

the Legislature, against other members of your honorable body.

In view of these things, your petitioner would think himself wanting to his country's freedom and safety, if he allowed usurpations of power against himself in matters however unimportant; for it is the custom in all political revolutions, to proceed from unlawful authority allowed in lesser things to great stretches of usurped power, whose beginning he is determined to withstand. Therefore he would renew his declaration, that his refusal to appear before your honorable committee is not in contempt of the Senate, but because he believes his rights and those of his fellow-citizens to be imperiled by the action of your honorable body; and that it is his duty to pray you to reverse such action, and for himself to maintain these rights as God shall give him the means to do so.

And as in duty bound, your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

F. B. SANBORN.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

SELECT COMMITTEE ROOM, U. S. SENATE, Washington, Feb. 14, 1860.

THADDEUS HYATT, Esq.:

Sir—I am directed by the committee of the Senate, appointed to inquire into the facts and circumstances attending the recent invasion at Harper's Ferry, to notify you that the committee will meet on Friday morning next, the 17th inst., at their room in the Capitol, when and where your presence is deemed desirable. Respectfully yours,

D. F. MURPHY, Clerk to Committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 17, 1860.

To the Hon. J. M. MASON, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee:

Sir—I am in receipt of a communication from the Clerk of your honorable body, to the effect that my presence is this day desired. I would not presume on a courtesy that has already laid me under obligations, but considerations that, I explained, would commend my motives to the generous regard of your honorable committee, embolden me to solicit a further indulgence. An extension of time within such range as not to embarrass the action of your honorable committee would be regarded by me, under present circumstances, as a peculiar favor. It is proper for me to add, in this connection, that I waive all claim to the ordinary per diem allowance of witnesses.

I remain, sir,

Your very obliged and obedient servant,

THADDEUS HYATT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 17, 1860.

To the Hon. J. M. MASON, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee:

Sir—I am in receipt of your honorable committee's peremptory demand for my appearance, despite my very respectful, urgent and reasonable request for delay. I find myself at present subject to one of the following contingencies, viz.: either, first, to testify under protest, or, secondly, to testify without protest; thirdly, to not testify at all. To avoid an immature and rash decision here, I respectfully submit, requires time. Were I influenced only by a regard to my own convenience, or were I merely a contumacious witness, I should not seek, as I should not need, delay; for in the first event, I could testify either with or without protest, and go my way, while in the last I could maintain a resolute defiance, and take the consequences, which, indeed, would be of no great account, since the age of martyrdom has been inaugurated, and since men are brought to consider anew the utter worthlessness of a merely mortal life in a crisis of great principles, and in the presence of a sublimer and better life to come; for by the death of one man has the race been taught afresh the great lesson that life's great end is life. I desire to impress your honorable committee with the fact—and I urge it upon them with the force its truth demands—that I am in their power, a witness by courtesy. I was under no obligation to heretofore, and since you have assumed toward me an attitude that, were it constitutional even, could not be justified under circumstances such as I have herein set forth. Power exerted for the legitimate ends of power, freedom can tolerate, especially where they are themselves recognized and only source; but when the agents of a free people fail to comprehend their own limited functions as the mere and temporary repositories of delegated trusts, and get to regard themselves as possessors of power, then it is not as repositories alone, but as ministers of government, that their very functions become dissipated and hateful to the people; for no man respects himself can for an instant be forced to feel the power of intolerance and arrogance, without at the same moment finding within himself the protest of an indignant and manly resistance. Power, to be respected, must first deserve respect. Every abuse of it, every indecent exhibition of it, every encroachment of it upon the rights of the citizens, every curtailment, and every attempted curtailment of the people's rights, privileges and liberties, tend to increase indignation, breed anarchy, and sow confusion. This government, republican in form and name though it be, must maintain something more than its forms, and retain something better than its name, if it would keep the affections of the people. Nor can its ministers long betray their trusts by becoming the executors of an irresponsible will, without engendering conspiracies, treasons, insurrections, and every other fierce spirit of the fell brood that incubates where hate within the shadows of tyrannical sinneously fosters despots. The human mind, however, is forever the same, universal, confined to no peoples and bounded by no zones. The power which despises man is in turn by man despised. A power which is feared, but not respected, is but the cloud-barrier to the lightning. How vain is the barrier in the rift of the gleaming! Every sentiment hath its counter sentiment—resistance to tyranny is reverence for law. Antagonisms and attractions are equal. The man who hates oppression is the man who loves liberty. The man who respects his own rights, respects the rights of all. To honor the law is to maintain the right to law; to maintain the right to law is to resist subversions, and attempted subversions of it, come they from whatsoever quarters they may. And whether the attempt at subversions come from within or from without the government, affects not the criminality of the design, save that they are the worst conspirators, and they are the most to be feared, who, without pikes or 'provisional' treason, sap the foundation of government at its source, under guise of its functions, as the ministers of its power organize the machinery by which the train and the fuse, and then, by acts of tyranny and coercive legislation, strike from the hearts of an indignant people the fatal sparks. Before the ruler is the law; before the law are the people. Law makes the ruler, the people make the law.

Say to your honorable committee, Mr. Chairman, that I mean them no disrespect. I have sought no concealments, and availed myself of no disguises. I am honest at the seat of their power to look this question in the face. If I am wrong, I will recede; but if the committee are wrong, and if the Senate who created a committee with such powers wrong, they ought to recede from such unconstitutional assumptions; but if the ministers of the people's power will not recede, if the plainest provisions of the Constitution can be thus trampled down—provisions explicit and exact—provisions inserted as amendments to the Constitution for the express purpose of shielding the citizen from just such inquisitorial processes and persecutions as are involved in the power of this investigating Committee—the hour has surely come for action of some kind. By our constitutional method of fighting wrong, the first course would seem to be to get an authoritative

exposition of the fundamental law. Failing by this to secure the people in their rights, the next step is for the people themselves to amend the fundamental law. The issue must be made by some one of the citizens, and I propose to do it. Your honorable committee will perceive, therefore, that contumacy is no part of my programme. My hope is, that the honorable Senate will, on the case coming before them, see the propriety of giving this whole question a more earnest and thorough attention than they seem to have bestowed upon it. Owing to indisposition, I have not been able to prepare myself as I desire, in order to meet the requirements of my position.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I beg to observe that, as your honorable committee is not a judicial tribunal in law, whatever it may be in fact—that as I am not before it charged with any crime—that as I am not a witness here in a case of crime where the constitutional ends of indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, are proposed, thus not a witness here in any criminal case known to the law—I am not in the power of your honorable committee at all in virtue of any constitutional right possessed by them, not being before them by 'due process of law,' and hence, as I before observed, I am here a witness simply by courtesy, and I do not expect and demand a trial, and now show to your honorable committee, is the defence which a law-abiding citizen is bound to manifest, wherever forms of government exist, and which are also demanded alike by the rules of civility and the instincts of manliness and politeness. Finally, Mr. Chairman, please say to your honorable committee that, in my present condition of health, I do not see that I can ask your indulgence for a less time than ten days. I have the honor to be

Yours, very respectfully,

THADDEUS HYATT.

SELECT COMMITTEE ROOM, UNITED STATES SENATE, Feb. 20, 1860.

THADDEUS HYATT, Esq.:

Sir—I have just received your communication of this date, and have only to say that the committee meet at eleven o'clock, the present hour, and I presume will be in session as late as seven. If you do not appear before the aforementioned time, I shall ask for process to compel your appearance.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. M. MASON, Chairman, &c., &c., &c.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Thursday Morning, Feb. 21, 1860.

Hon. J. M. MASON, Chairman Select Committee:

Sir—Your favor of yesterday, in immediate response to mine of same date, informed me that you will ask process to compel my appearance. Were this a personal matter, I could not but take offence at the executorial manner in which I find myself disposed of; but being aware that with your honorable committee the duty is a mere judicial one, it would argue in me the weakness of a man were I disturbed by the treatment designed only for the citizen. To me, the most painful fact connected with this affair, is the circumstance that there seems to be no way of arousing the honorable Senate to a full and searching discussion of a question involving so deeply the happiness of freemen—involving, indeed, as I may say, the essentials of liberty itself. But I venture to hope that a day, not distant, will come, when the liberty of a Northern white man will awaken not less attention than the enslavement of a Southern black one. Your favor, sir, of yesterday, suggests to me that perhaps a State Court at the North might possibly take some interest in a free-born citizen who claims the benefit of Article 4 of the amendments to the Constitution. As your honorable committee has been seen proper to disregard my prayer for its indulgence while I test the constitutionality of this question elsewhere. Having availed myself of no concealments, and proposing none now, I take this occasion to say to your honorable committee that, within the week, I will apprise them by letter where any further process of theirs may reach me, whether at New York or Boston.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

THADDEUS HYATT.

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Hon. J. M. MASON, Chairman Select Committee:

Sir—Your favor of yesterday, in immediate response to mine of same date, informed me that you will ask process to compel my appearance. Were this a personal matter, I could not but take offence at the executorial manner in which I find myself disposed of; but being aware that with your honorable committee the duty is a mere judicial one, it would argue in me the weakness of a man were I disturbed by the treatment designed only for the citizen. To me, the most painful fact connected with this affair, is the circumstance that there seems to be no way of arousing the honorable Senate to a full and searching discussion of a question involving so deeply the happiness of freemen—involving, indeed, as I may say, the essentials of liberty itself. But I venture to hope that a day, not distant, will come, when the liberty of a Northern white man will awaken not less attention than the enslavement of a Southern black one. Your favor, sir, of yesterday, suggests to me that perhaps a State Court at the North might possibly take some interest in a free-born citizen who claims the benefit of Article 4 of the amendments to the Constitution. As your honorable committee has been seen proper to disregard my prayer for its indulgence while I test the constitutionality of this question elsewhere. Having availed myself of no concealments, and proposing none now, I take this occasion to say to your honorable committee that, within the week, I will apprise them by letter where any further process of theirs may reach me, whether at New York or Boston.

