



THE LIBERATOR.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1524.

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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.

Our thirty-three States are free-labor States. There they are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, California and Oregon. . . . do not array them in contrast with the free States. Let us be an assailing of States. . . . All of the States are parcels of my own country—the best of them not so wise and great as I am sure it will hereafter be; the State least developed and perfected among them all, is wiser and better than any foreign State I know. Is it, then, in any, and in which of the States I have named, that negro equality offends the white man's pride? Throughout the wide world, where is the State where class and caste are so utterly extinguished as they are in each and every one of them? Let the European immigrant, who avoids the African as if his skin exhaled contagion, answer. You find him always in the State where labor is ever free. Did Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, when they implored you to relinquish your system and accept the one we have adopted, propose to sink you down to the level of the African, or was it their desire to exalt all white men to a common political elevation?

But we do not seek to force, or even to intrude, our system on you. We are excluded justly, wisely, and contentedly, from all political power and responsibility in your free States. You are as free as we are on the subject of slavery within your own borders, as we are on the same subject within our borders. It is well and wisely so arranged. Use your authority to maintain what system you please. We are not distrustful of the result. We have wisely, as we think, exercised ours to protect and perfect the manhood of the members of the State. The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns, within the Union is divided between us by unmistakable boundaries. You have your own distinct parts; we have ours, equally distinct. Each of us has a right to demand that the whole may be preserved. If ours should be assailed, within or without, by any enemy, or for any cause, and we shall have need, we shall expect you to defend it. If yours shall be so assailed, in the emergency, no matter what the cause or the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your sovereignty as the equivalent of our own. We cannot, indeed, accept your system of capital or its ethics. That would be to surrender and subvert our own, which we esteem to be better. Indeed, if we could, what need for any division into States at all? Let us be equally at liberty to reject our system and its ethics, and to maintain the superiority of your own by all the means of persuasion and argument. We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them since we have to decide, as a nation, which of the two we ought to engrave on the new and future States growing up in the great public domain. Discussion, then, being unavoidable, what could be more wise than to conduct it with mutual toleration and in a fraternal spirit?

You complain that Republicans discourse too boldly and directly, when they express with confidence their belief that the system of labor will, in the end, be universally accepted by the capital States, acting for themselves, and in conformity with their own constitutions, while they sanction too unreservedly books designed to advocate emancipation. But, surely, you can hardly expect the Federal Government, or the political parties of the nation, to maintain a consistency of the press or of opinion. The theory of our system is, that error of opinion may in all cases safely be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. Will it be claimed that more of moderation and tenderness in debate are exhibited on your side of the great argument than on our own? We all learned our polemics, as well as our principles, from a common master. We are sure that we do not, on our side, exceed his lessons and the example. Thomas Jefferson addressed Dr. Price, an Englishman, concerning his treatise on emancipation in America, in this fashion:

Southward of the Chesapeake, your book will find few readers concurring with it in sentiment, on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find here a minority ready to adopt it in practice; a minority which for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number who have not the courage to divest their families of a property which, however, keeps their consciences unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here another who is a robber or a murderer; but in no greater number. . . . This [Virginia] is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression—a conflict where the sacred side is gaining daily new recruits from the influx into office of young men, grown and growing up. Be not, then, discouraged. What you have written will do a great deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself about our welfare, no man is more able to help the laboring side.

You see, sir, that when we go for or against slavery anywhere, we must follow southern guides. You may change your plights with the winds or the currents; but we, whose nativity, reckoned under the North Star, has rendered us somewhat superstitious, must be accused for constancy in following the guidance of those who framed the national ship, and gave us the chart for its noble voyage.

SOMETHING FURTHER ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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 dissident or disloyal 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 evidences 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 excitements, 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 moral truth, especially applicable to a Republic, 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 Daniel Webster, and the party and virtue had found assured refuge under the shelter of the North Star, 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 oppression, and source of all liberty, that power, which is the root and basis of all freedom, to dispose of and enslave 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.'

NO TRUCE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

DEAR GARRISON:—During the last few weeks, I have lectured many times in Ohio. The presence and...

only way to save the man, is to destroy the slaveholder. The only way to destroy the slave-breeder...

Last week a Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, of two counties, was held in this vicinity to form a society auxiliary to the Ohio Christian Anti-Slavery Society.

