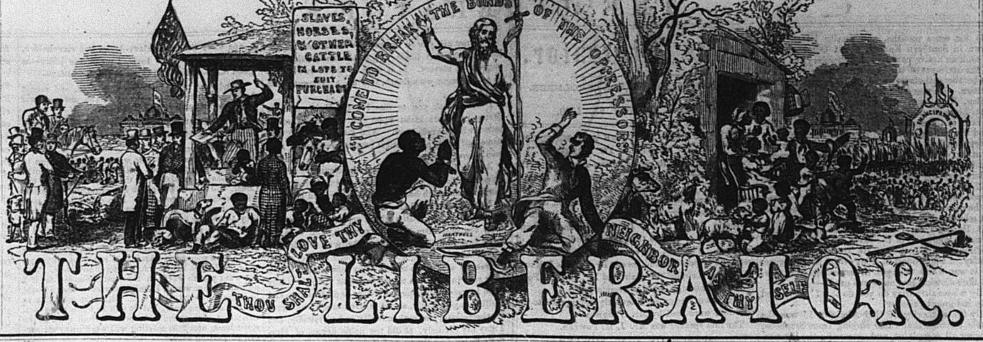
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL

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The following gentlemen constitute the Finanrat Committee, but are not responsible for any of the getts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-MIND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse 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 partiers, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE MIGHT. 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.

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## BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1860.

#### WHOLE NUMBER, 1526.

#### REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

BLACK BEPUBLICAN INTOLERANCE.

The great strike now going on among the operatives in the shoe factories in Massachusetts, has brought to light some important developements. It brought to light some important developements. It has shown the hollowness and hypoerisy of Black Republican professions and Black Republican sympathy. It has shown, too, to the working classes, who are their true friends. Almost without exception, the Black Republican journals of New England have espoused the cause of the 'bosses,' and deeed the movement of the working men as seditious,' revolutionary and 'rebellious,' On the contrary, the Democratic papers, with a unanimity as remarkable as it is commendable, have, by exessions of sympathy and encouragement, cheered the laborer in the battle for rights which he is waging against the odious tyranny of wealth and power. insmerity of the claim which Black Republicanism sets up of being the peculiar friend of the oppressed, is abundantly demonstrated by the course which that party has pursued throughout the whole towards this great social movement. Its sympathies are wholly with the ruling classes, it cleaveth instinctively to the dollars.

The grand shibboleth of Black Republicanism, of

free thought,' free speech, and free 'everything else, has also been proved by the 'strike' to be a mere sham. Free speech will not be tolerated by Back Republicans, when it does not suit their purpose for speech to be free. An instance in point has just occurred. The Rev. W. G. Babcock, a Unitarian clergyman in the town of Natick, has been demissed by his congregation of wealthy bosses, because he was bold enough, man enough, and Christian enough, to advocate the cause of the oppresed in their hearing. He had the temerity to fring the grievances of the 'dirty cobblers' between the wind and their nobility, and was sacrificed for his pains. The Boston Traveller, a Black Repubican paper, and by consequence, an organ of the bases, in a recent issue, thus refers to the af-

In consequence of the active part taken by the Rer. W. G. Babcock in behalf of the strikers, he has been dismissed from his pastoral office as minister of the Unitarian Church, in South Natick. Yesterday he preached his valedictory discourse. An effort was made to prevent his occupying the pulpit, and the parish committee sent a constable with orders to arrestany one who attempted to enter; but the strikers assembled in such force that it was not deemed prudent to interfere, and he went in without molestation. and preached to a larger congregation than has ever met there for twenty-five years.'

Thus do the loud-mouthed speakers for 'free thought, free speech, free labor and free men,' illustrate their professions by their conduct. Sympathy with the masses is forbid, and all expression of it, by summary punishment, promptly suppressed.

But a day of retribution will come. The working men of Massachusetts, ' dirty ' though they be, and poor and despised, hold in their hands the destinissof the State, and when the proper time comes, they will not be slow to remember either the indignities now heaped upon them by their Black Republican rulers, nor the helping hand of sympathy now held out to them by their Democratic rience - 3t Louis Bulletin,

#### AN AGENCY TO ASSIST FUGITIVE SLAVES TO RETURN TO THEIR MASTERS. From the Detroit Free Press, Feb. 25th.

Mr. C. J. Brown, an enterprising Southerner who has been sojourning for some weeks in Canada on a special mission, has opened an office in Desnovers' Block, with the charitable view of rendering material assistance to the colored race in assisting lose who are so disposed to return to their masters at the South. He says that he has made such inrestigations in Canada, especially at Chatham and other places where Africans most do congregate, as satisfy him that large numbers of them are anxious and ready to return to their musters at the South, they only had the means, and he proposes to furhish them with transportation tickets, and to send them in company with an agent, looking to their owners for remuneration for his benevolence. He is evidently a man of nerve and determination, and possessed of the means to carry out his project. The following is his circular, addressed to the colored population :-

The undersigned, having made arrangements at the South to furnish means to those of the colored population who are desirous of returning, has take office at No. 2, Desnoyers' Block, entrances on Jefferson avenue and Bates street, where he can be found from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M. The arrangements entered into with parties will be guaranteed beyond question as to the strict fulfillment of all obligations. f returning can communicate with the undersigned, either personally or by letter. C. J. BROWN, Agent.

There are numbers of the poor creatures who are. starving to death, in consequence of their inability to support themselves, and we have no doubt that the new enterprise will have a successful run of business. We have always made the welfare of the race an object of our special solicitude, and now advise every one of them to go directly to Mr. Brown, and get their return tickets. It is very obvious that they will have to give up white wives, and such litle luxuries, yet the fact remains that, while they bave not a second shirt to their backs here, they will not need any at all when they get home to the warm climate. We predict that the through return route will entirely eclipse the underground rail-

## SLAVERY TO BE ESTABLISHED IN NEW

ENGLAND! President Lord, of Dartmouth College, has writton a long letter concerning the recent toray of John Brown, in the course of which he says:—

Without a miracle, I see not but that slaves will yet be called for in New England, and by New England men; slaves having the attributes, if not the name of slaves, and possibly in worse conditions than we now complain of in reference to the South. bot, if our present Government should last another eighty years? For Yankees will not perform the mental work of life. They are above it now. The imported free servants of Ireland and other countries will soon be infected with Yankee independence, and have the means of living, above servile work, on their own freeholds! Then who will be our servants? Shall we have Coolies or Africans to hew our wood and draw our water? And what form of government shall be over them but that which is adapted to their comparative rudeness and imbecility, and conservative of the general system? The children and grand-children of our present abolitionists may yet be the first to institute a harder serfdom than has yet been known, unless, indeed, they should themselves be compelled to sell themselves for bread, and suffer the nearest chartisement of their tetherical and suffer the proper chastisement of their father's sing for their rebellion against the government of

#### SELECTIONS

[TRANSLATED FOR THE LIBERATOR.] From the Boston (German) Pionier, of March 8. MR. SEWARD.

Motto: What honest and decided friend of freedom will say, 'Down with Brown! Hurrah for

which must be regarded as an authentic exposition of the policy of the Republican party and its prom-

Mr. Seward, with manifest solicitude, avoids as a barbarism and a crime, -conformably, of course, to his own individual conviction. He is content to let others speak about that, and, for himself, to point out the fact that, wherever slavery exists, by one party it is pronounced right, and by another, wrong. And even of this fact, he makes as short work as possible, since it is evidently no concern of his to make the moral question of right and wrong the starting-point of his presidential programme.

East it should be a superstant of the fugitive only by protesting that the same is a slave, that is, a thing. But, certainly, it does not follow thence that a Northern judge, who is bound marsh, but he Cartainly. For it right and wrong, slavery and freedom, be once placed in opposition, the consequences are in-evitable, and result precisely in the 'irrepressible conflict' which Mr. Seward formerly proclaimed, and for which he has been so repeatedly attacked. This he formerly expounded in such a way that he showed explicitly the alternative: either freedom or slavery would one day prevail throughout the entire republic. He even spoke of the possibility of the slaveholders, for the corruption of political morality, for the spuiling of the North, and the being obliged to seek an asylum in another land. Such an alternative is no longer to be employed at a time when the 'irrepressible conflict' has really performed its prelude, and thrown the presidential speculation as a stone of stumbling in the way. The moral question has become burdensome, and must, therefore, be transformed into an economical

As a man and a statesman, one can speak of right and wrong, humanity and barbarity; as a politician and a candidate for the Presidency, one speaks of 'capital' and 'labor.' Before Brown atacked the slaveholders, it was possible to speak for freedom without risk or molestation; but now, because of the risk, the aim is to pacify for slavery.

To be sure, Mr. Seward gives us sufficiently to understand that he is no friend to slavery, and also enlarges upon the fact that the ' Fathers of the Republic' condemned it, and that, through the Con-stitution, they made the slave a person, so far as the federal policy had to do with him, but property and a thing solely within the jurisdiction of the once existent States; but this whole display, because it evades the chief point of the speech, is so distorted and diplomatic, that even the slaveholders can no longer discover the so often quoted ' irre-Spite of slavery, Mr. Seward is persuaded, that 'our institutions of freedom can not only be preserved,

tent and discord which slavery has occasioned.

In order to find the proper ground for his conclusions and presumptions, Mr. Seward distinguishes en freedom and slavery, Free States and Slave States, but between labor States and capital States. In the Slave States, (which treat slaves only as property,) 'capital invested in slaves be-comes a great political force,' while in the Free States, (which acknowledge and entitle the laborer a man ) · labor thus elevated and enfranchised beomes the dominating political power. It thus courately, call Slave States capital States, and

This new discrimination, which is retained ides intrinsically so unauthorized, that it at once becomes absurd. The 'capital' invested in the laves would be worthless, if the slaves did not labor'; so it is precisely the 'labor' that makes the power in the South. Yes, because there the rer is valued just merely as a laborer, as a beast of labor, and not as a man, the true, naked labor, abor per se, exists at the South, and therefore there etter authority for styling the Slave States labor States, than the Free States. Mr. Seward might have escaped the difficulty of such an artificial distinction, very easily, if he had discriminated between free labor and slave labor: but then his would have brought him again to the irreconcilable opposition between the laborer and his master, between the rights of man and the plunder of man, between freedom and tyranny, and it is this very opposition that it is desirable to conceal, in order that the conservatives, who wish not to oppose slavery, may be won over to, or retained in,

the Republican party.
On the other hand, the designation of the Free The North would procure as little 'dominating power' by means of 'labor' without 'capital,' as he South by means of 'capital' without 'labor. Moreover, a manufacturer who employs a hundred workmen, and through their labor becomes of influence in the State, does no more work than a planter who employs a hundred slaves. Both are capitalists by the returns of labor, but with this diference, that the one pays labor with money, the other with the lash.

guished citizen whose unquestionable devotion to friend of freedom will say 'Down with Brown! the Union was manifested by his acquiescence in the Hurrah for Seward!'? ompromise of 1850, had gone down into his hon- Here we have the chief substance of Seward's the dealers in men! The same man now says this, who, a little while ago, assured us that 'the time for compromise is past.' What compromise will such a man reject, when he becomes President? As for the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Seward gives it to be understood that, conformably to the Constitution, it can affect slaves only as persons, whence it follows that regular proceedings at law ought to be secured them; but his forbearance and conciliatory nature have no expression for the infamy of compelling free men, by law, to become slave-hunters, much less does he indicate that, if he were President, he would favor the repeal of the entire law. If Seward should be elected, the chief consequences,—without regard to the dispersion of the Democratic party, which is of course affected

persons, it cannot establish that they must be delivered back as property; if they are so delivered, the North thereby acknowledges slavery in its own jurisdiction; and if it does not refuse this consequence, it allows everything to the slaveholders. If the clause of the Constitution which orders the surrender of fugitives from labor is to be adhered to, there is no other course than to entrust its execution, without any additional enactments, to those courts whose province it is to treat of cases of surrender, and these courts will, if they act logically, courts whose province it is to treat of cases of sur-render, and these courts will, if they act logically, On the 29th of February, in the Senate, Mr. render, and these courts will, it they are some seward moved the admission of Kansas in a speech thus decide: The Constitution speaks only of fugitive persons; you consider a slave to be not a person but a thing, and so can only reclaim him as a inent candidate for the Presidency, and which, therefore, deserves a close examination. We desire to follow its chief points in order, with some remarks by way of activities. you reclaim him as a person, as he is considered on free soil, you must not only show that he, as a per-Mr. Seward, with mannest solicitude, around the representing slavery as an absolute wrong, or even as a barbarism and a crime,—conformably, of course, lif you do not do this, you have plainly committed. man-theft, and we will let you be prosecuted, and

delivered over as man-thieves.

It might be objected to this reasoning, that the who is bound merely by the Constitution which does not mention slaves, is obliged to have anything to do with such a proof, or to admit its validity. The truth in the matter is, therefore, that no claims for the rendition of fugitive slaves can be grounded on the directions of the Constitution, and that all 'laws' which make such claims possible are falsifications of the Constitution for the gratification of morality, for the spoiling of the North, and the undermining of freedom. But he who committed such falsifications, and that, too, as a representative of the free North, can be in the eyes of Mr. Saward a 'distinguished citizen,' and 'go down to an hon-ored grave.' Will Mr. Saward envy Mr. Webster his epitaph? It does not become a candidate for the Presidency to act for his epitaph, but for his

While Mr. Seward allows the notable infamy of Webster to become his honor, he exposes to shame the infamy of the Democratic party with its Kan-sas policy, its subserviency to Slavery, its Supreme Court swindle, &c., in a proper and forcible man-ner. Having done this, he holds up in contrast the policy of the Republican party, and limits it to the following, as the only fixed points:—the preservation of the territories, if possible, from slavery and polygamy by constitutional means.

That the Republican party will also stand by freedom of speech and of the press, will pass a homestead law, &c., Mr. Seward, it is true, gives us likewise to understand; but since he himself acknowledges that, in the Senate, the slaveholdersthanks to the glorious Constitution !- have the s can no longer discover the so often quotes.

majority, and since he wishes to settle strength of sessible conflict' between freedom and slavery.

in harmony and peace—yes, in 'a fraternal spirit,' in harmony and peace—yes, in 'a fraternal spirit,' while at the South freedom of speech and of the while at the South freedom of speech and of the majority, and since he wishes to settle everything but their benefits also enjoyed with contentment and press could never be maintained without the conharmony.' He says this, although in the same breath he narrates the whole history of the disconprogramme, and what will be his ability for that purpose. The 'irrepressible conflict' will stand hereafter, as heretofore, at every one of the thousand cross-roads, where freedom and slavery, with their different views and institutions, encounter each other, and freedom will, as heretofore, be everywhere menaced with tar-and-feathers, howie-knives revolvers and halters, while not an official bayonet is upon their side. And since this last does not and cannot anywhere happen, and nothing remains to unprotected freedom but self-help, may she depend upon her individual or entire forces, and be set to

work in Kansas or at Harper's Ferry? Mr. Saward, instead of recognising a right of self-help, at least here where not only the lawless mob, but also the 'legal' power, strikes down freethroughout the entire speech, not only bears no mob, but also the 'legal' power, strikes down free-dom, even seeks to quiet the apprehension of the slaveholders, that the Republican party, if it came to the helm, could attack slavery by unlawful, revolutionary means. The ghost of John Brown wanders round among the benches of the Senate, and the frightened dealers in men and the conservative Whigs wait with inquiring look to see whether the Senator from New York, whether the Republican candidate for President, whether the preacher of the 'irrepressible conflict,' will shake hands with the long-bearded spirit, with stiff white hair, with bloody forehead, with piercing eyes, with the slavemanufactured rope about its neck, or whether he will send it from him with a kick. And the preacher of the 'irrepressible conflict' understands the inquiring look of all these worthy men, whom the murderer and robber '-the haughty candidate for the gallows-the gallant candidate for the Presidency calls 'capitalists,' and the candidate for the Presidency lifts his foot to practice mounting the Republican throne on the grave of a martyr to freedom, and thrusts back the old hero into his grave with his heel, in this way to render his homage to On the other hand, the designation of the little with the gallows! The foot of vituam II. States as 'labor States' corresponds as little with the breast of John Brown—there we have the step to the truth as the new invention of capital States. the Republican President's chair. Governor Seward the Republican President's chair. arm in arm with Governor Wise-there we have the embodiment of the 'irrepressible conflict'! The brotherhood which the legislators of Ohio, and afterwards of New York, together with the dealers in men, toasted and desired so much, was the preface to the conciliatory speech of Mr. Seward.

