Rights Convention, at Albany, N. Y. will be given in our next number.

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THE SLAVE.

It will be remembered that, during the revival the 'business men' in question that the sort of piety ern trade; but this was not its chief object. The Church counts strength mainly by numbers, and while her ministers and communicants hold 600,000 slaves in the South, she will cultivate peace with them as more important than purity; and, long before the commencement of the late 'revival,' the petition of an individual slave for prayers was refused a its customary policy.

the Boston Recorder, the following requests for pray- clares that instrument to have been formed 'to secure er for the continuance of slavery, and the subsidirected against it :-

Feb. 10. At the Noon Prayer Meeting, the following requests were read relative to our National Government. These had been previously communi-cated to the Fulton Street Meeting:-

That God may save this nation from rash counsels and may preserve the Union of these States, a precious legacy for future generations. The hope of our ion is now alone in the overruling providence of God.

The following was from the North:-

"The brethren of this prayer meeting are desired to cry mightily to God, not only in this meeting, but in their closets also, in behalf of our distracted country; that he will of his infinite mercy pour oil upon he troubled waters, restore love and affection, and pour out his Holy Spirit upon our whole country, East, West, North and South."

These requests were, no doubt, responded to by fervent and repeated prayers, which were probably effectual, also, in encouraging the business men present to hope for a restoration of confidence between their names on the 'White Lists,' by which doughfaces are now trying to propitiate slaveholders.

Church is accustomed to manage her ordinary business by indirections like this !

For instance : the New York Observer is very indignant against the Westminster Review for a recent article containing some disclosures in regard to revivals and revivalists. It represents this article to be dictated by hostility to the Gospel, and this representation will be considered conclusive by a majority of the Observer's readers. But the indignation of that pious journal is really excited, not merely by a general exposure, in the article in question, of that craft by which it has its wealth, but by the fact that the Westminster has taken the wrong side of the controverted topic,' pointing out a stain on Whitefield's charactr. as follows :-

'In the life of Whitefield we have a striking proc that revivalist fervor is by no means conducive to clear-ness of moral perception, and, consequently, to the revivalist preachers depends upon their addressing the feeling of fear, and therefore the most cowardly and selfish elements in man, we ought not, on reflecpowerful of all revivalist preachers should not be distinguished by that strong sense of justice and genu-ine benevolence which makes the traffic in or holding of slaves, under any circumstances, hateful, and which would regard with the most intense abhorrence the introduction of slavery into a country previously free. The humane Oglethorpe, who projected the colony o Georgia as an asylum for unfortunate debtors from the intolerable penal inflictions of the British Code at that time, placed on the common seal of the cor-poration the cap of liberty. Slavery was not permit-ted in the colony. 'It is,' said he, 'against the Gos-pel, as well as against the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law per mitting such a horrid crime."

Whitefield, however, when in Georgia, proposed to send his travelling companion to England to petition the trustees of the corporation to admit slavery, and also to allow the introduction of rum! He became a slave-owner, and in the year of his death there were fifty slaves, men, women and children, whom he left ATLANTIC MONTHLY, March, 1860. Boston: Ticknor ters subsequently written to America by this pious lady continually refer to the value and sale of the slaves of which she had thus become possessed. See Dr. Stevens's History of Methodism, vol. ii., p. 69. This incident in the life of a great and rered revivalist leader indicates that that exalted other-worldliness' which forms the staple of revivalist sermons, is consistent with an ethical standard for this world, in which the maxim, 'Do unto others as Reviews and Literary Notices. you would they should do unto you,' is obscured b njunctions appealing only to the most self-interested and least noble part of man.'

The Church, almost without exception, turns her face away from truths like these, and her organs unscrupulously calumniate the men and the periodicals that give them currency. The Church is the great bulwark of slavery, and by giving 'line upon line, precent upon precept' in its favor, week after week, through innumerable pulpits, prayer-meetings, and profligate government of the United States can erect

droppings of the sanctuary ':-Dr. Wayland, at a late Tract meeting in Providence, vindicating the recent separation of the Tract his exit from the city. Society at Boston from the National Society in New York, says-

'Here I wish to say distinctly, that there was no abolition action in this separation. There was no in-

Then again, the Congregationalist of Boston, and the 'Dutch [not much] Reformed' Christian Intelli- Maine, to pass and repass to Boston on their roads, gencer of New York, agree in approval of these four ideas, which they find (in substance) in Henry Ward take such action as will authorize the Governor to invite Beecher's late defence of the American Board at the Legislatures of said States to participate in the Brooklyn :-

1. That a man might hold a slave, and not do wrong.

 That immediate emancipation is impossible.
 That a slaveholder may be a good Christian. 4. That the influence of slavery is not always evil

Then again, in reply to the inquiry of a correspondent- What would the Board and Committee have done, if these mission churches, or their pastors, had openly avowed Unitarian sentiments?' the Congregationalist clearly sees 'a vast difference between the two cases.

Then again, the 'Young Men's Christian (!) Asso. ciation, of Richmond, Virginia, withdraws its invitation to Bayard Taylor to lecture there, because of his connection with a paper which diffuses 'Abolition

All these things teach, most clearly and forcibly that the abolition of slavery is an ndispensable pre requisite to the true preaching of the Gospel in this country, and to the diffusion of pure morality and re- He did not consider Mr. Perham a fool, and denied ligion, both North and South. A spurious piety is that Mr. P. had invited Legislatures of other States the direct opponent of practical religion here, not less to visit Boston. The subject was then dropped. than it was among the Scribes and Pharisees in the time of Jesus .- c. x. w.

PERSONAL LIBERTY IN MINNESOTA. The following s a copy of a petition in circulation in Minnesota, and which has already received many signatures :-To the Honorable Senate and House of Representativ

of the State of Minnesota :

The undersigned, citizens of Hennepin county, asl and imprisonment, for any person to claim property in a human being within the boundaries of this State with a view to return such person to slavery.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.

An article in the Boston Courier, (signed H. Y.,) which was having its decline and fall about a year affirms that the Constitution of the United States ago in Boston, the 'business men's prayer-meetings' guarantees and secures freedom of speech and of the were conspicuously placarded with the notice, press in this country only so far as any act of Constood by everybody to mean 'No Anti-Slavery ! '- State legislation. He further affirms that in the Conno doubt served the incidental purpose of assuring stitution of South Carolina, there is no provision for freedom of speech or of the press; that the Legislacultivated there would not interfere with their South- ture of that State may enact laws regulating speech, printing and writing, as it pleases; that such laws will be Constitutional; and that if a Northern man is, punished there for such freedom of speech, or writing, or printing, as he might properly exercise at home, none of his Constitutional rights will have been violated, and he will have no remedy !

I have been accustomed to suppose that a citizen of hearing at the Old South Chapel, in conformity with Massachusetta had a Constitutional right to freedom of speech in every part of the United States. If I These things were brought to my mind by seeing, had been called upon for evidence from the Constituin the regular 'Chronicles of Old South Chapel,' in tion, I should have quoted the Preamble, which dethe blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity ' dence of such thought, speech and action as are now -and that portion of Article IV. which declares-The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' And, if such a thing as a Court of Justice were to be found in a slave State, I should have supposed that a Northern man might properly appeal to

> speech, then and there to be exercised. If I have erred in this judgment-if my natural right of speaking for the slave and against the oppressor is not supported by the Constitution of the United States, through the whole region over which its jurisdiction extends-immediate measures should be taken for the amendment of that Constitution.

Lastly, if, through the corruption of manners and morals generated by slavery, a majority of the people of this country have become so indifferent to the preservation, in theory and practice, of that freedom of speech and of the press which we at the North esteem our most precious possession, that no present of speedy amendment of the Constitution in this particu-North and South, and, as a means thereto, to put lar is to be hoped for, this forms an additional, and a most weighty reason for a separation of the non-slaveholding States, that so a nation really free, and a Con-Is it not a curious fact that slavery should be a stitution really ensuring freedom, may be formed in controverted topic when prayers are asked against North America, and that we may be spared the disit, and not a controverted topic when prayers are ask- grace of maintaining a general government which dised for it? No, it is nothing strange or unusual! The regards those rights, and connives at their violation

PETITION FOR RELIEF OF THE BEREAN EXILES.

In the Senate of Ohio on the 11th, Mr. Monroe pre sented the following petition of W. W. Hopkins and forty-eight others of Ashtabula county, which on motion of Mr. Monroe was referred to a select committee -Messrs. Monroe, of Lorain, Cox, of Trumbull, and Schleich, of Fairfield :-To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State

of Ohio in General Assembly met :

Whereas, Your honorable bodies did, by joint resolution, recently invite the Legislatures of Tennesse and Kentucky to visit Columbus, as the guests of the State of Ohio; and subsequently did receive said Legislatures at Columbus, in a manner highly flattering-feasting and complimenting them at the expense of the common Treasury of the State; and whereas, Rev. John G. Fee and numerous other citizens of Kentucky, ('the Mother of wise statesmen,' whose 'younger sisters delight to do her honor,') have been recently driven from her borders by organized mobs for no crime, but simply believing, and peacefully teaching, that the Gospel of Jesus, as well as the Declaration of Independence, is opposed to the system of Human Chattelhood, His Excellency, Gov. Magoffin, refusing to make any effort for their protection; and whereas, many of said exiles have fled to thi State, as a temporary home, in circumstances which demand our substantial sympathies; Therefore, the undersigned, citizens of Ashtabula county, Ohio, do respectfully request your honorable bodies to appro-priate from the State Treasury, the sum of \$5,000, or such greater sum as you may deem proper, for the re-lief of said exiles, and as a token of your regard for the 'honor' of that State whose 'wise,' statesman like Executive cannot, or will not, protect them; and, as in duty bound, &c.

In the House, Mr. Krum, of Ashtabula, presented a similar petition from Alba Coleman and forty-nine others, which was also appropriately referred.

