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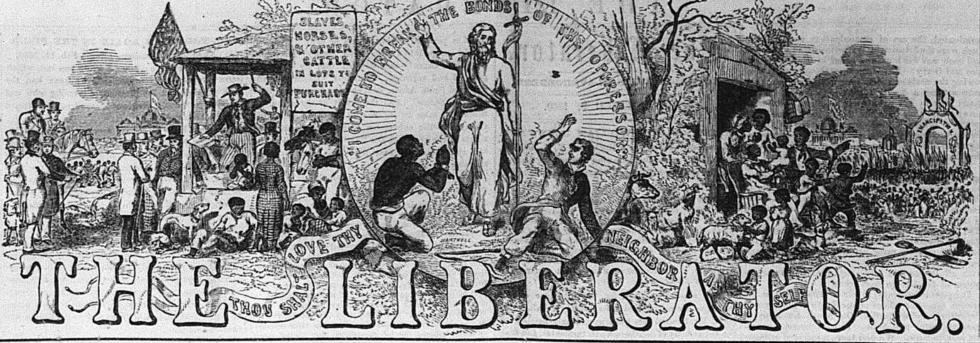
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

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

The free States are the guardians and essen-

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

for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

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

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

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

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

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with 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.

Brown; but who really never signed any Constitu-

VOL. XXX. NO. 10.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1524.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD. IN THE U. S. SENATE, FEB. 29, On the Admission of Kansas into the Union.

The first portion of this speech is a condensed histerical sketch of the progress of events in this country. The more important portion is the following :-

The choice party and the Republican party. Its principles and policy are, therefore, justly and even pressarily examined. I know of only one policy which it has adopted or avowed-namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, it possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being homes for slavery and polygamy. Who, that considers where this nation exists, of what races it composed, in what age of the world it acts its part on the public stage, and what are its predomastitutions, customs, habits and sentiments, doubts that the Republican party can and will, if unwaveringly faithful to that policy, and just and loyal in all beside, carry it into triumphal success? To doubt is to be uncertain whether civilization can improve or Christianity save mankind.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I may, perhaps, infer from the necessity of the case, that it will, in all courts and places, stand by the freedom of speech and of the press, and the constitutional rights of freemen everywhere; that will favor the speedy improvement of the public domain by homestead laws, and will encourage mining, manufacture and internal commerce, with pedial connections between the Atlantic and Patile States-for all these are important interests of redom. For all the rest, the national emergenes, not individual influences, must determine, as sciety goes on, the policy and character of the Republican party. Already bearing its part in legis-lation and in treaties, it feels the necessity of being practical in its care of the national health and life, while it leaves metaphysical speculation to those whose duty it is to cultivate the ennobling science of political philosophy.

WHAT IT ENCOUNTERS.

But in the midst of these subjects, or rather, beore fully reaching them, the Republican party encounters, unexpectedly, a new and potential issueme prior, and therefore paramount to all others, national life and death. Just as if so much had not been already conceded; nay, just as if nothing at all had ever been conceded, to the interet of capital invested in men, we hear menaces of disunion, louder, more distinct, more emphatic than ever, with the condition annexed, that they shall be executed the moment that a Republican Administration, though constitutionally elected, thall assume the Government.

I do not certainly know that the people are prepared to call such an Administration to power. only, that through a succession of floods which never greatly excite, and ebbs which never ism rises continually higher and higher. They are probably wise, whose apprehensions admonish them that it is already strong enough for effect.

HAS IT PLUCK ?

Hitherto the Mepublican party has been content with one self-intercognitory—how many votes it can east? These threats enforce another—has it determination specific to east them? This latter question touches its spirit and its pride. I am quite sure, however, Sant as it has hitherto practised self-denial in so many other forms, it will, in this Esther with all ambition, and will consider these attracedinary declamations sectionsly, and with a met moderation. It would be a waste of words to demonstrate that they are unconstitutional, and equally idle to show that the responsibility for dismion, altempted or effected, must not rest with those who in the exercise of constitutionar authority maintain the government, but with those who unonstitutionally engage in the mad work of sub-

What are the excuses for these menaces? They resolve themselves into this, that the Republican party in the North is hostile to the South. But it dready is proved to be a majority in the North; it is, therefore, practically the people of the North.
Will it not still be the same North that has forborne with you so long, and conceded to you so much? Can you justly assume that affection which has oplying, can all at once change to hatred intense and inexorable?
You say that the Republican party is a sectional

one. Is the Democratic party less sectional? Is it easier for us to bear your sectional sway, than for you to bear ours? Is it unreasonable that for once e should alternate? But is the Republican party sectional? Not unless the Democratic party is.

The Republican party prevails in the House of Representatives so Representatives sometimes; the Democratic party in the Senate always. Which of the two is the most proscriptive? Come, if you will, into the ates, into the State of New York, anywhere from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, among my neigh-bors in the Owasco valley, hold your conventions, nominate your candidates, address the people, submit to them, fully, earnestly, cloquently, all your complaints and grievances of northern disloyalty, oppression, perfidy; keep nothing back, speak just as freely and as loudly there as you do here; you will have hospitable welcomes, and appreciating audiences with ballet here as you for all the votes. andiences, with ballot-boxes open for all the votes you can win. Are you less sectional than this? axtend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats in the North. There is, however, a better test of nationality than the accidental location of parties. Our policy of labor in the Territories was not sectional, in the first borty years of the Republic. Its nature inhere. It will be national again, during the third forty years, and forever afterwards. It is not wise eneficent for us alone or injurious to you alone.

Its effects are equal, and the same for us all. THAT THE REPUBLICANS ARE ACCUSED OF.

You accuse the Republican party of ulterior and eret designs. How can a party that counts its totes in this land of free speech and free press by the hundreds of thousands, have any secret designs? Who is the conjuror, and where are the hidden springs by which he can control its uncongregated and with and widely-dispersed masses, and direct them to objets unseen and purposes unavowed? But what are these hidden purposes? You name only one. That one is to introduce negro equality among you.

Suppose we had the power to change your social rystem: what warrant have you for supposing that we would carry negro equality among you? We know, and we will show you, if you will only give leed, that what our system of labor works out, wherever it works out anything, is the equality of white men. The laborer in the free States, no matter how homely a his account in the free States, no matter how homely a his account in the free States, no matter how homely a his account in the free States, no matter how homely a his account in the free States.

veloped and perfected among them all, is wiser and better than any foreign State I know. Is it, then, in any, and in which of the States I have named.

We will not suffer ourselves here to dwell on any his skin exhaled contagion, answer. You find him petuate alienation. always in the State where labor is ever free. Did Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, when they implored you to relinquish your system and accept the one we have adopted, propose to sink you down to the level of the African, or was it their desire to. exalt all white men to a common political elevation?

our system on you. We are excluded justly, wisely, and contentedly, from all political power and re-sponsibility in your capital States. You are sovereign on the subject of slavery within your own borders, as we are on the same sabject within our borders. It is well and wisely so arranged. Use your authority to maintain what system you please. We are not distrustful of the result. We have wisely, as we think, exercised ours to protect and perfect the manhood of the members of the State. The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns, within the Union is divided between us by unmistakable boundaries. You have your fifteen distinct parts; we eighteen parts, equally distinct. Each must be maintained in order that the whole may be preserved. If ours should be assailed, within or without, by any enemy, or for any cause, and we shall have need, we shall expect you to defend it. If yours shall be so assailed, in the emergency, no matter what the cause or the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your sovereignty as the equiva-lent of our own. We cannot, indeed, accept your system of capital or its ethics. That would be to surrender and subvert our own, which we esteem to be better. Besides, if we could, what need for any division into States at all? You are equally at liberty to reject our system and its ethics, and to maintain the superiority of your own by all the forces of persuasion and argument. We must, inand future States growing up in the great public pose in Virginia by invasion, involving servile domain. Discussion, then, being unavoidable, what could be more wise than to conduct it with mutual toleration and in a fraternal spirit?

You complain that Republicans discourse too boldly and directly, when they express with confidence their belief that the system of labor will, in perience of the beneficent working of our system the end, be universally accepted by the capital as we have enjoyed, we have had these new illusentirely discourage me, the volume of RepublicanStates, acting for themselves, and in conformity trations in Kansas and Virginia, of the existence
among us of a class of men so misguided and so than our own?

> rity ready to adopt it in practice; a minority which, for weight and worth of character, preponderates tacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression tacle of justice in conflict where the sacred side is gaining daily the offenders.
>
> —a conflict where the sacred side is gaining daily the offenders.
>
> Posterity will decide in all the recent cases. new recruits from the influx into office of young men, grown and growing up. * * * Be not, then, discouraged. What you have written will do a great deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself about our welfare, no man is more able to help the laboring side.'

> very anywhere, we must follow southern guides. that period of tyranny and terror has been acbut we, whose nativity, reckoned under the North Star, has rendered us somewhat superstitious, must be excused for constancy in following the guidance of those who framed the national ship, and gave us the chart for its noble voyage.

SOMETHING FURTHER ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY Vice President of the United States has induced me to weigh carefully the testimony he has given on the subject of the hostility against the South imputed to the Republican party, as derived from the relations of the representatives of the two parties relations of the representatives of the two parties at this capital. He says that he has seen here, in the representatives of the lower Southern States, a most resolute and earnest spirit of resolute and earnest spiri most resolute and earnest spirit of resistance to the servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root Republican party; that he perceives a sensible loss and source of all liberty, to dispose of and economize of that spirit of brotherhood and that feeling of in the land which God hath given them, as members loyalty, together with that love for a common country, which are at last the surest cement of the Union; so that, in the present unhappy condition of affairs, he is almost tempted to exclaim, that we due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vasily bearing high their heads, they can, in due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vasily bearing high their heads, they can, in due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vasily bearing high their heads, they can, in the tours and escentilly a second to the tours and escendilly a second to the tours and the tours are the tours and the tours are to the tours are to the tours are to the tours and the tours are to the tours are to the tours and the tours are to the tours and the tours are to the tours are to the tours are to the tours are tours and the tours are to the tours are to the tours are to the tours are to th are dissolving, week by week and month by month; sals born in the tenure and occupation of another inthat the threads are gradually fretting themselves as under; and a stranger might suppose that the Executive of the United States was the President as a free government. of two hostile Republics. It is not for me to gaise The Republican party knows, as the whole coun a doubt upon the correctness of this dark picture, try will ultimately come to understand, that the a dot upon the contents of this dark picture, in oblest objects of national life must perish, if that concerned; but I must be indulged in the opinion life itself shall be lost, and therefore it will accept that I can pronounce as accurately concerning the the issue tendered. It will take up the word Unio Northern or Republican representatives here as any which others are so willing to renounce, and, comone. I know their public haunts and their private bining it with that other glorious thought, Liberty, one. I know their public haunts and their private ways. We are not a hostile Republic, or representatives of one. We confer together, but only as the organs of every party do, and must do, in a political system which obliges us to act sometimes as partisans, while it requires us always to be patriots and statesmen. Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, with us are political, not social or personal differences. There is not one dispartly for there is no other. Will the Democratic party, for there is no other. Will the Democratic party, for there is no other.

teen of our thirty-three States are free-labor States, been more patient, and never loved the representa-There they are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massa-tives of other sections more, than now. We bear chusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Concecticut, New Hes ame testimony for the people around us here, York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, California and Oregon. I do not array them in contrast with the capital States. I am no assailant of the same testimony for all the districts and the same testimony for all the same testimony for the people around us here. States. All of the States are parcels of my own states we represent. The people of the North are country—the best of them not so wise and great as not enemies, but friends and brethren of the South, I am sure it will hereafter be; the State least defaithful and true as in the days when death has

that negro equality offends the white man's pride? evidences of a different temper in the South; but Throughout the wide world, where is the State we shall be content with expressing our belief that where class and caste are so utterly extinguished as hostility that is not designedly provoked, and that they are in each and every one of them? Let the cannot provoke retaliation, is an anomaly that must European immigrant, who avoids the African as if be traced to casual excitements, which cannot per-

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

A canvass for a presidential election, in some remored you to reiniquish your system and accept the me we have adopted, propose to sink you down to he level of the African, or was it their desire to a common political elevation?

But we do not seek to force, or even to intrude, no party could cast more than a plurality of votes.

THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

The gloom of the late tragedy in Virginia rested on the Capitol from the day when Congress assembled. While the two great political parties were peacefully, lawfully and constitutionally, though zealously, conducting the great national issue between free labor and capital labor for the Territories to its popular solution, through the trials of the ballot, operating directly or indirectly on the various departments of the Government, a band of excep-tional men, contemptuous equally of that great question and of the parties to the controversy, and impatient of the constitutional system which con-fines the citizens of every State to political action by suffrage in organized parties within their own borders, inspired by an enthusiasm peculiar to themselves, and exasperated by grievances and wrongs that some of them had suffered by inroads of armed propagandists of slavery in Kansas, unlawful as their own retaliation was, attempted to subvert slavery in Virginia by conspiracy, ambush, invasion and force. The method we have adopted, of appealing to the reason and judgment of the people, to be pronounced by suffrage, is the only one by which free government can be maintained anywhere, and the only one, as yet devised, which is in harmony with the spirit of the Christian re-ligion. While generous and charitable natures will probably concede that John Brown and his assodeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the ciates acted on earnest though fatally erroneous world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them since we have to decide, as a nation, discuss them since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that this attempt to execute an unlawful puragree that this attempt to execute an unlawful puragree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that this attempt to execute an unlawful puragree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide, as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have to decide as a nation, agree that the new since we have the ne was an act of sedition and treason, and criminal in just the extent that it affected the public peace, and was destructive of human happiness and human life.

· · ITS ACTORS. It is a painful reflection that, after so long an extoo unreservedly books designed to advocate eman-desperate as to seek to enforce their peculiar principation. But, surely, you can hardly expect the ciples by the sword, drawing after it a need for the Federal Government, or the political parties of the further illustration, by their punishment, of that nation, to maintain a censorship of the press or of great moral truth, especially applicable in a Redebate. The theory of our system is, that error of public, that they who take up the sword as a opinion may in all cases safely be tolerated where weapon of controversy shall perish by the sword. reason is left free to combat it. Will it be claimed In the latter case, the lamented deaths of so many that more of moderation and tenderness in debate citizens, slain from an ambush and by surprise—all are exhibited on your side of the great argument the more lamentable because they were innocent We all learned our polemics, as victims of a frenzy kindled without their agency in well as our principles, from a common master, far distant fires—the deaths even of the offenders
We are sure that we do not, on our side, exceed his themselves, pithable, although necessary and just, lessons and the example. Thomas Jefferson ad-dressed Dr. Price, an Englishman, concerning his their judgment to the real nature of their criminal treatise on emancipation in America, in this fashion: (enterprise; the alarm and consternation naturally Southward of the Chesapeake, your book will find moment the fear that our whole system, with all its but few readers concurring with it in sentiment, on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake, the bulk of the people will apole the chesapeake. leading event lent an air of probability : surely all these constituted a sum of public misery which for weight and worth of character, prependerates against the greater number who have not the courage ought to have satisfied the most morbid appetite for to divest their families of a property which, however, social horrors. But, as in the case of the gunto divest their families of a property which, however, social horrors. But, as in the case of the gun-keeps their consciences unquiet. Northward of the powder plot, and the Salem witcheraft, and the keeps their consciences unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here and there a actors were swiftly followed by another and kinrobber or a murderer; but in no greater number. dred class, who sought to prolong and widen the which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spec-tacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression less equally of complicity and of sympathy with

where political responsibility for public disasters must fall; and posterity will give little heed to our instructions. It was not until the gloomy reign of Domitian had ended, and liberty and virtue ound assured refuge under the sway of the milder You see, sir, that when we go for or against sla- Nerva, that the historian arose whose narrative of

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE UNION PARTY.

The Republican party being thus vindicated against the charge of hostility to the South, which has been offered in excuse for the menaces of unconstitutional resistance in the event of its success, feel well assured that it will sustain me in meeting A profound respect and friendly regard for the them in the spirit of the defender of the English Commonwealth:

Surely, they that shall boast as we do to be a free nation, and having the power, shall not also have the

social or personal differences. There is not one dis- party, for there is no other. Will the Democratic unionist or disloyalist among us all. We are alto- party take up the assault? The menaces of disunion be how humble his occupation, is a white man, and gether unconscious of any process of dissolution are made, though not in its name, yet in its behalf.

