



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

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. . . . 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.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

'TREASON' IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the Senate of South Carolina, the following resolutions have been introduced:

Resolved, That in view of recent events, and the present state of things in this Union, growing out of the question of the agitation of African slavery, this General Assembly deem it a fit occasion for declaring that the interest and safety of the Southern States imperatively demand that they unite for the common defence.

Resolved, therefore, That the State of South Carolina be prepared to act in concert with the other Southern States, whatever course of action the common interest and safety may demand.

In the House of Representatives, the following preamble and resolutions are under consideration:

Whereas, John Brown, instigated, it is believed, by the Abolitionists in the so-called free States of this country, and countenanced by the leading members of the party known as the Republican party, fully cognizant of his plans, has recently attempted to excite a servile insurrection in the States of Virginia and Maryland; and whereas, although not a single slave was sold to join actually in said insurrection, and the first person murdered in the outbreak by the conspirators was a negro opposing them, and the said Brown and his associates were slain from the unprotected condition of security, to capture a town of 2,000 inhabitants, an army, an arsenal of the United States, and to hold the same for two days, and several peaceful citizens were assassinated; and whereas, although all the conspirators actually engaged in this attempt have been, it is supposed, killed or captured and executed, or are to be executed according to law, after a fair trial, it is reasonably anticipated that others will be seduced to renew, and perhaps renew frequently, and in stronger gangs, such murderous and treasonable outrages against the peace and safety of the Southern States, and their domestic and political institutions; therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, That the defence and security of the system of African slavery existing in the South, is a cause common to all the Southern States, and that the burden of it should rest on the border States alone.

Resolved, That at the call of a ally border or other Southern State, for a Convention of the Slaveholding States, the Governor of the State of South Carolina be required to appoint suitable delegates to said Convention, who are hereby authorized to pledge this State to furnish her quota of men, and her full contribution of money, for the fortification of the necessary points on the northern frontiers of the slaveholding States, and the garrisoning and perpetual support of the same.

Resolved, That while the considerations of safety and security, obvious and paramount, justify and compel such measures of defence, in view of this insidious attempt of John Brown and the apparent state of public sentiment in the so-called free States, this Legislature do not hesitate to declare that this Union, at best of doubtful value to the South, would be scarcely an atom in the scale against the perpetual maintenance of our system of African slave-labor; and we advise that when the continuance of the said Union endangers or seriously impairs that system, that the South should discard said Union at once and forever.

Resolved, That the Governor of the State be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the Governors of all the States of this Confederacy, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Ordered to be printed, and for consideration to-morrow.

Mr. Elliott also offered the following:

Whereas, the Convention of this State in 1852 declared that it was amply justified in considering at once all political connection with her co-States; and, whereas, she was restrained from exercising her sovereign right to do so, in deference to the opinions of her sister-States of the South; and, whereas, since that time, there have been indicted on her people wrongs still more flagrant and insulting—will more degrading than those complained of—and, in sentiment of her people is now unanimously resolved, that the Government is authorized and empowered to call to his aid two citizens from each Congressional district of the State, who, with himself, shall constitute a Committee of Safety; that the said Committee shall be authorized to communicate with and enter into negotiation and league with the Governor and people of the other slaveholding States, who are prepared to unite with us in repelling the encroachments made upon the South by the abolition party, which has become the prominent power in the slaveholding States of this Union.

Resolved, That when the Committee of Safety shall deem it expedient, they shall authorize the Governor to convene the Legislature, to take action that shall be necessary to protect the honor and secure the safety of this State.

Resolved, That the Governor is authorized, on behalf of this State, to invite the Legislatures of the slaveholding States to appoint similar committees to carry out the objects had in view.

Resolved, That the Committee of Safety, while in the actual discharge of duty, shall be entitled to receive the pay and mileage now allowed members of the Legislature, and that their term of duty shall expire with the election of the next Governor, unless sooner dissolved by the Legislature.

Mr. Bryan offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That for the manufacture of the munitions and implements of war, two suitable laborers ought to be established and maintained: one in an accessible central position, East of the Mississippi River, and the other in a similar position West of that river. And that this purpose South Carolina will appropriate \$100,000, and as much more as may be required from time to time.

In the House, Mr. Richardson offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Legislature, the expense to which the State of Virginia has been subjected by the necessity imposed upon her to restore justice upon the Abolitionists who had invaded her dominion, ought justly to be borne by all the slaveholding States, in proportion to their slave population.

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the recent movement of Abolitionists at Harper's Ferry is the legitimate fruit and inevitable result of a wide-spread Abolitionism, which has taken complete possession of every non-slaveholding State in the Union, it is the duty of the slaveholding States to require the non-slaveholding States indemnify for the expenses which have been incurred in defeating a movement instigated by their teachings and supported by their aid and sympathy.

Resolved, That the Governor of this State be authorized and requested to communicate these resolutions to the Governors of all the slaveholding States, and to tender to the Governor of Virginia the amount

of money which under these resolutions this State feels called upon to contribute as her proportion of the expenses incurred by the State of Virginia.

Mr. Simpson offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this General Assembly, a dissolution of this Union is inevitable; and inasmuch as it must consequently or later, the best interests of the South require that it should come speedily.

Resolved, That South Carolina has been ready, since her secession ordinances in 1852, to form a Southern Confederacy with her sister slaveholding States. She is still ready, and to this end she stands prepared, either to accept an invitation to a Southern Congress, or to unite in a call for one, not to discuss the propriety of a dissolution, but to make the necessary arrangements; and in the event of such an invitation being tendered by one or more of the slaveholding States, or of such a call being made, the Governor is hereby authorized and required to convene the Legislature, to provide for the election of delegates to said Congress, to assist in carrying out the purpose herein above expressed.

On motion of Mr. W. M. Wallace, the resolutions were ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11. The Charleston Courier states that the Committee on Federal Relations in the Legislature of South Carolina, on Wednesday, recommended the passage of resolutions reaffirming the position of the State, as expressed in the Convention of 1852, declaring her right to secede from the Federal Union, and that the people should make common cause with those of Virginia, and be prepared to sustain her in her vindication of the institutions of the South. The minority of the Committee report resolutions that the frontier States especially, and the Southern States generally, may rely upon the aid of South Carolina in vindication of their rights, in or out of the Union, and that the military contingent fund be increased \$200,000. The debate will take place to-morrow.

A dispatch from Columbia, to the Charleston Courier, states that in the Senate of that State on Tuesday, Mr. Rhett, introduced a resolution declaring that this General Assembly deem it inexpedient for the people of South Carolina to enter into any caucus or convention with the people of the Northern States for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of these United States.

With a united South our course would be clear, and our future glorious; we could enforce equality in the Union, or maintain our independence out of it. If, as I solemnly believe, we can no longer live in peace and harmony in the Union—notwithstanding the associations of the past, and the remembrance of our common triumphs, (being treated as enemies and aliens, rather than brethren of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance by the North,) we can form a Confederacy with ability to protect itself against any enemy, and command the respect and admiration of the world.

The election of a Black Republican President will settle the question of our safety in the Union; and although the forms of the Constitution may be complied with, its vital principle will be extinguished, and the South must consent to occupy an inferior and degrading position, or seek new safeguards for future security.—Message of the Governor of South Carolina.

FLORIDA.—Gov. Perry, of Florida, has submitted his Message to the Legislature. On the subject of Federal Relations, the Governor remarks:—

There can be no doubt that the so-called Republican party, comprising a majority of the Northern States, are responsible for John Brown's scheme of mingled villainy and folly. That party, the Northern people, by the elections which have occurred since the Harper's Ferry catastrophe, exhibit an unmistakable purpose of continuing in power.

Its two great engines of influence, the press and the pulpit, are daily becoming more insulting and aggressive towards our institutions and people. What else then have we to expect while the Union continues, but the repetition, no one can say when, where, how often, or with what bloody issues, of attempts like that lately thwarted in Virginia.

Florida, as the youngest and least populous of the Southern sovereignties, can only follow in action the lead of her sisters, yet this constitutes no reason why, at a time demanding the strictest conference and frankest expression among those joined by a common destiny, she should remain silent. It behoves that we should not be heard in tones not loud but deep, in favor of an eternal separation from those whose wickedness and fanaticism forbid us longer to live with them in peace and safety.

In this connection, the Governor recommends a thorough re-organization of the military.

We can only state that we firmly and religiously believe, that the Southern States will not submit to the inauguration of Seward as President of the United States. We go further, and say that the Southern States will not submit to the inauguration of any Black Republican President whatever—that is, any man elected by the Republican party, as such, in its capacity as a separate and distinct political and sectional organization. In such an event, we believe all the Gulf States, with one accord, and at the same moment, will go out of the Union and set up for themselves, and that the other States, Virginia included, will ultimately, if not immediately, take precisely the same step. We confess that, until recently, we have never so believed, or thought or dreamed; but there is no mistaking the temper and purpose of the Southern people, and the ominous signs of the times.—Richmond Whig.

DIRECT TRADE WITH EUROPE, ETC.—Mr. Thomas S. Haywood, of Marion County, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance inquire into the expediency of passing a law to the following effect:—

First: That retailers of goods of foreign growth and articles manufactured outside the limits of this State, shall pay an ad valorem tax upon the actual amount of their yearly sales.

Secondly: That retailers of goods of other articles of the growth and manufacture of this State, shall only be required to pay a tax equal to one fourth of the tax paid by retailers of goods of foreign growth, and other articles manufactured outside of the limits of the Commonwealth.

Thirdly: That wholesale merchants, who import their goods from foreign ports outside the limits of the United States, shall be authorized to sell by wholesale such goods so imported, without paying any tax thereon.

Fourthly: That wholesale merchants who buy their goods outside of Virginia, and within the United States, shall pay an ad valorem tax upon the amount of sales made by them, and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN KENTUCKY.—Two bills have already been introduced into the Senate, providing for the rigid exclusion from Kentucky of free negroes. One of them embodies the stringent provision recommended by Gov. Magoffin, that those refusing to leave should be sold into slavery.

It has also been resolved to question the various candidates for the United States Senatorship, as to the extent of their adherence to the Pro-Slavery standard of the Southern States, especially whether they maintain the power of Congress to make laws for the protection of slave property in the Territories. A circular, putting these inquiries in a categorical form, has been signed by twenty-five Senators and Representatives, and sent out for reply. We shall now see how far the politicians of Kentucky will go in their fanaticism in behalf of Slavery.—Cin. Com.

It is contemplated to form a more perfect union of the border States—Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, for instance, with special reference to a thorough system of defence against abolition forays. It is estimated that these States will demand the attention of the general government, and in case of its refusal carry the war into Africa. For every citizen of these States who may be treated as Col. Washington and Mr. Alstadt have been, they will take half a dozen, and it may be, lynch them. It will come to this, if the government of this country does not get into the hands of some firm man who will undertake to suppress these aggressions and protect citizens against gratuitous attacks of the character recently witnessed at Harper's Ferry.

I understand it is determined to organize a company in the city on the Zouave principle. They will be trained up to every species of drill which has made the Zouave the synonym of military efficiency, skill and daring. A gymnasium is to be gotten up for their special benefit, and every facility afforded them that money can secure. The population of Virginia within twelve months more will be one solid body of soldiers, armed and equipped for active service.—Richmond (Va.) Correspondence New York Herald.

NON-INTERCOURSE THE FIRST REMEDY.—Such is the heading of a two-column article in the Richmond Enquirer of Dec. 1st, the object of which is to urge the immediate abandonment on the part of Virginia and the whole South, of all trade and intercourse with the North. Hear the rampant organ of the redoubtable Gov. Wise:—

Full and complete non-intercourse, enforced by fines and penalties that will keep out of our borders every article of Northern manufacture or importation, will teach Northern merchants and manufacturers that their citizens, and murdered by their ruffians, may be for a while still mangled by the Constitution, but that every moral chord having been sundered by their fanaticism, the last ligament, that of trade, we will sever, and make the Union as worthless to the North as it has become odious to the South.

The first nerve, the most sensitive nerve in the organization of the Northern people, can be so touched as to produce lock-jaw, at least upon the press.

We hope non-intercourse laws will be adopted by every Southern State. We will then have this poor, barren, bleak, manipulating, not producing, section, laid suppliant at the feet of the South; the cry of Abolitionism will have no more potency than a puppy's whine. But our peace will not only be attained, an impetus will be given to Southern manufactures, that will place us independent of the world. While the factories of Lowell, Lynn and Springfield will become the haunts of bats and owls, those of the Southern States will be vocal with the hum of life-giving trade.