'Conspiracy, ambush, invasion, force, sedition, treason, crime, disturbance of the public peace, death-stroke,' &c., - these are the terms with Without being a communist, one would have to the panegyrist of the traitor, Webster, describes the laugh at that 'irrepressible conflict' which Mr. deed of Freedom's hero, Brown, who in the eyes of Seward seeks to establish between 'capital' and Mr. Seward does not, like the father of the Fugitive Slave Law 'co down into an honored grave.' Seward seess to establish between 'capital' and 'labor,' if he were not forced to be indignant at the 'statesmanlike' unworthiness of interposing, in matters of such importance, an ingenious confusion of ideas, for the purpose of avoiding an uncomfortable 'conflict' of principles. Whoever wishes to disown such an attempt, must pronounce Seward's distinctions a play upon words, as unnecessary as of John Brown, are of a piece with the vote which they are witless. they are witless.

Of Webster, Mr. Seward says, that this 'distin- hero's confederates. What honest and decided he cast in the Senate for the prosecution of the

So, Webster is regarded with honor, speech. It is a 'speech for the house,' the White elped give birth to the infamous man-House, delivered for the threatening slave-dealers nunting law, and proved his devotion to the Union and the agitated conservatives, who have erronebe dealers in men! The same man now says this, an enemy. For the friends of a decided progress,

permanent service to freedom than a successful has attained, he is bound by every feeling of honor Saward, the diplomatic representative of conserva- and humanity to do all he can to promote the eftive humanity. The optimistic conception of Sew-ard, ostentatiously embellished,—according to which the ballot-box is to suffice as a means of bal-ren in bonds. Now, the association which is most ance between freedom and slavery, between humanity and bestiality in the national being, which, in spite of the so often extelled wisdom of its principle of the so often extelled wisdom of its principle. les, has created the strongest bulwarks of slavery as he calls them; or, as they call themselves, the and bestiality, and in which the billot-box can, on every decisive occasion, be subverted,—does not hold before an accurate investigation of human nature, and an inquiry into the logic of events. We have not yet got so far in this country, nor shall become all-noweful.

fettered journalist can say, and we ourselves should would dread so much as to be taken at their word. ples like his character as representative of the same; weak, timid, and conscience stricken are the slave-that he will never make concessions to the opponents holders, and how conscious they are of the feeble

of them.

How far Mr. Saward has satisfied these claims will be clear to every one who reads his speech without party prejudice; and with a distinct love of the truth. The strife over Saward and Batea is, in our eyes, not worth a straw, without an entirely different population, greedy for the price of blood,—it would be impossible to prevent the escape of the slave.

A friend and confederate of John Brown, now an exile for liberty in this country, was sitting near us as we read this passage from Mr. Douglass's speech.

Hy laughed and said, 'If it were not for the Union,

#### From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate. UNITED STATES.

John street, Glasgow. As the report in the Bul- except when he had to appeal to some of them (and letin occupies only about a column and a-half, it is not in vain) for succor when escaping from his evidently only a summary of the lecture. We quote own country; but in the course of many conversa-from it the sketch given by Mr. Douglass of the tions we have had with him his testimony has always

The speaker then gave an insight into the various that the anti-slavery forces were unfortunately di-vided. He would not say they were unfortunately divided, any more than he would say that the Chris-that they will not devote their time to political life, divided, any more than he would say that the Christian Churches were divided. Every man must work like the slaveholders, who have thus the fate of the his work in his own fashion.

1. There was a class who opposed slavery by means

of abstinence from slave produce. They are called poses
Free Labor People, and they had published for some
In time a paper called The Slaveholder.

2. There was another, called "The Compensation-

support it, nor place men in office who would be required to support it. The speaker was opposed to these views, inasmuch as it would make the South like Cuba and Brazil. He would rather draw more tightly the cords of the Constitution, and thereby ing the influence of the North more to bear upon the South. Strange as it might seem, these Garrise everything for granted in their favor whenever there was any law that was equivocal. He would do the same in regard to the negroes. The Constitution might be searched, and not one syllable, from end to end, slave, or master was not mentioned. The word black, slave, or master was not mentioned. The only thing like it, was a clause which ordained that a man who this concession should not be made; for when a law promised to accomplish a good purpose.

4. There was also the Church Anti-Slavery Soci-

ty. It was made up of the members of churches lone, and those who did not wish to go into the organi-

become all-powerful.

We confess that Saward's speech has caused us to lose much of the esteem which we formerly entertained for him. We have been through it twice, and have read it, too, with the calm inquiry of the desired,' he made a statement calculated to make politician, rather than the impassioned prejudice of the American Anti-Slavery Society odious to a a revolutionist, but we find in it neither the states.

Scotch audience, and one which, under a semblance man nor the friend of freedom, for which Saward of truth, was utterly false in fact. Though some has hitherto passed. We know very well that, in the position of a practical politician on ground threaten and bluster about a dissolution of the once defined, it is not allowable to say all that an under the states and bluster about a dissolution of the once defined, it is not allowable to say all that an under the states are statement calculated to make a revolutionist, but we find in it neither the states. think it ridiculous to utter as a Senator what we write as Elitor of the Pionier. But it is always allowable to expect and demand of a min that, as a representative of principles, he shall merit confidence; namely, that he will never say or support anything that compromises his proclaimed principles like his character as representative of the same wask timid and conscious strickingly how the like his character as representative of the same. of his principles at the expense of the latter; that tenure by which they hold their human property, he will never let himself, out of interest to his personal position, be brought in conflict with his cause; withhold their allegiance from that article of the that he will nover, out of charity to the opponents of that cause, asperse its honest and decided triends, yea, martyrs; that he will not strike hands with claims to own him, it would soon be all up with the executioners of such martyrs; in short, that he the slaveholders. If the slaveboracy had not the will be consistent, firm and honerable. It does not constitutional obligations which exist between the always lie in a person's power to effect everything that he wishes, but he has always the power to hold by the United States marshals and commissioners, fast to his principles, and to concede no jot or whit

ent platform. Or shall we, in order still to repose the slaves would be off like blackbirds, in droves—confidence in Saward, regard him as a common they would. Even in New Orleans, at the far trickster, who merely wishes to mislead his enemies till he gets into power? A trickster may be clever enough to believe this; we have too much streets after nine o'clock strikes in the evening; regard for good sense to be so canning. We are of how would it be farther north, if there was no the opinion that 'honesty is the best policy'; how union with the Free States? As it is, men can can we, then, esteem the best trickster the best and do escape, but they hate to go without their wives and families. If they could cross the line of the Free States without fear of pursuit, it would be impossible to keep them. How could the slave-THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION OF THE holders keep watch along 1600 or 1700 miles of frontier? If we had such a man for president as Wendell Phillips-a man with a backbone, who From the Daily Bulletin of February 15th, we would not give way to the slaveholders-we would cearn that on the preceding, Tuesday, Mr. Frederick soon have better times in the United States.' Our Douglass, of Rochester, New York, delivered a leeure on American slavery in Dr. Anderson's church, Anti-Slavery Society, nor with any of its members, anti-slavery instrumentalities now in operation in been, that there is little hope for the slave so long as the Union continues, and the powerful concentrated influence of the slaveholders is brought to nodes of opposition in the United States. Some said (bear upon the unscrupulous and greedy office-hunters nation in their hands; which, so long as the Union lasts, they will be sure to turn to their own pur-

In the report of the proceedings of the late antime a paper called The Slaveholder.

2. There was shother, called "The Compensationists." A prominent man amongst these was Elihu Burritt. He advocated the sale of public lands, so as to create a fund to redeem all men in the Union from to create a fund to redeem all men in the Union from showing as clearly as facts can do, that there is no slavery. The speaker had this objection to it, it came real Union between the Free and the Slave States, and that the connection which exists is in every too soon; the people were not prepared for it.

3. There were also the Garrisonian Abolitionists.

Their programme was the dissolution of the Union. They could see no other way of relieving the North from that responsibility, than by having recourse to a Union which holds millions of his own race in this means. They were very logical, and stated their abject slavery, and crushes them back into it if they opin on thus: As the Constitution of the United States was a slaveholding instrument, we could not support it, nor place men in office who would be rethe Union the impious dictum, that colored men have ' no rights which white men are bound to re-

It is true there is an apparent harmony between the American Anti-Slavery Society and those slave-holders who demand a dissolution of the Union. ans were just doing what the slaveholders desired, which But Mr. Douglass should have the candor to state, they also held to be the only solution of the slavery question. They were quite right, for slavery could be far in endeavoring to hasten a consummation which better preserved in the Southern States without the would speedily prove a death-blow to American Union than with it. But he was not prepared to grant that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document. In regard to the rights of the white men, we took compare the condition of the Southern slaves, in everything for granted in their favor whenever there the event of a dissolution, with those of Cuba and Brazil, would be perfectly correct if the slavehold. ers could, at the same time, cut themselves off from the Free States by a few hundred miles of ocean; but so long as their northern frontier is only a rive or an imaginary boundary, like the greater part of Mason and Dixon's line,' a dissolution of the without concluding it, should be returned. Garrison Union would open numberless arenues to the bondaffirmed that this clause was in favor of slavery. But men of the northern Slave States, which they would not fail to take advantage of. As to the Constitution of the United States, we

As to the Constitution of the United States, we believe it is true that it 'might be searched and not one syllable, from end to end, would be found in favor of slavery; the word black, slave, or master is not mentioned.' But, in the presence of the gigantic enormity of slavery, what is the use in peddling about words? The interpretation put upon the instrument by 999 out of 1000 throughout the nation is that the Constitution was inis not mentioned. But, in the presence of the stavenoider of church fellowship.

5. But he did not go with any of these particular reganizations, because he acted with all. He acted to guarantee to the slaveholder the secure tended to guarantee t out the nation, is that the Constitution was intended to guarantee to the slaveholder the secure of the Radical Abolitionists, and, There were also the Radical Abolitionists, and, The American Missionary Society. It was this society which sent out the missionaries which had been recently expelled from the Southern States. But as he had spoken so long, he said he would not speak in detail on the two organizations, nor would he say more than merely thank them for their attention.

For the convenience of reference we have numbered these seven instrumentalities, and marked some passages of the extract in italics.

out the nation, is that the Constitution was intended to guarantee to the slaveholder the secure possession of his slaves. We are pretty confident that it would be impossible to find twenty-four that ever been brought to America.

This is very nearly the time of the year and phase of the slaves that it was the Constitution establishes the right of the slaves to pursue his fugitive slaves throughout the whole Union; that by the Constitution five slaves him till May, and once we remember that it was are reckoned as three freemen in fixing the basis of representation in the Slave States; and that United States troops are available to crush any attempt of the slaves to rise and gain their freedom. The Su-

preme Court of the United States, both Houses Congress, the State Judiciary, the State Legisla-tures, the great political parties, and the vast ma-jority of the people, all agree with the American Anti-Slavery Society in this view of the subject. And the members of that Society, as honest men, decline all political pursuits (which are far dearer to the Americans than to any other people) rather than take office under a Constitution which is, in fact, pro-slavery, however cautiously it is worded.

We believe that all political efforts against sla-very, founded on an anti-slavery rendering of the Constitution, have hitherto come to nothing in the United States, simply because the individuals who hold such views are extremely few, because the facts are against them, and because there is no principle involved in the interpretation of a dead parchment in a sense contrary to the all but universal acceptation of the people. As matters actually exist, the Union and the Constitution are the chief bulwarks of slavery, and are so understood by the great majority, both of abolitionists and slaveholders; nor can we see what practical purpose can be gained by main-taining a contrary opinion.

When our friend the Rev. Samuel J. May was in

Great Britain last year, he was grieved and annoyed by the frequent expression of pro-slavery opinions, particularly in the great centres of comme manufactures. This is sorrowful enough, but not surprising. When we learn that 40,000 American visitors annually land in England, and recollect how very small in any given number of Americans is the proportion of earnest, uncompromising abolitionists, we cannot wonder if opinions in defence or palliation of slavery are scattered far and wide by a large proportion of these free and enlightened citizens. We have always regarded such visitors with apprehension. The English people are, in the main, a truthful people, and the truthful are naturally credilous. Our anti-slavery character is founded far more on sentiment than on principle, and is liable to very rude disturbance from the plausible statenents of slaveholders and their abettors, who, in the opinion of Sir George Stephen, are invariably unscru-pulous liars. And this need shock nobody as uncharitable; for when people bring themselves to practice and defend such a conglomeration of meanness, cruelty, and abomination as slaveholding, ying is a trifling addition. One of the chief claims which the friends of the American slave in this country have upon the confidence and support of the British people, is the necessity that exists for some opposition, however feeble, to the torrent of political and social iniquity which continually flows upon us from the United States. Under these circumstances, a great responsibility rests upon anti-slavery lecturers, that they shall do their best, in perfect good faith, and apart from all selfish con-siderations, to enlighten the British public not merely as to facts connected with American slavery, but as to the real objects and mode of action of the abolitionists; and we therefore deeply regret that Mr. Douglass should make an attempt to discredit the principles and objects of such a body as the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose principles and objects have been maintained for the last quarter of a century by a host of as enlightened and devoted advocates as ever did honor to any cause. All that can be told of the cruelties of slavery, the iniquity of pro-slavery judicial decisions, the un-scrupulousness of politicians, and practical apostacy of the churches, the general demoralization inevitable amongst those who uphold or defend slavery, will pall upon the public ear unless the lecturer takes pains to inform those who are waiting to be informed, as to the best way in which they can assist the efforts of the abolitionists to overthrow the infamous system.

## LECTURES OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

LONDON, Feb. 21, 1860. The visit which the chairman of our committee as recently paid to the North of England on the Reform question has been productive of great good to the anti-slavery cause. In Newcastle-on-Tyne there are, as you know, many zealous abolitionists : nd after Mr. Thompson's Reform work was done, they determined to get up for him a series of thoroughly efficient anti-slavery meetings. The first was on 'John Brown'—a theme worthy of the loquence of any orator. The lecture room was prowded with a highly appreciative audience, and he proceedings were, I am informed, characterized by an amount of enthusiasm, and even of excitenent, rarely witnessed. Resolutions expressive of dmiration of John Brown, and of sympathy with the American abolitionists, were unanimously adopted. The second lecture, which was equally sucssful, comprehended the results of the Harper's Ferry insurrection, and the present aspects of the slavery question. Mr. Councillor Mawson, who a fragrant recollection of Mr. Garrison's visit to this country many years ago, occupied the

been completely stirred up by these two meetings, and as the public opinion of the north has of late exercised a perceptible influence upon the nation at large, let us hope that the beneficial influence of hese meetings may extend to other parts of the sountry. Mr. Thompson also addressed meet-ings at Shields, and, I think, at Middlesboro', that ising town, which soon promises to rival many important places better known. On his return homewards, he stopped at York, where his friends got up an anti-slavery meeting, which, despite the fact that Mr. Layard and Dr. Cumming delivered a lecture there in the same week, was a triumphant sucess. The religious classes attended in large numbers. and James Parsons (I drop 'the reverend,' as no one uses it in designating him.) was among the auditors. I perceive by The North British Mail hat Mr. Thompson is to address a meeting at Glasow on the 28th inst., the Rev. George Jeffrey in he chair. I hope our friends in Scotland manuses heir way to extending the work. I was very griad to read the article in that paper, controverting Mr. Frederick Douglass's extraordinary theory that the maintenance of the Union was essential success of the anti-slavery cause. Probably Mr. Thompson may have a message to deliver on that ubject .- [ Metropolitan correspondent.

#### MR. HORACE GREELEY'S DISLIKES.

The responsible editor of the Tribune, although yet on the sunny side of fifty, has fallen into that peculiar idiosyncracy of extreme old age, which leads him to believe that mankind in general feel an interest in his likes and dislikes. In the issue of that paper for the 25th ult., and in an article which betrays his style, he exclaims: 'We love liberty, coupling in the complete style in the coupling of the coupling in the couplin

so many 'able editors ' before him. There is no little evidence in the short sentence we quote, to show that the writer of it is passing from a lighter to a graver form of mental disorder — from monomania to dementia. This latter is characterized as incoherent insanity—according to Dr. Copeland, a chronic form of insanity, characterized by impairment of the sensibility and the will, and by incoherence of ideas.'

In addition to his negro-bating ideas, Mr. Greeley manifests a strange incoherence, an idiotic jumbling of ideas, when he says, 'I love humanity,' 'but I do not like negroes.' As he everywhere admits negroes to be a part and parcel of humanity — that humanity which he loves—it follows that he claims to love the whole, while he hates a part of humanity. And this incoherence—nay, extravagance—in ideas is more manifest, when he exclaims, 'We heartly wish no individual of that race had ever been brought to America! This is a wish which only a madman could have uttered. Had no negro ever been brought to America, there could have been no beginning of the American Revolution, the first bleed of which was gloriously shed by the negro Attacks; there would have been no maintaining the Revolutionary war, some of the best and most efficient regiments of which were composed of negroes; there would have been no ultimate triumph to the American arms, for there was not one regi-ment too many in that war on the side of the colonists. There would have been no triumph in the war of 1812, had there been no negroes on board the American fleet; there would have been no sugar trade, no cotton-gin, no forests cleared in the South and South-West, no two hundred millions' worth of cotton to export this year from the United Statesvet a British colony; no slavery discussion, no Missouri Compromise, no \* New York Tribune,' which has waxed fat and great on the negro ques-

which has waxed fat and great on the negro question; no Horace Greeley! no—nothing.

