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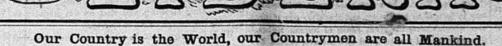
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Advertisements making less than one square inarted three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soesties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:-FRANCIS JACKSON, ED-MIND QUINCK SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL

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J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a povenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, acy espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

scure in aiding other States in binding on men an

arighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, IN

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

monr. 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 look-

ing 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.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1519.

SELECTIONS.

VOL. XXX. NO. 5.

WHO ARE THE POLITICAL DISUNIONISTS. AND ON WHAT GROUNDS.

Extracts from a Speech on 'THE DISUNION FOLLY,' delivered by Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 25, 1860 :-Now, Mr. President, I intend to place before the

Senate, and, as far as I can, before the patriotic, liberty-loving and Union-loving men of the Free States, the predictions of disunion, the arguments for disunion, and the menaces of disunion, made by some of the presses and some of the men in the interests of slavery,—presses that are the exponents of, and men who are the acknowledged leaders of, the sectionalized, slavery-extending Democracy. I want the people of Massachusetts, and of the country, to see that the political secessionists and distry, to see the trusted exponents and the accepted leaders of the national Democracy. I want the alarmed conservatives of the North, who hasten into Union-saving meetings, to see and to realize that the men who are now blurting their disunion sentiments into the unwilling ear of a loyal people, arethe leaders of that party which they, by their shrinking timidity, are upholding in power. I want the deluded masses of the Northern Democmey to see the hypocrisy, the arrant cowardice, of me, who are fatiguing the weary ar of the country with their worn-out professions of love and devotion to the Union, while they dare at rebuke the disloyal avowals and menaces of the leaders they follow with craven soul and fettered

When, Mr. President, the Republican party, summoned into being and into action in 1856, by the aggressions of slavery, by the crimes against the people of Kansas, appealed in tones as earnest as ever issued from human lips to the American people, to their sense of justice, their love of libertheir emotions of humanity, and their senti-nts of patriotism, to all that is highest, noblest, and holiest in human nature, to rescue the Government, arrest slavery extension, redress the wrongs of the people, and give repose to the country, by the Government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, Democratic presses and Demo-cratic leaders, whose vital and animating-principle is the propagation and expansion of human slavery on the North American continent, raised the startling war-cry of disunion. Timid and selfish con-servatism which saw, unmoved, liberty cloven down in a distant Territory, and heard the imploring apming cabins illumed the midnight skies, shrank appalled when it heard this cry of disunion, opened long purse, and continued the destinies in the keeping of men who avowed their intention to ruin, if they could not rule it.

Sir, when that uncertain contest was going on when the election of Fremont seemed to the leaders of the Democracy not only possible, but probable the Senator from Louisiana, (Mr. Slidell.) one of the most skilful leaders of the slave Democracy the acknowledged friend and champion of Mr. Bu-chanan—declared to the country, that 'if Fremont should be elected, the Union would be dissolved.' The bold, dashing and out-spoken Senator from Georgia (Mr. Toombs) declared, with emphasis, that if Fremont was elected, the Union would be dissolved, and ought to be dissolved.' The Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason) then, as now, at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who avowed on the floor of the Senate that . the South has the right to the natural expansion of slavery as an element of political power,' declared in a public letter, that unless the aggression upon the rights of the South—as he was pleased to designate the rehe was for the separation of these States.' Mr. Butler of South Carolina, then a leading member of the body, which placed him at the head of the important Committee on the

1,)

When Fremont is elected, we must rely upon what we have—a good State government. Every Governor of the South should call the Legislature of his State together, and have measures of the South cided upon. If they did not, and submitted to the degradation, they would deserve the fate of slaves. I should advise my Legislature to go out at the tap of

Sir, I might quote other declarations of Senators, in which these ideas are expressed; but I must pass on. In the House, as the records will bear evlence, these sentiments were profusely uttered by the men who upheld the course of oppression in Kansas, and dictated the policy of the Democratic party. Mr. Keitt, in a fiery and vehement speech to the people of Lynchburg, Va., exclaimed, in tiew of the apprehended election of Fremont—

'I tell you now, that if Fremont is elected, adthe Union is treason to liberty. (Loud theers.) I tell you now, that the Southern man who will submit to his election is a traitor and a coward. athusiastic cheers.)'

This speech, so contemptuous, so defiant towards the people of the North, so emphatic in its avowals of disunion, was promptly endorsed as 'sound docrine by John B. Floyd, now Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War-a gentleman of whom the Boston Post, the leading Administration organ in New England, in 1850, said, 'Henceforth he must be treated as a disunionist, and the most dangerous of them all.' In the autumn of 1856, Mr. Brooks of South Carolina received from the people of his district an ovation. Senator Butler and the Sena-ter from Georgia (Mr. Toombs) attended, and other Southern Democratic leaders sent applauding letters. To the assembled people of his district, Mr.

We have the issue upon us now; and how are we meet it? I tell you, fellow-citizens, from the bot-n of my heart, that the only mode which I think available for meeting it, is just to tear the Constitution a Southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker; I telieve it, on my responsibility to you as your honored Representative, that the only hope of the South is in that hope effective is to cut asunder the bonds the us together, and take our separate position in the family of nations. These are my opinions. They have always been my opinions. I ha unionist from the time I could think. I have been a dis

Now, fellow-citizens, I have told you very frankly and undisguisedly, that I believe the only hope of the South is in dissolving the bonds which connect us with the G. with the Government,—in separating the living body from the dead carcass. If I was the commander of an army. I never would post a sentinel who would not swear that slavery is right.