Ex-Gov. Adams, of South Carolina, in a letter he sent to a dinner to Senator Chestnut, denounces the political Conventions, and mounts his disunion stand, and urges a Southern Confederacy as the only panacea for 'Sewardism and Abolitionism.' Here is the way he would meet the crisis:—

Instead of sitting down in calm consideration of policy of moderation in arresting the onward march of our foes, I think it time that the public heart be aroused, by holding up the proud examples of the past, and by alluring the noble sentiments which we have counted the cost, and find nothing so intolerable as voluntary submission to insult and wrong—is not dead in the hearts of our people, and if our leaders would rise superior to the blandishments and temptations of Washington, they would kindle a blaze in the Southern heart that would cause the very knees of our enemies to knock together with fear and trembling. I could name men Southern Senators, who, by a concerted movement, could, in less than three months, rally their respective constituents in favor of a Southern Confederacy.

The Union now is not the Union which our fathers bargained for. Under it we are daily insulted, outraged and plundered, and the sooner it is dissolved, the better. To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand subtle pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly.

GOING TO DISCRIMINATE IN THEIR PURCHASES. A meeting of citizens of Richmond, Va., convened in the City Hall on Friday evening, for the reorganization of the 'Southern Rights Association.' The Whig says the meeting was composed of the 'solid men' of Richmond, manufacturers, merchants, mechanics, clerks, &c. A large number of persons enrolled their names as members of the association, and it was resolved to call a general meeting of the citizens of Richmond, Henrico, and the adjoining counties. Daniel Loudon, Esq., the chairman, stated that \$40,000,000 worth of Northern goods were annually sold in Virginia. Mr. L. also said that a meeting of ladies of Richmond would be held some evening this week, for the purpose of organizing a Ladies' Southern Rights Association. He likewise stated that a large number of ladies had informed him that they had resolved to discriminate in their purchases hereafter against articles made in the Northern States.

ONE OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF DISUNION.—Adopting the words of the Raleigh Register, we say that, in the event of the dissolution of the Union, one of the first acts of the Southern Confederacy would be the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain, which would stipulate for the admission into our ports of British shipping free of any tonnage duty, and the admission of British manufactured articles at a nominal or very low duty. Along with this treaty, we should impose very high, if not prohibitory duties on Northern tonnage and Northern manufactures. The effect of all this would be to injure, if not destroy, the Northern commercial and manufacturing interests, or, in other words, beggar the North, and leave it to live on fanaticism and philanthropy, instead of fattening, as now, upon the Southern labor, upon which it is warring. Great Britain has been searching the earth in vain to get a supply of cotton

independent of us. Under such a treaty as we speak of, she would get our cotton, and the supply of our demand for manufactures, and, smarter than the 'cute' Yankees, would be content to let coffee remain in the sphere intended for him by his Maker.—Wilmington (N. C.) Herald.

The citizens of Fauquier county, Va., in public meeting, have adopted resolutions condemning the selling or using of articles in that State manufactured at the North, and setting forth an intention to petition the Legislature to impose a fine upon any person who shall sell or use such articles.

The merchants of Richmond held a meeting on Wednesday, to take the necessary steps to effect a direct trade between Europe and Richmond. They pledged themselves from and after the first of January, not to give an order for foreign goods to any party without an understanding that such goods should be shipped to James River when practicable.

The Charlotte, (N. C.) Bulletin finds in its Southern exchanges, from almost every section, sentiments decidedly in favor of and advocating, under existing circumstances, a dissolution of the present American Confederacy. The editor remarks:—

'Without attempting to encourage such sentiments, we stand by as journalists ready to record them, and hold ourselves in readiness, as we have always been, to reply, in the first act of the day, under a Southern banner, upon whose folds shall be inscribed, 'Equality or Independence.'

TREASON IN VIRGINIA. The Richmond Whig says:—

'We can only state that we firmly and religiously believe that the Southern States will not submit to the inauguration of Seward as President of the United States. We will go further, and say that the Southern States will not submit to the inauguration of any Black Republican whatever—that is, any man elected by the Republican party, as such, in its capacity of a separate and distinct political and sectional organization.'

A joint committee of the Mississippi Legislature have reported a resolution to the effect that if a Republican President of the United States be elected, the Governor be requested to convene the Legislature, provided other Southern States adopt similar measures, with a view to self-protection.

We cannot say that the Roanoke style of competition has improved since the death of John Randolph, of that ilk. There is a college at Roanoke, and of course its students had to improve John Brown's raid. 'Twas thus they did it on the 3d December:—

Forasmuch, As the sacred soil of Virginia has been invaded, her citizens incarcerated, and innocent blood shed by a band of monomania fanatics, instigated to the desperate deed by individuals beyond the reach of law and justice; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the students of Roanoke College, do express our sentiments towards Wm. H. Seward, Joshua R. Giddings, and Wendell Phillips, by casting upon them the infamous stigma of burning them in effigy.

Resolved, 2d, That we fire a cannon as each imbure is consumed by the flames, and give three cheers for our intrepid, indefatigable, vigilant Government, and its glorious and noble leaders.

Resolved, 3d, That we shall ever be ready to enlist under the standard of our State, to defend Virginia and her rights under all emergencies.

'Let us prepare for disunion; not precipitate it. Between this and the 4th of March, 1861, the Union cannot harm us. In the meanwhile, let us enact laws of retaliation and non-intercourse, and establish a direct trade, and consequently, friendly relations with Europe. Let us charge heavy license for the sale of all goods from the North, whether produced there, or imported from abroad; let us send our cotton, rice and tobacco directly to Europe; let us establish a stricter espionage over all visitors from the North, and a stricter espionage over all Virginians who deal or associate with them.

'We may treat such Northerners as we please, as persons of ill fame, improper company for Virginians, and recognize fine and imprisonment as our citizens, and deal or associate with them. Thus we might expel all the itinerant quacks and pedlars, and teachers from the most unquaint Northern States,—and from all of those States if experience proved it necessary to our safety. We might also punish our citizens who shipped grain by Yankee vessels, or procured goods of any sort by them.

The election of a Black Republican as President in 1860, unless that party adopt new leaders and a new platform, will render disunion inevitable on the 4th of March, 1861. We should delay it until that time, preparing for its consequences.—Richmond Enquirer.

Its Washington correspondent, under date of Dec. 1st, says:—

I understand that the following programme has been substantially agreed upon by a number of leading Southern men, in Congress and out of Congress, to wit:—

First—That in view of the Harper's Ferry abolition invasion, and its extensive and alarming ramifications; and in view of the sympathies of the abolitionized Republican party for Old John Brown, and the threats of that party to reduce the South to submission, a special law shall be demanded of Congress for the future protection and security of the Southern States against all abolition conspirators, emissaries and incendiaries.

Second—That in default of some such Congressional protection, the Southern members of both houses shall withdraw from Washington, and meet in a body in Richmond, Virginia, or some other convenient place, in view of the initial steps for an independent Southern Confederacy.

In anticipation of this alternative, I am further advised that the Southern Congressional meeting, in Richmond, or elsewhere, will proceed to put the South in a proper position before the great Western Powers of Europe, including a programme of commercial treaties on a purely Southern basis, that can hardly fail to attract the sympathies of even England for Southern cotton, including Southern slavery.

A negro barber, named Wilson, went a few days since, from his home in Chattanooga to Knoxville, to make a few purchases. He was followed closely and keenly watched by two men of stern aspect, one of whom finally drew a fearful knife, and rushed at him, exclaiming: 'You're Fred Douglass!' In peril of his life, Wilson took to his heels, barely escaping a terrible fate by dodging behind a fence and permitting his followers to pass by. He sustained no loss but that of his beard, and went home by the first train. The next morning the two gentlemen addressed the Mayor for papers for the arrest of Fred. Douglass.

THE VIOLATION OF THE MAILS LEGALLY AUTHORIZED!!!

RICHMOND, Va. Nov. 28, 1859.

A postmaster in the county of Doddridge, in this State, wrote recently to Gov. Wise, asking information as to what disposition he should make of such incendiary newspapers as the New York Tribune, and others of that stamp from Ohio, received in that county. The Governor referred the matter to John Randolph Tucker, Esq., the Attorney-General for this State, and probably the ablest constitutional lawyer in the Commonwealth, for his opinion. Mr. Tucker examined the subject very carefully, and as well as by his opinion, which I herewith transmit, for his advice and sanction, the apparent conflict of jurisdiction between the State and Federal authorities involved in this question:—

RICHMOND, Nov. 26, 1859.

Sir—The question is submitted to me for an opinion as to the effect of the law of Virginia upon the distribution of mail matter when it is of an incendiary character. A newspaper, printed in the State of Ohio, propagating abolition doctrines, is sent to a person through a post office in Virginia. What is the duty of the Postmaster in the premises?

The law of Virginia (Code of Va., chap. 198, sec. 24) provides that 'If a Postmaster or deputy postmaster know that any such book or writing (referring to such articles as incendiary tracts, rebel or insurrectionary, or incite to resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves) has been received at his office in the mail, he shall give notice thereof to some Justice, who shall inquire into the circumstances, and have such book or writing burned in his presence; if it appear to him that the person to whom it was directed subscribed therefor, knowing its character, or agreed to receive it for circulation, he shall be liable to be committed to jail, and the Justice shall commit such person to jail. If any postmaster or deputy postmaster violate this section, he shall be fined not exceeding two hundred dollars.'

This law is obligatory upon every postmaster and deputy postmaster in the Commonwealth; and it is his duty, upon being aware that such book or writing is received at his office, to notify a Justice of the fact, that he may take the proceedings prescribed in the section quoted.

This State law is entirely constitutional, and does not, properly considered, conflict with the Federal authority in the establishment of post offices and post roads. This Federal power to transmit and carry mail matter, does not carry with it the power to publish or to circulate. This last is a great State power, reserved and absolutely necessary to be maintained as a security to its citizens and to their rights. If the States had surrendered this power, it would, in these important particulars, have been at the mercy of the Federal authorities.

With the transmission of the mail matter to the point of its reception, the Federal power ceases. At that point, the power of the State becomes exclusive. Whether her citizens shall receive the mail matter, is a question exclusively for her determination. Whatever her regulation upon the subject, is for her decision alone, and no one can gainsay it. Her sovereign right to make it, closes the door to civil objection.

It is true the postmaster is an officer of the Federal Government, but it is equally true he is a citizen of the State. By taking the Federal office, he cannot avoid his duty as a citizen; and the obligation to perform the duty of his office cannot absolve him from obedience to the laws of his Commonwealth, nor will they be found to conflict. The State, in the case supposed, holds the hand of her citizen, from receiving what is sent to him, and takes it herself. No citizen has the right to receive an invitation to treason against the commands of his State, and her law forbidding it and commanding it to be burned, refers to the right of the citizen to receive, not to the right of the Federal power to transmit and carry mail matter intended for him, which he does not receive, only because the law of the State forbids it.

I have no hesitation in saying that any law of Congress, impairing directly or indirectly this reserved right of the State, is unconstitutional, and that the penalty of the State law would be imposed upon a postmaster offending against it, though he should plead his duty to obey such unconstitutional act of Congress.

If there be a conflict, therefore, between the postal regulations of Congress and this law of Virginia, it is because the former have transcended their true constitutional limits, and have trampled upon the reserved rights of the State. In such a case the citizen, though a postmaster, must take care to obey the legitimate authority, and will not be exempt from the penalty of the State law by reason of any obligation to perform the duties of a Federal office, which are made to invade the reserved jurisdiction of the State in matters involving her safety and her peace.

It is eminently important that the provisions of the law in question should be rigidly adhered to by all the postmasters in the State, and that the Justice to whose notice the matter may be brought, should firmly execute the law whenever a proper case presents itself for their decision.

With high respect, your obedient servant,
J. B. TUCKER.