To put Horace Greeley's dislikes down in cool, plain English, he dislikes the negro so thoroughly that he would rather unhinge all the progress and all the history, including himself, of the last century and a half, 'than had the negro brought to America.' Had this thought come from a wretched and ca. Had this thought come from a wretched and jaded misanthrope, not burdened with any but moping and sallow melancholy, it would hardly excite remark; but when it comes from one in the full exercise of a powerful, vigorous, and active in-tellect, it falls with a sudden, strange jar on the ear, which awakes intense solicitude for the sanity

of the author.

Mr. Greeley seems to feel that his state of mind needs some remedy, although he can only conceive of the barbarous one of hoping the negroes may "gradually, peacefully draw off, and form a community by themselves somewhere toward the equator, or join their brethren in lineage in Africa or the West Indies. Poor, dear man! We very much fear he must 'die without he sight' of such peaceful 'withdrawal.' The far more eloquent voice and prophetic pen of Henry Clay 'charmed never so wisely,' but they would not budge. Henry Clay's words were sweetened even by professions of like, (and we believe he did like the negroines,) instead of terms of irrepressible hate; yet he could not succeed, and if he could not, who can?
We fear Mr. Greeley must be content to let the

negro remain in America, at least during his time. He had better, or his friends had better, set themselves to work to conquer his prejudices, at least so far as to subserve the cause of good neighborhood. Let them begin the cure by slow and cautious steps, and they will ultimately succeed. We negroes like clean blankets; let them cause Horace to throw away that dirty blanket of his, which was, when we last saw it, some eight years ago, as filthy as the tub of Diogenes. We negroes like clean white shirts; let them order a dozen from C. B. Hatch & Co. for Mr. Greeley, and see that he does not wear one longer than three days. Let them get him a new black overcoat at Devlin's, and let them take him every day down to St. Paul's Church, and have his boots well polished. As he generally has a 'down look,' probably this may do more than all the rest to ac-custom his eyes to the most beautiful complexion with which a human being is endowed.

Having educated his eyes and sense of touch thus far, let them attack his digestion. Even Greeley may be reached through his stomach, far gone as that must be by this time. Take him to a nice West Broadway cellar, and feed him on fat pork and beans ; tell him it is woodcock ; then gradually elevate him to the cuisine of Downing, and lastly of Vandyke, and if he don't show signs of abatement of prejudice — why, he might as well be in the other place already, for there is no hope for him in this.—Anglo-African.

From the Boston Traveller. REMINISCENCES OF STEPHENS AND

A correspondent who was one of the early settless in Kansas, furnishes us with the following:] Boston, March 16, 1860.

HAZLETT.

Editors of the Traveller :

AARON C. STEPHENS was born at Norwich, Connections, where his aged parents still reside. 'His age was about twenty-eight. Stephens was one of the finest specimens of manly strength and vigor that I have ever seen. About six feet in height, and finely proportioned, with creet carriage, a quick and generous soul, he would always be chosen as a leader in perilons enterprizes. His head was 

leave home. At eighteen years of age he joined the American army, and was employed in the Dragoon service. He saw considerable service in New Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, among the Indian tribes. In the spring of 1855, an officer of Stephens' commmitted a brutal and unjustifiable assault upon a fellow soldier who was unable to protect himself. The injustice fired Stephens, and he struck down his cowardly superior. For this he was brought in chains to Fort Leavenworth, and there confined. Knowing that the result of the court martial would be a sentence of death, Stephens succeeded in freeing himself of his fetters, and breaking

He fled to Topeka, and there, assuming the name of Whipple, took a claim and settled down. The difficulties broke out; Whipple joined the Free State forces; a regiment was raised, composed of Topeka ' boys,' of which Whipple was elected Colonel. His military knowledge, strength, and manliness, made him a general favorite. He was one o the best drill masters in the Free State ranks. Gen. Lane held him in high esteem. When Gen. Lane left Kansas, in September of '56, disbanding the forces in pursuance of Gov. Geary's proclamation, Stephens (Whipple) commanded his escort, a party of forty mounted men.

An incident occurred on this march, which shows the education which Kansas has forced her sons through, better than anything else I have heard. Stephens supported what was known as the Free White State doctrine; that is, he was opposed to allowing colored people to reside within the State boundaries, either as bond or free, An inhuman policy, having its origin, as Gen. Lane has since said, 'in the busest projudices generated by slavery. Our friend was a 'Black Law Man,' par excellence When Gen. Lane was leaving the territory, James Redpath was coming into it, in command of a part of one hundred and twenty northern emigrants. Nebraska, near the Kansas border, a couple of fugitive slaves came into the emigrant camp. Land camped near the same night. Hearing of the negroes being under Redpath's protection, Lane's men, nearly all of whom were negro-haters, demanded that they should be returned to bondage, in order to prove to Missouri that it was not for the slave, but the white man, the people of Kansas were fighting. Stephens was delegated to convey their wish to Redpath. He spent over two hours in endeavoring to urge that gentleman to do this wrong. It i needless to say that he was not successful. The Colonel rode off in high dudgeon, and that night Gen. Lane secretly assisted the fugitives across the Missouri River to Iowa. This circumstance is quite in contrast with the rescue of the slaves in Missouri, and the attempts at Harper's Ferry. Yet I have no doubt that Stephens was equally as honest then, though not so high up on the plane of progress, as when he but a few hours since stood on a Virginia

In the fall of '57, Stephens left Topeka, with nine others, and in company with John Brown, for Springdale, Cedar Co., Iowa, where the company studied military science and drilled under Stephens.

This is a Quaker settlement.

After the Chatham (Canada) Convention, in which he took a prominent part, Stephens went to

Ohio for some months, and finally joined Capt. Brown in Southern Kansas, about October, 1858. He took an active part with Montgomery, in resisting the attempts of the Democracy to drive out and murder the anti-slavery men of Linn and Bourbon counties. He was one of the foremost in the rescue of Ben. Rice from unjust imprisonment in Fort Scott, himself and Kagi being with Montgomery at the head of the storming party of twenty men, who seized the building wherein Rice was confined.

Stephens led one party, while Capt. Brown led the other, on the night when eleven slaves were rescued from Missouri bondage. David Cruse, a slaveholder, resisting the emancipators, was shot down, in all probability, by Stephens' band. He had been warned that such would be his fate, if he resisted, and he met it. Stephens was with Capt Brown in that celebrated exodus from Missouri to Canda.

At Harper's Ferry he was second in command. He was in command of the party that arrested Col. Washington and others. He had command, on Monday, of the ground in front of the Arsenal gate, and it was while engaged in arresting workmen,

that the following language was used:

By whose authority do you do this?' was asked by an indignant prisoner.

By the authority of God Almighty!' was the electric response that came ringing from Stephens.

sil noing all complaint, and overawing the listeners by the earnestness and fire of the tones.

ALBERT HAZLETT, born in Indiana county, Pennsylvania, was about twenty-four years of age at the time of his martyrdom. He came to Kansas in the Spring of '57, and settled in Bourbon county. He soon became enlisted with Montgomery in the defensive operations of that period, and proved himself of our country, in '87, and upon which they then

Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. In ow smokes with a new offering, and all our hands Missouri slaves, Kagi was in command in the South. utmost coolness and daring on several occasions—
among others, repelling with ten men a force of 80,
neting as a pretended U. S. Marshal's posse, retreating successfully over bad ground. Hazlett was
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oval features, very fair hair, and florid complexion. sessed an intelligent mind. R. J. HINTON.

THE WORD 'WHITE' IN THE MILITIA LAWS.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, last week-

Mr. Pierce of Dorchester referred to the progress of liberal opinions in this State, as indicated by the repeal of the laws forbidding the intermarriage of whites with blacks, the prohibition of colored schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the passage of the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring, and other acts, and said schools, the personal liberty bill, the removal of Judge Loring and the removal that this tendency would not stop now. Sooner or later, next year if not this, the Legislature would try produces—in addition to the regular allowpass an act like this. Mr. Pierce proceeded to state the historical facts relative to the constitutional ance we have sworn to him. If he has demandprovision on this subject, quoting from Rufus King, ed so few of these extra offerings, it is because the who expressly stated in reply to a question put to him in the convention which framed the Constitution, that the clause giving Congress power of organizing, arming and disciplining the militia' meant, simply, the arming and disciplining the militia, appearance of the convention which framed the constitution, that the clause giving Congress power of organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, appearance of the convention which is a cutal state of things it must be so, and there is no remedy. The only reason any one of us is permitted ment or creation of the militia is a part of the pro-cess of organizing it. He then examined the militia have been already marked, and prices have been oflaws, showing that the militia is a State institution, and under our own control. He proceeded to cite fered. If you were better, they would give more for and under our own control. He proceeded to cite fered. If you were better, they would give more for any and as commercial Boston might not love of 1792 had been violated in many particulars by you less, would she not love money more? Were nearly all of them. Every State acts upon the theory that the militia is a State institution, and provides for the organization of such persons as it pleases vides for the enrolment of such persons as it pleases.

Missouri, which has no law on the subject of enrol-Missouri, which has no law on the subject of enrolment, is the only State which obeys the law of Congress, and Missouri obeys it by doing nothing. The law of 1792 is a dead letter. Massachusetts has never obeyed it. She has already struck out the adespotism in this country, extending even to Bosword 'white' also.

and concluded his remarks by a personal explanation in reply to some remarks by Mr. Kimball. that extended here by George III., or any that now exists in Europe.

gentleman from Lawrence (Mr. Parsons) that if another sunrise, because they are true to the Declathe bill should pass, it would be vetoed, as one of ration of Independence. What must be the character is defined for John Brown and his associates, according the bill should pass, it would be vetoed, as one of ration of Independence. What must be the character is defined for John Brown and his associates, according to the believing we will resist! Believing we the most impertinent suggestions ever presented ter of that government which makes it treasonable here. That gentleman fears that we shall do someto love liberty, and kills men because they are just? thing to hazard the success of the Republican party. To avoid this he would violate the very first principle of the party, the equality of men. Mr. EL- such a government? DRIDGE proceeded in the examination of the Constiand speech. He disclaimed personal or political feeling on this subject, but should support this measure because it is right, and in harmony with the

rogress of the age.
Mr. Ryden of New Bedford said that his only motive in entering the Republican party was to help to stop the spread of slavery. But what do we have now? The Free Soilers at Philadelphia overturned the Whig party, and he believed they were bound to destroy the Republican party. And this is the first blow. The present law has stood 80 years, and he hoped it would not be altered.

KIMBALL of Boston stated the facts connected with his action on this subject at the late sesion. He believed retaining the word 'white' was harboring an invidious distinction, and it ought to be struck out. He did not know as the colored men desired to form colored companies; but how is it that when we move to strike out this word, we hear nothing but 'nigger,' 'nigger'? We hear nothing about the red men or yellow men. It is the prejudice against the 'nigger,' at the bottom of which is slavery, which excites all this opposition. South Carolina and other Southern States may do as they please, and the gentleman from Dorchester has shown that they do not follow the U.S. law; but the moment we move, there is a great excitement. We are told that this is an attack upon the Governor. On the contrary, it is an attack on the Legislature, by means of a bogus opinion of the Supreme

Mr. Ordway, of Bradford, said he thought Gov. Banks' chance for the Presidency rested in the re-sult of this vote. He proceeded to congratulate the Republicans on the progress they are making, Mr. Seward having in his late speech made some progress towards adopting democratic principles.

Mr. Hale, of Boston, after expressing regret that he had not made better preparations for the debate,

proceeded to reply to the arguments of the gentle man from Dorchester, that the militia was a national, and not a State institution. In this connection, he quoted from Luther Martin, an opponent of the adoption of the Constitution, who objected to this very feature of the Constitution, relative to the nilitia, because it was designed to take from the tates the control of the militia. He also cited he speeches in the Constitutional Convention of 1853, as evidence of the opinion of leading men f all parties that the militia is a national instituion, made so by the framers of the Constitution, in pposition to the wishes of the friends of Stateights. Objection has been made, that the judges f the Supreme Court were not asked the precise

uestion before us. If not, why have not gentlemen ramed other questions? Because the friends of the ill know that in whatever shape the question is ut, the result will be the same. ommented upon the opposition which had been ade by the friends of the bill to the order offered y Mr. Dyke, of Stoneham, for the printing of the inion of the Judges of the Court.

Mr. HASKELL, of Ipswich, said that the Supreme

ourt has distinctly declared that this law is uninstitutional. He also declared the law to be ceedingly unwise, and of no benefit whatever to ie militia and to the Republican party.

The hour assigned for taking the vote having arved, the roll was called, and the bill was ordered

The bill has passed through all its stages, (notcople will settle scores with him hereafter.

a third reading by a vote of 102 to 97.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 23, 1860.

EXECUTION OF STEVENS AND HAZLETT. PUBLIC MEETING IN BOSTON.

In accordance with public notice, a meeting of the friends of impartial freedom in Boston and vicinity was held at the Meionson, on Priday evening last. with reference to the murderous execution, on that day, of those devoted associates of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, Aanon D. STEVENS and ALBERT HAZLETT, by the more than savage vindictiveness of Virginia. The hall was crowded by a most intelligent and respectable audience. Dr. Thomas J. Knox. of Boston, occupied the chair, and Mr. John H. Fow-LER, of Cambridge, acted as secretary.

Portions of Scripture, singularly appropriate to the occasion, were read by Mr. Gannison. The first speaker was Mr. J. H. FOWLER

SPEECH- OF J. H. FOWLER.

Mr. President:
The bloody deed is done! The seven true men of America have been offered up to appease the mad-

a brave and efficient soldier.

In the winter of '58—'59, after the rescue of the new smokes with a new offering, and all our hands now smokes with a new offering, and all our hands

probably a bullet from his Sharpe's rifle which tion, bound the victims, and held them for her to killed Geo. Turner. The latter was in the act of strike the fatal blow. And for what has this been raising his rifle, when a shot from the emancipators done? For what are these worse than heathen cerlaid him low.

Hazlett was tall and slender, of nervous sanguine it our application of the Golden Rule? Is it loving emonies so often repeated in our Christian land? Is temperament, lithe and active, with small and sharp our neighbors fallen among thieves? Is it demanded oval leatures, very lair hair, and horid complexion.

He was always esteemed among his comrades as an honest, upright man, a social companion, and posof these? Does the Goddess of Liberty, whose image we have placed upon our capitol and stamped upon our coin, demand this as tribute?

No! It is demanded by the Moloch of Slavery, to whom we have consecrated a race, and daily sacrifice a seventh of our sons and daughters. This god, whom we have chosen as our tutelary deity, has been insulted and enraged by a bold effort to wrench from

portioning the officers and men, etc., thereby exclu- remedy. The only reason any one of us is permitted ding the theory of the Supreme Court, that enrol- to be here to-night is, that we are not good enough the laws of the various States, showing that the law you. And, as commercial Boston might not love qualification 'free,' and she should strike out the ton, more unrelenting in its hostility to freedom, Mr. PUTNAM of Danvers briefly opposed the bill, more determined to crush the lovers of liberty, than

On motion of Mr. Rice of Worcester, it was or- There are those here to-night who are branded a dered that the vote be taken at half-past three traitors, because they love liberty-who are outlaw-Mr. Eldrings of Canton said that he would not ed in half this country, because they practise the embitter the controversy by any personal allusions or reflections. He regarded the suggestion of the Can there be but one course for the true man under

Socrates said to the Athenian court which con tutional question, quoting, to support his views, defined him for disregarding wicked laws of his countries Justice Marshall and Mr. Webster's Richtry, 'Though I should die many times, I will obey God rather than you, nor do I think I can in any other way so well serve the State as by so doing."

That government which scoffs at the law of God, de linerately tramples down self-evident truth, and disregards inalienable rights, will find a traitor in every true man. Treason to such a government is lovalty

A State which cannot be served by serving the poorest innocent man in it, and by defending his natural rights, ought to fall. It will fall, or every true man in it will fall.

A tyrannical government and a true man are inompatible; there is an irrepressible conflict between them. One or the other must inevitably do down The Union-savers, at the expense of justice and liberty, are also sacrificing all true men. These are inseparable; they go out, of the nation together. John Brown and his associates have gone out, because liberty and justice have gone out.

But these noble men went out one way, and Daniel Webster and Wm. H. Seward went out another way. Our shallow soil bears but few men. Most of hose, who appear well at first, have no deep root; they can neither bear the sun of truth, nor the guano of politics. We are fast approaching the condition of a worn-out slave plantation. What shall we do? Shall we sit quietly, and see liberty, justice, and all true men perish, while we preserve a Constitution and a Union that will not permit these to live?