The how humble his occupation, is a white man, and gether unconscious of any process of dissolution are made, though not in its name, yet in its behalf. It must avow or disavow them. Its silence thus

far, is portentous, but is not alarming. The effect and spinners of Massachusetts, the stevedores of of its intimidation, if successful, would be to continue the rule of the Democratic party, though a Peak, and California, the wheat-growers of Indiana, minority, by terror. It certainly ought to need no the cotton and sugar planters on the Mississippi, more than this to secure the success of the Republiamong the voluntary citizens from every other land can party. If, indeed, the time has come when the not less than the native born, the Christian and the Democratic party must rule by terror, instead of Jew, among the Indians on the prairies, the conturuling through conceded public confidence, then it macious Mormon in the Desert, the Africans free, is quite certain that it cannot be dismissed from the Africans in bondage, the inmates of hospitals possible disunionist among them all. I believe they will be as faithful to the Union now as they were in the bygone days when their ranks were full, and glorious than this? And by these simple interrotheir challenge to the combat was always the war-ery of victory. But, if it shall prove otherwise, then the world will all the sooner know that every party in this country must stand on Union ground; that the American people will sustain no party that it, we are continually wondering how it is that a is not capable of making a sacrifice of its ambition Confederacy of thirty and more States, covering on the altar of the country; that, although a party may have never so much of prestige, and never such traditional merit, yet, if it be lacking in the one virtue of loyalty to the Union, all its advantages will be unavailing; and then obnoxious as, through long cherished and obstinate prejudices, the Republican party is in the capital State, yet even there it will advance like an army with banners, winning

THE UNION TERROR EXCITORS.

Those who seek to awaken the terrors of disunion seem to me to have too hastily considered the conditions under which they are to make their attempt. Who believes that a Republican administration and Congress could practice tyranny under a Constitution which imposes so many checks as ours? Yet that tyranny must not only be practised, but must be intolerable, and there must be no remaining hope for constitutional relief, before forcible resistance can find ground to stand on anywhere.

The people of the United States, acting in contribunal to try and determine all political issues. They are as competent to decide the issues of today, as they have been heretofore to decide the issues of other days. They can reconsider hereafter, and reverse, if need be, the judgment they shall pronounce to day, as they have more than once reconsidered and reversed their judgments in former

Nor is any new or special cause for revolution likely to occur under a Republican administration. We are engaged in no new transaction, not even in a new dispute. Our fathers undertook a great to be trembling before our eyes. But the appointed work for themselves, for us, and for our successors end of all this agitation comes at last, and always the North American continent, and reflect the rays country becomes calm once more; and then we find of the sun throughout his whole passage from one to the other of the great oceans. They erected thirteen of its colums all at once. These are standors added twenty more; even we who are here have shaped and elevated three of that twenty, and all these are as firm and steadfast as the first thirteen; and more will yet be necessary, when we shall have rested from our labors. Some among us prefer for these columns a composite material; others, the pure, white marble. Our fathers and predecessors differed in the same way, and on the same point. What execuations should we not all unite in pronouncing on any statesman who heretofore, from mere disappointment and disgust at being overruled in his choice of materials for any column then to be quarried, should have laid violent hands on the imperfect structure, and brought it down to the earth, there to remain a wreck, instead of a citadel of a world's best hopes

THE FOLLY OF DISUNION THREATS.

I remain now in the opinion I have uniformly tpressed here and elsewhere, that these hasty threats of disunion are so unnatural that they will find no hand to execute them. We are of one race, language, liberty, and faith; engaged, indeed, in varied industry; but even that industry, so diversineous, and though living under a consolidated Gov-turned against you, so that ernment, ever maintained. We languish through-aims may yet be attained. out, if one joint of our Federal frame is smitten; while it is certain that a part dissevered must compact, and that a breach, by one of the States or

THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS MECHANISM.

that surpassed all previous understanding among judging from analogy, it is presumed he will have men, adapted it to these inherent elements of human to die. There were people of good feeling and benature. He strangely, blindly misunderstands the nevolence in Charlestown and vicinity, who, after consent and renewal, without which it must cease. No, go where you will, and to what class you may, with commissions for your fatal service in one hand, and your bounty counted by the hundred or the thousand pieces of silver in the other, a thousand registers will rise up for every recruit you can engage. On the banks equally of the St. Lawrence and of the Rio Grande, on the Atlantic and on the Pacific coasts, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and in the dells of the Rocky Mountains, among the fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, the waves

is quite certain that it cannot be dismissed from power too soon. Ruling on that odious principle, it cannot long save either the Constitution or public liberty. But I shall not believe the Democratic party will consent to stand in this position, though it does through the action of its representatives seem to cover and sustain those who threaten disunion. I know the Democracy of the North. I know them now in their wasing strength. I do not know a possible disunionist among them all. I believe they

more free, more gentle, more beneficeat, or more glorious than this? And by these simple interrogations you will be silenced and confounded.

Mr. President, we are perpetually forgetting this subtle and complex, yet obvious and natural mechanism of our Constitution, and because we do forget ism of our Constitution; and because we do forget it, we are continually wondering how it is that a regions so vast, and regulating interests so various of so many millions of men, constituted and conditioned so diversely, works right on. We are continually looking to see it stop and stand still, or fall suddenly into pieces. But, in truth, it will not stop; it cannot stop; it was made not to stop, but to keep in motion—in motion always, and without force. For my own part, as this wonderful mathe favor of the whole people, and it will be armed with the national confidence and support, when it shall be found the only party that defends and maintains the integrity of the Union.

foree. For my own part, as this wonderful matchine, when it had newly come from the bands of the salmost divine inventors, was the admiration of my earlier years, although it was then but imperfectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the tectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the central figure in the economy of the world's civiliza-tion, and the best sympathies of mankind favor its continuance, I expect that it will stand and work right on until men shall fear its failure no more than we now apprehend that the sun will cease to hold its eternal place in the heavens.

Nevertheless, I do not expect to see this purely

popular, though majestic, system always working on unattended by the presence and exhibition of human temper and human passions. That would be to expect to enjoy rewards, benefits and blessings, without labor, care and watchfulness, an expectation contrary to divine appointment. These are with the Constitution, are the supreme the discipline of the American citizen, and he must to try and determine all political issues. fastened upon the country through its doubts and fears, confirmed by its habits and strengthened by personal interests and ambitions, is to be relaxed and changed, in order that the nation may have its just and natural and free development, then, indeed, all the winds of controversy are let loose upon times. It needs no revolution to correct any error, or prevent any danger under any circumstances. us from all points of the political compass, and we see objects and men only through hazes, mists, and doubtful and lurid lights.

The earth seems to be heaving under our feet,

and the pillars of the noble fabric that protects us to erect a Federal empire, whose arches shall span seasonably; the tumults of the people subside; the they have betrayed us. The earth is firm as always ing now, the admiration of mankind. Their suc- we have feared so anxiously, now more firmly fixed before, and the wonderful structure, for whose safety than ever, still stands unmoved, enduring and im-

LETTER FROM THE MOTHER OF COPPIC TO GOV. LETCHER. Springdale, Iowa, 2d Mo., 2d, 1860.

GOVERNOR LETCHER-It is under circumstances of a very painful and afflicting nature that I am now induced to address thee, although personally a stranger. Some time last summer two of my sons, Edwin and Barclay, left home without informing me of their destination or designs. On hearing of the unlawful outbreak at Harper's Ferry, we learned, with great surprise and horror, that Edwin was engaged there, in an action so unlike his previous course of conduct. At first, our sympathies were enlisted on your side, feeling that you rights had been invaded. Had you let common law and justice take its course, and only punished the intruders according to their deserts, th thies of the world might still have been with you But since you have suffered yourselves to run wile fied, brings us into more intimate relations with with rage and insane revenge, which you are still each other than any other people, however homoge- endeavoring to carry to the utmost, the tide has turned against you, so that John Brown's highest Was there ever such a farce acted in a professedly

Christian nation? 'We have a law, and by our perish. You may refine as you please about the law he ought to die,' seems to have been the ruling structure of the Government, and say that it is a principle of that pretended court of justice. Fifteen northern men have been murdered, in one way by Congress, of any one article, absolves all the or another, in revenge for the five killed by them in members from allegiance, and that the States may self-defence. (If they killed more than five, you separate when they have, or fancy they have cause have not told us of it.) Poor old Brown, knocked But once try to subvert it, and you will down after he had surrendered, and then knocked find that it is a Government of the whole people- after he was down, in a most cowardly manner as individuals, as well as a compact of States-that Two were killed after they had surrendered; two every individual member of the body politic is con-seious of his interest and power in it, and knows open street; another was literally riddled with balls, that he will be helpless, powerless, hopeless, when on the bridge. One of the principal actors in this it shall have gone down. Mankind have a natural bloody deed had the audacity to boast of it in open right, a natural instinct, and a natural capacity for court. All this is contrary to the laws of war, as elf-government; and when, as here, they are suffi- well as most inhuman. Five more, after being inciently ripened by culture, they will and must have sulted by a farcical representation of the forms of self-government, and no other. termined. Two more you are probably reserving for the same fate; although one, whom you call The framers of our Constitution, with a wisdom Hazlett, no one has been found to recognize; yet

anatomy of the great system, who thinks that its getting acquainted with Edwin, finding him to be a only bonds, or even its strongest ligaments, are pleasant and benevolent man, joined their efforts the written compact, or even the multiplied and with those of his numerous friends in other parts of thoroughly ramified roads and thoroughfares of the United States, to try to have his sentence mititrade, commerce and social intercourse. These are strong indeed, but its chiefest instruments of cohesion public, of all those shameful charges cast upon him, —those which render it inseparable and indivisible— yet what was the result? Why, he must be stranare the millions of fibers of millions of contented, gled to death; and for what? To gratify a revengehappy human hearts, binding by their affections, ful feeling, so prevalent in Southern brains, when a their ambitions, and their best hopes, equally the spark of ignited combustion rarifies them. This high and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the learned and the untutored, 'I will' for its motto, with so little specific gravity and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the learned and the untutored, even the good and the bad, to a Government, the first, the last, and the only such one that has ever existed, which takes equal heed always of their wants; their wishes, and their opinions; and appeals to them all, individually, once in a year, or in peals to them all, individually, once in a year, or in condeavoring to put into practical form the great variance of the brighteness of the brighteness of the prophers wants, there wishes, and their opinions; and appeals to them all, individually, once in a year, or in endeavoring to put into practical form the great two years, or at least in four years, for their expressed principles of the brotherhood of man, promulgated consent and renewal, without which it must cease.

No, go where you will, and to what class you may, and the basis of the Christian Church: thereby

tion or pledge of allegiance to Brown; nor was he in Virginia at the time of the Harper's Ferry affair, neither has he, at any time, injured any of you.
Yet you are chasing him with biped bloodhounds
and big bloated marshals, secret patrols and spies,
and, most inhuman of all, the thousand dollars reward for him, dead or alive, to encourage the offscouring of creation to murder him, if an opportunity should offer. Some of these things I could scarcely credit, until a requisition sent from thyself to our Governor capped the climax. We all con-sidered this an insult to the Governor, as well as to the State of Iowa. Could you get Barelay, what would you have? It reminds me of Æsop's fable of the mountain in labor, which brought forth a mouse; and of David's appeal to Saul- After whom is the King of Israel come out? After whom dost thou pursue? After a dead dog? After a dost thou pursue? After a dead dog? After a flea?' My son is just recovering from a severe attack of asthma, so bad that he could not lie down, nor scarcely breathe; yet, all the while, rumors were after that an officer or a mob were coming to take him. Would Virginia mothers like to be placed in my situation? Our Northern Bibles say, 'Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you'; 'Visit the widow and fatherless, and them that have none to help them.' You say, 'Hang the fatherless, chase them for a prey shoot them down. fatherless, chase them for a prey, shoot them down, let their mother's gray hairs go down to the grave with sorrow.' I would not write thus, did not facts stare me in the face. My spirit grieves for you, and my soul is in mourning for my country. Although the plans and schemes of the wicked have been confounded, and my poor consumptive boy has thus far been preserved, through all his suffering by cold and starvation in the mountains, and from the clutches of rapacious men, yet I would be willing to give up this son, also, with the addition of my own life, if, thereby, the distressed bondsmen might be liberated, and their masters purged of their sins. You hang men for murder, while, at the same time, you are encouraging it by your rewards. You are hanging men for treason, when thou thyself hath uttered treasonable sentiments in thy inaugural message, and when Southern members of Congress are continually obtruding it before the people. you want to leave the Union so badly, why don't you go? Who forbids you? Where is the Northerner who would not count it a good riddance to be clear of helping you to hold four millions of hu-man beings in slavery? Who among them would not like to see the pinions of the American Eagle stretch from Maine to California, north of Mason and Dixon's line, over a great and enlightened Republic, where free vegetation springs up and expands under the dews and rains of Heaven, and not under the tears and blood of the slave? where the cultivators of the soil are free to think and speak, and free to perform their whole duty to God and man; where the man-hunter and kidnapper is practically unknown; where honest Irishmen do not get abused and insulted, merely for saying that free labor is better than slave labor, and for trying to obtain their just dues; where respectable citizens are not driven from their homes because they hold unpopular opinions; where worthy school teachers are not sent off, at an hour's notice, for a trifling remark; where the backs of ministers of the gospel are not scored by the merciless lash; and where the jails are not filled with honest men? But if you separate, do so peaceably, and see how long you can hold your slaves without us.

Since writing the foregoing, information has been received that the second requisition has been sent from thee to Gov. Kirkwood, (the first having failed through informality.) Still pressing thy hostilities against a poor old Quaker woman and her innocent son, who never hurt a hair of thy head, nor that of the Virginians! But go the length of your chain. You are making radical abolitionists faster than scores of Northern lecturers could do it. Did it never occur to your minds that a few thousand of these might pay you a hostile visit? You seem to be giving them such strong in-vitations in your rash conduct, that it is quite uncertain what they may do. Many of them have neither the peace principles of the Society of Friends, nor the cool heads of the Republicans. Their visit, therefore, might be as unwelcome as that of the nineteen, and rather more dangerous. In conclusion, I would say, that the times appear

to be awfully portentous, and seem to predict some great calamity. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.' I fear that our nation is involved in clouds and thick darkness, even that which may be felt. Has not the impress of blood been reflected from the future, glaring down upon us from our American skies? Yes, the old men have seen visions, and the young ones have dreamed dreams, reminding us of the ones have dreamed dreams, reminding us of the ancient Jews, who received signs, wonders and prophecies, that their nation should be destroyed, if they did not repent of their wickedness. But they still continued in their self-sufficiency and boasted exaltation, until, according to Josephus, their general, the Almighty left them to be destroyed. It is said that eleven hundred thousand of them miserably perished within and around the walls of Jerusalem, and the remnant were scattered among the nations of the earth. The resitive comamong the nations of the earth. The positive commands of the Creator of the universe disobeyed with impunity, although justice may have told us that they tremble for their country, because of the wicked and dangerous character of some of its institutions. The eyes of Europe are upon us; the civilized world condemns us; the Chfistian is mourning our departure from the paths of true Christian love. Thy friend,

N. B. As thou seems so very anxious to have Barclay visit you, if he chooses to go, I shall ex-pect him to receive that kind hospitality at thy house that one of thy sons would receive from me. Perhaps a few months in the genial climate of Virginia might prove beneficial to his health. I think you would soon become attached to him, as he is a pleasant boy, and loves dry jokes.

A. L. B.

COL. FORBES.

Col. Forbes, of the Harper's Ferry ' disclosures' Col. Forces, of the Harper's Ferry disclosures notoriety, quitted New York for Liverpool in the early part of November last. He left in the ship John Bright, under an assumed name, wearing a false beard and moustache, and otherwise disguised. false beard and moustache, and otherwise disguised, and gave out that he was going to Canada. His assigned reasons for recrossing the Atlantic were, first, an apprehension that he might receive a not-to-be disputed requisition for his presence in Washington; second, that his personal safety, and even existence, were endangered by the enmity and apprehensions of the persons implicated by his 'disclosures;' third, a disgust for all 'humanitarians' and Yankees. He proposes remaining in London. and Yankees. He proposes remaining in London, there to await an opportunity for resuming his former avocation of amateur Italian patriot and

The bill abolishing slavery in Kansas, which was vetoed by Gov. Medary, has been passed, over is veto, by a vote of 30 to 7.

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W. C. W.