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Say to your honorable committee, Mr. Chairman, that I mean them no disrespect. I have sought no concealments, and availed myself of no disguises. I am honest at the seat of their power to look this question in the face. If I am wrong, I will recede; but if the committee are wrong, and if the Senate who created a committee with such powers wrong, they ought to recede from such unconstitutional assumptions; but if the ministers of the people's power will not recede, if the plainest provisions of the Constitution can be thus trampled down—provisions explicit and exact—provisions inserted as amendments to the Constitution for the express purpose of shielding the citizen from just such inquisitorial processes and persecutions as are involved in the power of this investigating Committee—the hour has surely come for action of some kind. By our constitutional method of fighting wrong, the first course would seem to be to get an authoritative

D. R. McNAIR, Esq. Sergeant-at-Arms, U. S. Senate, Boston, Feb. 24, 1860.

Sir—By a resolution of the Honorable Senate of the United States, of the 21st inst., as reported in *The Congressional Globe* of the 22d inst., I perceive that it is made your duty to take into custody the body of Thaddeus Hyatt, wherever found, and to detain him until he is able to testify to you that on Wednesday, the 7th day of March, I shall be in Washington, *Deo volente*, and at your service.

I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,

THADDEUS HYATT.

BOSTON, Friday, Feb. 24, 1860.

To the Hon. J. M. MASON, Chairman Select Committee.

Sir—Having obtained, beneath the sheltering wing of a sovereign State, that opportunity to maintain my rights which was denied to me at the seat of Federal power, I beg to inform your honorable committee that I am prepared to receive any further process that may await me. The process of the honorable Senate will reach me on application to my counsel, Messrs. E. Sewall, Esq., No. 46 Washington street, Boston. It is proper for me to add, that I have apprised your honorable Senate's Sergeant-at-Arms, that I shall be in Washington on Wednesday, the 7th of March, to there receive the commands of the honorable Senate, should not his duty have been earlier discharged.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

THADDEUS HYATT.

LETTER FROM SENATOR SUMNER. The following letter was written by Senator Sumner in answer to an invitation to be present at a celebration on Washington's Birthday, in Philadelphia, by the Washington Monument Association of the First School District of Philadelphia, an association which was incorporated last year:

SENATE CHAMBER, 21st Feb., 1860.

Dear Sir: It would be a pleasure to be with you at your celebration of the Birthday of Washington, according to the invitation with which you have honored me. But other duties constrain me to forego it. It is always a delight to listen to the praise of Washington, particularly when his full life is set forth, and he is shown in his real character, ever wise, firm, and true, teaching two commanding lessons: first, by his achievements and trials of a seven years' war, that his fellow-countrymen should not be willing to be slaves; and secondly, by the repeated declarations of his life, and especially by his great example in his last Will and Testament, that his fellow-countrymen should not be willing to be slave-masters. I do not know for which he is to be most honored.

Accept my thanks for the personal kindness of your letter, and believe me, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The Frederick Southgate Brown who has petitioned to the Louisiana Legislature for a change of the name of the convicting statute attached to the name of a Brown, is a native of Portland, Me., and printer by trade. His father still lives in Portland, just what might be expected of a Northern renegade.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 2, 1860.

THE WEBSTER STATUTE.

In the Senate (State), yesterday, a petition was presented from William Basset and fifty-four others of Lynn, for the removal of the statue of Webster from the State House grounds, which was, very properly, laid on the table.

This is not from the 'Democratic Boston Post,' but from the 'Republican Atlas and Bee' of Tuesday—a paper which, under the management of Col. Schouler, is frequently indicating that the old Whig spirit, especially in whatever relates to 'THE DEFENDER' OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, is still in the ascendant in its columns. 'The petition was, very properly, laid on the table'—that means, of course, that the petition was very improper; and that means, that the erection of the brazen image of Daniel Webster upon the State House grounds is most creditable to the Commonwealth, and in accordance with the wishes of the people. From this opinion we beg leave to dissent. If the proposition had been submitted to a general vote, it would have been voted down by a large majority, beyond a doubt. It was not a spontaneous act of the people, but a contrivance of the Webster State street clique, represented by Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop. It was not done with deliberation, but hurried through the Legislature, at the heel of the session, without debate, and when but few members were present—taking the Commonwealth by surprise, and rendering it impossible to elicit a popular expression before the deed was done. Its projectors had in view not merely the exaltation of Mr. Webster, but also the humiliation of Massachusetts as an Anti-Slavery and Republican State. Their object was personally injurious to the one hand, and contemptuously and maliciously pro-slavery on the other. Their success must have been to themselves as unexpected as it was gratifying; and it was wholly owing to Gov. Banks, who, since his elevation to his present position, has seemed to be studying how best to strengthen the heartless conservatism of State street, and thus to cause the most dreaded anti-slavery agitation to subside. Had he done his duty in the premises, no such device could have succeeded, and Massachusetts would have been saved from the shame and disgrace inflicted upon her thereby; for it was in his power to have 'nipped it in the bud.' When the overtore was made to him, by the Committee of One Hundred, to be submitted to the Legislature for its ratification, for the erection of the statue aforesaid, he should have treated it as an insult to the Commonwealth; and in communicating it to that body, should have urged its indignant rejection. Instead, however, of discharging his duty to the cause of Freedom and Humanity in this manner, he exerted all his influence to crown the plot with success; and upon him mainly and most heavily rests the responsibility.

It is true, but few petitions have been sent to the present session of the Legislature, asking for the removal of the statue; and it is true that the committee, to whom these were referred, have reported that it is inexpedient to take any action thereon. But this is not the settlement of the question, nor any evidence of the real sentiment of the people. For the last four months, John Brown and Harper's Ferry have been the absorbing objects of public interest and sympathy, so as to divert attention from any local struggle, (more or less,) though not from the tremendous question at issue before the country. Before the solemnity of that world-thrilling tragedy, everything else had to give way, for the time being. The result of it is to be seen in more efficient action of every kind, hereafter. Agag may delude himself into the belief that, 'surely, the bitterness of death is past; nevertheless, his fate, in the sequel, is to be 'hewn in pieces.' So Dagon is to fall to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord. In other words, the statue of the man whose last years were spent in actively subverting the evil purposes of the Southern slave oligarchy, in order to further his own ambitious designs, (which Heaven frustrated in the most signal manner,) is yet to be taken down, and banished from the soil which it now desecrates. For this is no party variance, no personal hostility, no 'private grief,' but a matter of great moral significance, and closely related to the honor and fame, the freedom and self-respect, of Massachusetts. No stultification can surpass that of a people, who, while professing an intense and growing abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Bill, give their sanction to the erection, in front of their own State House, of the statue of one who scoffed at their humane sympathies, denied their conscientious scruples as 'prejudices,' which they were bound to 'conquer,' and defended the right of slave-hunting without molestation on their own soil.

It may be said, that so long as Massachusetts holds herself under a constitutional, and therefore binding obligation to return fugitive slaves taking refuge within her limits, she cannot very consistently remove the statue of Mr. Webster on the ground that he advocated obedience to the odious Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850. There is some force in the objection. 'Thou that preaches a man should not steal, dost thou steal?' thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Yet, there is this difference between the parties:—Mr. Webster became more and more recreant to the cause of liberty and justice, more and more callous to the cries of the hunted and perishing; while the people of Massachusetts have been more and more changing their views and feelings in favor of the right, and growing more and more hostile to the presence of slave-hunters, till endurance has passed its bounds, and there is a general moral insurrection against allowing any fugitive slave to be arrested on their soil, by any process whatever. Hence it was that Mr. Webster administered to them his reproofs, and called upon them to 'conquer their prejudices,' for 'any man could perform an agreeable duty'—thus indicating his consciousness of a growing moral divergence between them and himself. Still, the humiliating fact remains, that while they privately extend sympathy and aid to those who escape hither from the Southern house of bondage, they have not yet proclaimed, by STATUTE, their determination 'hide the outcast,' and to forbid his arrest and trial within their domains. It is not owing, however, to an unwillingness on their part to take such action; as their numerous petitions presented at the last and at the present session of the Legislature, asking for a total prohibition of slave-hunting in this Commonwealth, clearly indicate. The difference in the number of signatures to these petitions, and those relating to the removal of the Webster statue, shows that the former, as an act of moral consistency, take the precedence in their judgment. The first step is, not to deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped unto us; and the next, to take down the image of him who counselled an opposite course of conduct.

We presume that, in the course of a few days, the joint committee having this matter in trust will make their report; and we trust it will be in exact accordance with the prayer of the petitioners; for nothing else will save the Commonwealth from present blood-guiltiness. Between allowing the seizure of human beings here and on the coast of Africa, in order to reduce them to slavery, there is no moral difference whatever. In each case it is a piratical act. No people, claiming to be Christian or civilized, ought to tolerate it for one moment.

'The voice of Massachusetts—of her free sons and daughters—Deep calling unto deep aloud—the sound of many waters—Against the burden of that voice which tyrant power shall stand? No fetters in the Bay State! no slave upon her land!'

A BOUNTY UPON KIDNAPPING.

By referring to the 'Refuge of Oppression,' on our first page, our readers will find a report of some extraordinary proceedings in the Legislature of Maryland, a short time since, with reference to the seizure of our esteemed Quaker friend, THOMAS GARRETT, of Wilmington, Delaware—the ISAAC T. HOPPER of that State—for his kindness to fugitive slaves passing through that city! The following letter from him was received at that time:—

WILMINGTON, (Del.) Jan. 24th, 1860.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I shall be with you, in spirit, on the 26th and 27th of this month. I would rejoice to be able to be with you in person, in these days of turning and overturning of the politicians of this country, on account of Slavery. To meet, at this time, with the pioneers and veterans of immediate emancipation would, no doubt, help to strengthen the inner man, and to meet what may be hidden in the future.

I have been in the practice, as these well known, when asked the question in Anti-Slavery meetings, how many slaves I have registered, to answer the question. At a meeting held during the Anti-Slavery Fair in Philadelphia, last month, Robert Purvis put the question, 'How many slaves have you now on your list?' My answer was, 2,245. The slaveholders of Maryland have added to that 199 more, making the number 2,444. One Jacobs, a member of the Legislature of Maryland, last week, offered a resolution to the Legislature, that they offer a reward of from two to five thousand dollars to any one who will have me placed in any jail in Maryland! Another member proposed that the sum be paid on conviction; but Jacobs insisted on his original motion, that the hardihood to publish, that I have received, mostly from Europe, about \$196,000, (!) and say that I am now banking in wealth! Well, that is not the first falsehood they have told.

