ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, emylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sothe are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-

Committee, but are not responsible for any of the the of the paper, viz:-FRANCIS JACKSON, En-END QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1860.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

death, and an agreement with hell!

The free States are the guardians and essential 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 pathers, in FRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1525.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXX. NO. 11.

HOW SLAVERY IS DEFENDED, &c. Extracts from a Discourse, entitled 'Our Duty in elation to Southern Slavery,' delivered at South

Hingham, Jan. 29, 1860, by Rev. J. J. BRAYTON :-

There are arguments, not without apparent plaushility, in favor of the proposition that Slavery is right. I notice them, for I am speaking impartial-I only regret that I have not read the Southole views of Dr. Adams, that I might present them more fully, and in their best possible light.

It is claimed that, in general, the physical condition of the Slaves of the South is preferable to that the free negroes of the North, - that they are better fed, better clothed, and enjoy more bodily conforts; when rendered helpless by illness or old age, they are not turned out to the cold and unceran charities of the world, but kindly nourished and cherished to the last. It is claimed that there are less invidious distinctions on the ground of color the South, than at the North ; - that, instead the Northern coldness, which passes by the colored man on the other side, there are often genuine and tender attachments between the families of the slaveholders and slaves themselves. It is also raimed, that even the intellectual, and, above all, to religious condition of the slaves in the Southern States, is rendered greatly superior to that of their own nation on their native soil. In mitigation of the acknowledged evils of the system, it is claimed but they are not overtasked .- that they are seldom ald, except as punishment for refractoriness, or from the master's stern necessity, and that it is the sstom to avoid, if possible, the separation of familes, and the slave is allowed to find, if he can, his eva purchaser,; to select his own master whom he will serve. It is claimed, also, that while the supefor native enterprise and executive skill of the white race is requisite to the development of the attaral resources of the southern soil and climate, the requisite manual labor can be successfully perfraid only by another and distinct race, whose physical adaptation befits those warmer latitudes. had it is claimed, too, that the African race are, by native inferiority, incompetent to the attainment, the full appreciation and enjoyment of the highest forms of civilized independence, and, therefore, naturally and properly occupy a position of civil and social subservience.

These last two claims, though they seem plausible, are still questionable, and as yet, I think, un-stablished. The others now enumerated I cordially and undoubtingly admit. In the face of northern rejudice, which loves to make the most of the erst features of slavery, holding them up constantto view, and which is slow to admit any plea whatever in apology or mitigation of its acknowedged evils, I cordially, freely, gladly admit those dams. I admit them on the ground of the unanithe testimony of anti-slavery men who have visitof the South, and become acquainted with the astitution and its workings; and I admit them because, also, they are reasonable in themselves. massach as humanity, even in its coldest aspect, net be expected to withhold all that these daims demand. But, in admitting these claims so ordistive and freely, it must not be overlooked that But, in admitting these claims so they do mes justify, but only mitigate the evil in shalf of salich they are made. It is welcome to our hearts to know that the slaveholder, notwithstanding in a unfortunate connection with a system that is knowled to humanity, may be, nevertheless, far from destitute of humanity itself. And if our interest for the slave be genuine, we will welcome with gratitude and delight the assurance that he is ntly fed and elethed, cared for in old age, and the necessary evils of his lot alleviated, in some degree, by ministries of human kindness. Bot, I say, these are only mitigations, wreditable mitigations of slavery. They do not show the institution tions of slavery. They do not show the inst to be good, they fail to justify its write.

Next in unjustifiableness to the use of warlike weapons, is the indulgence and manifestation, on the part of the North, of the warlike spirit towards the slaveholders of the South. But, still, such a spirit, it grieves me to say, appears to prevail in our abolition presses and conventions, to animate anti-slavery speeches, in the senate, on the rostrum, and in the pulpit, and to be breathed unsparingly from the lips, even of the so-called philanthropis and the professed disciple of the lowly Christ.

All this is unchristian, unmanly, and wickedly wrong. It is wickedness in the heart of him who indulges it, -a sin against him towards whom it is manifested, while its only tendency is to stimulate the resistance of the slaveholder against our arguments and appeals, and to tighten the very bonds

which we seek to loose; which we seek to loose:

If our advocates of Anti-Slavery complain that the prospects of the cause of freedom are less favorable to-day than they were 'a few years ago,' if the cause seem hopeless now, whereas it did not even appear 'difficult' then, the cause of all this—I have be found being very hasitate not to avow it-may be found lying very hear their own doors. They have withheld the fraternal spirit. They have been ungenerous.— They have been uncharitable. They have been inerant. They have scolded the South, -denounced the South,-insulted the South; they have menaced the South. Our tone has been spiteful, unduly satrusive and dictatorial. We have assumed oursalves to be the paragons of virtue, and, on all occoims, drawn invidious contrasts between ourselves and them. We have persistently done these things till we have justly awakened their indignation, and aroused their resentment,-till at length, in exaspetition, they, instead of freeing their slaves at our demand, return us railing for railing, insult for issult, contempt for contempt; - intimating at length, and not without reason, their more than willingness topart from our company. If we were in their stead, we would act as they do, and I fear, with even less .forbearance than they. Perhaps the Southerner, born and educated within the surtounding arms of this institution, is unable to see regards it as just and right. On this ground, he is certainly entitled to our courteous and Christian But; if he feels it to be wrong, he may yet usider it a misfortune unavoidably entailed upon him, rather than a sin for which he is wholly responsible. On this ground, he is entitled to our commiseration and kind assistance. But, even if he knows it to be an unjustifiable wrong, still, a just pride, with a sense of manty honor, cannot allow his peers to hurl the wrong with contempt and

menace into his face.
It is not strange that they view us as hypocrites and fanatics, when, professing philanthropy, we talk like madmen — professing benevolence, we stone them with stones.

Besides the moral wrong of the spirit we condemn, it is the very height of folly, provided we are sincere in the profession of our purpose. It is no way to reform a man, to drive him beyond our reach insult and contempt. Passion is not argument. enunciation is not logic. Scorn and bitterness are cely convincing to our own disadvantage. If we truck such a spirit as this, our Seuthern neighbors

have a right to suspect that our motives are not foul deed. On the contrary, he extenuated his conwhat we profess,—that our purposes are not religious, but political; for how should bitter water in the wrong; that he merely inherited a planta-

#### NORTHERN SCHOOL BOOKS.

It is time that we were rid of Yankee school Now that our students of medicine have come home supporters of the infernal system. to stand by home institutions, it is time that home Every Irishman in America (and Mr. O'Brien pressions, should be sound, conservative and consti- wrong.

as Senator Hammond himself, in his most able ex- to the masters. But this is not the time or place position on that subject. We have been too much in the habit of apologizing for slavery, where we should have justified it, as it is justified in Paul's most

My great anxiety in this matter is, that my counbeautiful letter to Philemon, as well as in the Old try may be relieved from the stigma of supporting Testament. It is these insinuations, nay, assertions, slavery in America: it would do us incalculable of the moral wrong of slavery, which our youths good at home, to have the noble principle of liberty read in these northern school books, which give an imbedded in our hearts, so as that it should form a early bias to their impressions-impressions which part of our very nature. they do not reason, and the result is that when many of them come to their second childhood, in O'Brien's argument, slavery must be perpetual in their last will and testament they liberate their America; he makes no proposition for its abolition. slaves, and fill the country with a miserable herd One suggestion, indeed, he offers, and I heard it free negroes.

made? How many beautiful things, just fit for such books, have Wirt and Legare and Grimke and oth- by God, and declared, by the written words of the Constitution, and are able expositors of it! Halleck said, of certain of this class of school-book makers if he be able, he may be allowed, I presume, to buy

That they were gallant and godly, making love a teaching;
And gaining, by what they call hook and crook, A decent living. The Virginians look Upon them with as favorable eyes As Gabriel on the devil in paradise.'

Good reason have we. But Halleck says these are beau—and sometimes they are very potent things in the influence of young minds, and sometimes they are latal things, as Mr. Seward will find in the of Irishmen in all ages at my side. I call back to utterance of his increase of his increase of his increase of his increase. utterance of his 'irrepressible conflict' sentiment, and in his endorsement of 'Helper's impending crisis.'-Richmond Enquirer.

# GEMS FROM THE BOSTON PILOT.

The Life of John Brown, by J. Redpath, and the outrage on our common humanity, which keeps published by Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston—is a man as a chattel, and places him on the auction - tub, crammed with inconsistencies, misstate-nents, daring talsehoods, and absurd blasphemies. t cannot hold together long, but its short existence will help so increase the horror and disgust already existing for such public nuisances as Brown, Howe,

Vilson, Redpath, Phillips, Parker, &c., &c., &c. The Calumet is a periodical started by Mr. John Beeson, an Englishman, who is burning with love for the poor Indian. Well, we must say that we feel sympathy for him, i. e., if he is honest in his endeavors, and we hope he is. Would to heaven he abolitionists took Mr. Beeson by the hand, and let the Wooley-heads go! how happier the public weal would be! By-the-bye, Mr. B. ought to secure Rev. father De Smet's endorsement; it would outweigh all the Kirks, Beechers, Bellows, Phillips,

# SELECTIONS

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the Sligo Champion: DEAR SIR,-Mr. William Smith O'Brien having given his opinions to his country, and to the world, on American slavery, they have become a legitimate abject for criticism; and when we reflect on the intimate relation which subsists between Ireland and the United States-so large a proportion of their population being Irishmen—the opinions of so distinguished an Irishman as Mr. O'Brien, on that ubject, should be strictly canvassed; particularly is (I assert) it is a fact, which will not be denied by any truthful and well-informed man, that our ountrymen in America have not been faithful, as a oody, (there are, doubtless, many noble exceptions to this rule,) to those principles of liberty which were to be expected from a people who exclaimed loudly before the world against oppression at home, and who left the land of their birth in the expectation of finding greater freedom in the country of their adoption; but in which country they joined hands with the oppressor, and have always been found among the determined foes of the equal rights of the colored race; thus giving the lie to their own convictions of duty, and telling the stranger that reland sent forth unworthy men, who prated of their own wrongs, but who were willing to heap enfold greater wrongs upon others, who ought to be the object of their nearest sympathies, because they, too, were passing through the furnace of affliction. I have been long jealous of the honor of my country on this point; it is a vital point, one upon which there can be no halting between two opinions. That man who makes a slave of his felow-man, who holds him as a chattel, a thing, a brute, not entitled to any of the rights of humanty; that man is a robber in the first degree, and the Irishman who does not hold him as such, al-

nost descrees to be made a slave of himself. What said Jefferson, one of the first of American statesmen, and himself a slaveholder:— One hour of American slavery outweighs whole ages of the oppression we rose against England to shake off.

oppression we rose against England to spake oil.

It is with feelings such as these, and with warm desires for the true honor and glory of my country, that I now canvass the opinions of Mr. O'Brien on slavery in America. I attended his lecture in our Mechanics' Institution, and I left it with a feeling of deep disappointment. This distinguished man expressed, it is true, in plain language, his own personal disapproval of slavery, which he considers an institution opposed to the rule of right; but he uttered no strong words of condemnation against the man-stealer, unless he went to Africa to do the

what we profess,—that our purposes are not reli-gious, but political; for how should bitter water flow from a sweet fountain?

duct, by looking upon him as an involuntary agent in the wrong; that he merely inherited a planta-tion and the stock upon it—human cattle among the rest. Even if this were true, which it is not, in the case of any Irishman, is that a reason for

SLAVES

MORSES

plundering the child of God of all his rights? And how sounds the sentiment from the lips of Irishmen books. Ever since Morse published his Geography, who were willing, for wrong not to be compared in in which there were flings at the institutions of the magnitude, to take the sword, and imbrue their South, the school books of the North which flooded hands in blood? I expected from Smith O'Brien, the South—in fact, we have had no other school and I had a right to expect it from him, a stern de-books—have been filled with Abolitlonism, and if nunciation of slavery, and this Ireland had a right not with the outrightness of Longfellow's anti-slave- to expect from him, because some of her sons are ry cant, the books, nevertheless, squinted that way, actual slaveholders in America, and thousands of and had the taint of Northern fanaticism in them. them in the free, as well as in the slave States, are

institutions stood by them. We are not saying that names several of them with approval) who holds nedical students should not use the books best cal- these relations to his colored fellow-citizens, is unculated to teach them their duties—medical books true to the principle of liberty, and therefore a dis-do not interfere with the slavery question—but we grace to the land of his birth; and he is thus do say that the books in which they are taught to unfaithful to principle, without any fancied com-read, and from which they derive their first im- pulsion as an inheritor, for he went abroad to do the

intional. There is treason to the South in many of If this were the proper time, or if it had anythese northern school books. And they have made thing to do with the question at issue—which is us very squeamish, until lately, in proclaiming the purely one of right and justice—I should be premoral right of slavery.

Mr. O Coner, a northern man, has spoken out as strongly and as truly for the institution of slavery slave in America would be a large pecuniary gain

According to the logical conclusion of Mr. free negroes.

We must stop this northern inundation of school that it was William Smith O'Brien, the advocate books. Have we not southern men capable of com- of the right to freedom of every man in Ireland, piling them? Have we not a southern literature and who has suffered so much to prove his sincerity from which much of the compilation might be in the cause of their rights, should have given ut-States, whose names and eloquence are true to the States, whose names and eloquence are true to the Constitution, and are able expressions of it! Hallook -to buy his own body and his own soul-and then. his wife and their little ones; and what is this man, this equal brother of us all, thus to give his life-long labor for-hear it, Irishmen, and hear it from Smith O'Brien—that he may 'prove his fit-ness to become a free member of society.' I am sick at heart when I think of these words; I hope they will find no response in our bosoms, but Irishmen will declare to the world that God has given but New England's 'outcasts;' but why should they come to us?' Words are things, 'said Miraearth the spirits of the noble men who, at Armagh, in the twelfth century, banished slavery from Ireland because it was a sin against God, and a crime against man, to hold human beings as slaves; and ask these departed worthies to frown on their successors who palliate, even in the smallest degree the outrage on our common humanity, which keeps

I invite back to earth the spirit of that good man, who, perhaps a century ago, in Belfast, saved Ireland from the curse of a participation in the slave trade; and I ask my countrymen, will they, with such a bright example before them, cover over, as with a garment of iniquity, the doings of Irishmen in America, who give any aid to keeping four millions of their fellow-creatures in that condition of bondage which rejects the marriage tie, which denies the wife to the husband, and the children to their parents, as if they were all brutes, and not men, made in the image of God, and placed but a little lower than the angels in heaven?

I appeal to the departed spirits of those Irishmen in the British Parliament, who, to a man-not one member proving renegade—supported Wilber-force in his motion for the abolition of the slave trade; and I entreat my countrymen, in this more advanced day of civilization, to follow their lead for the speedy overthrow of every remaining vestige of a system so adverse to every noble principle in the heart of man, as chattel slavery unquestionably is.

We, in Ireland, have never yet, as we ought to have done, taken a right and manly grip in our consciences, of the principle of liberty; that principle would teach us to demand for others the freem we claimed for ourselves-and to make no abatement in our demand. But we have not so acted in America. There, as a general rule, the Irish emigrant has taken sides with the man-stealer: he has either done so directly, by open advocacy of his criminal practices, or, indirectly, by sneaking away from his duty, and holding his tongue, while giving his vote on the wrong side. This criminal and unmanly conduct on the part of Irishmen is the true cause of our unpopularity in America. Our labor is useful there, and, therefore, the Americans would welcome us to their shores; but we disgust them too often by our sad inconsistency to our professed principles of liberty and justice, and also by the intemperate habits we so frequently take with us from home. We must become a self-respecting people before others will respect us, and this means that we must be honest to our own convictions of

intelligent Irishmen in America are so pro-slavery in sentiment. Mr. O'Brien referred with much good feeling to the hatred which follows the colored man in the Free States; but he blamed the Abolitionists unjustly for this; the true Abolitionists have no such feeling towards their colored brethren. have no such leeting towards their colored brethled.

It is, unfortunately, the general sentiment of the white population, and Irishmen are no more free from censure in this respect than others, except that in the Catholic churches, and in these alone, and the Baptists, I apprehend, the black people are permitted to worship God along with their white brethren. But the colored free man is driven, by this wicked prejudice, to the lowest social employ-ment, as white men will not work in company with them as artizans.

Countrymen, is this—or the slavery in which it

He not make of one blood all the nations of men?