They tell us a dissolution of this slave-sustaining Union will bring anarchy and civil war, ending in despotism. So, to prevent this, we must keep up this perpetual insurrection of slavery-this civil war upon the rights of men- this most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man.

Shall we listen to the voice of tyrants, warning us against despotism-to the voice of pirates and robbers. warning us against civil war and anarchy? If despotism must exist, what matters it whether it be exercised by one man, or by a majority? If we must be a nation of tyrants and slaves, may we not as well have one tyrant as a hundred thousand? And, as to war, I would ask if we are so base as to submit to despotism without war? Are we so craven and mean as to seek the peace of undisturbed slaveholders, and the quiet of contented slaves?

They tell us that a dissolution of the Union would injure commerce. But shall we seek commercial greatness at the expense of human greatness? Shall we seek a commercial Union at the expense of righteousness, which makes unity impossible? Are we willing to sacrifice a seventh of our population to

Are you ready to pledge yourselves to the perpetual support of slavery where it now exists-to stand upon the necks of four millions of your fellow-countrymen, and forge chains for their ever-increasing posterity, for the sake of a commercial union with their lespotic masters, and for political success? Are you sunk so low as not to despise the party mean enough ithstanding the most strenuous efforts to defeat it,) for this? Shall we continue to be the tools of petty id now only waits the signature of Gov. Banks to tyrants, and meanly share their guilt, for the sake of come authoritative. Should he again veto it, the this infamous union with them, and for political supremacy in such a detestable government?

I do not ask you to destroy the Constitution, un- to one who, though a slave-dealer and slaveholder, less you think it binds you to the recognition and we have yet learned to love-I mean, the jailer-as support of slavery. If it does, trample and defy it 'good Capt. Avis,' and closes in these words :as a covenant with death, and an agreement with

hell. I do not ask you to dissolve the Union of these States, but I do insist upon the dissolution of all The last is dated Feb. 17th, 1860, and exhibits even union with slaveholders. And I demand that you more remarkably the heroic spirit of this young man come out from all political parties pledged to sus- My Dean FRIENDS:

per's Ferry, for others; and if the Union cannot stand this, let it go down. Yes-trample under your feet, and strike down every parchment law and every form of government with which tyrants would frighten you from this noble work, or obstruct you in it. Remember that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to mankind, through all eternity,

A. D. STEVENS.'

If they brand you as traitor, accept it, and len livery fall off. Teach William H. Seward that them. Alas for Virginia! alas for the nation! there is no justice beneath such damnable law.

justice to all. Until these come, let there be agitawhat may be your preference; but, 'as for me, give me liberty, or give me death'; and what I ask for Christianity said, 'I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. I came to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother, These are the words of the martyrs of Harper's

to hear, let him hear.

REMARKS OF DR. DOY. Dr. John Doy, of Kansas, (who was rescued from in his published narrative.

R. J. HINTON, of Kansas, next addressed the audience in an enthusiastic manner, as follows :--SPEECH OF R. J. HINTON, OF KANSAS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen; I hold in my hand some letters from my nobl friend, Aaron D. Stevens, now, by the mercy of Virginia, in a better world. I do not know that I can better preface what remarks I may make than by reading these letters. They will show, in the manly, yet tender spirit they breathe, that this heroic young man was no unworthy companion of John Brown in his glorious enterprise. The first was written to friends in Ohio, and is, indeed, a remarkable production, when the facts are taken into consideration. It is dated the 17th of December, 1859, and thus, you will perceive, was written one day after the execution of his comrades, Cook, Coppic, Copeland, and Shields Green. It reads :-

· CHARLESTOWN, Va., Dec. 17, 1859.

DEAR FRIENDS:

With deep feelings of love, I sit to write you a with deep feelings of love, I sit to write you a few lines, hoping they will find you yet living, and in good health. I suppose you have heard all about the sad affair at Harper's Ferry. It appears that I am the only one now left, and I expect to follow them ere meet; and what joy it will be to meet with those who have suffered and died for the human family! I was pretty badly shot-up at the Ferry, receiving six wounds—two in my head, two in my breast, one in my face, and one through my left arm. Three of them were slight, and three of them pretty severe, but crificed not in the heat of the contest—not in the fire I am well now as ever, except my face. One side of battle—not in the flame of passion, has Virginia of it is paralyzed, and my lower jaw, the loss of which is hard-so that I cannot grind up my food very fine. If feel very cheerful and happy. Of course, it is rath-er disagreeable to be confined to so narrow limits and wear chains, but I forget all about it when thinking after having, with bloodhound instinct, sought to how many are suffering so much more than this. At the crimes and sufferings of the human family, and if that attempted to maintain justice and establish free I could help wash away that suffering, I would give dom, the Virginian pirates, with dripping hands, have ten thousand lives, if I had them to give. Four of fastened the bloody cords, and sent two more to the the men passed off yesterday to the spirit land, histened the bloody coles, and said the world. Yet these crimes, black and hideous as through the mercy of Virginia. They were cheerful, through the mercy of virginia. They were cheerful, and met their fate like men. Capt. Brown was as they are, are not so fearful as the system that procheerful on the morning of his execution as ever I duces them. Slavery is indeed the 'sum of all vilsaw him. I shall remember you for your many acts of kindness to the end of time. Good lanies. How long, oh, people of the North! will say the same to exist which makes of every of kindness to the end of time.
bye! Yours, for the good of all, A. D. STEVENS.

And this is the noble soul of which slavery has robbed the earth!

some business matters, and referring in the kindest the others, Stevens writes, speaking of his faith in Spiritualism :-As for converting the Virginians to Spiritualism,

I give up in despair, for it says, 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you,' and the shoe is Virginia prison for treason, murder, &c., but such is life. I am as cheerful and contented as you could expect—ready to meet any thing that comes. It is true

the 'Good bye! God bless you and yours, and accept the love of one 'whose country is the universe, and whose countrymen are all mankind.'

tain slavery everywhere.

As you love the soil of your whole country and all its people of every condition, I exhort you to resist that government which has polluted the one, and enslaved and corrupted the other. Let us plant ourselves upon those self-evident truths which separated our fathers from the despotism of their country, and with the same devotion and energy let us throw off this despotism of our country—'a despotism, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which they rose in rebellion to oppose.' Let us insist boldly upon Liberty and Justice, morally, as do Garrison and Phillips,—physically, as did Warren and Washington for themselves, and both morally and physically, and for themselves, and both morally and physically, and I may say divinely, as did the noble heroes of Harner's Ferry for others; and if the Union cannot stand

'Truth is for the open ear, Hush and listen! hark and hear!'

Remember me most kindly to all inquiring friends. I should like to hear from you if you have time. Yours, in the bonds of love, and for justice to

Mr. President, I think these letters deserve a place know that history honors only those who wear that in that most noble collection of John Brown's, the title when tyranny reigns. The martyrs of Harper's sweetest and purest utterances of our Saxon tongue. Ferry have made treason a synonym of philanthropy, The heart and hand that framed them are still to-day. and raised the gallows to the dignity of the cross. The State of Virginia has hung Aaron D. Stevens. Bear the one to the other, if need be, knowing that Did I say State? No! I prefer Mr. Phillips's defiit is enough for the disciple that he be as his lord, nition, and call it 'Piracy.' Aaron D. Stevens-Law and government have too long shielded tyranny noble, heroic and manly-has been hung, and for and despotism. The tyrant always comes clothed what? Insurrection? No! For obeying the worthiin the authority of law. The despot always stands est impulses of the human soul. Slavery is robbery ! behind government. It is time they were unmasked. Slavery is murder! Slavery is organized insurrection At Harper's Ferry, there is a rent in this covering, against humanity! He who resists it-seeks its over-Look through, and behold the hideous form! If the throw, does but obey the Divine law, and performs rent is not large enough for the nation to look through his duty to man. Such did Stevens and Hazlett, and to see the despot, strike again, and again, till the sto- Virginia has nought but a prison and a scaffold for I knew Aaron D. Stevens. He was in the flower of

What we want is, equal liberty for all-impartial his manhood. But twenty-eight years had set their scal upon him, and yet he had shown himself worthy of John Brown. Physically, he was a noble iniquity and slavery. 'Is life so dear or peace so specimen of a man, with generous impulses, a heart sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and throbbing with love to humanity, and a mind alive slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!' I know not to injustice and wrong. All his life long he resisted wrong. When in the American army, he struck down his superior officer for cruelly ill-treating a sick myself, I demand for others. The great Model of and feeble comrade. In Kansas, we all knew and loved Col. Stevens. He was true to freedom, and brave to a fault. I saw him once, when the midnight sky was lurid with flames, and the air was startled by wild yells of fiendish triumph, grind his teeth but he that loveth father or mother or son or daughter upon his rifle barrel, in impotent rage, because his sumore than me is not worthy of me; and inasmuch as perior officer had given him orders to avoid a colliye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto remembered by our Western freemen. Why was the midnight sky lurid? Why the air startled? For Sla-Ferry and of the Martyr of Calvary. Whose hath ears very, is the rendy answer; and it was such scenes as this that educated Stevens, Hazlett, Cook, Kagi, Coppoc, and the others, immortal ones, who have fallen, for the victory at Harper's Ferry.

Aaron D. Stevens went from the Territory with a Missouri jail, having been abducted from that Terri- John Brown in 1857, and came back with him in 1858. tory by a band of kidnappers,) next took the platform. He took an active part in the defence of Southern and was warmly applauded. He said that, in view of Kansas, and was an able assistant of that other lionthe fresh tragedy which had taken place that day in hearted man, James Montgomery. On one occasion, Charlestown, Virginia, a heavy cloud was upon his a dough-face sheriff gathered a posse of two hundred spirit, and he did not feel like uttering a word. He ruffians to arrest Stevens and four companions-and proceeded, however, to make some very stirring re- for what? Because, justly fearing an attack, they marks, and spoke in the highest terms of Stevens, had-not interfered with or molested any man-but whom he personally knew. He would submit to the assumed the right guaranteed every citizen under the audience whether John Brown and his brave com- Constitution, that of bearing arms, and prepared panions at Harper's Ferry were justified in their to defend themselves. The posse advanced to withcourse, or not, by supposing that the Esquimaux and in a quarter of a mile of Capt. Brown's cabin, and Greenlanders had entered into an alliance to hold in then Kagi and Stavens came out to meet the sheriff slavery, by law and constitution, such American citi- and his advisers. This officer presented no process, zens as they might be able to get within their grasp. but ordered the party to surrender. Kagi refused. In such a case, would not unbounded admiration and Said a leading politician, a man who now seeks from gratitude be awarded to those who should interpose the hands of the Republican party of Kansas, the office by force to deliver those enslaved Americans from of U. S. Senator, But, Colonel, you cannot resist;

But we will resist! Believing we are right, before ing to the letter and spirit of the Golden Rule. Dr. God we will resist, though the whole universe were Doy briefly referred to his imprisonment in Missouri, against us! '-came' ringing back from the bugleand said all the facts pertaining to it would be found tones of Stevens. They reached the ears of the trembling posse. There was no fight.

Said one to Stevens, on that memorable Monday morning, at the Arsenal gate, 'By whose authority do you this? 'By the authority of God Almighty!' was the prompt response.

These are the men Virginia hangs. Woe unto the system by which it is brought about!

. They are gone! Freedom's strong ones, young and hoary! Beautiful in faith! And her first dawn-blush of glory Gilds their camp of death! There they lie in shrouds of blood; Murder'd, where for right they stood-Murder'd, Christ-like doing good.

They are gone, And 'tis good to die up-giving Valor's vengeful breath! To make heroes of the living : Thus divine is death! One by one, dear hearts, they've left us, Yet Hope hath not all bereft us: Still we man the breach they cleft us.

They are here! With us in the march of time, Beating at our side! Let us live their lives sublime. Die as they have died ! Wait! these martyrs yet shall come, Myriad-fold, from their heart-tomb, In the tyrant's day of doom ! "

How long shall these things be? How long shall our best and bravest be sacrificed to this crime? Sahung Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett. Oh, no but after five months of cruel and deliberate thought; hunt down the few that remain of the heroic band you allow this crime to exist, which makes of every ninth woman a prostitute, and a chattel of every seventh individual in the nation? In the Prussian King's palace at Potsdam hangs a large painting, represent The next is dated Dec. 27th. After alluding to ing a slave sale in one of our Southern States. Under How long. Americans, shall this fearful satire be true terms to Mrs. Spring, who visited Capt. Brown and of you? How long shall your name be a hiss in the mouth of the nations, and your boast a scorn on the lips of man?

The way has been pointed out. Do not plead ignorance. Kansas and Harper's Ferry have taught the ye would they should do unto you, and the shoe is norance. Insurrection is the Achilles'-heel of the curse of slavery has killed or blurred the most noble South. It is not for me to attempt to defend this curse of slavery has killed or blurred the most noble part of their souls. Oh how I wish they could look through the eyes of my soul, and see the evils of oppression! I know it would make them sick to look at it. We must live and learn. It was little we thought, when we saw each other last, that I should be in a to-day, I am dumb. It is not for me or you to defend the same times the same times to describe the sublime attempt of the 16th October last; of the martyrdom of the 2d and 16th of December, and of that which has passed to-day, I am dumb. It is not for me or you to defend this part of their souls. or talk, but only our privilege to act. For myself, pect—ready to meet any thing that comes. It is true Mr. President, I have only to say, that in 1856 I went that I should like to live yet swhile, for I have just to Kansas an anti-slavery man; and that I left no less got old enough to see how to live. Mr. President, I have only to say, that in 1856 I went one in 1859. If it was right for me to go to Kansas How manly ! how full of faith and love! The next to fight for white men against slaveholding oppresrelates mostly to business affairs, but has an allusion sion, how much more is it incumbent on me to fight

for the slave himself! I am ready whenever I can strike a blow.

There is work to be done for you who believe in political action, as well as for you who believe in John Brown. Come from out of the miserable expediencies of Republicanism, and vote for the men and principles of Freedom, wherein lay the strength of Wm. H of Freedom, which around him the earnestness and enthusiasm of young hearts? Because that he was thought to be true to freedom. Yet the syren king of ambition is wooing even him from his love. S. tor Seward seems in his late speech to have shelved the 'irrepressible conflict.' Like Banquo's ghost, it will not be laid. 'Murder will out.' Seward wash to retreat, or stand still : - he must submit to be crushed.

Anti-slavery men, you who believe in action-the action of the ballot-box as well as of the sword-it is time you were up and doing. Corrupt leaders are endeavoring to barter away your birth-right for a mess of pottage. Let us to-night, with all its sacred memories stirring around us, vow to dedicate ourselves anew to action. The contest is deepening; there is action in the political arena, and the time has come when we should fling out a new banner, writing thereon; The Abolition of Slavery-under the Constitution or over the Constitution; through the Union crout of the Union. Its abolition by all means and through every agency.' Marshalled under this banner, we can exert a moral force through the ballot-box never felt before. Are you for action? Answer in deeds!

Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, of Boston, followed Mr. Hinton in a very eloquent and stirring speech, which we regret our inability to lay before our readers. It was warmly applauded.

Rev. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, on being loudly called for, said that the remarks he might have felt disposed to make had been anticipated by Mr. Hinton. Besides, he wished to hear the gallant lender in the rescue of Dr. Doy, Joseph Garding, and was sure the audience would be gratified to have him take the platform. Mr. GARDNER, (who is upwards of six feet and two

inches high, and 'every inch a man,') on coming forward, was received with the greatest applause.

REMARKS OF JOSEPH GARDNER. Mr. Gardner said that this was the proudest, and

vet the suddest moment of his life. He felt proud to meet so many good friends here in Boston-friends not only to himself, but the great cause of human freedom. It was sail to think of the fate of those brave young men, who, prompted by no other feeling than that of a desire to elevate the down-trodden and oppressed, had this day felt the trembling power of Virginia's merciless hand.

It would be needless for him, even if he had the ability, to add anything to what had already been said by those who had preceded him. He did not feel that this was a time for long-drawn metaphysical arguments. He wanted something practical. He felt out of his place upon the rostrum; he would feel much more at home on the prairies of Kansas. He no longer had any faith in the potency of moral suasion, as applied to the institution of slavery. His experience in the land of squatter sovereigns had convinced him that the revolver is much more potent and convincing to the tyrant than the Sermon on the Mount. He could not help admiring the manner in which Cassius M. Clay addressed himself to a Kentucky audience. Placing the Bible in front the Constitution on the one hand, and the revolver on the other, he says, 'I have this for the Christian-this for the politician-and THIS for him who can understand and appreciate nothing else.' It is in this way that he is enabled to command the respect and attention of a Kentucky audience, and deal out blows that make

the peculiar institution fairly tremble at his presence. It has been said by one of the speakers on this occasion, in the language of Patrick Henry, 'Give me liberty, or give me death.' That was all well enough in its way; but, under the benign influences of Squatter Sovereignty, we had been compelled to revise and improve that patriotic sentiment. The Kansas edition reads, 'Give me liberty, or I will give you death.' Acting upon this principle, Karsas stands to-day redeemed, the brighest gem in the crownge of Liberty; yea, the pride of the whole civilized

world. Kansas is now, for the third and last time, knocking at the door of the Union, and asking for admission. If this request be granted, all right; if not, you may expect to hear of fun as soon as the present session of Congress is over. The programme then will be to dismiss our federal appointees, start an independent government, and annex the United States to Kansas, as soon as they will abolish slavery, and ask for such a favor.