CHAIR PARTY FOR STAND OF

The Lecture Room, Nelson Street, last evening, was again filled by an audience of great respectability, for the purpose of hearing Mr. George Thompson's second anti-slavery lecture, which was entitled The Present State of the Conflict between Freedom and Slavery in the United States, and the Cheering Aspects of the Anti-Slavery Cause, with the Duty of Great Britain on the Subject.' Mr. John Mawson occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that he had been elevated to the position he occupied, in consequence of the unavoidable absence of the Mayor. Considering the inclemency of the weather, and the various other attractions at present in existence in Newcastle, the numerous attendance that evening was an evidence that the old anti-slavery zeal for which this town had ever been distinguished was not yet dead. He exhorted them, however, not to let their exertions in this cause cease as soon as they had expressed sympathy with its advocates; but to work for the emancipation of the slave in as practical a manner as they possibly could. He then introduced the lec-

Mr. Thompson spoke as follows: The time will come (and may God hasten it!) when the inhabitants of Christendom will look back with horror and astonishment upon the state of things which now exists. Vessels, sailing under the flags of nani nally Christian nations, carrying to the shores nominally Christian countries cargoes of human beings, torn from their homes in heathen Africa, and sold as beasts of burden to men who have been bap-tised into the Christian faith! Seven millions of such persons, and their descendants, held in brutal bondage, and daily lashed to uncompensated toil; and four millions of these in the United States, the land of freedom, independence, and republicanism; of bibles, Sabbaths, Sunday-schools, missionaries, and revivals; but where infants are sold by weight from the scales of the slave-breeder, where female virtue lies prostrate before lustful tyranny; where it is death for the second offence of teaching a slave to read; where deliberate murder is beyond the reach of puhishment; and where the gift of Divine grace but augments a man's value upon the auction block. Such is the general aspect of slavery and the slave trade. We are assembled to-night to contemplate the present gigantic and terribly subline struggle which is taking place in America between the antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom; a struggle, on the one side, for the maintenance of despotic power over the bodies, souls, and actions of four millions stolen human beings; and on the other, for the establishment of the right of man, without respect to color, or condition, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is a struggle between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, good and cvil, Christ and Belial.

In the confederation of the original thirteen States, and the adoption of a constitution for their federal government, there was an attempt, for the first time, to embrace in one voluntary political system an entire continent, including various populations, radically diverse in origin, pursuits, condition, races, and character. It was, in fact, a confederacy of natives, almost as distinct as the nations of Eu rope. The constitution agreed to was of the nature of a compromise between the opposing ideas of separate sovereignty and blended nationality. The fatal error committed by those who framed the constitution was that of making it the perpetual and om-nipotent bulwark of slavery, and of committing the free States, through all future time, to its support; constituting them, indeed, the guardians and conservators of the system. On this subject (says Dr. Channing) our fathers swerved from the right; we, their children, see the path of duty more clearly, and must walk in it. . . . 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.' The growth, multiplication, and extension of slave States in America has been steadily progressive. From five, they have become fifteen; and the slaves, who were 600,000 at the time of the Revolution, have became 4,000,000-a poulation exceeding that of the whole of the thirteen colonies, bond and free, when the Declaration of Independence was signed, on the 4th of July, 1776. From the time that George Washington ascended the Presidential chair, until now, the domestic and foreign policy of the United States has been dictated and controlled by the Slave States. Washington, Jeffer-

son, Madison, Munroe, Jackson, Polk, and Taylor were slaveholders, and all but two were re-elected. John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, and Pierce, were non-slaveholders, but were never re-elected; and while they were in power were subservient to the slave oligarchy of the South. No man, before the last election, ever had a chance of elevation, or was so much as nominated by any great political party, until he had prostrated himelf in the dust before the South, and vowed perpetual allegiance to the foul demon of slavery. more than seventy years there has been an attempt to harmonise two radically distinct social States and to make them move smoothly onwards under one common form of government. It has been as it ancient and modern Europe had joined hands-had been yoked to draw in the same harness, and plow in the same field. For better for worse, on the sis of a compressise which ignored and annihilated the rights of a portion of the children of the said the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States were committed by the act of union to a common destiny. The result reads to us and all mankind a lesson. It shows how unstable the best-devised superstructure of government is, which rests for its foundation on injustice, prescription, and wrong. The Constitution of the United States contained the seminal principle of another revolution. It might as well have been founded upon the atheistical proposition, There is no God, or upon the principle that man has no rights,' as upon an agreement to hold in everlasting slavery a portion of the home-born popula-tion of the soil, and to bind their successors to the latest generation by the unholy, God-defying and inhuman compact. Had not the framers and signers of that constitution just come victoriously out o a bloody war with the sovereign and imperial Parliament of the mother country, waged in resistance to unjust taxation? Had they not carried with

to cement a union by the sacrifice of the birthright of 600,000 of their fellow-creatures, and that o their posterity for ever? It was a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. It cannot stand I am not ignorant of the arguments which are employed in defence of those who framed the constitution. It was, say they, a political necessity .-They had to unite in a common bond, States ar communities with essentially different character istics. It had to be elastic, or it would have burst; and hence the series of expediences and compromise by which it is distinguished. There were two types of society, radically distinct, to be reconciled and united. In one region, as regarded the governing class, a society formed after the old feudal, or even Roman, model. The business of production being given over to a servile and enslaved race, while their masters made politics their business, and war their ambition; exhibiting equal boldness and skill in the first, and an eager readiness to engage in the second. In another region, a society devoted to industrial, commercial, and trading pursuits, with an ambition that lay only in the direction of the sciences and the arts of peace. Great mutual concessions, therefore, say they, were required, or the band must have been sundered. It would have been better for America, for the cause of liberty, and for the world, if it had been severed, when the war was over, than that the previous federation should have become union that could not in its nature be perpetual, founded upon a guilty compromise of the inalienable rights of man, and a violation of the immutable laws of God. The best apology for the revolutionary patriots who yielded to the demands of the South, and as described to the demands of the South, and so flagrantly outraged at once their principles and their convictions, is, that they did not foresee the tremendous evils which their compromise would

occasion. They dreamed that when the slave trade

terminated, the era of emancipation would dawn Such were the delusion of Wilberforce and Clarkson, and such was the hope and belief of Hancock, Adams and Gerry. But when they thought they were sowing the seeds of peace, unity, and freedom, they were sowing a deadly upas tree, whose blighting shade was to fall upon their children's children. Unwittingly they took the most effectual means to insure a future war of opinion, if not of blood, among their descendants, and to bring about a disintegration of those States which they hlindly thought they had bound together in indissoluble amity.

Time would fail in the attempt to recount the

aggressions of the slave power upon new territory, ts encroachments upon the rights of the people of the free States, its monopoly of the places and emoluments of the Federal government, its nullification of the laws of Congress, its establishment of lynch law, and its thousand other manifestations of the spirit of despotism. I must refer, however, to the ntention, recently made manifest both in words and deeds, of the Southern States to reopen and revive, with all its horrors and iniquities, the atrocious

system of the foreign slave trade.

The picture presented to our contemplation in the present aspect of affairs in the South is gloomy and dispiriting, and we turn to the North for signs of encouragement and hope. In that direction we do not look in vain. We find there a spirit of antagonism to slavery, daily increasing in extent, intensity Northern democratic minions, with as much assumed and power. The growth of this spirit has been bitterness and ferocity as though he had enunciated gradual, and it is yet far from universal; but the the most atrocious sentiment that ever fell from the anti-slavery leaven is at work, and cannot fail to lips of the most profligate wretch! The fact is as spread till it has leavened the whole lump. When I look back to the state of things when I first landed in America, in 1834, and to the state of things in veals the wide-spread stultification of mind which 1860, the contrast is indeed striking between now slavery has produced, than that it has been deemed then. Happy am I to know that those with whom I then associated, and who were the first to bear aloft the banner of immediate emancipation, are still in the front ranks of the 'irrepressible conflict,' at this moment so fiercely waging between the foes and friends of liberty; and that to their labors, with the labors of those who subsequently joined them, is owing the wide regeneration of public sentiment which is now witnessed in the free States. All honor to the matchless courage and heroic devotion of men like William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Edmund Quincy; and of women like the Chapmans, Westons, Lucretia Mott, and Lydia Maria Child! It. would require more time the 'irrepressible conflict' by word or deed, nor evinctive the 'irrepressible conflict' by word or deed, nor evinctive the 'irrepressible conflict'. than I can now command, to sketch the progress of ing any restiveness under the malicious assaults the anti-slavery movement in the United States, or of his unscrupulous opponents. He has explained to measure the results already accomplished by that movement. Its onward march has encountered at every stage the combined opposition of the Church, anxiety, therefore, as well as an intense curiosity, has the State, and the mercantile interests of the country : but over all impediments it has fought its way the issue at the present session, -especially in view of to the convictions and the hearts of the people.—

the approaching Pressidential election, and of the It has been sought to put down the leaders of this strong probability that he will be the candidate of the It has been sought to put down the cries of recklessness, infidelity, movement by the cries of recklessness, infidelity, Republican party. This curiosity has at last been and treason; but the people have recognised them as the champions of justice, equal human rights, gratified, and this anxiety removed. On the 29th and the religion of Him who gave a gospel of liberty ultimo, in his place in the Senate, Mr. Seward made to the world. The original pioneer in this great an elaborate and carefully prepared speech with referstruggle, on whose head a price was set, and who, ence to the impending crisis - a speech of which twenty-five years ago, was dragged by a halter through the streets of Boston, is now received with reverence, and greeted with applause, in every meeting of his fellow-citizens, while the Legislature of his native State is compelled to bow to the public The infamous Fugitive our first page. pinion he has created. free States, is now practically a dead letter, and is executed and defied by those who were called upon to conquer their prejudices' and obey its inhuman provisions with 'alacrity.' Instead of assisting to Slave Law, which spread such terror through the apture fugitive slaves, the free States are now en- because it evinces, throughout, the adroit calculating, neting laws to visit with condign punishment any heartless politician, rather than the wise, courageous, man, even the highest functionary of the Federal Government, who shall dare to lay hands on a man on the pretence that he is the property of another. Abolitionists, instead of being, as once they were left desenceless to the mercies of an inturiated mob, the doctrine of an 'irrepressible conflict' between have now the protection of the municipal authori- Freedom and Slavery, it is a laborious attempt to show ties, and in Philadelphia and New York meetings that there need be no collision, -certainly no unfriendof sympathy, with the objects of the late Captain Brown, have been attended by bodies of the police, to prevent interruption and disorder. The newspaper press of the free States, once universally op-posed to the agitation of the anti-slavery question, is now found assisting that agitation, while those papers which are most out-spoken and bold in their nunciations of the southern system, command the widest circulation among all classes of readers. But a few years ago, the political sentiment of the country was divided between two parties, and alike believe that his love of political elevation was subor-ready to do the bidding of the slaveholding oligarchs dinate to his self-respect and firmness of character, of the South. Now, the political party, numerical and that, while not particularly inclined to make an ly the strongest in the country, is the republican or advance movement, he could neither be intimidated free-soil organization. This party is the creation of the anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States, and by his enemies, nor flattered by his friends, nor bribed has displaced the Whig, Democratic, and Know-Nothing parties that previously have alternately ground on which he had rightly planted his feet. had predominant sway. It is the embodiment of But the temptation which proved too powerful for political anti-slavery feeling. It must not be supposed, however, that the Republican party aims at same downward course; and his recent speech, when the abolition of slavery by legislative action. Republicans are Unionists. They take the oath to oberve and upheld the Constitution; and these objects are limited by the powers given to Congress by the They would, if true to their platform constitution. and professions, repeal the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; they would abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; they would prohibit the inter-state slave trade, and prevent the revival of the foreign slave trade; they would put a stop to the practice of taking free colored persons from northern vessels have swept through all the non-slaveholding States going into southern ports, of imprisoning them, and with irresistiffe power. He has gone backward, and selling them to pay their gaol fees. They would punish these acts as infractions of the constitutional ights of citizenship; they would also refuse admistion to any new Slave States into the Union, and would prevent the extension of slavery in the territories subject to the general Government. None of these measures touch slavery itself. Besides this men will rejoice in the general tone of this speech. political party, there is a non-political party, of which Mr. Garrison is the founder and the head. The adherents of this party cannot vote, for the reason that they cannot elect a man to an office, which he cannot assume until he has taken an oath to sup- followed, and the danger of the Republic will speedily port the Constitution-which Constitution guaranport the Constitution—which rights of property in human beings, and pledges the power of the Federal Government to the defence of those rights. By this party the Constitution is denounced as an unholy and iniquitous compact, which must be dissolved as the first effectual step towards the overthrow of slavery. Hence they are avowedly disunion, and them through that war the sympathies of a large part of the civilized world? Had they not based their inscribe upon their flag ' No union with slaveholders; ' 'No compromise with slavery.' They do not assertion of independence upon the self-evident truth obstruct political anti-slavery action, but they do that 'all men are free and equal,' and that 'taxnot co-operate in it further than by the disseminaation without representation is tyranny,' and should be resisted unto death? Was it not a colored man tion of their own high, uncompromising principles. In accordance with their settled views of what is right and necessary, they seek the separation of the litical astrologers, it shall be an error of judgment who first baptised the cause of American liberty in his own blood? Did not the colored man stand free from the slave States. They acknowledge and obey a law higher than the Constitution, the law of God, and demand in the name of that higher law shoulder to shoulder with the white man in the ranks of death, when Washington led his raw recruits against the King's troops? And was it conthat the Constitution of the United States should be either brought into conformity to it, or forever sistent with principle, or honor, or gratitude, or reason, or humanity, or the law of God, when conannulled. They are for the most part non-resistants, quest and independence had crowned the revolution and rely for success upon the influence of opinion and the ultimate omnipotence of truth. They are ary struggle, to sit down and deliberately attempt the fountain-head of those streams which have gone forth to renovate the public sentiment of the land. A passage in an American religious periodical exes my idea of the position they occupy :- We regard the American Anti-Slavery Society as Na poleon did the Old Guard. They are to the move-

> them as the only party in America who, with con-sistency, singleness of purpose, and in the true spirit duty of the people of this country to apply the influ-ence of their literature, trade, dominion and religion to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and sat down amidst loud applause. The CHAIRMAN, in concluding the meeting, read some startling incidents from a letter by Lydia Maria Child, in the Liberator, which produced a deep ensation on the audience. He then paid a high ribute of respect to the eloquence, real and devotion thick Mr. Thempson had so long manifestal in the which Mr. Thompson had so long manifested in his abors to redeem his oppressed and enslaved fellow-

host that does not keep its eye fixed on the Garri-

sonians. However else we may disagree on the qui

mode, there is perfect agreement on this, that cour-

age, perseverance, and unfaltering faithfulness to

The Liberator.

THE

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 9, 1860.

SPEECH OF HON, WILLIAM H. SEWARD In a speech delivered in Rochester, N. Y., in 1858, Mr. Seward made the following memorable declaration, in reference to the anti-slavery struggle in this

· Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN OPPOSING AND EN DURING FORCES; AND IT MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST AND WILL, SOONER OR LATER, BECOMI ENTIRELY A SEAVEHOLDING NATION, OR ENTIRELY A FREE-LABOR NATION.

Ever since that time, for the utterance of this soundly philosophical and self-evidently truthful statement, Mr. Seward has been unceasingly assailed by the entire body of Southern slave-traffickers, and their Northern democratic minions, with as much assumed ludicrous as it is true; and nothing more clearly relanguage of the New York Herald,) when he asked, What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what fellowship hath light with darkness? or how can two walk together, except they be agreed?

Since his Rochester speech, until last week, Mr Seward has preserved an unbroken silence upon this everywhere been felt to know how he would meet hundreds of thousands of copies have already been printed, to be multiplied to millions, and circulated wherever minds are to be reached or votes to be won.

This speech greatly disappoints us; not on the score far-seeing statesman. It has no pulsations of life, no throbbings of humanity; it is wholly destitute of moral feeling and purpose. Instead of re-asserting ly collision,-between these forces, and that there is no reason why they may not remain in juxtaposition without heat or jealousy, ad infinitum!

This, indeed, takes us by surprise. True, we have never regarded Mr. Seward as other than the incarnation of political circumspection-cold in blood, cautious in action, wholly indisposed to anything like 'ultraism' in any direction; but we have been led to closely analyzed, will be seen to be but little, if any better than Mr. Webster's seventh of March speech, 7850. Its effect will be highly detrimental to the moral sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery; whereas, it was in the power of Mr. Seward, by a vigorous and lofty enforcement of the great doctrine embodied in his Rochester speech, to have kindled that sentiment to an electric flame, which would gone down, and he will drag many along with him: and self-recovery under such circumstances, is scarcely ever possible. No marvel, therefore, that the Boston Courier (which, till now, has been parin its dispassionate expressions, and calm, decorous,

and often even lofty style of thought. . . His view . . exhibit no fanatical spirit. Let this example be pass away'! What that complimentary language means from such a rancorous pro-slavery sheet as the Courier, needs no elucidation.

What a thrilling effect would have been produced upon the whole country, if Mr. Seward had commenced his recent effort as follows:- In a speech which I delivered at Rochester on the question now, as then, agitating the Republic, I declared that there was an irrepressible conflict between free institutions and slave institutions, and I am here to repeat the declaration'! Instead of this, mark how different his exordium:- In coming forward among the poand not of disposition, if my interpretation of the feverish dreams which are disturbing the country shall tend to foment, rather than to allay, the national excitement'! Here is the step from the sublime to the ridiculous'- roaring like a sucking-dove,' and not like a lion! What! is not the conflict between Freedom and Slavery real, inevitable, exterminating but made up only of 'feverish dreams'! Again

·It will be an everflowing source of shame, as well as of sorrow, if we, thirty millions—Europeans by extraction, American by birth or discipline, and Christians in faith, and meaning to be such in practice ment what the north star is to the heavenly constellations that revolve around it as the axis. There is not a single regiment in the anti-slavery host that does not keep its eye fixed on the Garriwith contentment and harmony.