FOR THE GOVERNOR.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7. The Postmaster General has received a letter from the postmaster of Falls Church, Va., in which, after referring to the opinion of the Attorney General of Virginia sustaining the constitutionality of the statute of that State denouncing under heavy penalties the circulation of books, newspapers, pamphlets, etc., tending to excite the slave population to insurrection, he asks to be instructed as to his duty in reference to such documents should they be received through the mails for distribution at the office of which he has charge. The Postmaster General replies that the people of Virginia may not only forbid the introduction and dissemination of such documents within their borders, but if they are brought there in the mails, they may, by appropriate legal proceedings, have them destroyed. They have the same right to extinguish fire-brands thus impudently hurled in the midst of their homes and altars, that a man has to pluck the burning fuse from a bomb-shell which is about to explode at his feet.

Gov. Stewart, of Missouri, has designated the 8th day of December as a day of Thanksgiving in that State. An unusual effort was made to secure uniformity in the day selected by the Executives of the several States; the reasons of Gov. Stewart's nomination may possibly be explained by the following paragraph in the St. Louis Republican, which appeared several days previous to the proclamation:—

'The Black Republican States, and some others, have all fixed upon one day. That may be all well enough, but we don't think Gov. Stewart ought to follow the example, and for this reason: The New England States, and some of the other free States, will all be treated to sermons by the three thousand disloyal preachers, the staple of which will be a denunciation of all the slaveholders and tyrants, and the dissolution of the Union. This may do very well for the North, the preachers and politicians of

which seem bent on bringing about this result. We do not care about keeping such company. In THE UNION, the people of Missouri would like to have a different day on which to manifest their thankfulness to God for his many blessings during the year.'

SECTIONAL SPIRIT. The Washington correspondent of the New York Independent says:—

Since my last letter, we have had a singular outbreak of anti-Parliamentism in Washington. Our Common Council usually authorizes the Mayor to issue a proclamation for a day of public Thanksgiving. But this year that aged body voted to dispense with the time-honored observance, and principally because it is of New England origin! The most powerful arguments were made against setting apart a day, as if the community here were in danger of being abolished at once. New England was represented to be the hot-bed of anti-slavery, and therefore it was beneath the dignity of Washington to observe one of her 'feast days.'

From the Hartford Press, Dec. 12.

TWO YOUNG MEN REIGN OF TERROR.

The southern reign of terror.—James J. Miller, of Hartford, 17 years old, (large of his age and looking older), and Emmons J. Coe, of Meriden—have just returned from North Carolina with a rather uncomfortable experience of the manner in which some of the people of that region observe the guarantees of the Constitution.

They went to Salisbury, Rowen county, about four weeks ago, as travelling agents for L. Stebbins, publisher of this place, to sell two large and handsomely illustrated volumes, 'The History of the North American Indians,' and 'The History of Christ and His Apostles.' They took a room at the Mount Vernon House, and after thoroughly canvassing Salisbury and the vicinity, they went to Gold Hill

TRAINMENT OF A SCHOOL-MISTRESS.

From the Richmond Enquirer, Dec. 2. Within the last few days, an occurrence took place in one of the young ladies' schools of this city which shows that even Yankee school-teachers, who come South to make money, cannot keep a discreet tongue in their head. Abolition is in them, and it will gush out one way or another.

In the case in point, some of the young lady scholars were talking over the excitement of Harper's Ferry, and one of them expressed an opinion, saying, "Old Brown ought to be hanged!" The teacher from down East, who, we understand, gave lessons in music and French, rebuked the young pupils for calling the Kansas murderer and robber, "Old Brown," and stated that he should name him as "Mr. Brown," that he was engaged in a meritorious cause, and was a good and brave man, whose object was not evil, &c.

The young daughters of the South did not relish this laudation of the old sin-dyed rascal, who would incite, pay, and arm negroes, to maltreat or murder them; they made known the expressions of the Yankee teacher to the Principal of the Academy, who, after investigating the matter, immediately discharged the offending teacher. She made tracks for the North the same evening, but will, doubtless, make capital out of the occurrence somewhere down in Maine or Massachusetts, where every female, who is just able to spell "c-a-t," thinks she can teach all Southern children. The action of the school principal in question was right, for, bear in mind, those who are not for us are against us.

THE EXCITEMENT AGAINST NORTHERN MEN IN VIRGINIA.—The Richmond correspondent of the New York Herald, writing on the 18th, says: A gentleman from Baltimore, who was on his way South upon a tour for the benefit of his health, informed me last evening, that however great might be the advantages of the trip, he would forego it sooner than submit to the suspicions and certainties of which he was the object at various points upon his passage through Virginia. He travelled through some portions of the interior of the Commonwealth before reaching here. I know an instance in which the presentation of a Massachusetts bank note at a tavern in the country, by a gentleman who resides in Virginia, and its subsequent refusal, was nearly as humiliating to the serious indignities and inconveniences. His recognition by a gentleman of the locality as he emerged from the tavern, was the only thing that saved him from a disagreeable overhauling. The gentleman assured me that he was well armed, and determined that the first man who laid hands upon him should die. I have had myself some little experience in this sort of treatment, and I can therefore appreciate the danger. While standing in the hall of a hotel in North Carolina, some year or two ago, awaiting the meeting of an assembly whose proceedings I had gone to report for the Herald, I was rudely seized by two ruffians, who planted themselves, on each side of me, and carried me into the street, there to ascertain what my purpose in coming to town was, and to administer due punishment if it was not in keeping with their views. By this time we were approached by several persons, among whom, fortunately, were some doubtless, was a distinguished gentleman, of that State, who instantly recognized me. The observance of the recognition by these ruffians caused them immediately to release me. Being then without any means of defense, I was forced to submit to this indignity.

From a Richmond paper. \$100,000 REWARD.—Messrs. Editors: I will be one of one hundred gentlemen who will follow twenty-five dollars each for the heads of the following traitors:

- Henry Wilson, Massachusetts; Chas. Sumner, Massachusetts; Horace Greeley, New York; John P. Hale, New Hampshire; Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Brooklyn; Rev. Dr. Cheever, New York; Rev. Mr. Wheelock, New Hampshire; Schuyler Colfax, Anson Burlingame, Owen Lovejoy, Amos P. Conger, Edwin B. Morgan, Galusha A. Grow, Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Calvin C. Chaffin, William H. Ashley, William A. Howard, Henry Waldron, John Sherman, Geo. W. Palmer, Daniel W. Gooch, Henry L. Dawes, Justin S. Morrill, I. Washburn, Jr., J. A. Bingham, Wm. Kellogg, E. B. Washburne, Benj. Stanton, Edward Dodd, C. B. Tompkins, John Covode, Cad. C. Washburne, Samuel G. Andrews, A. B. Olin, Sidney Dean, N. B. Durfee, Emory B. Pottle, DeWitt C. Leach, J. F. Potter, T. Davis, Massachusetts; T. Davis, Iowa; J. E. Fairbank, C. L. Knapp, R. E. Fenton, Philemon Bliss, Mason W. Tappan, Charles Carter, James Pike, Homer E. Boyce, Isaac D. Clawson, A. S. Murray, Robert B. Hall, Valentine B. Horton, Freeman H. Morse, David Kilgore, William Stewart, Samuel B. Curtis, John M. Wood, John M. Parker, Stephen C. Foster, Chas. J. Gilman, C. B. Hoard, John Thompson, J. W. Sherman, Wm. D. Braxton, James Buffington, O. M. Matthews, Richard Mott, Geo. K. Robbins, Joseph P. Walton, James Wilson, S. A. Parvian, Francis E. Spinner, Silas M. Burroughs. And I will also be one of one hundred to pay five hundred dollars each (\$50,000) for the head of William H. Seward, and would add a similar reward for Fred. Douglass, but regarding him head and shoulders above these traitors, will permit him to remain where he now is. RICHMOND.

From a Richmond paper. SOUTHERN DIABOLISM. The Wytheville (Va.) Telegraph thus refers to the barbarous treatment of a man suspected of being an Abolitionist, who was arrested in Pulaski county, the other day:

One of the prominent citizens, acting as judge, jury, and executioner, after ordering him to be hung, coolly proceeded to execute sentence. Having hung him till nearly dead, he cut him down and gave him a breathing spell, and when restored sufficiently to undergo another swing, he was again suspended for a few moments. After having undergone this process five times, each time longer than the last, Brown, Crippie, Cook, Stevens, and Hazlett, he was permitted to go, but not until he had been admonished, if caught in this vicinity, he would have to take the sixth and fatal leap. It is said, in conclusion of the whole proceedings, that when the fellow got loose, he ran like a quarter nag, about 2-40, and that the treatment received by this scamp is but an earnest of the way in which the people of Virginia will deal with all suspicious persons.

ABOLITIONISTS IN TROUBLE AND TAR.—We learn by a private dispatch from Frankfort that one Claudy, and another man by the name of Fee, Abolition brethren, from Jackson, who were holding a protracted meeting near London, Laurel county, were tarred and feathered last Monday. Their heads were shaved, hot tar poured over them, and then feathers were applied.—Louisville Democrat.

ANOTHER TAR AND FEATHERS CASE.—A Scotchman named Sandy Tate, having expressed himself rather too freely upon the slave question and Harper's Ferry affair, in the village of Salisbury, North Carolina, was recently seized by a mob, and tarred and feathered, after which he was placed upon a fence-nail and carried to a neighboring duck pond, where, in the presence of an immense throng of people, he was ducked until he recoiled. Upon being released, the poor fellow took to his heels, and has never been seen since.

ONE OF BROWN'S MAP MEN.—A book seller, named Abritton, was arrested in Marion, Ala., on the 3d inst. The American says: He was arrested about 8 o'clock this morning, and carried to Cahaba, where it is reported that the documents respecting him are to be one of the original maps to be stationed on the line of the published Brown Map. We learn from Marshal Curtis that there is sufficient proof, found in the prisoner's trunk, to convict him, beyond a shadow of a doubt, of being an emissary. If so, the Lord have mercy on his soul (?!), for we know the people of Cahaba well enough to feel confident that they will give him full justice, terrible as it may be.—Richmond Dispatch.

The Columbus Geo. Sen. mentions the arrest in that city of Wm. Scott, a member of the firm of Charles Scott & Co., dealers in embroideries, linens, &c., New York. An open expression of sympathy for "Old Brown," and the possession of Bocher's incendiary sermons were the occasion of the arrest. He received "notice to quit," and took his departure by the first train.

In Charlottesville, Va., a man from the North, named Rood, has been arrested on suspicion, and papers found on him sufficiently important to warrant his imprisonment. Another suspicious man is in jail at Union, Monroe county, Va. He has but one arm, says he is from Baltimore, and that his name is Nicholas Mitchell.

THE PEDLER'S HEGIRA.

With heroic disregard to personal inconveniences, Virginia has resolved, since old John Brown so nearly subjugated her, to expel from her borders all persons who may be likely to infuse notions of liberty into her servile population. As our forefathers, in the time that tried men's souls, with persistent self-denial, abstained from the use of the Chinese infusion, as they rejected broadcloth and made their Southern suits of homespun, so they discarded with all articles of British manufacture, in their abhorrence of British oppression, so the Virginians of today are determined as far as possible to accustom themselves to live without those articles of domestic convenience or personal use and ornament with which they have hitherto been largely supplied by the perambulating pedlars, tramping tinkers, and clattering chapmen of the North. From her granular hills radiant with population, New England has been accustomed to send forth numbers of these petty merchants, with pack on back, or wares in insignificant one horse cart, who, to many a remote plantation, far from crowded mart, have carried a supply of numerous articles apparently insignificant, but the want of which is found seriously to interfere with the harmonious progress of domestic affairs. Notwithstanding the occasional complaints of wretched natives, based upon pumpkin seeds, with solder that wouldn't stand hot water, and Yankee clocks that wouldn't go unless carried, the pedlar was and is on the whole a very useful man in his way, North or South. But patriotism demands a sacrifice. The rights and the property of Virginia are at stake. Since John Brown's invasion, every white man, not a native of Virginia, within her borders, is a suspected individual. In every pedlar, they behold a conspirator and an abettor of crime. They apprehend lest every pair of tin boxes slung over the pedlar's shoulders may be filled with pikes six feet long, with rifles, pistols and ammunition sufficient to arm all the slaves in a county, and to bid defiance to whole regiments of local militia. In every covered one-horse cart that drives up an avenue, they behold another Trojan horse filled with demagogic abolitionists thirsting for blood, and each trembling planter, as he gazes on the wretched sight, exclaims—

'Tis no Danaos et dona ferentes!