The contents for the March number of this popular work are,-The French Character; The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties; The Progress of the Electric Telegraph : Screw Propulsion : For Christie's Sake; The Nursery Blarney Stone; The Professor's Story ; Is the Religious Want of the Age Met; and

REVIEW OF GOV. BANKS'S VETO OF THE REVISED CODE, on Account of its authorizing the Enrolment of Colored Citizens in the Militia. By F. W. Bird. Boston : John P. Jewett & Co.

Keen-racy-conclusive. Get it, and read it.

A COLORED HUMBUG. The good people of Newburyport have been victimized, recently, by a bright, pious periodicals, it makes good this title, and lavs a smart looking negro, who collected funds by reprefoundation of corrupt public opinion upon which the senting that he was a 'fugitive slave, direct from Maryland, whence he had escaped with his sisters its superstructure. Here are some of these latest to avoid being sold South, after the death of a kind master.' An abolitionist on whom the fellow had imposed last year discovered the rogue, and hastened

> AN IMPUDENT PROPOSITION. In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, last week-

A communication was received from Josiah Per ham, announcing that certain railroads had authorized him to extend an invitation to the Legislatures of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York and free of charge; and asking the Senate and House to hospitalities of the State, at some convenient time during the present session.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston, moved that the papers be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. Haskell, of Ipswich, was ashamed of the position in which the Legislature had been placed by the action of Josiah Perham. There were several insane asylums in the State, and his proper place was in one of them. The Legislature should take some action that would show the Legislature of Virginia that it had been imposed upon by a fool.

Mr. Putnam, of Danvers, moved to lay the bill upon the table. Mr. Hale, of Bosion, made a point of order, that the

extracts were not a subject upon which the House could entertain any motion. The Chair decided the point well taken. Mr. Shaw, of Boston, rose to a question of privilege,

because false statements had been made upon the floor

CORRECTION. FRIEND GARRISON-In my notes of the meeting a

South Danvers, as published in the last number of the Liberator, this sentence occurs, in allusion to re marks of Frederick Brown :- 'It gave me pain to fee that the brother of the martyr could come before us, and justly accuse us of standing cool and careless or his bowed and fettered form.' Correctly, it would of your Honorable bodies to pass such a Personal Lib- read, could come before us in the name of the slave. erty Bill as shall make it a crime, punishable by fine &c.; but those words being omitted in the print, wrong impression was conveyed. The speaker's remarks bore reference to the slave, and not to his martyred brother. N. PAGE, JR.

TO IRISHMEN IN AMERICA. Countrymen, - My heart often prompts me to at.

dress you in a few words of kindly remonstrates. dress you in a lew work yourselves in the distant had wish you so to conduct as your conduct as you have made your home, as that your conduct my you have made jour loved country you have left in hind you, and cause you to be really respected by the hind you, and cause you now dwell. These advantage people among whom you a steady adherence, on you part, to the principles of truth and honor, which pa should make the guiding stars of your life.

You love liberty for yourselves. Be consistent a You love morely in Journal right of the hand your advocacy of the inalienable privilege of all race; and claim it as man, as well as the white men,—of the colored man, as well as the white men,

nen,—of the colored many of you have forgotten your day, is I lear too many of this respect, and that thus the fame of old leadwhich we should shield from the breath of distort is sullied in the eyes of those who should only us is suffice in the cyclence of the fin is. termination of our countrymen to stand fast by the noble principles of Christian rectitude.

In the twelfth century, the synod of Armenta claimed liberty to every captive in Ireland, and sea then, a slave has never polluted our green isle.

Remember the faithfulness of O'Connell Lets Rememory, which is embalmed in many of our lens, and his whole life, which was a consistent come is and his whole his, which all there is favor of civil and religious liberty, be a beam of light guiding you in your career. Demand, u la did, that freedom for all which you claim a year it in vindication of his Constitutional right of free own birthright.

Thus, and thus alone, can you seeme true mpet for yourselves, and cause the stranger to any of just country, 'If I were not an American, I should be proud to be an Irishman. By all your pleasant memories of Ireland; hier

By all your present her beautiful vallers; by he verdant plains, which are watered by the streng is which you loved to disport yourselves in chicked; by your love of these things; by your affective in your kindred and friends, and by your home trailmighty God, -I appeal to you, and I ask you to be your fellow-men of all complexions and of all mels. and to demand for them all, the exact meson of justice you claim for yourselves. The sad moan of four millions of slave man

across the broad ocean, and it sounds painfully in ears. I ask you to aid in turning their some in joy-to aid in enabling the fathers and methen of the colored race in America to clasp their littlem and feel all the happiness and all the responsibility being their guardians and their guides, from iting up to manhood. Turn not a deaf ear to the ord the slave, but let him feel, in future and for on. more, that in every Irishman he has a friend. Whatever may be your rank or condition it fis

land of your adoption, believe me, countryme, m can only acquire and maintain an honorable nea-tion there, by such a course of conduct as I remmend; and whatever may be your practice, whether in consonance with, or in opposition to these ms ments. I feel assured that you will say in your lens, he is right. I entreat you to act manfully a mcordance with your convictions, and I beg to abscribe myself, Faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON. DUBLIN. 35 Eccles Street.

THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF INVASIONAND INSURRECTION TO FREE SLAVES. GEORGETOWN, (Ohio,) Feb. 12, 1864. DEAR GARRISON: Yesterday was held, in this is cinity, the quarterly meeting of Progressive Friends. Marius R. Robinson was present. The following resolutions were presented, fully discussed, and un-

imously adopted :-Resolved, That slaveholders, as such, havenorigh, whether as individuals or States.

Resolved. That siaves, as such, owe no duta w their enslavers.

Resolved. That any law or constitution, my migion or government, that accords to slaveholden my rights, and protects them in them, or evicin ma slaves obligantions and duties to their enslaver, & serves only scorn and contempt, and ought to be n-

sisted. Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the perple and States of the North to invade the shreheling that enslaves them, and, in so doing, to me filed means as they would use if their own children me friends were the victime.

Many took part in the discussion of these resistions. The meeting was composed of some of the most intelligent, respectable and influential nee al women in this region. I do not think there was out in the audience whose reason, whose concient of convictions of right dissented from the sentisms expressed in them. A letter from the mother of 14win Coppock was read to the meeting. It was !ter worthy the mother of so noble a son. Her size son, who took part in that effort at Harper's Ferrise God and Humanity, is hunted down by saturable breeders and slave-traders as men hunt a wolf. Be have demanded him of the Governor of the Surfa which he lives, but the Governor will not gire ha up; and, if he does, the people will not. There at many persons, scattered over the broad West, fra whom those bands of American corsairs, called simholding States, will hear in due time. The coarie tion that slaveholders and slaveholding States hatt no rights that the people and States of the North are bound to respect, is rapidly and widely spreading, not only in the West, but all over the North, and taking a deeper hold of the hearts of the people, and assuming a more tangible, practical form. It will see become a leading, governing principle in social, relgious, and political life, and will assuredly embody itself in every department of life, where men deen i their right and duty to live-whether on the ares

of political or military-life. . Have human beings a right to defend themselve and their fellows against all who would enslave the and hold, use and work them as beasts and change No one doubts it, and it is the very basis of the tional and State governments that they may do the by arms, and by killing the enslaver. On this prisciple, it is the right and duty of slaves to free the selves, and the right and duty of the people and Sans of the North to go to their aid -to enter the territor over which those bands of American corsain class jurisdiction, and there, on the soil of Virginia of any other slave State, to defend the enslaved against these who enslare them. We go to Greece to fend Humanity against the outrages of the July to Hungary, to defend it against Austries 15115 ny; to Italy, to defend it against the inhumb ity of the French and Austrians; to Polsade to fend it against Russian tyranny; and to diffich ? defend it against the outrages of African cossin, \$ should the people and States of the North America slaveholding States to defend their fellowhere against appalling wrongs and outrages respected on them by American corsairs.

The above resolutions have been discussed as adopted in many gatherings all over this mps.
and are to be discussed and will be adopted by many more. Let the leaders of the Republican party claim it as they will, it is simply true, that the ments of these resolutions are embraced by a key number, by a majority of the Republicans; and the per's book, not the abridgment, but the original its stern and flinty words, is become a political has by which they will be guided in their action in

Have the people and States of the North a right? ference to slaveholders. Have the people and States of the North murder, rape and rapine? They say - Yes they coming to feel that slaveholden are

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HENRY C. WRIGHT. Yours,

FOSTER'S CROSSINGS, Warren Co., Ohio,) February 10, 1860.

BROTHER GARRISON: Before this reaches you, you will have noticed the desperate efforts of the dastardly politicians in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, to keep up their league against liberty, and keep down the millions of their victims. Ohio invited Kentucky and Tennessee to come over and receive assurances of good faith in keeping a bad contract—a contract which is essentially a conspiracy against freedom-treason against man and nature. The legislators left their business and came, and things were done worthy the purpose. The papers here helped on the shameful work, and gloried in it. I sent the following protest and rebuke to the Cincinnati Daily Commercial; but it was not O. S. MURRAY. allowed to appear. For the Cincinnati Commercial.

A RAID ON FREEDOM THE 'IRREPRES BIBLE' JOHN BROWN.

Let me take the wind out of that sail. Let me prick that bubble. Let me turn off that gas, and stop the stench. Let me dissipate that fog. Let me settle that smoke. Let me spoil that pageant. It will take but a few short words, in brief sentences and compressed paragraphs.

What, then, signifies all this sound and fury ?this roar of cannon?-this rioting and excess?-this bacchanalian reveling, from truant legislators and governors, and their hosts? What, but that it is to drown the dying words of a single man, devoted to freedom and sacrificed to slavery?-to protract a damaging, demoralizing compromise?-to splice ropes of sand :-- to reconcile deadly antagonisms ?-- to put off an 'impending crisis,' that cannot be avoided nor evaded; and whose consequences increase in fearfulness with every moment of delay ?- to smother internal, infernal fires, that rage all the more, the more they are smothered; and that, if the folly be persisted in, will one day burst forth, and spread their desolating lava over the length and breadth of the

It is not, then, a question of time. It is a question also of consequences-here or there-now or thensooner or later ;- for us, in a less difficult state of things, or for our children in a more difficult state of things-for us, in an earlier stage of the disease, or for them in a later and more hopeless and helpless. Tis delusive, 't is false, 't is fanatical, and will be found fatal, to flatter ourselves with words, crying peace, when in our deeds we are leaguing in a war upon Nature. To put over the day of accumulating retribution to our children, if we can, is not the part of brave men and heroes, but of cowards and traitors. To shirk the increasing responsibility upon a coming generation, measuring the benefit to ourselves in commercial gains, in dollars and dimes, in back-and-forth banqueting and profligacy, is to aggravate in baseness and execrableness the treachery and perfidy.