Our meetings, some of them, have been attended by Democratic mobs, that have been on hand to save the Union, being their only arguments—no other...

REPLY TO EMMETT DENSMORE. In answer to your inquiry, why I do not unite at once with the Radical Abolitionists...

What an insult to reason and an outrage upon humanity, to turn a man into a chattel, and then talk to him of his duties as a man!

NO RIGHTS—NO DUTIES! Allow no rights to slaveholders, nor to slaveholding States; enjoin no duties upon slaves!

I feel no desire to say one word to vindicate my title as a sincere, hearty and consistent believer in, and advocate of, the absolute sanctity of human life...

Worcester, March 4, 1860. LIBEL SUITS COMMENCED. Messrs. Sedgwick, Andrews and Kennedy, of Syracuse...

WATTS SHERMAN, Esq.—Sir: My father-in-law, Mr. Gerrit Smith, has at length so far waked up from the clasp of his intellect...

NEW YORK, Feb. 18, 1860. C. D. MILLER, Esq., Peterboro:—Sir: I have received your letter of the 13th inst., complaining on behalf of your father-in-law...

To a similar letter, Mr. S. L. M. Barlow replies. I have looked over carefully the 'Manifesto of the Democratic Vigilant Association' to which you refer...

Mr. Phelps and Mr. Sherman have each pressed this letter, and I am requested by those gentlemen to say that they concur in the same...

As to Harper's Ferry, Mr. Smith is not aware that he had seen or heard the name of that village, or thought of itself or its name...

The Supreme Court of Virginia has recently had a case on trial, in which a Northern vessel was seized at Norfolk, and confined at that port...

DECEASE OF A. H. ERNST. We were deeply saddened, a few weeks since, by the painful intelligence that our highly esteemed friend and brother, Andrew H. Ernst, of Cincinnati...

FUNERAL OBSEQUES TO ANDREW H. ERNST. At the hall of the Horticultural Society, at the church and at Spring Grove, solemn rites were observed yesterday...

VICTOR HUGO'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF HAITI. The New York Post has advised from Haiti by Feb. 15th. The John Brown excitement still rages throughout the island...

THE GUILT OF SLAVERY, AND THE CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING. DEMONSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

JOHN BROWN IN HAITI.—The following letter from Cape Haytien, giving an account of a tribute to the memory of John Brown, has been received in this city:

ANOTHER EDITOR 'SURPRISED.' Verily, the day of marvelous things has not yet gone by. It gives us much pleasure to record the fact, that the Cape Cod people know how to appreciate good things...

DR. DOY'S NARRATIVE. Dr. Doy, one of the earliest settlers in Lawrence, Kansas, and among the bravest defenders of that Territory...

THE 10th OF MARCH, 1860. THE MARTYRDOM OF STEVENS AND HAZLETT. Let the day and the event be duly observed. The friends of freedom in Boston and vicinity will hold a public meeting in the evening...

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. DONATIONS. David N. Brown, Kingsboro, N. Y., \$7 00 Mrs. Elizabeth S. Preston, New Ipswich, N. H., 5 00 Miss Beal, East Boston, 2 00

CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW YORK. Anti-Slavery Conventions, to be addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY, AARON M. POWELL, and SUSAN B. THORNY...

DR. CHEEVER'S GREAT WORK. The Guilt of Slavery, AND THE CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING, DEMONSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's LIFE OF ISAAC T. HOPPER, THE DISTINGUISHED QUAKER PHILANTHROPIST.

JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN CARPETING, 285 WASHINGTON STREET, (NEAR WINTER STREET).

'All the Year Round.' JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN CARPETING, 285 WASHINGTON STREET, (NEAR WINTER STREET).

IT IS NOT A DYE. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION. Wanted not to contain deleterious substances.

'IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative?' We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit from it...

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like color and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL COLOR...

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color...

WE have reason to be assured that Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.

'Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.' His was emphatically 'A TRUE LIFE' A NEW EDITION.

'We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER are correct.' Boston Olive Branch. 'Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.' Norfolk Argus.

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MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE.

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

LETTER TO HON. HENRY WILSON.