I went to Philadelphia last week, returning in the evening. Before I got back, one of our papers, in the slave interest, took the liberty to inform the public that I had left for parts unknown! I do not feel much uneasy, but some of my friends are sadly so. Not knowing what may happen, I think it best to pay another year's subscription for the Liberator. I really do not know when my year is up. I enclose five dollars; one half to pay for the Liberator, the other for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Please remember me to all true friends of the cause who may inquire for me, more particularly to Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, C. C. Burleigh, and Parker Pillsbury.

I remain, as ever, thy friend, and the friend of humanity the world over,

THOS. GARRETT.

In a subsequent letter, this noble-hearted philanthropist, who was once stripped of all his property for succoring fugitives, meets the malicious allegations brought against him as follows:—

In order to disabuse the public mind, I will state a few facts to show that the charges made by said Jacobs are false. In the first place, I am charged with having acknowledged that I had stolen over two thousand slaves from their masters, from whom, with the large receipts from Great Britain and other sources, amounted to the handsome sum of one hundred and ninety-six thousand nine hundred and twelve dollars, which had made me rich in wealth, and marked me as a wicked and base traitor to God and man. If there was truth in the above statement, I ought to be rich at any rate. I will now give the facts respecting the above statement, and those who know me, I feel confident, will put implicit confidence in what I say; those who do not know me may doubt my veracity; that I cannot help, and shall give myself no concern about it. As to the stealing of slaves, I utterly deny the charge. I never, since I came to the State of Delaware, thirty-seven years ago, asked or persuaded a slave to leave his master or mistress, neither have I, in a single instance, sent a pedlar, or any other human being, to persuade, entice, or bring away a slave, much as I detest slavery; but I have made it an invariable rule, if called on for advice or assistance by a slave, or any one in distress, to render such assistance and give such advice as I thought they needed. This I have never denied. And if I found a slaveholder in distress, needing assistance, I would endeavor to aid him; but should be very apt to let him know, before we parted, that I looked upon slaveholding as the venerable John Wesley did, as the sum of all villainies.

I will now state what I solemnly affirm to be true, that I have expended in clothing and in different ways, for the comfort and assistance of colored people voluntarily, several thousand dollars, and that I have never received from Great Britain, and all other sources together, one thousand dollars, to assist God's poor, and in addition to the above sum, which I have at different times expended.

Some years since, I took a family of colored people out of Newcastle jail, by habeas corpus, before Judge Booth, Chief Justice of Delaware, who, in consequence of the commitment being defective, removed them all. The parents admitted their two eldest children were slaves, but assured the judge, sheriff, attorney and myself, that the father, mother and four younger children were free. It was raining at the time; the family wished to go to Wilmington; a hack was hired, at my suggestion, to take the mother and four small children to Wilmington. I forbade the hackman to take the father and two eldest boys. He insisted on taking them all with one horse, and I told him, before he left, if he took the father and two sons, he must look to them for pay, as I would only pay the price agreed upon for taking the mother and small children; and to this day I never paid him more than the price agreed upon. One of them was eight months, the other three years old, a cripple with white swelling, that could not walk a step. This was brought against me, first under the law of 1793, where the fine was \$500 each for aiding a slave; and then, after being fined by Judge Taney, before whom I was tried, \$5,500, suit was brought by the slaveholder's attorney, James A. Bayard, for the value of the slaves; and the agent of the mistress of the mother and four young children was called on by Judge Taney to fix the value on the whole lot, and the jury awarded, as their value, \$1,900 more, making \$5,400 fine in all. I think he admitted that the mistress of the woman had offered to sell her time to her husband, several years before, for \$100, but said she was worth \$300 to sell to the traders. If I am not wrong in my recollection, he also stated that the mistress lived nearly twenty miles from the family, and that the father had maintained the four young children from their birth, and that the mother had not lived with her mistress for about ten years, but he stated the mistress always intended to claim the children after they were old enough to become valuable. There was no charge of crime against me but the hiring a conveyance to bring them from Newcastle to Wilmington. I was tried for aiding the two eldest while I was sick in bed, in consequence of which my attorney declined defending me, and of course I was convicted, and fined \$500 each, when I had no more to do with aiding by law than Judge Taney himself, or James A. Bayard, the prosecuting attorney.

From the above statement of facts, the public may see how much truth there is in the statement of my friend Jacobs, that I had become rich by the aiding of slaves to escape.

THOMAS GARRETT.

On Friday forenoon, Robert Morris, Esq., Rev. J. Sells Martin, Dr. John S. Rock, and Wm. C. Nell ably and eloquently addressed the Committee on Federal Relations, in favor of striking out the word *white* from the Militia Law. The Committee have since unanimously reported in favor of the amendment.

A JUST COMPARISON.

The *Atlantic Monthly*, in a critical notice of Redpath's *Memoir of John Brown*, says:—'It reads like an abolition tract.' I believe the book is worthy of this praise. It gives us, in a style of great simplicity and directness, a narrative of highly important facts, with a just estimate of the significance of those facts, and of that condition of manners and morals, that depravity in Church and State, which gave birth to them. It is a great and rare advantage to have a book (which must inevitably be so widely read as this) entirely free from the detestable cant which is popularly written and read in regard to slavery; the assumption of the Church, that the holding of men and women as property is approved by God, and compatible with Christianity; of the State, that this is a practice which may properly be enforced by a white majority against a black minority; of the Republic, that, however bad North of Mason and Dixon's line, slavery is sacred and inviolable South of it; of the merchants, that trade is of more consequence than human rights; of the literary class, that Southern gentlemen and scholars ought not to be interfered with merely for the sake of ignorant and stupid people, black or white; and of the mass of unreflecting men and women, that whatever is established is, of course, to be supported and perpetuated. It is much, I say, to have a popular book free from these enormous and pernicious popular errors.

But the merit of Mr. Redpath's book is not merely of this negative kind. It teaches, by implication, positively just and right sentiments upon the momentous subject of slavery. It everywhere takes for granted these great truths—that freedom is the natural right, and the inalienable right, of every human being; that infringing upon that freedom, except for the sake of crime, is itself a crime; that the relation of slaveholder to slave gives no rights to the former, and imposes no obligations upon the latter; that freedom is the right of every slave, and that his duty and interest alike call upon him to assume this right whenever practicable; that humanity and Christianity alike require the interference of others for the help of the slave, whenever and wherever such help can be made available; that it is owing to the corruption of manners and morals naturally engendered by a slaveholding Church and State, and by the labors of clergymen and legislators in behalf of slavery, that so little active interference in aid of the slaves has yet been attempted; that it is becoming more and more manifest that such interference is demanded, not only for the help of the slaves, but to prevent the rights of white citizens of the North being entirely swallowed up by the increasing incursions of the Slave Power; and that it should be remembered, whenever slaves are aided on the soil where they have spent their lives in enforced labor without wages, that, as a general rule, the movable property found in possession of the slaveholder rightfully belongs to the slave, and may properly be used, by himself or his agent, in his service.

Being thus free from the prejudices naturally existing among the less intelligent people in a slaveholding nation, (because directly fostered and perpetuated by their leaders in Church and State), and being founded on a high morality and a pure religion, the laws of justice and of love, this book possesses the further resemblance to an abolition tract, that it takes the stand-point which history, the judgment of the wise and good, and (after these) popular opinion itself, must ultimately take. After slavery shall have been abolished, the flimsy defences now patched up for it by priests and politicians will utterly disappear; the arguments of abolitionists, now called fanatical by slaveholders and their Northern tools, will appear manifest truisms, the obvious voice of common sense, humanity, justice and religion; and the wonder will be that a popular opinion and a national custom adverse to them could have existed in the nineteenth century, after the declaration, by the ancestors of that same people, in the eighteenth, that the inalienable freedom of all men was a self-evident truth.

When we know, in addition to the above, that Mr. Redpath's book possesses the quality (not enjoyed by all abolition tracts) of being extremely interesting, and that it finds, in consequence, an extensive sale and an increasing number of readers, we may hope that it will sow the seeds of many enterprises for the help of the slave, and waken many hearts to inquire what they can do, directly as well as indirectly, in his behalf.—C. K. W.

CONVENTION AT POUÇHKEEPSIE.

MR. GARRISON:

Will you permit a stranger friend to occupy a small space in your columns for the purpose of informing your many readers what a 'rich treat' we Poqueepsians enjoyed, on the 23d and 24th of last month? Our anti-slavery friends, Parker Pillsbury, Susan B. Anthony, Aaron M. Powell and Marius R. Robinson, held a Convention in Concert Hall, Poqueepsie City, at that time; and the deep interest and attention manifested by the people present were heart-cheering to those who have to wait and labor so long for 'the good time coming.' The speakers, as you well know, were of the highest order of talent and ability, and their discussions of the Slavery question, in all its varied aspects, were characterized by a clearness of insight, and an earnestness of purpose, that carried conviction to the hearts of their listeners.

The resolutions offered by Parker Pillsbury, and defended by himself and Mr. Robinson, were of the most radical and revolutionary type, in both language and sentiment; yet no one ventured to question their truthfulness and expediency, for the people are too thoroughly tired of this lukewarm opposition to slavery in the Territories, while they are fostering and cherishing it at home, by carrying out the requirements of this slaveholding and slavery-protecting government. It is a noticeable fact, and one worthy of remark, that the great Northern heart is every where beating with a more steady and healthful pulsation, since witnessing that noble and godlike sacrifice to principle, made by John Brown and his associates, upon that Virginia scaffold, in November last; and, although the lesson has been dearly learned, still it is not without its cheering results already; for it has shown us what many courage, heroic fortitude, and true Christian love, such firm reliance on God can give, when the trying hour shall come, when all gold must be tested in the Great Refiner's crucible.

The hall in which this Convention was held was a large one, and the several sessions quite fully attended, considering how literally flooded the city has been with all kinds of lectures, thus far, through the winter. There was a certain restiveness of spirit manifested by the pitiful apologists of the slave oligarchy, during the last evening, while the deeply probing artillery of Pillsbury's argument was pouring directly into the enemy's camp at its most vulnerable point, showing them their utter recklessness to all the great interests of humanity, by their blind devotion to the Union and Constitution. Yet, notwithstanding this little outbreak, the meeting was a perfect success, and the friends of freedom have great cause for rejoicing at the gradual spread of the true Abolition doctrine. The occasion was truly one in which the soul pours itself out in silent thankfulness to God, that such true-hearted men and women still live to bless humanity by their noble efforts in behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed.