A very plain denial of the doctrine of the irrepressible conflict,' as a necessity! 'Thirty millionsit has been my privilege for five-and-twenty years to Christians in faith, and meaning to be such in practice co-operate, and, with ever-increasing admiration of their disinterestedness and fidelity, I still regard or aim at but a slave-breeding, slave-trading, and

Labor, either of freemen or slaves, says Mr. Sewof immediate emancipation. Mr. Thompson, at ard, 'is the cardinal necessity of society.' There is considerable length, dwelt upon the interest and no such necessity nor alternative. Slave labor is criminal, coerced, unrequited, degrading, unnatural labor, and no plea of 'necessity' for it is to be admitted for one moment.

Mr. Seward gives us a new coinage of words. H wishes to be soft and fair-spoken to the slave-driving South; and so he designates the slave States as 'capital States,' and the free States as 'labor States' Quite as ingenious as slaveholders calling slavery 'the peculiar institution '!

Speaking of the formation of the Constitution of reatures, and concluded by referring to a glorious athering held in that hall in 1846, which was adressed by William Lloyd Garrison. After three heers for Mr. Thompson, the meeting separated.

Speaking of the formation of the Constitution of the United States, he admits that, as touching the slave system, 'The PATHERS COMPROMISED AT LAST. Three-fifths of the slaves were to be represented and

taxed as persons. What should be done if the slave | GEO. THOMPSON AGAIN IN THE FIELD. should escape into a [free] labor State? THEY COM-PROMISED AGAIN'-and decided that he might be pursued and captured. Moreover, 'slaves might be imported [from Africa, as they were for twenty years] high privilege and gratification of meeting with and into the States.' And the result of these compromises has been an increase of the slave population George Thompson. eight fold-the subversion of all the constitutional this day!

emphatic language. He says :-

· It cannot be denied-the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Chronicle, which I have sent you. Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipula-tion to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement pos-itively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from sinai; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . The freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or of forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand sub-

antee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation-no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of government came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of

The bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained and Politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery. by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are to the churches in America, warning them and expresented themselves, but for whom their masters are to the churches in America, warning them and expresented themselves, but for whom their masters are to the churches in America, warning them and expresented themselves, but for whom their masters are to the churches in America, warning them and expressions. The consequence has been, that this slave representamorning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil. From this view of the Constitution, the nation has be speedily driven from the earth.

never once dissented since its formation-no part of the nation has ever dissented—but it has been thus as this accomplished? construed and carried out literally, universally, inexorably, unchangeably, up to this hour; therefore it of your leaders can be well spared; still, when we is that we have branded it as 'A COVENANT WITH find the Times and other journals committed to DEATH' which must be annulled, and 'AN AGREE- pro-slavery principles, it is evident that work must be MENT WITH HELL' which cannot stand; and there- done here also. fore it is that we inscribe upon our banner, 'No Union with Slaveholders!

It is remarkable what gingerly phrases (not less the extension and perpetuity of their horrible slave that we are relieved from labor and responsibility. system] - while it is hard to unite the labor [meaning the free | States in a common policy [meaning the cility is this on the part of Mr. Seward !

and Webster, the distinguished citizens schose unques- dwell upon the earth? Are we not all brethren? tionable devotion to the Union was manifested by their acquiescence in the compromise of 1850, had gone down already to their honored graves '! Dealing in compliments like these, of what avail is the complaint of America from having left her six hundred thousand Mr. S., that, 'over the face of the whole world, there slaves at the time of the Revolution; our churches is not to be found one representative of our country have had constant fellowship with slave-owners, and who is not an apologist of the extension of slavery'? participated in their guilt by taking their blood-Why is not this, also, an evidence of 'unquestionable stained money. Then we help to sustain the system devotion to the Union '?

The world, prepossessed in our behalf by our seem identified with it. demoralization means? It has an excuse, better than the world can imagine, better than we are generally conscious of ourselves, a virtuous excuse (!)
have loved not freedom so much less, but the U of our country so much more (!) We have been made to believe, from time to time, that, in a crisis, both of these precious institutions could not be saved together, and therefore we have, from time to time, surrendered the safeguards of freedom to propitiate the loyalty of capital, (!) and stay its hands from doing violence to the Union.'

'A virtuous excuse' for pursuing a course directly tending to utter national demoralization! What moral jargon! We have loved the Union more than liberty, and been willing to surrender the safeguards of freedom 'to propitiate the loyalty of capital,' the fruit of your toil, is the earnest desire of [meaning a brutal, bloated, murderous slave oligar-

and this constitutes 'a virtuous excuse' on our quested to take full cognizance of! With his recognition of the slaveholding compromises of the Constitution, what does Mr. Seward mean when he says that both of these institutions [Liberty and the Union] can be saved together'? By what political or moral legerdemain is this possible?

Speaking defensively for the Republican party, Mr. of your readers :-Seward says- I know of only one policy which it has adopted or avowed - namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being the homes for slavery and polygamy.' When or where that party though a stranger by face, yet your line excited grathas made any distinctive issue with polygamy, more itude and thankfulness of soul. So true it is, we than the Democratic party, we do not know: the must look to those whose hearts . God has touched, statement is obviously made for popular effect. Only for those gushing sympathies characteristic of their one policy '-not the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, where it now exists by the consent and Redeemer's love and mercy, I value the prayers, the approval of Mr. Seward and his party; not the abolipeal, or even modification of the Fugitive Slave Law; body, the 'household of faith.' And I am greatly not the prohibition of Slavery in any of the Territories- comforted under the assurance that these are not but only to save them, if possible, from its establish- withheld in this hour of trial. Union? In fact, that party has virtually yielded to casteth out all fear; the atrocious dogma of 'popular sovereignty,' as inculcated by Senator Douglas; being willing, like himself, that the people of every Territory should decide in favor of slavery, or against it, for themselves, and only asking that they may be allowed entire freedom of choice.

jectionable features of this speech-its disparagement refuge then ! Hark ! I hear the voice of love and merslaves at the South are among the admirers of the Union-its exaltation of Carolina over England or not comforted, fear thou not, for Lam with thee; yea, any other foreign State-its treatment of John Brown I will help thee; yes, I will uphold thee with the and his freedom-seeking enterprise—its promise that right hand of my righteousness. the North will ever stand ready to assist the South to arrest and execute all such as may imitate Brown's example-&c. &c .- remain to be commented upon in detail in another number. Senator Seward, it is incomparably better to be true to the cause of liberty of all earthly things. Your advice is good, and I than to be President of the United States! want the grace to follow it. • • Now, dear than to be President of the United States!

NEWCASTLE, Bensham, (Eng.) Feb. 14, 1860. My DEAR FRIEND: Since I wrote you last, which letter I hope you have received, we have had the listening to the still eloquent voice of our dear friend

He came here to deliver some lectures on be rights of the people of the North-the unbroken rule half of the Northern Political Union. After he had of a slave oligarchy over the whole land, even unto concluded this engagement, at the wish of some of his old anti-slavery friends, he remained a few days John Quincy Adams has stated this in yet more longer, and delivered two able, eloquent and thrilling lectures on the Anti-Slavery question, full reports of which you will see in the Daily Express and Daily

I saw Mr. Thompson off on Saturday for York where he lectures twice this week.

The audiences here were excellent, and deeply interested and impressed; the old strong feeling aroused; and I am persuaded, if these meetings are follow-

ed in voice, you will be delighted to hear that Mr scribed the bond.

In the articles of confederation, there was no guarThompson is so far recovered as to be able to speak with great energy, and, at times, with great eloquence, for two hours, on this subject, which he so fully comprehends, and which seems interwoven through every fibre of his heart. As in olden times, it is delightis, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their sub-ful to hear him speak, and no one can listen to him scription to the parchment, till it should be saturated without having his deep convictions of abhorrence The against the accursed system of slavery strengthened

I only wish and pray that he may be able, along with yourself or Mr. Phillips, to go through the in the Constitution of the United States, is MORALLY length and breadth of this country to arouse the nection with this terrible system of crime and oppresprivileged with nearly a double share of representation. horting them to cease having intercourse and fellowship with all who have the remotest connection with tion has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the ered from the shadow and sanction of the Church, this gigantic evil would hide its head in shame, and

May we entertain the hope of seeing such a mission

Yours, no doubt, is the great battle-field, and non-

The great danger into which the people of this country are liable to fall is, that, when their feelings are aroused in behalf of the slave, these feelings deceptive than gingerly) Mr. Seward resorts to, should end in mere expressions of sympathy-without throughout his speech, to hide his real meaning. For any active effort on their behalf. Having liberated our example—he says the Missouri debate 'disclosed that own slaves, we boast that we have done our duty; it is easy to combine the capital [meaning the slave] and as the suffering we commiserate is so far re-States in defence of even external interests, [meaning moved from us, we endeavor to persuade ourselves

This, then, is the great delusion which must b removed from the minds of the people here. They preservation of liberty and non-extension of slavery] must be made to feel their responsibility-first, bethat the labor States have a natural loyalty to the cause we are all the children of one Father, and Union, while the capital States have a natural facility one brotherhood-possessed of like natures, and like [meaning a factious and treasonable method] for a- aspirations. Whether, therefore, the victim of oplarming that loyalty by threatening disunion.' Only pression lies in our own house, our own country, or 'a natural facility '-that is all ! What jesuitical fa- any other country, he has a right to, and demands our aid and sympathy as men and as Christians. Look, again, at Mr. Seward's language: - Clay Has not God made of one blood all nations that

Skins may differ, but affection Dwells in white and black the same.

Again, we are implicated in the sin of slavery in by buying and using the products of slave labor. Here is another extraordinary statement of Mr. Then, again, we have writers boldly apologizing for the horrid system; and, in a thousand ways, we

Our duty, therefore, is, by our money, our pens, nation ever before engaged its respect and sympa-thies, asks, in wonder and amazement, what all this help you and your fellow-laborers to crush and exterminate the accursed system-and never cease our We exertions while one human being clanks his chains, or is having his life lashed out of him in the rice wamps of Carolina.

In this great human work, the world wants for laorers men-

Large-hearted, noble-minded men-Men who will join its chorus, and prolong The psalm of labor and the psalm of love; Men who will blot the era of oppression out, And lead a universal freedom in.

May your hands be strengthened by a large accesion of such laborers, and your life be spared to see JOHN MAWSON. Vour friend.

VOICE FROM PRISON.

Mr. Epiron-The following extracts from a letter recently written by DANIEL WORTH, a venerable and peaceable clergyman, now in jail in North Carolina, his native State, where he is awaiting his trial for selling Helper's book, and uttering anti-slavery sentiments, will interest most deeply the most, if not all

GREENSBORO' PRISON, (N. C.,) Feb. 16, 1860.

To Rev. WM. C. WHITCOMB: VERY DEAR BROTHER-Your kind letter of condolence and Christian sympathy has been received; and great Master. Now, my dear brother, next to the counsels, the love, yea, the tears, the strong cries and ion of the revolting domestic slave trade; not the re- intercessions in my behalf of the members of Christ's

ment upon their soil; so that if they determine not to Not only yourself, and those to whom you preach incorporate it into their State organizations, their but many ten thousands are at this moment lifting wishes shall be consulted-which is to leave no issue hearts and hands to God in my behalf. I have not in Congress at all; for we see no intimation in this been without hours of darkness and temptation since speech of any purpose or wish, by the Republican here, but have been favored to exercise 'a conscience party, to resist the admission of any new slave State void of offence towards God and man.' Sometimes into the Union. And, indeed, how can that party my soul feels a loving and peaceful assurance from make any such resistance, on conscientious grounds, the hand divine, under the influence of which I am as a matter of principle, seeing it gives its sametion enabled to praise him, even amidst the fires of perseand support to fifteen slave States already in the cution and tribulation. I want that perfect love which

· Such as in the martyrs glowed, Dying champions of their God.

We may live, in some sort, with but litte grace, i fair sunshiny weather, and amid the world's smile but, ah! when comes the dark and cloudy day, when friends desert and foes unite, and the black waves of But our space is filled, and yet by far the most ob- disappointment rush over the poor soul, where is of the colored race-its monstrous assertion that the cy; and many such like may be found in the Sacrec Oracles: 'Oh thou afflicted, tost with tempest, an

You bid me 'be courageous, hopeful, and faithful, even unto death.' My soul says, Amen, amen! That is just what I want and need. I am an old man, and have lived long enough to test the utter insufficiency

brother, I must say, Farewell! and should we come to make no nearer acquaintance on earth, may we to make no make the sun-bright clime where 'we shall know even as we are known."

Your brother in Christ in bonds,

DANIEL WORTH The foregoing letter, from a man of true, and sold scorth, of fine literary culture and deep-toned party. for years a Judge in one of the Southern States, and whose grey hairs ought to have saved him from in. prisonment, but who is now less comfortably situated that was John Brown in a Virginia jail, his own wife not being allowed to visit him, reminds us of Daniel thrust into the lion's den for conforming to the Higher Law, and of Paul and Silas praising God at midnight in a dungeon at Phillippi, where they were ernelly incarcerated because they chose to 'obey God rather than man.' Let us ever 'remember those in bonds as bound with them, and those who suffer is adversity, as being ourselves in the body '; norful to sympathize with this noble-hearted sufferer, doomed, perchance, to wear the crown of martyrdom,

PARKER PILLSBURY IN EARLVILLE DEAR SIR-An article appeared in your paper of Dec. 31st, signed A. J. GROVER, in which many of our citizens are grossly misrepresented.

Concerning the portrait of Mr. Pillsbury, we have somewhat to say. He evidently belongs to a class of men, quite numerous both North and South, who manifest a disposition to trample on the Constitution of the United States, and denounce everybody as unrighteous and unholy who differs in opinion from themselves. We suppose that Mr. Ps stay, in this village, was a precious season to those styled in the article referred to as 'Me and my family.' Except. ing, however, . Me and my family, and perhaps two or three others, our citizens regarded Mr. P's visit as they would a visit from the distinguished Benedict Arnold or Aaron Burr, who once visited certain Western villages for the same purpose Mr. P. evidently had in view when he came here.

Mr. G. says, 'His thoughts are quite as interesting to himself as to his audience.' This we grant, Of. ces, involving important duties, are flattering to he. man nature; and if Mr. P. only imagines himself occupying the high position of censor, demolishing this political party and excommunicating that church we suppose he enjoys as much satisfaction as though his office were real, instead of imaginary.

One glorious sentence of Mr. P's seems to him been overlooked by the author of the article under consideration. As it is too good to be lost, we desire it to have a place in your paper. Mr. P. said, (and you know candor is one of his characteristics,) the he was once a minister of the gospel, and that he now occupied a position morally so high that a descent back into the ministry would be like the descent of the fallen angels. Indeed, those of us who enjoyed this rare opportunity, and listened to his burning words and stirring eloquence, while he anathemstized the Church universal, and denounced all be Abolitionists as unchristian renegades, almost realized that we witnessed Michael expelling the fallen angels! But this was not the climax of Mr. P's eloquence. He saw before him the idolatrous Jews and supersitious Pagans, and more than realized that he was Paul or Jesus Christ. He was, apparently, astonished

at our stupidity, in not recognizing him as such. We claim, sir, to be friends of humanity, and are willing to do all we can, reasonably, to elevate the same; but we are unwilling to be denounced as hypocrites and renegades, simply because we differ. in opinion from Mr. P. or any other man, in regard to the means to be employed in accomplishing that object.

But, all good and great men, from Jesus to John Brown, have been misunderstood."

We will not stop to consider whether the Virgnians understood John Brown, or not; one thing se suppose they did understand, viz., those seventen hundred pikes. But, says Mr. P., 'They were not to be used, except in case of resistance.' So says the house-breaker of his knives and pistols.

What a pity it was that those patriots, Paulding & Co. and George Washington, did not understand Major Andre! He occupied a plane so far abore them, that they could not comprehend the angiet nature of his mission; and, consequently, the intecent official was hung, simply because he was misunderstood.

· I have never listened to three abler or more effect Anti-Slavery lectures.'

This, Mr. Editor, is a matter of opinion and tests. The carion crow feasts on the dead carcass, while there birds flee from the stench.