And are we not doing despite to Him when we despise our brethren who are colored like ourselves? y countrymen, I entreat you to think on these things; we must be for, or against God; we must be for, or against man; we must be for, or against liberty; we are unworthy if we halt between two pinions on these points. I remain, Mr. Editor, faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.
35 Eccles-street, Nov. 1859.

citizens of Philadelphia, returned from the Paraguay Expedition on board a Government vessel, and landed at the Navy Yard in Washington, where they were honorably discharged. Wishing to return home after their long absence in the service of the United States, they repaired to the railroad depot at Washington, to take the cars for Philadelphia, when they were met by a regulation which requires all colored persons, ere they can obtain tickets, to file a bond to indemnify the railroad company against loss in case they shall be claimed Washington, of course they could furnish no secu-rities for such a bond, and so had to abandon the idea of going to Philadelphia, for the present; and, finally, they obtained employment as servants at the Avenue House, a hotel in Washington. But the slave-fiend would not let these innocent

young men alone. About ten days since, being still at work at the Avenue House, they were arrested, under a municipal regulation or ordinance, as nonresident negroes; this ordinance requiring that persons of African descent, coming into Washington, shall have their names registered, and pay fifty dollars, or be liable to a fine of ten dollars for every five days that they remain in the city without complying with the ordinance.

These young men, discharged at the Federal Capital from on board a United States vessel, on which they had performed faithful service, when met with this rascally Federal ordinance, knew nothing about the requisition as to registration, and they dollars to pay for a license for remaining in Washington. In fact, they did not wish to stay there at all, but were doing their best to go to their homes in Philadelphia, when they encountered this oppressive railroad regulation, which compelled them to remain and seek employment on the spot, for doing which, they subjected themselves to other penalties.

The fact of the arrest became known to Mr. Potter, Member of Congress from Wisconsin, and Mr. Covode, Member from Pennsylvania, who board at the Avenue House, and upon whom these colored men were in the habit of waiting. They interfered to save them from these oppressive fines. In so doing, they explained the case to the Mayor of Washington. He admitted the law to be a hard one, and way only, could they be saved from the payment of the \$50 each, and a fine of \$10 each for every five days during which they had neglected to register their names. Under these circumstances, and at the suggestion of the Mayor, Messrs. Potter and Covode, having meanwhile employed these colored men, addressed notes to the Mayor, claiming them as their servants; and whereupon they were discovered to the servered servered.

harged.

In return for their humane interference in behalf longer to us.

As we went on, the shouts rang up fierce and Buchanan, pours out its foulest abuse upon Messrs. nd more of the same sort. Their notes to the comments. Through whose interposition this turn has been given to the affair, whether by that of the Democratic Mayor, or the officer to whom one-third of the fines was payable, we know not, nor do we care. We aim at higher game than vulgar tipstaffs appropriate vocation. The former picks up a precarious living by enforcing a code that would be
scouted out of the Feejee Islands. The latter coins
money by arguing its adaptation to the state of society which exists in Washington.

Turn we, then, to the remedy. This oppressive

While we were violently pushed into a barroom, and told that it was our quarters for the rest
of the night. The passage and room were crowded
with the ruffians. The room appeared to be a justice's court, and the upper part, separated by a bar
from the rest, was assigned to us.

While we were violently pushed into a barof the night. The passage and room were crowded
with the ruffians. While we were the rest was our quarters for the rest
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from the rest, was assigned to us. appropriate vocation. The former picks up a pre-

money by arguing its adaptation to the state of so-ciety which exists in Washington.

Turn we, then, to the remedy. This oppressive railroad regulation, and these infamous ordinances,
Ruffian stamped on his face, came in with a lighted the system of which they are a necessary and homo-geneous part, instantly cease at the Federal Capital. the Capital be removed to some community where civilization and Christianity are not contraband

commodities. It must not be forgotten that these outrages, that make the blood of freemen turbulent in their veins, are not perpetrated in a slave State; that they are not the legitimate offspring of the peculiar institumitted right under the eye, and by the special permission of Congress, and for which the people of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, are as directly

Albany, Harrisburg, and Columbia.

We repeat, then, that these wrongs, together with slavery and the slave-trade, the fountain-crime whence they flow, shall cease, or the capital be removed. We are quite in earnest, in enforcing this alternative upon the consideration of Congress. The claim upon their rulers for forbearance. A bully assails a Senator, with bloody intent, for words spober of the Society of Friends, an old resident, utters that traditionary opinions of his sect against slavery, and Washington arrests, arraigns, and imprisons him. During the contest for the Speakership, assassins, armed to the teeth, pack the galleries one. assassins, armed to the teeth, pack the galleries, threatening death to the Republican Members of Congress, and the press of Washington cheers on the blood-thirsty villains. The publisher of the National Era is assailed in the street, and carries him life in the head of the control of the c threatening death to the Republican Members of Congress, and the press of Washington cheers on the blood-thirsty villains. The publisher of the National Era is assailed in the street, and carries his life in his hands for many weeks for speaking the sentiments of George Washington, and Washington City applauds. An upright member of Congress from Pennsylvania utters, to the friends in his own hotel, the current opinion of the country in regard to the imbecility of Virginia in the face of the John Brown raid, and he is waylaid and maltreated in the Capitol grounds, by functionaries treated in the Capitol grounds, by functionaries high in office, and Washington lauds the assailants

buildings, erected and being erected, even were they to be utterly abandoned, we doubt whether this would ultimately be a dollar's loss to the country. They are to the last degree ill-contrived. To complete such as are unfinished, upon the scale now ontemplated, will cost more than to erect entire new buildings of suitable descriptions elsewhere. They are mere sinks of jobbery and corruption.— Therefore, we trust Congress will not vote a dollar to go on with them, until the country sees whether the crimes and villanies of which we complain are to cease. And, if they do not, and it should finally be resolved to change the Capitol, then, as the new location would doubtless be accessible from Wash-ington by vessels, if any of the materials in the existing structures were worth tensporting thither, they could be taken down, removed, and used in the new edifices. At all events, Congress should not sink another dollar in the present public buildings until these questions are determined—not a dollar.

We have an able Committee in the House of Representatives upon the District of Columbia. A majority of its members are Republicans. They are all men of ability. Will they take action in the premises? The country will expect it .- N. Y.

#### TREATMENT OF DR. DOYLE AND HIS SON IN MISSOURI.

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. To give our readers an dea of the insults, outrages and sufferings inflicted upon Dr. Doy and his son, we make the following extracts from this thrilling narrative :-

As we landed at Weston, we were greeted by the suggested that, as these young men were servants at the hotel of Messrs. Potter and Covode, they might properly claim that they (the colored persons) be exempt from the operation of the ordinance as their servants; and that, in this way, and in this their servants; and that, in this way, and in this lignity in gloating over their victims, than did those way only, could they be saved from the payment of howling ruffians in the streets of Weston, over the

of these defenceless boys, the press of Washington, loud; the crowd pressed upon me as I sat on my and especially The Constitution, the organ of Mr. horse; my coat was nearly torn from my back; the Buchanan, pours out its foulest abuse upon Messrs. skirts and sleeves were rent in pieces, and divided Potter and Covode, perverting the facts, represent among the mob as relies of a 'live abolitionist.' ing them as having been purchasing negroes, as Thus pushed and mauled, struck and insulted, with trying to evade the municipal laws of Washington, every indignity that can be conceived offered to our and more of the same sort. Their notes to the Mayor are published, accompanied by characteristic Hang the d—d nigger-thief! Burn the c—d abordance intervention this term litionist! 'and so on, we were made to take part in this fit triumphal ovation to the cruel and bloody

of the fines was payable, we know not, nor do we care. We aim at higher game than vulgar tipstaffs and brawling newspaper organs, in our comments upon these scandalous transactions. We do not so much blame the officer, as the law, nor The Consultation newspaper, as the system it defends. The After having gratified their malice in this manstitution newspaper, as the system it defends. The and beat my head against the wall. With blows Marshal and the journal are but laboring in their and threats we were violently pushed into a bar-

exist by the special permission—nay, more, by virtue of the positive enactments—of Congress. We from head to foot, in the most provoking manner. Insist, therefore, that these rules, regulations, ordinary, and these rules, manner insist, therefore, that these rules, regulations, ordinary, and these rules, manner, by virtue of the positive enactments—of Congress. We from head to foot, in the most provoking manner. My blood boiled at this insult, and, unable to bear nances, or whatever name they bear, together with any more, I shook him off, asking him, at the same time, if he considered himself an American citizen when he treated a man in that manner. Thereupon And if the denizens of the District demand that this he flew into a terrible passion, pouring out all the despicable diabolism shall continue in force, then let filthy vituperation that is found nowhere else in such variety, as in the vocabulary of a Platte County Ruffian, and demanded to know how I dared speal to a white man except in answer to questions, being a d-d nigger-thief. I called to the constables to

take him away, or there would be mischief done. This person I afterwards found to be a well-known ruffian, by name Jim Murphy, a brother of tions of Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, with which the man who was mayor of Leavenworth during the North has no right to interfere; but are comthe troubles of '56, when Border Ruffianism ruled. He was driven out of that city by the Free State

people in the fall of '57.

We had scarcely got rid of one ruffian wher esponsible, as if perpetrated under codes enacted at another appeared: a young man, with a light in one hand and a revolver in the other. Shortly he began to push my son round, shaking the revolver in his face, and crying, 'By G-d! you've got to die this night, and by this revolver!'

The light began to flash from Charles's eyes and the angry flush to deepen on his cheek, and I, know-

eaders of public opinion in Washington have no ing my son's disposition, appealed to the officers to claim upon their rulers for forbearance. A bully take away the insulting ruffian, if they wished to

ing, as may be imagined, nor our thoughts of a opeful character.

After eating, we were again marched into the

streets. Our reception there was even more demoniacal than on the previous night. Everybody seemed to be out; and oaths, yells, and insults, with cries of 'Give 'em hemp!' 'The rope is with cries of 'Give 'em hemp!' 'The rope is ready!' accompanied us to the Court House,

whither we were carried for examination.

There we were taken into a large to finished room, filled to overflowing with the unwashed and unterrified Democracy of Weston. It was a rough room, with bare brick walls, and open rafters overhead, from which hung down, directly above where we were placed, three new ropes with a hangman's knot at the end of each. The prospect, at this moment, would certainly have been alarming to a nervous man, or to any one who had not had our five years' experience in Kansas. The fierce faces, rough and dirty, with the inevitable pipe, or tobacco saliva, marking the corners of the that glowered savagely upon us; the significant ropes that dangled above our heads, and the open, fiercely attered threats which filled the hall, interspersed with the strangest oatles that cars ever listened to, suggested all the horrors of mobocratic

At this time I thought, as did my son, that our hour had come, and that two of the hangman's nooses above our heads would not long empty. It was evident, from the muttered threats of the crowd, that violence would be attempted; while from the windows we could see the streets, through which we should have to pass, filled with an excited mob, whose cries and shouts rent the air. We were both ready to meet our expected fate like men; but, to leave no stone unturned, I again addressed the magistrates, and demanded their protection. They were evidently ararmed for the result; and, after a short consultation, we were hastily taken out by a side door, down the stairs into a deserted back street, and hurried into a little filthy calaboose. While there, I said to the marshal, Lewis, I would rather have been hung by the mob than treated in this manner.' 'Ah!' he replied; 'we don't mean to let the abolitionists make captal out of our hanging you.' About dark, when the streets were empty, we were taken to the hotel, where we were carried into the attic, hundcuffed, and a guard set over us; the colored people being already there, in another part of it.

While we lay thus chained in that dismal garret, e were infamously abused. Drunken ruffians continually came in to look at, and gratify their malice on the live abolitionists, as they called us. Some kicked us in the body as we lay on the floor; some, more brutal, in the face. At last my son, goaded to frenzy by the continued insult and abuse, jumped up, and lifting his shackled hands above his head, s face being covered with blood from the blows he had received, exclaimed, 'You think you can cheaply insult, and even overpower a fettered man; but you can never, never subdue me," and using his chains as a weapon, he drove them all out, clearing

kidnapped from our own soil, unconvicted of crime, our clothes almost torn from our backs, ourselves covered with blood flowing from wounds inflicted by men who arrogated to themselves also the title of

Soon after breakfast, on the second day after our examination, the marshal, constable and several others came into the garret where we were confined, and ordered Charles and me to get up and follow them. They led the way down stairs, and helped us into a carriage, to which two horses were harnessed. A large crowd of ruffians greeted our appearance. and amused themselves by comments upon our condition, which was certainly pitiable. One of them

said, Well, old doctor, we'll pay you a visit at Platte City, and give you another dose. Eight men soon rode up on horseback, and ordered the driver to move on. As we left the crowd, our mounted escort was advised to keep a sharp look-As we left the crowd, our out, for the d—d Yankees would try to rescue us. They followed the advice, and did keep a sharp lookout for Yankees all the way, four horsemen preceding us about five or six hundred yards, and the others following behind. After a drive of about seven miles, over almost impassable roads cut through the timber, we reacted Platte City, a village of some ight hundred inhabitants, where we were received by another excited crowd, who repeated the insults.

They followed us to the jail, a gloomy-looking og building, two stories high and about twenty-

our feet square, with walls two feet thick. Here we had to wait a short time for the jailor to bring the keys, while the mob clustered round the carriage in which we sat chained, amusing themselves At last the jailor came, and we were ordered to

leave the carriage and go in. He lighted a candle, and ushered us into a hall, warmed by a stove, upon which a door opened into the cell we were to occupy. It was unlocked and thrown back. We ntered, and found ourselves in an iron box, exactly eight feet square-for I measured it over and overand about seven feet high, furnished with a matrese on an iron bedstead, and with a horse rug and an old piece of cotton carpeting for a coverlid. sheriff of Platte County came in and searched us, taking from me a memorandum book containing notes of my journey to Holton, and a letter addressed to the editor of the Country Gentleman, an exclusively agricultural paper, published at Al-bany, New York State; also his pocket-knife from

After removing our chains they went out, telling the jailor to keep a sharp look-out on us, and locked the door, leaving us in total darkness.

We seized the first opportunity to examine our cell, and found ourselves entombed in a metallic coffin of the dimensions before given. The walls, floor and ceiling were all of boiler-plate iron, with-out any other opening than the door, which was also of iron, grated, with a hole about twelve inches from the floor, through which our food was passed in to us. We niterwards learned that there was a passage round three sides of our cell, and that there was another adjoining it of the same dimensions and material, in which two young men were confined, secause they had nearly escaped from the jail by awing through the iron bars of the window. One them was imprisoned on a charge of stealing eloth ; and after laying for six months in prison, he was brought to trial and acquitted. The other was in for horse-stealing. A light mulatto lad, Allen Pinks, of whom I shall have more to say hereafter, and a white boy, were in the hall; while in the room overhead was a negro woman, put there for running away.

high in office, and Washington lauds the assailants and jeers at the assailed.

Do such cowardly creatures, does such a demoralized community, deserve any forbearance from freemen? Is it a fit spot, and are such the fit custodians, of the Capitol of the Republic? The country demands that these outrages and their apparent cause cease to exist, or that the seat of government be removed to a spot where freedom of opinion, of speech, of publication, of locomotion, can be respected.

The Capitol could hardly be established in a more detectable locality than Washington. Originally a localized was a regro woman, put there for running away.

The hall, or lock-up, in which prisoners were usually confined while awaiting trial, and slaves were kept by the traders, until a sufficient number were collected to make up a gang or coffle, was about ten feet by twenty in size, and had but one small grated window in it, which could not be seen from the streets by a yelping crowd of rowdies.

At the hotel we were placed in a room with glass

being the friend of the blacks, had it in his power

to advance the interests of a colored man, tal

to advance the said, Colored man, the was asked to do so, he said, Colored men hars

no business to aspire—the time has not come! That

no business to aspect

gentleman no delicate the ideas that a black men have no rights that a black

Some days after we were thus immured, when the jailor's son brought us our dinner, we saved the fat of the meat, and put it into a tin plate; then we manufactured a wick by unraveling some of the threads of our cotton coverlid, and getting some matches from the slaves confined in the hall, lighted our improvised lamp; and this was the only light we had until my wife brought us some candles.

We entered Platte County jail on the 28th January, 1859, and remained inclosed in the iron coffin I have described until the 24th March. That cell we were not allowed to leave until called before the Grand Jury a few days before our departure. There was no other furniture than that mentioned except an iron backet with a broken lid-which remained unemptied for weeks-and a Bible. which, it would almost seem, was put there in We were thrust in as we came from the the Weston mob. For more than a week we had not enough water to drink, and none to wash with, but were compelled to remove the blood from our faces by rubbing them with the old horse rug, moistened with spittle. No clothes were furnished to us, nor did we get a change until my wife, after the lapse of three weeks, found out where we were, and brought some to us. Our con-dition may be better imagined than described.

About eight o'clock every evening, a guard o two men came, and remained in the hall through the night. The jailor came in occasionally. Dur ing the first week of our imprisonment, there was a regular camp of some three hundred Border Ruffians round the pail. They were armed with muskets and rifles, and had a brass cannon planted in front of the door. The first night they fired the cannon in triumph at our arrival, and, as the jailor in-formed us, broke every window in the Court House. A description of that night will answer for every We could hear them all night shouting, yelling, screeching, firing guns, and threatening the Yankees, Jim Lane and the Kansas abolitionists with the direct vengeance. All this preparation was to meet and prevent the rescue which it was supposed John Brown and Jim Lane would attempt. Fifty determined Kansas men would have

sent them all running.