It is a proud satisfaction to know that everything that could be done, has been done to save those noble young men, who have this day laid down their lives in behalf of the slave. Not only at the bar of Vaginia has every effort, possible, been made, but the whole ground has been thoroughly looked over with reference to a rescue of the prisoners. The sesson of the year and the geography of the country were against the enterprise.

John Brown is gone; but, as long as slavery lasts, there will be men to fill his place. The idea that the Slave Power adds to its security by its course towards him and his followers, is the greatest mistake of the age. Who is to take the place of the hero of Osawatomie? We have in Kansas the hero of Fort Scott, who, in December, 1858, rescued a prisoner, urjustly held, guilty of no crime, only devotion to freedom, in the face of an armed body numbering ten to one. He, too, it was, who taught the United States troops that the stars and stripes offered no protection when they were engaged in the unholy work of hunting down, at the instigation of the Slave Power, the freemen of Kansas. That man is James Montgonter, who, in all his labors in southern Kansas, never lost a

But he is not our only hope; we have them on every hill-top, in every glen, on all sides. So long as men attempt to tyrannize over their fellow-men, to trample under foot all these God-given rights of hamanity, just so long will we have our heroes of Banker Hill, of Lexington, of Osawatomie, of Fort Scott, of Wakarusa, and of St. Joseph.

All the speakers were frequently and enthusiastically applauded, especially in their strongest utterances. It was a meeting long to be remembered

THE EXECUTION OF STEVENS AND HAZLETT, The Charlestown Jeffersonian furnishes details of the encution of Stevens and Hazlett, on Friday last, and expresses the hope that the four survivors of the Brown party may not be brought to trial, as it is the desire of the county that no more blood may be the and that the county test shall not be made be theatre of another excitement. Mrs. Pearce, a sixter of Stevens, and a Miss Gibson of Ohio, to whom he was engaged to be married, were present up to the day preceding the execution, and the whole party, together with Hazlett and his brother, took a metraful parting breakfast in the corridor of the jail on that morning. There appears to have been no fear of a rescue, but the execution was attended by eight companies of military, and an immense throng spectators was in attendance. The prisoners walked to the scaffold, and maintained until the last an easy and unconcerned air. Both seemed perfectly indiffer ent, and neither gave any signs of fear. There were no religious exercises, the prisoners declining all offers from the clergy. The bodies were placed in coffes, and forwarded to the residence of Marcus Spring, at Perth Amboy, N. J., where appropriate funeral services were held on Sunday morning, when the bodies were committed to the earth.

LETTER PROM WILLIAM S. BAILEY. Mr. Bailey, the devoted and intrepid advocate d emancipation in Kentucky, whose press has been registedly destroyed by mobocratic violence, whose curral (The Free South) has been suppressed as a prisance, and whose life is now seriously threatened. grads us the following letter, which we trust will scare a prompt and generous pecuniary response on the part of his many sympathizing friends at the North. Of course, we do not agree with him in his views of the impotency of peace principles.

NEWPORT, (Ky.,) March 13, 1860. My DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I send you a Cincinnati Commercial newspaper by this mail, containing a notice of some of my perse calons. I will thank you to say something about gin the Liberator. Since Messrs, Fee, Rogers, Davis and other anti-slavery men have left the State, and at the stere bidding of slaveholders, I have been set the more state occur set leace in proportion to the timidity they create,

Non-resistance, doing good for evil, giving you coat to him who takes your cloak, and showing mercy to transgressors, will never Aumanize a slaveholder's heart. I have tried all these, and must grasp the rife to meet the savage foe. I am sorry to do this, friend Garrison, but the deadly weapon is alone respected or feared by them: law is treated with contempt. I have some friends with me who assist my family and me to watch, night and day, to protect our remaining property and our lives, and we are all weary with fatigue. I have such the mobites in Cincinnati, and hope to

get a fair remuneration for my loss. This suit has made them raving with malice. They destroy my property because I advocate freedom in Kentucky, and when I seek redress, they threaten to destroy more, and take my life. My expenses are much increased by this tirade of persecution, and I do hope some able friends will aid me now. I shall yield no more, to tyrahts, but shall defend my cause and person until death. Liberty can never be won by submitting to oppressors. Our firmness shall bring back the exiles ordered away by usurpers, and they shall be free men upon Kentucky soil: no tyrant shall make them afraid. And although the slaveholding eligarchy have destroyed my press, they have not destroyed the spirit of freedom. They were an organized band of house-breakers and sackers, and we were unprepared and unaware of such an attempt. Now, our shot-guns, pistols and rifles keep them, if not quiet, at a respectful distance, But we want aid, and should have it very soon. Friend Garrison, the infernal pro-slavery mobites cannot drive me out, nor cas they again destroy my press.

Persons writing to me will please direct to 'Cov-

ington, Kentucky, instead of Newport, as the postmaster here, J. Q. A. Foster, is a leading mobite against me, and I have no confidence in his integrity. When my paper is started again, these mobites will be better known.

Your friend and ever faithful, WILLIAM S. BAILEY.

THE REEDS AND THE OAK.

It appears that Dr. Howe and John A. Andrew were quite correct in assuming that their rights as citizens would be protected neither by their State nor their party. They judged it needful to bend, to avoid the certain alternative of being broken. Mr. Hyatt, she would not bend, has been prostrated by the torm, and now lies in prison. He has, however, the consolation of reflecting that he has done all that a member of the Republican party could do, in defence of his rights as a citizen. He has, with pertinacious consistency, paid the Constitution the compliment of assuming that its provisions are sufficient to preserve his liberty and secure his rights, and he has also paid the Republican party the compliment of assuming that they will see those provisions put in force for his protection. It is a note-worthy and instructive Nemesia, that these men, who have been shouting for the Constitution and the Union, and rejoicing in the anticipation that the powerful and growing party to which they belong would keep these two precious things inviolate, now find the provisions of that Constitution in their behalf nullified by that very Unionand their party kept from acting in defence of their have helped to form-and the tyranny of the Slave rights by that very allegiance to the Union which they Power (which they, in consideration of the expected benefits of the Union to white freemen, had deliberately allowed to be exercised over slaves,) now stretched to grasp, and to crush, them also. They find, as Runger found in Southey's fearful ballad, that compromoses with a demon is likely to entangle the com-

> Cald horror crept through Margaret's blood, When Rudder approach'd the cave, And crisd- "Lo, I am here!"

A deep sepulchral sound the cave Return'd-" Lo. I am here!

And black from out the osvers gloom Two giant arms appear.

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And Rudiger approach'd, and held

The little infant nigh; Then Margaret shriek'd, and gather'd then New powers from agony.

And round the baby fast and close Her trembling arms she folds,

And with a strong convulsive grasp The little infant holds.

"Now help me, Jesus!" loud she cries, And lond on God she calls : Then from the grasp of Rudiger The little infant falls :

And loud he shrick'd, for now his frame The huge black arms clasp'd round, And dragg'd the wretched Rudiger Adown the dark profound.'

We shall see now whether the Republicans will have the assurance to leave Mr. Hyatt in jail, without an effort for his relief, and proceed with their customary campaign operations, making their customary protestations of devotion to that Union which thus breaks down the rights, and lays its tyrannical grasp upon the persons, of their own members, white men and Republicans. If we may judge by the style of comment of one of their accredited journals, the 'Respectable Daily,' they will do so. After speaking of Mr. Hyatt as the 'contumacious witness,' the Adverfiser says, (20th inst.) 'Just at present, he seems to be lying in jail for no particular object, with no particular question at issue, and without a particle of public interest being felt in the whole affair. - c. K. W.

#### LETTER FROM ANDREW T. FOSS.

Dear Mr. Garrison-I have a particular pleasure in asking you to give insertion to the following letter, from our friend A. T. Fess, now laboring in Barnstable county. The long-looked for day, when the Northern Church shall truly own their Lord, in the person of the slave, and of the slave's cause, seems to be dawning upon us at last. Hail to the guiding light, which now, as of old, seems to break forth first in the East! As the gospel was first recognized and accepted by the fishermen of Judea, so is its real character and work, in relation to the four million degraded and outraged slaves in this falsely-called Christian land, first appreciated and accepted among the New England fishermen. Think of an Orthodox Church in Massachusetts, with one consent, placing their dearly-loved missionary cause, and the once-despised anti-slavery cause, on the same level of respect and consideration, and dividing equally between the two their contributions for the furtherance of the gospel! When this shall be the spirit of the churches generally, now almost universally scorning and preventing this truly Christian cause, then may the men and the women, whose lives for quarter of a century, and more, have been given to say joyfully, 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servants; ican Publications.

depart in peace, for our eyes have seen thy salvation. Taught by much past experience, we may not look for any miraculous spread of this divine light, but of this we may be sure, that no power of man can confine or limit its glorious and penetrating power. Excuse these words, and let your readers hear Mr. Foss.

I am, very truly, yours, SAMUEL MAY, JR.

HARWICH, March 5, 1860. DEAR FRIEND MAY-Yesterday I held two good meetings in Union Hall in this place. In the afternoon the hall was well filled, with an attentive and

appreciative audience. Rev. Mr. Munsell (the Orthodox minister of this place) has, since the John Brown demonstration, been much revived, and very faithful in the anti-slavery cause. An anti-slavery meeting has been kept up here, once in two weeks, since the 2d day of December, which has been attended with much interest,

and in which all parties have participated. Joshua H. Robbins, was encouraged to ask Mr. Munsell to allow me the privilege of speaking to his congregation, in his house of worship, on Sunday evening. Mr. Munsell replied that it was their regular concert of prayer for missions. But, inasmuch as 57th year of Independence. they held no relation to any pro-slavery ecclesiastical body, and inasmuch as anti-slavery is eminently missionary work, therefore he would cordially invite me to make an anti-slavery address on the obcasion.

The thing was a novelty, and drew in a very large

and deeply attentive audience. exercises, and then introduced me to the meeting. I ist, HEUNTELOU!

In order that all the inhabitants of the district of Mr. Munsell opened the meeting with the usual tried to show the eminently religious character of our Cayes, and of the surrounding country, may have a cause. I spoke of the character and condition of perfect knowledge of the sorrowful grama which excause. I spoke of the character and condition of the world, we take upon our-those in whose behalf we labor, and maintained that selves the task of explaining, in a few words, who our work was only a practical acceptance of the fundamental principles of Christianity. I was heard name by an effort in behalf of the liberty of our race? to the last word with earnest attention.

Mr. Munsell heartily endorsed what I had said, Quen Brooks, Esq., one of the prominent members of the church, moved that the usual contri- do unto us. bution now to be taken for the missionary cause be divided, giving one-half to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which was unanimously voted. The same gentleman moved a vote of thanks for the address, which was taken by rising.

sure have good cause to be, for the action I have slaves! (1) Providence judged otherwise. The Mos above stated took place on the close of a speech in High has willed to delay the hour of our brethren's which the position of the American church to the deliverance, but that deliverance is sure. John Brown anti-slavery cause had been criticised with earnest- of the South of the Union have sacrificed, on the

DISQUISITIONS AND NOTES ON THE GOSPELS. Matthew. By John H. Morison. Boston: Walker, Wise &

Co., 245 Washington Street. 1860. and therefore easily read. Its author is a Unitarian elergyman of learning and ability, and its preparation must have required no small amount of labor and trouble; nevertheless, these might have been put to a more practical service, we think, for there is no end to Commentaries on the Gospels, which generally make what was doubtful still more obscure, and are generally very dull and very unprofitable reading. Indeed, Mr. Morison, in his Preface, with almost amusing ingenuousness, says: -

· Both believers and unbelievers read too much about the Gospel in the works of their favorite guides, and study the Gospels themselves too little. We have never known a diligent and thorough study of the New Testament to end either in bigotry or unbelief.

resort so frequently to candles?

On a cursory examination of this volume, we do church. not any where perceive in it any indication of an independent thinker or interpreter. All the miraculous incidents recorded in Matthew are readily accepted as entirely reliable by Mr. Morison: although he venentirely reliable by Mr. Morison; although he venbelief of Christendon, and in opposition to the popu- soldiers congregated there, without aims, were drawn lar understanding of the term, that "a miracle is up in front of the procession as if to salute it.

The venerable chief of the district and his staff, not a violation or suspension of the laws of nature."
Webster defines a miracle thus: — In theology, an church behind the monument erected in memory of event or effect contrary to the established condition and the illustrious sufferer, the body of the He seems to find no difficulty in believing the story of the 'miraculous conception,' which he would instantly reject as fabulous in any other book. He says:

leged fact, because we cannot see iar enough to recon-cile it with our preconceived and limited ideas of naof plants or animais (!) are first introduced ?'

This may be an ingenious solution of the difficulty, but the reasoning is just as applicable to all the marvels recited in the Koran or the Veda, or any of the alleged miracles recorded by the Catholic Church. To every cavil or doubt, the Catholic, or Brahmin, or upon the cenotaph, and after him the Magistrate of Mohammedan might reply, 'Is it the part of a true the Communal, the Commandant of the city, and philosophy to deny the alleged fact, because we cannot see far enough to reconcile it with our precon-ceived and limited ideas of nature and the natural order of events?" We should still trust to 'nature and the natural order of events,' rather than to such verhal jugglery.

Even with this summary method of surmounting all difficulties, Mr. Morison agrees with Olshausen in presence of the multitude, who love to recall the considering the story of the tribute-money and the fish 'the' most difficult miracle in the Gospels.' Why more difficult than that of the miraculous conception? 'It, more than any other, has an air of marvellousness about it, such as we find in later and apocryphal writings. But there is no reason to question the genuineness of the passage.' Yet recorded in any other book, it would be only a fable to be laughed at !

So of the resurrection. Mr. Morison insists that the different accounts of it in the four Gospels are not contradictory. To prove this, he makes a number of To the Memory of the Immortal John Brown, Martyn ingenious guesses and suppositions, by a resort to which any statements, however absurd or conflictive, may be rendered plausible and satisfactory. This shows the force of theological training and traditional bias. We should like to have him honestly ask him- tions; since the lamentable cry of thy defeat and o Old or New Testament he would accept as reliable, if its performance should take place to-day in his own hast scrifted thyself to come and invoke the memtown or neighborhood, on the testimony of others, or ory of thy glorious name; yet forgive his thus even as an eye-witness. If he feels conscious that, troubling thy spirit. whatever might be the event, he would discredit it as a miracle, though unable to understand how it was proaltar's incense, mingled with our fervent prayers, duced, then he should see the folly of accepting it as rises to Heaven as a balm to soothe thy martyred such, merely because it is narrated in an ancient spirit. Yes; all these perfumes, these flowers, that manuscript. What we would not or could not believe we scatter in memory of thee, are nothing. Thou art in the present, if alleged to have occurred, we would in the present, if alleged to have occurred, we would peace in their grave, and the loss that Philanthropy not or could not believe in the past. By this simple has met with, in the death of such a devoted spostle test, we may know to what we really give an intellitest, we may know to what we really give an intelli-gent assent, and what we blindly accept through truly those heroic strucyles which thou hast alway sustained against the unchained passions of men, for tradition.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for April, contains the following papers:—1. The Laws of Beauty. 2. Found and Lost. 3. An Experience. 4. About seal of mystery, had not judged thee too divine to Thieves. 5. The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. 6. The Portrait. 7. American Magazine Literature of the Last Century. 8. Come si Chiami? 9. Bardie Symbols. 10. Hunting a Pass. 11. Kepler. The army of abolitionists has seen fall, in a day, the 12. Pleasure-Pain. 13. The Professor's Story. 14. Lost Beliefs. 15. The Mexicans and their Country. the arousing of a land 'dead in trespasses and sins.' 16. Reviews and Literary Notices. 17. Recent Amer-

[Translated for the Liberator.]

HONORS PAID TO JOHN BROWN IN HAYTI. COMMUNAL COUNCIL AUX CAYES.

Monsieur-In accordance with the desire of the people of Cayes, the Communal Council notifies you that a funeral mass will be performed, at the parish church of that city, on Thursday, the 26th of the present month, at eight o'clock in the morning, in nemory of John Brown, the illustrious victim a

Harper's Ferry.
The Council salutes you affectionately. Magistrate of the Commun DUCOSTE.

Aux Cares, Jan. 20, 1860.