Therefore the ancient Commonwealth proclaims, 'A ban! to all pedlars!' Come not to disturb our repose with horrible suspicions of intrusion upon our deck, well-fed, contented, happy slaves to flight or rebellion. Seek not to interfere with our divine institution. Take not advantage of our hospitality to arm our servants against us. Since ye will not be content with depleting our pockets, but must also seek to rob us of our most profitable live stock, come no longer among us. We will dispense with, or will rather pay a price of, and miles to get our pins and needles, our stone ware and our brooms, our ribbons and our laces, our tin pans and our cutlery, our clocks and clothes-pins, and the thousand other things ye have hitherto supplied us with. Depart, ye simple agents! We will no longer contribute to swell the plethoric purses of your Northern manufacturers.' And so each valiant son of the Old Dominion, armed with bow-knife and revolver, strongly fortified with abundance of pure corn-stalk whiskey, and large squares of genuine Virginia lead, constitutes himself a vigilante committee, and whenever he meets one of the forbidden and abhorred race, with strong intimation of the personal discomfort that he will otherwise cause, and pronouncements of a trial before Judge Lynch, followed by application of tar and feathers, and a free ride on the sharp edge of a rail, persuades him to turn his reluctant footsteps northward, sighing, but in vain, over profits he will never be realized, and to depart, with the total confiscation of his little stock. One of this class was in our office last week, who found the atmosphere of Charlottesville decidedly insalubrious in prospect, at least, and made a sudden retreat from that happy land.

And so the pedlars fly—Virginia rejoicing at their departure. How the vacuum will be supplied, remains to be seen. Here is evidently a natural want to be provided for. The periodic visits of the pedlar will be missed, and discomfort will ensue. It is a problem demanding all the genius of a Wise to solve. Here he may display the genius of a statesman, by devising some institution adapted to the emergency, or with patriotic self-denial may take the pack, or assume the guidance of a one-horse cart himself, setting a glorious example to all the sons of the F. F. V's, how to act for their country's good in these trying times. It shows himself equal to the occasion, he shall not despair of seeing him yet elected to the Presidential chair.—New Bedford Republican Standard.

THE VIRGINIA DEMONSTRATION AT THE SOUTH.

We are satisfied that every intelligent man in the South has been completely disgusted at the broad and pathetic farce that has been played off before the public about the hanging of that loquacious "Old Brown." From the 500 invaders in possession of Harper's Ferry, and the 1000 negroes carried off to the mountains of Pennsylvania—from the further invasions and threats of invasion—the arsons and fears of arson—the marches and counter-marches of the points and oscillations of Governor Wise, the energetic, and his troops—down to the first bill of military aid offered by Gov. Gist of South Carolina to the Gov. of Virginia, for the purpose of making certain the aforesaid hanging of Old Brown & Co.—it is a tissue of disgrace, exaggeration and invention sufficient to stir the gall of any Southerner, who has regard for the dignity and responsibility of the Southern people. To us it really looks as if the news in possession of the telegraph were in league to ridicule the South, and make us a laughing-stock to ourselves and before the world. We sincerely trust that our legislature, which meets to-day, will bear this in mind, and take no action whatever in regard to ourselves or our institutions, that may even have the appearance of being prompted by the Virginia farce and its terrorism.—Charleston Mercury.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 23, 1859.

REMEMBER THE TERMS.

To our SUBSCRIBERS. Those of our subscribers who have not paid for the current year,—that is, from January 1st, 1859, to January 1st, 1860,—are reminded of the standing rule by which their papers will be discontinued after February 1st, 1860, unless payment for the same be previously sent in.

The Financial Committee, in calling attention to the above standing rule, would also ask every subscriber, for the sake of the cause, as well as for the sake of the paper, to do what in him lies to extend the circulation of the Liberator, at least to the extent of procuring each one an additional name for our list.

THE PETITION FOR PROHIBITING SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Friends! the time is short, and the work of securing names to the PETITION should be taken up and completed without loss of time. Do not let the work be thrown entirely on one or two persons in any place. In every town let a committee, of men and women, representing all parts of the town, be selected, who will see that the petition is presented at every house. By this division of labor, the work will be easily and speedily done. It needs only this effort to secure, we believe, the names of five-sixths of the men and women of Massachusetts to the petition. Many hearts and hands are now at work for this object throughout the North. Let Massachusetts not be found wanting.

Give the petition to your representative in the Legislature; or, if preferred, send it to the care of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING, in Massachusetts, by enacting a law, by which any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming an on the ground that he owes "service or labor," such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION.

The Anti-Slavery families who have so long made Boston the seat of this annual social occasion, gratefully renew their invitation to all the early friends of Freedom, and cordially extend it to the multitudes of new friends in every part of the land, whom the past year has made; earnestly entreating the satisfaction of their company at

THE MUSIC HALL, BOSTON.

On Wednesday, January the 7th. Solrée at 7 o'clock. The general arrangements for the day and evening the same as last year.

We, who now unite in this heartfelt invitation, are not of Northern origin exclusively; some are of the South, and some have been slaveholders. But all seeing clearly that the present must be a year of unwonted moral exertion, if our country is to be carried successfully through the present hopeful crisis, unite in entreating their friends to meet them in this way at its opening, for mutual understanding and co-operation, counsel and encouragement, sympathy and congratulation. Never were the signs of the peaceful extinction of slavery so full and propitious to the eyes long trained to read them aright.

We shall shortly send special invitations to both earlier and later friends as soon as the day in January can be determined by consultation with the more distant friends. In the mean time, we entreat all who love their native land, and are beginning to feel deeply moved, to serve and save it, to consider the necessity of steady, long-sustained, unremitting exertion, such as we carry on, and to uphold it now by presence, if possible—at all events by letter and by sympathy. The names of such as have reasons for avoiding publicity will be sacredly kept, and our grateful expressions conveyed to them by private acknowledgment.

Let none who sympathize with us to absent themselves; our special invitation may fail to reach them; our silent and omission, however carefully guarded against, are almost unavoidable in issuing invitations on so large a scale; and the occasion is one that will, we trust, bring to our acquaintance many new unknown to us, whose co-operation will be most valuable.

We entreat any whose love of the cause induces them to hesitate about making what they account a small subscription, to remember that while the largest sum is small in comparison with the grandeur of the Cause, the smallest may be the expression of high feeling, high thinking, and self-sacrifice.

- MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, ELIZA ANDREW, SARAH P. ATKINSON, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, ABBY FRANCIS, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA APOTHORP, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE SEVENTH AND NINTH COMMANDMENTS.

The following notice has lately appeared in all the newspapers, religious and secular, in Boston, and thence has been circulated all over the country, and sent to England:—

To the PUBLIC.—Facts have recently come to the knowledge of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, deeply implicating the moral character of Dr. Pomroy, and rendering it impossible that he should longer retain his official position as a secretary of the Board. He has resigned, and is no longer to be recognized as an officer of the Board. The facts referred to have no connection with his official position. By order of the Prudential Committee. (Signed,) CHARLES STODOLSKY, Chairman.

R. ANDERSON, Clerk. Boston, November 29th, 1859.

The explanation of this sudden and decisive action, appearing immediately after the said above quoted, is, that the Prudential Committee of the American Board have accidentally discovered that Dr. Pomroy has, on three different occasions, paid large sums of cash-money to buy the silence of three women who made charges against him. What wonder that, after this, they should say, it is "impossible that he should longer retain his official position as a Secretary of the Board!"

Whatever may be the faults of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, no one can say that they approve, or favor, or apologize for, or acquiesce in, adultery, as far as heathen countries and the free States of the American Union are concerned. In all these regions, they are careful to guard a purity as free from suspicion as from sin; and, as soon as the character of one of their officers falls under suspicion of this guilt, even before they, or anyone, can confidently say that he is guilty, they feel that he is no longer a suitable person to transact their business, and they require his resignation as the alternative of immediate expulsion. If they should ever be charged with favoring the commission of adultery, or allowing it to pass unreprieved among their Northern Corporate and Honorary members, and especially among their official servants, they can point to the case of Dr. Pomroy as a triumphant vindication.

If a Turk, unacquainted with the peculiarities of the popular American religion, and unacquainted with the lives of Southern members of the Board, should ask the reason of this unparalyzing severity against adultery, they would tell him that this act is a violation of the seventh commandment of the decalogue. He would naturally infer from this, that the whole of this code is held in like veneration, and that the disregard of any other of its provisions would be visited with the same severity. But such a conclusion would show his ignorance of the peculiarities above mentioned. The ninth commandment of the decalogue forbids lying as stringently as the seventh forbids adultery. It is said that a strict constructionist once attempted to excuse his violation of truth by saying that it was committed for his neighbor, and not against his neighbor. But no such theory of the meaning of the ninth commandment has been openly assumed as the correct one, even by the New York and Boston Tract Societies, and certainly not by the American Board. They would undoubtedly declare it to forbid all saying of that which is not.

This very Dr. Pomroy, who has just now, under suspicion of adultery, made a compulsory resignation of his Secretaryship in the American Board, told a

deliberate lie in regard to their position during his recent visit to England, repeating it as often as he was met by a statement of the facts respecting their Cherokee and Choctaw missions. It had become known to a portion of the English people, that slaveholders were admitted, as Christians, into the churches established by those missions; that the missionaries insisted upon receiving them; that the Prudential Committee never at all prohibited such admission of slaveholders;—and never made the least objection or showed the least repugnance to this wicked practice, until importunate remonstrances were repeatedly made by a portion of their patrons in the Northern States; then they hinted to the missionaries the expediency of taking away the occasion of such complaints, all the time carefully avoiding the giving of decisions, or instructions, against the practice in question. And when, in his visit to England, Dr. Pomroy found these facts known, and the knowledge of them of course operating to the discredit of the Board, he turned the tide, for the time, by this deliberately false statement.—The Board now hold an anti-slavery position.

The Board soon had information of this lie, told in their behalf, and for their credit. The clerical dignity, the solemn and serious aspect of Dr. Pomroy, ('well fitted,' as Rev. John Waddington of London remarked, at the late Annual Meeting, to represent the Board in England,) gave currency to the statement for a time, though investigation soon showed its utter falseness; but neither then nor since have they called Dr. Pomroy to account for this falsehood. Are we to infer that they think the ninth commandment less obligatory or less important than the seventh; or that the violation of some or any of these commandments is palliated, or excused, by being done in advancement of their purposes?

These are important questions. We have no hope of their being answered at the call of abolitionists by the prosperous and powerful body in question, who absorb the voluntary (?) contributions of the country at the rate of more than a thousand dollars a day, but expend so much more as to leave them this year, sixty-six thousand dollars in debt. They are accustomed to seem to ignore American abolitionists, while they are secretly working to counteract them. Their position in regard to the anti-slavery movement remains precisely as it was in 1837, when they adopted, and in 1839, when, after discussion, they REAFFIRMED, a resolution forbidding those missionaries in their employ who had embraced anti-slavery principles to use the paper and presses of the Board (the only means of printing within their reach) to print any letter, tract or appeal, remonstrating against slavery, with a view to its being sent to individuals, or communities, in the United States. Their missionaries still labor under this disqualification for using their experience of the pernicious and depraving influence of slavery abroad, in direct opposition to the slavery they have left at home. But English abolitionists can, if they will, extort answers to these questions, as well as to the additional questions, which should now demand of the Board, in thunder tones, from every 'evangelical' church in Great Britain, Why they did not purge the Choctaw churches from slaveholders, instead of, or previous to, cutting them off?—and WHY THEY STILL SUFFER THEIR CHEROKEE CHURCH-MEMBERS TO HOLD, BY AND SELL SLAVES, WITHOUT LIMIT AND WITHOUT OBSTRUCTION?—C. K. W.

Dr. Pomroy, at the late Annual Meeting, urged the Board to disregard this debt, and to go on increasing their expenditure, confident that the people would supply whatever they should call for. Probably they will follow this advice, and very likely the people will fulfil the prophecy.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE PURITAN PRINCIPLE AND JOHN BROWN.