Shortly after our imprisonment, a public meeting was held in the town, at which highly inflammatory resolutions respecting us were passed, and the people talked of hanging and burning the 'd-d abolitionists then in prison for stealing niggers.' Late that evening, some one came to the jail, and shouted to the prisoner in the cell adjoining ours, to 'tell the old Doctor and his son to get ready and say their prayers, for twenty-five men have voted in the meeting to come down, take them out and hang them, and they'll be here soon.' Soon after, another person came to the jail, and in a loud voice called to me and communicated the same information.

We resolved to be prepared to meet the ruffians, and to sell our lives as dearly as possible. So we called to our fellow-prisoners in the hall to pass us some sticks of fire-wood through the hole in our door, which they did, after cutting them to the right length for clubs, and smoothing one end for a With means and light which they also furnished, we wrote a note to the family, informing them of our situation and probable fate, and bidding them farewell. This was sent to a prisoner in the other cell, who expected to be out in a few days, and he promised to mail it for Lawrence at the first opportunity. We then barricaded our door with the iron bedstead, so that it could be only partially opened, and stood till dawn in readiness to meet the expected hangmen; but no one appeared to molest us.

This soul-quickening narrative may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, and at Bela Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, Boston. As Dr. Doy lost everything at the hands of the Border Ruffians in Kansas, we hope it will be readily purchased, that he and his family may derive some pecuniary benefit from it ...

### ANOTHER OUTRAGE.

The Belfast Age publishes a letter from a correspondent in Georgia, giving the revolting particulars of a gross outrage committed upon a ship's crew near Jeffersontown, in that State. We give the following extracts:

The brig B. G. Chaloner, of East Machias, Me. was chartered in New York to come to Statilla Mills, on the Statilla river, to load lumber. Capt. A. V. Kinney was master, who had with him his wife, Mr. Patterson the mate, and a crew of four

Mr. Patterson was well acquainted with the river, having once been wrecked up White Oak Creek. At that time, while stripping the vessel, he lived with a wealthy planter, who became much attached to him. No sooner had his planter friend-Mr. -learned that he was again on the river, than he sent a negro to conduct him to the house. Mr Marrissey learning the Cantain had his wife with him, sent a pressing invitation by Mr. Patter-son for the Captain to come, and bring his wife with him, to take a Christmas dinner with his

family.
On Sunday morning, Dec. 25th, the Captain, with his crew and mate, took the crew in the boat and started for Mr. Morrissey's plantation, having to go about 15 miles by water to his place of landing, from which, to the plantation, was five miles. After landing, he sent his men to Mr. Peters' house, (he being acquainted with Mr. P.,) to tarry until his return. The crew had been in the house but a short time, before six armed men came there, by the names of David Brown, and his two sons. Bur vill Brown and Nathan Brown, with their brother in-law, Thomas Harrison, and two others whose names I don't recollect, and told them they mus go to inil. The sailors, believing their inno ould appear the more apperent if they yielded concluded to obey their orders, supposing they were into the woods. authoritative; they were then taken tied to a tree, and a negro made to give three of them fifty lashes aplece. The reserved one was tall man, of the height of six feet three inches whom they called the captain of the crowd.' on his back they dealt one hundred lashes. Afte was taken down, they asked him if he would run as fast as the others had? they having been compelled to run, as fast as released.

As he did not at once start, one of the gang raised his gun, saying, '- you, you won't run, will you?' and fired, the ball passing near his head, you? and fired, the pair passing hear and lodging in a tree. With what strength remains and lodging in a tree. With what strength remains ed, the suffering man then started, hastened by th profine threats of his menacing tormentors, B the kindness of Burrill Brown's wife, the men wer shown the way down, and a boat was provided to take them on board the vessel.

On Monday morning, as Capt. Kinney, his wife and Mr. Patterson were coming down toward the landing, they were met by the men who took the sailors aboard, and told what had happened, and advised to go back to Mr. Morrissey's and leave the woman, and then go round the other way, and send a sheriff for the boat. This advice was acted upon

They had not gone more than half a mile, before they were overtaken by a man on horseback, who pointed a double-barrelled gun at the captain's head, and told him to stop. Presently old Brown and his gang came along, armed with pistols and guns, and ordered the captain-and mate to take off their coats, which they refused to do. Guns were at once cocked and levelled at their heads, and compliance demanded, by threatening to blow out their

After they had divested themselves of their oute garments, a negro was ordered to give them fifty ceded in behalf of her husband and companion, but they coarsely told her to stop her d-d crying, or would give her the same number of lashes were now giving her husband. After the negro had completed his task, old Brown, who was unable to walk without a cane, came hobbling along, and commanded the slave to give them four more for

The six inquisitors then marched the sufferers b fore their guns to the boat, and then shoved it off leaving them to row fifteen miles, against the tide

A few days after the transaction, the mate showed me his back, which was bruised and cut from his neck to his knees, as was also the case with the others who were flogged. The only reason given for committing this out

that the captain and his men were Northerners.' rage was, The above is only one of a multitude of similar outrages which have been perpetrated upon Northern men at the South, within the last four months and which ought to unite the whole North as one

man in demanding redress and protection at any cost.

These cannot be obtained within the Union.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 16, 1860.

SPEECH OF HON. WM. H. SEWARD. In our last number, we occupied as much space as we could conveniently spare, in making some comments upon the recent speech of Mr. Seward in the Senate of the United States. We proceed to finish

our review of it. On the 7th of March, 1850, Daniel Webster made his fatal speech upon the odious Compromise Bill of Mr. Clay,-a speech which took the entire North by surprise, kindled a flame of indignation universally and sent its author reeling to his grave, like one stricken and blinded by the lightning of heaven. On the 29th of February, 1860, William H. Seward, the most prominent candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency, in the same Senate chamber, reverts to this melancholy occurrence as a praiseworthy act, and in complimentary terms speaks of it as an evidence of 'unquestionable devotion to the Union'! It was, unquestionably, the last desperate bid for the Presidential chair by the recreant New Englander, under the pretence of 'devotion to the Union'; and the retributive consequences which so speedily and so fearfully followed it, should admonish Mr. Seward that, if he desires to 'go down to an honored grave, or to be truly respected while living, he must pursue very different course.

Of his speech we said, last week-Its effect will be highly detrimental to the moral sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery'-and the truth of this assertion is already beginning to be seen in the altered tone of the Republican journals generally. Not one of them, as yet, ventures to express any objection to anything contained in the speech; all of them, so far as we have seen, are loud in praise of it for its 'moderate,' 'conciliatory,' 'conservative,' Union-loving ' tone-ominous and detestable terms, because always significant of treachery to the cause of freedom, through concession and compromise when that cause is most imperilled!

intelligence and discernment of the Republican party to suppose that it perceives no change for the worse in Mr. Seward-no alteration of tone or mien-no lowering of the standard as originally erected-no retraction of the doctrine of the 'irrepressible conflict.' Thousands of its members are mortified, disappointed, and privately indignant at the cautious, calculating, retreating policy of their favorite candidate; but, at the same time, they feel that, in order to achieve the success of the party in the approaching struggle, they must smother their feelings, and assume to be satisfied with what he has recently said and done. It is by such a process, in such an exigency, that demoralization on a wide scale is effected, because there are few whose moral integrity is proof against a powerful political temptation. Such are ever pronounced impracticable, unwise, visionary. So, in his 7th of March speech, Mr. Webster sneeringly said-

It would be an unwarrantable impeachment of the

. There are men who are of opinion that human duties may be ascertained with the exactness of math-They deal with morals as with mathematics; and they think what is right may be distin-guished from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equation. They are apt to think that nothing is good but what is perfect, and that there are no compromises or modifications to be made in consideration of difference of opinion, or in deference to saith the Lord God of hosts. . Your covenant with other men's judgment.'

Here we have any amount of moral profligacy consneer is intended expressly, and only, for those who maintain that it is a crime to 'strike hands with thieves and consent with adulterers ; whose motto neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the is, 'Let justice be done, though the heavens fall'; Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear; and who believe it is at all times better to obey God than he shall be for a sanctuary.' to violate his laws; who enforce the doctrine of immediate emancipation as the duty of the muster, and bribed to play fast-and-loose with principle. 'They as well as what idolatry for a man-made Union! deal with morals as with mathematics,' and do not are not, as Mr. Webster says, 'too impatient to wait or the slow progress of moral causes in the improvetion of history from its earliest to its latest date, that such causes make 'slow progress' because of the tendency of public men, like Mr. Webster and Mr. say to every such overture, as Jesus said in a similar case. 'Get thee behind me, Satan!' In subserving the slaveholding interest of the South, Mr. Webster finds no difficulty in discovering ' what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equation !- I put it, he says, 'to all the sober and sound minds at the North, as a question of morals [what! dealing with morals as with mathematics '!] and a question of conscience, what right have they, in their legislative eternal place in the heavens." capacity or any other capacity, to endeavor to get round this Constitution, or to embarrass the free exthe persons whose slaves escape from them? None at all; none at all.' It is such reasoning, or rather does Mr. Seward say about it? such sophistry, that bewilders, misleads and corrupts the multitude, and at times almost 'deceives the very elect.' Hence, the artful collocation of specious words by Mr. Seward, (whereby it is hoped the plunderers of the poor and needy will be propitiated, and the friends of freedom made less exacting, in order to make personal and party success a possible event at the coming presidential election,) renders his speech seductive and dangerous to an incalculable extent.

In noticing the Southern allegation that the Republican party in the North is hostile to the South Mr. Seward soothingly says-

· It already 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 forborn. with you so long, and conceded to you so MUCH? Can you justly assume that affection which has been so complying, can all at once change to hatred intense and

Will the reader analyze this pregnant language Hitherto, the forbearance of the North with the South has been a combination of selfishness and cowardice; against all harm! Horrible! and this is to be continued, forsooth, if the Repub lican party shall triumph! It will be the same North that has ' conceded to you [the slaveholders and slavebreeders of the South] so much '-yea, till not a vestige of constitutional liberty remains at the South for any Northern citizen! And further concessions, therefore, may be expected in the same direction, and and its ethics, and to maintain the superiority of your to the same end! What nonsense to talk of the own by all the force of persuasion and argument. We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. Al to the same end! What nonsense to take to the world discusses all systems. Especially must we affection which has been so complying!! Say, the world discusses all systems. Especially must we have to decide as a nation the new and the backbone, the absence of moral principle, the want of which of the two we ought to ingraft on the new an self-respect and true courage! What the South future States growing up in the great public domain. calls ' hatred intense and inexorable,' means anything that threatens the safety and non-extension of her in a fraternal spirit?' slave system; and, therefore, if his words have any meaning, Mr. Seward desires her to believe that the affection which has been so complying, hitherto, will characterize the North as much under a Republican as under a Democratic administration. For what is the object of such language, except to disayow the necessity of any conflict with the South, on State least developed and perfected among them all, account of her slave institutions, 'irrepressible' or otherwise? Is it not a promise to keep the peaceto abstain from whatever policy may cause irritation or slarm at the South-to make the preservation of Germany! So says William H. Seward! the Union paramount to the preservation of Northern

liberty ? Not less objectionable is his language concerning the colored race, whether bond or free. The South, terior and secret designs, but she names only one :-

'That one is to introduce negro equality among you. Suppose we had the power to change your so-cial system: what warrant have you for supposing that we [Republicans] would carry negro equality among your We know, and we will show you, if you will you? We know, and we will snow you, if you will only give heed, that what our system of labor works only give heed, that what our system of labor works out, scherever it works out anything, is THE EQUALITY OF WHITE MEN. . . In which of the ffree! States I have named is it that negro equality offends the white man's pride? . . . 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? o a common political elevation?

If this is not to evince and encourage the unnatural, malevolent, and all-prevailing prejudice against a most-wickedly abused and outraged people-if this is not to justify the distinction of race by unjust and crushing legislation in the future as in the past, in the North as well as in the South-what is the meaning of it? It cannot relate to social tastes or conventional associations, for these exist in strong diversity and striking contrast among the white population whose 'equality' is declared to be fully recognized and enjoyed. It means, therefore, that the Republian party is exclusively the white man's party, and will give no countenance to POLITICAL EQUALITY, irrespective of complexional differences. It is the conession of Mr. Seward-not our accusation.

Like every self-seeking aspirant for office, Mr. seward deems it profitable and politic to burn incense apon the altar of the Union, and to bend the knee in worship thereof, after the manner of a heathen devotce. Instead of rebuking the idolatrous spirit which prevails at the North for a mere piece of parchment, he seeks to intensify it, and to diffuse it where it seems to be wanting. The Republican party is the party of the Union; no party can hope for success without upholding the Union; the firm-set earth is not more sure than the perpetuity of the Union! The Union, then, must be of heaven, not of menthe creation of God, and not the contrivance of independent colonies to assimilate under one form of govrnment; else the analogy is impious and absurd. Not such is the doctrine laid down in the Declaration of Independence :-

We hold these truths to be SELF-EVIDENT: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by heir Creator with certain inslienable rights; that mong these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happithat, to secure these Rights, government are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its founda-tion on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Hence those who affect special reverence for the Union, and make its perpetuity the test of patriotism, are mere babblers, as blind as they are foolish; for by the rule we have quoted from the Declaration. an experiment of seventy years proves that it is time to 'institute a new government,' the old one having necessarily proved a failure by its incongruous and irreconcilable elements. 'For Jerusalem [the North is ruined, and Judah [the South] is fallen, because their tongue and their doings are against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory. The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom; they hide it not. The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people, and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand. . . Associate vourselves, and ye shall cealed in the drapery of a deceptive phraseology. The be broken in pieces; take counsel together, it shall come to nought. Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy

Compare the following complacent language with the doctrine of the 'irrepressible conflict,' and obthe right of the slave; and who cannot be coaxed nor serve what an alteration in the tone of Mr. Seward.

. Mr. President, we are perpetually forgetting this make them matters of convenience or barter. They subtle and complex, yet obvious and natural, mechanism of our Constitution; and because we do lorget it, we are continually wondering how it is that a Conment of mankind'; but they see, by a close examina- so yast, and regulating interests so various of so many millions of men, constituted and conditioned so di versely, works right on. We are continually looking it stop and stand still, or fall suddenly inte pieces. But, in truth, it will not stop; it cannot stop Seward, to substitute policy for principle, and they it was made not to stop, but to keep in motion - in motion always, and without force. For my own part, as this wonderful machine, when it had newly from the hands of its almost divine inventors, was the admiration of my earlier years, although it was the but imperfectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the central figure in the economy of the world's civil ization, 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

The South is 'full of the habitations of cruelty'her soil is daily saturated with the blood of her opercise of the rights secured by the Constitution to pressed victims—and she proclaims her determination never to yield up her revolting slave system. What

. Use your authority to maintain what system have wisely, as we think, exercised ours to protec and perfect the manhood of the members of the The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns with in the Union is divided between us by unmistakabl boundaries. You have your fifteen distinct parts we eighteen parts, equally distinct. Each must b 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 expect you to defend it. If yours shall be assailed, in any emergency, no matter what the cause of the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your sove reignty as the equivalent of our own.

· Use your authority to maintain what system you please'! Rob the poor, oppress the needy, trade in slaves and the souls of men, according to your own taste; and if thereby you get yourselves into trouble -if other John Browns shall try to 'deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor,' and to bring your tyrannical power to an end-we stand ready to assist in hanging them, and protecting you

Here is another significant comment upon the 'ir repressible conflict' doctrine. Now how altered the tune! 'Mutual teleration and a fraternal spirit' between Liberty and Slavery-freemen and men-stealers-Christ and Belial! Statesmanship, forsooth!

. You are equally at liberty to reject our system Discussion, then, being unavoidable, what could be more wise than to conduct it with mutual toleration and

Perhaps no statement in the whole speech will excite more surprise at home, or more indignation abroad, than the following :-

I am no assailant of States. All of the States are parcels of my own country-the best of them no so wise or great as I am sure it will hereafter be : the is wiser and better than any foreign State I know.'

The most barbarous and benighted slave-driving State 'wiser and better' than England, France, or

The entire speech is as impassive as marble, and a bloodless as a corpse. A very searching review of it appears in the Bosto Pionier.' (German,) which, translated, we shall lay

he says, accuses the Republican party of having ul- before our readers next week, with additional remarks. We are still for the ' irrepressible conflict.'

sols he eller tout Washington Criticolly at Actor

NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOS-TON MASSACRE, MARCH 5, 1770.

This occasion was duly observed as announced, at the Meionaon, on Monday evening, March 5, 1860. Revolutionary relics and emblems were in full view

upon the platform. and addressed the meeting as follows : -

REMARKS OF WILLIAM . C. NELL.

old tories, intimated in a Boston paper of March 7, not even so much as the ghost of the original. a fierce and turbulent black man, who was temporarily plause.) here on his way to North Carolina.'

loggled muskets

with what effect is known to all. Of stout and vigor- fallen from grace. ous frame, athletic, bold and patriotic, had he lived, John Brown was, and is, the representative of that useful part in our great revolutionary struggle.