HON. HENRY WILSON: DEAR SIR—I have just read, in the Liberator of Jan. 18th, your letter, dated Natick, Mass., Dec. 27th, 1859, to Henry C. Wright. Of the differences between yourself and Mr. Wright, I have nothing to say. Of Mr. Wright's position, at that time, relative to the means to be employed for the overthrow of slavery, I must say that it struck me that Mr. Wright seems not always consistent; for I recollect, on a certain occasion, his taking Mr. Stephen S. Foster to do, on the forum, before a large assembly, for Mr. S.'s departure, as he alleged, from their hitherto professed principles of non-resistance. But you will not deem it impertinent for so humble a citizen of the Republic, though not one of your immediate constituents, respectfully to suggest a few thoughts on what I think the neutralizing effect of the course pursued by most of the leading Republicans of the North, including Senator Wilson.

I, you say, and insist upon it, that you are not going to disturb slavery where it now exists, only to force it from new ground. Now, the writer has practised farming for a long succession of years, has had some experience with the pest called Canada thistle, and I never thought of fencing in a patch to kill them. I think in that way they would root and sprout, spread and flourish all the better; they would shoot out under the fence, if they did not mount it; the seed would float on wind and water every way. Had I a farm, say of one hundred acres, and sixty of it covered with this noxious plant, about the proportion of slave and free soil in the United States, instead of fencing it in, on discovering the dry rot upon it, I should apply the torch, and burn it clean, plow the ground, cultivate thoroughly, and skillfully, as much of the deteriorated land needs such culture, and thus eradicate the worthless pest.

There was a time when to talk and act for the application of the Wilmot Proviso meant something. That time has past. The action of the Slave Power itself, through the Federal Government, the Executive, and the Supreme Court of the United States, has cleared the Republican platform of that plank, and the attempt to restore it should never be made. That space should be filled with one more appropriate and applicable to the times, i. e., advanced to the removal of the cause of our national troubles, sectional feuds, and individual political strife. Besides, in the progress of human events, revolutions never go backwards. The action of the Administration and Court has made slavery national. Ought not freedom to be national? Which shall triumph? These neighbors are having a dreadful falling out—one or the other must quit.

II. Why is it that all the Southern Republicans are emancipationists, while the Northern wing stand aloof from that point? Herein, it seems to me, is a division in the house, and, consequently, a loss of strength. C. M. Clay, of Kentucky, avows himself an emancipationist, and claims to be a Republican. Wm. S. Bailey, editor of the Free South, Newport, which was mobbed October 28th, has sent out his appeal to Kentuckians for help to re-establish it, is bold and frank in the avowal of emancipation, and the new paper will be devoted to the organization of a new party in Kentucky on that basis. Fee, and his forty companions and victims of the slaveholders' bloody vengeance; Dr. Worth, imprisoned for his abolition principles in the Greenborough, N. C., jail, Helper, with his 'Impending Crisis,' which has been so magnificently advertised by Congress—all say, slavery must speedily die, peaceably or forcibly—in the former, he hopes, through quiet political action, in the use of argument, the press, and ballot. All anti-slavery men South, high or low, are abolitionists. Indeed, it would be strange were it otherwise. What! anti-slavery men in a free State contending for the continuance of the system among them! It is preposterous! And last, though not least, Frank Blair, of Missouri, who, with these others, was reared in the midst of slavery, goes farther than the farthest, and whom among them all I esteem of the highest authority, because, in one particular, he speaks my own views. True, Mr. Helper has said that no part of the United States is too warm for white laborers, but, on the contrary, the coldest part of them is too cold for negroes, intimating thereby that the black race, left free to choose, would work further South. Mr. Blair has said that, and more. Perhaps Mr. Helper laid the foundation of his more capacious building. The substance is, that all the North, and even Central America, and Cuba, when acquired, ought, of right, to be consecrated to freedom and free labor; that there is no good reason, because the blacks can labor better South or in warmer climates, that they should be enslaved. Hence they must be dismantled and made free men, and thus effectually suppress the slave trade in the western hemisphere. Mr. B. suggests an American colonial system similar to that of Great Britain.

Now, Sir, I think it difficult to bring the Southern Republicans to join us; so, if we desire unity, (and

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

III. I very much admire the manner and spirit in which you met and repelled, on the floor of the Senate, some insinuations from Southern Senators that blood might be let there, thus intensifying the 'irrepressible conflict.'