And what else is there of it? What has made the stir? What are the elements in motion? They are the disturbed parts and parties of a compromise involving the rights of man. They have been moved, sgitated, agonized, convulsed, by a single individual, who, whatever may be said of his wisdom or prudence, has wrought conviction deep, all-pervading and abiding, of the sincerity and purity of his devotion to human well-being. Whatever the talk of treason, it is not possible for the intelligent and sane, in their predominating feelings and sentiments, to fix ignominy on him in the halter. They know he was inspired by elevated sentiments; that he conscientiously opposed the wrong, and battled for the right; that the humane man was sacrificed to the inhuman institution. Every thinking being, of value worth invoicing in the column of human excellences or merits, knows that precisely what has been alleged against him as a capital crime, has been extolled in others, throughout human history, as the loftiest of virtues. He failed-they succeeded; that's all the difference. Few, if any, have fought against like fearful odds. If he had succeeded, it is difficult to tell who would have been his rival in the temple of

To considerations and convictions like these, supmanaged, the farce and the fustian we have just now had from carousing, bargaining, bribing politicians, mor the name of legislators and governors, are genune and faithful indices. To keep ourselves and each other in countenance-to hold on our course, right or wrong - this is their plain language. Institutions against men-institutions must be sustained, by fair means or foul, whatever becomes of men-men for institutions, not institutions for men-these are legitimate interpretations of their words and their wind.

In the twenty-six teasts read and responded to at Columbus and Cincinnati, and in all the reports of speeches and proceedings, filling so much space in two sheets of the Commercial, there is anything but a decent manifestation of manly rectitude, and fidelity to equity-human rights-all the paramount interests of mankind. Our compromises first-man afterwards. Maintain our compromises-our bargains, whether equitous or iniquitous-our league, which fills our pockets, though with the fruits of fraud, and so our stomachs with oysters and wine-and a fig or a fly for man or his rights.

The 'lord of the lash,' from the executive chair of Kentucky, appears to have snubbed the snobs somewhat as they deserved, telling them what 'the people of Kentucky had no disposition' to do, and what the people of Ohio must not do. It is presumable there was all proper humility in exercise on the part of the sycophants.

And who are these chivalrous Kentuckians, who have been so obsequiously invited and treated, and who have carried themselves through with such bearing? They are the brave men, of whom it took sixtyfive to drive away thirty-six non-resistant men, women and children from their homes; and twice sixtyfive of whom have not the courage to attack Cassius M. Clay alone and single-handed. Courageous lions these, for whom our jackalls have been providing !

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., Ohio, Jan. 30th.

TO STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

In the report of the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, you are represented as having said that you have been studying the United States Constitution anew; that you have become convinced that it is an anti-slavery document; and, hence, that you desire 'to organize an Anti-Slavery Political Party, to carry out and enforce this interpretation.

To organize an Anti-Slavery Political Party! Are you not aware that such an organization has been orsanized for years; that it has held its anniversary meetings; that Gerrit Smith stands as the exponent of this organization; and that William Goodell is now editing a paper, The Principia, devoted to the interests of said organization? If you were ignorant of these facts, or, if you were desirous of personal aggrandizement, I could understand your position. If heither of these be true, why not unite at once with the Radical Abolitionists, of which Gerrit Smith and William Goodell (1) are the acknowledge leaders? EMMETT DENSMORE.

Blooming Valley, Pa.

(1) Mr. Densmore himself needs a little informa tion—twice writing William Goodsein for William Goodell. We have corrected his blunders.—Ed. Ltd. LECTURES BY MISS WATKINS.

MARGARETTA, (Ohio,) Feb. 9, 1860. ELLEN WATKINS-believed here to be one of the most ed in the attempt. worthy and efficient anti-slavery lecturers who have visited the western country-made her appearance in our township, greatly to the satisfaction of all ac- John Brown, his family, and his associates. quainted with her by reputation or otherwise.

Miss Watkins first lecture here was given one week ago last Tuesday evening, greatly to the edification and entertainment of all the friends of freedom. Our worthy and truly philanthropic citizen, R. H. Rogers, being called to the chair, in a few appropriate and timely remarks, introduced her to the audi-

Miss Watkins spoke in the house the following evening, and at several other places during that week. She spoke in Sandusky City, last Monday evening, to an immense audience, with the best effect. She is to speak there again next Monday evening. At all the places where Miss Watkins has spoken, save one, where whiskey and a contemptible ignorance are the ruling elements, there have been thronged audiences, and the most respectful order.

The effect of these lectures upon this part of the country cannot but be most favorable, not only politically, but in dispelling this unreasoning and unreasonable prejudice against the colored people of the country.

At the close of her last lecture in this township,

that American Slavery is the complete representative liable information regarding Northern mercantile and full embodiment of every crime known to humanity; that it is truly what John Wesley called it, 'the sum of all villanies'; and,

proper sense of the term, for slavery, or any of its callty annexed, will be corrected annually, and published in a Book or Dictionary, prepared for the exconstituent crimes ; and, Whereas, we acknowledge it to be our duty, as

good citizens, as friends of truth and virtue, to act decidedly and efficiently against crime, whether found singly as in the numerous abuses of the day, or collectively as in slavery; therefore, Resolved, That, from the nature of slavery, it is

the duty of every friend of morality, virtue, good citizenship and education, to act determinedly and of samples. constantly, by every means within the range of conscientious action, against it, as an impious and bare- at all times for business purposes, and for the recepfaced outrage upon human rights."

derive their validity, mediately or immediately, from sign, we shall charge each house, whose name or the laws of nature, or the Divine Law. Resolved, That these laws are coeval with man-

kind, and being dictated by God himself, are, of course, superior in obligation to any others. They are binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; and those human enactments which conflict with these divine enactments, we affirm are not our rules of action.

Resolved, That, as citizens of Ohio, in obedience to Divine injunction, we shall never allow ourselves to be the passive and menial instruments for the support and perpetuation of an institution which is the hydra curse of the civilized world.

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law, and all Heldslave laws, are monuments of despotism; and we firmly resolve, with heart, and hand, and sleepless vigilance, to work for their eradication.

Resolved, That any institution, or any men or set of men, that in any way favor slavery, show them- franchise, entitled to enjoy the right of an elector. selves to be unworthy of the support, respect or confidence of any friend of freedom.

Resolved, That, in the light of the foregoing principles, it is with feelings of deep regret and utter disgust that we think of our Governor, Ex-Governor, and Legislature, welcoming to our noble State House, lators of two of the States of this Union, which, in the most loathsome manner, are continually practising all the abuses of slavery, and striving for its exten-

Resolved. That it is our sincere wish that the great pudiate and denounce this not only unwise, but preof slavery-men that live by selling babies, and revel before the bar of the Senate to answer for contempt in their debauchery at the expense of innocence and for refusing to come here and testify before the com-

termination to act vigorously and decidedly our part and nays in the passage of the resolution. in the truly 'irrepressible conflict' between Freedom and Slavery.

T. R. DAVIS, Secretary.

ENTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MARIUS R. ROHINSON. SALEM, (Ohio,) Feb. 9, 1860.

My DEAR MR. MAY-I arrived at home, with my My Dean Mr. May-I arrived at home, with my was a government of limited powers. The Senate family, last evening, and am most happy indeed to could not sit as a Court with plenary powers. be here, after almost a five months' absence. I am The noes were Messrs. Brigham, Chester, Clark, also quite pleased with the prospect of again working in Ohio, and especially to have the co-operation of Wade, Wilkinson and Wilson. Mrs. GRIFFING, who will well serve the cause. Our Presidential election, just before us, I should expect to see the people of the Northern States make most rapid progress in anti-slavery education, during the coming season.

ble than I anticipated. I have met only kindness speak now of those I visited while alone. I left, with in New York when I left, than ever before. My greatest drawback has been my inability to lecture as frequently as I desired. My health has been in a to inquire into the above-recited facts, and whether state greatly to discourage and embarrass me.

THE COLORED AMERICAN HEROES OF HARPER'S FERRY.

Though being authorised to announce that all the participants with Captain John Brown at Harper's Ferry (white and colored) are to be proportionate recipients-themselves or dependants-of the funds contributed under auspices of the Committee at Tremont Temple, Boston, Nov. 19, 1859, yet, it is well known that individuals and associations throughout the States have felt moved to make special appropriations -some to Mrs. Brown and family, and some through other channels.

The exercises at the Melonson, January 24th, by young colored men and women, originated in a desire to respond to the circular, in aid of a Monument to Copeland, Leary and Green, and relieving the wants of the widow of Louis A. Leary, who, it will be remembered, was shot at Harper's Perry. This the execution of these men with horror; besides, the cumstances, enabled the forwarding to J. M. Fitch, Esq., Oberlin, Ohio, the sum of fifty dollars-ten of which were assigned for the Monument, the balance, forty dollars, for Mrs. Leary.

I learn that it is in contemplation, at as early a day as possible, to publish the histories of all the men whose names have been prominently associated with the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through ginia—that, having vindicated the laws and nonor the laws and nonor the laws are the laws and nonor the laws are the laws and nonor the laws are the laws ar sentations of those noble souls who showed themselves worthy companions of their gallant and deturn in the stay their hand, and cease to
many families, and distress to the community by any
further capital executions.

voted martyr-leader, Captain John Brown. And no higher tribute surely could be awarded them, though DEAR SIR-About ten days since, Miss FRANCES the choicest terms of elaborate rhetoric were exhaust-

> A fair proportion from the sales is to be con tributed in augmentation of the general fund for

WILLIAM C. NELL. Boston, Feb., 1860.