Yours, &c. From a letter dated 'Natick, Feb. 17th, 1860,' I

select the following : -Several persons are now living in Natick, who re-

into Sam Attucks, or Smattox ; Sal, also known as Slattox; and Peter, called Pea Tattox.

My mother, still living, aged 89, remembers Sal in in a gourd shell. [This unfortunate drinking propenardent-spirited member of a patriotic family.]

Thomas Buckminster, of Framingham. It has been conjectured that Jacob and Nanny were

different places in Natick and Framingham. When the inhabitants were detained in Boston, he

brought out three or four horses, which he took to Cris would have killed them. Cris is said to have been in every street fight with the soldiers for some time previous to March 5th, 1770.

John Adams, counsel for the British soldiers, admitted that 'Attucks appeared to have undertaken to be the hero of the night, and to lead the people. He was foremost in resisting, and the first slain. As proof of a front engagement, he fell face to the foe. having received two balls, one in each breast.

It is easy to infer that he had an intelligent appr ciation of his mission, which should long since have secured to all other colored Americans an equality of those rights, to-day, so unjustly monopolized by the dominant class.

In the popular compilation, entitled 'The Hundred Boston Orators,' are narrated the following facts :-

. The Boston Athengum overlooks the cemetery where were deposited the remains of our fellow citizens, martyred in the cause of liberty, March 5th Four of the victims were conveyed on hearses, and buried on the 8th of March in one vanit in the middle burying-ground. The funeral consisted of an immense number of persons in ranks of six, followed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal gentry of the town, at which time the bells of Bosto and adjoining towns were tolled. It is supposed tha a greater number of people attend the funeral than ever assembled on this continent on any occasion."

Attucks and Caldwell, not being residents of Bos ton, were both buried from Faneuil Hall. A stone was erected, and on it carved this inscription :-Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend.

Dear to your country, shall your fame extend; While to the world the lettered stone shall tell How Caldwell, Attucks, Gray and Mavenick fell. No remains of the stone are now visible, as it was

probably destroyed by the British regulars. On the 5th of March, 1851, a petition was present ed to the Legislature, asking an appropriation for the erection of a monument to the memory of Attucks; but that body decided it to be inexpedient;

though the same session awarded one to Isaac Davis, of Concord! Both were active promoters of the American Revolution; but one was white, the other black-and this is the only solution of the problem, why justice was not fairly meted out. But, if I rightly interpret the signs of the times they warrant the prediction that, by the 5th of March

1870,-the centennial anniversary of the Boston massacre,-a monument will be erected, commemorative of the day, and of the man whose martyrdom invests it with a halo of historical glory.

Among some of the early races of the North, each man who passed the tomb of a hero cast a stone upon it as his contribution to a commemorative monument. The pile rose high, and furnished a most impressive lesson to new generations, appealing to them in like manner to secure the grateful remembrance of man-

In view of the zeal with which the Bunker Hill.

Lexington, and other monuments, typical of events and persons of revolutionary fame, have been erected, let the claims of Attucks not be forgotten, inasmuch as his offering upon the altar of American freedom preceded them all. Senator Toombs is reported to have said, in a lec-

ture in the Tremont Temple, a few years since, that if the colored race were blotted out to-day, there would be no record left to tell that they had ever existed."

Let this aspersion of a whole race be offset by the Attucks' monument, and by keeping green the memories, in each locality throughout the Union, of all other Colored Patriots of the American Revolution !

SPEECH OF DR. JOHN S. ROCK. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have been invited by my friend Mr. Nell to say omething to you on the occasion of this, the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of the American Revolution. and that, too, in the face of my recorded opinion that Mr. WILLIAM C. NELL, of Boston, came forward, that event was ushered in by the rashness of one of our 'noble, but misguided ancestors.' If, under the circumstances, I should give you a little plain talk, Though there are many good things appropriately differing somewhat from that which you have been set down to the credit of our tri-mountain city, there accustomed to hear, on occasions like this, you need is yet a trinity of events connected with its history not be surprised. The times require us to speak out. and the great cause of Human Freedom, seldom I am free to confess, that the remembrance of the thought of or referred to. They are these: 1st. The details of the event which we are assembled here to first slave revolt that we have any knowledge of in celebrate are, by no means, dear to me. I am not yet this country, took place at East Boston, October 2d, ready to idolize the actions of Crispus Attucks, who 1638, by a slave claimed by Mr. Samuel Maverick. was a leader among those who resorted to forcible 2d. The leadership and martyrdom of Crispus At- measures to create a new government which has used tucks, a slave, in the scene of the Boston Massacre, every means in its power to outrage and degrade his March 5th, 1770. 3d. The advent of the Liberator, race and posterity, in order to oppress them more January 1st, 1531, by William Lloyd Garrison, the easily, and to render their condition more hopeless in pioneer, and persevering advocate of immediate eman- this country.

I am free to confess that I have strong attach Notwithstanding the many historical references by ments here, in this my native country, and desire to Botta, Hewes, Goodrich, and others, to Crispus At- see it prosperous and happy; yet, situated and outsucks and his prominence in the scene of March 5th, raged as I am, in common with a race whose lives 1770, there has been a studied attempt, as you are have been one of toil to make this country what it is, well aware, on the part of the wrong-headed and the I would deny the manly promptings of my own soul, hollow-hearted, to ignore his patriotic claims, and if I should not say that American liberty is a word assign him the position of an incidental disturber of which has no charms for me. It is a name without the peace. One writer, animated by the spirit of the meaning-a shadow without substance, which retains

1851, that if Attucks had not fallen a martyr, he The only events in the history of this country would richly have deserved hanging as an incendiary; which I think deserve to be commemorated, are the and the Boston Courier, of only last Saturday, in an organization of the Anti-Slavery Society and the inarticle on the Boston massacre, speaks of Attucks as surrections of Nat Turner and John Brown. (Ap-

I believe in insurrections (applause) - and especially Without attempting to refute the aspersions thrown those of the pen and of the sword. Wm. Lloyd Garapon Attucks, though the materials are ample, I beg rison is, I think, a perfect embodiment of the moral inleave to submit, as pertinent to this occasion, some surrection of thought, which is continually teaching gleanings from historical documents, traditionary the people of this country that unjust laws and comrecords, and private correspondence, significant and pacts made by fathers are not binding upon their sons, and that the 'higher law' of God, which we are I have a letter from a member of the present Legis- bound to execute, teaches us to do unto others us we lature, dated . House of Representatives, Boston, Feb. would have them do unto us. William H. Seward, 18th, 1860, from which I extract the following: - /(the most prominent Republican candidate for the 'He (Crispus) was the slave of my great grand. Presidency,) who has been a 'Helper' in speeding father, Deacon William Brown, of Framingham. He on the 'irrepressible conflict' between freedom and returned after his runaway excursion, and was a faith- slavery, has suddenly lowered his moral standard. ful servant. He was allowed to buy and sell cattle and dwindled from a great statesman to a cunning on his own judgment. It was probably upon one of politician. I agree with Le Courier des Etats Unis, these trading tours that he was drawn into the affray that 'his recent speech has disappointed both his of March 5th. He pressed close upon the British friends and his foes :- the former he has deceived, troops, who received him and the other people with and the latter are authorized to look upon it as a snare.' Chicago and the Presidency have done this. Attucks beat down their guns with a heavy stick. But when the crisis is passed, I think you will agree and shouted, "They dare not fire!" They did fire, and with me, that while he has sinned, he has not wholly

he would, doubtless, have acted a conspicuous and potent power, the sword, which proposes to settle at once the relation between master and slave-peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. This is, no doubt, the method by which the freedom of the blacks will be brought about in this country. It is a severe method; but to severe ills it is necessary to apply severe remedies. Slavery has taken up the sword, and member the Attucks family - viz., Cris, who was it is but just that it should perish by it. (Applause.) killed March 5th; Sam, whose name was abbreviated The John Brown of the second Revolution, is but the Crispus Attucks of the first. A few years hence, and this assertion will be a matter of history.

Crispus Attucks was a brave man, and he fought particular, who used to be called the gourd-shell with our fathers in a good cause; but they were not squaw, from the fact that she used to carry her rum victorious. They fought for liberty, but they got slavery. The white man was benefitted, but the black sity, in accordance with the all-prevailing custom of man was injured. I do not envy the white Amerithe times, gives evidence that Sal was, at least, an cans the little liberty which they enjoy. It is their right, and they ought to have it. I wish them suc-The whole family are described as having been cess, though I do not think they deserve it. I deuncommonly large, and are said to have been the sire to see all men enjoy freedom and prosperity. children of Jacob Peter Attucks, who lived with Capt. (Applause.) But by this I do not mean to imply. that, should our country be again situated as it was then, we would be willing to re-commit the errors of Indian blood; but all who know the descendants, of our Revolutionary fathers. The Scotch have a describe them as negroes. Crispus lived in many saying. When a man deceives me once, shame on him ; but when he deceives me twice, shame on me.

I see one thing in celebrating this day, which it used to smuggle their horses out of the town. He would be well not to overlook, and that is, Crispus Framingham, and then returned to kill the red-coats. when properly planned, may lead to successful revolu-Attucks has demonstrated to us that insurrections,

> If the present aspect of things is an index to the future, then, indeed, our prospects are gloomy. Of the two great political parties in this country, one i openly hostile to us, and seeks to reduce us to the position of beasts of burden; and the other has evi dently but little sympathy for us, only as we may serve to advance its interests. The only class who avow themselves openly as the friends of the black man are the Abolitionists; and it would be well for the colored people to remember this fact. (Applause. I do not wish to be understood as saying, that w have no friends in the Republican party, for I know that we have. But the most of those who sacrifice for our cause are among the Abelitionists. Next to them I place the Republicans, many of whom I have found more practically interested in our welfare, that the rank and file of the Abolitionists. But I place no one before the leading Abolitionists in this coun try-they who have spoken for the dumb, and wh have braved the storms in their fury. In this connection, I must not omit Gerrit Smith, (applause,) the leader of the Liberty party, who is one of the most liberal and disinterested of nature's noblemen. He has done more for our race, pecuniarily, than any other man in this country. May a kind Providence preserve him! (Applause.)

It is the Anti-Slavery men and women, who have made our cause a holy thing. I always feel proud of my humanity, after an interview with any one o them. In the language of Moore, I can say :-

Oh, there are looks and tones that dart An instant sunshine through the heart; As if the soul that minute caught

Some treasure it through life had sought." The position of the colored man to-day, is a trying one; trying, because the whole country has entered into a conspiracy to crush him; and it is against thi mighty power that he is forced to contend. Some persons think we are oppressed only in the South: this is a mistake. We are oppressed everywhere on this slavery-cursed land. To be sure, we are seldom insulted here by the vulgar passers by. We have the right of suffrage. The free schools are open to our children, and from them have come forth young men who have finished their studies elsewhere, who speak two or three languages, and are capable of filling any post of profit and honor. But there is no field for these men. Their education only makes them suffer the more keenly. The educated colored man meets on the one hand, the embittered prejudices of the whites, and on the other the jealousies of his own race. Perhaps you may think that there are exceptions. This is true; but there are not enough of them in the whole United States to sustain, properly, a half dozen educated colored men. The colored man who educates his son, educates him to suffer. When La Martine said to an Arminian chief at Damascus You should send your son to Europe, and give him that education you regret the want of yourself," the Arminian answered, 'Alas! what service should I render to my son, if I were to raise him above the age and the country in which he is destined to live? What would he do at Damascus, on returning thither with the information, the manners, and the taste for liberty he has acquired in Europe? If one must be a slave, it is better never to have known anything but slavery. Woe to the men who precede their times their times crush them.' And woe to the black man who is educated: there is no field for him. The other day, when a man who makes loud anti-

lavery pretensions, and who has the reputation of Page 1987, Course the wood for Albies to do skill - 1.5 No. and the Course Note 1 Aug.

men are bound to respect, and that 'a white skin a the only legitimate object of ambition. He has bey only to sigh for a plantation well stocked with health negroes, and his cup of pleasure will be fulk Some men are ruined by success. I remember very well men are runned by that about five years ago, he was an active labour with us, and I am certain be did not say, the time has not come, when he asked us to elect him to the Legislature. (Applause.) No where in the United States is the colored mag of talent appreciated. Even here in Beston, which has a great reputation for being anti-slavery, beatno means treated like other talented men. Some jer. sons think that because we have the right to vote, and enjoy the privilege of being squeezed up in an enal, bus, and stared out of a seat in a horse-car, that there is less prejudice here than there is farther South. In some respects this is true, and in others it is not true, For instance, it is five times as bard to get a house in a good location in Boston as it is in Philadelphia, and a good location in difficult for a colored mechanic to get work here as it is in Charleston, where the prijedice is supposed to be very bitter against the fire col. ored man. Colored men in business here receive more respect and less patronage than in any other place that I know of. In this city, we are proscribed in some of the eating houses, many of the hotels, and all the theatres but one. Boston, though anti-slaver

and progressive, supports, in addition to these places, two places of amusement, the sale object of which is to caricature us, and to perpetuate the existing proje. dices against us! I now ask you, is Boston anti-sia very? Are not the very places that proscribe as sustained by anti-slavery patronage? Do not our lib. eral anti-slavery politicians dine at the Revere House sup at the Parker House, and take their creams and jellies at Copeland's? We have several france, (whose tested unti-slavery is like gold tried in the fire which comes out purer every time it is tried,) who speak occasionally upon platforms that are claimed to be anti-slavery, and which are dependent the their eloquence for support, which have, up to the time, refused to give any colored man a hearing The Boston Theatre, an institution which has been fighting death ever since it came into existence, could not survive a single year without anti-slavery parronnge! The friends of slavery are everywhere withdraw. ing their patronage from us, and trying to starre to

out by refusing us employment even as memals. Fifteen or twenty years ago, colored men had more than an equal chance in menial employments; today, we are crowded out of almost everything, and we do not even got the patronage of our projected friends. The colored stevedores who could once be found all along the wharves of Boston, may now be found only about Central wharf, where they meet with just encouragement enough to keep soul and heer together. Such is the progress of the public sentiment and of humanity in Boston!

Last summer, a colored servant who was stopping at the Revere House with a gentleman from New York, was maltreated by the Irish servants. He tald his employer, who made complaint to Mr. Steves, Mr. Stevens replied, that he would not interfere in anything that his servants should do to any colored man-that if gentlemen travel with colored servants, they must expect to be insulted, and he would rather that such gentlemen would stop some where elses That is the idea - colored men have no right to ear an honest living-they must be starved out.

Fifteen or twenty years ago, a Catholic priestia Philadelphia said to the Irish people in that city . You are all poor, and chiefly laborers; the black are poor laborers, many of the native whites are laborers; now, if you wish to succeed, you must do everything that they do, no matter how degradag, and do it for less than they can afford to do it for." The Irish adopted this plan : they lived on less than the Americans could live upon, and worked for less, and the result is, that nearly all the menial employments are monopolized by the Irish, who now get a good prices as anybody. There were other avenue open to American white men, and though they have affered much, the chief support of the Iris come from the places from which we have been

crowded. Now, while we are denied the humblest position, is there anything higher opened to use Who is taking our boys into their stores at a low salary, and giving them a chance to rise? Who is admitting them into their workshops or their counting-rooms? Who is encouraging those who have trades? With the exception of a handful of abolitionists and a few black Republicans, there are none. If a few more of these who claim to be our friends would patronize us when they can, and in this manner stimulate us to be industrious, they would render us infinitely more service than all of their 'bunkum' speeches.

You can have but a faint idea of the charm their friendship would carry with it, if they would spend a dollar or two with us occasionally. It will not do to judge men by what they say. Many speak kindly of us when their hearts are far from us. Or, as Shakspeare has it.

Words are easy like the wind, Faithful friends are hard to find."