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

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

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

You have seen, aside from the chief cotton marts, cotton in all its varied conditions, especially in bales around the press-house, on wagons going to the village market, carried to the city by mule teams, or loaded from the depot platforms into the railroad trains; and when there loaded, you have witnessed the great care taken to prevent sparks from the engine igniting the cotton in the bales; for when the inspector cuts carelessly into the bale, he leaves quite a mass of cotton exposed on the side of the bale. You have seen how the managers of trains, to prevent accidents of this kind, place three or four box cars next the engine, carrying the platform cars away rearward; still, with all this precaution, you have seen bales on fire from the engine sparks, exposing the whole load, unless immediately thrown off.

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

You have inquired into, or looked on and observed, the conditions of the slave, and his relations. You have found that it is quite customary to hire slaves of their reputed owners to labor at all kinds of work, and that 'man-servants' command from \$150 to \$200 a year, including board, which consists chiefly of raw meal and bacon, without butter or vegetables, cooked by themselves—'maid-servants,' from \$100 to \$120. In some parts, however, you have learned that they feed their human cattle a good deal on sweet potatoes.

You have seen them with friction matches with which to light their pipes like white folks, kindle fires about house, &c. &c., which mass and missis can scarcely do, and you have wondered why these men and women were so stupid and helpless, or that the reason why they did not demand these sums of their own earnings, to jingle in their own pockets, was because the masters and mistresses were possessed of omnipotent power over them, and hold their cotton magazine as a kind of hostage, or a kind of battery to shield them from deadly assault, as in the case of Gen. Jackson in the defence of New Orleans, only in a different form, till their just rights were complied with; or, if the negroes could not employ this immense advantage, perhaps the John Browns are not all dead, and that a few reckless desperadoes, scattered over these States, and armed with these otherwise harmless missiles, on a known signal, will attempt the explosion.

You have seen, too, that the slave-breeding States depend on the cotton-growing ones for a market for their stock-in-trade. But, when the cotton crop becomes precarious from slave labor, the slave-breeder's occupation's gone, and emancipation follows of course.

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

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

I suppose it is not denied that the Russians were justified in the destruction of their own property in self-defence—to repel an invading foe; nor the Americans under Jackson in appropriating cotton bales for a similar purpose. Why, then, have not slaves a moral and just right to destroy property of their own production, in a strike for freedom, whose every right has been invaded and usurped?

Nor need incendiaries go from the North. The South is rearing a crop of its own, and already have they commenced their work. At Society Hill, Macon Co., Ala., a man named L. Stearns was caught tampering with a Mr. Richardson's negroes. He was driven off, and a party of citizens seized and flogged him. Two or three nights afterwards, Mr. Richardson had a lot of cotton set on fire.

About the same time, some \$8000 or \$10,000 worth, was consumed in or near North Carolina. Recently, a ship load was burned at a wharf in New York, supposed to have taken fire from friction matches being placed in the bales on packing, which ignited. Who packs cotton? Nobody but blacks.

This opened the eyes of King Pharaoh and his cabinet a little, and they promised, but broke their promise, and would not let the people go, until the last and crowning one of the ten plagues was sent upon the Egyptians for their persistence in the enslavement of the Hebrews; and when they found 'one dead in every house,' they let them go, and even hurried them off.

How many plagues it will take to soften the heart of the American Pharaoh, our Cotton King, and his counsellors, remains to be seen.

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

Slavery renders slaveholders brutal and bloody, and stimulates to violence and lust. It degrades the non-slaveholding whites to nearly the level of the blacks—all slave soil to a habitation of cruelty and crime—pollutes everything it touches—mitigates the soil with barrenness on which it treads. It converts all free soil in the Union into a vast slave-hunting ground, and appoints every freeman a slave-hunter.

In this Southern Bastille, there is no safety for any Northern citizen, unless he fall down and worship the best and his rider. Fathers and mothers, all over the Free States, in almost every neighborhood, have sent forth, under the inspiration of the 'self-evident truths' of inalienable rights, their sons and daughters to the South, as teachers, artisans, &c. Heretofore they have had to divest themselves of their independence and manhood, and shout for slavery, or quit. Now it has come to pass that no amount of servility and dirt-eating can ensure their safety there a moment. You are a Northerner. Be gone! or bonds, prisons, stripes, tar and feathers, one or all, await you. Nor are Southern citizens any better off, unless they, too, prostrate themselves, and worship the black dragon.