ORDER OF EXERCISES,

For the Funeral Ceremonies of John Brown. On the 26th, from six o'clock in the morning until or, the flag-staffs on the harbor and in the city will be hung in black.

At eight o'clock, the people will assemble at the So earnest and faithful had been the spirit and church. At half-past seven, the officers of all the work in this place, that our ever-vigilant friend, regiments, the public functionaries, and the foreign consuls, will meet at the quarters of the Commanda of the district. At eight o'clock, the procession, after forming in the usual manner, will go to the church.

Magistrate of the Commun DUCOSTE.

To our Fellow-Citizens :

Let us repeat the cry which humanity has uttered by the voice of one of her champions, Hugo!

Let us second the energetic appeal of one journal

This extraordinary man is John Brown; a white man widely known; an abolitionist; always in the breach. Mr. Munsell heartily endorsed what I had said, and exhorted the people to a higher anti-slavery life. He taught union and concord to all men, in showing us that being brethren, we ought to love each other as such, and to do unto others as we would they should

In 1858, this indefatigable apostle of Liberty did not shrink from the heroic mission of going into the Southern Stares of America, and taking away slaves, by main force, in order to send them to Canada, where they are now enjoying their freedom. Last year, still persevering in the accomplishment of so sublime a work, he wished to strike a final blow, Our friends here are greatly encouraged, and I am and break the chains of more that four millions of has fallen a victim to his devotion. The brutal States ness, and, perhaps some may have thought, severity.

N. T. FOSS.

Two of his sons died bravely at his side, and the other members of his valiant band are also going to suffer the pain of death. This is what you all should know friends, fellow-citizens, brothers of Hayti!

There is formed a . Central Benevolent Association, which has for its head the Commandant of the district, followed by the names of numerous citizens. This is a volume of 540 pages, very legibly printed. The number of members of this association is not limited, and its mission will be as important as it is noble.

(1) See the reports of the 'African Institute.'

REPORT.

The twenty-sixth of this month, the day fixed to celebrate the memory of John Brown, the immortal victim, who sacrificed himself for the welfare of our enslaved brethren, was impressive.

The sun, as if partaking of our sorrow, shed sombre

rays throughout the day. At eight A. M. the flag-staff at the harbor gave the signal for mourning, to which the national and foreign ships responded simul-taneously, as also the different flag-staffs in the city, which itself testified its mourning by the profound grief seen on every face.

All the military, the officers of the different regi

ments, the Judiciary and the Executive, the work-If this be so, then, as to the publication of the pres- men of every trade, and the numerous members of ent work,—Cui bonot If the sun is sufficient, why the Central Benevolent Association, formed the procession of General Fettierre, Commandant of the district, who immediately started with them for the Arrived opposite the church, the procession, as is

event or effect contrary to the established condition and entered, and seated themselves down the two aisles, course of things, or a deviation from the known laws of at the right and left of the monument. The soldiers nature; a supernature levent. Why, then, does Mr. then pressed in to form a line down the two galleries Morison use the term, but totally change its meaning? A quarter of an hour afterward the attendance wa numerous, and the interior of the church, draped in black, had no place unoccupied. Three masters of ceremony distributed crape.

The services began most impressively. The offi-

'Is it the part of a true philosophy to deny the alcile it with our preconceived and limited ideas of na-ture and the natural order of events? In regard to the miraculous conception of Jesus by an immediate relative sect of the divine spirit, may we not regard it as analogous to those creative epochs when new orders of plants or animals (1) are divined to the price of the price of the price was that of a true Catholic, and, above all, that of a true philanthropist. The religious only at long intervals martial music sounded solemnly. Several citizens spoke consecutively. We think their

words were well listened to and appreciated.

While two young girls and two youths gathered the offerings, and chosen hymns were chanted, the 'Commandant General' of the district threw flowers all others present who wished. Then the school children, and young girls bearing baskets, came also where he received them courteously and offered them

We went away pleased to see that the citizens of Caves understood their duty. In the evening the \*Libera' was chanted, at the foot of the cross, in memory of this sorrowful, yet glorious day, because, as I said before, every one was devoted to the accomplishment of his duty. We do not doubt but that the enlightened zeal, of which the inhabitants of this city give proof, will crown our work to its end, and we truly hope that in all circumstances, as now, we shall find in our city this same unity of sentiment, this same harmony, in which is always our greatest

We report one of the speeches read on this occasion, the memory of which will remain forever engraven on the hearts of the people of Cayes.

ADDRESS OF CITIZEN S. RAMEAU. of Liberty:

Since thy love of liberty has rent asunder the vei of lies, and thy mighty voice has proclaimed an eternal truth which thy courage has bravely defended; since universal enthusiasm offers to thee, everywhere, ovaself, which one of all the miracles recorded in the thy tragic end, from across the seas, finds an echo in the bosom of the Haytian people, who owe thee a statue-permit a lover of that liberty for which thou

dwell longer upon our earth, so little worthy of thy lofty soul and the great deeds of which it was capable Thou sleepest in the tomb, John Brown! recalling to us the form of the Son of God nailed to the cross advance-guard of struggling humanity. The geniu of liberty has lost one of those brave souls which secure victory. But, like the Phonix, thou wilt rise again from thy ashes—wilt re-appear, overshadowing with thy spirit the star-spangled banner of that land,

large as a world, and of which the name of republic THE HUMAN VOICE: its Right Management in Speak-(the only constitutional form capable of governing it) forms a striking contrast to the deadly system which

forms a striking contrast to the deady system which it conceals in its bosom—Slatery—a system contrary to all just laws, and which troubles continually the departed spirits of Franklin and Washington.

Yes, thy death causes tears of blood to flow, and leaves upon the earth a dreadful void! Yet, in the heart of advanced society, on the scene of sublime thoughts and noble deeds, thy name will shine as a crown of glory, showing to the oppressed sons of Africa their future, and the sure road to their de-

And who knows but, at this solemn hour, whe thy spirit penetrates us with a deep feeling of pro-found grief—who knows but that our oppressors re-joice at the sight of thy sepulchral stone! Oh, infatjoice at the sight of thy sepulchral stone! Oh, infat-uated mortals, the abyss which engulfed thy scaffold has opened under their footsteps, and they in their author, even though (as he asserts) it is 'the result blindness did not see it!

silence upon the slow but sure progress of thy vic-tory. A mute witness, thou wilt one day see fire from heaven devour the new Sodom, if the South re-from heaven devour the new Sodom, if the South re-neither lucid nor satisfactory. Its disregard of all mains longer deaf to the voice of the Redeemer, the voice of God! Then thou shalt awake as from a ridiculous jumble of the reading, throughout. Take long sleep, and find at thy side two great spirits, who would gladly have crowned thy brow with immortal laurels—Oge and Chavannes! With them and thy children, (thy worthy disciples,) and all other mar-tyrs of the cause, thou wilt chant forth the sacred hymn of Liberty, of deliverance, of the equality of all men. God's justice will be done, and the world be purged from the plague of slavery! . . .

powerful Father! in this day of calamity, deign to thear our voice, deign to grant our wishes and our prayers!

Now this work according to You and the five of an Anglo-Saxon verb beonutan or bettan or betan to be out that is to set aside.

'According however to Archbishop Whately's views, Hodge the ploughman must be the best speaker

To our Fellow-Citizens and Friends:

Humanity demands, at this hour, for the widow of themselves, but for all races of men. In this mani-festation, the principal object of which should be to alevinte the sufferings of a mother doubly-stricken in her dearest affections, Hayti owes a large share of sincere gratitude and eternal regard.

to the inhabitants of all the surrounding districts and And you who carry little children in your arms-

women, tender mothers—we see each of you, tears in your eyes, full of faith, of religion, offering your mite. Hasten! the moment is sacred! your names will pass to immortality. President of the ' Central Benevolent Association,

A. FETTIERRE. Vice-Presidents, DuCoste, J. Baptiste, S. Rameau. From the Boston Traveller.

IMPRISONMENT OF MR. HYATT.

WASHINGTON, March 16. Editors of the Boston Traveller: The case of Mr. Hyatt is exciting much attention. enators and members of the House are among his amerous visitors. The jailor has relaxed the rules, hich are rigorously enforced against the other prisners, whether rich or poor, which are, that they tall receive no visitors, except members of their own amediately family and their physician. Mr. Hyt's room is quite large, with a high ceiling, a very rge window grated with heavy iron bars, from which I view of the city is excluded by heavy wooden inds, which can neither be opened nor removed. When Mr. H. was placed in the room, it was bare of I furniture. Government has supplied him with othing. The room now contains a bed, three chairs, walnut table, a few tin and earthen dishes, a washand and fixtures. The brick floor is covered with ment, except in large spots where it is broken away. he walls and ceilings are whitewashed, and th om is scrupulously clean. All the furniture of the om has been supplied at the cost of the prisoner, will be all the additions made to his accommoda-

Mr. Hyatt appears not at all downcast by his im-isonment. He declares his determination to mainin the position he has assumed, because he believes to be right, and because he believes it would be rong to accede to the demands of the Senate. Not at he desires to conceal anything, for he has asrted that whenever the Senate will recede from the impulsory process, he will volunteer to answer any testions which they may ask. His position is this: e denies the right of the Senate to coerce witnesses, ther as to attendance or as to testimony. He has thing which he desires to conceal, but he declares s intention to test this power of the Senate. He in suffer as long as they can inflict

as resolved itself into a question of endurance.

Mr. Hyatt has sent for his library and his maps, made arrangements for furnishing his room comgument of counsel, and his comments and concluons upon the whole subject. This pamphlet will \$2 50 per hundred. published in two editions; the one printed in all e luxury of fine paper and large type, illustrated ith the finest lithographs procurable in this country Senators Summer and Hale, his defenders in the mate; the other in a cheap form-both to be disibuted at cost. One good has already resulted from Mr. Hyatt's in-

story was inquired into, and it was found that he as a free negro, from the neighborhood of Frederick, d.; that he had come to this city to seek employ-ent, and that being ignorant of the laws, he had reained here more than ten days without having ob-ined formal permission of the Mayor. Hence, he All the above will be mailed as arrested, fined, and, being unable to pay his fine, d being unable to give a satisfactory account of mself, here he has since remained at a cost to mself of thirty-four cents a day. In a few months ore, if unable to pay these fines and fees, and if ed by no person as a slave, or if liberated by no t only take him into his service, but that if what had told him was true, he would make him a free an within a month. Mr. H. has already made arare ments to despatch a trusty person to Frederick,
procure witnesses to the negro's identity, and to
procure certified copies of his free papers, which, if ocure certified copies of his free papers, which, if existence, are on file with the clerk of the Court. Then these are obtained, nothing further is necesry but to pay his before-mentioned fine and fees set the negro at liberty. The money for this Mr. will advance from his own pocket. It will cost im, altogether, nearly two hundred dollars.

DEATH OF THE WIPE OF OLIVER BROWN. A COTespondent furnishes the following :-- 'The young wife (Oliver Brown, slain at Harper's Ferry, passed away om earth on the second of this month, at North El-a. She died in child-birth; the infant died soon afer birth, She was but eighteen years old, and had een married only about five months when her hus and went to Harper's Ferry. Alas! sorrow sits heavy that mourning household among the Adiron-acks, and it would seem as if their grief was more aan they could bear. God comfort them!

CALEB CUSHING IN COALITION TIMES. In a recent amphlet by Hon. Francis W. Bird, reviewing the eto message of Governor Banks on striking out the ord 'white' from the military clause of the Conitution, as we learn from the Journal, Mr. Bird takes a singular disclosure. When Caleb Cushing udicial Court of this State, the nomination hung me time in the Council, and, as has always been un erstood, was finally confirmed by the vote of Mr. ird, then a member of the Council, who held the balsird, then a member of the Council, who held the balace of power. Mr. Bird says that nomination 'was
infirmed solely upon his (Cushing's) intimate permal and political friends stating that he, Cushing,
vas heartily with the "conlition" wing of the Demcratic party of Massachusetts, though ostensibly acting with the "hunkers" for the purpose of cheating
iem; that he, Caleb Cushing, desired, and promotd, and secured the election of Charles Sumner as
Juited States Senator; and that, if confirmed, he
vould exer' all his influence increased by the position
which a place on the bench would give him, to pronote the fortunes of the Anti-Slavery wing of the note the fortunes of the Anti-Slavery wing of the Democratic party in Massachusetts, and in the National Democratic Convention, then about to be held.'

—Boston Atlas.

ing, Reading, and Debating, including the Principles of True Eloquence; together with the Functions of the Vocal Organs-the Motion of the Letters of the Alphabet-the Cultivation of the Earthe Disorders of the Vocal and Articulating Organs-Origin and Construction of the English Language-Proper Methods of Delivery-Remedial Effects of Reading and Speaking, &c. By the Rev. W. W. Cazalet, A. M. Cantab. New York : Fow-

ler & Wells, Publishers, Broadway. This is the long and pretentious title of a small mphlet, which is without merit or value, and inof much thought and study over a period of more Thou, from the height of heaven, lookest down in than fifteen years. The illustrations as to the 'proper ridiculous jumble of the reading, throughout. Take

'A look nay a movement may give indication of mental operation but the mouth is shut and utterance denied.

Now these abbreviations as Mr. Tooke observe

for he always utters his own sentiments and in the natural manner that is he ignores the voice for, he the martyr of Harper's Ferry, the generous assistance knows nothing about it. And the tale told of the of all those nations who worship liberty, not only for ploughman turned preacher answers all his Grace's necessary conditions who on being thus addressed . Why I hear you have taken to preach when you can't even read' replied . No mother reads I sponds.'

In these five brief quotations, the rules of punctu ation are grossly violated upwards of fifty times, and In order to accomplish this holy duty, we appeal to ation are grossly violated upwards of fifty times, and the generous sympathies of the citizens of Cayes and in the work itself times without number, which ought to be immediately suppressed on this account, if for no other reason.

> LETTER FROM A TRIED A. S. FRIEND. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I am happy to see the contributions which have been thus far acknowledged for the family of one of the most unselfish and devoted men who have lived in this age. John Brown and his associates, though dead, yet speak in thunder-tones to this wicked nation. Is it not as necessary now as in Christ's day to have such noble sacrifices of human life to awaken the people to a sense of their awful responsibility?

I have been thinking that I can contribute a mite in no better way to the family of John Brown than by sending them the Liberator, (if they do not already receive it,) believing, as I do, that it will help them to consummate the great object for which he lived, suffered and died.

-Yours, for spreading the Gospel of Liberty, REUBEN H. OBER.

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,) 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 C 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.

No. 8. An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections 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 Beekman street, New York; 107 North Fifth street,

adelphia; and 21 Cornhill, Boston. LE The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has rtably, and will make himself as contended as possile with a view to a stay of years. He has written
is brother to conduct his affairs as though he were

New York in really to Reg. Henry Ward Beecher, on ad. He speaks of his intention of employing his New York, in reply to Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on me in study; but he is now engaged in preparing a the American Board of Foreign Missions. Orders for umphlet, containing his reasons for taking the these should be sent to the Secretary's Office, No. 5 urse he has, containing the debate on his case, the Reckman street New York. Price three cents single: Beekman street, New York. Price, three cents single;

#### READ THIS.

The subscriber can now furnish copies of the Photograph of LYDIA MARIA CHILD, with autographic fac simile, executed by Ormsbee, at the low price of 50 cents. Also, the few remaining Lithod, dirty, ragged, and wretched in appearance, alady imprisoned six months, applied to Mr. H. to be receive orders for the handsome Colored Engraving. into his service as attendant. Of course, his 20 by 28 inches, of the BOSTON MASSACRE-on sheet, \$1.50; gilt frame, \$3.50. As the stone on which this design was drawn has been accidentally destroyed, this is a rare chance for purchasing, as the

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

Dr. John S. Rock will deliver his lecture or Woman, the intellectual equal of Man, as illustrated end, he will be sold to defray these expenses. On a Woman, the intellectual equal of Man, as illustrated arning these facts, Mr. Hyatt told him that he would in the Character and Writings of Madame de Staël, before the members of the Legislature, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, this (Friday) evening,

FAST DAY.

OLD COLONY .- A regular quarterly meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Fast Day, April 5th, at DUXBURY, in the Universalist Meeting-house, commencing at half-past 10 o'clock, A. M., which all persons are invited to attend. Members of the Society, and friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause generally, are especially request-

ed to come.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and other speakers (to be hereafter announced) are expected to be present. BOURNE SPOONER, President. SAMUEL DYER, Sec'y.

TE ESSEX COUNTY.—A quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at GROVELAND, in the Free Church, on Sunday, Further particulars, with names of speakers, &c.

CHARLES L. REMOND, President. Moses WRIGHT, Sec'y. REV. WM. G. BABCOCK will close his min istry at South Natick, April 1st. His address will be the same as usual for the present.

next week.