This is our experience, and we have learned to appreciate the Spanish proverh, . He is my friend who grinds at my mill.' In New England, we have many good mechanics, who get very little patronage. Indeed, a trade appears to be of but little service to say of us, unless we can, like the tailor of Campillo, afford to work for nothing, and find thread. I hope that our friends will look at these things,

and receive my remarks in the spirit in which they have been given. I do not mean to underrate tie efforts of our friends, or to speak disparagingly d their labors; but I would descriminate between ear real and our pretended friends. I differ, however, from many of our true friends, as to the means D be used to elevate our race. While I believe that anti-slavery speeches, whether political or otherwise, will do much to correct a cruel and wicked putat sentiment, I am confident that such means alone can never elevate us. My opinion is, that the only way by which we the free colored people can be elerated is through our own exertions, encouraged by our friends. Every colored man who succeeds as so much added to the cause. We have nothing to stimulate our young men. They see many of us strugging hard, and not appreciated, and they become discoulaged. The success of such a man as Mr. Marin i worth more to us than a pile of resolutions and speeches as high as Tremont Temple. (Applause.) All honor to Mr. Kalloch, who had the courage and the will to give him a hearing in his pulpit, where he could and did do credit to himself and his rach (Applause,) I thank Mr. Kalloch and the imment congregation that assembles at his aburch every Suiday for the interest they have mannested in his wefare. I do this in behalf of a struggling people with seidom meet with such friends. Mr. Kalloch his done for Mr. Martin what the abolitionists have lock been doing for others, and the enchanted audiences who have listened to the lively and witty speeched, of Wm. Wells Brown, the inimitable mimicry and pungent sareasm of Frederick Douglass, and the burning eloquence of Charles Lenox Remond, most agree with us that the abolition idea of human right is the correct one. (Applause.) It is in this manner that we ask our friends to held

us open those thoroughfares through which all other are encouraged to pass, and in this manner keep costinually breathing into the Anti-Slavery more the breath of life. Then will we become educated =

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and wealthy, and then the roughest looking colored man that you ever saw or ever will see will be pleasman than the harmonies of Orpheus, and black will be a very pretty color. (Laughter.) It will make est jargon, wit; our words, oracles; flattery will then take the place of slander, and you will find no projudice in the Yankee whatever. (Applause.)

The question whether freedom or slavery shall tri much in this country will no doubt be settled ere loss, and settled in accordance with the eternal princides of justice. Whether the result is to be brought struct by the gradual diffusion of an anti-slavery gospi, or the method introduced by Crispus Attucks, and seconded by John Brown, no one can tell. I hepe it may be done, peaceably; but if, as appears to be the case, there is no use in crying peace, then let us not shrink from the responsibility. My motto has grays been, Better die freemen than live to be layer. In case of a contest with our enemies, fifty perrors would take the State of Virginia without the los of a man. Gov. Wise, as a matter of course, would be the first to surrender. (Applause.) One chafsand negroes would sweep the slave States from the Polomac to the Rio Grande, and the time and place that know the slaveholders now would shortly now them no more forever. It has been said that Virginia was frightened by seventeen men and a cow'; but, if I remember asight, Virginia, even when under arms, was frightened by a cow. (Laughter.) Verily, verily, I say unto you, the slaveholders ere a base race of cowards. (Laughter and applause.) The slaveholders affect to despise the leaders of the Acti-Slavery cause, as you have a fair illustration in Gov. Wise's bombastic speech to the balf-civilized southern medical students, who left Philadelphia for Philadelphia's good. But we too well know that it is common for men to affect disdain, when in reality their only sentiment is fear. Metellus ridiculed Sertorius, and called him 'fugitive' and 'outlaw'; and yet he offered for the head of this 'fugitive and outlaw no less than one hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land ! The barharous offers of large sums of money by the slaveholders for the heads of prominent anti-slavery men prive that the latter are a power that is not disdained. All efforts, thus far, to crush the pioneers in our cause have proved the most miserable failures. Our cause is of God, and cannot be overthrown. (Applane.) Governor Wise, the distinguished Virginia knight-errant, after his imaginary victory of driving

these lines from Homer :-'I saw my shaft with aim unerring go.
And deemed it sent him to the shades below; But still he lives; some angry god withstands. Whose malice thwarts these unavailing hands,

And when he commences his raid upon the North, he will find it exceedingly difficult to drive a windmill with a pair of bellows. (Laughter.)

Our cause is moving onward. The driving of the free colored people from the slave States, and the laws preventing their ingress into the free States, is only the tightening of the already stranded cord that binds the slave; and I am daily looking for some additional force to sever it, and thereby annihilate forever the relation existing between master and slave. (Ap-

Mr. NELL next introduced WILLIAM LLOYD GARrison to the audience, who was received with the warmest demonstrations of applause. He paid a merited tribute to the memories of Crispus Attucks and Peter Salem, and other colored Americans who had freely shed their blood on every battle-field for American independence; and spoke of the atrocious injustice which had ever since been meted out to them. He examined some of the most plausible objections urged against the emancipation of the slaves, and showed them to be 'empty as the whistling wind.' He then passed to a review of the political parties, and the banes before the country, and concluded by uttering words of cheer to the colored people in view of the signs of the times.

Rev. J. Sella Mantin referred to the disparage ment of Attucks by the tory press of the past and present day, as the usual treatment awarded to colored men, however meritorious. In his usual eloquent tein, he gave a graphic sketch from the history of Mayti, during her days of peril and suffering, and mustrated the heroism and diplomacy of her colored parriots by cogent examples; closing with a beautiful pribute to Crispus Attucks and John Brown.

[We remiet not having a report of Mr. M's speech.] The so lowing letter, not received in time to be read at the meeting, is inserted in place of Mr. Downing's anticipated speech :-

Nawrour, March 3, 1860. W. C. Nata, Esq. :

DEAR SIR-I acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend the Attucks constration at Boston, on the 5th inst. I have been thereshing the hope that I could be present; but I find it impossible. I would be with you, because it is an occasion of which I feel proud; proud, because it is to commemorate one, and a preminent one, of a number of incidents, in which colored Americans have played parts for liberty, which will cause their names to live. I might allude to many; I will mention Margaret Garner, who, when hotly pursued by ruthless slave-hunters, killed her little ones; calling upon her mother to assist her in sending their pure spirits to God, to make them really free, and not continue to breathe, and be sizes. Then the noble, nameless black hero of Tennessee: the slave who received seven hundred lashes. and died, refusing to disclose who his associates were, that were plotting for freedom. Then Leary, Copeland and Green, who risked and lost all, save immortal names, for liberty; and that liberty to be en-

joved by others. As for the colored hero who is the subject of your celebration. I will leave him to the able array of speakers announced to speak; they will speak of him as his bright merits deserve.

I will allude to an idea, in connection with Crispus Attucks, which I would be proud to hear Wendell Phillips discourse upon. It is well known that, up to the 5th of March, 1770, there was a hesitancy and a dread felt by the Colonies' best friends, mared by Adams and others equally true to their interest, who hoped for concessions on the part of the mother country; this, though then deemed almost impossibic, was nevertheless cherished. But the blow struck by Attucks; his bold defiance of all England; his intrepid leading on the populace, and the encounter -was the decisive blow that led to Independence. Had it not been then struck, there might have been delays; and delays, and some concessions following, resulting in a resolve to remain subjects of the mother country. And is it not possible that we might, in that event, now, like Canada, sustain such a relation to England? Then may we not say, that, but for the blow struck at the right time by a black man, the

May the moral blows now being struck for freedom by our friends, be as effectual in their consequences as were the blows struck by our forefathers, in so far as they struck off. English shackles!

Yours, for the freedom for which Attucks died,

GEO, T. DOWNING.

The speakers were listened to with deep interest, and their remarks much applauded; while the music imparted great pleasure and satisfaction. At 10 o'clock, the audience separated; many, however, wending their way to the levee, where greetings of friends and social conversation wound up the ninetieth anniversary of the Boston massacre.

WENDELL PHILLIPS -- DEMOCRACY. Extracts of a letter from a highly intelligent and respected colored citizen of Connecticut :-

WM. C. NELL, Esq. - DEAR FRIEND-This city has consider it a significant move in the right quarter. camp at night, and commenced a furious attack. Brown invasion: Two young men (brothers) took dren. The account says: letters from - a noted Democrat of Woodstock, Ct., to Gov. Letcher of Virginia, stating that they were all right, i. e., 'sound on the goose' in regard to slavery. But, (mark this!) they were Mothers and infants shared the common fate. stantly had the mob upon them, and they barely es-caped with their lives, glad to get home to old Wood-some haycocks, where some of them had taken refuge, A man, to be a Democrat now-a-days, must take an Some of these wretched creatures had lived with Wendell Phillips into Canada, might have quoted and their posterity.

but we have tongues, and mean to use them. When shown him all the simple kindness inculcated by their white men ask me if I do not feel bad about slavery, rude ideas of charity and hospitality. The wretched and the wrong of it upon the colored people, I tell them beings looked around in their terror; some of them and the wrong of it upon the colored people, I tell them recognizing the man whose life they had saved, cried the time has been when I thought it touched none out—"Lee! Lee!" raising their hands towards him but the colored man, but now I say, Weep not for me, with gestures of supplication, but in vain, Lee was but rather for yourselves and your children, and the among the most infuriate of the party, and afterwards evil that shall come upon you. I tell them I have boasted of the number of skulls he had split open, prayed that the white from might feel what the colored man felt in regard to slavery; and they are feel the dreadful work. ored man felt in regard to slavery; and they are feeling it; and, unless slavery is abolished within fifty than sixty squaws and children were found dead on years, white men will feel it shifted upon their the field. own shoulders, for slavery grows whiter every day; the smell of burning flesh, the crackling of the flames, and the whiter it grows, the dearer it grows. Yours, truly,

The last Sunday in February, Mr. Garrison had bones lie bleaching there yet. Their murderers now large and appreciating audiences, afternoon and eve- claim pay of the California Legislature for the fiendning, at South Natick meeting-house. He spoke upon 'Conscience,' and upon 'Anti-Slavery,' with his remarkable ability and persuasiveness. No wonder that his power is feared, and his name reviled, by pro-slavery advocates and apologists, by slaveholders and tyrants; for whoever hears him, becomes a believer in him and in his cause.

the Parish Committee to keep the church locked Shame and ignoming should be the portion of that against the pastor, just closing his third year in the Haytian who will not take his part in this contribuagainst the pastor, just closing his third year in the place. All through the fall and winter, eminent speakers have occupied the pulpit, and edified good-every one, to the subscription offices opened in every sized audiences, and no objections were offered by the town, to honor the memory of John Brown and glo-Parish Committee to such a wise and beneficent rify our race. Ye poor, bring your mite; dread not Parish Committee to such a wise and beneficent an increase of your privations, for God will reward you an hundred fold. Ye rich, delay not! Listen to the impulses of your heart, and give abundantly. and in part to his carrying out his programme of lec- The more you give, the more will you honor your by having Mr. Garrison in the place, and, in country, your race, and yourselves. fact, without giving any reasons, the Committee took it upon themselves to disturb the succession of Sunday services, by closing the church, and calling upon a constable to prevent any one's entering it. The will be the glory of our country, and the resuscitaa constable to prevent any one's entering it. The will be the glory of our country, and the resuscitamake the ares, and the constable was not present till meeting time. A large delegation of working men attended church in the forenoon, with South Natick made to Albany, N. Y. in the following terms: people, to listen to what proved to be the farewell . Citizens of Albany: The cannon you fired to comsermon of the paster; and in fact, three large and memorate the death of John Brown has re-echoed in interesting meetings would have been lost, if the the hearts of Haytians, and of the strangers of our

Comittee's orders had, not been disregarded. The readers of the Liberator know the position of The readers of the Liberator know the position of does you the greatest honor, as it evidently proves the pastor, in all movements for the liberation of that there exist in the American Republic courageslaves, North and South, and will not be surprised, our men devoted to the holy cause of the freedom of the blacks. Receive, then, the sincere thanks of the therefore, at some of his difficulties with the money power. He can now say that having Mr. Garrison with him on that eventful Sunday, has crowned his ruin. Albanians, the Haytians are without prejudice; labors for South Natick, from which he can now dethey receive, without hesitation, all who come to join them. It is by our conduct, and by that alone, that W. G. B.

THE RIGHT WORD IN THE RIGHT PLACE; A New Pocket Dictionary and Reference Book; Embrscing Extensive Collections of Synonyms, Technical Terms, Abbreviations, and Foreign Phrases: Chapble Information. By the author of ' How to Write,' 'How to Talk,' etc. Price 50 cents.

four heavy works, condensed into a size and form adapting it to the Desk or the Pocket, and afforded

COLLEGE SONG BOOK. A Collection of American ington street.

THE GUILT OF SLAVERY AND THE CRIME OF SLAVE-HOLDING, demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. By Rev. George B. Cheever, who do not feel called upon to protest under their D. D., Paster of the Church of the Puritans; own names. [John P. Jewett & Co., Publishers.] author of 'Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, Traveller. · Wanderings of a Pilgrim, · Windings of the River of the Water of Life, ' Voices of Nature,' River of the Water of Life, 'Voices of Nature,'
Powers of the World to Come,' God against Legislatures of Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Slavery, &c. Boston; John P. Jewett & Co., 20 Tennessee, in regard to expelling free negroes from Washington street, 1822 Washington street. 1860. pp. 472.

Dr. Cheever has here met the pro-slavery argu-Dr. Cheever has here met the pro-slavery argu-ments drawn from the Bible with consummate logical acumen, scholarly ability, and irresistible power. We ident a determination to tear up the very foundation The Republican National Convention will not meet on the 13th of June, but on the 15th of May, the persistent efforts of the early-meeting men having the persistent efforts of the carly-meeting men having succeeded in bringing about the change desired.

\*\*Eucceeded in bringing about the change desired.\*\*

\*\*Eucceeded in bringing about the change des

Heavy claims for fighting the Indians of California having recently been presented to the Legislature of that State for payment, a correspondent of the San Francisco Alta Californian gives a history of the operations of one of the military companies who wish been favored with a lecture from WENDELL PHILLIPS, to be paid for their services in exterminating the poor Esq., on the 'Lost Arts,' and I echo the words of savages. The recital is a herrible one. It appears every one I have heard speak of it, (and those are not known as the 'Pitt River Rangers,' organized for the known as the 'Pitt River Rangers,' organized for the few,) that it was the best of the course of lyceum lectures that has been delivered here this season. Indeed, so great is the enthusiasm to hear him again, that he is to be invited to speak on any subject that he may choose. To me, who have always resided here, I John Brown's campaign has set white men to think- camp was taken completely by surprise, as the Indians ing, and the only thing that has brought it about is the fact that white men have been made to feel the crushing weight of slavery. Northern Democracy fled at the onset, and the inhuman white troop perpecannot save them. Here is a case in point, since the trated a brutal massacre upon the squaws and chil-'The attacking party rushed upon them, blowing

mechanics—carpenters—and, of course, 'had no rights that slaveholders were bound to respect'; consequently, they were watched in words and actions work of devilish butchery. It will scarcely be credquently, they were watched in words and actions. Ited that this horrible scene occurred in Christian One day, some of the butterfly troops of Varginia were California, within a few days' travel of the State capon parade, and a remark was made by one of the ital. Humanity sickens at the thought. Many on parade, and a remark was made by one of the brothers that they were a fine looking set of men! Where whole families had been butchered was ind The other replied, Yes, they were; but twenty Yan-kees would drive them all into the swamp; which her little ones. The children, scarcely able to run, observation was overheard by a slaveholder, who inwith fright, but were overtaken, slaughtered

stock-changed in their views in regard to the pe- they were dragged out and slain. One woman got cultar institution and Democracy. For me, there is into a pond-hole, where she hid herself under the not much difference between a Democrat and a Renot much difference between a Democrat and a Re-publican; they are both unsound. The Republicans ered and her head blown to pieces, the muzzle of the in this section are as much afraid of any thing dark gun being placed against her skull, and the child was a booby would be in passing through the woods.

The blood, and the brushwood ranches, of which there They have to keep crying out about this country be- were fifty or sixty, were filled with the dead bodies. ing free for the white man, just as the booby whistles Old decrepid squaws, young girls and infants, none going through the woods, and for the same reason, because they are afraid! It is no use to waste powin the head with tomahawks. The blush of dawn der on the Democrats; the game is not worth it. shone upon this fearful spectacle, and still the maska-

the very men who now struck them down. Thus equinoctial line, that is, to go contrary to what they they had become, in a measure, intimate with them, know to be their better nature. Thus they say, Sla- and had other claims than the common humanity very we go for, even if it enslaves us, our children, which ought to actuate every breast. But even this relationship did not suffice to save them. One of the butchers named Lee, had been attended to, while My dear friend, you know we have no votes here, sick almost to death, by the Indian women, who had

It is stated that when the slaughter was over, mor The Indian huts were then set on fire, and and clouds of smoke, marked the closing scene of the trugedy. The Indians crept down at night, and carried away a few of the remnants of the bodies, and continued to do so until the remains became so offen-AN EVENTFUL DAY AT SOUTH NATICK. sive and decomposed that they could not be removed.

> JOHN BROWN IN HAYTI. The John Brown excitement has not yet subsided in Havti. Le Progres says :-

· Not a town, not a village, not even a little ham-What made his lectures at South Natick the more let, but should feel it a duty to co-operate actively effectual and timely, was the disgraceful attempt of in this great national work in proportion to its means.

From the opposite shores of our harbor our fathers,

Le Progres also contains an address to the Philan-

land, and reverberates through our fields and cities. Your energetic protest against an act of barbarity citizens of the Republic of Hayti, a republic that its enemies on another continent represent as always in you can find arguments capable of refuting the asserions of those enemies of humanity who decry us.

RIGHTS OF COLORED CITIZENS.