Still, 'slavery must be let alone where it now exists. The North have nothing to do with it.' Better 'cleanse it, so as by fire!' In conclusion, I would call your attention, and the attention of all leading Republicans, to a pledge or a plank in their platform adopted at Philadelphia, June, 1856. It is contained in the fourth resolution. After enumerating some of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, it proceeds to specify the atrocities of the Slave Administration in Kansas, and closes thus:—

'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law. The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged. Murders, robberies and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; and of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to sure and condign punishment hereafter.'

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

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

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

Most respectfully, yours, C. ROBINSON.

[In the large and constantly accumulating mass of communications on our file, we find the following, which has been overlooked till now. Though received several weeks ago, it is just as timely and effective as when sent.]—Ed. Lib.

A. S. CONVENTION IN ADRIAN.

MR. GARRISON: The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Convention held at Adrian, (Michigan,) on Saturday and Sunday, the 5th and 6th of November, desired me, on his behalf, to forward to the Liberator for publication the accompanying series of Resolutions, which were adopted by that Convention.

In doing so, it seems proper that I should say a word about the character of that Convention, which was largely attended throughout its several sessions, and of the soul-living words of Parker Pillsbury and Giles B. Stebbins on that occasion. To you, who know the sterling merits of those speakers, little need be said.

Friend Stebbins was clear, logical, and at times truly eloquent, carrying the sympathies of the audience with him as he portrayed the woes and wrongs of slavery; while Parker Pillsbury spoke with a power and pathos deep and strong as were the mighty truths he uttered, portraying the terrible evils growing out of the slave system, and the guilt of all connected with it, and the righteous judgments of Heaven which were being inflicted on this nation in consequence of its participation therein. Most of his hearers seemed to feel that he was an inspired messenger, sent to warn the nation of its approaching ruin; an apostle to themselves of the sternest truth; and the faithful and unswerving advocate of the highest and best interests of humanity.

The speakers then adverted to the tragedy at Harper's Ferry, and the heroism of John Brown and his noble band of followers, as men whose deeds and words will stand embalmed in the world's memory along with those who have been its greatest benefactors. But I will not detain you with any further description of the Convention; the resolutions will give you a better idea of the spirit of its sessions than any words of mine. Suffice it to say, that the Convention was all, and more than its friends had anticipated. Yours, truly, JACOB WALTON. Adrian, Nov. 10, 1859.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That in American slavery we have the sum total of all crimes and cruelties; a fearful development of the capacity of human nature to perpetrate and endure the perdition in Paradise Lost—wrong so flagrant, so defiant, that all ordinary rapes, robberies, rapiers, pirates and murders, such as are generally practised and punished among men, become in comparison almost virtues and graces fit for the kingdom of heaven.

Resolved, That a slaveholder, as such, has no rights which any human being is bound to respect—no right to life, to liberty, or the pursuit of happiness—but from the moment he is in heart and purpose a slaveholder, he becomes an outlaw in the moral universe, a fit subject for the dread detestation and

execration of man, and the sure retributions of the just judgments of God.

Resolved, That the American Constitution, in requiring the rendition of fugitive slaves, and the suppression of all attempts at insurrection on the part of the slaves, and in making it treason, punishable with death, to aid them in such attempts to obtain their freedom, is most emphatically 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' of such a character as to make its destruction one of our first services to humanity, and highest acts of worship and homage to God.

Resolved, That the governments of slaveholding States are but organized bodies of thieves and robbers; and the recent attempt at Harper's Ferry to deliver some of their victims was an act of humanity and heroism of so divine a character as that the memory of the brave men who attempted it will be held in admiration by American posterity, when the name and fame of Lafayette and Kosciuszko shall have long been forgotten.

Resolved, That the African Slave Trade is already re-enacted, in fact, if not in form; and the failure of the government even to fulfil its treaty stipulations to prevent it, or to provide any rigorous measures for its arrest, or to punish, as its own law provides, the most desperate and daring pirates who carry it on, affords but another evidence that we live under a despotism the most fearful that now curses the earth, and that cannot too soon be hurled to the deepest and most irrecoverable destruction.

Whereas, by the conditions of the American Constitution, the entire national power is pledged to suppress any insurrection among the slaves; therefore, Resolved, That should the slaves, in the true spirit of the Revolution of 1776, ever unsheathe the sword of rebellion, and attempt by violence to obtain their freedom, our strongest sympathies and our hands too (so far as we believe they can be righteously employed) shall always be on the side of the oppressed and against the oppressor, in defiance of all constitutions, statutes, demands or decisions to the contrary.