STAND AND DELIVER!

The business (says the New York Tribuse) of black-nailing those merchants of this and other Atlantic cities who desire to stand well at the South, is one which prospects so liberally and opens so rich, that we are not surprised to see a great many enterprising citizens embarking in it. Where \$25, \$50, or even \$100, is to be made by merely inserting a line in a 'Black List,' or 'White List,' according to circumstances, it is inevitable that those proffering such insertion should be numerous, and not particularly modest in pushing their trade. We are not surprised, therefore an long as foole and their mozes well be cities who desire to stand well at the South, is one

parted-to see the following straightforward and business-like circular, just received by a mercantile house in this city:

SOUTHERN MERCANTILE AND BUSINESS AGENCY,

On Tenth street, between Main and Cary, RICHMOND VIRGINIA. In consequence of the increased and in-creasing hostility between the North and South, which has greatly disturbed the harmonious business relations heretofore existing between the two sections the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, and by the request of your readers
here, I send them to the Liberator for publication:

Whereas, it is our settled and unalterable opinion. houses, as will enable them to trade exclusively with those who are friendly to the South and her institu-

Our books will contain the names of every North-Whereas, we are bound, by every consideration of justice, to deny that there can be any law, in the fidence; and these names, with the business and lopress purpose, and circulated thre Southern country; so that each merchant buying goods at the North will be supplied with a copy, and thereby enabled to correctly discriminate between the friends and enemies of the South.

Each subscriber will be entitled to, and shall receive, our greatest efforts to extend his business, which may be accomplished by the aid of our Directory, by private correspondence, by assistance rendered to acceptable travelling Agents, and by the exposition

Our Rooms are centrally located, and will be open

To defray the expenses necessarily incurred in es-Resolved, That all human laws which are valid tablishing our Agency, and in carrying out its deappears in our Directory, a sum not less than FIFTY DOLLARS, to be paid at the time of sub-scribing. WM. P. GILMAN & CO. scribing. WM. P Richmond, Va., Jan. 1, 1860.

> COMPLEXIONAL POLITICAL RIGHTS, Colored citizens of 'visible admixture' have rights at the ballot-box. So has decided the wicked Supreme Court of Ohio, and that unanimously. They can recover, too, for a violation of those rights, for such is the just decision. Here it is:

COLUMBUS, Feb. 14, 1860. Alfred J. Anderson v. Thomas Milliken et. al. Erzor to Common Pleas of Butler County.
Gholson J. delivered the opinion of the Court.

1. Persons having mixture of African blood, but a preponderance of white blood, or being more white than black, and being otherwise qualified, were, by the settled construction of the section of the Constitution of 1802, regulating the exercise of the elective

No change was made, in this respect, by the corresponding section of the Constitution of 1851. The same persons, being otherwise qualified, are not to be excluded on account of color, but are entitled under the present Constitution to vote at all elections.

2. The plaintiff being one of the description of

persons so entitled to vote, having only one-eighth of and Legislature, welcoming to our noble State House, African blood, and his vote having been refused for and to the free soil of Ohio, the Governors and Legislature of the States of this Union, which, in by the judges of the election, against whom he brought an action for such refusal— Held. That he was entitled to recover for the viola.

tion of a right conferred by the Constitution. The decision was unanimous

Mr. Hale said that this was a dangerous precedent. Resolved, That it is with feelings of the deepest respect and gratitude, that we regard this timely visit Powers not expressly delegated to the Federal Govof Miss Watkins to our township, to tell us of the ernment were reserved to the States. This power wrongs of the slave, and to increase our zeal and detion of the Constitution. He would ask for the year

Mr. Pugh said he had arrived at the conclusion that the Senate has no power to summon any witness from beyond the District of Columbia

Mr. Collamer thought the Senate had the same power as a court to compel the attendance of wit-

Mr. Hale said he must differ from the gentleman from Vermont. He seemed to think they had all the power possessed by the British Parliament. Ours

The resolution was adopted, by yeas 43, nays 12.

The bill introduced by Senator Seward to-day, profriends, whom I have met since my return, all con- vides for the admission of Kansas under the Wyan cur in saying that, not only is there great need of call it up on Wednesday, the 29th inst., when he anti-slavery labor, but there is also an open door, far will express his views upon the subject. This arbeyond the past. But for the national debauch of a rangement will satisfy the numerous enquiries which have been made as to whether he intended to make a speech.

In the U. S. House of Representatives, Mr. Lovejov apid progress in anti-slavery education, during the oming season.

(Rep. Ill.) asked leave to introduce a preamble and resolution reciting the rights and privileges of citizens of the several States under the Constitution:

Whereas, it is alleged by responsible parties, that from the friends. I have had most carnest invitations citizens of some of the States going into other States to return to most of the places I have visited. I on business, such as the collection of debts, teaching, and other like lawful business, have been personally treated with indignity and violence, and driven from invitations to many new points, so that, in some re-their property for certain sentiments they may have spects, I was in better condition to prosecute the work held, and without allegation of crime; and whereas, an alleged practice, similar to the European passport system, is springing up—therefore,
Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed

any further legislation is necessary to give effect to the said provision of the Constitution, and that the Committee be empowered to send for persons and

papers.

Mr. Lovejoy demanded a vote on the passage of the resolution. Objections were made.

From the New York Journal of Commerce. HAZLETT AND STEVENS.

MR. EDITOR,—Permit me, through your conserva-ive press, to make an appeal to the humanity of the egislature of Virginia, as in their hands now rests the fate of Hazlett and Stevens. In ordinary cases the proper course to pursue would be to petition the Legislature to commute the impending sentence of these men, but, unfortunately, such bitter sentiments have been engendered by this raid, that a petition from the North would not be regarded with much respec at this time. Thousands would pray for this relief but, it is apprehended, the more numerous the peti ioners, the more hostile would be the feeling toward these misguided prisoners.

The community, here and in Europe, would regard

After the calamitous misapprehensions of the Legisla-ture in Coppick's case, and the many hearts so need-lessly desolated by his and Cook's death, something is due to human nature—to elemency—something to manifest to the world that Virginia is neither implace ble nor vindictive. Exasperation—party spirit-litical capital, have caused mischief enough; it is time reason, humanity, Christianity, and even a time reason, humanity, Christianity, and even a spirit of magnanimity be displayed by the authorities of Virginia—that, having vindicated the laws and have the State, they can

No other course then seems open, but a public appeal to the humanity of the Legislature of Virginia, to interpose its authority and stop the further effusion of blood, the further needless sacrifice of life, and to assure them that all parties out of the immediate aphere of Southern party spirit would regard the execution of these men with undisguised horror, in which vindictive cruelty assumes the mask of vindicating the outraged honor of the State.

B.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Feb. 19. Stevens and Hazlett, the late victims of the John Brown raid, are kept in the closest confinement. Stevens says he feels more cheerful and resigned than he ever exfeels more cheerful and resigned than he ever expected to, and he remarked yesterday that the consciousness of suffering in a good cause is sufficient consolation. Hazlett is very low spirited, and declares he would infinitely prefer the wilds of Kansas to his research continue. to his present position.

THE JOHN BROWN MEMORIAL SERVICES-

SCENES IN A HAYTI CATHEDRAL. Rev. John B. Wright, Wayland On Friday, January 20th, the grand solemn service in memory of John Brown, took place at the Cathe-dral. Although the coremony did not bear an official character, President Geffrard, with his wife and children, was present.

During the day the flags were all kept at half-mast,

and the houses hung with black.

The church was draped in mourning, and in the

middle of the nave was erected a cenotaph, covered with crape, and illuminated with lighted wax tapers. The upper part was covered with white drapery, on which were depicted a pen, a sword, and a Bible, with the inscription :-

A John Brown,
Martyr de la Cause des Noirs.

The services were celebrated with unusual religious pomp. Abbe Moussa, an African, officiated at the High Mass. M. M. Federique and Viesana both pronounced from the pulpit eulogies of John Brown.

In the afternoon, a grand procession was made to Brother of the late Captain John Brown, accompa nied by CHARLES LENOX REMOND, will visit the folthe end of the city to a place known as the 'Martyr's Cross, where further religious ceremonies took place.
The principal citizens of Port-au-Prince have decided to wear mourning badges for three days. The Revue de Commerce, of Jan. 28th, thus speaks on the all-ab-

'The death of John Brown is a crime of humanity -a bloody defiance against civilization and God. It is, moreover, a political fault of the American Government. Who can foresee the results of this immolation? Who can tell what will come to the United States, and especially to the Carolinas and Virginia, who shed this generous blood, notwithstanding all divine laws, the tears of a wife, and the cries of al Europe for mercy?

For us Haytians, we do not wish to return evil for evil, and we hope that the blood of this glorious martyr will not rise up against his executioners. We pray God to open their eyes and soften their hearts; and while waiting the happy day of the regeneration of our enslaved brethren, let us raise in our hearts our altar to John Brown, the immortal benefactor of our Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and STEFHEN S. race, the holy victim of our cause, and let us adopt as Foster, will speak on American Slavery, in Paxton, our sister and friend his worthy and unfortunate

Of all the champions of the holy war against the absurd prejudices of color, and the infamous doctrine of the subjugation of one part of the human race to another, John Brown is the most illustrious and most unfortunate. Henceforth, greater than other philanthropists, superior to Wilberforce, his sacred name will be pronounced with a holy respect, worthy of one who has given his life for the regeneration of the oppressed of mankind.

The country was quiet, and the popularity of President Geffrard continued unabated.

How THEY DISSOLVED THE UNION. The South Carolina Legislature lately sent out a parcel of reso-lutions inviting each of the other Southern States to join in a Disunion Conference.

When they reached Texas, the Legislature eyed them suspiciously. Members remarked that Texas had had too much trouble getting into the Union to be in a hurry to get out of it. And they were sum-

marily laid under the table.