Mr. P., in abusing the motives of Christians in professing religion, remarked that the Hon. Henry Chy made a profession of religion about the time he'tecame a candidate for the Presidency, in order to are himself of the popularity arising from such profession; and when told, at the close of his meeting, that he had misrepresented Mr. Clay, who was not berized until two or three years after his last race for the Presidency, he persisted in his declaration, saying that he had clipped the fact from a newspaper at the time, and knew that he was right. From the Bet. Mr. Berkley, who received Mr. Clay into the church we have received the following :- The Hon. Henry

Clay was baptized on the 22nd of June, 1847. Mr. P. seemed to have two objects in view-ls. ridicule Christianity; 2nd, to cast a reflection on the memory of a good man. We mention the fact her so that he need not tell the same falsehood again.

As to Mr. G.'s minutes, we note falsehood 'The school-master said the expression, " a corent with death, and an agreement with hell," he confident, had a vulgar origin.

Falsehood 2nd. 'It was admitted that Mr. P. b said nothing about Washington, except that he has signed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.

The fact is, Mr. P. characterized the Fugitive Sm Law as abominable, and Mr. Webster its report father, and all who participated in its ensetment worthless men and corrupt politicians-placed Constitution of the United States on a par that law-branded Washington, Jefferson, Hanco &c., as traitors to liberty—and then coolly saked #) had said anything disrespectful of Washington! Falsehood 3rd. But the noisy fellow went of

make much ado about nothing, much to the amore ment of Mr. P. and his audience. Mr. P. and Mr. G. were both much amused.

fact is, the minister spoken of only consental speak at the urgent request of nine-tenths of its present; while Mr. P. frequently interrupted his denying statements he had made the previous ning. As for your correspondent, he acted very not like a rexed hen, just robbed of her bried, figures and threatening, simply because we refused our sent to Mr. P.'s treasonable doctrines and rege abuse. Hence it appears that A. Goodrover has the ded to his many other admirable qualifications in of falsifying.

Such was the course of Mr. P.'s remarks. had we not seen his handbills, we should have don't whether his lectures had any reference to slaver. He said at the outset, that he was not going speak as he was accustomed, but to suit the people our locality. Query-How did he know what week

suit the people, unless a certain individual, who at impractical incumbrance to any party, and highly tinetured with malignity and bigoty that h vituperations seem to be safety-valves, necessity keep him from explosion—whose conduct is of made character as to deprive him of either social or post influence-informed him?

If Mr. Pillsbury should ever return to this pa let him treat people civilly, and he will receive M. HESLET, M. H. SIGNOR, J. BEEEL

HENRY E. McKINNEY-Earleille, Illinois

NO TRUCE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. Onto, Feb. 4, 1860.

DELE GARRISON :- During the last few weeks, I have lectured many times in Ohio. The presence and burial of the body of young Coppock among the people here, have made a deep and lasting impression. The one question asked and discussed in all families, social parties, schools, shops and stores, is, 'Is Edwin Coppock to be condemned or approved in his efforts, in connexion with Brown and his associates at Harper's Ferry, to deliver the spoiled out of the hands of per s resign to make Virginia a free State? ' His motives and objects are impeached only by a few. grea Democrate approve them, many of them, and Republicans almost unanimously approve the object and motive; and those who hold to the use of deadly vespons, generally approve the means. In all my lectures, three propositions have been discussed :-1. Individual slaveholders, as such, have no rights

that any man is bound to respect. 2. Slaveholding States, as such, have no rights that other States are bound to respect.

3. Slaves, as such, owe no obedience, no service no.duties, to their enslavers, nor to any being, or com-

hinstion of beings, in the universe, On the decision in regard to these propositions hang all the law and gospel, both of Slavery and Anti-Slavery. If they are true, slaveholders, as such, are to be regarded as out of the pale of protection of laws, human and divine, and to be treated exactly as pirates and midnight assassins are treated; and slavehidding States, as such, are to be regarded and treated by individuals and States, exactly as bands of maranders and murderers are treated; as self-incorporated, self-organized hordes of highway robbers or pirates on the high seas are to be treated. If true, it is the most sacred right and duty of the people and States of the North to enter the territory of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, or of any slave States, and endeavor, by all such means as they shall deem right and expedient, to release the enslaved, and to compel the enslavers, or individuals and States, to cease their piratical depredations against humanity. Scarce an individual, of all that have attended these lectures and discussions, who has not been satisfied of the truth of the premises and conclusions-whether

Republican or Democrat. Our meetings, some of them, have been attended by Democratic mobs, that have been on hand to save the Union, being their only arguments-no other being of any avail to save this kidnapping, slavehantipg, slave-trading confederacy, this huge corporate kidnapper and bandit; for the American Union is that, and nothing else. But thus far, no one has been injured, no meeting broken up. The Democrats, in some instances, have brought Irish Catholics, from a distance, to do their work of violence and blood. But in many instances, those who have acted with that party have behaved nobly, and bid defiance to their fellow Democrats, who have come armed for the defence of slavery. It is hoped and expected that many such will turn their backs on that kidnapping party, the next opportunity. A meeting is now pending, in which dragging out, tar and feathers, scourgings and lynching, are threatened. But it is marvellous what a change is going on in people's minds, respecting the rights of slavehoders and the duties of

The one great, original mistake of this nation, and of the people and States of the North, was the admission that slaveholders, or individuals and States, might have rights, and that slaves, as such, might owe service or duties. It was a fatal error, the . Pandora's Box,' from which have come all the shame, disgrace and troubles of the nation. Were the people of Massachusetts the slaves, would Henry Wilson and his party talk of the rights of enslavers, or the duties of the enslaved? Never. The slave States are mere bands of AMERICAN corsairs; and it is the right and duty of the people and States of the North to break up those organised bands of pirates, as did Eaton and Decatur those bands of African corsairs, called the Barbary States-political parties, constitutions, compacts, compromises and unions to the contrary not withstanding.

What an insult to reason and an outrage upon humanity, to turn a man into a chattel, and then talk to him of his duties as a man! Can any act be more satanic? Herd men and women with beasts, and turn them into articles of merchandise; love, cherish, honor and respect them only as chattels; speak to and of them, regard, value, claim, hold, and use them as shottels, personal, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatever, and then mock, insult and outrage them, by talking to them of their duties to their esslavers, as rational, moral, responsible, human beings! Deep and settled have been my disgust and leathing of a religion and government, of priests and politicians, of all books and constitutions, of all churches and Bintes, that accord to slaveholders, or individuals or States, any rights, even the right to exist, one hour, as such, anywhere in God's universe; or enjoin on slaves, an such, abadience, service, or any duties. If the Bible, the Constitution, the Union, or any being or thing, in heaven or earth, enjoins upon slaves, as such, obedience to their masters, I count it deserving of the scorn and contempt of all mankind.

NO RIGHTS-NO DUTIES! Allow no rights to it supplies, become partakers of its crimes. slaveholders, nor to slaveholding States; enjoin no duties upon slaves! Rights are the only basis of duties. We can owe no duties to those who concede to us no rights. Man, as a chattel, can owe no duties; man, as a slaveholder, can have no rights; and no political compacts can give to a slave-breeder or slave-trader a right which we are bound to respect. When the slaves shall bid defiance to their enslavers, as they will, and release themselves from the condition and liabilities of chattels, and assert and maintain their rights as men and women, the Southern kidnappers may have cause to remember that Dred Scott decision, which asserts 'that colored people and slaves have no rights that the whites are bound to respect.' When they find that slaves and colored people are, by that decision, released from all obligations of mercy and compassion, they may get more than they bargained for. A slave, as such, owes no more duties to his master, than does the magazine of powder to those who fire it; a slaveholder, as such, has no more rights than the wolf or hyena, as he prowls about the habitation of men seeking for prey. Such sentiments find a response in every heart that 'feels for those in bonds as bound with them.'

I feel no desire to say one word to vindicate my title as a sincere, hearty and consistent believer in, and advocate of, the absolute sanctity of human life, when I say, resistance, insurrection, rebellion and treason against slaveholders are significant and holy words to me. Neither of these words necessarily implies the shedding of blood, the taking of life, or use of deadly weapons. I have lived for thirty years, and I shall live to all eternity, but to incite in every human soul, in or out of the body, a determined, indignant, fiery, blazing, holy, defiant spirit of insurrection, rebellion, resistance and treason against all institutions and beings that turn human beings into chattels, and secure to slaveholders rights, and enjoin duties upon slaves. I shall, also, urge all to embody that defiant, indignant and holy spirit of resistance to wrong and outrage, to rape and rapine, wherever and in whatever relations they deem it their right and duty to live. This I can do, and, by spirit, precept and example, respect human life and person as absolutely sacred. I would incite in slaves, and in all the people and States of the North, the same indignant, defiant, burning spirit of resistance, rebellion and insurrection against slaveholders and slaveholding States, which it is their right and duty to cultivate and cherish against pirates and organized that spirit in all their outward life, just as they ought to do against incendiaries and assassins. The only way to save the man, is to destroy the drunkard; the bands of pirates; and I would have them manifest

only way to save the man, is to destroy the slave- would encourage him in the judicious use of all those holder. The only way to destroy the slave-breeder modes of defence which are proper and becoming in or slave-trader, is to resist him, as a slaveholder, unto men; would teach resistance and insurrection. I death; to incite the world to insurrection against would teach his friends to give him their individual him, and to concentrate upon him the scorn and con- aid and succor, while they are in the minority; and tempt of heathendom and Christendom. While thus to give him an assurance of the protection of the I shall teach, by precept and example, I know I Federal Government, whenever they shall become would rather die than be the cause of death to any the majority. man, woman or child. My hands, before my God, shall not be stained with blood. Yet, till death, I shall, in my inner and outer life, hold that slaveholders, as such, can have no rights; and that slaves,

as such, can owe no duties; and shall seek to carry

Last week a Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, of

two counties, was held in this vicinity to form a so-

ciety auxiliary to the Ohio Christian Anti-Slavery

Society. It was headed by two Methodist priests,

MITCHEL and LYNCH. They met at 11 A. M. and

adjourned at 12 1-2-during which time they per-

formed five long prayers, sang five long hymns, and

occupied about fifteen minutes discussing the ques-

lation of the slave is the same; that he is a chattel,

no matter from what motive the enslaver holds him.

Some disunionists were present, and would speak;

and to avoid the discussion, the Convention was

closed in the evening. It was simply a farce, got up

REPLY TO EMMETT DENSMORE.

SIR-In answer to your inquiry, why I do not

that if the party would assume an attitude of uncom-

tion of that instrument, as under his own.

that, and not a single executive wheel of our polit-

was his official influence an object of their dread.

But Mr. Smith's chief fault was one, which, unfor-

tunately for the cause of freedom, he shares in com-

ductions of our theories, and hence the slave power

partakers of the treason?

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

by the priests to save the sects.

out this idea to its legitimate and just results.

Worcester, March 4, 1860.

LIBEL SUITS COMMENCED. Messrs. Sedgwick, Andrews and Kennedy, of Syra cuse, have commenced suits in behalf of Gerrit Smith against Messrs. Watts Sherman, Royal Phelps, and S. L. M. Barlow of New York, laying damages at \$50,000 in each case. These gentlemen, with twenty-eight others, are members of the New York Democratic Vigilant Association, and their names were attached to a document of that association, which was extensively published last Autumn.

The son-in-law of Mr. Smith writes a letter to Mr.

Watts Sherman, which we subjoin :

Perensono, February 13, 1860.

WATTS SHERMAN, Esq. -Sir: My father-in-law, tion, Was should be allowed to become members? Mr. Gerrit Smith, has at length so far waked up from It was decided that no one could be admitted to membership unless he belonged to some regular church or bear reading. He has just now seen for the first defomination. Such prayers! Full of Holy Bibles, full of holy ordinances, full of holy Sabbaths, full of holy ordinances, full of which you connect his name with a certain 'Central

holy spirits, full of a dead Christ, and full of revivals, Association' of bloody and horrible purposes. of Methodism and other sects; but barren of hu- As Mr. Smith belongs to no society, has always or Methodism and other sects; but barren of humanity and Good Samaritanism, as Sahara is of green meadows. In the afternoon they met at two o'clock, had several more prayers and hymns, and a feels himself to be deeply wronged by you and your debate over a resolution, that 'slaveholding, for purposes of gain, is a sin,' and about the innocence of the legal relation of master, forgetting that the legal re-

whether you and your associates will persist in your libel, or make the unqualified and ample retraction which the case calls for. Yours, respectfully,

CHAS. D. MILLER. P. S .- I do not, as yet, write to any of the Executive Committee, except yourself, Mr. Phelps, and

Mr. Barlow. 2d P. S.-It occurs to Mr. Smith that it may have The Republican Legislature of Ohio had a drunken spree and dance with the Legislatures of Tennessee been the 'Provisional Government' adopted by the and Kentucky, last week, and a bill is before the convention at Chatham, C. W., with which you in-Ohio Legislature to give \$5,000 to pay the fiddler and tended to identify him. But Mr. Smith bids me say Onto Legislature to give \$5,000 to pay the fiddler and to you that this cannot relieve you, since never, until for the wine and brandy. They have, also, a bill before them to make it a crime punishable with im-prisonment for ten years, for any person in Ohio to was, he has yet to learn, as he has not heard or read

invade a commonwealth of kidnappers to free slaves, a line of its provisions. To the letter addressed to him, Mr. Phelps respond-

and put a stop to kidnapping. The United States ed as follows: NEW YORK, Feb. 18, 1860. bloodhounds are after John Brown, Jr., to get him into C. D. MILLER, Esq., Peterboro: --Sir: I have re-ceived your letter of the 13th inst., complaining, on behalf of your father-in law, of the use made of his the hands of those who hung his father. But his house, and the houses of his neighbors, are supplied behalf of your lather-in law, of the use made of his name in a publication by the New York Vigilant-Association, in October last: and although the publishing of my name to that document was an unwarrantable liberty, for I never signed it, or authorized with rifles and revolvers, and they are determined he shall not go, unless he wishes. Let the crisis come! May it soon be counted the greatest crime in the South for a man to be born and trained in a Free any one to sign it for me, yet, as I did not contradict

any one to sign it for me, yet, as I this plea now.

It have been disappointed in seeing Mr. Sherman to-day, but you shall hear from us early next week.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

ROYAL PHELPS.

To a similar letter, Mr. S. L. M. Barlow replies.

unite at once with the Radical Abolitionists, of whom Gerrit Smith and William Goodell are the ac-We quote : knowledged leaders,' I reply, simply because I do I have looked over carefully the . Manifesto of the not regard that party as practically true to the anti-slavery cause. I wrote to Mr. Smith several years fer, and so far as Gerrit Smith's name is mentioned connection with the 'Central Association,' have no since, in reply to a letter from him upon the subject, hesitation in saying that his statement that he is not a member of that body, renders it obvious that in this particular the writer of the pamphlet has fallen into promising opposition to slavery, it should have the an unintentional error. With regard to the letter, benefit of my humble advocacy. But their antialso, inserted in this pamphlet, dated Peterboro, Augslavery interpretation of the Constitution seems to 29, 1859, purporting to have been written by Mr. Smith, as you do not allude to it, I suppose that is me radically defective, in that it leaves its advocates correctly set forth. By comparing the general tone still in political alliance with slaveholders, and makes and sentiment with the construction of the 'Central Association,' I think you will see that the writer of them practically the abettors of the Slave Power. In this regard, I cannot see that the Radical Abolithat pamphlet might very naturally have fallen into In this regard, I cannot see that the Landschift of the mistake (as you assure me that it is a mistake) of difference in their interpretation of the Constitution is merely theoretical, as is apparent from the fact that objects of the other. This was doubtless the view of the writer of this pamphlet, in regard to which particular case care was taken to ensure accuracy in Mr. Smith's action in Congress differed in no essenits statement of facts, and for these the writer of the tial particular from that of the most anti-slavery of pamphlet relied somewhat upon the current news the Republican members. So far as the interests of freedom were concerned, Mr. Smith might as well paper articles of the day. After the information now received from you, I am very sorry to learn that Mr. Smith's name was thus connected with the 'Central Association,' to which you say he did not belong, or have been in Congress under a Republican interpretathat any injustice was done to him by this publi-What our cause demands is such an interpretation of the Constitution as shall place an 'impassable gulf'

Mr. Phelps and Mr. Sherman have each perused between the friends and the focs of slavery, so far as this letter, and I am requested by those gentlemen to co-operation in the administration of the govern- say that they concur in the same, and beg you will ment is concerned. If the Constitution, rightly in- receive it, also, as their reply to the communication dressed to each of them on the same subject. terpreted, is anti-slavery, the parties which are now They also request me to say that it gives them great prostituting it to the support of slavery are traitors—
pleasure to correct the error into which the writer of traitors not only to the liberties of four millions of this pamphlet has fallen in regard to Mr. Smith, as prostituting it to the support of slavery are traitorsenslaved countrymen, but traitors also to the Const .. however much they may differ from the sentiments tution itself, which they have sworn to support. Can held by him, as expressed in the Jerry resouc' lettution itself, which they have sworn to support. Can ter, they respect the boldness and personal integrity we legislate with traitors, and not make ourselves of Mr. Smith, and desire to do him full justice.