Resolved, That all Underground Railroads to Canada are works and ways of darkness, incompatible with our dignity as citizens, and our honor and humanity as men; and only to be endured until the Northern States enact laws, or humanize public sentiment so as to sanctify their soil against kidnapping and slave-hunting; and so make it as free to the flying fugitives from Southern despots as it now is to the exiled Hungarians and Italians, who are finding here an asylum, and a home.

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

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

ELISHA JONES, President. RICHARD GLASSIER, Secretary.

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston, took the floor for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to a certain subject brought before his notice on the previous day. A communication had been received from a certain Josiah Perham, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, dilating in extenso upon the beauties of the Union, and of the importance of keeping up a fraternal intercourse between the States;—and that communication likewise contained a suggestion that the Executive of the Commonwealth be authorized to invite the Legislatures of Virginia and of other States to accept of the hospitality of our State. He had no objection to the reference, but in order to show the rapidly great measures are conceived and executed in this fast age of ours—the Legislature of Massachusetts having, in fact, taken no action whatever in the premises— he desired that the Clerk would read, for information, certain papers which he would hand to the Chair.

The Clerk of the House then read from the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, of Feb. 13, 1860, the following, which was reported as having been received from the Executive, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

'Boston, Mass., Feb. 1, 1860. Hon. John Letcher, Governor of Virginia: DEAR SIR,—I am authorized by the people of this city and vicinity, to extend an invitation to the Governor, State Officers, and members of the Legislature of Virginia, to visit Boston during the present session of the Legislature of this State.

I hope, for many reasons, this invitation will be seriously entertained and favorably acted upon by those to whom it is extended. Virginia and Massachusetts are bound together by many pleasant and memorable historic recollections. They were settled nearly at the same time, from the same country; together they struggled with hardships and privations; each reorganized against the oppressive acts of the mother country; and when forced to cease to be a virtue, both were found ready to strike united blows in defence of common rights. It was our Adams that called your Washington to the post of highest honor. It was your Washington, and other Virginians, that came to our rescue when Boston was in possession of a British army. For many years, during the closing periods of their lives, the Philosopher of Monticello and the Sage of Quincy united, as it were, in one stream, the hallowed memories of their eventful lives; and both together, on the same day, on the great Sabbath of America, passed gently through the gates of death to a glorious immortality.

States thus bound up together in the same volume of memory and history cannot be, must not be, sundered. This whole community will give to our friends from Virginia a hearty and cordial welcome, and thus, I hope, the bond of our common friendship may be made strong, and our mutual confidence and regard greatly increased. I hope to be able to send you from this city, as well as nearly the whole of the journey from Richmond to Boston.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, JOSIAH PERHAM.

The Clerk then read an editorial from the Petersburg (Va.) Express, of Feb. 11, from which we give the following:

'Under ordinary circumstances, an invitation like this extended by the representatives of one sovereign State to the representatives of another, would undoubtedly possess a high moral significance, and could not be lightly declined. It would indicate such a spirit of brotherly feeling and old-fashioned devotion to a common country as could not fail to call forth an affectionate response, even if convenience made its declination compulsory. But in the present state of affairs between North and South, such a proffer of hospitality looks, to say the least of it, just a little suspicious. We do not call in question the motives of the Massachusetts legislature in the step they have taken; they may have been actuated by a sincere desire to cultivate kindly personal relations with the members of the Virginia Assembly, yet we must say

'Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.' By which quotation, let it be understood, that we do not apprehend that they would kidnap the Lieu-

tenant Governor, or put strychnine in the furniture of the breakers of the intended banquet. We simply mean to imply, that in the present attitude of hostility, which Massachusetts occupies towards the Constitution, and the rights of Virginia under that instrument, we should distrust the value of such gifts of hollow love and simulated patriotism as she is inclined to hold out to us.