On Sunday last, the desk at the Music Hall was occupied by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., who delivered an impressive discourse upon 'The Puritan Principle,' the manifestation and fruit of which he found in the present generation, in the character and life of the man whom Virginia has just doomed to the gibbet. Notwithstanding the very severe storm, a large congregation assembled, and at times the speaker elicited irrepressible applause. The Atlas and Bee, of Monday, contained a complete report of the discourse by Mr. Yerrinton. We regret that we can find room for only the concluding portion of it:—

'What has John Brown done for us? The world doubted, over the horrid word "insurrection," whether the victim had a right to arrest the course of his master, and even at an expense of blood, to vindicate his rights; and Brown said to his neighbors in the old school-house at North Elba, sitting among the snow,—where nothing grows but men—wheat freezes,—I can go South, and show the world that he has a right to rise, and can rise.' He went, girded about by his household, carrying his sons with him. Proof of a life devoted to an idea! Not a single spasmodic act of greatness, coming out with no background, and the flowering of sixty years. The proof of it, that every thing around him grouped itself harmoniously, like the planets around the central sun. He went down to Virginia, took possession of a town, and held it. He says—'You thought this was strength; I demonstrate it is weakness. You thought this was civil society; I show you it is a den of pirates.' Then he turned around in his sublimity, with his Puritan devotional heart, and said to the millions, 'Learn!' And God lifted a million hearts to his gibbet, as the Roman cross lifted a million of hearts to it, in that divine sacrifice of two thousand years ago. To-day, more than a statesman could have taught in seventy years, one act of a week has taught: these eighteen millions of people. That is the Puritan principle.

What shall it teach us? 'Go thou, and do likewise.' Do it, by a resolute life. Do it, by a fearless rebuke. Do it, by preaching the sermon of which this act is the text. Do it, by standing by the great example which God has given us. Do it, by bearing under the veil of respectability which covers brutality calling itself law. We had a 'Union meeting' in this city a while ago. For the first time for a quarter of a century, political brutality dared to enter the sacredness of the sick chamber, and visit with ridicule the broken intellect, sheltered from criticism under the cover of sickness. Never, since I knew Boston, has any lip, however excited, dared to open the door which God's hand had closed, making the inmate sacred, as he rested under broken health. The four thousand men who sat beneath the speaker are said to have received it in silence. If so, it can only be that they were not surprised at the brutality from such lips. And those who sat at his side—they judge us by our associates; they criticize us, in general, for the loud word of any comrade—shall we take the scholar of New England, and drag him down to the level of the brutal Swiss of politics, and judge him indecent because his associates were indecent? I think God for the opportunity of protesting, in the name of Boston decency, against the brutal language of a man, thank God, not born on our peninsula, against the noble and benighted intellect of Gerrit Smith.

On that occasion, too, a noble island was calumniated. The New England scholar, bereft of every thing else on which to arraign the great movement in Virginia, digs up a forgotten lie about St. Domingo, and hurls it in the face of an ignorant audience—ignorant, because no man ever thought it worth while to do justice to the negro. Edward Everett would be the last to allow us to take an English version of Bunker Hill, to take an Englishman's account of Hamilton and Washington, as they stood beneath the scaffold of Andre, and read it to an American audience as a faithful description of the scene. But when he wants to malign a race, he digs up from the prejudice of an enemy they had conquered a forgotten lie—showing how weak was the cause he espoused, when the opposite must be assailed with falsehood, for it could not be assailed with any thing else.

I said that they had gone to sleep, and only turned in their graves—those men in Faneuil Hall. It was not wholly true. The Chairman came down from the heart of the Commonwealth, and spoke to Boston safe words in Faneuil Hall, for which he would have been lynched at Richmond, had he uttered them there that evening. Thanks to God, I said as I read it, a hunker cannot live in Massachusetts without being wider awake than he imagines! He must imitate fanaticism. Insurrection is epidemic in the State; treason is our inheritance. The Puritans planted it in the very structure of the State; and when their children try to curse a martyr, like the prophet of old, half the curse at least turns into a blessing. I thank God for that, Massachusetts! Let us not blame our neighbors too much. There is something in the very atmosphere that stands above the ashes of the Puritans, that prevents the very most servile of hearts from holding a meeting which the despots of Virginia can resist. They do not know how to be servile within forty miles of Plymouth. They have not learned the part; with all their wish, they play it awkwardly. It is the old stiff Puritan trying to bend, and they do it with a marvellous lack of grace. I read encouragement in the very signs—the awkward attempts made to resist this very effort of the glorious martyr of the Northern hills of New York. Virginia herself looks into his face, and scans; she has nothing but praise. She tries to scold his traits; they are too many, and she bows. Her press can only speak of his manhood. One has to get outside the influence of his personal presence before the slaves of Virginia can dig up a forgotten Kansas lie, and hurl it against the picture which Virginia admiration has painted. That does not come from Virginia. Northern men volunteer to do the work which Virginia, lifted for a moment by the sight of martyrdom, is unable to accomplish. A Newburyport man comes to Boston, and says that he knows John Brown was at the massacre of Pottowatomie. He was only twenty-five miles off! The Newburyport orator gets within thirty miles of the truth, and that is very near—for him! But Virginia was unable—mark you!—Virginia was unable to criticize. She could only bow. It is the most striking evidence of the majesty of the act.

There is one picture which stands out in bright relief in this event. On that mountain side of the Adirondack, up among the snows, there is a plain cottage—'plain living, and high thinking,' as Wordsworth says. Grouped there, are a family of girls and boys, hardly over twenty; sitting supreme, the majestic spirit of a man just entering age,—life one purpose. Other men breed their sons for ambition, avarice, trade; he breeds his for martyrdom, and they accept serenely their places. Hardly a book under its roof but the Bible. No sound so familiar as prayer. He takes them in his right hand and in his left, and goes down to the land of bondage. Like the old Puritans of two hundred years ago, the muskets are on one side, and the pikes upon the other; but the morning prayer goes up from the domestic altar as it did from the lips of Brewster and Carver, and no morsel is ever tasted without that same grace which was made at Plymouth and Salem; and at last he flings himself against the gigantic system, which trembles under his single arm. You measure the strength of a blow by the force of the rebound. Men thought Virginia a Commonwealth; he reveals it a worse than Austrian despotism. Neighbors dare not speak to each other; no man can travel on the highway without a passport; the telegraph wires are sealed, except with a permit; the State shakes beneath the tramp of cannon and armed men. What does she fear? CONSCIENCE. The apostle has come to torment her, and he finds the weakest spot herself. She dares not trust the usual forms of justice. Arraigned in what she calls her court, is a wounded man, on a pallet, unable to stand. The civilized world stands aghast. She says, 'it is necessary.' Why? 'I stand on a volcano. The Titans are heaving beneath the mountains. Thought—the earthquake of conscience—is below me.' It is the acknowledgment of defeat. The Roman thought, when he looked upon the cross, that it was the symbol of infamy—only the vilest felon hung there. One sacred sacrifice, and the cross nestles in our hearts; the emblem of everything holy. Virginia erects her gibbet, repulsive in name and form. One man goes up from it to God, with two hundred thousand broken fetters in his hands, and henceforth it is sacred forever.

I said that, to vindicate Puritanism, the children must be better than the fathers. Lo, this event! Brewster, and Carver, and Bradford, and Winthrop, faced a New England winter, and defined law for themselves. For us, their children, they planted and sowed. They said—'Lo! our rights are trodden under foot; our cradles are not safe; our prayers may not ascend to God.' They formed a State, and achieved that liberty. John Brown goes a stride beyond them. Under his own roof, he might pray at liberty; his own children were no fetters. In the catalogue of Saxon heroes and martyrs, the Ridley and the Latimer, he only saw men dying for themselves; in the brave souls of our own day, he saw men good as their fathers; but he leaped beyond them, and died for a race whose blood he did not share. The child of seventeen years gives her husband for a race into whose eyes she never looked. Braver than Carver or Winthrop, more disinterested than Bradford, broader than Hancock or Washington, pure as the brightest names on our catalogue—nearer God's heart, for, with a divine magnanimity, he comprehended all races—Ridley and Latimer minister before him. He sits in that heaven of which he showed us the open door, with the great men of Saxon blood ministering below his feet. And yet, they have a right to say, 'We created him.'

LETTER FROM A COLORED MAN IN OHIO TO L. MARIA CHILD.

'If a son of humanity with a dignified surface may claim affinity to man, permit me to ask a great favor of one of clear white and pure heart. When it is convenient, will you send us your likeness? We desire it to occupy a place in our book room; with you, John Brown, whose likeness we already have. We are allowed to visit him in prison, we would like to have it taken; if possible, in the act of pouring oil on the wounds of that noble, though misguided philanthropist; or, like Pocahontas, screening his head from the impending blow of that vindictive law of his State, which knows no mercy for those who attempt to liberate the captive. We desire to send down Harper's Ferry, the pictures of two honest persons. We know, by your communication to the Governor of Virginia, that your heart throbs in union with ours. For we would go all the way on foot to Chatham, and take up that old man Brown, and carry him on our shoulders through the glittering bayonets, and the troops of the United States guard, and fear a leaden ball. Indeed, we felt more than when we read the Governor's reply; for in several marks of human kindness, not to be looked for, when we remember that the same angel still lives in heaven, that delivered St. Peter, may we not bring God known best, and we say, His will be done! We fear you may not be admitted to visit with him in prison; but if you do see our bound brother, will you make him promote the great cause he so much desired. And if he should become a martyr, we have his blood, with Lovjoy and others, will cry to Heaven, and out of their ashes will arise ten thousand deliverers, with better heads, though not with better hearts, to break the chains.

No doubt you noticed in the Richmond Enquirer of the 6th inst., the editor's opinion of you and your school. Would to God there were a thousand more of such hearts and heads, with a Willcote to guide them! Then we would look with hope for the wiping out of our national sin without blood.

We feel that we are troubling you too long. Our only excuse is, that ever since our first acquaintance with you, eight or ten days ago, we have loved you above all your sex, except my wife and mother, who are in heaven. I am yours, not as Frederick Douglass said, 'to the end of slavery,' for that we may see hope to see; but in the bonds of Christian love.

SAMUEL JACKSON.

Who would not rather be John Brown, and have his memory cherished with such tender gratitude by the poor and the oppressed, than to have his name statue set up in front of the State House, a reward for hunting slaves? I agree with the colored man, in thinking that John Brown was a "misguided philanthropist." But no one who believes war to be right under any circumstances, is authorized so to judge him. Is it justly any men in fighting against oppression, he can deny that right to men whose wives are constantly at the disposal of their master, or his son, and whose children are torn from them and sold in the auction block, while they have no redress at law, and are shot down like dogs, if they dare to meet it. It is very inconsistent to eulogize Lafayette for volunteering to aid in our fight for freedom, while we have John Brown for going to the rescue of those who are a thousand times more oppressed than we ever were, and who have none to help them. Let us understand our principles well in this matter, and deal even-handed justice if our estimate of actions.

We who believe that all fighting with eternal weapons is contrary to the teaching of Jesus, do think that John Brown made a grievous mistake; but while we deeply regret the means he employed to advance righteous principles, we cannot withhold a hearty tribute of respect to the generous motives and self-sacrificing spirit of the brave old martyr.

Instead of blaming him for carrying out his own convictions by means we cannot sanction, it would be more profitable for us to inquire of ourselves whether we, who believe in a 'more excellent way,' have exercised our convictions into practice, as faithfully as he did his. We believe in moral influence as a curative of the diseases of society. Have we exerted it as assiduously and as strenuously as we ought against the giant wrong, that is making wreck of all the free institutions our fathers handed down to us as a sacred legacy? Do we bear our testimony against it in the parlor and the store, the caucus and the audience, on the highway and in the cars? Do we stamp out the impressive minds of our children a deep conviction of its inherent wickedness and consequent despair? Do we exclude the raving monster from our chambers, as we ought to do? Do we withhold respect from ministers, who are silent concerning this mighty iniquity? Do we brand with ignominy the statesman, who make compromises with the foul sin, for their own emolument? Nay, verily! We exert status to them. And because we have thus failed to perform our duty in the 'more excellent way,' the end cometh by violence; because come it must.

Let him who is without sin in this matter cast the first stone at the gray head of that honest old Puritan, John Brown! He believed, more earnestly than most of us do, that it was a religious duty to 'remember those in bonds as bound with them;' and he verily thought it was serving God to fight in a righteous cause. Therefore, shall his memory be forever enshrined in the fore, shall his heart be a down-trodden race, and command grateful hearts of a down-trodden race, and command the respect of all true friends of justice and freedom.

In the midst of awful tribulations, his sublime faith in God lifted him above all need of our compassion. Leaning on the Almighty arm, he passed triumphantly through the valley of the shadow of death, smiling serenely, as he said, 'I don't know as I can best serve the cause I love so well, than to die for it.'