There is yet one other cheering feature of this Convention, of which I wish to speak ere closing this communication, and that is, the numbers and intelligence of the colored people who attended its several sessions. Their number was proportionably large to that of the white people; and the interest and strict attention they manifested, joined to their quiet, orderly deportment, cannot help to reflect great credit to this much despised class of our citizens. Many of them are respected, and justly so, among us, as honest, upright business men and women; and it does

not seem possible that we should much longer tolerate that infamous decision, that declares that such as these 'have no rights that we, as God's children, are bound to respect.' Nor can we longer believe that institution to be beneficent, of God's 'electing races,' that so effectually blots out the manhood and womanhood of over 4,000,000 of our brothers and sisters, and converts them into chattels personal.

Truly yours for the right,

LIZZIE DE GARMO.

are slaves now? You tested the Indian's courage here, where he had his organized armies, his battle-grounds, his places of retreat, with everything to hope for, and everything to lose. The position of the African slaves has been very different. Seized as prisoners of war, unarmed, bound hand and foot, and conveyed to a distant country where they have been cruelly beaten, half starved, prevented from assembling together, closely watched by paid men, armed with pistols, clubs and bow-knives, with no means of knowing their own strength, or the strength of their enemies, with no weapon, and without a probability of success. When I see the almost daily accounts of Northern white men being driven from the slave States, and tamely submitting to every kind of insult and outrage without a murmur, and that, too, in a country where we hear so much of Anglo-Saxon courage, and when I contrast it with the conduct of the slaves who I see rising up by hundreds, annually, in the majesty of human nature, and bidding defiance to every slave code and its penalties, making the case of Canada or death, and that, too, when they are closely watched and pursued by blood-hounds and armed kidnappers, and with the army and navy of the great model Republic arrayed against them, I am inclined to ask, if the charge of cowardice does not come with an ill grace?

I will you, gentlemen, we have both physical and moral courage. I believe in the equality of my race. I do not admit, for a moment, that we are inferior to you. We have always proved ourselves your equals, when placed in juxtaposition with you. We are the only oppressed people that advance in the country of their oppression. Look at the sand-hill-birds of South Carolina, the peasants and mendicants of Ireland, the beggars of the two Sicilies, the gipsy race that infest almost all Europe, the peasants of Hungary, and the serfs of Russia! These peoples, though possessing superior advantages to the negro, do not advance in the country of their oppression. Not so with the negro; his godlike intellect surmounts the difficulties which surround him, and he stands forth a man. This is certainly not a very strong argument in favor of our depravity. This is the kind of material which makes true soldiers; and the day may not be far distant, when you will need them.

In 1793, the blacks took up arms for the defence of Guadaloupe, and were more useful than all the rest of the French troops; at the same time, they defeated Martinique against the English.

Borras found the negroes preferable to Swiss soldiers.

At the siege of Carthage, all the troops were repulsed at the attack of Fort Ilochacique. The negroes brought from St. Domingo attacked it with such impetuosity, that the besieged were forced to surrender.

In a speech delivered before the New York Legislature, a few years since, by a gentleman whose name I do not now remember, but whose language I give with some precision, he said, "In the Revolution, colored men fought side by side with you in your struggles for liberty, and there is not a battle-field from Maine to Georgia that has not been crimsoned with our blood, and whitened by our bones." In 1814, a bill passed the Legislature of New York, authorizing the services of two thousand colored volunteers. Many black soldiers served under Commodore McDonough, when he conquered on Lake Champlain. Many were in the battles of Plattsburgh and Sacket's Harbor; and Gen. Jackson called out colored troops from Louisiana and Alabama, and, in a solemn proclamation, attested to their fidelity and courage.

Gentlemen, we propose to make this hearing a short one. I do not deem it necessary to attempt to argue the legal points in this question, because my friend, Mr. Morris, has certainly done this part well, and convinced you, I hope, that you will not be violating either the spirit or the letter of the laws or Constitution of this Commonwealth, by striking the word 'white' from the militia law.

I know that certain professed friends have tried to prejudice our cause, and that it is argued that, on account of the near approach of the presidential election, it would not be wise to report in favor of our petitioners. But I have too much confidence in the intelligence and honor of the gentlemen of this Committee, to believe them capable of being swayed by such influences, or that they would disregard the rights of the humblest of our petitioners for the sake of political capital; and on the strength of this conviction of the impartiality and justice of your honorable body, I have appeared before you to ask you to recommend to the Legislature an act, striking out the word 'white' from the militia law; and I have done so, because I believe that both the interests of the majority and of the minority demand it; because the civilization and humanity of the age require it; and because it is but rendering justice to an outraged and injured people.

THOUGHTS ABOUT COLORED MEN.
We cannot be too profoundly grateful to Gov. Banks, for the promptness with which he interposed the executive veto, and saved that all-important word, 'white,' from being expanded from the revised statutes.

The amount of our indebtedness to the executive of our beloved Commonwealth for his patriotic action in this matter cannot be estimated, until we first consider, seriously, some of the calamities that must have befallen the country, if the Governor had allowed that piece of rash legislation to be consummated.

In the first place, as a certain and almost immediate consequence of dropping that word from the statute book, our happy, peaceful and glorious Union would certainly have been dissolved, and we should have presented to the world the sad spectacle of dissolved States, rioting in anarchy, and swimming in fratricidal blood; and after having become weary of such ananous slaughter, and having patched up a temporary peace, and drawn the lines of nationality between the North and South, then we should have begun, in some degree, to realize what we had lost by our rashness and folly; for, instead of that untrammelled liberty of travel, liberty of speech and of the press, which, by the very terms of our glorious Constitutional and theory of government, we now enjoy over all the extent of our vast and happily united country, we should in all probability have had to submit, in all the southern country at least, to innumerable obstructions in travel, and hindrances in trade—gagging of speech and press; from all of which, hitherto, as it is well known, we have been most happily exempt.

But, secondly, if, as by miracle, the superhuman efforts of patriotic and devoted men could have succeeded in barely saving the Union in such a case, as they have done on many other occasions when it has been in great peril; who could calculate the sum of local mischief that must, beyond a peradventure, have followed in the old Bay State, when once that word, 'white,' had been taken from the statute book of the Commonwealth? Think you that the white citizen soldier would have consented to occupy the field of glory and of peril, on days of annual review, on equal terms with the colored soldier? By no means.

Should a company of colored soldiers be marched on to the parade with their white brethren in arms, such a scattering would take place of the latter as has been witnessed since they were dispersed, when the field-piece was levelled upon them by the troops of the Government at Springfield, in the day of that rebellion; our military train-bands would all be abandoned; the right arm of our defence would be broken; and there would not be left even a 'Sim's brigade' to enforce our constitutional obligations.

In the midst of my rejoicing, in view of troubles thus averted, there arise forebodings of other afflictions yet to come. The discussions and action upon this question by the functionaries of Government cannot fail to set afloat the inquiry in the public mind, as to who are, and who are not, white men—a most formidable question, inasmuch as there is no authorized legal standard by which it can be determined.

How can our Supreme Court decide it, without travelling out of the record? Having no 'precedent' on which to base a decision, and being debarred by the conservative instincts of its eminently grave Judges from looking at it in the light of an original investigation, that solemn bench of ermined wisdom cannot help the matter. It is a fact that, in all our cities and most of our towns, there are persons called white, who are very much darker than some of their fellow citizens who pass for persons of color. How are such cases to be legally disposed of? Shall we add another branch to our State government, and call it the *Board of Color*, to determine such cases? Or shall we, borrowing legislative wisdom from the State of Ohio, provide by statute that all persons, of whatever hue, having more than a certain fixed amount of African blood, shall be deemed colored, and all others 'white'? Such a statute would be of little avail; for, owing to the peculiar social practices of the patriarchs of the 'peculiar institution,' many of our citizens, who come from the South, or who have descended from those who have been slaves, would find it not only difficult, but impossible, to trace their pedigree with sufficient accuracy to determine a question of such vast importance. In whatever direction I look for light to guide my mind in solving this perplexing question, I am baffled. I am, however, not altogether without hope that able minds will yet solve the difficulty, in time to preserve our Commonwealth from destruction, and our happy confederacy from disruption, on account of the formidable question of color, in this last phase in which it has now presented itself. I hope that the distinguished orator and patriot, who has pleased so eloquently and successfully for the Union, and for the sacredness of Mount Vernon, and who is now laboring to preserve the integrity of Mystic Pond, may, as soon as his duties to his aqueous client will permit, be prevailed upon to take this in hand; and, calling to his aid the band of devoted patriots whose wisdom illuminates the columns of the *Boston Courier*, be enabled to devise some plan by which this portentous question shall be brought to an early, peaceful and happy issue.

LETTER TO DR. JAMES WHITTEMORE.
ATHOL, Feb. 5, 1860.
DR. JAMES WHITTEMORE:
MY DEAR SIR—From the stirring conversation which I had with you, on my last visit to your house, I feel assured that you have little sympathy with the late Union-saving meeting of your place; especially, on the conditions at present indicated by the democratic leaders South, or by their whig coadjutors North.

Doubtless there is an 'impending crisis.' We know that, in the very nature of things, there must be an irrepressible conflict between the lovers of freedom on one side, and the defenders of slavery on the other.

What stirring events are every day transpiring! What villainous schemes are every day concocted! What transcendent villainies are every day brought to light, with here and there a deed, and now and then a life of heroism!

In this struggle was developed the heroic character of John Brown; and such a hero the world has rarely seen. He devoted his life to the cause of freedom; not for himself alone, nor for his kindred, but for a poor and despised race, who are every day robbed of their dearest rights; nay, every right, and even of themselves. They were his brethren of the human family, children of the same Father, and were, therefore, entitled to justice, to sympathy, and to every token of humane and compassionate regard. He died as he had lived, devoted to their welfare. He died upon the gallows. What then? Is he, therefore, infamous? Nay; with such a character, he sanctifies the gallows. What a commentary it is upon the civilization (should I not rather say the barbarism) of our country, when, in accordance with the forms of law, such a man must be hanged!—laws enacted and sanctioned by the people, the expression of the people's will; laws sustained and executed by men commissioned by the people to do the people's bidding.