When they reached Virginia, there was a long debate. But the Legislature finally came to the sensible conclusion that a Disunion Conference would have no power to dissolve the Union, and if it had, that was not what they wanted. So the resolutions were not concurred in.

When they reached Maryland, the whole Legisla-

ture rose up, with two exceptions, to indignantly spurn them as an invitation to treason, which message goes back to South Carolina, with their compliments. Cold comfort for fire-eaters, this!—Albany Evening

A KIDNAPPER. A miserable apology for a man, answering the name of Curtis, was arrested, two or three days ago, in Iowa City, upon suspicion of being Republican party, instead of following and seconding this unwise movement of some of its leaders, may repudiate and denounce this not only unwise, but presumptuous effort to identify the freemen of Ohio in reciprocal sympathy with the minions and myrmidons reciprocal sympathy with the minions and myrmidons of the David of the Naval of the Sanda of the Sa shield him from the punishment so eminently his due. These attempts at kidnapping are becoming common at the West .- Now York Post.

THE FREE NEGRO BILL DEFEATED IN MISSISSIPPI. We learn that the bill for the expulsion of free negroes from the State, which passed the Mississippi House of Representatives, was defeated in the Senate. Gov. Pettes has appointed Peter B. Stark commissioner to Virginia, in pursuance of resolutions on Federal Relations adopted by the Legislature. the PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS PAMILY, NOT HITHERTO

Gov. Ellis, of North Carolina, having applied to the Secretary of War for 2,000 long-range with bayonets attached, the reply was made that North Carolina had already received her quota, but that the arms now on hand will be altered at one of the United States arsenals, on the Department being informed of the number and the character of the alterations desired.

Mr. A. H. Ernst, an old and well-known citizen of Cincinnati, died on the 13th inst. He came has been published, wh to Cincinnati in 1808, was a strong anti-slavery man, tie and so interesting. and was an active member of the Horticultural So-ciety. His beautiful homestead was known as Spring

A man by the name of Nuckols, living near Pedlar Mills, Amherst Co., Va., was taken to a pond on Thursday of last week, by a party of citizens, and ducked, in consequence of his having used seditious language. He afterwards procured a warrant for the arrest of the parties who inflicted this summary punishment on him; but, instead of the warrant being executed, the magistrate who issued it narrowly escaned a ducking himself. There is neither liberty nor where there is slavery. Virginia means to make that fact evident.

Jesso Wheeler, formerly Surveyor of Guildford county, N. C., has been arrested for circulating sixty copies of Heiper's book. Several persons of Randolph county, of the same State, have been arrested for the like offence.

Gov. Wise, in his late speech at Richmond, referring to the Harper's Ferry affair, used the follow-

Rubies would not win me to tell all the facts of the of this publication. raid of John Brown. I will not tell to the world either all the facts in my possession, or all my opinions on that tragedy.' He assigns as his reason the danger of creating fur

ther troubles between the North and South. Stuff! Mr. Buchanan has done a humane deed, for

ch let him have due credit. A colored man harbored and concealed his own son, a slave, for which he was thrown into prison until he could pay a fine of \$200. A statement of the case showed it to be one of peculiar cruelty, and the President at once A person by the name of Frederick Southgate

Brown has petitioned the Louisiana legislature to allow him and his family to change their names. The reason given for the request is, that there is an undying stigma attached to the name of 'Brown' consequent upon the actions of 'Old John' at Harper's Ferry. [Green, Scarlet or Black would be a suitable substitute in this case.] Nonrolk, Feb. 14. A destructive fire has taken

place at Elizabeth City, N. C. Forty houses were burnt, involving loss to Messrs. Gatkins, Cobb, Pool, Wheeler, and others. Many families are houseless, and without means of support. Insurance only partial. The fire was the work of an incendiary, and aused great excitement. A large fire took place Saturday night in Mer-

chants' Row, Boston, resulting in the destruction of property to the value of about \$60,000. The saddest part of the affair is the loss of human life. Charles Carter, of Warren Hook and Ladder Company, and Charles E. Dunton, of Washington Hose Company, were both instantly killed by the falling of a brick wall. They were both married men, and leave families. The widow of Mr. Dunton is in a peculiarly sallies.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

George Jackson, Boston, donation, Collections by Susan B. Anthony: At Lockport Convention, N. Y., 35 4 Auburn Utica Syracuse Poughkeepsie Hudson Troy Easton Albany 72 11 Collections by Marius R. Robinson: At Fairfield, N. Y., Brackett's Bridge, N. Y., 2 00 For Tract Fund. Thomas Martin, West Boylston, Mass,,

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer. NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CON-

VENTION. PARKER PILLSBURY, AARON M. POWELL and Su SAN B. ANTHONY commenced a series of Anti-Slavery Conventions in the State of New York on Thursday, the 23d inst.

Next week they are to address Conventions at Jordan and Weedsport.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-Hanover. Friday evening, Feb. 24

FREDERICK BROWN.

lowing places, and address audiences therein on the subject of Slavery :-Woonsocket, Friday evening, February 24. Worcester, Sunday WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture i

Gleason's Hall, at East ATTLEBORO', THIS (Friday) EVENING, Feb. 24, on American Slavery-com mencing at 7 3-4 o'clock. Mr. Garrison will also lecture twice on Sunday next, Feb. 26, in the Rev. Mr. Babcock's church, at

South Natick. SOUTH SCITUATE.-ANDREW T. Foss, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in South Scituate, on Sunday next, 26th.

For particulars, see local notices. PAXTON .- SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and STEFHEN S. on Sunday next, 26th inst.

DIED-In this city, Jan. 5th, Mrs. CATHARINE Boston, aged 115 years. Many years since, this worthy colored woman came from Reading, Mass., to this city, where old and young have been in the habit of addressing her as Grandmother Boston. Feb. 4th, Mrs. Eliza B. Bisbir, aged 63.

At Bridgewater, Mass., Feb. 8th, BETSEY FRANCIS, formerly of Portsmouth, N. H., aged 75. In New York, Feb. 28th, Rev. George GARNET, aged 78. This venerable minister was uncle to the Rev. H. H. Garnet, and had been in the ministry 50 years. He died, as he lived, an upright man, a true gentleman, and a humble and devoted Christian.

> 30th THOUSAND NOW READY!

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

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

At the extremely Low Price of One Dollar. Comprising an account of his early life in youth

and manhood up to the period of his going to Kan-sas; together with an intensely interesting narrative of his career in that Territory, giving authentic ac-counts of his famous battles, with all the details of his last attempt to liberate slaves at Harper's Ferry, Va., including his entire prison correspondence, and

PUBLISHED. Also, an ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE.

BY CAPT. BROWN HIMSELF. This important document has not, and will not, ap-pear in the public press, as it is the desire of the friends who contribute that it should appear exclusively in our Publication, FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS as an infringement of copyright. Of this autobiog raphy it is sufficient to say that nothing of the kind since the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN, has been published, which is at once so characteris

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

NORTH ELBA, (N. Y.) January, 1860. We, the undersigned, members of the family, and relatives of the late Capt. John Brown, desire to express our approval and endorsement of the Biography of our honored and revered relative, written by James Redpath, and recently published by Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston, Mass. We think the work the best that can be produced on the subject at the present time, and in all matters of fact it is essentially correct, while it is written with an enthusiasm and eloquence which we thoroughly appreciate and admire

The Publishers have issued the work in a style which recommends itself to all lovers of a hands book, in regard to engraving, paper, printing and binding; and the friends of John Brown who wish to procure and preserve a memorial of his life and deeds will do well to provide themselves with a copy

MARY A. BROWN, ANNIE BROWN, SALMON BROWN, MARTHA BROWN, ISABELL BROWN, ABBIE C. BROWN, HENRY THOMPSON, SARAH BROWN. THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS,

114 and 116, Washington street, Boston.

IMPROVEMENT IN

Champooing and Hair-Dyeing

MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam Car-reaux) would inform her kind and liberal pat-rons and the public, that she has removed to 323 Washington st., and 20 West st.; where will be found her Restorative, the most celebrated in the world, as it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces new in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second to none in Hair-Dyeing and Champooing. Ladies waited on at their residences, either in or

out of town.

Hair dressed in the latest style. She can refer to the first people in the cities of Boston, Providence, Worcester, and elsewhere. Come and try for jour-Feb. 24.

The Thinker:

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

IT IS NOT A DVE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.

The only preparation that has a BUROPEAN REPUTATION. Warranted not to contain deleterious substances.

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

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative "

We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit

Persons personally known to us have come voluntarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S . HAIR RESTORATIVE has given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet."

Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Mass.

STORER is worthy of confidence.

Philadelphia Christian Chronicle. Incomparably the best preparation we have ever

LEN's as the Hair Restorer. N. Y. Independent MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has taken its place at the head of all articles of the

Knoxville Presbyterian Witness.

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like colo and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHPUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effectual and yet not a dye-Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's

the greatest discovery of the present day, it is refreshing to come across that which is what it PRE-TENDS to be. A really excellent article is Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoner. As an assistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the natural growth of hair. Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston,

RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, ros-SESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DYE. Philadelphia Mercury. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Allen's WORLD's HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Simply

good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprie-tor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most ap-propriately the 'World's 'Hair Restorer.' · Newark Register. We have reason to be assured that . Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide

circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.'

Rahway Register. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. The

Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y. From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer .- As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we in-ferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various remedies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year ous, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there

Providence Daily Tribune. Among the very few preparations that we deem de-

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoner is the best preparation extant for the various diseases inci-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to re-store the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorat-ing, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations which have been successfully palmed off in numer-

This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glossy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorer is easily applied, and will not stain the finest linen. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

tisement of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER are correct. Boston Olive Branch. Norfolk argus

Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this It is just what it purports to be.' Cleve. Leader. We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

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

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principal

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

on which they make more nooft. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine is signed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of coun-

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE

IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

St. Louis Presbyterian.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE-

N. Y. Evangelist. All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. AL

Michigan Christian Herald. Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

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

HAIR RESTORER will do this. 'U. S. Journal. In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wolld's Hate

because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the

most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remark-

We therefore most cordially commend it to the notice and use of those of our readers who need a re-

medial agent of this character.' St. Louis Ledger.

were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

serving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Haje Restoren.' It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respectable persons.' Rahway Advocate and Register.

ous instances, upon the public as genuine.