Mr. Smith does not regard this reply as satisfactory, All the power of government, as an administrative and Mr. Miller writes a long letter to Mr. Barlow,

institution, is dependent on the purse. Withhold from which we quote: Mr. Smith desires me to say that his attention called at the same time to all the references to himself ical machinery could make another revolution. James in your 'manifesto.' That he complained of but one, Bischanan, without the purse of the nation, is no was by no means that he acquiesced in the others. more than any other man. Hence, if his official Compared with that one, the others are of no im

course is destructive of liberty, on those who furnish portance. It is true, that Mr. Smith did, at the close of his him supplies from the national treasury, equally with himself, rests the responsibility of his misgovernment.

One objection to comparities with Mr. Smith and the close of his long letter to Mr. Thomas, on the other subjects, dated 27th August, assert the probability of service insur-My objection to co-operation with Mr. Smith and the Radical Abolitionists is, that they fraternize politically with the existing administration, and by voting like here the proposition of the possibility of their success, as reasons why the people should, at the ballot-box, put an end to slavery. But, pray, what responsible connection is there between this and the 'Central Association,' or the sad occurrence at Harper's Ferry? The like I will avail myself of this opportunity to express thing he did in scores of meetings in his tour through the opinion that, had Mr. Smith, while a member of this State in 1858; and never was he more full and Congress, practically maintained a consistent anti- faithful at this point than in his speech on the Neslavery interpretation of the Constitution-had he

As to Harper's Ferry, Mr. Smith is not aware that proclaimed the existing administration a conspiracy had seen or heard the name of that village, or against the Constitution and liberties of the country, and on that account refused to recognize any of its preceding the scene of violence there last October. Mr. Smith readily admits that his letter to John action as legitimate constitutional legislation-had Brown, in your 'manifesto,' does not exaggerate his he entered his solemn protest against the appropria- love and admiration of the man, whom, during tion of a single dollar from the national treasury, the many years of his intimate relations with him until the government should be employed for the both in business and friendship, he has accustomed protection of that equal liberty and impartial justice edness, and a noble and sublime spirit.

During the last four years of Capt. Brown's life, for which it was originally established—had he stood before the national legislature, as John Brown stood Mr. Smith sent many bank drafts to him, and to names before the sovereignty of Virginia, the fearless, uncompromising defender of equal liberty for all, treat- same. It was never refused. I scarcely need add that ing his fellow-members kindly, yet as traitors, as they no one feels deeper sorrow than does Mr. Smith, that are—had he, I say, done this, and thereby made his theory of the Constitution a living power, all eyes would have turned instinctively upon him as the would have turned instinctively upon him as the completed the prostration of the miserable health of Heaven-appointed leader of the anti-slavery host. Mr. Smith's body and brain. What little strength He would have taken our cause upon his shoulders, and borne it aloft amid the gaze of startled, but admiring nations; and such would have been the light

To return to your letter, I hardly need say that it

and grandeur of his moral power, that the minions of is unsatisfactory to Mr. Smith. It evidently was not

slavery would have cried out, in the despairing lanintended to be satisfactory to him.

Mr. Smith confesses that he has no sympathy with guage of the demons of Judea, 'What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? art thou come to tor- the advantages you may gain over it. But he must protest against your gaining them at his expense. Mr. Smith is an Abolitionist, and not, as you would have Never had any man a more magnificent theatre it believed, a Republican. The odium of his princitant than that awarded to Mr. Smith by his constituents, ples belongs all to himself, and it is not right that when they placed him in the United States House of the Republican party should suffer at all from it.

Representatives for the purpose of testing the practical state of the Republican party should suffer at all from it.

But, although Mr. Smith is an Abolitionist, he has been applied to the North and South. Representatives for the purpose of testing the practical value of his political opinions. But, partly from Moreover, he thinks quite as highly of Southern as of a constitutional lack of firmness, and partly from Northern character. I add, that although he has want of a clear insight into the requirements of his purchased the freedom of many slaves, and not a few theory of the Constitution, his Congressional career of them within two or three hours' drive of Harper's was a bitter disappointment to all who had trusted to was a bitter disappointment to all who had trusted to tributor to under-ground railroads, he would never him as a political leader. Neither Southern slave- theless not have any slave seek his freedom at the claimants, nor their Northern abettors, felt them- expense of killing his master. He has always said selves rebuked by his presence among them; nor his liberty by bloodshed.

The Supreme Court of Virginia has recently had a case on trial, in which a Northern vessel was mon with all of us who claim to lead the public mind seized at Norfolk, and confiscated, for having, on a former occasion, left without being searched of our movement. We creep like infants, simply because we dare not trust ourselves to stand erect and walk. In action, we are afraid of the legitimate de- carry it up to the U. S. Supreme Court.

DECEASE OF A. H. ERNST.

We were deeply saddened, a few weeks since, by we were deeply satisfaction.

LETT.

Let the day and the event be duly observed. The friend and brother, Andrew H. Ernst, of Cincinnati, was languishing on his death-bed. Till then, we had heard nothing from him for a considerable time, and knew not but all was well with him. A few public meeting in the evening, at the MEIONAON, and knew not but all was well with him. A few public meeting in the evening, at the MEIONAON, at half-past 7 o'clock, for this purpose. and knew not but all was well with alm. A lew days more elapsed, and a brief letter from his described and almost inconsolable wife announced his decease. It took place on the 13th ult. What a loss to her, to his children, to his friends, to all the circles to her, to me entitiren, to his friends, to air the catcher, to me make and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which were privileged with his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which his fans by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. private and public which his private and his brave associates—also, R. priva and overwhelming grief, widow, orphans and friends should doubt that their loss is his gain. They can-

not. They must, indeed, mourn in the profoundest sorrow; but a still small voice will continually reiterate the consoling whisper, 'HE IS NOT LOST, BUT GONE REFORE '-gone before to his ever-blessed Spirit Home, where they shall, in due time, rejoin him with hosannahs of triumph over death and all earthly ills. Nearly thirty years ago, Br. Ernst made himsel

known to us as a cordial sympathizer in our distinctive doctrine of Restorationism. He encouraged and sus-tained us as Editor of the Independent Messenger, and was ever afterwards a kind and steadfast friend. This relation was strengthened by his subsequent marriage with one of our most estimable and devoted Christian friends, Sarah H. Otis, of Boston, who is now his heart-crushed widow. By their choice we pres at their wedding, which took place in the H Hollis Street Church, Sept. 14, 1841. Soon after the Hope-dale Community was started, Br. Ernst sent the Association a liberal donation of fruit-trees from his nursery. Pleasant interchanges by letters and visits, too infrequent indeed, have preserved the ties of per-sonal friendship. Our worthy brother could not embrace all our extreme doctrines of religious faith and practice; but wherein he dissented, always treated our convictions with kindness and respect. He an honest, upright, noble-hearted man in all life's e-souled, enterprising, persevering and indomitable in all his laudable undertakings. His memory is deservedly precious, honored and blessed—not only within the weeping circle of his family. but in every associative sphere in which he moved. Practical Christian.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES TO ANDREW H. ERNST.

At the hall of the Horticultural Society, at the church and at Spring Grove, solemn rites were ob-served yesterday, in memory of this departed citizen and lover of nature.

The Horticultural Society. A large number of the fruit and flower-growers of this city and vicinity, members of the Horticultural Society, met at noon at their hall, Wm. Orange, President, in the chair, and E. J. Hooper, Secretary. Dr. John A. Warder delivered an eloquent pane

gyric on his friend and associate, and the friend and associate of the sympathizing members, which was ordered to be published with the proceedings of the

Mr. J. P. Foote, from a Special Committee, submitted appropriate resolutions. Remarks were made by several of the members in eulogy of the life and services of the deceased.

A procession was formed, and members, with a badge of cypress, repaired to the Unitarian Church, where was assembled a congregation composed of ladies and citizens of various creeds. A great number of pioneers were present. An excellent and im-pressive address was then made by Rev. Mr. Conway. A large cavalcade attended the remains to Spring Grove, where, in due time, his name will be recorded on the monument designed to point out his resting place. The whole cemetery, however, is his monu-ment, for his taste and skill was manifested in it from its purchase. - Cincinnati paper.

VICTOR HUGO'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF HAYTI. The New York Post has advices from Hayti to Feb. 15th. The John Brown excitement still rages throughout the island, and subscriptions have been started in behalf of the widow. The following is a letter from Victor Hugo to the people of Hayti :-

HAUTEVILLE HOUSE, ISLE OF GUERNSEY, } December 28, 1859.

Citizens of the Republic-I thank you for the eloquent terms in which you have addressed me. Your vords reach my heart. A white and a black Republic are sisters, the same

as a white and a black man are brothers. There is only one humanity, because there is only one God. The French Republic had negroes among the representatives of its people; and that is the one thing I have been sadly deceived in that fraternity of

aces, the Southern States of the American Union In killing Brown, they have committed a crime which will take its place among the calamities of tory. The rupture of the Union will fatally follow assassination of Brown. What an event! What a disaster!

I am afflicted at heart in thinking of this crime and As to John Brown, he was an apostle and a hero-

The gibbet has only increased his glory, and made him a martyr.

Black and white, all brothers, all equal, let us rally more and more around that principle of all princi

Your friend, ples-Liberty. VICTOR HUGO.

JOHN BROWN IN HAYTI. - The following letter from Cape Haytien, giving an account of a tribute to the memory of John Brown, has been received in

DEAR SIR :- The 23d of January was set apart as a day of humiliation and prayer, in memory of the greatest cosmopolite that has been in existence the last century—John Brown. Unborn generations will drop tears of sorrow for this lover of God and man-kind. I could not get into the church for the great throng, but the English consul told me the oration was truly affecting. Tears were seen to drop from the eyes of many while the orator, with unwearied zeal, pointed out the honor, the virtue, the heroic man for justice and for the rights of mankind, according to the law of God and the Constitution of the United CHARLES IRVIN. States.

Cape Haytien. At the above dates, the flags on the vessels in the harbor were at half mast, and the bells mournfully ISAAC

In Cape Haytien, Cayes, Jacmel and Gonaives, as well as Port au Prince, religious services in commem-oration of John Brown have been held with all possible pomp and solemnity, and all over the Island subscriptions in behalf of the widow of John Brown have been started.

of marvelous things has not yet gone by. It gives us much pleasure to record the fact, that the Cape us much pleasure to record the fact, that the Cape Cod people know how to appreciate good things, and how to show their faith by their deeds. Brother Coombs, of the Atlantic Messenger, published in Hyannis, was politely invited out, last week, and met a goodly circle of friends who had assembled to do him honor. The ladies—God bless them! —were at the bottom of it—just as they were in our case. The gentlemen responded, of course. Mr. Coombs says: The value of the presents altogether, consisting of a good variety of dry goods and groceries, could not have fallen short of \$30, it is thought. The "purse" contained \$50 in cash, which was still further aug mented by subsequent contributions, which swell the amount to over \$70. In this sum is included \$17 which was raised among the friends of the Messenger in Boston,—among whom, we recognize the names of beloved and valued friends, which we shall withhold from the public, in deference to any feeling of modesty on their part, which might, perhaps, forbid such use being made of them. We shall treasure their memory, however, with gratitude.'-Provincetown Banner

DR. DOY'S NARRATIVE.

Dr. Doy, one of the earliest settlers in Lawrence Kansas, and among the bravest defenders of that Territory, who, with his son, was kidnapped by a band of Missouri ruffians, and incarcerated some weeks in Platte city jail, and subsequently in the jail at St. Joseph, from which he was adroitly liberated by a company of friends from Lawrence, after having experienced much suffering, has just published a pamphlet, entitled- The Narrative of John Doy, of Kansas - a plain, unvarnished tale' - making 132 pages, and sold at 25 cents. This is a pamphlet to be universally read and pon

dered-calculated as it is to deepen the popular abhorrence of slavery, and its natural product, border ruffianism, and also to excite the deepest sympathy for Dr. Doy and those in Kansas who have experienced the severest losses and sufferings for their fidelity to the cause of freedom and humanity.

Dr. Doy is now in this vicinity, where he will re main a few days. His pamphlet is for sale at Bela Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, and at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Give it a wide circulation !

THE 16th OF MARCH, 1860. THE MARTYRDOM OF STEVENS AND HAZ-LETT.

at half-past 7 o'clock, for this purpose.

Dr. JOHN DOY and JOSEPH GARDNER of Kansas, the former who was rescued from the Missouri ruffians by the latter and his brave associates-also, R. will be present.

IF A meeting will be held for consultation and a free interchange of sentiment, at the same place, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to which all who desire the overthrow of slavery, by all suitable means, are cordially invited.

We are unable to find any space, this week, for even a brief sketch of the proceedings at the Meinaon, on Monday evening last, in commemoration of the Boston massacre in 1770. Particulars next week.

A highly encouraging letter from A. T. Foss, reporting the progress of the cause in Harwich, Barnstable county, is received; but its insertion must be postponed to next week.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. DONATIONS.

David N. Brown, Kingsboro', N. Y., \$7 00 Mrs. Elizabeth S. Preston, New Ipswich, N. H., 5 00 Mrs. Elizabeth S. Freston, New Ipswich, N. H. Miss Beal, East Boston, R. H. Ober, "for tract fund, Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, being the proceeds of the Twenty-Sixth National

Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary, 5842 95 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW YORK. Anti-Slavery Conventions, to be addressed by PAR-KER PILLSBURY, AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN B. ANTHONY, will be held at Brockport, on Tuesday and Wednesday, March 13 and 14, and at Madina on Thursday and Friday, March 15 and 16, afternoons and evenings, at 2 and 7 1-2 o'clock.

EF SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massa husetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-

lows:-Friday, March 9. Athol depot, South Gardner, Sunday, "Tuesday, " Gardner Centre, Hubbardston, Thursday, 18. Westminster.

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

lows :-Sunday, March 11. Dennis. Tuesday, " 13. Wednesday, " 14. Thursday " 15. Hyannis, Centreville. Thursday,

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on American Slavery and Slavehunting in Massachusetts, as fol-

East Princeton, Monday, eve'g, March 12. Tuesday Princeton,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in the Town Hall, at MILFORD, N. H., on Sunday next, March 21, forenoon and afternoon.

REV. DR. FURNESS, of Philadelphia, wiil preach for Rev. Theodore Parker's Society, at the Music Hall, on Sunday forenoon next, March 11.

DR. CHEEVER'S GREAT WORK,

The Guilt of Slavery.

CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING

DEMONSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

BY REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D.

THIS work embraces an examination of all the A passages in the Bible on the subject of Slavery and Slaveholding as a sin against God and man. It contains a thorough analysis of the Mosaic laws of domestic service, as well as of tributary subjection ; I love your Republic. Let your people know it.' and of the national history in illustration of the laws The learned author has spent years of research upon this scork, and it is without doubt the ablest effort of his life, and the most thorough demolition of all pro-slavery arguments, based upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

PRICE, \$1 25. JOHN P. JEWETT AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS,

No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. March 9.

Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's

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STORER is worthy of confidence.'

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Incomparably the best preparation we have ever

N. Y. Evangelist. All are compelled to acknowledge Mus. S. A. AL 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 kind.' Michigan Christian Herald.

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.' Knozville Presbyterian Witness.

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

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 TOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effectual and yet not a dye-Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's HAIR RESTORER will do this.' U. S. Journal.

In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is re-freshing to come across that which is what it PRE-TENDS to be. A really excellent article is Mrs. S A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. 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,

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair, 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 Restonen. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, we begin to think that it is denominated most appropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.' Newark Register. We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S WOBLD'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 most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable.' Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented t will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the notice and use of those of our readers who need a re-

St. Louis Ledger.

medial agent of this character.'

'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer .- As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she 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 had passed, she assured us that she had as luxuri-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 were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.'

Providence Daily Tribune. Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoren.' It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excel-

lence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respecta-Rahway Advocate and Register. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer is the best preparation extant for the various diseases incident to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural 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

ous instances, upon the public as genuine." Brooklyn Morning Journal. • 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 finast linen. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

which have been successfully palmed off in numer-

We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wonlo's Hair RESTORER are correct. Boston Oline Branch

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence. Norfolk Argus. Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this

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

We export these preparations to Europe even, and they are superseding all others there as well as in the United States. It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principal wholesale and retail merchants in the U.S., Cuba, or

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

on which they make more profit. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine issigned, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of counterfeits.

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this

See next issue of this Paper for me information or send to Depot for Circulars. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

For the Liberator. TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE. Labor and wait. The ills which man has done, God calls on man his brother, to redress : There is no load of wrongs beneath the aun, But human love can make the burthen less.