What a mistake, what folly, as well as wickedness it was, in those Virginia Wise-men to send him to the gallows! They thought to silence him—so they took him from his prison-cell, and led him forth to die. Like a felon on the scaffold, which they had reared full high, that he might be a spectacle to all the passers by. Escaped his earthly prison-house, He's evermore set free, His sword to traverse earth or air, 'From the Blue Ridge to the sea.' His earnest spirit is not quelled, Or silenced for an hour; 'His purposes shall ripen fast,' By large access of power.

Yes, the lightnings are his messengers, the sleepless press is the swift herald of his name and name, the pulpit is his platform. At his name and deeds, each pulpit-occupant's tongue is loosed, and he hastens to proclaim, as best he may, 'deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound.'

In alliance with the pulpit and press, the chainless winds, and steam that would be free, lend him their aid. Ministers of his, 'they post o'er land and sea,' bearing, in his name, 'glad tidings of great joy—freedom to the slave.'

Thus shall his name be sounded, far and near; his heroic words, and the story of his no less heroic deeds, shall become known—not to a few only, but to as many as can read or hear. They shall fly from mouth to mouth, and from heart to heart. They shall be repeated, by the fireside and in the church; by the wayside and in the market-place. They shall be delivered down from admiring sire to wondering son; and shall thus circulate from mind to mind, till they pervade and warm and animate the nation. Then shall the end come. Then shall the gigantic evils, against which he contended, be done away; the grosser despotisms of the South shall cease; society shall take on new forms, and Humanity, on this continent, at least, will have taken a step forward.

Already have the name and spirit of John Brown reached Brighton; and have awakened so much sympathy with him—so much hostility to slavery and the slave system, that your essay, brainless gentlemen of leisure, like Mr. J. Dutton Russell, think it necessary to counteract their influence. So they call a Union-saving meeting, and put forth resolutions, declaring that, as a nation, we have a 'name without a spot'; that we should treat the matter of slavery in such a manner, that it may prove a blessing to both masters and slaves; with other things equally foolish and untrue. They then import orators, like David H. Mason of Newton, and George S. Hillard of Boston, to manufacture and 'circulate the latest views of the North among the people of the South,' and so assure them that there is not much anti-slavery here, after all, and therefore no occasion for alarm.

What a sickly demonstration was that Union-saving meeting in your town! How stupid, 'stale, flat and unprofitable,' are all such demonstrations! They are stupid, because they attempt to agitate for the sake of agitating, and preventing agitation. As an adaptation of means to ends, they are not merely futile—they are utterly suicidal; for they discuss and agitate, with great violence, the very subject which, in the judgment of the movers, should be vigorously let alone. They defeat the very purpose for which

they are called or assembled. They may be useful, for aught I know, as signs of the times—symptoms of the condition of the body politic—indications that the patient is not dead, but only sleepeth; who, at the startling word, 'awake, arise, or be forever lost,' turns slowly towards you, rubs his half-opened eyes, yawns, and, in half-articulate words, begs you not to disturb his slumbers, but that he may be allowed to sink again into what you know will prove the sleep of death.

It may be that yours is emphatically a contented, happy, peace-loving, union-saving community. Possibly, there is something in the very atmosphere of a slaughter-house, which brings on this moral torpor, tending to political and spiritual death. Or, worse than all, and most to be deplored, as human nature's deepest, foulest blot, 'may it not generate and nourish the demoniacal spirit of slavery, which refuses to be cast out, and to the exorcist crieth evermore, 'Art thou come hither to torment us before the time? Depart from us; what have we to do with thee?'

God grant that your new minister may go forth in the spirit and power of his Master! May he cause a shaking among the dry bones of that region, and send life to come upon them; may he breathe into them the breath of life! May the foul and malignant demons of intemperance, and slavery, and war, receive his sternest rebukes, even though the peace of the community should be temporarily disturbed; yes, though ecclesiastical and political revolution ensue! Agitation is the necessary antecedent, the means, and I believe the only means, of purification. 'First pure, then peaceable,' says the Apostle James. 'I am not come,' said Jesus, 'to bring peace on earth, but rather division.'

We are in the midst of a revolution. I cannot look on, I do not wish to look on, with indifference. God grant that I may think and feel and act worthily of 'the living present.'

The conflict between liberty and slavery is, in its very nature, inevitable; for slavery is involuntary; it is the compulsory, forced subjection of the will and faculties of one human being to the will and power of another. The desire of liberty and the right to liberty are innate, and therefore 'inalienable'; and whenever, or wherever, they are consciously violated or encroached upon, incipient rebellion ensues. It may be concealed, smothered for a time, but it cannot be extinguished. It only waits an opportunity to break forth—a reasonable, nay, sometimes a very unreasonable, prospect of success; and it will assert and vindicate their claims to the respect of those who disregard and trample them in the dust.

Assuming that negroes are men, we must concede to them all the natural rights which we claim for ourselves, and should be no less mindful of their rights than of our own. We claim the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' So do they; and should have their claims allowed. We claim the right to property, as a means of happiness. So do they; and should have their claims allowed. For, if we deny their right to hold property, we virtually deny our own. The right is human, and belongs equally to every individual of the human family,—black, brown, red, yellow, white. Provided he is strong enough, the black man may as rightfully hold the white man a slave, as the white the black man can. I say no property hold property? The slave codes say no. It is preposterous. The idea of human chattelhood is an absurdity.

The black race and the white stand, side by side, upon the green earth, with the blue heavens above. Sun, moon and stars are, alike, the ministers of them all. God reigns, and His will shall yet be done, 'on earth as it is done in heaven.'

The white race claims property in the black. Suppose the black race should claim property in the white. Which should have its way? Neither, I say; for neither claim is just. What then? Shall they fight it out, and the one which is strongest and most numerous, the most cunning and persistent, the most wayward and overbearing, crush and trample upon the weaker, and forever dictate their condition, without consulting their wishes, their interests, or their rights?

Thus only has slavery been established: thus only can it be maintained. It is the selfish domination of the stronger party over the weaker. It is, in its very nature, the creature of force. It exists, and can only exist, by the assumption and assertion of arbitrary and unbalanced power on the one side, and of unwilling submission on the other. The authority of the master is a usurpation, and is felt to be such. Hence the restlessness, the treachery, the plotting, the conspiracy, the personal defiance, the combination, the ever-threatening, ever-dreaded outburst of rebellion among the slaves. Hence, also, the terrors, the suspicions, the wrath, the revenge, which are felt, and the cruelties and torments which are inflicted by the masters. The relation of master and slave implies perpetual warfare.

There is, indeed, an 'irrepressible conflict,' not merely between the slave and the slave-owner, for the people of the Free States are the Constitutional allies of the slave-owners. Some of them, it is true, revolt at this. The Republicans, for example, in words, at least. Hence it is, in part, a sectional conflict.

The Democrats, even of the nominally Free States, true to their selfish instincts, and their supposed Constitutional obligations, still adhere to their ancient allies, and are ready and zealous to maintain and extend the slaveholders' domain. Meanwhile, to the free negro, the right of citizenship is denied. He is expelled from the Slave States; and even where Republicans bear sway, he is excluded from the Free States.

There is, therefore, a three-fold conflict:—A personal conflict, as between master and slave; a conflict of principle, as between the slave-owners of the South and the Republicans of the North, which may be called sectional; and a general conflict of races, which may be called national.

With such a combination of forces, and such a mingling of elements, how or when the conflict will end, or what will be the result; what will be the fate of fortune, or, in the grand scheme of Providence, the function of the negro race, or its relation to the white, none can tell; none but the Omnipotent can know.

The times demand the wisdom and direction of the wisest and best. May they be forthcoming.

Very respectfully, your friend and brother,
H. W. CARTER.

NO SLAVE-HUNTING.
Two large and very interesting meetings have recently been held in Hubbardston, at which the question was freely debated by the citizens of the town, whether Massachusetts ought, by law, to prohibit slave-hunting, at once and forever, upon her soil. The question had a special interest in the place, growing out of the fact that the representative of the town in the last Legislature, had voted against the enactment of a Liberty law, and that, too, after himself signing a petition asking for such a law! As that gentleman and his friends evidently scented a coming censure on his course, they used their utmost endeavors to defend him, and ward of the well-merited rebuke. At the second meeting, which was held on Monday evening last, as we learn from a correspondent, the largest hall in town was filled to overflowing, to hear the discussion upon the petitions to prohibit the taking of slaves from Massachusetts. After a three-hour debate they resolved, by a majority of more than ten to one, that Massachusetts OUGHT BY LAW TO PROHIBIT SLAVE-HUNTING at once, and forever, upon her soil.

It was very gratifying to see many of the oldest and most reliable citizens of the town remain till a late hour, and repudiate, so emphatically, their misrepresentative.

FROM A DEVOTED FRIEND OF THE CAUSE.
EAST BRIDgewater, Feb. 19, 1860.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I see that I am credited with five dollars, instead of two, at the Subscription Festival. Would to God it could have been five hundred dollars! My will is better than my ability, to give, or, rather, to pay much more of what I owe to the cause so near to my heart; but I must be content to throw in my 'mite.'

I was surprised to hear that Mr. Foss was coming here again so soon. The last time he was here, was in the midst of the Harper's Ferry excitement, when, it would seem, if anything would bring out the people to hear, it would be that great event. I took pains then to tell my neighbors that Mr. Foss would undoubtedly speak on that subject. And how many, do you think, turned out that pleasant evening to hear? Well, I will not say how many; for I am ashamed to do so. And this unparalleled spathy is backed up, on one side of me, by the 'Lord's new church,' and on the other by the 'cotton-gin business'—both of which are in direct trade with the South.

I shall be rejoiced if my friend Foss can get one new subscriber to the *Liberator*. Those good old times when Lucy Stone had a 'book of worship' hurled at her head, and Parker Pillsbury was insulted in various ways, have passed away, and nothing is left but a trackless, gloomy desert, with not a single Oasis to cheer the weary traveller in his journey to the land of promise. In those good old times to which I have referred, we had five subscribers to the *Liberator* in our little village. A few friends were willing to work a little while; but when they had time to count the cost, they left our ranks, and now seem to be beyond hope of resurrection.