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

We are satisfied that the statements made in adver-Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence."

wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this

See next issue of this Paper for were information or send to Depot for Circulars.

For the Liberator. THE SAXON HEART. The Saxon heart bears not control; Like stately streams upon their course, The tide swells on within the soul, O'erpowering every adverse force.

The brave, good heart, that takes its stand. Resisting wrong, abhorring shame, Born like a prince to take command, Regardless still of praise or blame.

The matchless heart in bold emprise, The conquering heart, the heart so strong, The heart of heroes, brave or wise, The heart that always rights the wrong.

The race that erst in forest drear The deadly arrow swiftly sped, Hath dropt the winged shaft and spear, And wields the winged thought instead.

The race that once went bravely forth, To beard the wild boar in his den, Now meets the tyrant in his wrath, And boldly claims the rights of men

As in those Saxon wilds of old, The bowstring echoed far and wide, The words of truth ring out like gold, The same old spirit sanctified. New Bedford.

D. R.

For the Liberator. BY AND BY. It is coming, by and by, That blest day for which we sigh, When our joyous song shall be. . We are free-we are free ! It is coming; but, Oh! when? For we may not rest till then; Not till our proud banner wave O'er a land where breathes no slave.

Here on earth we may not stay Till shall dawn that welcome day : Heavenly joys we then may share, But we sure shall know it there. When we cast aside this dress, That doth now our spirits press, Must we cease to labor then For our suffering fellow-men?

Nay, we'll toil till all shall be Both in mind and body free; Till that day for which we sigh, Which is coming by and by. And when in our native land Not a single slave shall stand, Whether here or whether there, The rejoicing we shall share.

It is coming, by and by, Hastened on by you and I; Though but little we can do, Small the seed whence you tree grew. So in earnest deeds we'll pray For the coming of that day : Such prayers reach the ear on high-God will answer, by and by. E. D. MORSE. Sherborn, Jan. 30, 1860.

> From the Worcester Spy. 'DE PROFUNDIS.

Out of the depths, O Lord! to thee we cry! The bitter waves o'erwhelm us in their might! Prostrate before thy great white throne we lie, Groping for Thee through all the blinding night!

We hear the steps of heroes treading slow The Via-dolorosa,-while their Cross Grates on the dreary way with sound of woe, Filling the soul with sense of bitter loss. How long, O Lord-how long shall dismal night

Brood o'er the world with murk of deadly wrong Sin and foul darkness quench the blessed light Of thy fair earth !-how long, O Lord-how long

How long, O Lord-how long shall wicked men Dig heroes' graves, and send Thy saints to death? Oh, let them flee before Thy Truth, as when The storm-clouds vanish at the whirlwind's breath

Fool! know'st thou not, that, in earth's forrows dark, The precious, precious seed of life is sown, To die, that it may quicken? Who shall mark The ripened corn until the summer's flown?

The early and the latter rain must fall, That is of blood, -and this is always tears,) Times the seeds before the harvest-call !

The sharp, bright blade heralds the golden ears! Ga! on to death! The fateful hour draws near! The mastyr's crown of thorns is almost won! Death seeds once more a triumph, and men's fear Proclaims that still on earth God's will is done.

Man's wrath shall praise Mim! Now His power ap-When Sin plows deep, and sows the bloody seed !

We water the broad furrow with our tears, And lo! the harvest is a mation freed! We wait Thee, Lord, as watchers wait the day!

We know there is redemption in Thy hand! And plenteous mercy still attends Thy way; For, didst Thou mark our sins, oh, who should stand!

Worcester, Nov. 29, 1859.

100 DOLLARS REWARD. RAN AWAY from the subscriber, at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, Tuesday, December 27th. 1859, a mulatto MAN, calling himself Lewis Lee, 28 or 30 years of age, about five feet high, spare, but well built, active, quick in motion and sp and very polite in his manners. Very LIGHT mulat to, straight sandy hair, and light grey eyes. I will give the above reward for his apprehension and return, or if lodged in jail so that I get him again.

From the Northern Independent. REPLY. LEWIS LEE TO N. R. WATKINS. Ye have stolen all else from the African man. But the color God gave him to wear; The South is now stealing that as fast as it can. Infusing light color and hair.

If your grandsire stole mine on the African coast And stole him to make him his slave, The right that gives me, sir, to you, is, at most, But the right of the robber and knave.

Or, if my father was your grandfather's son, And your brother enslaved his half brother, Am I made your slave by the violence done To the chastity of my grandmother?

Can one-fourth of my blood a slave make of me One your Courts bind you not to respect? Still, three-fourths of my blood declare I am free, And your claims to my service reject. For as oft as one pound of my flesh you can claim,

My right to three pounds is far better, Just as good as your right to your body or name, A God-given right to the letter.

Now. Shylock, if you your one pound can get Without a drop of my blood, nor give pain, Your slave code would allow you to take it, and yet My own right to myself I maintain.

You have advertised me; let me advertise you, That 'JEHOVAH no attribute hath." 'Can side with oppressors'; His justice is due, And man-stealers inherit his wrath.

Underground R. R., Jan. 22, 1866. Lewis Law.

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER TO REV. DR. BETHUNE. Ременоке, (Mass.) Jan. 2, 1860. REV. SIR: In common with the public generally, I have perused the report of the speech delivered by you at the Union meeting held recently in your city, and I feel impelled by a sense of duty to trouble you word of reproof. with a few observations upon such an extraordinary performance. Extraordinary I deem it, not from its force of argument or felicity of method, but solely in view of the truculent tone in which you dispose o the rights and interests of millions of our common race, and the glaring perversions of truth with which it abounds. I have no spology to make for addressing you in a public manner, or for the plainness of

speech which I shall endeavor to cultivate. I do not wish to make your presence at a political meeting matter of reproach, although it seems scarcely consistent with your frequent reproof of others who take the same liberty, though in a different direction

Your attempt to take that occasion out of the category of political meetings is simply absurd. You are too shrewd to have anticipated from the antecedents of that meeting any thing different from what actually chenced-a meeting, to wit, of the most intensely party character; one which, while denouncing in unmeas ured terms the errors of the North generally, and the Republican party in especial, should be deaf, dumb and blind concerning the ceaseless aggressions of Sla-

The evident complacency with which you regarded the whole affair, including the boldly blasphemous attack of Mr. O'Conor upon the fundamental prin ciples of religion, and the nauseous cant in which John A. Dix paraded his Judas-like apostacy, clearly prove that the meeting and your expectations of it were entirely at one with each other. I submit, Sir, that had you not been well assured that it was a gathering whose end and aim were to serve the interests of Slavery, and to aid and comfort the dominant party humane. Why, sir, the very nature of his action in their base subserviency to its will, you would when the character of the meeting stood revealed, have fled from the place, even as Lot fled out of

With some ostentation, you announced yourself as belonging to a 'higher service,' as a 'simple follower of Jesus,' &c. Oh! Sir, would not the recollection of the cross to which that service leads, inspire you with doubts of the propriety of a service applauded by-lips blatant with blasphemy and ribaldry?

Apostrophizing the Union, you exclaimed, in mockheroic style, 'If the Union is to perish, may I die first!' It is charitable to suppose that this was uttered thoughtlessiy, just as adjurations of a more offensive type frequently are, and were on that very occasion : but, nevertheless, think of it a moment seriously. Have you reflected properly what a fearful thing it is thus to link your fate with that of a government, against whose life the conscious or unconscious prayers of four millions of human beings are continually ascending to God? You may prize this Union as the best of governments for you; but who gave you the right to have a good government, or even any government at all, at the expense of these hapless

Build your political fabric as perfect as you can; but remember that it can be rightfully built only at your own expense. 'Woe to him that buildeth his chambers with iniquity, and taketh his neighbor's service without wages! ' Vain man! has your idolatrous veneration for the Union darkened your understanding to the extent of deluding you with the fancy that it is of any account in the sight of God, except as it conforms 'to the principles of his righteous rule?' Go, then, and meditate over the ruins of Egypt, Tyre, Judah, Babylon and Rome, and, with your Bible open before you, explore the mystery of their fate. Why, Sir, the whole coast of time, from Adam until now, is strown with the wrecks of nations as great and mighty as our own, but in whom were found oppression and cruelty, and whom God has destroyed without remedy. And, with the Bible before us, do we need to be told that it shall be more tolerable for all these in the day of judgment than for this proud and guilty land?

You attempt to justify your presence at the meeting by saying, 'When the pulpit is desecrated by the wildest fanaticism, it is high time to come forward.' You were somewhat indefinite here, but I suppose believe that slavery is, in truth, the sum of all villanies,' and who write and teach accordingly.

I have an impression that I have heard or read that you are not of those who justify slavery per se. If, however, I do you injustice in this, I am open to correction. But, assuming that you do not recognize the divine right of Slavery, I would inquire whether some of the views presented at your meeting might now be fitly described as the wildest possible fanaticism? and, if so, why you suffered it to pass without rebuke? Is your mission against fanaticism wholby occupied with those who err on the side of humanity? Or is your silence on this head attributable to the fact that the fanaticism you attack is that of the unpopular and intensely hated few?