MARRIED-In Blackstone, Feb. 27, by Rev. Mr. Boyden, John J. Phy, of Burritt, Winnebago Co., Ill., and Miss Sarah Alice Ballou, of Providence,

THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS

Wholesale Booksellers. 114 & 116 WASHINGTON ST.

BOSTON, MASS. Mehl6 tf

IT IS NOT A DYE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

# HAIR RESTORER,

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

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distin-guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day ithout success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

#### IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative ?

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

Persons personally known to us have come volunta-rily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known St. Louis Presbyterian. in St. Louis. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has

given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet.

Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Mass. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE-STORER is worthy of confidence.'

Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.

'Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used.' N. Y. Eeangelist.

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. AL LEN's as the Hair Restorer.' MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has

taken its place at the head of all articles of the

kind. Michigan Christian Herald. Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy. Knozville Presbyterian Witness.

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

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like coler and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effectual and yet not a dye-Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER will do this." In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as

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

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair, ros-SESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DYE. . Philadelphia Mercury. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has

acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's
WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Simply
because it is a preparation of real merit, and has
never failed, in a single instance, to produce the
good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most ap-propriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.' Newark Register. We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-

LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated. Rahway Register.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable. Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

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

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

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

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

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

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

We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's HAIR RESTORER are correct. Boston Olive Branch.

Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence. Norfolk Armes. Phose unsuccessful with other articles can try this Boston Transcript.

with success. is just what it purports to be.' Cleve. Leader. TRY IT.

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

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

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. V.

where address all letters and inquiries.

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this, which they make more wost. Write to Depot recircular, terms and information. Genuine issigni, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of coun-

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

#### POETRY.

From the New York Independent. WHITE SLAVES. BY EDNA DEAN PROCTOR.

The household of a Roman, in Rome's luxurious time Was filled with slaves in waiting, from every conquer-

There were dreamy-eyed Egyptians, born where th lotus blows, And Syrians won from Lebanon, fair as its sunse

And dancing girls from Cadiz, to while the hours with

And dark Numidian beauties, the bronzes of the And light-haired Scythians, that pined beneath his

palace dome, And stately Carthagenian maids, who would no smile in Rome! These were their master's chattels, and humbly

watched his ways. And kept his house, and swelled his train, and graced

But, should the lordly Roman forget his high disdain And love the maid of Carthage, or the singing girl of Spain. And did she bear him children, wait till his death

should be, And she and they, by Roman law, were made forever

O, is it not a fearful thing that in this later time, We live again the ages past, and deeper dye their crime!

There's many a Southern household whose children only raise To meet their father's coming the slave's bewildered

Daughters fair and sensitive, from the white blood of

And sons with all his grasp of thought, and all his haughty ire:

His slaves while he is living-his slaves when he dead-No law denies the market the proud Caucasian head But, hurried to the auction, the youth and maid are

To save their lands for legal heirs, and fill their palms with gold! And the ampler is the forehead, and the clearer is the

skin. The sharper grows the contest, and the louder swells

In Rome, the sire's patrician blood release and hone With us, it only firmer clasps the fetters of the slave

And evermore they cry to us in yearning and de To open Freedom's blessed gate, and let them breath

its air ! Before the winter moon had waned, a tender child o nine.

Her brow just tinted by the land where warmer sunbeams shine,

With her small mouth all tremulous, and eyelids we with tears, And cheek now crimson and now pale with changing

hopes and fears, Stood by the church's altar-'tis there such prayers belong-

And asked her life and womanhood of the great pitying throng ;-Right largely did they answer, and waiting angel

Back to our Lord in heaven one burning story more Up the volcano's sloping sides the oak and chestnu

climb,

And vineyards smile and orchards wave as floats th vesper chime. 'Tis just before the thunder-burst, but the wide heav-

en is still As when an Indian-summer noon lies sleeping on the A roar !- a crash !- a fiery hell shot through the

quivering sky! And oak and vine and orchard bloom in blackened ruin lie!

Four million men and women in quiet feed its flame; No smoke rolls from the crater, no hot winds round But deep within its throbbing heart the fires are all

a glow! The white slaves watch; and swiftly comes the morn when they shall be

A mighty force to rend the crust, and set its vengeance Was to the land that circles it when the wild moment

-falls. And the long-smothered fury bursts from its prison walls !

Now let us wake from out our sleep before the fatal day. Nor dream such grief and wrong can die in silent

For, surely as the mountain stream leaps down to find the sea. This high-born race, through love or hate, will hasten

to be free! Oh! louder, grander, till the words like trumpetcharges call,

Let every soul cry 'Liberty !' and 'Liberty for all !'

From the Traveller.

· NOT FULLY IDENTIFIED. · Not fully known ! O, friends who gather round her Amid the anguish of this hour of fear, Through all the horrors of the fate that bound her,

Was this the form that ye have held so dear?

Lover-within whose ear a voice still lingers, Thrilling thy soul as words may never tell, Canst thou not say, were these the trembling fingers Whose lightest touch thy heart has loved so well?

Mother-who bore and nursed the tender flower, Shielding her close from aught like rude alarms, Canst thou not tell, if, in an evil hour, Was this the child who left thy sheltering arms?

Father-who saw the light of thy dark dwelling Fade slowly out when she had left thy side. Canst thou not know amidst thy tears fast swelling. Was this the daughter of thy love and pride?

Sister-thou knowest who at morn and even Breathed the same prayer at the fond mother's knee Listened'to the same words of hope and heaven, Come, look upon her now-can this be she?

Brother-who, with a fond protecting duty, Treasured the sister in your eyes so fair, Come, look upon this wreck of what was fairest. Thou surely canst not claim her lying there!

Ah! there is One who knows-to whose clear seeing All this dark hour is bright with infinite truth : Trust him in faith-the treasures of our being He will give back to an immortal youth.

Not here not now-even to one passionate grieving But when we stand with her before His throne, All that to us seems dark, and past believing, Shall in the clearer light be 'fully known."

PRESENT AND ABSENT. God gives us ministers of love, Whom we regard not, being near Death takes them from us, then we feel That angels have been with us here.

#### THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECH OF MR. SEWARD.

The eagerly expected speech of the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, in the United States Senate, upon the admission of Kansas into the Union, has appeared, and expectation has yielded to realization, and the Republican party, whose oracle Mr. Seward unquestionably is, are in extacies. It is a remarkable production of a remarkable man; of a clear-sighted, prudent, and idea or a mistaken act. He was ready and willing to wary politician, determined not to be thrown off his give his life for the slave. This he has done, and that guard by personal considerations foreign to the general issue, and attacking the opposition in their most vulnerable parts, with the full apparent consciousness of being himself invulnerable. Strongly implying, yet not directly expressing a belief in the injustice of slavery, no one could determine from this speech whether he has any moral abhorrence of the system

With the skill of a consummate tactician, he ignores all moral issues, and, outside of the territories, all political issues with the subject; and, with the stoicism of an accomplished, self-confident, unexcitable surgeon, whose love of professional excellence holds the reins and assumes the direction of all his mental, moral and pathmatical faculties, he probes the wounds and applies the scalpel and lapis-infernalis to the foul ulcers of the Democratic party, with the most imperturbable calmness, and with a merciless hand. It is questionable if there be another man wh

could have made just such a speech, so comprehensive of the issues between the two great parties of the day, so specific and methodical in detail, and so passionless in its inculpations of his opponents, and in defence, not of men, but of his party, knowing himself to be, at the same time, the most hated and feared of all men by the propagandists of the Slave Power. Had it appeared without external evidence of authorship, every experienced critic would have been led to exclaim, 'Surely, the hand of Joab is in the thing.'

A late number of the Tribune, commenting upon the availability of Mr. Bates, of Missouri, as a presidential candidate, expresses the opinion that he would have the advantage of the opposition of the small class of impracticable abolitionists-thus securing to him a larger vote from pro-slavery non-extensionists. But we think, in Mr. Seward's masterly exposition of the exact state of the affections of the Republicans, he has secured to himself the opposition of these unpopular friends, beyond a peradventure; for he has not permitted himself to be betrayed into a single expression of sympathy for the colored man, either bond or free. The existence of that class of human beings, as such, is as thoroughly ignored as was possible in a country where they are held as chattels, or esteemed as pariahs or aliens; while the slaveholders are distinctly informed that they need have no fears that the Republican party intend to reduce them to an equality with black men, or to elevate black men to an equality with them, but only to elevate 'all white men' to political equality. The Union must be preserved for the benefit of white men, and freedom must rule for the benefit of 'white men.' Why not for the benefit of all men, and the equal political and social rights of all men? The white man only must be considered, however unjust slavery and the vulgar prejudice begotten thereof may be. Indeed, the Republican party need make no pretence of quarrel with so much of the Dred Scott decision as declares that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. But if freedom cannot rule the country for the benefit of white men, and slavery still continues its ruinous oppression for its own exclusive self's sake, yet the Union is to be perpetuated, because the very worst slave State- the least developed and perfect among them, is wiser and better than any foreign State' he knows! In which of the 'labor, States' is it, 'that negro equality offends the white man's pride ? Impliedly in none, facts to the contrary notwithstanding, although so many of the Western States have passed laws making colored men aliens.

Unquestionably, as Horace Greeley says, ' the most advanced Republican must feel that his convictions and aspirations are herein embedied, yet the most vehement slavery-extensionist must likewise feel that its spirit is imbued and suffused with fraternal kindness toward the South'-i. e., Southern white menand a most devoted unsectional patriotism; while perilous waves of College life; and, standing aghast yet no speech that could be made could carry more exclaim, Perish the education which can be gotten terror into the ranks of the opposition. Gentlemen, only at the risk of the soul! we are only going to displace you from the public crib, and take the government into our own hands, ing out in College? not, Is less tobacco or wine and regard all your constitutional rights; that's all, used there than formerly? To be sure, there is an and regard all your constitutional rights; that's all, without any regard to the rights of black men.

When the Republican party first rose into being, impelled by the outrages then taking place in Kansas with the sanction of the Federal Executive, they declared it to be their intention to bring the perpetrators which, in proportion to its aggravated nature, is as speedily as possible to condign punishment; but naturally reported at home, or becomes the common we do not believe, if Gov. Seward or any other Republican shall be elected President of the United States, that any of the blood-stained ruffians of Kansas will ever be arrested and punished.

Mr. Seward manifestly does not design to stand far in advance of public sentiment on this question; or the commission of violence. and, viewed from the stand-point of his party, the speech has the merit of rare political wisdom, and the people must pass through this transition before they can be prepared for any thing higher; and when the advocates of slavery-extension have been routed, and their party prostrated by the Republican party, we may hope to see a party taking a higher antislavery position, advocating the rights of all men. conscious necessity of cherishing mental reserva-

The success of the Republican party is the only ward progress of the irresponsible slave oligarchy, ticket. The Northern Democracy, who have only one principle, viz., the principle of the spoils of of-'manifest destiny' of the Union, and its permanency to be beyond all question under any possible circumstances, and that disunion is, therefore, an event mocountry shall be crushed beneath the tread of Southern despotism, and the liberty of speech and of the press be denied us by Federal legislation, as it now is by Southern Lynch law. There are other parts of Mr. Seward's speech which

are open to criticism, but we will \* let them slide." D. S. G.

JOHN BROWN...NON'RESISTANCE. DEAR LIBERATOR

It seems that some of my non-resistant friends think it a strange inconsistency that any person professing their faith should join at all with the John And here we shall probably be reminded of the ma-Brown sympathizers. If it be so, I am obliged to ny great men who have been guilty of the practice confess myself one of the inconsistent party. But in question, and whom the world has delighted to while I do so, I think I am anxious to act understandingly in the matter, and hold myself ready to recede from any mistaken position.

Perry movement, which every non-resistant must con-demn. There is no dispute on that point. But was speare with a pipe in his mouth? But we can find there not also another side to it-to John Brown !there not also another side to it—to John Brown!—
nized as a smoker, falls from the clouds whither our a side which is most distinct, magnificent, and glorious? What is it that has shaken the nation so works, like Icarus in the story,—the wax melting ted; if I stir, I am threatened with vomiting; my on flapdoddle (commonly called fools, but I am par-

thoroughly that it cannot cease shaking until slavery shall die? It cannot be the result of the blood that was shed in the tragedy; for that was but a flea-bite. More violence has often been exhibited, and more human lives sacrificed, without causing any sensation, or exerting any influence in comparison. No; there was something besides violence to John Brown. There was humanity, there was noble unselfishness, there was true moral courage, which cannot be condemned or ignored because connected with a mistaken life and the heroic, words he has spoken the world will not forget. This he might have done with just as good effect, without an injurious blow to any fellowman. It is the moral, not the animal power of the man, which has done this work; and this non-resistants, as well as others, must admire. I have great faith in the moral sense of mankind,

It is the sounding-board of humanity, so to speak: and when struck upon with sufficient force, it will give back the true response. But this moral sense is so slimed over and smothered by a false religion and stupid politics, that it needed an earthquake to awaken it. It has now heard and felt the earthquake. John Brown has struck the blow upon the soundingboard of conscience. A response is echoed back from every great and good heart. The people have been taught a lesson of moral bravery. Behold the power of truth spoken with a will! See how apparently small a thing can make a guilty nation tremble! The man who could be the instrument of such a work stands heaven-high above common men. Before him, twaddling priests and dough-face Republican Congressmen appear as contemptible pigmies. Such a man is the very one to be appreciated by Christian non-resistants.

What is Christian non-resistance? It is not merely negative principle, though that is all many people eem to make of it. A religion founded upon such a basis can possess but little virtue. No; it is something more. True non-resistance is a positive and active principle. It is moral power. It is the power of Heaven over earth. It is the power of mind and spirit over matter. This power belongs to man, and n its use he should be a resistant. Physical violence belongs to the lower animals, and in respect to that only should man be a non-resistant. Why? Because such force can effect no mental nor moral purpose. It has no efficacy as a governing influence in human society. Mental and moral force is the only real power among men; for if we get their minds and hearts, we gain everything-if we do got get these, we gain nothing. In this light, the doctrine of nonresistance rests upon the authority of common sense, as well as upon Scripture text, and is easily under stood. I am therefore strong in the faith, and desire that mankind may learn that it is not the do-nothing doctrine they have supposed, but that it is an omnipotent principle-a staff of accomplishment for every good work. But while this is my shield and my strength, I shall endeavor to appreciate true virtue, manliness and heroism in others, even though they have not learned to distinguish between brutal forces, such as fangs and claws, swords and bullets, and those mightfer weapons which are not carnal. St. Louis, Mo. A. G. S.

From the Harrard Magazine.

THE USE OF TOBACCO IN COLLEGE. It would be highly suggestive and instructive, if the same patient band that traced, from the records of the Gymnasium, the development of the muscle of the classes, and set before us the result in the last number of the Magazine, could, by personal application to each of the undergraduates, ascertain how many of them are addicted to the use of tobacco in its various forms; how many have acquired the habit since coming to College; and, as far as possible, in what part of the course. If we had an anti-tobacco society among us, such a task would properly devolve upon it; but, alas! we have not. Temperance Society, however, might make a similar investigation in regard to liquors, and we should like to see it do so. The publication of either set of statistics, we are sure, would astound not only the uninitiated, but even us, the students, ourselves Many a parent, thus enlightened, would keep his bright boy at home, painful as the sacrifice might be, rather than commit him to the rude blasts and

. Now, people ask, for the most part, Is hazing dyintimate connection between these two questions; but the reason why both are not asked is, because hazing is the deliberate and wanton invasion of one person's rights by another, or by several others, n invasion which every one indignantly repels, and talk of the students, or even of the public prints while indulgences in liquor and tobacco are vices voluntarily contracted, are, of course, studiously concealed, as long as may be, from the family, and only get into the papers when they lead to the vio-lation of public order, the destruction of property,

Robinson Crusoe, before the advent of the savages is the only example of a man whose offences agains the moral law could be subjective simply, and not objective. He might violate all the laws of his being, might impair the health of his body and the understanding of his mind, but the injury ceased with himself, and went no further. Not so with the member of a family or a tribe, or the inhabitant of a community like a city or a state. He must ask himself at the threshold of every act, What effect without any qualifying adjective, and without any is this going to have upon me, and what upon others? Such a question we are now about to ask in behalf of the user of tobacco, and to answer, as far

Premising, once for all, that we regard the habit present means of arresting the irresistible spread of using tobacco, like that of indulging in strong slavery into the territories, and the formation of new drink, as one which experience has fairly shown to slave States; it is by no means certain that their be of so formidable a nature that no one, who has success can accomplish even so much as that; but once acquired it, can be certain of being able to cast there is no other present means of checking the on- it off at pleasure, and that the student, therefore who smokes in College, will probably continue t ward progress of the irresponsible slave oligarchy, and, therefore, those who find no moral impediment to their voting under the Constitution can do no better in the coming contest than to vote the Republican would seem to justify us in so doing, but those, too. who have means to toster half a dozen vices, without serious inconvenience. To the first class we say You cannot be ignorant of the great expense which fice, can be converted only by rendering the hand that this habit will entail upon you, so long as you sub feeds them empty and powerless; and although Mr. mit to its control. Your circumstances peremptorily Seward appears to be a worshipper of the idea of the forbid you to incur such expense, and all your prospects in life depend upon the strictest economy and self-denial on your part. For what return do you got for your outlay? Are you clothed, fed, or housed? are you promoted, honored, or enriched? rally, politically and physically impossible to transpire, or are you not rather made shelterless, hungry, and yet the extremists of the North and the South may naked? are you not impoverished, and so barred be indulged with the privilege of contemplating the event as among possibilities, rather than the whole your folly.' To the wealthy class we say: 'We grant your pecuniary ability to support your appe-tite for tobacco, though the riches on which you rely are at best uncertain, and may one day ' take to themselves wings.' We arraign you as stewards, before the Lord, of possessions which it is your duty to employ for the benefit of your fellow-men, and which you now throw away in selfish gratification of your animal desires. We hold you sinful in so, doing, and answerable to Him who is the God of widows and the fatherless,'

We have next to charge upon the use of tobacco. n the eyes of those whose that it tends to degrade us i mouths are free from pollution, and whose minds are not befogged with the smoke of the foul weed. honor. We accept the suggestion, and seek to know if the fact that this poet chewed, that novelist smoked, or that statesman snuffed, is to be considercede from any mistaken position.

ed an ornament, or a blemish, in estimating his

It is true there was a bloody side to the Harper's character? Would it be pleasant—if it were within examples nearer home. The sage of Concord, recognized as a smoker, falls from the clouds whither our

from his wings before the warmth of our blushes clothes, even to the skin, smell of the abominable for his imperfection. The successor of Humboldt weed whose use was learned from the wretched, and the loafer in the streets of Cambridge are wide beastly savages; and I shun all female society, as if I enough apart, you would think; but we have seen were a monster. And why all this? Because, conthem both cross the College yard with cigars in their mouths, and have thought, of the two the

loafer was justified.