Farwell to thee, faithful old man and martyr! The Recording Angel will blot out thy error with a tear, because it was committed with an honest heart.

L. M. C.

It is utterly impossible for us to chronicle in our columns a hundredth part of what is transpiring on the all-exciting question of slavery in the country. To do this, we need to publish a daily Liberator, at twice its present size. We have on hand the proceedings of scores of commemorative meetings held in different parts of the country on the day of the execution of John Brown, all of which we should be glad to publish if it were practicable. No such appropriate demonstration of sympathy and exalted appreciation has been witnessed at the North

THE EXECUTION AT CHARLESTOWN.

Shields Green and John Copeland have just paid the forfeit of their lives. The crowd in the town is estimated to have numbered some five hundred persons.

FURTHER DETAILS.

We have had an exciting time during the past twenty-four hours which we just closed with the execution of four prisoners. In order to a correct understanding of what has transpired, I give you a succinct narrative of the events since yesterday morning.

ARRIVAL OF STRANGERS, ETC.

Throughout the day yesterday, there was a great influx of strangers and citizens of the country, who were flocking in to witness the last act of the Harper's Ferry tragedy.

THE PRISONERS YESTERDAY.

The prisoners were visited yesterday afternoon by the Rev. Mr. Wesson, Rev. Mr. Dutton, and Rev. Mr. Devoy Waugh, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

EXECUTION OF COPELAND AND GREEN.

At half-past ten o'clock, General Taliaferro, with his staff, numbering about twenty-five officers, having given orders to prepare the two negro prisoners, Shields Green and John Copeland, for execution.

THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPE.

At a quarter past 8 o'clock last evening, the whole town was thrown into commotion by the report of a fire on the wall of the jail, followed by several other shots from the vicinity of the main house.

EXECUTION OF COOK AND COPPIE.

The bodies of the two negro prisoners having been brought back to the jail about a quarter to twelve o'clock, notice was given to Cook and Coppie that their time was approaching—only one hour more being allowed them.

By Coppie. After hanging for about half an hour, both bodies were taken down and placed in black wad coffins, prepared for them. That of Cook was placed in a poplar box, labelled and directed as follows:—Aahel P. Willard and Robert Crowley, 104 William street, New York, care of Adams' Express.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXECUTION.

At daybreak this morning, the *regiment* was sounded from the various barracks, announcing the dawn of the day of execution, and soon the whole community was astir.

LETTER OF EXCULPATION.

The following letter, says a correspondent of the Baltimore American, was handed to me this evening. It is written in a beautiful style of penmanship, and is a curiosity, coming from a man who in a few hours to suffer death:—

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 16, 1859.

Having been called upon to make a fair statement in regard to the ways and means of our breaking jail, I have agreed to do so from a sense of duty to the Sheriff of our county, our jailor, and the jail-guard.

THE DISTURBANCES AT THE JOHN BROWN MEETING IN NEW YORK.

A persistent and determined effort seems to have been made to break up the meeting held at the Cooper Institute, New York, on Thursday evening, for the purpose of aiding to the fund in aid of John Brown's family.

RESPECT TO GOV. WISE TO GET THE BODIES OF THE COLORED MEN TO BE EXECUTED TO-DAY.

Philadelphia, Dec. 22, 1859. To His Excellency, Gov. Wise of Virginia.—Dear Sir:—Having learned with great satisfaction of your generous and humane conduct, in granting the bodies of the unfortunate, misguided men who fell as martyrs to their friends, to be interred in the State, I am, Sir, in the most respectful manner, presenting the wishes of a meeting of colored persons recently held in Philadelphia:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOV. WISE OF VIRGINIA.—DEAR SIR:—

Having learned with great satisfaction of your generous and humane conduct, in granting the bodies of the unfortunate, misguided men who fell as martyrs to their friends, to be interred in the State, I am, Sir, in the most respectful manner, presenting the wishes of a meeting of colored persons recently held in Philadelphia:—

For Virginia's violated law that you grant to us, their friends and brethren, the privilege of paying the last sad tribute of respect to the memory of men who have recklessly thrown themselves from home and friends, to die friendless, and the reproach even of their countrymen.

JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY.

The undersigned having, at a meeting held in Tremont Temple, on the 19th inst., been appointed a Committee to take charge of such funds as may be tendered for the benefit of JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY, are ready to receive donations for that object, to which they will be faithfully applied.

PLYMOUTH.

The annual Anti-Slavery gathering at Plymouth will take place on Saturday, Dec. 31st, 1859, and on Sunday, Jan. 1st, 1860. Meetings will be held in Davis's Hall, Plymouth, commencing on Saturday evening, and continuing through the day and evening of Sunday, Jan. 1st.

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

Table with 2 columns: Location and Date. Locations include Gardner Centre, Hubbardston, Rutland, Princeton, Holden.

A HEROINE UNCROWNING HERSELF.

The cowardly barbarism of Virginia character, as displayed by the Harper's Ferry tragedy, was for a moment relieved by what appeared to be a deed of generous heroism on the part of a woman.

THE LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN.

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HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS.

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RESISTANCE TO SLAVEHOLDERS!

This day published, a pamphlet of 35 pages, entitled—THE NATICK RESOLUTION; OR, Resistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty of the Southern Slave and Northern Freemen.

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Ayer's Sarsaparilla. A compound remedy, in which we have labored to produce the most effectual alternative that can be made. It is a concentrated extract of Para Sarsaparilla, so combined with other substances of still greater alternative power as to afford an effective antidote for the diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. Has won for itself such a renown for the cure of every variety of Throat and Lung Complaint, that it is entirely unnecessary for us to recount the evidence of its virtues, wherever it has been employed. As it has been in constant use throughout this section, we need not do more than assure the people its quality is kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it has been found to do for their relief what it has ever been found to do.

10,000 COPIES. Already Subscribed for IN NEW ENGLAND, IN ADVANCE OF PUBLICATION. The great Book of the Day! THE LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN, BY JAMES REDPATH.

HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS. A LIVE BOOK. 50,000 Copies have been Sold. NOW IS THE TIME!

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR: OR, LOW WAGES AND HARD WORK. THREE Lectures by Mrs. C. H. DALL, as follows: I. Death or Dishonor. II. Verily your Crocodiles. III. The Opening of the Gates.

RESISTANCE TO SLAVEHOLDERS! THIS day published, a pamphlet of 35 pages, entitled—THE NATICK RESOLUTION; OR, Resistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty of the Southern Slave and Northern Freemen.

HOME SCHOOL. THE next Term of this Institution will commence on Wednesday Jan. 4, 1860, and continue Fifteen weeks. For particulars, see Catalogue and Circular, to be had by addressing W. S. HAYWOOD, Principals.

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

POETRY.

For the Liberator. THE MARTYR OF DECEMBER 2d, 1859.

At! let the bells toll mournfully, mournfully and slow, For a day for sorrow, a day for tears and woe;

We deem it glorious, great, to file upon the field of Fame, And 'mid the murderous strife of war, to win a deathless name;

But death upon the scaffold—death in its darkest form, To meet it with no friend to cheer, unaided and alone—

With lowering brows around us, and fœmen by our side, No loving eye to cheer us, but looks of scorn and pride—

What can sustain the sinking frame in that last trial-hour? Think you that human strength alone can give the soul such power?

No! 'tis the consciousness of Right—a strong and holy faith, That, looking upward for its rest, can calmly meet such death.

Oh! sure it is a blessed thing to die for Truth and Right! And can there ever be on earth a more inspiring sight

Than this, to see a brave man stand with calm, untroubled brow, Thus with his life-blood sealing at Freedom's shrine its vow!

Ah, Slavery! foul and fearful are the deeds that thou hast done; Like thee, there is no other crime 'neath the all-beholding sun;

Humanity is crushed to earth beneath thine iron heel: In vain to thee for justice thy brother doth appeal.

And now a deeper, deadlier stain thy gory banner wears; Behold, amid its darkening folds, another spot appears!

And never can it be effaced, or time remove the stain— A fearful thing to look upon—there it must still remain.

A man came out before the world, a brave and fearless soul; His brothers' wrongs his heart had stirred—fear could not him control;

He came to lead the bondman forth, to dwell amid the free, And give for chains and fetters the boon of Liberty.

But ye, by your unholy laws, had made such deeds a crime; But you ne'er can blight with infamy Brown's dear and honored name.

Oh! tremble, proud Virginians! for thy doom is drawing near, And every freeman's heart shall thrill as his story they shall hear.

Barre. CARRIE. For the Liberator. THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

When, in the future, one shall ask of men, Where are their names who shrank in silence when

A man was made a slave, and Church and State Joined hands to bar more close his prison gate?

Echo shall answer, 'Where?'—But if he ask, 'Where are their names to whom the hardest task

THE LIBERATOR.

MEETING TO SYMPATHIZE WITH JOHN BROWN.

On Friday, Dec. 2d, the day of the martyrdom of John Brown, in Virginia, a large meeting assembled in the Town Hall, at Northampton, to give expression to such sentiments as the occasion demanded, and to make contributions in aid of the families of the martyr and his companions.

The meeting was called to order by Hon. Chauncey Clark, and on motion of H. K. Starkweather, Jr., William H. Stoddard, Esq., was chosen President. Seth Hunt and D. W. Bond were appointed Secretaries.

Rev. H. F. Morse, of the Methodist church, came forward on invitation of the President, and offered a fervent prayer.

C. C. Burleigh then presented and read the following resolutions:— 1. Resolved, That the event on account of which we have come together, is one in which we feel a deep and painful interest;

2. Resolved, That the putting to death of John Brown for the deeds done in his late expedition to Harper's Ferry, is no common execution of a common criminal; it is a national outrage, a crime against the conscience of the whole people;

3. Resolved, That we believe John Brown when he declares that the purpose of his expedition was simply to liberate slaves, and was not to disturb the public peace, or to excite insurrection, or to stir up servile insurrection, or to destroy human life, except in necessary self-defense, while doing what he regarded as his divinely required duty;

4. Resolved, That whatever charge may be sustained against him and his associates by the technicalities and rules of construction of Virginia law, we believe that, in the eye of God and the judgment of an enlightened conscience, they are not guilty of the crimes alleged against them; and that, in the deeds for which they are doomed to die, however much they erred as to means and method, they were actuated by noble and generous motives, and aimed at an eminently laudable end.

5. Resolved, That they were not guilty of treason against Virginia, for they owed her no allegiance, and, moreover, did not act necessarily involving hostility to her government or to herself as a State; they were not guilty of murder, for they did not act from malice, which is essential to that crime, but rather from feelings incompatible with it,—a high sense of duty, a strong love of right, a sincere, however misdirected philanthropy, a profound reverence for God and his law;

6. Resolved, That as between John Brown and his companions on the one side, and the people and authorities of Virginia on the other, we regard the latter as the real criminals, and the former, in spite of their grave and lamentable error, as the noble and devoted martyrs of a grand idea, whose mistakes will hereafter be leniently judged, while their errors, their disinterested self-devotion at the call of duty, or what they deemed such, their courage in danger, their quiet dignity and manly bearing in disaster, captivity, and the near prospect of death, will be honored with warm admiration and hearty applause, wherever men can appreciate the qualities which enable manhood.

7. Resolved, That if the Harper's Ferry inroad had been as insurrectionary and bloody in purpose as panic-stricken Virginia in her fright imagines it, she would herself be justly held responsible for it; first, as having provoked it by waging war on the rights of the human race, and secondly, as having, in the event, as virtually instigating and justifying it every time she uses her official seal, with its emblematic figure of Liberty, completely armed, trampling upon a prostrate oppressor, and with its motto, 'Sic semper tyrannis'—so be it always to tyrants.

8. Resolved, That slavery, throughout its whole existence in these United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of the citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination.

9. Resolved, That if our Revolutionary fathers deserve the praises they receive, and if Lafayette and Poinsett, De Kalb and Steuben, are worthy to be remembered with credit and honor, they are more so than John Brown and his associates ought not to die the death, and leave behind them the memory of murderers and traitors.

10. Resolved, That the Virginians, in the wanton murder of one prisoner, unarmed and bound, and in the indecent and cruel haste with which they urged on the trial of others while they were suffering from severe wounds, and unable even to sit up in court, giving them no time to prepare for their defence or obtain counsel of their own choice, and in whom they had confidence, have added another to the many illustrations already witnessed of the debasing influence of slavery on a people's character.