We have a great many discouragements to meet in our struggle at the North. In my opinion, nothing is more true than the words uttered by that noble philanthropist and seer, Parker Pillsbury, when he said, 'We are not troubled at all with your Cushings, your Choates, or your Everetts; but what shall we do against the influence of your Beechers and your Cheevers?' Well, sure enough, what can we do against the pro-slavery influence of Henry Ward Beecher at the present time? Six months ago, I had some hope of help from Plymouth Church. Where is the ground for hope now? The last flickering ray of hope from that quarter has fled! And even Theodore Tilton, after his masterly anti-slavery speech in reply to Beecher—will he continue in that Church, and pay his money to that band of hypocrites in 'Pemberton Square'? And Henry Ward Beecher! There he stands, in Plymouth Church, a mighty power in himself, swaying the multitudes who flock to hear him, as sea-weed is swayed by the waves of the Atlantic. What is it that has dimmed his moral vision, that he should forsake us in the most trying emergency of the anti-slavery struggle?

Well, we must exert the more strength ourselves. I find many discouragements in our cause; but when I see such men as Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, and a host of kindred spirits, sacrificing their popularity and all that most people hold dear, in behalf of this cause, I take courage.

And there is another thing that nerves me on to make what feeble effort I can to emancipate the slave. It is a selfish one, perhaps. I have two little grandsons—little sprightly, active, chattering boys. My heart is bound up in them; and when I take them into my arms, I cannot help thinking what a rage I should be in, if any one should claim them as his property! They are both white, to be sure; but is that any reason why they should not be slaves? I am not able to see the difference; and I believe the most degraded slave loves his or her offspring as well as the most enlightened New England father or mother. And the question is not, whether the slavery of the African shall be perpetuated or not, but whether the laborer shall be owned or hired; and every child who is born without a silver spoon in his mouth is liable to be made a slave, whenever the time arrives that it can be done.

When I was leaving the Tremont Temple, at our late meeting in Boston, as I had to do, while Mr. Garrison was speaking against the Constitution, I met a 'white-crowned miscreant' (to borrow a Southern phrase), who was peering in at the door. He said to me, 'Who is that speaking?' I said, 'Don't you know Wm. Lloyd Garrison?' 'No; I never saw him before, and I never heard a man curse the Constitution so explained,' he said. 'Well,' said he, 'he ought to be hung with John Brown.' I said, 'Yes, as much as Washington ought to be.' He said, 'That was before the Constitution was made.' Now that man would enslave me, and my children, if he could. Talk about Southern slaveholders! They are not to be mentioned in the same book for meanness and cowardice with their abettors in the North, even in old Puritan Boston!

Yours for the 'Irrepressible Conflict.'
JACOB LEONARD.

CONVENTIONS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.
The second series of Anti-Slavery Conventions in New York opened very auspiciously at Fort Byron, last week. The Convention there was fully attended, continuing two days. We learn, through a correspondent, that the Hall there was never so well filled, and the interest, as well as the numbers, fully equal to the best Conventions in the fine series of winter meetings recently held in that State. Parker Pillsbury, Aaron M. Powell, and Susan B. Anthony were among the speakers.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. A letter was sent to S. B. Anthony, at Rochester, by S. M., Jr., to which an early reply is desired.

PARKER PILLSBURY will find a letter at Seneca Falls P. O.

CORRECTION. The donation to the Anti-Slavery Tract Fund, announced in last week's paper, was made by Rev. JOHN B. WRIGHT, (not Wright,) of Weyland.

ABATING NUISANCES IN KENTUCKY.—Kentucky pro-slavery mobs of Kentucky pro-slavery justice are anonymous. Here is the latest illustration. The Grand Jury of Campbell county found bills against about a score of persons for a riot, in the destruction of W. S. Bailey's paper, the *Free South*. The State's Attorney hearing of this, argued the matter before them, taking the ground that it was the law that where a nuisance existed which could not be reached by law, the people had a right to abate it. The jury sought the opinion of Judge Moor on the question, and he told them that it was the law; whereupon they reconsidered and quashed the indictments. So the law is in Kentucky that anything that is not in violation of law, a newspaper for instance, may be destroyed by anybody who will declare it a nuisance. 'A Daniel come to judgment!' is that Judge Moor.

The Senate's investigating inquiry continues to extract a large amount of nothing from the witnesses it examines concerning Mr. Brown's foray into Virginia. Why don't it summon Gov. Wise? He declares that he knows something terrible about the affair, which he wouldn't tell for rubies. 'Wisdom is above rubies,' and he ought to be pressed until non is above yielded some of it. The gleaming eye of the Wise might be found better than the vintage of all the other witnesses.—*Traveller*.

A lady, whose husband lies awake nights to save the Union, says it seems to her the Union is a good deal like her choice preserves—it has to be scalded over once in four years to prevent its souring.

The Publishers of Redpath's life of John Brown state that they are printing 2,000 copies per day, and yet are unable to supply the demand. Over 30,000 copies were sold in advance of publication.

Stevens and Havlevet have been sentenced to be hung publicly on Friday, the 16th day of March next, at eleven o'clock, on the 10th of A. M., and 2 o'clock, P. M.

Hon. Judge Mason, of Iowa, who made himself so popular with the voters of the country, while he held the office of Commissioner of Patents, has, we learn, associated himself with Munson & Co., at the *Scientific American* office, New York.

MOORE OF SOUTHERN RUPTURISM. The Lynchburg Virginia says: "We were shown, on yesterday, a beautiful case, gotten up by a gentleman of Bedford, to be presented to the Hon. H. A. Edmundson, as an appreciation of his conduct in 'switching' John Hickman, in the streets of Washington, the other day. The case has a heavy silver head, upon which is engraved, 'To Hon. H. A. Edmundson, the man who whipped one of the eighteen million.'"

The Lancaster, (Penn.) Express says that the Hon. John Hickman is in a very precarious state of health. He came home from Washington, intending to return on Monday last, but his indisposition was found to be so serious that it was deemed inadvisable to undertake the journey, and his friends are fearful that he will not be able to resume his Congressional duties for some time.

The Dutch Government has swept away the last vestige of Slavery from its East India possessions. On the 20th of September last, the institution ceased to exist. The Government offered an assessed compensation in money to owners, many of whom, however, refused to take it, while others took it, and made it over to the emancipated slaves themselves.

U. G. R.—The late Ravenna Democrat says:—The Underground Railroad is doing an active business, and not only full freighted cars pass through on Wednesday, loaded with fugitives from a 'Old Tennessee.' They stopped long enough to wood and water, changed conductors, and were off to Canada, where colored men are free. Among the passengers was a smart, active boy, the son of a wealthy planter, who lives 'way down in Tennessee.'

After the 1st of April, strangers visiting Hayti must be provided with passports, as necessary in the continental nations of Europe.

PLEDGES
To the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.
Mrs. Mary May, Boston, \$50 00
Andrew M. Howland, Boston, 2 00
Richard P. Hallowell, " 3 00

[The above pledges, given at Annual Meeting, were entered upon a paper subsequently lost.]

Received, on account of 26th Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.
A friend, - - - - \$2 00
Mrs. E. Smith, - - - - 1 00

NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOSTON MASSACRE.
MARCH 6, 1770.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING AT THE MEIGONIA, ON MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 6, 1860.

The exercises of the evening will consist of speeches from Hon. THOMAS RUSSELL, DR. JOHN S. ROCK, GEORGE T. DOWNING, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, REV. J. SELLA MARTIN, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON; interspersed with original and appropriate vocal music, by the Boston Quartet Club—Mr. G. L. ROBERTS, MR. JOHN A. GRIMES, MISS HANTRY WINTERBURN, MISS PHEBE WINTERBURN.

Choice selections on the piano forte, by Mrs. C. HOWARD DEGRASSE and Mrs. AMANDA SCOTT DUTTON.

There will be exhibited a GORLET, which belonged to CRISPUS ATTUCKS; also, a copy of the *Boston Gazette*, of 1750, containing an advertisement for him, as a runaway from Framingham.

Also, a painting of the SCENE IN STATE STREET; and the FLAG presented by Governor HAVEN to a *Colored Military Company*, for services in the Revolutionary War; together with other relics of early Continental History.

Tickets, 25 cents each, to be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill; of Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield street; of S. S. Hanscom, 74 Cambridge street, and at the door on the evening.

Doors open at 6—exercises to commence at 7 o'clock, precisely.

Immediately after the meeting, a PROMENADE LEVEE will take place in the Twelfth Baptist Church Vestry, South street. Admission free. Refreshments for those who desire.

Boston, Feb. 25, 1860. WM. C. NELL.

CALL FOR A MEETING IN BEHALF OF THE INDIANS.

The undersigned having heard or read, with shame and regret, of the outrages committed by our border settlers upon the Indians, particularly from the statement of a California paper, (*Tahama Gazette*), and the report from that section, as published in the New York Daily Tribune of Feb. 11th, by which we learn that twenty men, armed with rifles and revolvers, have been hired and paid according to the number of Indian scalps they obtain, as proof of the number they kill; and that for three months they have warred upon these defenceless people, regardless of their being friends or enemies; and during which time, they have massacred over four hundred men, women and children, and taken six hundred prisoners, and that there are now one thousand four hundred held as captives in the County (Mendocino) in which these horrors have been perpetuated.

The undersigned, having no words by which to express their sense of the wickedness and wrong of these proceedings, and of the suffering induced among the Indian tribes, but believing that the high moral sense of the Nation will promptly respond to a call for measures of redress, hereby invite a public meeting to convene at MUSIC HALL, on MONDAY EVENING, March 5th, at 8 o'clock, to reconsider or ratify the resolutions upon the subject, proposed at a meeting held in Faneuil Hall, in October last, and to adopt such other means as the case demands.

Edward Kirk, J. W. Darnum, E. O. Haven, O. Dewey, T. S. King, J. M. Manning, E. M. P. Wells, A. A. Miner, David Reed, Charles Spear, S. Streeter, Robert H. Crosby, N. M. Gaylord, H. F. Gardner, J. B. Felt, Daniel C. Eddy, Rufus Ellis, W. L. P. Boardman, E. C. Bowles, R. Dunn, Martin Moore, E. S. Gannett, H. James Prentiss, H. K. Perver, H. W. Longfellow, John Pryor, John R. Manley, Sylvanus Cobb, W. L. Garrison.