If I am correct in my apprehension of your status the address of Mr. Charles O'Conor, and answer to your conscience as you must answer to God, whether in the wide realm of erring and criminal speculapray you, a few of the salient features of that speech, its smooth verbiage, and say whether from all that thing can be found so redolent of the philosophy and feelings of hell! The speaker said, 'The negro is essary beyond the simple statement of such a doc-It had the rare merit of being frank, straight-for- facts. ward, and self-consistent; and, compared with the it might really be considered a manly utterance.

of the meeting's redeeming features. The other was present greatness, on the field and the forum, from the the letter of Ex-President Fillmore. That letter, with press and the pulpit, more than five hundred millions much that is objectionable, contains some plain truths, of acres of this magnificent area are not within the forcibly uttered, and in the right time and place. And area of Freedom. I think that if you and your compeers had detected the bitter irony which (whether intended or not) lurk- nation, to the remotest islands of the ocean, as well ed beneath the sentence in which Mr. Fillmore de- as every port of the main-lands, I would no longer clares that 'the occasion of your meeting is to be have the mortifying suggestion arise that ever now found in the desperate attempt made to force slavery comes. The timber, pitch, tar, which go to the con into Kansas through the repeal of the Missouri Com- struction of those white-winged miracles of spec promise, you would have closed your farce inconti- and accommodation, are products of soil her slave nently, and gone to your homes with the fixed reso- sons and daughters tread in hopelessness, and moiste lution that, in all coming time, Slavery should be left with their tears. The cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco to cat the fruit of her own waywardness, and drain to with which they are so richly laden, and which shall the dregs the bitter cup she has so often pressed upon be exchanged for the best treasures of those lands,

While you, Sir, thus sat and consented with menstealers, those who, from pancity of room, could not men who shall know no profit of all their toil under obtain admission to the delectable entertainment sun or stars; who shall never say while living, these

around the burning effigy of a brother clergyman! Perhaps it was from this exhilarating spectacle that you drew the inspiration to attack his fanaticism!

Think of it !- a clergyman of brilliant talents and spotless reputation, the life-long advocate of unpopula reforms, a man not only your superior, but superior even to your highest conception of yourself, was burned in effigy, yourself present, and offering no

But, it is the next paragraph of your speech tha nost particularly deserves attention. You therein say, that ' when men are canonized with no better reason than that they have shown the pluck of bull-dog with the ferocity of a tiger, it is high time to come forward.' This, then, is Dr. Bethune's conception of John Brown! I hardly know how to grapple with the statement, it is so utterly incongruou so entirely unsupported by evidence; one knows no where to begin or end. The observation has at least one merit, that of originality. To you must be as cribed the credit of having uttered the most opprobrious sentiment that has been spoken concerning the hero of Harper's Ferry. It would be impossible, think, from all that has been written or spoken, to select anything evincing more malignity, or a more omplete perversion of facts. I know not what ignificance you may attach to the phrase, 'pluck of bull-dog,' but it seems to me exceedingly ill-chosen to describe the cool, thoughtful, unfaltering courage of the man whom Governor Wise affirmed to be the bravest man he ever saw.' But, 'ferocity'-where in all that relates to John Brown is to be found the ferocity which you impute to him? To say of Napoleon that he exhibited the courage of a game-cock and the ferocity of a mad-dog, would be quite as fe licitous, and less unjust. I do not ask you to listen to the testimony of those who are, as you sneeringly remark, disposed to canonize him. But, let his bitter enemies be heard, and, with one accord, they exonerate him from the charge of ferocity. Judged by his foes, he was eminently brave, truthful and disproves your assertion, containing, as it did, the elements of the rarest disinterestedness and self-devotion to principle. Let no false issue be attempted here. The point is not tho righteousness of his enterprise, but the character of the man. And, tried by the highest standard, his enemies being judges, he is seen to be self-sacrificing beyond any known man of the billion who now people earth. Read the admonition which he gave to his men touching the duty o regarding the lives of others, and see if you can extract from it anything that looks like ferocity. Read the tribute to his character in the letter of Ex-President Fillmore, and reflect how convincing must be the evidence to have extorted such a testimony!

Are you a man of religion, and have not been im ressed by the deepland fervid piety which ran through his man's whole nature?—his undeviating devotion to his idea of right? - and, more than all, his sublime trust in God, that wavered not while life remained ?

I could charitably suppose you ignorant of the facts o which I have referred; for the man who is so easily led by the nose as to go to a political meeting without having read the Call which produced it, or without knowing anything about it, except that it contained the word 'Union,' may well commit even a greater folly. But even this would not leave you blameless. The difference is but small between him who perverts facts, and him who undertakes to unfold their meaning while in ignorance of their nature.

Your estimate of John Brown has, together with his deeds, become matter of history, and I arrogate no prescience when I say, that your speech will return to plague its author. John Brown has dragged many into what will prove no enviable immortality, but to none belongs a more conspicuous elevation than your-

self. The memory of the Judge who condemned him, and of the Sheriff who fulfilled the doom, may possibly perish from the earth, but History will not forget to remember you! No historian of Charles I. has omitted to chronicle the hag who spat in the face of the unhappy monarch as he passed to the death whose placid dignity has half redeemed his memory And even as in the historical procession of the past, we see the figure of the king followed ever by the grinning fury who insulted his last hours, so in the future, inseparably attached to the memory of John Brown, shall be that of the man who, from the shadow of his bloody grave, strove to heap fresh obloquy upon him, and blacken the fame which was the heritance of his children.

There are other topics touched in your speech which I had intended to notice, but the space I have already occupied admonishes me to forhear.

I have, in this communication, been moved by n feelings toward yourself other than those of friendliness and good will. 'Faithful are the wounds of friend.

With sincere wishes for your present and eternal welfare, I am yours, &c. WILLIAM WHITING.

Rev. George Bethune, D. D.

PRAYER FOR THE OPPRESSED.

BY ALMIRA SEYMOUR. Four fundamental and incontrovertible reasons why

on the Slavery question, let me entreat you to review the abolition of slavery and oppression should be prayed for.

1st. Because I believe firmly in that most sublim of uninspired Scripture, the Declaration of American tion, you could select any thing so thoroughly deserv- Independence, in its primary and most significant ing of stern and indignant reprobation? Grasp, I clause, - That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienaand condense into essence the meaning hidden under ble rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, is cruel and mean in the literature of depravity, any governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' Because my whole soul responds to this noble, selfweak compared with the white, therefore enslave evident truth, I pray for the emancipation from abso him-helpless, therefore trample him in the dust- lute slavery of more than three millions of my felignorant, therefore keep him so'! Is anything nec- low-beings in my own land; for emancipation from social and political injustice and oppression, resulting trine to expose its wickedness? Why, Sir, not even from slavery, of more than five millions of my white from the depraved throng who crowd the arena where Southern kindred; for emancipation from the demorhuman brutes exert their skill in mauling each other's alizing and debasing crime of slave-ownership of persons, could you obtain an approval of such a doc- more than three hundred thousand oppressors of the trine when plainly stated. And yet you listened to weak; and for the emancipation of upwards of five all this, and uttered no word of condemnation. The hundred millions of acres of our sacred, blood-bought only fanaticism visible to you was that of over- soil from the blighting curse of slave-labor. For earnestness in a cause which angels might be proud this, ceaseless prayers should be offered. Every patto advocate—the cause of those who, more emphati- riot heart should prostrate itself in the dust before cally than any other portion of the race, are the poor, the God of Nations, and implore Him that this fawhom there are none to help. And yet, in justice to vored land may no longer be a mocking and a by-Mr. O'Conor, I must say, in passing, that his address word; that this foul blot may be removed from its was one of the few redeeming features of the occasion. segis; this deadly falsehood from its history of noble

When my spirit dilates with pride and gratitude namby-pamby of the other speakers, tending no as I contemplate the unexampled expansion of my whither but to be despised both of God and man, country's territory, I want no longer the soul-sicker ing reminder, that, notwithstanding the eloquence of I have said that Mr. O'Conor's speech was one orators, the songs of poets, the labors of past and

When fancy flies with the merchant-fleets of my were planted, nourished, harvested, shipped, with in creasing, crushing labor, by American men and we within, amused themselves with hooting and yelling hands with which I wrought are mine, or, in dying, observance of a Sabbath amid the toils of a planta- born white citizen, of all the peculiar rights whi

jugal loves, my children! Yes, God of homes and families! yes, God of the

oppressed and parentless, I pray to Thee for this. When I boast, proudly but warrantably, of New England's Lowells, Lawrences, Manchesters, Dovers; when I take the distinguished foreigner through these mills, that he may see the extent of our enterprise in this department, and the respectable character of our industrial population, I wish no longer that he may have it in his power, with the cutting courtesy of satire, to reply-Amazing! What quantities of raw material must be annually consumed! The production of your Slave States, is it not?

When I contemplate the marvellous results of our Free-School system; when I culogize, as I love to, the prescience of our Pilgrim Fathers in their establishment, and the increasing munificence of annual appropriation by which they are not merely sustained, but multiplied continually, and immeasurably enhanced in value and elevated in character; when I give my exultant assent to the statement, that no graded body drags itself just above the spent, degraded country in the world is in advance of my own in this soil? particular, I want to know that this is true of my schole country; that every American child, as well as emigrants and fugitives from the Old World, has this inestimable privilege of free-school instruction. To this end I pray, daily, that all Slavery and Op-

pression may cease in my native land. . 2nd. Because I believe in the Great Apostle's statement, for which he had precedent in classic lore, as well as the teachings of the Master-that ' God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth '-I pray for the emancipa-

tion of my brethren of the South. That the viles passions of man in the noble southern nature may no longer be fostered by indulgence; the lust for ease, leading to the lust for power and wealth through unholy channels, and this to that lower lust which profanes all the instincts of the master's being for the sake of merchandize. That these temptations may be removed from him forever, and thus,

First, his mental eye may be cleared, to discern what country abounds, would be immeasurably increased in not steat? value by the employment, in their appropriation and use, of intelligent, well-paid craftsmen; that the soil he tills would yield abundantly greater products, and be constantly enriched and renewed, by subjecting it offences, ay, punish with tortures and death, and givto the management of men of practical scientific skill, the poor wretch no opportunity to assert or vindical rather than, as now, constantly impoverished and ex- his innocence; no opportunity for defence, appeal, o hausted. That he may discover how his social and examination into his cause? political prerogatives would be enhanced, by having in his employ a hundred and fifty men qualified by

And who is my neighbor?