11. Resolved, That only in a slaveholding region could an invasion by a score of men create such intense and wide-spread alarm as the South now betrays; and its possibility there is a striking proof that slavery is a source of weakness and danger to that place, and that the fabric of a false foundation, and places under it a mine of perilous explosive elements.

12. Resolved, That we commend the lesson of Harper's Ferry to the serious consideration of the next Convention of Southern Free-traders, or the next state convention, holding over with zeal for Southern rights to do wrong, who shall threaten to dissolve the Union, and set up a slaveholding confederacy at the South, if the North refuses to obey to the last letter and the smallest dot the arrogant behests of the Slave Power.

13. Resolved, That in view of the noble qualities which Brown has displayed in his captivity, the evident sincerity and earnestness of his conviction that he has but done an imperative religious duty, and the calm composure and firm trust in God with which he hides his consequences, all thoughtful men will naturally ask—and the most earnest of us must ask—what must that state of society which requires, as the condition of its safety, that such a man shall die a felon's death? what must be the nature of that institution to which his continuance in life is deemed a deadly peril?

14. Resolved, That, so as are many aspects of this whole affair, we have yet reason to rejoice with gratitude to Him who overrules all events to the promotion of the highest good at last, that by the sympathy it awakens for the martyr spirits it has rendered so brightly conspicuous; by the fresh revelation it makes of the barbarity, weakness and wickedness of slavery; by the incentives it affords to the most virtuous in the minds of slaveholders; and by the general agitation of the slave question it arouses all over the country, it cannot fail to help on the cause of right and freedom to its final and inevitable triumph.

15. Resolved, That whatever may be thought of Brown and his companions, and of the enterprises, terms, and methods of their expeditions, left in poverty and deep affliction, are entitled to our cordial sympathy and humane assistance in their distress, and that we proceed at once to give substantial expression to the compassion we feel for them, by a contribution in their behalf.

16. Resolved, That the chair now appoint a committee of five to take up a collection immediately, and to receive hereafter such contributions as may not present to-day may wish to make; and that they be instructed to report through the Gazette and Courier the amount received, and the channel of transmission to its destination.

C. C. BURLEIGH, after some delay, said that he was hoping to hear something from persons residing in that place, but as none had stepped forward he would occupy a little time in making a few remarks upon the event which has called us together.

are all thinking to-day; fit to be expressed in regard to the institution which is justly chargeable with the events we now deplore, and multitudes of evils yet greater than these.

There is a difference of opinion in regard to the measures which these men took. I am not a believer in the use of force to overthrow evil, but I am speaking to those who do believe in using the sword; and to them I can say with confidence, that if the heroes of the Revolution and their foreign helpers deserve the praise which they receive, then the men who perilled their lives in behalf of the cause of the down-trodden bondmen of Virginia are worthy of applause and not of punishment. They are not to be regarded as traitors and murderers. I say that the people of Virginia are really the wrong-doers in this case.

They are waging an aggressive war against the rights of human nature. It is a war not merely against a few black men in Virginia, but against you and me, and against all humanity; and John Brown has but come to the help of the assailed party. As Emerson said the other day in Boston, John Brown believed in two things, the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. He believed that all men have rights, inalienable, God-given,—and that it is the duty of Government to protect those rights. He believed that every man should do to others as he would that they should do unto him. This belief he wrote out at Harper's Ferry;—in blood, it is true, but so plainly that Virginia cannot successfully pervert his meaning. In the method he employed, he acted out his faith, not yours nor mine. He was educated in the faith of the old Puritans, in the faith of Oliver Cromwell, whose motto was to 'trust in God, and keep your powder dry.' Shall this man be denominated a traitor and a murderer? What does the Governor of Virginia testify of his character? He has pronounced him one of the bravest men he ever knew; one of the most truthful, frank and sincere. I give the substance, not the exact words of his testimony. And no man here doubts that John Brown is at least as good a man as any man within the borders of Virginia to-day. Now, what must you think of the Governor, as you see him twisting the rope around John Brown's neck, and strangling the life out of one who is at least equal in integrity and moral worth to any other man in the State? How will that read in history? The time is coming when Virginia will be glad to tear out, if possible, that page of her history. You may say that Brown is a fanatic. Doubtless Virginia will say so to-day; but will she say so hereafter, when slavery no longer perverts her judgment? What has he done but put into act the doctrines and sentiments which she avows? The Constitution of Virginia affirms the equal and inalienable rights of all men; and her official seal expresses the sentiment that it is right to put down oppression by force, if need be. That sentiment Henry A. Wise has expressed in setting that seal of Virginia to the very document which puts the railroads of the State under the control of his subordinates, to be used in collecting the host of Virginia militia, with its multitudes of captains and colonels, to aid in putting that man to death. But if he was a fanatic, it is proper to put a man to death for fanaticism? John Brown was sincere, it is admitted, in the belief that he ought to do what he did; and he was, moreover, a man of clear, strong intellect,—competent, if free from mental aberration, to reason justly and judge correctly. If all this can be said of him, we are driven to the conclusion that if he felt that he was doing his duty to the slave and the slaveholder, it is really so atrocious as to be worthy of death, then he was so warped in his intellect as to be no subject of penal visitation. I think we cannot get away from this conclusion, if we concede the premises. At all events, it will not read well for the credit of Virginia that she put such a man to death as her Governor has represented Brown to be. Grant if you will that it was for her own safety. But here comes another question: how happens it that in order to be safe, she must put such a man to death? If a man should come among us, and utter and act upon such sentiments, we should not think it necessary to hang him. No; it is her own violation of the laws of God and the rights of humanity; it is slavery which makes the life of such a man dangerous to her; which causes the panic spreading from the Potomac to the Mexican Gulf; which brings out the military flogging around Charleston to guard the execution of one noble old man. This is the cause of all this mischief. We charge it, then, back where it belongs. We charge it back upon Virginia and her sister slaveholding States. This event goes to show the character of slavery. It shows its disregard of all the laws of humanity, and all principles of justice and sound policy, by which all civilized and Christian States claim to be governed. Let the responsibility be placed where it belongs. It is not anti-slavery agitation at the North; it is not the declaration of a distinguished Northern citizen that there is an 'irrepressible conflict' between slavery and freedom, but it is the fact which he affirmed; the fact that where slavery comes in conflict with freedom, there is an 'irrepressible conflict'; this it is which makes the danger of the South. Slavery is itself a state of war—war upon the slave and his rights. You know that the only reason why he is not in arms asserting his rights, is because he dars not do it. He is known and felt to be an enemy, waiting but the power and means of active hostilities. It is the slave system, then, which causes Virginia to tremble in all her borders at the blow which has been struck, and to feel herself in peril as long as Brown lives; and which is therefore responsible for the event we deplore, as well as for that which has been deplored since the 19th of October. We think that the deed of to-day is not done for nought, and that its results will be far different from what its authors anticipate. We have not yet lost our faith in God or our faith in man. The example of one who has shown such a courage and fidelity to principle as to claim the respect of all, even his enemies will not be lost. And I trust as the story of his doom has gone through the land, it has every where excited, not admiration only, but emulation of his noble spirit, and deeper abhorrence for the atrocious system which is responsible for his death. Mr. President, you spoke but the feelings of multitudes when you said that the tolling of the bell to-day, you felt your heart glow with a feeling of sympathy for the sufferer, and also a deeper hatred against that institution on account of which this wrong is to-day perpetrated. It will not be in vain.

Let not Virginia imagine that in the blood of John Brown she can drown the spirit of freedom; for the time is coming when she will acknowledge its indestructible vitality and its resistless power. Virginia—the South—is not always to be cursed with slavery; and the event of to-day will hasten the removal of that curse. Freedom will gain strength from the attempt to stifle her with blood. As ever heretofore, so now, 'the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church.' Ever has it been that death endured for a noble cause has drawn new votaries to its standard, and inspired the old with new zeal and deeper earnestness. We shall not see here an exception to the 'universal rule. God has made man so; has so constituted the human soul, that nothing more powerfully impresses it in favor of a great principle of right, than the faithfulness, unto death, of its upholders. I know not what form the spirit of liberty will take in coming years for its extension, but I am sure that if slavery does not consent to die a peaceful death, under the influence of moral agitation, and an enlightened and just moral sentiment, it must go down in blood; and that when that time does come,—the day of retribution to the oppressor,—every sacrifice which he has made of rights and humanity upon the altar of oppression,—every drop of martyr blood which he has shed to uphold his iniquity, will but make more terrible the doom which

awaits him and his evil institution. Most heartily do I deprecate the submission of this great question to the sword. Most earnestly do I desire that the slaveholder may profit in time by the warnings he receives, and that the victory of the right may be a victory of moral power,—a victory which shall bless the vanquished champions of despotism, no less than the victorious legions of Freedom's host. (Applause.)

CHAUNCEY CLARK then addressed the meeting in an earnest and effective manner. CHARLES EASTMAN, of South Hadley, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted: Resolved, That Capt. John Brown, by his heroic devotion to, and sacrifices in, the cause of Liberty, has well earned and deserves the appellation of the second Brutus.

Resolved, That his daring and successful adventure from Kansas to the land of practical freedom, with a small band of human chattels, so called, with the enemy before, behind, and on every side, was an act of heroic daring, and to the honorable distinction of the American Xenophon.

Resolved, That his manly bearing and noble speech in the presence of that organization which claimed the right to decree his death—his Christian character developed by his whole life of sacrifices and benevolence; and his heroic and patriotic death, most perfect rule, do unto others as you would that they should even do unto you, having been the cause of his condemnation; and therefore, by that act of cruelty and tyranny the government of Virginia, by sentencing him to death, has entitled his memory to be associated with that of the martyr John Rogers.

H. S. GERE read an original autograph letter from John Brown, written while in prison, to a son of Thomas Musgrave, of this town. The letter was preserved in a frame, and left for the inspection of the people. The following is a copy of this letter:— CHALLENGE, Jefferson Co., Va., Nov. 17, 1859.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND: I have just received your most kind and welcome letter of the 15th inst., but did not get any other from you. I am and am most obliged to you for your letter, for all the kindness you have shown me, especially since my disaster. May God and your own conscience be your reward! Tell your father that I am quite cheerful—that I do not feel myself in the least degraded by my imprisonment, my chain, or the prospect of the gallows. Men cannot imprison, or chain, or hang the soul. I go joyfully in behalf of millions that 'have no rights' that this 'great and glorious' 'Christian Republic' is 'bound to respect.' Strange change in morals, political as well as Christian, since 1776! I look forward to other changes to take place in God's good time, fully believing that the fashion of this world passeth away.

Farewell! May God abundantly bless you all! Your friend, JOHN BROWN.

This letter was received by the audience with much applause. Mr. Musgrave, senior, was called up, and addressed the meeting, giving his testimony to the strict integrity and humane character of John Brown, he having had intimate business relations with him for many years. He said he was well acquainted with Mr. Brown—he had been at his house fifteen or twenty times since he had lived in this town; he was also well acquainted with his family, and he would say that he was a perfectly honest man, and a man of the most feeling that he ever met with. I do not believe—said Mr. Musgrave—that he would take the life of anything without a just cause. I have often seen him reprove his children for killing flies, when I have been at his house. I do not believe that he would commit a wrong act, knowing it to be such, any more than I believe that I shall die instantly. I never saw a man more upright in all his dealings than he was. I saw him after he had lost every dollar, and he remarked to me that he was thankful to God that he was yet alive. Men were willing to trust every thing in his hands. There is not a man that he ever dealt with that could say that he had ever wronged him out of a single penny. I will say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that whatever he said, could be depended upon. (Applause.)