To pay expenses, an admission fee of 10 cents will be taken at the door.

CONVENTIONS IN NEW YORK.

PARKER PILLSBURY, AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN B. ANTHONY will address Conventions as follows: Seneca Falls, Monday and Tuesday, March 5, 6, Canandaigua, Thursday and Friday, " 8, 9. Sessions at 2 and 7 o'clock, afternoon and evening.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—
Barre, Sunday, March 4.
Petersham, Tuesday, " 6.
Athol, Thursday, " 8.
Athal depot, Friday, " 9.
South Gardner, Sunday, " 11.
Gardner Centre, Tuesday, " 13.
Hubbardston, Thursday, " 15.
Westminster, Sunday, " 18.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—
Harwich, Sunday, March 4.
Brewster, Tuesday, " 6.
Orleans, Wednesday, " 7.
Orleans, Thursday, " 8.

RONGO DE LEO.

This is to inform those correspondents in Illinois, who have inquired of me concerning *Rongo de Leo* and his history, that I have no recollection of any such person. WM. C. NELL.

CARD—SUSAN R. CAREY, M. D., Physician and Accoucher, 57 Bartlett street, Charlestown, (for several years a successful practitioner in Sharon,) offers her services to treat the diseases of Women and Children; and is ready to attend Midwifery cases.

DIED—In Nashua, (N. H.) Jan. 3, CHARLES TAYLOR, aged 60.

The friends of humanity deeply lament the decease of one of its noblest spirits. Though one within the precincts of the Church, he soon outgrew it, and came up to that higher light of recognizing all mankind as brothers; and not only believing it, but living it—making it part of his life to give his money and influence to the despised reforms of the day; and not only so, but brother's—warm reformer, but an affectionate husband, kind father, and good citizen. And now, when we mourn the loss, let us take courage by his calm and peaceful end, and renew our labors in the great cause of humanity.—*Com.*

DIED—Feb. 17, Mrs. HANNAH T. REDDING GARR, aged 26; also, Feb. 20, Mrs. DIANA LEWIS DAVIS, aged 26.

In Brookline, Feb. 17, Mrs. MARY W. ASHBY, aged 85 years, relict of the late Wm. ASHBY, senior, of Salem, Mass.

30th THOUSAND NOW READY!

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

LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN,
BY JAMES REDPATH.

With an Auto-Biography of his Childhood and Youth.

In one elegant volume of 408 pages, printed on superb paper, and handsomely bound in gilt cloth, fully illustrated, and embellished with A MAGNIFICENT STEEL ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF THE GLORIOUS OLD MAN,

by the best artist in America, from a daguerrotype, entirely different from the photographs, and being the only authentic likeness of the PHILANTHROPIST and PATRIOT which has yet appeared.

At the extremely Low Price of One Dollar.

Comprising an account of his early life in youth and manhood up to the period of his going to Kansas; together with an intensely interesting narrative of his famous battles, with all the details of his last attempt to liberate slaves at Harper's Ferry, Va., including his entire prison correspondence, and the PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY, NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED. Also, an

ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE, BY CAPT. BROWN HIMSELF.

This important document has not, and will not, appear in the public press, as it is the desire of the friends who contribute that it should appear exclusively in our Publication, for the sake of our FAMILY, and any re-printing of it will be prosecuted as an infringement of copyright. Of this autobiography it is sufficient to say that nothing of the kind, since the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN, has been published, which is at once so characteristic and so interesting.



THE LIBERATOR

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1860. VOL. XXX. NO. 10. WHOLE NUMBER, 1524.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

IN THE U. S. SENATE, FEB. 29.

On the Admission of Kansas into the Union.

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

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

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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

WHAT IT ENCOUNTERS.

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

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

HAS IT PLECK?

Hitherto the Republican party has been content with one self-antagonism—how many votes it can cast? These threats enforce another—has it determination enough to cast them? This latter question touches its spirit and its pride. I am quite sensible, that as it has hitherto practised self-denial in so many other forms, it will, in this emergency, lay aside its impatience of temper, together with all ambition, and will consider those extraordinary declarations seriously, and with a moderation. It would be a waste of words to demonstrate that they are unconstitutional, and equally idle to show that the responsibility for disunion, attempted or effected, must not rest with those who in the exercise of constitutional authority maintain the Government, but with those who unconstitutionally engage in the mad work of subverting it.

What are the excuses for these menaces? They resolve themselves into this, that the Republican party in the North is hostile to the South. But it already is proved to be a majority in the North; it is, therefore, practically the people of the North. Will it not still be the same North that has borne with you so long, and condescended to you so much? Can you justly assume that affection which has been so completely an all at once change to hatred intense and incurable?

You say that the Republican party is a sectional one. Is the Democratic party less sectional? Is it easier for us to bear your sectional sway, than for you to bear ours? Is it unreasonable that for once we should alternate? But is the Republican party sectional? Not unless the Democratic party is. The Republican party prevails in the House of Representatives sometimes; the Democratic party in the Senate always. Which of the two is the most prescriptive? Come, if you will, into the free States, into the State of New York, anywhere from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, among my neighbors in the Oswego valley, hold your conventions, nominate your candidates, address the people, submit them to them, fully, earnestly, eloquently, all your complaints and grievances of northern disloyalty, oppression, bribery; keep nothing back, speak just as freely as you can, as loudly there as you here; you will have a holiday open for all the votes you can win. Are you less sectional than this? Extend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats in the North. There is, however, a better test of nationality than the local location of parties. Our policy of labor in the Territories was not sectional, in the first days of the Republic. Its nature is inherent, and beneficent for us alone or injurious to you alone. Its effects are equal, and the same for us all.

SOMETHING FURTHER ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

A profound respect and friendly regard for the Vice President of the United States has induced me to weigh carefully the testimony he has given on the subject of the hostility against the South imputed to the Republican party, as derived from the relations of the representatives of the two parties at this capital. He says that he has seen here, in the representatives of the lower Southern States, a most resolute and earnest spirit of resistance to the Republican party; that he perceives a sensible loss of that spirit of brotherhood and that feeling of loyalty, together with that love for a common country, which are at last the surest cement of the Union; so that, in the present unhappy condition of affairs, he is almost tempted to exclaim, that we are dissolving, weak by week and month by month, that the threads are gradually fretting themselves asunder; and a stranger might suppose that the Executive of the United States was the President of two hostile Republics. It is not for me to raise a doubt upon the correctness of this dark picture, so far as the Southern groups upon the canvas are concerned; but I must be indulged in the opinion that I can pronounce as accurately concerning the Northern or Republican representatives here as any one. I know their public haunts and their private ways. We are not a hostile Republic, or representatives of one. We confer together, but only as the organs of every party do, and must do, in a political system which obliges us to act sometimes as partisans, while it requires us always to be patriots and statesmen. Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, with us are political, not social or personal differences. There is not one disorganizer or disloyalist among us all. We are altogether unconscious of any process of dissolution going on among us or around us. We have never

been more patient, and never loved the representatives of other sections more, than now. We bear the same testimony for the people around us here, who, though in the very centre where the bolt of disunion must fall first, and be most fearful in its effects, seem never less disturbed than now. We bear the same testimony for all the districts and States we represent. The people of the North are not enemies, but friends and brethren of the South, faithful and true as in the days when death has dealt his arrows promiscuously among them on common battle-fields of freedom.

We will not suffer ourselves here to dwell on any evidence of a different temper in the South; but we shall be content with expressing our belief that hostility that is not designedly provoked, and that cannot provoke retaliation, is an anomaly that must be traced to casual excitement, which cannot perpetuate alienation.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

A canvass for a presidential election, in some respects more important, perhaps, than any since 1800, has recently begun. The House of Representatives was to be organized by a majority, while no party could cast more than a plurality of votes.

THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

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

HIS ACTORS.

It is a painful reflection that, after so long an experience of the beneficent working of our system as we have enjoyed, we have had these new illustrations in Kansas and Virginia, of the existence among us of a class of men so misguided and so desperate as to seek to enforce their peculiar principles by the sword, drawing after it a need for the further illustration, by the punishment of that great and terrible crime, especially applicable to the public, that they who take up the sword as a weapon of controversy shall perish by the sword. In the latter case, the lamented deaths of so many citizens, slain from an ambush and by surprise—all the more lamentable because they were innocent victims of a frenzy kindled without their agency in far distant fires—the deaths even of the offenders themselves, pitiable, although necessary and just, because they acted under delirium, which blinded their judgment to the real nature of their criminal enterprise; the alarm and consternation naturally awakened throughout the country, exciting for the moment the fear that our whole system, with all its securities for life and liberty, was coming to an end—a fear none the more endurable because continually aggravated by new chimeras to which the great leading event lent an air of probability; surely all these constituted a sum of public misery which ought to have satisfied the most morbid appetite for social horrors. But, as in the case of the gunpowder plot, and the Salem witchcraft, and the New York colonial plot, so now; the original actors were swiftly followed by another and a third class, who sought to prolong and widen the public distress by attempting to direct the indignation which it had excited against parties guilty equally of complicity and of sympathy with the offenders.

Posterity will decide in all the recent cases, where political responsibility for public disasters must fall; and posterity will give little heed to our instructions. It was not until the gloomy reign of our Congress, and the party and virtue had long assured refuge under the shelter of the Liberty Bell, that the historian arose whose narrative of that period of tyranny and terror has been accepted by mankind.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE UNION PARTY.

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

'Surely, they that shall boast as we do to be a free nation, and having the power, shall not also have the courage, to remove, constitutionally, every Governor, whether he be the supreme or subordinate, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies, but are, indeed, under tyranny and servitude, as wanting and devoid of all liberty, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose of and economize in the land which God hath given them, as members of family in their own home and free inheritance. Without which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can, in due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vassals born in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord, whose government, though not intolerable, hangs on them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government.'

The Republican party knows, as the whole country will ultimately come to understand, that the noblest objects of national life must perish, if that life itself shall be lost, and therefore it will accept the issue tendered. It will take up the word Union, which others are so willing to renounce, and, combining it with that other glorious thought, Liberty, which has been its inspiration so long, it will move firmly onward, with the motto inscribed on its banner, 'UNION AND LIBERTY, come what may, in victory or in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever.'