The Review of Gov. Banks's Veto of the Revised Code, an account of the Enrolment of Colored Cititers on Writing for the Press, Punctuation, and zens in the Militia, an octavo pamphlet of 62 pages Proof-reading; and other interesting and Valua- by F. W. Bird, Esq., is a masterly examination of the found necessary in order to put a stigma on our fellow-citizens of African extraction. Mr. Bird, as This volume contains the essence of three or heavy works, condensed into a size and form lican of the ultra class. He manfully accepts the adapting it to the Desk or the Pocket, and afforded consequences of his principles, and while fighting the at a price which brings it within the reach of all. slave power, admits the equality of the African race. We hazard nothing in pronouncing it almost indis-pensable to the writer and speaker. It short, this pensable to the writer and speaker. It short, this subserviency to that most detestable of all the forms work should be a universal pocket and desk compan- of pride, the pride of race. If we cannot make up ion. Sent by mail, to any address, on receipt of the our mind to treat the colored man as our equal be price, by Fowler and Wells, 308 Broadway, New fore the law, we are far from feeling sure that we have any moral right to object to anything the slave-holders may see fit to do with their 'people.' To College Song; with Piano-Forte Accompaniment.

Compiled and arranged by C. Wistar Stevens, and dedicated to the Class of '60 of Harvard, and to all music-loving Students of American Colleges. Boston: Published by Russell & Tolman, 291 Washreasonable beings something so incomprehensible, that This volume is intended as a companion to Col-This volume is intended as a companion to Colliger Words and Customs. It has been the Editor's aim to select nearly all the melodies of all Colleges which cultivate music. The whole number of songs here brought together is about sixty. It is nearly the select nearly and logically, to the existence and perpetuation of slavery. It is to be regretted that Governor Banks should have felt called upon to take the view he took of the subject; but we are not dispersed beautiful and production of the subject; but we are not dispersed by the subject is production of the subject; but we are not dispersed people complain. They feel it as an acquiescence in that view of their condition which are producted people complain. They feel it as an acquiescence in that view of their condition which are producted people complain. They feel it as an acquiescence in that view of their condition which are producted people complain. They feel it as an acquiescence in that view of their condition which leads, practically and logically, to the existence and governor Banks should have felt called upon to take United States, with all that it of right and justice and handsomely executed, and no doubt will find a posed to call in question his intentions. Mr. Bird has been might and handsomely executed, and no doubt will find a posed to call in question his intentions. Mr. Bird has been might and handsomely executed, and no doubt will find a posed to call in question his intentions. Mr. Bird has been might and handsomely executed, and no doubt will find a posed to call in question his intentions.

ferent course might have been taken, and he has en-livened the discussion by the use of very pointed language. This 'Review' will be extensively read. HATRED TOWARDS THE NEORO .- The New York

these States, very truly states : -No, these provisions are not the effects of a drunker

THE LIBERATOR. MASSACRE OF INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA. | SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN THE STATES.

Mr. Charles Reemelin, of Ohio, is publishing in the Cincinnati Commercial notes of a Southern tour he is now making. Attached to the train he was on in Alabama, were two car loads of negroes, and Mr. R. writes: We went forward to have a look at them, and a

sight met my eye never to be forgotten. There were some 150 negroes, young and old, men, women and children, mothers of large families, some alone, some surrounded by their offspring. Their clothing was of the most motley character, and the gifts of fair white the most motley character, and the guits of fair white ladies of cast off bonnets and gowns, and of fine white this morning, from the effects of poison, having pregentlemen of worn out hats and coats, were there, to show that at parting there was some natural feeling. The negroes came, as the trader said, from Virginia trangement of his wife, and her intimacy with Dr. and North Carolina, from which region and Tennes-see 100,000 are taken South each year; at this time There is much excitement here, and Searl see 100.000 are taken South each year; at this time the emigration amounts to 3,000 a week. They were locked up in the penitentiary, to protect him from the destined for the New Orleans slave market, where the trader expected to get \$2 000 for every healthy, full grown negro. When I first entered the car, a feetid stench, like that of a menagerie of monkeys, made me was killed; William had his arm torn from his body. doubt, for the first time in my life, that the sleeping bodies before me belonged to human beings, and had I not afterwards heard them talk, and seen them ex-I not afterwards heard them talk, and seen them hibit other attributes and propensities, my nose bourg. She had on board 88 passengers, and a crew would have taken judgment by default. Some among of 22 persons, of whom only two men were saved, them looked just as if imported from Africa. They were nearly naked, and seemed unable to reply to questions put to them. The conductor frankly admitted that negroes, whom he could not mistake to be ted that negroes, whom he could not mistake to be Clay says: — He is the greatest man that I ever lisslaves directly from Africa, did frequently come on tened to—I speak of his intellect. One idea as he their road; that 200 such came the week previous, and that 800 more were contracted for.

THE NEGRO EXODUS FROM MISSOURI. - The St. Louis Democrat states that the exodus of slaves from kee, March 2.—Sherman M. Booth was yesterday re-Missouri continues brisk as ever, and that there are arrested by the United States Marshal, on the Glover sad incidents connected with this exodus, which detract greatly from the pleasure which is produced by the removal of the institution from Missouri-many the United States authorities, and the question test-

A steamer is now on her way from this place to Natchez, with a cargo of twenty-four slaves. On her previous trip she had forty-seven slaves on board. Our informant states that among these was a beautiful young girl of about 13, who, he learned, with astonishment and pity, was a slave, and as hopelessly in slavery as the blackest of her companions, all of whom were in charge of traders on their way to New Orleans. The girl was nearly white; her hair straight, her complexion blooming, and her shape and bearing gentle and attractive. She is the daughter of a Missouri river merchant, whose well-known intention was to emancipate her; but he died, and his executors, or heirs, thought it would not do to bring up together any longer this girl and her whiter sister, the other daughter, therefore she has been sold away into the South.

Can men be still found in Missouri to say that slavery is an unalloyed blessing, when it brings in its train offensive to humanity?

MANUMISSION OF A BEAUTIFUL SLAVE. A YOUNG female, of almost classic beauty, about eighteen years old, so nearly white that the tinge of African blood in her veins, was scarcely preceptible, and perfect enough the blessed privilege of choosing masters and becoma Praxiteles or a Powers, was yesterday manumitted of the sovereign State of Alabama. Will you walk in the Probate Court by a well-known New Orleans into my paror,' says the spider, &c. merchant. Her countenance was beaming, expres sive, intelligent, her dark eye brilliant, melting, and her general appearance quite spirituelle, owing partly to the worm of consumption that was evidently feed-ing on her cheek. She was elegantly attired, and in point of personal appearance would contrast favorably with most fashionable Fourth-street belies.—Cincinnati Enquirer.

correspondent on board the United States sloop-of-war Portsmouth, who writes as follows from St. Paul le Loando, Dec. 20:

'The few months' experience we have had on the coast, has not altogether been thrown away. It has thoroughly convinced us that the whole slave coast is, we may say, lined with slavers, who are generally from New York, cleared from the Custom bringing all the appliances of the trade with them, and maneuvering about on the coast, under various pretences and disguises of legal traffic ; particularly under that most specious blind - the obtaining pal oil - until the favorable moment having arrived, the cargo is shipped, and a few hours finds them out of danger, on their way to the West Indies."

The Travernier was captured by a British cruiser, the Viper, and sent to St. Helena. When captured, she had on board six hundred slaves. Most of them were from eight to sixteen years old; some were women; all were naked. When visited by the officers of the Portsmouth, although the slaves were then in a better condition than when captured, some were dying, and nearly all were sick. The writer states that when opthalmia broke out among the miserable Africans, every new case was thrown overboard, under the supposition that the disease is contagious.

Va.) Gazette, shows what a bugbear the cry of non- \$2 50 per hundred. tercourse is, which some people are trying to use for solitical ends. The writer asks :-

· Will any well-informed and intelligent citizen of this State who has turned his attention to the subject, inform the public what has been the actual result of the high falutin, rushing, rearing, prancing and pitch- graphic fac simile, executed by Ormsbee, at the low ing resolutions about non-intercourse, domestic manu- price of 50 cents. Also, the few remaining Lithofactures, buying at home, encouraging Virginia cities, employing Virginia mechanics, &c., &c., passed lately, not only in this city, but in nearly every town and receive orders for the handsome Colored Engraving, county in the Commonwealth? I was in New York 20 by 25 inches, of the BOSTON MASSACRE—on and Philadelphia last week and had some opportunities of knowing, and am firmly of the opinion that which this design was drawn has been accidentally more goods of all kinds have been sold in both places to Southern markets than was ever before the case. Southern merchants and Southern people, despite of everything done and said, will buy where they think they can get the best assortment and purchase at the cheopest rates. They are mistaken frequently about the cheap-est rates. But what merchant has yet stopped going to the North? How can they? LINSEY WOOLSEY.

The Alabama House of Representatives has passed a fiery preamble and resolution, declaring that it now becomes the duty and interest of Alabathe people to hold meetings in every county and

proper name to the act of brutality exhibited at Washington by Brooks murderous attack upon the unarmed Sunner, and the later cowardly assault by Edmundson, of Virginia, upon the invalid Hickman, of Pennsylvania, but Vice President Breckinridge has solved the difficulty. In a late card published by that gentleman, relative to the affair, he says:

two gentlemen. It was not a fight-if sons a scene." Clev. Herald.

feated in Virginia, although nearly all the Democratic papers, and both the aspirants for the Presidency, Wise and Hunter, favored it strongly. The Richmond

THE MILITIA LAW. The amendment to the Military The Military The Amendment to the Military The Amendment The Am Whiq says: · Virginia still occupies her ancient proud position of

ters, allowing South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi to go out of the Union in a blaze of glory, if they choose. But they will not choose, and there will be an end to the whole matter.'

The porter of the steamship Marion, named and sentenced to be hanged! As a sort of compan to this, a grand juror sitting in the county court at sequently arrested, thrown into prison, and a thought shall see fit to release him! Savaor Vindictiveness. T

CLEVELAND, (O.) Friday, March 9, 1860. Gov. Letcher of Virginia has made a requisition on Gov. Dennison of this State for the arrest of Owen Brown and Francis J, Meriam, two of the Harper's Ferry insurgents who are now or have been in Ash-tabula County. Indictments were found against them tabula County. Indictments were found against them in Jefferson County, Va. United States Marshal Johnson on the 5th inst. delivered the paper to Gov. Dennison, who, in a letter dated the 8th inst., declines issuing warrants, and states that the reasons for this conclusion have been communicated to Gov. Letcher.

SYRACUSE, March 8th .- A man named Tucker died

Two of the boys run over by the express train, near and it is feared he will not live.

Ship Luna, from Havre, bound to New Orleans, was wrecked on the French coast, near Cher-bourg. She had on board 88 passengers, and a crew names unknown. The ship was a total loss.

Speaking of Wendell Phillips, Cassius M. is called, there is a power and a versatility and universality in him that is possessed by no other orator, living or dead. That is my opinion." THE WISCONSIN RESCUE CASE, AGAIN. Miliogu-

rescue case. Should our State Supreme Court issue a story of sorrow and of woe too deep for utterance. ed as to the power of the State court over the U. S.

The Virginia Commissioners appointed to audit the expenses incurred at Harper's Ferry report the total amount at \$185,667 06.

Last Saturday, the atmosphere at Newport was such that people within the city saw distinctly, with the naked eye, Block Island, thirty miles distant. So clearly could this be done, that the slope of the hills and color of the sand were traced. By the aid of a glass, the people moving about were seen.

Senator Sumner sends to the New York Tri-Hon, J. R. Giddings writes to the New York

Ecening Post, saying in substance that he finds the Republicans, in eleven States through which he has th evils as the above-so morally degrading and so recently travelled, are opposed to taking a Presidential candidate from outside the party, and that he himself thinks it would neither be right nor politic to The democratic bill to banish free negroes fail-

in form and feature to have served as a model for ing slaves, is recorded among the enlightened statutes

NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS

We announce with much pleasure the issue of three new and valuable Anti-Slavery Tracts. They consist of the freshest and most interesting matter, and we invite to them the attention of all our readers. As they are to be sold at the simple cost, (or less,) THE SLAVE TRADE.-The New York Times has a we hope that orders for them will be numerous. The series is to be continued, from time to time. The three already published are as follows :-

No. 1. Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. 28 pp.

No. 2. Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c. 24 pp. No. 8. An Account of some of the Principal Slave In-

surrections during the last two Centuries. By JOSHUA COFFIN. 36 pp. Price of the first two of the above, five cents single;

50 cts. the dozen : \$3 50 the hundred. Of No. 3, six cts. single; 60 cents the dozen; \$4 the hundred. To be had at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beek-

man street, New York; 107 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; and 21 Cornhill, Boston. The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has

also just published, in a neat pamphlet form, the able and eloquent speech of THEODORE TILTON, Esq., of New York, in reply to Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on the American Board of Foreign Missions. Orders for THE NON-INTERCOURSE BUGBEAR.—The following these should be sent to the Secretary's Office, No. 5 mmunication in a recent number of the Alexandria Beekman street, New York. Price, three cents single;

> READ THIS. The subscriber can now furnish copies of the Pho-

tograph of LYDIA MARIA CHILD, with autographs of JOHN BROWN, at \$1.00 each; and will receive orders for the handsome Colored Engraving, which this design was drawn has been accidentally destroyed, this is a rare chance for purchasing, as the stock on hand is very limited.

All the above will be mailed safely without addi-WILLIAM C. NELL, tional cost. Boston, March 12, 1860. 21 Cornhill.

'CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED FAMILY BIBLE. We have received from the publishers, Messrs. Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 37 Park Row, New York, the first number of this splendid Work, which our exchanges are conma, and all other slaveholding States, to cease commercial intercourse with the Northern States of the
Union; and to effect this object, they recommend

of all—the price being only 15 cents per number. The neighborhood, and resolve not to buy any article of present number contains no less than 32 engravings, merchangise or manufacture obtained in the Northern illustrative of Natural History, Geography, &c., and States, or procured through any Northern firm or the printing and quality of paper are excellent. This work, when complete, will form one of the most mag-Ir was a Scene. We have been troubled to give a nificent copies of the Scriptures ever published

TIAN EXAMINER for March: - I. Womanhood. II. The Liberal Religious Movement in the United States. III. The Book of Job. IV. Robert Burton. ·I happened to witness the difficulty between those V. Dr. Bellows and the Pulpit. VI. Dr. Huntington on the Trinity. VII. The Heart of the Andes. VIII. Review of Current Literature. New Publica-The 'Southern Conference' scheme was de- tions received. A very able and interesting number. THE MILITIA LAW. The amendment to the Militia

The following are the contents of the CHRIS-

Law of Massachusetts, striking out therefrom the in-'Virginia still occupies her ancient proud position of perfect independence and unsuspected loyalty to the vidious, unconstitutional and absurd word 'warrs,' constitution and the Union—and there is there stand which passed the Senate, last week, by a very large beside an overwhelming majority of her Southern sis- majority, was adopted by the House of Representatives, on Tuesday, on the passage of the bill to its third reading, by a vote of 105 to 97. Further particulars, with a list of the Yeas and Nays, next week. SENT TO PRISON. Last week, THADDEUS HYATT

Esq., of New York, appeared before the bar of the U. Francis Mitchell, has been tried at Charleston, S. C., Esq., of New York, appeared before the bar of the U. for aiding a slave in trying to escape, was found guilty S. Senate, and read to that body a long and elaborate protest in defence of his refusal to appear before the Harper's Ferry Inquisitorial Committee as a witness, Charlotte, N. C.—a Mr. Francis Davis—was, on the 26th of January, on metion of solicitor D. B. Rea, expelled from the jury for expressing sentiments in opposition to the institution of slavery. He was sub-until a venomous pro-slavery majority of that body SAVAGE VINDICTIVENESS. This day-Friday, March

16-Virginia will strangle upon the gallows two more of the brave associates of John Brown-Sravens and SLAVEROLDERS SHOULD LOVE THEM.—The New York Journal of Commerce (Democratic slaveholders' organ) says that the efforts of Northern anti-slavery men have completely tied the hands and silenced the tongues of anti-slavery men at the South, and have postponed the final extinction of slavery at least half a century. If this be so, the slaveholders ought to change their anathamas upon anti-slavery men into blessings. But who believes that it is so?

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

LETT. Let the day and the event be duly observed. The friends of freedom in Boston and vicinity will hold a public meeting in the evening, at the MEIONAON, 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. J. HINTON, of Kansas, and WM. LLOYD GARRISON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, T. W. HIGGINSON, and other speakers, will be present.

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

WM. WELLS BROWN will lecture as fol-

Wednesday, March 28. Thursday, " 29. Haydenville, Friday, April 1. Cummington,

RALPH WALDO EMERSON will address

the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society (Rev. Theodore Parker's) at Music Hall, on Sunday forenoon,

IF WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in Worcester on Sunday next, forenoon and afternoon.

DIED-In this city, March 12th, MARGARET B Ker, aged 75 years and eleven months. She was grand-daughter of the ensign of the colored military company to whom Gov. Hancock presented a flag, at the close of the Revolutionary war.