Labor and wait. Proud of his freedom won, . With victory crowned, with peace and plenty ble America forgot her negro son : . By her white sons this great wrong be redrest

Labor and wait. Though fast the monster grew, · Vile Slavery, and claimed its human prey, Opposed to all that's pure, and just, and true, Its rapid growth forebodes a quick decay. Labor and wait. Before the daylight beams,

More chill and dark the long, long night appears; Though Slavery shroud thy country, yet there gleams A ray of hope, to brighten future years. Labor and wait. God works by human means;

Perhaps, though feeble, thine may be the hand To tear the flimsy veil that Slavery screens, And drive the demon from thy rescued land.

Labor and wait. God's kind, parental ear Hears every cry from slave-polluted earth; And, saddest sound of all, does He not hear The infant slave's unconscious, piteous mirth? Labor and wait. The deepest ocean caves

Hide not His children's bones from God's clear eye

He saw them sink beneath the closing waves; He sees the rusting fetters round them lie. Labor and wait. The prophet's servant saw Celestial armies round his master stand : And will not prayers from God's true servants draw

A mightier, stronger aid from God's right hand? And ye who labored once, now patient wait; Man's prisons shut not from th' Almighty's sight; Though cruel insults, poverty, your lot, His presence turns a prison gloom to light.

Labor and wait in Faith, in Hope, in Love; Like the great Master, patiently toil on ; Like him await a glorious rest above.

When the hard strife is o'er, the victory won. Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

THE RIGHTS O' MAN. (A Southern Version of them, in black and white.) In the rights o' man I du believe, with Washington

From ' Punch.'

and Jefferson : But from them ondying patriots a pint or two I deffer In their, noble declaration they oughter set out ful-

That black and white stands oppersite, in rights as well as color.

They'd no posky abolitionists a hatchin' revoloctions, To upset our Southern chivalry's domestic institut tions:

If they'd a' know'd such varmint as in Greeley's Tribune figgers, They'd a' had two declarations -one for whites, and

one for niggers. To supply this 'ere omission is what I du propose tu, And this 'ere's the sum and substance, pretty much,

o' what I goes tu: White rights is all whites likes to take; and as for blacks-(I'm sick o' them)-

Waal, I guess their rights is jest what's left when the whites has had their pick o' them. Or, stoopin' to perticlars (though it's what I kinder

scorn tu.) I conclude that chains and cowhides both whites and blacks was born tu.

With this slight difference, that whites was for their active use meant. Blacks, for suff'rin' on 'em passive, for white profit or

The corner-stone of all white rights-and there ain't no wheres a bigger-

Is the innate right of every white to wop his private

And all I doubts is whether the right is bounded to his private one.

And don't reach to niggers gin'rally, whene'er you can let drive at one. In course I hold there's dooties that correspond to

rights, sir, (The first belongs to niggers, and the second all to whites, sir!)

So, if the white exerts his right to cowhide, and don't spare it. The correlative black dooty is fur to grin and bear it.

The white man's right to freedom's wide as universal

matur : But beyond the Mason-Dixon line the blacks min't wuth a tatur :

In fact, I rayther calkitate, that this side of it, either If nat'ral justice had its way, 't aint wuth a tatur

The white he has a heaven-born right to make the black his chattel. And chattels can't be citizens, (see Puffendorf and Vattel:

· But in our magnanimity the exclusion we relaxes, And gives blacks the rights o' citizens, as fur as payin'

This makes the critters sarcy, till from Inch to ell extendin. On the priv'lege of tax-paying they would hook that

of tax-spendin'; And the next thing'll be asking place on the electoral rolls, sir. Till at last I shouldn't wonder if they set up claims

to souls, sir. By way o' mild corrective to such doctrines under-

minin, This declaration I submit for gin'ral nigger signin; With gradooated punishments for those who fail or falter-

To begin with tar and feathers, and to wind up with a halter : · I, Blank-a nigger born and bred-hereby make dec-

laration, I havn't no rights to nothin-name, church, home, vote, nor nation ;

But for the blessins of my slavish state I'm grateful to my master, Who feeds and clothes and flogs me fust, and then

pays for the plaster. Should I be so unlucky as fur to sink to freedom, And be druy to cast my chains aside, however much

I need 'em. I declare I won't stay in this state, to cut that frightful figger, That it stands to reason must be cut, by a mis rable

free nigger. · For New England or the Canadas I straightway will

absquatulate. That on one free nigger more them States themselves

they may congratulate; So to pay for their free-negroism the abolition var Who backed up old Osawatomie, and said there

warn't no harm in't. · If cotched at liberty, myself ill-used I du consider,

If I sin't took up and sold right out unto the highest bidder : And cheerfully I will go back to chains, cowhide

and collar, So help me Gin'ral Washington, and "The Almighty Dollar ! "

THE LIBERATOR.

MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE

(February, 1860,) edited by David Masson, and pub- blood might be let there, thus intensifying the 'irlished at Cambridge and London, now lies before us. repressible conflict. It is a periodical of very high promise, having contributions, in the four numbers thus far issued, from Rev. F. D. Maurice, Alfred Tennyson, Miss Muloch, Rev. J. W. Blakeslev, the author of . Tom Brown's School Days,' W. E. Forster, Patrick Edward Dove, (the author of 'A Theory of Human Progression, and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice,') Professor Huxley, and Franklin Lushington. The contents of this number fulfil the promise given by such names, being at once highly attractive and of substantial merit. They include the tenth and eleventh chapters of a new tale, 'Tom Brown at Oxford,' (which began with the first number of the Magazine, and which equals, in interest and excellence, the former wellknown works by the same author,) two articles on Lord Macaulay, and one on 'Harper's Ferry and "Old Captain John Brown." The last of these articles, written by W. E. Forster, gives a very just view of the character of John Brown, with a sketch, brief but accurate, of his enterprises in behalf of freedom in Kansas, in Missouri, and in Virginia. It is to be hoped that no one who sees so justly the momentous character of the conflict between freedom and slavery now going on in this country, will lend his valuable aid in calling the attention of the British public to its further developments; especially to the fact that, throughout the Southern States, the rights of Northern citizens are now sacrificed, with a more disregard of justice and humanity than ever before, to the assumed interests of the Slave Power. It needs to be known in England, not only that any Abolitionist, in any part of the South, is in danger of sudden and violent death, but that the least suspicion of anti-slavery sentiments, and in many instances even the bare knowledge of a man's Northern origin, will cause his letters to be opened, and his newspapers destroyed by the Southern post-master, his other property to be seized and searched, and himself to be summarily banished from the State, by popular violence, after proceeding to personal outrage; that, for no part of injustice and injury like this, is any re-

LETTER TO HON. HENRY WILSON. Holley, (N. Y.) Feb. 10, 1860.

tion!!-c. k. w.

and some Northern men, this state of things consti-

tutes no violation of the United States Constitution,

HON. HENRY WILSON : DEAR SIR-I have just read, in the Liberator of Jan. 18th, your letter, dated Natick, Mass., Dec. 27th, 1859, to Henry C. Wright. Of the differences between yourself and Mr. Wright, I have nothing to say. Of Mr. Wright's position, at that time, relative to the means to be employed for the overthrow of slavery. I must say that it struck me that Mr. Wright seems not always consistent; for I recollect, on a certain occasion, his taking Mr. Stephen S. Foster to do, on the forum, before a large assembly, for Mr. F's have found that it is quite customary to hire slaves of departure, as he alleged, from their hitherto professed principles of non-resistance.

But you will not deem it impertinent for so humble a citizen of the Republic, though not one of your immediate constituents, respectfully to suggest a few thoughts on what I think the neutralizing effect of \$120. In some parts, however, you have learned that the course pursued by most of the leading Republi- they feed their human cattle a good deal on sweet cans of the North, including Senator Wilson.

I. You say, and insist upon it, that you are not going to disturb slavery where it now exists, only to which to light their pipes like white folks, kindle force it from new ground.

the better; they would shoot out under the fence, if ed of omnipotent power over them, and hold their and water every way. Had I a farm, say of one hun- battery to shield them from deadly assault, as in the dred acres, and sixty of it covered with this noxious case of Gen. Jackson in the defence of New Orleans, plant, about the proportion of slave and free soil in only in a different form, till their just rights were the United Statas, instead of fencing it in, on discov- complied with; or, if the negroes could not employ ering the dry rot upon it, I should apply the torch, this immense advantage, perhaps the John Browns ly and skilfully, as much of the deteriorated land scattered over these States, and armed with these

There was a time when to talk and act for the application of the Wilmot Proviso meant something. itself, through the Federal Government, the Executive, crop becomes precarious from slave labor, the slaveand the Supreme Court of the United States, has breeders' occupation's gone, and emancipation folcleared the Republican platform of that plank, lows of course. and the attempt to restore it should never be made. That space should be filled with one more appropriate and applicable to the times, i. e., advance to the removal of the cause of our national troubles, sectional feuds, and individual political strife. Besides, in the progress of human events, revolutions never go backwards. The action of the Administration and Court has made slavery national. Queht not freedom to be national? Which shall triumph? These neighbors are having a dreadful falling out-one or the other combine ready to rise, weapons in hand, and assert must quit.

II. Why is it that all the Southern Republicans are emancipationists, while the Northern wing stand aloof from that point? Herein, it seems to me, is a division in the house, and, consequently, a loss of strength. C. M. Clay, of Kentucky, avows himself an emancipationist, and claims to be a Republican. Wm. S. Bailey, editor of the Free South, Newport, which was mobbed October 28th, has sent out his appeal to Kentuckians for help to re-establish it, is bold and frank in the avowal of emancipation, and the new paper will be devoted to the organization of a new party in Kentucky on that basis. Fee, and his forty companions and victims of the slaveholders' bloody vengeance; D. Worth, imprisoned for his abolition principles in the Greenborough, N. C., jail, Helper, with his 'Impending Crisis,' which has been so magnificently advertised by Congress-all say, slavery must speedily die, peaceably or forciblythe former, he hopes, through quiet political action. in the use of argument, the press, and ballot. All anti-slavery men South, high or low, are abolitionists. Indeed, it would be strange were it otherwise. What ! anti-slavery men in a free State contending for the continuance of the system among them! It Blair, of Missouri, who, with these others, was reared in the midst of slavery, goes farther than the farthest, and whom among them all I esteem of the highest authority, because, in one particular, he speaks borers, but, on the contrary, the coldest part of them is too cold for negroes, intimating thereby that the South. Mr. Blair has said that, and more. Perhaps Mr. Helper laid the foundation of his more capacious

Republicans to join us; so, if we desire unity, (and mingled with the hail."

that of Great Britain.

press the slave trade in the western hemisphere. Mr.

union is strength,) besides, I think they have the right of the case, and we must join them.

III. I very much admire the manner and spirit in which you met and repelled, on the floor of the Sen-The fourth number of this monthly Magazine, ate, some insinuations from Southern Senators that

But, Sir, it appears to me that there is a much more effective argument that might be employed than the suggestion of sanguinary collision, if we are allowed to appeal to the faculties of fear and interest of slaveowners. You say, in the letter mentioned, that you have journeyed, within not a long period of time some fifty thousand miles, over much of the territory of seventeen States. Doubtless, then, you have travelled in some of the cotton-producing States, witnessed the details of cotton-growing, picking, ginning, pressing into bales, and carrying to market and all done by slaves or slave labor-how that the picking commences in September, and closes the last of December, when the harvesting and marketing are principally finished. You have observed that, during all this time, or portion of the year, the whole crop is completely and necessarily in the hands of the slaves, and at their mercy.

You have seen thousands of acres of the delicate article, white as snow-balls, hanging to the bushes, being picked, and, after an interval of a month or so gathering another crop from the same shrub, ripened for a second picking; then again a third, which close the harvest for that year.

You have seen, perhaps, ten acres of cotton bale ying around Memphis, Natches, New Orleans, Augusta, Savannah, Mobile and other cities, at a time exposed to fire and water, and cannot be made otherwise. Rain injures it but little; fire, when once in a bale, consumes it sure, and, when the air is dry, will run from bale to bale like powder.

You have seen, aside from the chief cotton marts, cotton in all its varied conditions, especially in bales around the press-house, on wagons going to the village market, carried to the city by mule teams, or loaded from the depot platforms into the railroad trains; and when there loaded, you have witnessed the great care taken to prevent sparks from the engine igniting the cotton in the bales; for when the inspector cuts carelessly into the bale, he leaves quite a mass of cotton exposed on the side of the bale. dress to be obtained from the laws, either of a Southern State or of the United States; and, finally, You have seen how the managers of trains, to prevent accidents of this kind, place three or four box cars that, according to the assertions of many Southern, next the engine, carrying the platform cars away rearward; still, with all this precaution, you have seen bales on fire from the engine sparks, exposing the which was so arranged, with this very intent, by those slaveholders who were original parties to its adopwhole load, unless immediately thrown off.

You have seen, or may contemplate from what you have seen, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Western Tennessee, Northern Louisiana, and you might include Florida and Southern Texas, and imagine one vast magazine exposed everywhere, at all points, and in all conditions, to the incendiary's torch, and nothing could stay its devouring flash ! Not like powder magazines, that could be secured under bars and bolts, but must, from the nature of the case, be exposed at all points. Half a million of bales of cotton which is grown annually by Alabama alone, cannot be tucked away in a corner.

You have inquired into, or looked on and observed the conditions of the slave, and his relations. You their reputed owners to labor at all kinds of work. and that 'man-servants' command from \$150 to \$200 a year, including board, which consists chiefly of raw meal and bacon, without butter or vegetables, cooked by themselves- maid-servants, from \$100 to

You have seen them with friction matches with fires about house, &c. &c., which massa and missis Now, the writer has practised farming for a long can scarcely do, and you have wondered why these succession of years, has had some experience with the men and women were so stupid and helpless, or that pest called Canada thistle, and I never thought of the reason why they did not demand these sums of fencing in a patch to kill them. I think in that way their own earnings, to jingle in their own pockets, they would root and sprout, spread and flourish all was because the masters and mistresses were possessthey did not mount it; the seed would float on wind cotton magazine as a kind of hostage, or a kind of and burn it clean, plow the ground, cultivate thorough. ere not all dead, and that a few reckless desperadoes, needs of such culture, and thus eradicate the worth- otherwise harmless missiles, on a known signal, will attempt the explosion.

You have seen, too, that the slave-breeding States depend on the cotton-growing ones for a market that time has past. The action of the Slave Power for their stock-in-trade. But, when the cotton

In a short sojourn in some of the cotton States, in cotton harvest, I asked a planter from Arkansas if he was not afraid that the negroes would take it into their heads to smoke them out, which they could do the first half-hour! He replied that they could do that, but could not combine so as to act in any degree of concert. I asked if I were not told then, that at the prospect of the election of Fremont, they expected that to be the day of their deliverance, and did their freedom; and slaveholders all over the South armed in view of such a crisis? And if they could combine, under such circumstances, it would be much easier to combine by plantation, sit down, fold hands, and demand wages under the panoply of a cotton bat-

Sir, you have read the life of Napoleon by Coun Las Casas. It is there recorded, that when Mostow was fairly on fire, Napoleon exclaimed, 'It is the most sublime, yet the most terrific scene, the world ever saw!' 'So intense was the heat, that window glass, in a fire-proof building, was melted, a mile away.' What is that to a cotton crop on fire! Still, f slaveholders persist in the determination of growing cotton without paying for the labor, let slavery come to a sudden end in that way. What is the worth of cotton crop to cast into the scale against four million people, born upon the soil of this professed asylum of the oppressed, laboring in hopeles servitude to produce it?

I suppose it is not denied that the Russians were justified in the destruction of their own property in self-defence-to repel an invading foe; nor the Americans under Jackson in appropriating cotton bales for a similar purpose. Why, then, have no is preposterous ! And last, though not least, Frank slaves a moral and just right to destroy property of their own production, in a strike for freedom, whose every right has been invaded and usurped?

Nor need incendiaries go from the North. The South is rearing a crop of its own, and already have my own views. True, Mr. Helper has said that no they commenced their work. At Society Hill, Mapart of the United States is too warm for white la- con Co., Ala., a man named L. Stearns was caught tampering with a Mr. Richardson's negroes. He was driven off, and a party of citizens seized and flogged black race, left free to choose, would work further him. Two or three nights afterwards, Mr. Richardson had a lot of cotton set on fire.

About the same time, some \$8000 or \$10,000 worth. building. The substance is, that all the North, and was consumed in or near North Carolina. Recently, even Central America, and Cuba, when acquired, a ship load was burned at a wharf in New York, supought, of right, to be consecrated to freedom and free posed to have taken fire from friction matches being labor; that there is no good reason, because the blacks placed in the bales on packing, which ignited. Who can labor better South or in warmer climates, that packs cotton? Nobody but blacks.