And Jesus, answering, said, A certain man wer

And Jesus, answering, said, A certain man wer all civil affairs, each the responsible head of a family, instead of, as now, counting ninety votes among the same number of individuals, and bearing upon his shoulders the unshared burden of a hundred and way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the fifty human destinies, with all that appertains to them. And

Second, That his moral eye may be thus cleared to discover his obligations to the wife of his bosom and the children God has given them; that they may no longer be surrounded by impure and enervating in- and took care of him. And on the morrow, when l fluences, but by such as are calculated to develop the departed, he took out two pence, and gave them beauty and worth of their natures-the sublime capabilities with which they are endowed; that they may know the comfort, the luxury, of well-ordered homes, and experience the noble refreshment and enjoyment of making them so: that they may know the case of independence in their domestic habits, in place of the fretting bondage to bondmen and bondwomen which is now theirs. And

Third, That his religious sensibilities shall be awakened to a perception of the worth of immortal souls, in whatever form or coloring they are clothed : to a perception of his accountability, in this relation, for his own, the souls of his family, elogged and from thy helpless, patient, powerless neighbor, w) chained down like his own, the souls of those toiling can offer no resistance with his strong right an heathen, crushed in a night of existence beneath the for it is manacled; can make no appeal for justice; burden he imposes.

striving brother, the master, may be emancipated from these terrible evils, I will pray God with my whole | boasted independence and philanthropy of the Nort soul. And his enfranchisement shall be that of the for that stands with dumb white lips before the imp millions of non-slaveholders at the South, who, tent threat of Tyranny. through him, are debarred the privileges that belong to the citizens of a free country, and paralyzed in people, in place of those who rejected Thy Son every enterprise that distinguishes the age, and does honor to the race.

And again: that his other victims, the black slaves of his possession, may be rescued from the loathsome brute lives to which they are sacrificed; the wasting toil whose only comfort is, that it shortens life: the deprivations of culture, progress, and all rational enlightenment; the agonies of separation from kindred, or Barabbas! Father of individuals, of nations, of h and even kind masters. That my black brethren, a part of the great kindred and the one blood, may be put in possession of some of the invaluable rights of manhood. That my black sisters may know something of the sanctity and reverent reservation of womanhood; some of the holy privileges of humanhearts and human intelligences; some of the hopes that brighten the lowliest toil of this life, and of them'-because I believe in these as the divine, in those that give certain glimpses of another. That all perative, unconditional guide of our lives and hope this may be. I pray night and day to the one Creator Judge and Father of all, that Slavery may cease, speedily and forever, in this land-a land that leaped from the unknown ocean at the call of his religion, and was planted, by the same mandate, with the seeds of such principles as form the basis of this appeal.

3d. Because I believe in the Ten Commandments, delivered on the mystic Mount to the Jewish Lawgiver, I must pray with groanings that cannot be uttered for the abolition of Slavery and Oppression.

'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.' . For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting ment and culture which woul the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the noble and gifted of the land. third and fourth generation of them hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments." Can the slave on a Southern plantation, taught in

abject fear to obey a master as a God, can he or she down to my first peaceful rest, that of the grave, keep this commandment? Can the master keep it, the beast lies down when his existence of bone a when nothing receives his heart's homage and determined allegiance but the 'peculiar institution,' which my black neighbor of African descent. he drops the hand of God to grasp? And can he, does he, escape the penalty of his disobedience? Do we not see his sin ' visited upon the children unto the himself her master—bartered for as a piece of me third and fourth generation'? Upon the children? chandise-sent hundreds of miles from me without has blighted, as well as the occupants of it.

taketh his name in vain.' Listen to the echo of thy speech, O lord of the

slave, in the various relations thy false life make needful to thee, and say whether this command is or can dered. Gould I sit calm and still in a knowled be obeyed? How often, during the one hundred and sixty-eight hours of the coming week will that sacred huddled together in a foul enclosure, unfit for bear name be upon thy lips? How often, in pleading awaiting the word of the auctioneer to send them prayer or devout thanksgiving-how often in fearful, all directions in search of infamy, ignorance, var revolting passion, or from long-induffed, sinful bondism, and the deepest darkness of heathenis habit?

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy genius of our New-England institutions, ahor servent, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

lay me in the little spot I purchased with my hardearned wages; nay, who shall never say to the recipients of their few imparted pleasures or pains, my husband, my wife! or to the offspring of these contake his seat in the sanctuary, that must be trimmed and smoothed to his wishes, not reverently, but earnestly addressed to his want?

'Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.'

Can the Africo-American honor the father who be got him for the auction-block and the lash of the overseer-begot her for a life of loathsome pollutio or self-slaughter? Can the legitimate children of the doomed race honor father and mother whom they never see, except through the vague visions of far-off memories, kept alive by yearning affections? Can the white children of the master honor father and mother who leave them as an inheritance, not stores of knowledge and wealth of well-trained natures, not heaps of gold and leagues of teeming soil, not mercantile, or manufacturing, or agricultural enterprise, but a mass of ignorant, indolent animal existence, in which mind smoulders and motive deadens piteously as the de-

'Thou shalt not kill.'

White man! American citizen, who callest thyself a Christian ! With thy foot upon the black man's breast, thy scourge and crushing burden upon his back, thy polluted and polluting grasp upon the black woman-dost thou not kill! Answer to thy conscience and thy God, in the awful silence of profound introspection-Dost THOU NOT KILL?

. Thou shalt not commit adultery.'

There stands the command. It is written in the Bible that lies neglected or often read on thy polished table or book-shelves-dost thou see it? Written in the Bible, whose gilded leaves thy purchased preacher turns daintily each Sabbath-has he dared read it to thee? Written, and cannot be erased.

'Thou shalt not steal.'

It were a sin by this command to take the coat, or the purse, or the horse, of his fellow-man. What is it to take his ALL? His muscular power, his mental are his true interests as a citizen and a man of busi- skill, his free agency, his labor, and the fruits of his ness. That he may recognize the undeniable truth, labor, his leisure and rest, his loves and the offspring that free labor is incalculably more productive than of his loves; all makes him fit for this life, all that labor that is enforced; that the resources for indus- could prepare him for another. Slaveholder! antry and enterprise with which his section of the swer this to thy conscience and thy God-dost thou . Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy

And mayest thou punish for imputed crimes and

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus.

down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell amor thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, an wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was the place, came and looked on him, and passed by c the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he jour neyed, came where he was; and when he saw hin he had compassion on him, and went to him, as bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, ar set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inthe host, and said unto him, Take care whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again

will repay thee.
Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neigh bor unto him that fell among thieves? And he sain he that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unt him. Go, and do thou likewise.

'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, tho shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-set vant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, no anything that is thy neighbor's." Not even covet, nor earnestly desire, my unju-

Southern brother! Yet thou takest all this withou an equivalent, without an asking, even; takest al the laws of a free, enlightened country, for in the Yes; that my thoughtless, or reckless, or vainly- execution of those laws, his rights are not recognized;

O, Thou, who calledst this people to be Thy chose Who baptizedst this nation in its infancy with the Holy Ghost and with fire!' O, confirm in its mahood that early promise of Thy presence, I beseen Thee! Let not justice, mercy and truth be again sa rificed unto death! Let us no longer forfeit our sacrbirthright and blessed adoption by Thee from amor the nations! To-day, To-DAY, the question is, Chr. manity! Parent of justice, mercy and truth, let us ; choose amiss!

4th. Because I believe in the eleventh comman ment, given through a greater than Moses- The shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'-believe in ti with its unmistakable commentary- Whatsoever would that men should do to you, do ye even so our salvation, my inmost soul pours itself out i prayer for the abolition of slavery and oppression. Would I subject that soul's eternal welfare to t'

mad mischiefs of absolute power and unlicensed lu-Then can I calmly see my white Southern neighb risk his in like manner. Would I condemn wife a . l children that were precious to my heart, to the e feebling and vitiating influences of dependence up inferiors in every act and department of life? Th can I see, without remonstrance, the wives and chi dren of my neighbors thus defrauded of the develo ment and culture which would place them among to

Could I bend to unrequited toil through all t brazen hours of the long, burning, tropic day-ye after year do this-begin life with no better hope wear it through in this gnawing despair, and muscle is at an end? Then can I see this inflicted Could I behold my wife torn from my bosom-

faned by the unhallowed embraces of one who call Ay, upon all that comes after him; upon the land he my consent or her own, even-her bosom bleedi with the anguish of separation, her body with t Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God stripes of the task-master? Could I look on, and n vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that this transpiring to one whom I had chosen from among the daughters of New England? Then will hold my peace while the warm-hearted, loving daug' that my young children, sons and daughters, we Then can I complacently hear, daily, how the incent and helpless children on Southern savannahs meeting this doom.

Would I raise no arm of resistance, offer no we What kind of holiness is there, can there be, in the her educational privileges, and depriving me, a nativ

the Deciaration of Then will I feel no Constitution guarantee fort, by word or vote, on be, half of the millions of oppressed non-slaveholding whites at the South. But if I could not, would not whites at the count.

do and endure thus myself, neither must I passing do and endure this high making must I passively submit to it for these my neighbors—the oppressed—if there be any meaning in the Golden Rule, the Divine Law of Love.

For these reasons, based upon and drawn from pris. ciples here presented in the order of their au yet parts of one whole, ascending from the higher yet parts or one whole, the highest divine inspiration; for these ressons, so imperative in their nature and i their obligation upon me and every American ma and woman calling himself or herself a Christian and woman cannon and eternal reasons, I call upon every devout spirit in the land—the priesthood as laymen of every denomination—to join me in solution laymen of every denomination of the God of Nations and unintermitted appeals to the God of Nations and Father of the one great Brotherhood of Man, the He will so influence those in power, and those vis place men in power, that this falsehood on the by of our country, this ulcer at her heart, this fail poison in her air, this negation of all her virtue as her value to the present and future as an example. that African Slavery, and its inevitable adjust WHITE SLAVERY, may be abolished speedily and fee. ever. God grant it, for His Mercy and His Trees sake! Amen!

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