If the Republican party maintain the Union, who and what party is to assail it? Only the Democratic party, for there is no other. Will the Democratic party take up the assault? The menaces of disunion must, though not in its name, yet in its behalf, it must avow or disavow them. Its silence thus

far, is portentous, but is not alarming. The effect of its intimidation, if successful, would be to continue the rule of the Democratic party, though a minority, by terror. It certainly ought to need no more than this to secure the success of the Republican party. If, indeed, the time has come when the Democratic party must rule by terror, instead of ruling through conceded public confidence, then it is quite certain that it cannot be dismissed from power too soon. Ruling on that odious principle, it cannot long save either the Constitution or public liberty. But I shall not believe the Democratic party will consent to stand in this position, though it does through the action of its representatives seem to cover and sustain those who threaten disunion. I know the Democracy of the North. I know them now in their waning strength. I do not know a possible disunion among them all. I believe they will be as faithful to the Union now as they were in the bygone days when their ranks were full, and their challenge to the combat was always the warranty of victory. But, if it shall prove otherwise, then the world will all the sooner know that every party in this country must stand on Union ground; that the American people will sustain no party that is not capable of making a sacrifice of its ambition on the altar of the country; that, although a party may have never so much of prestige, and never so high a reputation, yet, if it is lacking in the one or the other of loyalty to the Union, all its advantages will be unavailing; and then obvious as, through long cherished and obstinate prejudices, the Republican party is in the capital State, yet even there it will advance like an army with banners, winning the favor of the whole people, and it will be armed with the national confidence and support, when it shall be found the only party that defends and maintains the integrity of the Union.

THE UNION TERRITOR EXCITORS.

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

The people of the United States, acting in conformity with the Constitution, are the supreme tribunal to try and determine all political issues. They are as competent to decide the issues of today, as they have been heretofore to decide the issues of other days. They can reconsider hereafter, and reverse, if need be, the judgment they shall pronounce to-day, as they have more than once reconsidered and reversed their judgments in former times. It needs no revolution to correct any error, or prevent any danger under any circumstances.

Not is any new or special cause for revolution likely to occur under a Republican administration. We are engaged in no new transaction, nor are we in a new dispute. Our fathers undertook a great work for themselves, for us, and for our successors—to erect a Federal empire, whose arches shall span the North American continent, and reflect the rays of the sun throughout his whole passage from the one to the other of the great oceans. They erected thirteen of its columns all at once. These are standing now, the admiration of mankind. Their successors added twenty more; even we who are here have shaped and elevated three of that twenty, and all these are as firm and steadfast as the first thirteen; and more will yet be necessary, when we shall have rested from our labors. So meagre as prefer for these columns a composite material; others, the pure, white marble. Our fathers and predecessors differed in the same way, and on the same point. What execrations should we not all unite in pronouncing on any statesman who heretofore, from mere disappointment and disgust at having overruled in his choice of materials for any new column then to be quarried, should have laid violent hands on the imperfect structure, and wrecked, instead of a citadel of a world's best hopes!

THE POLLY OF DISUNION THREATS.

I remain now in the opinion I have uniformly expressed here and elsewhere, that these hasty threats of disunion are so unnatural that they will find no hand to execute them. We are of one race, language, liberty and faith engaged, indeed, in varied industry; but even that industry, so diversified, brings us into more intimate relations with each other than any other people, however homogeneous, and though living under a consolidated Government, ever maintained. We languish through-out, if one joint of our Federal frame is smitten; while it is certain that a part dismembered must perish. You may refine as you please about the structure of the Government, and say that it is a breach, by one of the States or Territories, of the compact, and that the States may separate from allegiance, and that the States may separate when they have, or fancy they have cause for war. But once try to subvert it, and you will find that it is a Government of the whole people—as individuals, as well as a compact of States—that every individual member of the body politic is conscious of his interest and power in it, and knows that he will be helpless, powerless, hopeless, when it shall have gone down. Mankind have a natural right, a natural instinct, and a natural capacity for self-government; and when, as here, they are sufficiently ripened by culture, they will and must have self-government, and no other.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS MECHANISM.

The framers of our Constitution, with a wisdom that surpassed all previous understanding among men, adapted it to these inherent elements of human nature. He strangely, blindly misunderstands the nature of the great system, who thinks that its only bond, or any one article, obliges all the members from allegiance, and that the States may separate when they have, or fancy they have cause for war. But once try to subvert it, and you will find that it is a Government of the whole people—as individuals, as well as a compact of States—that every individual member of the body politic is conscious of his interest and power in it, and knows that he will be helpless, powerless, hopeless, when it shall have gone down. Mankind have a natural right, a natural instinct, and a natural capacity for self-government; and when, as here, they are sufficiently ripened by culture, they will and must have self-government, and no other.

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and spinners of Massachusetts, the steredors of New York, the miners of Pennsylvania, Pike's Peak, and California, the wheat-growers of Indiana, the cotton and sugar planters on the Mississippi, among the voluntary citizens from every other land not less than the native born, the Christian and the Jew, among the Indians on the prairies, the contumacious Mormon in the Desert, the Africans free, the Africans in bondage, the inmates of hospitals and almshouses, and even the criminals in the penitentiaries, rebelling at the story of your wrongs and their own never so eloquently and never so mournfully, and appeal to them to rise. They will ask you, 'Is this all?' Are you more just than Washington, wiser than Hamilton, more humane than Jefferson? What new form of government or of union have you the power to establish, or even the cunning to devise, that will be more just, more safe, more free, more gentle, more beneficent, or more glorious than this? And by these simple interrogations you will be silenced and confounded.

Mr. President, when a perpetually forming this subtle and complex, yet obvious and natural mechanism of our Constitution; and because we do forget it, we are continually wondering how it is that a Confederacy of thirty and more States, covering regions so vast, and regulating interests so various of so many millions of men, constituted and conditioned so diversely, works right on. We are continually looking to see it stop and stand still, or fall suddenly into pieces. But, in truth, it will not stop; it cannot stop; it was made not to stop, but to keep in motion—in motion always, and without force. For my own part, as this wonderful machine, when it had newly come from the hands of its almost divine inventors, was the admiration of my earlier years, although it was then but imperfectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the central figure in the economy of the world's civilization, and the best sympathies of mankind favor its continuance, I expect that it will stand and work right on until men shall fear its failure no more than we now apprehend that the sun will cease to hold its eternal place in the heavens.

Nor do I do not expect to see this purely popular, though majestic, system always working on unattended by the presence and exhibition of human temper and human passions. That would be to expect to enjoy rewards, benefits and blessings, without labor, care and watchfulness, an expectation contrary to divine appointment. These are the discipline of the American citizen, and he must inure himself to it. When, as now, a great policy fastened upon the country through its doubts and fears, confirmed by its habits and strengthened by personal interest and ambitions, is to be relaxed and changed, in order that the nation may have its just and natural and free development, then, indeed, all the winds of controversy are let loose upon us from all points of the political compass, and we see objects and men only through haze, mists, and doubtful and lurid lights.

The earth seems to be heaving under our feet, and the pillars of the noble fabric that protects us to be trembling before our eyes. But the appointed end of all this agitation comes at last, and always seasonably; the tempests of the people subside; the sun shines again once more; and then we find that only our senses have been disturbed, and that they have betrayed us. The earth is firm as of old before, and the wonderful structure, for whose safety we have feared so anxiously, now more firmly fixed than ever, still stands unmoved, enduring and immovable.

LETTER FROM THE MOTHER OF COPPIO

TO GOV. LETCHER.

SPRINGFIELD, IOWA, 2d Mo., 2d, 1860.

GOVERNOR LETCHER—It is under circumstances of a very painful and afflictive nature that I am now induced to address you, although personally a stranger. Some time last summer two of my sons, Edwin and Barclay, left home without informing me of their destination or designs. On hearing of the unlawful outbreak at Harper's Ferry, we learned, with great surprise and horror, that Edwin was engaged there, in an action so unlike his previous course of conduct. At first, our sympathies were enlisted on your side, feeling that your rights had been invaded. Had you let common law and justice take its course, and only punished the intruders according to their deserts, the sympathies of the world might not have been with you. But since you have suffered yourselves to be misled with rage and insane revenge, which you are still endeavoring to carry to the utmost, the tide has turned against you, so that John Brown's highest aims may yet be attained.

Was there ever such a farce acted in a professedly Christian nation? 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die,' seems to have been the ruling principle of that pretended court of justice. Fifteen northern men have been murdered, in one way or another, in revenge for the five killed by them in self-defence. (If they killed more than five, you have not told us of it.) Poor old Brown, he was down after he had surrendered, and then knacker! Two were killed after they had surrendered; two more were shot while bearing a flag of truce in the open street; another was literally riddled with balls, on the bridge. One of the principal actors in this bloody deed had the audacity to boast of it in open court. All this is contrary to the laws of war, as well as most humane. Five more, after being insulted by a farcical representation of the forms of law, were hanged, as had undoubtedly been determined. Two more you are probably reserving for the same fate; although one, whom you call Hazlett, no one has been found to recognize; yet, judging from analogy, it is presumed he will have to die. There were people of good feeling and benevolence in Charleston and vicinity, who, after being acquainted with Edwin, finding him to be a pleasant and benevolent man, joined their efforts with those of his numerous friends in other parts of the United States, to try to have his sentence mitigated; and although really clear, in the eyes of the public, of all those shameful charges cast upon him, yet what was the result? Why, he must be strangled to death; and for what? To gratify a revengeful feeling, so prevalent in Southern brains, when a spark of ignited combustion raffles them. This peculiar quality in the Southern character, having 'I will' for its motto, with so little specific gravity in the shape of true Christian dignity, is what every one's good sound sense ridicules, and God abhors. You have hanged five of your fellow-creatures, up between the heavens and the earth, for endeavoring to put into practical form the great principles of the brotherhood of man, promulgated by Christ, endorsed by the fathers of the Republic, and the basis of the Christian Church: thereby shaming humanity and mocking God, who has said, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Love thy enemies.' Their blood will be a testimony against you. But the most disgraceful part, the most contemptible for the '