Slaveholders and their sattelites are vehement supthey should be enslaved. Hence they must be disenthrailed and made free men, and thus effectually sup-And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven B. suggests an American colonial system similar to

and the Lord sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran Now, Sir, I think it difficult to bring the Southern along upon the ground. So there was hail, and fire

net a little, and they promised, but broke their just judgments of God. even hurried them off.

counsellors, remains to be seen.

IV. And, finally, let us turn from the black slaves God. of the South, and contemplate, briefly, the condition of the white slaves, both North and South.

all free soil in the Union into a vast slave-hunting long been forgotten.

Northern citizen, unless he fall down and worship the government even to fulfil its treaty stipulations the beast and his rider. Fathers and mothers all to prevent it, or to provide any rigorous measures for over the Free States, in almost every neighborhood, its arrest, or to punish, as its own law provides, the have sent forth, under the inspiration of the 'self- most desperate and daring pirates who carry it on, evident truths' of inalienable rights, their sons and affords but another evidence that we live under a daughters to the South, as teachers, artisans, &c. despotism the most fearful that now curses the earth, Heretofore they have had to divest themselves of and that cannot too soon be hurled to the deepest and their independence and manhood, and shout for sla- most irrecoverable destruction. very, or quit. Now it has come to pass that no Whereas, by the conditions of the American Consafety there a moment. You are a Northerner. Be press any insurrection among the slaves; therefore, worship the black dragon.

cleanse it, so as by fire '!

In conclusion, I would call your attention, and the attention of all leading Republicans, to a pledge or a

"The right of the people to be secure in their perbeen deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law. The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged. Murders, robberies and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; and it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to sure and condign punishment hereafter.'

How long is the country to wait for this hereafter'? Or was this a mere flourish of trumpets, for effect? Or is this pledged party to shirk the responsibility, because the theatre of these atrocious outrages' has been changed from Kansas to the Slave States ? The Republican party is now wielding the power

of nearly all the Free States; yet the 'rights and immunities' of more or less of the citizens of these Free States are trampled under foot by mob violence and border-ruffianism; and why does not this already powerful party begin to redeem its pledges, and commence proceedings? For instance-if Virginia can prosecute the State of New York in a suit to compel her to recognize property in man, as in the Lemmon case, why does not New York with Virginia change works, and see if a citizen of New York, emigrating to Virginia, may not own mules, horses and hogs in peace, without violent ejectment, as in the case of Reuben Salisbury, who went from Sandy Creek, Oswego County, some six years since, to Virginia, a farmer, successfully establishing himself and family there, and now driven out of the State at great

If it is said that this and the Lemmon case are not parallel ones-the latter lost his slaves through the action of civil law, and the former suffered by mob law -this is a poor reason why the mobocrats should escape 'sure and condign punishment,' or why an attempt should not be made in the Virginia courts to seek both redress and protection to citizens going from the North; and thus try the Old Dominion, and through her all the Slave States, to see whether mob law is part of their jurisprudence, and Judge Lynch chief justice in all the South. Most respectfully, yours,

C. ROBINSON

[In the large and constantly accumulating mass several weeks ago, it is just as timely and effective as when sent.]- Ed. Lib.

A. S. CONVENTION IN ADRIAN. MR. GARRISON:

The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Convention held at Adrian, (Michigan,) on Saturday and Sunday, andria (Va.) Gazette, of Feb. 13, 1860, the followthe 5th and 6th of November, desired me, on his being, which was reported as having been received half, to forward to the Liberator for publication from the Executive, laid upon the table, and ordered the accompanying series of Resolutions, which were to be printed. adopted by that Convention.

In doing so, it seems proper that I should say a word about the character of that Conventian, which was largely attended throughout its several sessions, ernor, State Officers, and members of the Legislature and of the soul-living words of Parker Pillsbury and of Virginia, to visit Boston during the present session Giles B. Stebbins on that occasion. To you, who of the Legislature of this State.

I hope, for many reasons, this invitation will be said.

I hope, for many reasons, this invitation will be said.

eloquent, carrying the sympathies of the audience with memorable historic recollections.

They were settled nearly at the same time, from him as he portrayed the woes and wrongs of slavery; the same country; together they struggled with hard while Parker Pillsbury spoke with a power and pa- ships and privations; each remonstrated against the thes deep and strong as were the mighty truths he oppressive acts of the mother country; and when for uttered, portraying the terrible evils growing out of bearance ceased to be a virtue, both were found ready the slave system, and the guilt of all connected with It was our Adams that called your Washington to it, and the righteous judgments of Heaven which were the post of highest honor. It was your Washington, being inflicted on this nation in consequence of its and other Virginians, that came to our rescue when participation therein. Most of his hearers seemed to feel that he was an inspired messenger, sent to warn the nation of its approaching ruin; an apostle to united, as it were, in one stream, the hallowed memthemselves of the sternest truth, and the faithful and ories of their eventful lives; and both together, on unswerving advocate of the highest and best interests the same day, on the great Sabbath of America passed gently through the gates of death to a glori-

per's Ferry, and the heroism of John Brown and his of memory and history cannot be, must not be sunnoble band of followers, as men whose deeds and dered. This whole community will give to our friends from Virginia a hearty and cordial welcome, words will stand embalmed in the world's memory and thus, I hope, the bond of our common friendship along with those who have been its greatest benefac- may be made strong, and our mutual confidence and

tion of the Convention; the resolutions will give you a better idea of the spirit of its sessions than any words of mine. Suffice it to say, that the Convention was all, and more than its friends had anticipated. JACOB WALTON. Yours, truly,

Adrian, Nov. 10, 1859.

RESOLUTIONS.

opment of the capacity of human nature to perpetuate and endure the perdition in Paradise Lostwrongs so flagrant, so defiant, that all ordinary rapes, robberies, rapines, piracies and murders, such But in the present state of affairs between as are generally practised and punished among men, and South, such a proffer of hospitality looks, to become in comparison almost virtues and graces fit for not call in question the motives of the Massachu-

ness-but from the moment he is in heart and purpose a slaveholder, he becomes an outlaw in the moral By which quotation, let it be understood, that we universe, a fit subject for the dread detestation and do not apprehend that they would kidnap the Lieu-

This opened the eyes of King Pharaoh and his cabi- execration of man, and the sure retributions of the

promise, and would not let the people go, until the Resolved, That the American Constitution, in relast and crowning one of the ten plagues was sent quiring the rendition of fugitive slaves, and the supupon the Egyptians for their persistence in the en- pression of all attempts at insurrection on the part of slavement of the Hebrews; and when they found the slaves, and in making it treason, punishable with one dead in every house,' they let them go, and death, to aid them in such attempts to obtain their freedom, is most emphatically a covenant with death How many plagues it will take to soften the heart and an agreement with hell, of such a character as of the American Pharaob, our Cotton King, and his to make its destruction one of our first services to hu manity, and highest acts of worship and homage to

Resolved, That the governments of slaveholding States are but organized bodies of thieves and robbers; Slavery renders slaveholders brutal and bloody, and the recent attempt at Harper's Ferry to deliver and stimulates to violence and lust. It degrades the some of their victims was an act of humanity and non-slaveholding whites to nearly the level of the heroism of so divine a character as that the memory blacks-all slave soil to a habitation of cruelty and of the brave men who attempted it will be held in crime-pollutes everything it touches-smites the admiration by American posterity, when the name soil with barrenness on which it treads. It converts and fame of Lafayette and Kosciusko shall have

ground, and appoints every freeman a slave-hunter. Resolved, That the African Slave Trade is already In this Southern Bastile, there is no safety for any re-enacted, in fact, if not in form; and the failure of

amount of servility and dirt-eating carr ensure their stitution, the entire national power is pledged to sup-

gone! or bonds, prisons, stripes, tar and feathers, one | Resolved, That should the slaves, in the true spirit or all, await you. Nor are Southern citizens any bet- of the Revolution of 1776, ever unsheath the sword of ter off, unless they, too, prostrate themselves, and rebellion, and attempt by violence to obtain their freedom, our strongest sympathies and our hands too Still, 'slavery must be let alone where it now ex- (so far as we believe they can be rightcously employed) ists. The North have nothing to with it.' Better shall always be on the side of the oppressed and against the oppressor, in defiance of all constitutions, statutes, demands or decisions to the contrary.

Resolved, That all Underground Railroads to Canplank in their platform adopted at Philadelphia, ada are works and ways of darkness, incompatible with June, 1856. It is contained in the fourth resolution. our dignity as citizens, and our honor and humanity After enumerating some of the rights guaranteed by as men; and only to be endured until the Northern the Constitution, it proceeds to specify the atrocities States enact laws, or humanize public sentiment so as of the Slave Administration in Kansas, and closes to sanctify their soil against kidnapping and slavehunting; and so make it as free to the flying fugitives from Southern despots as it now is to the exiled sons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable Hungarians and Italians, who are finding here an searches and scizures, has been violated; they have asylum and a home. asylum and a home.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we have faith in the power of love to overcome evil, in the potency of truth to supplant error; that we would urge all to cease to do evil, and learn to do well' to the slave, as the only path towards peace and safety; that it is our firm conviction that the only safety of this nation from blood is in becoming, in heart and deed, Abolitionists, without regard to what our laws, constitutions and pretended gospels may demand or teach; that if the people, the rulers, politicians and clergy will, in their blindness and parrowness of soul, refuse to act and teach the ideas of radical Anti-Slavery, they must expect worse than Harper's Ferry tragedies, or Nat Turner insurrections. Kansas border ruffianism, or Cumberland river outbreaks; and the blood shed in such fearful scenes will bear witness how dangerous it is to compromise with crime. Resolved, That the late effort of Dr. Cheever and

a few others among the clergy to form a 'Church Anti-Slavery Society,' and thus enlist the active aid of those who profess to love the slave, but do not wish to work for his freedom with those they call infidels; meeting, as it does, with evil suspicion instead of candid fellowship from the large majority of the churches and clergy; not sustained even by the New York Independent, with all its anti-slavery professions, their late anniversary in Boston attended by a mere handful of clergy and church-members from the thousands of professed lovers of the slave among evangelical Christians; has clearly shown how empty and poor is the love for humanity among the so-called orthodox sects.

ELISHA JONES, President. RICHARD GLASIER, Secretary.

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston, took the floor for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to a certain subject brought before its notice on the previous day. A communication had been received from a ah Perham, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, dilating in extenso upon the beauties of the Union, and of the importance keeping up a fraternal intercourse between the States, -and that communication likewise contained a suggestion that the Executive of the Commonwealth be authorized to invite the Legislatures of Virginia and of other States to accept of the hospiof communications on our file, we find the following, talities of our State. He had no objection to the which has been overlooked till now. Though received reference, but in order to show the rapidity great PUBLISHED. Also, an measures are conceived and executed in this fast age of ours-the Legislature of Massachusetts having, in fact, taken no action whatever in the premiseshe desired that the Clerk would read, for information, certain papers which he would hand to the

The Clerk of the House then read from the

'Boston, Mass., Feb. 1, 1860.

Hon. John Letcher, Governor of Virginia:

those to whom it is extended. Virginia and Massa Friend Stebbins was clear, logical, and at times truly chusetts are bound together by many pleasant and

The speakers then adverted to the tragedy at Har-

But I will not detain you with any further descripourney from Richmond to Boston. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSIAH PERHAM. The Clerk then read an editorial from the Peters-

burg (Va.) Express, of Feb. 11, from which we give the following: Under ordinary circumstances, an in-

vitation like this extended by the representatives of one sovereign State to the representatives of another, Resolved, That in American slavery we have the would undoubtedly possess a high moral significance sum total of all crimes and cruelties; a fearful develcate such a spirit of brotherly feeling and oldfashioned devotion to a common country as could not fail to call forth an affectionate response, even if convenience made its declination compulsory. Resolved, That a slaveholder, as such, has no right to life, to liberty, or the pursuit of happithe kingdom of heaven.

Resolved, That a slaveholder, as such, has no right to life, to liberty, or the pursuit of happithe Virginia Assembly, yet we must say

" Timeo Dangoz et dona ferentes."

tenant Governor, or put strychnine in the foaming beakers of the intended banquet. We simply mean to imply, that in the present attitude of bottlity which Massachusetts occupies towards the Constitution, and the rights of Virginia under that issue the should distrust the value of such rife. ment, we should distrust the value of such gifts of ment, we should distributed patriotism as she is n. clined to hold out to us. ined to hold out to us.

Massachusetts, as far as in her lies, has virtually

Massacrosects, as far as in her lies, has virtually dissolved the Union. She and her sister Black Espublican States of the North make a very grave complaint that the South threatens to secede in the

event of the election of a sectional President, is,

event of the election of a sectional resident, by cause, say those purists, in holy horror, such action cause, say these purists, in nois norror, such action would be highly unconstitutional. And yet they have always done what they make a grievous charge against the South for threatening to do. The Statute Book of Massachusetts bears upon many constitutions, acts which set the Constitution. Statute Book of Massachusetts ochra upon many infamous pages, acts which set the Constitution at defiance. The law-makers of that State have made defiance. The law-makers of tone State have made war upon Virginia just as certainly, though in a very different way, as ever old John Brown did. Now, if they truly desire to bind the people of the two Commonwealths together in bonds of two Commonwealth bood, and would gladly welcome Virginia legislatin hood, and would gladly well-one trigina regulation to their soil in token of this fraternal wish, let to their soil in and repeal, one after another, all their obnoxious and hostile State enactments. This would be a pledge of sincerity that would be halled by us with the liveliest satisfaction. As it is, or by us with the liveness School on as it is, or Legislature cannot visit Boston consistently with that proper self-respect which every loval Virginian cherishes in his "heart of hearts." But it the cherishes in his healt of Massachusett be blotted from the record, and then let this invitabe blotted from the distribution be renewed, and, our word for it, the General Assembly of Virginia would journey as cherially and as readily to Boston, as did those gallant sois of the Old Dominion who rallied to the standard of of the Old Dominion and Cambridge, and saw the hero of Mount Vernon take command of the Continental armies near that aged clm which still waves its venerable branches under the shadow of the neighboring University. Here, beneath that patriarchal tree, the vows of brotherly attachment and of fealty to the common cause of the Union, might be interchanged in the joyous hope of a me perfect nationality in the fuller recognition of the rights of each separate and sovereign State. That this happy fraternization cannot now take place, is but too evident to everybody, and that it would be at best, a miserable mockery of loving communion at best, a miseracio mockery of loving communion which was celebrated by festal rejoicings between men alienated by repeated wrongs on the one side, and a just sense of indignation on the other.' Mr. Putnam, of Danvers, promptly took the

floor, and addressed a few remarks condemnatory of reading such editorials as that from the clerk's desk in the Massachusetts House of Representative. Mr. Kimball moved that the papers be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. Haskell, of Ipswich, opposed that reference, indirectely applying to Mr. Perham terms of a most uncomplimentary character. Mr. Putnam moved to lay the papers on the

table. Mr. Shaw, of Boston, rose to speak, but the Chair ruled debate, under a motion to lay on the table, out of order. Mr. Hale rose to a point of order, and stated his

point of order to be, that the papers were not legitimately before the House, and could not be referred or laid on the table. The Chair ruled the point of order well taken. Mr. Shaw said he rose to a question of privil ge. He desired to refute the allegations of the member from Ipswich, in regard to the character of Mr.

Perham; and having done so, he resumed his seat,

and there the subject subsided.

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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, 1850. We, the undersigned, members of the family, and relatives of the late Capt. John Brown, desire to express our approval and endorsement of the Biogra-phy 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 essentially correct, while it is written with an enthusiasm and eloquence which we thoroughly ap-

The Publishers have issued the work in a style which recommends itself to all lovers of a handsome 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 of this publication.

MARY A. BROWN,
SALMON BROWN,
MARTHA BROWN,
MARTHA BROWN,
HENRY THOMPSON, SARAH BROWN.

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

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. SUPPOLK, ss. To the next of kin, and all other persons interested in the person of ELLEN STARR, of Boston, in said county, a minor. WHEREAS, application has been made to me by Lewis Howard, and Nancy Howard, wife of

said Lewis, of said Boston, to adopt said miner; you are hereby cited to appear at a Probate Court, to be held at said Boston, on Monday, the nineteenth day of March next, at 10 o'clock, before noon, to shew Cause, if any you have, against granting the same.

They, the said Lewis and Nancy, are hereby direct-

ed to give public notice thereof three weeks successively in the newspaper called the Liberator, printed in said Boston.

Given under my hand, this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundre and sixty.

ISAAC AMES,

Judge of Probate and Insolvency. PHRENOLOGY.

BY urgent request, Prof. N. WHEELER, well known as a scientific and truthful Phrenologist, has opened rooms at 99 Court street, corner of Hancter, Baston, where he will be a logical Ex-Boston, where he will make Phrenological Examinations, give written delineations of Character, and furnish Charts; heal the sick, impart instructions relative to health and habits, and the management of children. March 4. 25 years of at man If de avere to the