Massachusetts, as far as in her lies, has virtually dissolved the Union. She and her sister Black Republican States of the North make a very grave complaint that the South threaten to secede in the event of the election of a sectional President. In case, say these purists, in holy horror, such action would be highly unconstitutional. And yet they are against the South for threatening to do so. The infamous pages, acts which set the Constitution at defiance. The law-judges of Massachusetts have had no war upon Virginia, but she has had a very different way, as ever old John Brown did two Commonwealths together to link the people of the hood, and would gladly welcome Virginia legislation to their soil in token of this fraternal alliance. Let them set to work and repeal, one after another, all their obnoxious and hostile State enactments. This is a pledge of sincerity that would be hailed by the Legislature with the liveliest satisfaction. As it is, let that proper self-respect which every loyal Virginian cherishes in his 'heart's dear ears.' But let the inimitable and fanatical legislation of Massachusetts be blotted from the record, and let this invitation be renewed, and our word for it, the General Assembly of Virginia would journey forth cheerfully and as readily to Boston, as did those gallant sons of the Old Dominion who rallied to the standard of the Revolution, set up at Cambridge, and saw the funeral pyre bear that aged elm which still remains the neighboring University. Here, beneath that patriarchal tree, the vows of brotherly attachment and of fealty to the common cause of the Union, might be interchanged in the joyous hope of a more perfect nationality in the fuller recognition of the rights of each separate and sovereign State. That this happy fraternalism cannot now take place, is too evident to everybody, and that it would be, at best, a miserable mockery of loving communion which was celebrated by festive rejoicings between men alienated by mutual wrongs on the one side, and a just sense of indignation on the other.'

Mr. Putnam, of Danvers, promptly took the floor, and addressed a few remarks, complimentary of reading such editorials as those from the desk in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Mr. Kimball moved that the papers be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. Haskell, of Ipswich, opposed that reference, indirectly applying to Mr. Perham terms of a most uncomplimentary character.

Mr. Putnam moved to lay the papers on the table.

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

Mr. Hale rose to a point of order, and stated his point of order to be, that the papers were not legitimately before the House, and could not be referred or laid on the table. The Chair ruled the point of order well taken. Mr. Shaw said he rose to a question of privilege. He desired to refute the allegations of the member from Ipswich in regard to the character of Mr. Perham; and having done so, he resumed his seat, and there the subject subsided.

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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 BENEFIT OF HIS FAMILY, and any re-printing of it will be prosecuted as an infringement of copyright. Of this autobiography it is sufficient to say nothing of the kind, since the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN, has been published, which is at once so characteristic and so interesting.

A large per centage on every copy sold is secured by contract to the family of Capt. John Brown, and this work is published under their sanction and approval, as may be seen by the following letters:— NORTH ELBA, (N. Y.) JANUARY, 1860. We, the undersigned, members of the family, and relatives of the late Capt. John Brown, desire to express our approval and endorsement of the Biography of our honored and revered relative, written by James Redpath, and recently published by Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston, Mass. We think the best that can be produced on the subject at the present time, and in all matters of fact it is essentially correct, while it is imbued with an enthusiastic and eloquence which we thoroughly appreciate and admire.

The Publishers have issued the work in a style which recommends itself to all lovers of a handsome and book, in regard to engraving, paper, printing, and binding; and the friends of John Brown, who wish to procure and preserve a memory of his life and deeds will do well to provide themselves with a copy of this publication. MARY A. BROWN, ANNIE BROWN, SALMON BROWN, MARTHA BROWN, ISABELL BROWN, ABBIE C. BROWN, HENRY THOMPSON, SARAH BROWN. THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS, 114 AND 116, WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. Feb. 24.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS—SUFFOLK, ss.

To the next of kin, and all other persons interested in the person of ELLEN STARR, of Boston, in said county, a minor. WHEREAS, application has been made to the said Superior Court, in and for the county of Suffolk, by said minor, to adopt said minor; you are hereby cited to appear at a Probate Court, to be held at said Boston, on Monday, the nineteenth day of March next, at 10 o'clock, before noon, to show cause, if any you have, against granting the said application; and you are hereby notified that, if you fail to appear at the said Probate Court, the said minor will be adopted, and you will be bound by the said adoption, and you will be liable for the debts of said minor, and you will be bound by the said adoption, and you will be liable for the debts of said minor. Given under my hand, this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty. J. ISAAC AINS, Judge of Probate and Insolvency.

PHRENOLOGY.

By urgent request, Prof. N. WHEELER, well known as a scientific and truthful Phrenologist, has opened rooms at 99 Court street, corner of Hanover Street, where he will make Phrenological Examinations, give written delineations of the character and faculties of the mind, and instruct and furnish charts; heal the sick, impart instructions relative to health and habits, and the management of children.

March 4.