Funeral services were conducted at Christ Church, of which she was a member. Her remains were deposited at Mount Auburn.

In Dorehester, Dec. 10, at the residence of D. B. Stedman, Esq., BETSY THORNTON, colored, aged 101 In Brighton, March 13, CHARLES WILLIAM, son of

John M. and Lucretia Hilton Lenox, aged 2 months and 13 days. 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.

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COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTE

SUFFOLK, 88. 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 minor; 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 directed to give public notice thereof three weeks successively in the newspaper called the Liberator, printed

Given under my hand, this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred 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 Hanover, Boston, where he will make Phrenological Examinations, give written delifeations of Character, and furnish Charts; heal the sick, impart instructions relative to health and health.

tions relative to health and habits, and the manage-ment of children.

From the Atlantic Monthly for March. TO THE MUSE.

BY R. W. EMERSON. Whither? albeit I follow fast, In all life's circuit I but find Not where thou art, but where thou wast, Fleet Beckoner, more shy than wind ! I haunt the pine-dark solitudes, With soft brown silence-carneted And think to snare thee in the woods : Peace I o'ertake, but thou art fled! I find the rock where thou didst rest, The moss thy skimming foot hath prest; All Nature with thy parting thrills, Like branches after birds new-flown, Thy passage hill and hollow fills With hints of virtue not their own ; In dimples still the water slips Where thou hast dipped thy finger-tips; Just, just beyond, forever burn Gleams of a grace without return; Upon thy shade I plant my foot, And through my frame strange raptures shoot ; All'of thee but thyself I grasp; I seem to fold thy luring shape, And vague air to my bosom clasp, Thou lithe, perpetual Escape! One mask, and then another drops, And thou art secret as before.

Sometimes with flooded car I list. And hear thee, wondrous organist, Through mighty continental stops, A thunder of strange music pour :-Through pipes of earth and air and stone Thy inspiration deep is blown ; Through mountains, forests, open downs, Lakes, railroads, pariries, states and towns, Thy gathering fugue goes rolling on, From Maine to utmost Oregon; The factory-wheels a rhythmus hum ; From brawling parties concords come;-All this I hear, or seem to hear; But when, enchanted, I draw near To fix in notes the various theme. Life seems a whiff of kitchen-steam. History a Swiss street-singer's thrum, And I, that would have fashioned words To mate that music's rich accords, By rash approaches startle thee, Thou mutablest Perversity! The world drones on its old tum-tum; But thou hast slipt from it and me,

Not wearied vet, I still must seek, And hope for luck next day, next week. I go to see the great man ride, Ship-like, the swelling human tide That floods to bear him into port, Trophied from senate-hall or court : Thy magnetism, I feel it there, Thy rhythmic presence fleet and rare, Making the mob a moment fine With glimpses of their own Divine, As in their demigod they see Their swart ideal soaring free; 'Tis thou that bear'st the fire about, Which, like the springing of a mine, Sends up to heaven the street-long shout Full well I know that thou wast here ; That was thy breath that thrilled mine ear; But vainly, in the stress and whirl, I dive for thee, the moment's pearl.

And all thine organ-pipes left dumb.

Through every shape thou well canst run, Proteus, 'twixt rise and set of sun, Well pleased with logger camps in Maine, As where Milan's pale Duomo lies A stranded glacier on the plain, Its peaks and pinnacles of ice Melted in many a quaint device, And sees, across the city's din. Afar its silent Alpine kin : I track thee over carpets deep To Wealth's and beauty's inmost keep; Across the sand of bar-room floors. 'Mid the stale reek of boosing boors : Where drowse the hayfield's fragrant heats, Or the flail-heart of Autumn beats : To where the sea, with myriad tongues, Laps the green fringes of the pier, And the tall ships that eastward steer Curtsy their farewells to the town, O'er the curved distance lessening down ; --I follow allwhere for thy sake,-Touch thy robe's hem, but ne'er o'ertake,-Find where, scarce yet unmoving, lies, Warm from the limbs, their last disguise .-But thou another mask hast donned, And lurest still, just, just beyond !

But here a voice, I know not whence, Thrills clearly through mine inward sense. Saying, 'See where she sits at home, While thou in search of her dost roam ! All summer long her ancient wheel' Whirls humming by the open door, Or, when the hickory's social zeal Sets the wide chimner in a roar, Close-nested by the tinkling hearth, It modulates the household mirth With that sweet, serious undertone Of Duty, music all her own; Still, as of old, she sits and spins Our hopes, our sorrows, and our sins; With equal care she twines the fates Of cottages and mighty states; She spins the earth, the air, the sea, The maiden's unschooled fancy free, The boy's first love, the man's first grief, The budding and the fall o' the leaf; The piping west wind's snowy care For her their cloudy fleeces spare, Or from the thorns of evil times She can glean wool to twist her rhymes; Morning and noon and eve supply To her their fairest tints for dye, But ever through her twirling thread There spires one strand of warmest red. Tinged from the homestead's genial heart. The stamp and warrant of her art : With this, Time's sickle she outwears, And blunts the Sisters' baffled shears.

. Harass her not; thy heat and stir The greater coyness breed in her: Yet thou may'st find, ere Age's frost, Thy long apprenticeship not lost, Learning at last that Stygian Fate Supplies for him that knows to wait. The Muse is womanish, nor deigns Her love to him who pules and plains; With proud, averted face she stands To him who wooes with empty hands. Make thyself free of manhood's guild; Pull down thy barns, and greater build; The wood, the mountain, and the plain Wave breast-deep with the poet's grain; Pluck thou the sunset's fruit of gold, Glean from the heavens and ocean old : From fireside lone and trampling street Let thy life garner daily wheat ; The epic of a man rehearse, Be something better than thy verse. Make thyself rich, and then the Muse Shall court thy precious interviews, Shall take thy head upon her knee, And such enchantment lilt to thee, That thou shalt hear the life-blood flow From farthest stars to grass-blades low,

And find the Listener's science still

Transcends the Singer's deepest skill!

### THE LIBERATOR.

CRITICISM ON THE CREATOR. A London paper (quoted by the New York Tri-

bune) says of the historian Macaulay-A true friend of liberty, he preferred to deduce it

This is not unlike what Rev. Nehemiah Adams says (p. 128) of his 'South-side View of Slavery,'

While it [the Constitution of the United States] remains, all our appeals to a higher law are fanati-

The slaveholding that has prevailed in our nation ever since its national existence, and that is fast destroying all our rights by the boldness and extent of its usurpation, proves that we need a new Revolution. The currency of sentiments like the above, and the unblushing impudence with which they are put forth even by clergymen, those whom the people accept as competent teachers in morals and religion, show that we need a new Reformation. Are the statutes of men really better in themselves, and safer to be followed, than the laws of God? Are we to receive the 'traditions of the elders' as of supreme authority at the command of modern 'Reverends,' any more than of ancient 'Rabbis'? Yet South-side Adams is received in this community as a Christian minister; a large congregation assembles to hear his preaching, absurdly taking for granted that it is the preaching of the Gospel; ministers, even those who call themselves anti-slavery, fraternize with him as a minister of Christ; and all these stupidly admit and echo his assumption that the men who, in opposition to him, maintain God's laws as supreme, are infidels !- c. k. w.

THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOR. To what extent are the consumers responsible for the system f

The consumer creates the demand. The demand does not create the supply. It is only one occasion of it. The other occasion, Deity (or Nature) creates.

Many things would find a market at once, and in this sense are really demanded, but they never will be produced, because Deity, or Nature, has not produced the other occasion, or means, e. g., a ' perpetual motion ' and many other conceivable inventions.

A. consumes corn-so creates the demand. Deity creates the soil, climate, rain, sunshine-the other occasion. B. produces it. Let A. stop consuming, and B. will stop producing the same, if Deity withholds his part. Really, the means are the only essential occasion for the production; consequently, Deity is as responsible as A. for the corn which B. pro-

Deity does not compel B. to produce corn by slave labor, or to connect with its production any wrong. No more does A. who consumes it. The fraud or wrong in producing no more goes forward to the consumer than it goes backward'to the means. The rain and sunshine are more directly involved in the production, than is the consumption-and more essential. Deity or Nature is in fact a co-worker with the producer-with the slave.

Is 'God, who maketh his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain upon the just and upon the unjust, a supporter of slavery—a party ety knows that there is a vast amount of John Brown to all injustice? He is so, if the mere fact of consuming, and so furnishing an occasion for slave labor aver, from extensive personal knowledge and the tesand fraud, makes one a supporter of slavery and a party to fraud. All natural means of producing may cluding nearly all the real strength of the communibe as well used by free labor, and rightfully, as by ty.) are Brownonians, at least in sympathy and princislave labor, and fraudulently. So the market may be supplied by free and honest labor as well as otherwise. The mere fact of furnishing an occasion-an even now tending to organization, and very likely, opportunity—a means, or even a temptation for a I think certainly, will culminate in action. It emmean man to sin, does not involve one in the sin.

Deity, nature, and man furnish the opportunities, Yours, for the right, and the right way the occasions-and each individual man is reponsible for the use he makes of them-the blame rests with him. If I take the means God has given mo, and wrongfully use them to supply the demand you create, when these means could be rightfully used, and that demand honestly supplied, the wrong rests upon me-I alone am responsible.

Again. I find an article harmless and useful in itself in the possession of another. I pay him his tee on the Judiciary, on petition of Lydia Emmerson and 49 others, demanding the right of suffrage to his title, and if I know of no other just claimant, the all the principles set forth in the petition, the Comarticle is mine rightfully. If I do know of another rightful claimant, but know that he is so situated that the further consideration of the subject, until it apthe property or the value of it can never go back to pears that a majority of the women of the Common him, the article is still mine justly.

Suppose the article be cotton, produced by the la- rican colonists, claiming that representation and bor of a slave, and rightfully belonging to him, but I taxation should go hand in hand, that persons should find it actually possessed by another. I purchase his not be sent to England to be tried for acts commitpossession, and rightfully own all claim to it, except ted in this country, &c., &c., -Gentlemen, I assent that of the slave. Now, the property cannot go that of the slave. Now, the property cannot go you have been, and are, subject to great injustice back to him, nor can any pecuniary value; still it is and hardship; but until a majority of all the men his. What am I to do? Honestly get his consent, in the colonies petition for relief, I shall not relax if possible. I can do this by laboring for his freedom, the stringency of my colonial administration. Most and in no other way. If I labor for his welfare, I have a right to assume that he consents to my using the products of his labor. I have a right to assume with reference to other petitions? Does the legislathe products of his labor. I have a right to assume verbal consent.

2d. Because the product cannot go back to his 2d. Because the product remuneration possible. They pay taxes on their property, just as men do.

They pay taxes on their property, just as men do.

They are held to answer for the commission of But the cotton is not the article stolen from the They are held to answer slave. It is no more his than the corn produced by crime, just as men are. Are women inferior to men an unpaid hand belongs to that hand. Truly, every in mental power and attainments, so that they may laborer has a claim upon the products of that labor not be entrusted with the decision of political, civil till he is remunerated; but the products are not and social questions? Are they more selfish than property, if he produced them in the service of another.

The labor is what he is plundered of, not the products of that labor. He, who hires another, and does not judge that this would be the result of the permispay him, steals only his labor, for this only he takes sion of suffrage to women? There is just about as from him; but the slaveholder steals the person of the much danger that any legislation can make men ef slave—steals his physical strength, and applies it to the elective franchise, become masculine. the production of cotton. The buyer of the cotton is no more responsible than the buyer of corn is re- making the laws by which they, equally with men, sponsible for the farmer's cheating his hired man out of the price of his labor which entered into the production of the corn.

If I can just as conveniently patronize an honest man, it is my duty to do so, for the encouragemen of honesty. But if I honestly, on my part, deal with a rascal, I do not become a partner to his rascality. He may take a lvantage of my patronage to continue his wrong, just as he takes advantage of the facilities \$1 year. The work is devoted to the interest of the sature affords; but I am not responsible; nor is nature. There can be no wrong inherent in any good, useful product. There can be no wrong in the honest and just purchase and possession of such product. Where, then, can there be wrong in an anti-slavery man honestly purchasing and using the product of slave labor? If this reasoning be true, there can be none in any sense, nor can such consumers be, in any sense, supporters of the slave system. But, if this reasoning be false, will not some one point it out?

J. H. FOWLER, Cambridge.

Toombs on DunLing. Senator Toombs says that and as a garage on the said

THE NON-RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE. DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Your correspondence with friend Whittier, and your mutual recognition of non-resistance as an inviplable principle, remind me of a request I long ago intended to make, viz,, that yourself or Mr. Whippl who never fails to make things clear) would state from the immemorial practice of our ancient monar-the moral or the logical grounds of the non-resis chy, instead of from the fallacious doctrines of natutance principle. I have read whatever I could find upon the subject, but never have found anything to me, conclusive, and therefore infer that I have missed the considerations which satisfy such minds as yours, and friend Whittier's, and Adin Ballou's, and C. K. W's.

Self-defence (including defence of our neighbors eems to me not only a natural instinct, but a natural right-which may be regulated by self-imposed considerations of policy, or by social compact, but cannot rightfully be suppressed. Moral measures, so long as hey serve effectually, are doubtless most proper If we can persuade the robber and murderer to pass by and leave us unharmed, or if we can run away from them, and thus prevent mischief, it is well to do

so. But if our own safety, or that of others, requires other means of protection, involving danger or destruction to the aggressor, I know of no just restriction of our right to use them according to the appa rent necessities of the occasion. The same power which gave me a tongue to persuade and legs to run away, gave me hands capable to fight, and, so far as I can see, gave me the right to use either of these three remedies against wrong, according to the exigencies, of each occasion.

But if it can be shown that it is morally wrong use force for self-protection in any case, then my hands are debarred from a main resource, though my tongue and feet may still be left free. Or, if the inviolability of human life in all cases be admitted as a settled principle, then my right to use force is limited to such means as may not endanger the life of the assailant. But, until one or both those propositions be established, there is no limit to my right of defence, except my own views of expediency, or some compact to which I am a party.

Arguments or authority drawn from Scripture are not likely to dispose of this question. If either of the above two propositions is true, it can be sustained without Scripture help; and I am of the mind of Horace, 'Never to bring in a divinity for a purpose not absolutely necessary."

Nor do I think that arguments drawn from the admitted abuse of force at all conclusive against the right to use it justly, but rather as favoring an opposite conclusion. If force is often used to overthrow right, the more need it should be used as far as nos sible to uphold it.

Nor is it sufficient to show that moral means may be more effectual than force. This would be rendering the question one of expediency, to be settled according to the exigencies of each particular case, which is, indeed, the very ground which I assume as true. I think that non-resistants, on principle, can only maintain their position either by proving the unlawfulness of all force in self-defence, or the inviolability of human life in all cases.

This question is of particular importance now Since the Harper's Ferry event, the thoughts of people are taking a new direction in regard to duty. Notwithstanding Senator Wilson's and Senator Wade's disclaimers on behalf of the people of the free States, every man who mingles in common socifaith in the people. In the north part of Ohio, I can timony of others, that most anti-slavery men (ingood opportunity offers. This prevailing feeling is braces a large proportion of men of strong moral If nobody carried money, there would be no rob- principle, open to moral conviction. If you can show bery. Is the carrier of money responsible for rob- that their views in regard to the use of force are bery? But the buyer of cotton knows that it is the wrong, you will do much towards turning the tide product of slave labor.' So God, who waters and which is now setting very strongly in a hostile direcwarms the soil with sun and rain, knows-if he tion. My own sympathies and faith tend that way, knows snything—that he is making the labor profits- because it seems to me the way of duty. If you can ble, and doing just as much to sustain it as the buyer. show otherwise, I am, in any event,

DANIEL MANN.

Painesville, Ohio.

### RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

In the legislative report of proceedings in the

'Mr. Simmons, of Plymouth, from the Commitmittee are constrained to ask to be discharged from wealth ask for the right of suffrage.'

So George the Third might have said to the Ame to all the principles contained in these propositions; ture always wait until a majority of all persons this, because it is not possible to get his personal interested in any proposed law have expressed their wish in its enactment?

We cannot see why, on the great principle o

The exclusion of women from participation in only to occupy the post of slaves or playthings, and Who that goes into a grocer's store and buys goods innovation. Most women are less ready and familiar considers himself responsible for the unpaid rent of that store, or for the grocer's indebtedness to the producers of those articles?

innovation. Most women are less ready and tamiliar with the working of the political and civil machine, simply because a formidable 'No admittance,' has deprived them of the inducement and opportunity to become familiar with its movements.—Nantucket Mirror.

> THE CALMUT is the name of a monthly of 32 pages the first number of which is before us. It is issued by John Beeson, Indian Aid Office, No. 55 Broadmercy and its labor of love.