Every one knows the old formula, 'He that lies will steal; he that steals will,' &c., &c. There never was a child, perhaps, that had not logic enough to discredit the statement; but had the words, 'will be apt to,' occupied the place of 'will,'

· Sooty retainer to the vine! Bacchus' black servant, negro fine !

Brother of Bacchus, later born ! The old world was sure forlorn, Wanting thee, that aidest more The god's victories than, before, All his panthers and the brawls Of his piping bacchanals.

Let us be understood. We do not say, or believe, that every lover of tobacco is also a lover of ardent spirits, but that the two characters are oftener united than not. Indeed, knowing that a man was addicted to the use of liquor, we would confidently assert, in nine cases out of ten, that he was a user of the weed beside. On the other hand, as a member of the College Temperance Society, we may be permitted to state that our experience in making converts has proved the tobacco-user to be the hard-est subject, and that we have always shunned approaching him, except as a last resort, knowing that he argument which should make him break the bottle, would also compel him to put out his pipe. Of that third vice, the greatest of the three, which the twin sister of wine and near of kin to the

slave of violence and brute force, the unwilling bondman. Much less, then, he who willingly power to curse and to destroy. Before this master all its contents. And yet this man was himself a smoker! We have already hinted that, between the amount subjection, yet still lays claim to the title and character of a Christian, the follower of Him who said, No man can serve two masters.'

In taking leave of the personal consequences arisfact that by it he is made poor, is lowered in the this does not move him, what more can be advanced? Only this, it seems to us: - to show the dreadful ravages which tobacco makes upon the health and years of men. This would be the proper place for whose self-respect is wanting? oathes and rejects the weed, when first forced upon part of others. it; that, in the case of children, the swallowing of on the brink of a precipice, one may argue that, if the chasm were solid earth, it could be safely trodare its chief prey, and the special form in which it to the ignorant in their warfare against education? exhibits itself, at least among us, Americans, is We have reserved to the last our weightiest reathat dreadful foe, paralysis. This it is that pulls son for the disuse of tobacco. It is that which is at dreadful foe, paralysis.

illustrated by a familiar temperance story. have never tasted a drop of liquor.' The commentary was plain, and the audience applauded. Thereupon an older man arose, also sound and vigorous desire to save our offspring from the mistakes of of health, and stated that he was ninety years of age, and had been a constant drinker from a child. could the sinner be arraigned than before those who And the audience, whose natural desire was thus can recognize him as their ancestor only by the disfavored, applicated still more vehemently than be-fore. The reply of the octogenarian was significant: and the life which is the least endurable of all their My friend, if you had lived as I have lived, you woes? God grant us, young men of this age, would be immortal.'

Thus far, we have endeavored to offer reasons why a man should abandon the use of tobacco for his own sake. It remains to consider his relations to those about him, and to deduce thence additional incentives to correctness of habit. And if any one has been inclined to agree with us in some of the foregoing charges against tobacco, whose use he deems baneful even in a single particular, we can do no better, perhaps, than to begin at once with the well-worn argument of example. If mankind were so regardful of their own interests as to give over at once the practice of evil, when it was proved to them to be such, there would be no need of this selfsame argument. For its employment implies that the person to whom it is addressed admits his practice to be a harmful one, but is willing to accept the personal consequences. Then the argument comes in thus: You admit that the course you are pursuing is mischievous and dangerous. You are willing to risk or to bear the consequences. How is it about your neighbor? will you undertake to be responsible for the injuries that result to him from a similar course? Yet this you must do, if you persist in your ways, for he may have found in you an example for entering upon, or may now have in you a support for continuing in, the practice which you allow to be hurtful. In this view of the case, one ought to cease from the use of tobacco, if he sees that it is calculated to injure another, even in the smallest degree, -as, for instance, in material prosperity, which is relatively but a secondary considera tion. Every one, however, can apply this argument to himself, as well as we, or better, and we leave it We come now to some of the objectionable fea-

the majority of people. Debarred, not by a sense of decency, but by public sentiment, from the inside and the scenery. On the steamboat, —as in coming from New York by the Sound—he puffsaway at your side, or (small odds to him which!) in your face, forcing you either to forego the pleasure of the seaof the boat. In the close hall or public assemblybut stop! Very fortunately for us, a correspondent of the Boston *Pionier* has recently addressed a letter to the Editor and his fellow-countrymen, which graphically portrays what we were about to at-tempt. Coming, as it does, from a German to Germans, whom we are almost wont to consider a nation of smokers, we hail this letter as a hopeful indication for the future. The correspondent (Mr. Oelkopf) says :-'I have just come from a meeting of German Radicals.

were a monster. And why all this? Because, contrary to my principles, I was obliged to be with a company which calls itself free and radical, but which is neither so free for itself as to be able, even for an hour, to do without the smoking, stinking weed, nor so free in taking thought for others as to spare them the necessity of being present, in the interests of freedom, at this insupportable, disgusting, ill-smelling performance.

this ascending scale of crime would have been better able to hold its own. In the spirit, then, of the amendment, we do say that the indulgence of the desire for tobacco is likely to create other desires, and to render us little scrupulous in satisfying them. Tobacco and liquors are almost inseparable companions, and very naturally, as they both hinge upon the same principle. Charles Lumb, in his well-Tobacco and liquors are almost inseparable companions, and very naturally, as they both hinge upon the same principle. Charles Lamb, in his well-known Farewell to Tobacco, thus refers to their connection:

1 Soots retained to the same principle. of man or woman is paid by these dirty fellows, who seem, as Horace Mann said, to be imitating the geography of their country by making miniature lake and rivers under their feet. Ugh! We take refuge in the Old Testament, and exclaim, Wash you: make you clean!'

He who renders himself thus offensive to others

is, if he is conscious of what he does, tyrannous; i not, selfish. Selfish, in being so attentive to his own pleasure as not to regard the rights of others; tyrannous, in deliberately trampling upon those ights, by enforcing submission to his odious behav-or. Thus he is, at the same time, a slave to his ppetite and a tyrant to his neighbor. For, as Mr. Delkopf, already quoted, asks :-

'Is he not a slave who cannot live, can never de liberate for freedom, without an indulgence which is called for by no necessity of nature, and is endurable only because of custom? And is he not a tyrant who in this indulgence has no regard for others to whom it is utterly distasteful, but who are bound to his company by respect and by circumstances?

If the repeated intimations and proofs that he is

a nuisance do not shame our tobacco-user, then le the familiar warning, ' No smoking allowed here! brother of Bacchus, —which is the greatest problem of social philanthropy, and which, though it greeable. On wharves, in railroad depots, in wareexists among us, must be in these pages a vice houses, in factories, in rope-walks, in paper mills, 'without a name,'—we can only hint here. For all —wherever anything combustible is kept, stored, or the evils wrapped up in it, as well as in drunken-seattered, or anything valuable preserved,—this ness, the pipe, the cigar, or the cake of tobacco may placard stares the smoker in the face, and says, albe, with far too many, entirely responsible. most audibly, if not indignantly, 'Put out that How can the user of tobacco be a Christian? light, sir!' Boston students will remember the fire Can a slave be a Christian? No! not even the on Battery Wharf (in '56, we think), which was owing to the ignition of a storehouse for cotton by a spark from some laborer's pipe. Similar cases are sion, an appetite, an unclean desire. If it be the boast and badge of a Christian (and who will deny that it is?) to trample what is carred boast and badge of a Christian (and who will deny that it is?) that it is?) to trample what is carnal beneath his house was small, to sleep in his barn. Our petition feet, and to put away the lusts of the world, how was granted, but not until our host had ascertained can the user of tobacco assume the name? Worse that neither of us smoked. He told us the next than an idelater, he worships, not a harmless image morning that he always preferred to have a stranger of brass or stone, but a great ugly devil, with eyes under his roof, rather than in his barn, which a of fire and breath of smoke, alive and active, full of pipe or a cigar might reduce to ashes, together with

of tobacco and liquors consumed and the amount of hazing performed in College, there is an immediate and direct connection; and we reaffirm it here. ing from the use of tobacco, what final appeal shall Not only this; the prime-movers of all other kinds we make to the unhappy victim of that use? If the of disorder against the College discipline are, we fact that by it he is made poor, is lowered in the believe, nine times in ten, accustomed to smoking esteem of others, is easily led into temptation and or drinking, or both. Further, everything of a dis corrupted, and is made a degraded slave, losing at graceful nature done outside the College by the once the name of freeman and of Christian, — if all students may be safely attributed to the same class of men. And why not? To smoke or to drink implies a loss of self-respect, and who will engage in the actions to which we have referred but those statistics, if we cared to use them, as we do not. that it is a motive for the student to abandon his They have been already presented to the readers of evil habits, that the College to which he owes so this Magazine in a previous number, and need not much may not be dishonored by improper conduct be repeated here. Spite of the fact that the stomach on his part, or, as far as he can prevent it, on the

The follies and vices of the student reappear, contobacco has been speedily attended with death; and firmed and augmented, in the life of the citizen-that the oil of tobacco is well known to be a most graduate, who, having doubly stabbed his Alma powerful and instant poison; — it is the most common thing in the world to hear it said that tobacco mon thing in the world to hear it said that tobacco drink have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents in the definite have been the most powerful agents. is harmless, and not at all to be likened to wine in its effects. We regard the perniciousness of both these substances as established beyond all question; but the thrall to an appetite is always ready thus to deceive himself with a quieting fallacy, which yet does not sure him from destruction. So, indifference and still more wicked opposition of American scholars and men of letters to the great movements in behalf of humanity, at home and the chasm were some earth, it could be salely too-den; but let him take the forward s.ep, and the abyss receives him a corpse. Tobacco probably tends to augment every defect in the body, but the nerves inconsistency of the enlightened furnishing weapons

down the strong man of a sudden, and relentlessly applicable to every one who abuses his body by givcrushes him into an early grave. Yet, in the matter of shortening life, the effects of tobacco, as of wine, are oftener unseen than seen. This may be failed to affect him, will often hesitate and pause in his career, when the thought of the unborn inno-In a temperance meeting in a nameless town, an old man, hale and hearty, had arisen and said: 'My friends, I have lived eighty years, and in that time present, in his own case, but shuns the guilt of destroying an unoffending posterity. What greater incentive can there be to purity of morals than the strength to live so that when we are gone, our ' children shall rise up and call us blessed.

Fellow-students, we have done. If the protest of a single earnest voice against the ruinous habit of using tobacco shall stay, even in a slight degree, its progress here in College, we shall indeed feel happy. America has long since begun to curse her cotton crop for what it has cost her; some day she will include the tobacco crop in her anathema. Walking last summer down the valley of the Connecticut, from Northfield to Springfield, and thence again to the westward, we beheld with pain and indignation broad acres prostituted to the growth of the abhorrent weed, which, at first a rarity, afterwards only dabbled with by way of experiment, has at last with many farmers supplanted the useful broom-corn,—that glory of the Connecticut valley landscape! -and threatens, unless public sentiment shall frown down its cultivation, to overrun the most fertile portions of the State. The qualms of conscience which, as might have been expected, at first troubled the cultivators of the plant, have been lost in the auri sacra fames; but the extra dollars per acre are purchased at a fearful sacrifice, for the retribution lies in the burning of the soil and the corrup tion of all concerned in the raising of the tobacco If any stand is to be made against a habit which reckons all nations among its victims, it can be made nowhere better than in Massachusetts; and we hope the day will come when the Bay State will be clean, and deserted both of the users and raisers of tobacco.

JOSIAH PERHAM...THE WEBSTER STATUE. [Boston corr. of the Anti-Slavery Standard.]

Let me pass to another subject, if I can find one. And here is one occurs to me out of hand. tures of tobacco-using, as seen in our intercourse one. And here is one occurs to me out of hand, with others. Every candid smoker must acknow- I mean the patriotic attempt of Mr. Josiah Perham with others. Every candid smoker must acknowledge himself a public nuisance. In the streets, he poisons the atmosphere for yards behind him, or, at least, taints it with an odor which is offensive to cursion Train. This magnificent individual condethe majority of people. Debarred, not by a sense lature of Virginia to come ou and pay that of Man of decency, but by public scattering to the White sachusetts a visit, setting forth the healing proper-form of the stage, — say, in travelling to the White sachusetts a visit, setting forth the healing proper-ties of such a fraternal embrace towards the cure of the same who choose the outside for the fresh air the gaping wounds of the nation. The Conscription for the gaping wounds of the proposition seriously. to decline his invitation, on the sensible ground that view, or else to retire to your berth sick at stomach, the relations of Virginia and Massachusetts were and in a fit condition to be influenced by the tossing not such as to render an interchange of visits proper. In fact, Mrs. Virginia gave Mrs. Massachu to understand that she was not on her Visiting List. With this flea in one car, the indefatigable Perham came to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and was not content till an insect of the same unmentionable species had been inserted in his other auricularity. It was a mercy that the application was made to this General Court instead of the last, for that would have gone down on its marrow-bones, and staid there until Virgiuis had relented and conse ted to be brought on, and to be stuffed in mind and

ticular in my use of terms,) who thought it would ticular in my use of terms,) who thought it would be a fine thing to invite the Virginians here, in or-der to show them how much better we would treat them than they would us! As if calling one but them than they would us: As it calling one bad names, pulling one's nose, and spitting in one's face, were especial reasons for inviting the assailant to dine and take a bed at one's house, in order to the calling the same than the same transfer that the calling the same transfer that the same tra to dine and take a bound of the mode, in order to show him how much better treatment he would show him how much better treatment he would meet with! This Perham, I suppose you know, is meet with: Anis I could be a man that gets up Excursions and Gilt Enterprises I believe, into the bargain. You may remember he I believe, into the aparty of pleasure to see John Brown hanged. The Maryland and Virginia an-Brown hanged. The Maryiand and Virginia anthorities putting a veto upon this festive trip, be thought the next best thing was to get the assembled wisdom of Virginia and Maryiand to come bled wisdom of the him who went North. It was all one to him who went, or which North. It was all one to him who went, or which way, so that there was a demand for excursion tick.

ets. His impudence certainly entitled him to a bust of brass, at least in the State House yard, along. side his brother Defender of the Constitution.

And, talking of him, the Legislature have given the

And, talking of the removal of that 'hideous mass of iron' leave to withdraw. Not leave to withdraw the statue, but their petitions. Never mind, we'll tryit again another year. It is not in the nature of again another year. It is not in the nature of things that such a monstrosity should insult the good people of the State forever. After the inelable meanness of the last paltry Legislature in regard ble meanness of the lass party begishature in regard to that statue, there not being a serious remon-strance made against it, and the expenses of the in-auguration being volunteered on their part, contraguration being votanteered on their part, contra-to the original express understanding, this action of theirs seems not unnatural. It was not to be at pected that a legislative body should grow in grace pected that a registative body should grow in grace in a single twelvemonth to such a point as to undo this heavy burden which its predecessor had bound on the shoulders of poor old Massachusetts. But the good time will come, in one way or another

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