The meeting was further addressed by Chauncey Clark, C. C. Burleigh, and G. M. Smith of South Hadley. Mr. Smith said he did not rise to make a speech, it was not his duty. He said he had come out on the invitation given out, that all who loved freedom should meet here to-day to manifest their sympathy for John Brown, and particularly with his family, and the families of those connected with him. I leave the principles, I leave the man who has died to-day, in the hands of God and his grave. I will not follow him through all the extent of his life. I knew him in life, somewhat, and his life was lovely, and I feel for him in death, but more do I feel for those who without him are in widowhood and are fatherless. If we have sympathy for him, let us manifest it in acts for those who were near to him, and who were to suffer from his acts. It is one of the evils of this life, that great crimes bring the greatest calamities upon the heads of innocent persons. Is a man a drunkard? It is his wife and children who suffer! Does slavery chain down men? Does slavery trample upon the rights of men? Does slavery send human beings into swamps to toil without reward? It is the mother who has had her child torn from her, who feels it most keenly. Does slavery take John Brown and his associates, and condemn them to death? It is they who are here to weep in bitter memory, and with sorrowful hearts, who feel it most. I do not ask that the name of John Brown may be made the rallying cry when armies of men march to meet this evil and to gain the mastery. God will take care of that. (Applause.) But to us there is a pressing want, a pressing demand; there is the mother to live, children to be educated, and they must be clothed. Let us to our work; let us raise this committee; let us appeal to our fellow-men, and let us attend to that in which we can directly have a part; hoping always, working always, praying always, that in God's time these people in all these States shall be free. (Applause.)

The Resolutions were then adopted without dissent, and H. S. GERE, Joseph Marsh, G. M. Smith of South Hadley, Samuel L. Hill and H. Starkweather, Jr., were appointed a committee to receive contributions, and the sum of \$43 84 was immediately collected. A contribution of two dollars was subsequently made.

While the Committee were taking up the collection, Mr. Clark read some stirring lines, entitled, 'The Virginia Scaffold.'

I have brought here to-day the words which John Brown spoke, when asked, according to the accustomed form, whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him. Doubtless you have all read it, and are familiar with it, but it will bear reading again.

[Having read the speech, the speaker went on to say:] Here is a speech which will in coming ages be printed in glowing characters for the use of the country's youth; a speech which will be admired for the grandeur of its sentiments, the terse eloquence, the clearness, the vigorous simplicity and touching pathos of its expression. We may safely challenge all the recorded utterances of such occasions, for any thing which equals this speech of John Brown. 'If it be necessary,' he says, 'that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done.' Now this is the sentiment which has evidently actuated him all through this whole affair; this the spirit which has breathed through all his words and all his acts throughout his captivity. Let me say a word here in regard to the treatment he has received in court. One of these resolutions charges indecent and cruel haste upon the court in the pressing of the trials. But he says, 'Under all the circumstances, his treatment has been more generous than he expected.' We honor the magnanimity which dictates this acknowledgment. Doubtless it is true, that under all the circumstances, will but make more terrible the doom which

he expected nothing better than he received. What circumstances? The enemy of oppression was in the grasp of the tyrant infuriated by his safety and that of his power, and alarmed for his safety and that of his power. In such circumstances, who that knows the character of tyranny would expect decent treatment to its victim? But there stand the facts, and we can judge of them for ourselves. A man wounded to death for aught they knew, unable to sit up, brought into court and stretched upon his cot, denied the delay he needed to prepare for a legal defence, or obtain counsel whom he could trust;—and when impartial men sit in judgment upon this proceeding, with impartial feelings, with some regard for the rights of prisoners and the proprieties of judicial proceedings, they will say that it was indecent and cruel.

From the New York Tribune. INDEPENDIARISM.

Who are the incendiaries? The Autocrat who presides at the head of the Post-Office Department dares to pronounce upon the character of the matter that shall be allowed to pass through the public mail. He declares incendiary matter shall not be transmitted. But, leaving aside this monstrous pretension, we ask, What is incendiary matter? Who are the incendiaries against whom his despotic rule proposes to shield the slave States? Is it only the Republican journals that are to be stamped out in the South? A little reflection will convince Postmaster Holt that he has undertaken a more difficult and comprehensive job than he imagined he was undertaking in thus outraging the common rights of every American citizen. Will Postmaster Holt permit the transmission of the proceedings of the recent Union-saving meeting in Boston, got up especially to reassure the South, to sympathize with the slaveholders, to save the Union? Does not the presiding officer of that meeting declare that he is opposed to the spread of slavery, and desires its abolition? Did not its most eloquent orator expose the vital weakness of the South, by illustrating the dangers which encompass it, and the ease with which its patriarchal institution could be demolished? Is not this incendiary matter? Is it not just such views as the South protests against, fiercely and constantly? Are they not the very things the South-ers say should be suppressed, and must be suppressed? How is it with that reckless and unprincipled sheet, the Herald? Certainly, it is the most incendiary of all publications. It publishes Mr. Seward's Rochester speech once in six months at least. It prints Henry Ward Beecher's sermons with John Brown's comments. It publishes Wendell Phillips's rank abolition speeches, and all the proceedings of the most furious anti-slavery associations that get together in this city and elsewhere. If any outrageously radical emancipation sentiment gets expression in any part of the country, the Herald pounces upon it, and publishes it, and dwells lovingly upon it, for the availing purpose of showing what incarnate devils the Republicans are. The Herald is thus crammed brimfull of incendiary matter all the time. How, then, can Postmaster Holt, how can Virginia, permit the circulation of the Herald?

The truth is, to the South, while holding her present position, all matter that is not carefully prepared with express reference to this institution of slavery, is 'incendiary.' Leading articles, paragraphs, reports of public meetings, speeches, geographical and statistical information, every genuine utterance of the human brain, every untrammelled conception of the human heart, is opposed to slavery, and, in this sense, incendiary. Thought itself is incendiary.

What, then, is to be the limit to the circulation of printed matter in the South, if it is determined to avoid and exclude every thing that bears against slavery? What but absolute suppression and exclusion? There can be no stopping short of this. The rule must be silence—perfect, utter, inexorable silence; the silence of despotism, brutal, stolid, universal; the silence of the dungeon—of death. And for every man who violates the rule, hanging is the only spectacle. Brown has been hung, Seward should be hung, howls out a Southern representative in Congress. He is an incendiary. Come, Mr. Postmaster Holt, if these are not your limitations, say what they are. Let us know what is incendiary matter in your opinion. If you can tolerate the Herald, with John Brown's, Theodore Parker's, Lloyd Garrison's and Wendell Phillips's speeches, and deem it fit to circulate in the South, perhaps we can make up the Tribune so as to suit even your fastidious taste. Speak out, Mr. Holt!

SOUTH CAROLINA'S OPINION OF NORTHERN UNION SAVERS.

From the Charleston Mercury of Dec. 9. The angry South must be appeased for the time—protestations must be made, and somebody must make them. This part of the jobbing falls to the lot of the so-called 'Conservatives.' The 'Conservatives' are a very useful 'institution' at the North. They answer a very good purpose, and are an essential part of the Northern policy. They are the very rear-guard of Abolitionism. The Republican army marches forward to the battle of Abolitionism, and the 'Conservatives' cover their progress by diversions, and parleying, and by-play. We are neither speaking paradoxically, nor lightly, nor prejudicially. It is a very grave and momentous fact. We will illustrate our meaning. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, is a 'Conservative.' The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was the first gentleman who introduced Abolition petitions into the House of Representatives. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was elected from his seat in the Senate some few years ago, by such a thing as Charles Sumner. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop declared in Faneuil Hall, in 1854, that his tongue would cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his right hand be lopped from his body, before he would either vote for any measure, or set his hand to any bill, by which Slavery should be allowed to enter another foot of our territories. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop is turned out of the Senate, and is now a 'Conservative' a man. Mr. Everett, and many other distinguished gentlemen of the North, are quite as violent in their opposition to Slavery as Mr. Winthrop. But Mr. Everett is nowhere—he is run over—left behind. These gentlemen are 'Conservatives.' They would not have John Brown & Co. march down on Virginia or Kentucky and create civil war, and insurrection, and discontent at the South. By no means—they have discretion; they are 'conservative' gentlemen. They would not make the South to feel the danger of being plucked; they would not lose their golden eggs by killing their goose. These gentlemen are far too wise—they would only gently legislate you out of all the surrounding Territories, whether you will or no; but still gently. They would thus pick you a cordon of Free States around you, and then pluck you ad libitum, until settlers from their own States had quietly occupied, by degrees, the border States—then they would push Slavery still further down toward the Gulf States—then permit its continuance or not, just as it payed them.

The difference between the 'Conservatives' and the Republicans is just the difference between Lucifer and Satan. Lucifer is a very distinctive looking individual of an indescribable age, with a handsome face, brilliant black eyes, a heavy mustache, a sombrero hat, a Spanish cloak, and a rapier at his side. He is a courtly gentleman, and never indulges in loud talk, and he never speaks of politics. He would reason with you, and conduct you to the mansions of the unhappy forever. Satan is a loathsome brute, with contorted features, bleary eyes, a black skin, a long, forked tail, and claw-feet. Satan would seize you in his claws, drive his forked tail through you, and drag you to—amidst stench of brimstone and sulphur.

At every crisis in the history of the Government, when the South has cried out with indignation, and protest against unconstitutional legislation and outrage, there has immediately arisen a 'conservative' demonstration at the North, but the 'Conservatives' are always one day after the fact; and the 'Conservatives' are always in a most convenient minority. They are admirable skirmishers, and cover the retreat of a bold sailing or marauding party with great skill and coolness.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find the same old game being played in now. They have got into a trick of it, and can't for the life of them, be done with it. Besides, it is of serious importance now, that some palmer should be made for the benefit of the South. It is a sugar-plum she always expects after violence or legislative robbery. The angry temper of the South must be pacified—the Republicans have had their say over old John Brown—Abolitionism has possession of both branches of Congress—and it is a safe and capital move to make a

rousing, stunning diversion on one side to draw off the fire of the South. We accordingly hear of meetings and rumors of meetings, 'demonstrations' and signs of demonstrations, by the 'Conservatives' and the North against the poor old devil, John Brown. In particular, the first cousin of the 'Conservative,' viz: the Abolitionists in general. We are to see great things and mighty resolutions, as of old a general 'gully-bally' rally, for the preservation of the glorious Union in its original and unimpaired North. The mountain is to labor over the travail, and will bring forth a male.

Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER? READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

To the ED'S OF EVANGELIST.—My age is thirty, and my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling out, until, on the 1st of March, it had become quite bald. I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer, No. 1, according to the directions of the same, and continued to apply a slight dressing of the same every three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair now almost restored to its original color, and the bald spots have disappeared. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS A THING LIKE THE HAIR RESTORER, WHICH OPERATES UPON THE SECRECTIONS. My hair comes to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who is in danger of becoming bald.

Rev. M. THACHER, Bridgegewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1859. President J. L. BATES, LL. D., Union University, New-York.

MADAM—I would state, that some time last spring I found my hair falling out. I concluded to purchase a bottle of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly apparent. My hair before was quite gray, and was changing to black. I do not consider that I have given it a fair trial, but from what I have seen of its effect in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz: RESTORE THE HAIR FROM FALLING OUT, AND TO RESTORE GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK, Editor 'Ladies' Repository,' Cincinnati, Ohio. I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylolissamum hair restorer for some time, and it has done me much good. My hair has been falling out, and I have been using it for some time, and it has done me much good. My hair has been falling out, and I have been using it for some time, and it has done me much good.

Rev. JOHN E. ROBBIE, Editor 'Christian Advocate,' Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylolissamum is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its natural color, &c.

Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylolissamum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleasure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations.

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor 'Christian Era,' Boston, Mass. Having used numerous specifics to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylolissamum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I did so, and in a few days my hair began to grow, and entire satisfaction. I am now using it, and my hair is growing, and I feel no need of any other hair restorer. My hair was dry and brittle, but has regained the softness of my earlier years.

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. 'Guide to Holiness,' Boston. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our advertisements, we insert from actual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have seen the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects.

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church, Andover, Mass. I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylolissamum. The effect of the Hair Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylolissamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co., N. Y. My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BECOME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANTLY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BALD. HER HAIR HAS BEEN RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL COLOR, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money.

GREAT BRITAIN. Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Presid. Lancaster, England. Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me. [The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.]

HATTL. Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Parish Church, Brooklyn. I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and I can heartily acknowledge the value of it in curing my baldness and gray.

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. 'Protestant Witness,' Cincinnati, Ohio. It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till we know it is what it purports to be. Having experimentally and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylolissamum, I would be pleased to insert advertisement, &c.

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Correspondent, Board of Education, N. Y. I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c., and it has done me much good. My hair has been falling out, and I have been using it for some time, and it has done me much good.

Rev. JAS. MCFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church, Enosus, Ulster county, N. Y. I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's