· Our land, once green as paradise, is hoary Cur land, once green as parause, is noary
E'en in its youth, with tyranny and crime;
Its soil with blood of Afric's sons is gory,
Whose wrongs Eternity can tell—not Time;
The red man's woes shall tell the damning story,
The scheared in parauses and clime; To be rehearsed in every age and clime.'

—Ohio A. S. Bugle.

Three brothers, named Bunker, residing nea Des Moines, were hanged in the woods of Tama county, Iowa, recently, by a number of persons from whom they had stolen horses. It appears that a Mr. Small, member of the City Council of Des Moines, and Seaman, a constable of Des Moines, were the chief Toombs on Duriling. Senator Toombs says that actors in this lawless deed of vengeance. Small and the noblest death any man could die was death in a Seaman were arrested, but made their escape from THE PEOPLE IN CONVENTION.

GREAT UNION SAVIN MEETIN IN HORNBY.

people as a everlastin remembrence — perpetooal sevener and momentus moses—that in all cases whar the union has bin gin over when perlitical doctors elswhar have pronounced it in extremis mortar, an not likely toe live afore mornin—Hornby has always kum toe the rescue, an never failed to put the two since substituting fictitious for real names; critter on its legs agin.

rison had committed a reserectson in Virginny and very clever young planter, who sometimes takes a killed John Brown, and that the Ossywattimies and grand frolic, and who, when whiskey is in his head, killed John Brown, and that the Ossywattimes and grand Irolic, and who, when whiskey is in his head, niggers had tuke Harper's ferry bote, we was considerably struck I allaow, but we didn't lose aour ever were generated by a heated brain. His family, presence of mind. It don't take longer to raise the when he goes off, invariably send with him a trusty spirit of '76 in aour people's buzzums than it duz 'mustee' servant, a stout fellow, who cares retogit up steam in your new fire engine. Thar's ligiously for his master's welfare, at times when he to git up steam in your new fire engine. That's ligiously for his master's welfare, at times when he only one pesky nigger lives in our town. Let alone his bein a nigger, I deu spose he is bout as clever a ole critter as ever lived; but then, he's a posterity shall call Hudgins—attended by 'Cub' his servant, of Cain and Able, which slew aour fust parients started on a general frolic, being equipped with two with the jaw bone of an Ass, and consequently is agin both scripter an the Constituotion. Afore a travelled south-westwardly about fifty miles, into the started on a general frolic, being equipped with two bottles of the 'royal blood of France.' The twain agin both scripter an the Constituotion. Afore a hour had rolled away among the things as never the county of Cumberland, (we'll say,) where was, we'd tore his haouse all to smithers, and the black cus hisself only escaped by leavin part of his to an overseer sitting on the top-rail of the fence of skulp and wool enough for a pair of mittins in the a cotton-field, overseer fashion, watching his hands, hands of Zoorabable Peabody. Arter he had thus at some sort of work within. To stop, have a acted in accordance with the pervisions and comperchat, and treat the overseer, was the first impulse

and then tuk suthin, we only heered the pearoar- stolen-so he would! And he did, in the most con-

lastin hill-tops,' says Peltiah, says he—'up from him to join.
the Peelin ambiguities onspeekable koeruscation an The astour ossillated permeatons of the howlin wilderness, borne with distended eyes and mouth, pale, silent, staton all the breezes that sweeps the eternal circum-ambiett, shrieked by every eagle as he rises from his prey and sores into boundless contiguity, I hear but the field : 'Ned, come here, and bring Big Peter one cry—Union !—union agin everything, naow, and Jake.' hereafter, henceforth and forever more! Amen!' In a trice

Perhaps there warnt no stompin when Peltiah sat down. Of course there warnt The committee on resolutions then kim in and immediately, upon giving the order, himself took reported the following, which was adopted sync hold of 'Cub,' and quickly had his hands tied be-The committee on resolutions then kim in and

der never be less.

2. Resolved, That things has kim to a pooty

pass and oughten so to be—so they oughtent.

3. Resolved, That all abolitioners is rescrection ists, and that hangin the hull lot would permote the interests of trade, and serve to make aour free instertootions a terror to the world.

4. Resolved. That Gov. Wise, in hanging old Seward and Garrison, is entitled to the ginerous sympathy of all who keep step with the Union.

And if he wants the hornby Falanks,' the selick —just to have some fun. The overseer didn't bemen be authorized to send that corpse on, of they lieve one word of it-not he!

5. Resolved, That we recognize in aour South-North is prone to wrong as the spark is to go up of yourself! But right off you go to Cumberland chimbly. That slavery was sot up in the covenant county jail. Pve been voiching just tecnty-days for with Abram when he was caught in the bullrushes, a man like you, and for fear the town folks 'll let and is therefore a sacred institution. Long may it you slip, I'll make the niggers hit you a hundred, wave!

6. Resolved, Ef aour Southern Brethren don't about sich a one as they wants, we'll pass it.
7. Resolved, That the Falanks remain under arms

until further orders, with pour to arrest all niggers, Peddlers, book agents and aberlitionists found runnin at large agin the statoote, and that the town be considered under marshal law for the present. Adjourned syne dye.

ETHAN SPIKE, &c'y.

A SLAVE SELLS HIS OWN MASTER. Matthew Hobson, (generally called 'Black Matt.' account of the darkness of his complexion,) was well known by the inhabitants of the seaboard of Virginia, years ago, as a slave-dealer, and an accomplished breaker-in of bad flesh. He once purpopulace, who wanted to tear him to pieces. chased a bright mulatto by the name of Sam, at a very low price, on account of his numerous bad qualities—such as thieving, lying, and drunkenness. Sam was intelligent, with all his faults—could read and write, and ape the airs of a most polished gentleman. He was so far removed, too, from the pure tleman. He was so far removed, too, from the pure that he could scarcely be distinguished chased a bright mulatto by the name of Sam, at a from a white man. On his becoming the property of the slave-dealer, he received several severe ac tions, in order that he might have a foretaste of the temper of his master. Secretly he vowed vengeance for these striking proofs of Matt's affections, and in a short time an opportunity offered to gratify that

engeance. tampering with slaves. A rope, instead of a whip, Matt made up his gang, and shipped them at might be the reward of the joker. Norfolk. The barque arrived safely at New Orleans, and was brought to the wharf. In order that Sam THE BLIND NEGRO BOY PIANIST .-- THE might bring a good price, he was togged off in fine clothes-calf-skin boots, a silk hat, and kid gloves. Matt thought by this external show to realize at least \$1,500 for the mulatto, as the body servant of among the best of them. Hearing a portly gentle-man remark that he wished to purchase a good body says: servant, he went up to him, and with an independ-

My dear sir, I have got just the boy that will

' Nine hundred dollars,' replied Sam, ' and cheap enough at that. He has every quality—can shave, with perfect fidelity, giving every note its sound, dress hair, brush boots, and is, besides, polished in his manners. I could have got fifteen hundred dol- imitated. Several of our most eminent musicians 'Ha!' ejaculated the planter; 'and pray, what

kind of fault is that?' 'Why, sir, a ridiculous one. He imagines him-self a white man.'

ing; 'that is a funny conceit, indeed; but I can those compositions he learns by the ear. But he soon cure him of that—I've had considerable experinot only astonishes by the quickness with which he ence in training and managing gentlemen of color.' acquires a piece, no matter how long and difficult, 'Oh! sir,' continued Sam, 'there is but little but he improvises with readiness and fluency. On doubt that he can be cured—though you may find the occasion of which we speak, Tom was directed some trouble at first."

fiding. 'I will take him on your recommendation. tor in the use of language. Where is he now?'

wharf; you can see him at any moment.'

'Good!' exclaimed the planter; 'I am much pleased with your honesty and candor, and in order

We have alluded to the exquisitely graceful to

'Look you here, stranger,' said Matt, firing up,

at full length before the planter; 'hell and the devil, sir—I'm a white man!' 'Come, come, now,' calmly said the fat man,
'it won't do—I know you—you can't humbug me
with your conceits—I'll whip it out of you, sir—

I'll teach you—'
Here Matt drew back, and aimed a blow at the reverence steals over us as we behold this mysterious ruddy nose of the planter, who seized him by the and sudden transformation.'—Chicago Dem.

throat, and bellowed for the police. An officer happened to be on the levee—he at the instance of the planter seized the refractory slave, and bore him to the calaboose, where he remained until evidence

GREAT UNION SAVIN MEETIN IN HORNBY.

I do suppose, that ef this ere blessed old country of ourn has bin onet on the very varge and pint of eternal smash since I fust wore trowsis, it has bin in that alarmin sitivation at least fifty times.

And toe the intent and eend that honor may be gin whar honor is dew, I want it kept before the people as a everlastin remembrence—perpetooal

### BUGGING AN OVERSEER.

itter on its legs agin.

Down the Alabama river, in a country which we When aour folks first hearn that Seward an Garshall name Derby, lives an enormously rich and

mises of the constitution, we adjourned to meet of the Eccentric; and speedily all hands were growagin into the meetinous the next nite, whar a meeting merry over the superior Bourbon, in a corner in on the state of the Union was appinted. when we went in, the meetin was organized and Peltiah Pettibones was goin it in a 2:40 speech. As the Deacon and I not only lickered but 'smiled,' one of Brown's men, and 'Cub' a boy that he had fidential manner, and with many injunctions of secresy, relate such a tale to the overseer, urging

The astounded overseer stood a second or two At length he shouted to one of his drivers in

In a trice, three stout negroes jumped over the

fence. Said the overseer—
'Harness that d—d white Abolitionist!' And

1. Resolved, The day we celebrate—may its shad-to resist.

Hudgins at first was taken by surprise, and his

laugh began to grow wonderfully weak, as the negroes seized him.

'Hold on, stand off, you d—d fools,' he said, 'I was only bugging that squash-bead there!'
'Tie him!' thundered the overseer; and they

did tie him, and that in double quick time. The overseer didn't be--just to have some fun.

'Oh, d-n you,' said he to Hudgins, now a very pale man-' it's reasonable to s'pose you'd deny it ern Brethren the trew Shiverly Paytriots and Pay- when I wouldn't go in with you, you cussed white-triarks. That theyr ollers right and that we of the livered scoundrel, that wants to make a free negro before we start!

And right then and there that trusty guardian of think the foregoin strong enough, and will write another's property strung up Eccentric, and made about sich a one as they wants, we'll pass it. with a keen-cracking driver's whip. The yells, groans and protestations of Eccentric were awful to near. He swore he was 'sound on the goose.'

'Yes!' said the overseer—'but you'll be a heap sounder when we've done with you down yonder at

Mules were brought, and the horses of Hudgins and 'Cub' led away—and themselves mounted on the hybrids, and forthwith the resolute overseer trotted them, ten miles, to town, securely bound and watched by himself and a trusty negro, each armed with a double-barrel. Arrived, the Eccentric was safely jailed, amid the execrations of the 

leased from imprisonment. The overseer, on hearing the denouement, very

foolishly ran off, fearing vengeance; but will, no doubt, return as soon as he gets over his fright, and learns how his conduct is viewed. Moral. Never trifle with so grave a subject as

SINGULAR EFFECT OF HIS MUSIC UPON HIMSELF.

We have before alluded to the remarkable musome rich planter. Sam was consequently allowed sical talent of the blind slave boy Tom, the propto go on shore, in order to show him off. He proceeded to the Alhambra, and there strutted about this boy's wonderful powers is thus confirmed by

· He strikes the keys with all the confidence of one largely gifted with the musical faculty, or talent. His manipulation is most graceful; his touch is now exquisitely delicate, and then all the 'Ha!' rejoined the planter, 'I am glad to hear strength of his frail body is thrown into his hands, you say so, for I have been looking for one for seve-ral days. What do you ask for him?' earnestness.

In his execution he not only reproduces the piece performed in Tom's hearing long and complex operatic pieces, and the Heaven-taught boy reprodu them without committing a single mistake

We might conclude that this boy's talent consisted in a remarkable development of the faculties A white man! 'exclaimed the planter, laugh- of memory and imitation, did he confine himself to some trouble at first.'

Well, sir, you appear to be a gentleman,' said the planter, who was rather too anxious and con-

These original compositions increase the wonder-On board the barque —, youder, at the ing interest excited by the performance of this prod-

We have alluded to the exquisitely graceful touch to save time—here are your nine hundred dollars—of this lad; but what we have said concerning his please give me a bill of sale.' please give me a bill of sale.'

Sam got the clerk to draw up a bill of sale, signed the name of Samuel Hopkins, pocketed the money, and told the planter to ask the captain for Black Matt; he would himself be on board as soon as he had closed a bargain with another gentleman, who was desirous of purchasing one of his field hands.

The pursy planter made his way to the barque, and demanded of the captain to see the boy Black Matt. The officer pointed to Matthew Hobson, who sat on the quarter deck, smoking his cigar, and susat on the quarter deck, smoking his cigar, and su-nose and projecting upper lip, with every mark of perintending the debarkation of his slaves.

'Are you Black Matt, my fine fellow?' asked the planter, addressing the slave-merchant.

'I we see this awkward and stupid negro led to the piano stool. He takes his seat; but the first touch on the responsive keys shows us that his soul the planter, addressing the slave-merchant.

Folks call me so to hum, was the reply, but is made for melody. He sweeps his hands over the my name is Matthew Hobson. What do you keys with the air of a master, and then we behold want?'

I'll tell you, Matt, what I want. I want you.

You're a likely looking fellow, and will just suit

You're a likely looking fellow, and will just suit penetrates his whole breast. An ecstatic influence flows from the keys into his fingers, and rolls like a Look you here, stranger, said Matt, firing up, maybe you don't know who you're speaking to.'
'Yes I do, though—you're my property: I bought you of your master; Samuel Hopkins, just now, and—'
'You bought me!' exclaimed Matt, standing up kindles on his blank face, and as we gaze, wondering, the fashion of his countenance seems char It is absolutely beautiful. The divine ravish increases every moment, and when he is thoroughly diffused with the inspiration of the melody, the muscles of his face twitch, and his upper teeth are

Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING. AND JUDGE POR YOURSELF.

YOURSELF.

To the Ed's of Evangelist: - My see is say. One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had been quite thin. About the lat of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mr. S. A. Allen's Restor, er,' No. 1, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same enem three or four weeks, on retiring to had. My hair a now almost restored to its original color, and the has appears to be permanent. I AM SATISPIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRITIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly as advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.'

Rev. M. THACHEN. TIONS. My hair ceases to mu, which is certainly as advantage to one who was in danger of becoming they. M. THACHER.

I.ev. M. THACHER, Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1811. President J. L. EATON, LL. D., Union University Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

Murfreecoore, Jenness.
MADAM-I would state, that some time last pring I found MY HAIR FALLING, OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Reter. chase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Alieu a World's Restr. er, '&c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly res. ularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visible, the palling off of hair ceasen, and my look which before were quite gray, were changed to black. I do not consider that I have given it after trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is challe of accomplishing what it purports to do, visible of accomplishing what it purports to do, visible of accomplishing what it purports own case, I have reason to benefit to do, viz. 211. of accomplishing what it purposes to uo, vil., rii. vent the hair from falling off, and to think GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR." Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK,

Editor ' Ladies' Repository, Cincinnati, Ohio, I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalis. "I have been using airs. S. A. Anen's Cylobals. mum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and mum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles many factured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recent mending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it is any position desired.

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Adec. cate, Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best

I have ever known. It has restored my bair to its natural color.' &c. Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American

and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobska. mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations.

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor. ' Christian Era,' Bottos · Having used numerous specifies to little purpose. I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded cour World's Hair Restorer and Zylohal. samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither had nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has re-

gained the softness of my earlier years." Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Boston Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found mong our other advertisements, we insert from act. ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now tne evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to itr

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church, Attleboro', Mass.

"I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Rethave used SIRS. S. A. Allen's words Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' shich belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to direct tions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.'

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

. My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BE-COME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANTLY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full val-

ue of our money. GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire, 'Your Hair Restorer-is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color, -not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural or, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dre.

I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me. [The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,) Brooklyn.

"I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness."

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wilness,' Cincinnati, Ohio.
. It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till se

know it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Edueation R. D. Church, 337 Broadicay, N. Y., as New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y.

Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its original glossy and beautiful black."

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church

Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y. · I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A.

Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamun have produced all the effects described in her advergrowth of the hair; and I, would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fall in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania. "It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it se your directions require.'

Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. E. 'We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in a large quantity might be disposed of."

Rev. Mrs. E. S.ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y

In consequence of her long residence in a serenamed land, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy milition. condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's services to the condition of the condition o writes to the 'American Baptist,' I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allens World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum: Thate tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefit ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Alien.

We think that if these fail to convince, nothing tess than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell stick on which they make more profit than on these; always NSIST on having these. These are the only preparations experted in any

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1.50 bottle. Balsam, 874 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., 10 Mr. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355 Broome Street, New York.' The Genuse has Mr. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrapper, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—note other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgory, and will be prosecuted by us as a crim infoffence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOOD DELLER. Oct 14. lycop