'I speak as a man—as a private gentleman—as a slaveholder; and I tell you that our hope is alone in the South; and the only mode of making that hope trailable, is for the South, by some act, to effect of dissolution of the American Union. And I say this

Representatives or Senators in Congress, who is not pledged to the lips in favor of disunion. Indeed, we well remember that one of the most prominent lead-ers of the co-operation party, when taunted with submission, rebuked the thought by saying, "that in opposing secession, he only took a step backward to strike a blow more deadly against the Union."

the Southern people are without spirit, and without threats are made to intimidate the people. purpose to defend the rights they know, and dare not Sir, the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. ) of Fremont, you will prove what Seward and Burlin-game said, to be true,—that the South cannot be condition of the poor men in the South, compared

to the Presidency held correspondence with Southern Governors, to concert measures preparatory to disanion; that he and his disanion compeers orin the event of Fremont's success. The Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Delta, a the voice and votes of Abolition enemies." journal high in the confidence of the Pierce administration, wrote,-

'It is already arranged, in the event of Fremont's election, or a failure to elect by the people, to call the Legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, to concert measures to withdraw from the Union before Fremont can get possession of the Army and Navy, and the purse-strings of Government. Governor Wise is actively at work already in the matter. The South can rely on the President in the emergency contemplated. The question now is, whether the people of the South will sustain their leaders.'

election in 1856, that-

'The South would have dissolved the Union, if remont had been elected President of the United States; that Gov. Wise and the Virginia leaders were ready to take the field-march on Washington, depose the Federal officers, take the Treasury, archives, buildings, grounds, &c.—declare the Confedera-tion de facto overthrown. He said the thing would have been easy; there were thirty thousand men ready; twenty thousand cavalry; sets of accountements; that the public mind was sufficiently excited to overcome all domestic resistance, and that they could whip the North in the fight.

Evidence of the disloyal, revolutionary and treaonable course of Henry A. Wise is also furnished y Charles J. Faulkner, late Representative of the arper's Ferry District, chairman of the Congressional Democratic Committee in 1856, and now Minister to France. At a Democratic meeting, recently held in Virginia, over which Mr. Faulkner presided, he said,-

When that noble and gallant son of Virginia, that the "irrepressible conflict" how few would, at that time, have justined so note and decided a measure? It is the fortune of some and urge the Southern States to dissolve the Union great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their upon the election of a Black Republican to the Prescontemporaries. Should Wm. H. Seward be elected idency of the United States, by a sectional Northern in 1860, where is the man now in our midst who party, and upon a platform of opposition and hoswould not call for the impeachment of a Governor of tility to Southern slavery. how few would, at that time, have justified so hold that I have announced my determination to approve and decided a measure? It is the fortune of some and urge the Southern States to dissolve the Union Virginia who would silently suffer that armory to

This ' noble and gallant son of Virginia' who, 1856, 'saw far in advance of his contemporaries, who was ready, if Fremont had been elected, to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry,' is now looking with hungry eye to the Charleston Convention, and is now the applauded and favorite hero of class of men in the North, who are stammering into the ears of a doubting people their uxorious love of the Union; and the Democratic orator, who would demand the impeachment of a Governor of Virginia, if he should permit the arsenal at Harper's Ferry to pass under the control of William H. Seward, if elected to the Presidency, is nomi-nated by a Democratic President, and confirmed by the united voice of the Democratic Senators, to represent the Republic at the Court of Louis Napoleon This Democratic administration, and this Democratic party, which invokes the support of the Union-loving, conservative men of the Free States. sends to the proudest monarchy of the Old World the man who uttered this insurrectionary and disloyal sentiment. Yes, sir; Democrats, with the eivil war and disunion. Let the real friends of law. of order, and of the unity of the Republic, mark his party, is not, per se, justifiable grounds for disand remember this want of fidelity to the Union by solving the Union. But the act of putting the govthe administration, and the men who lead the

Democratic party.

Sir. the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Demoeratic organ south of the Potomac, during the can-vass of 1856, avowedly advocated disunion. That exponent of the slave Democracy said,-

· Sumner and Sumner's friends must be punished and silenced. Either such wreches must be punished and silenced. Either such wreches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the South should prepare at once to quit the Union.'

If Fremont is elected, the Union will not last an

our after Mr. Pierce's term expires.'

'If Fremont is elected, it will be the duty of the South to dissolve the Union and form a Southern

Confederacy.'

'Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let her, if possible, deach Pennsylvania and southern Ohio, southern Indiana, and southern Illinois, from the North, and make the highlands be-

SLAVES

These emphatic avowals of disunion were applicated by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a control of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a control of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had the peop These emphatic avowals of disunion were applied by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a ar locting; ready to new missioned by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a ar locting; ready to new missioned from the second proposition of the speak for them in this Capitol. Well might the second proposition of th 'Upon the policy of dissolving the Union, of sep-strating the South from her Northern enemies, and lant son of Virginia,' will not accept the tribute of establishing a Southern Confederacy, parties, presses, the admiring Faulkner, that 'it is the fortune of politicians and people, were a unit. There is not a some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of single public man in her limits, not one of her present their contemporaries ?? May not shivering, despairing conservatism indulge the faint hope, other 'noble and gallant sons of Virginia, and of the sunny South, may, in humble imitation of the far-seeing Wise, be 'threatening disunion only to

We are entering, Mr. President, upon another Presidential election; another great struggle for Sir, the erratic, aspiring, blustering Wise, who supremacy in the national councils, between the opwould introduce slavery into the heart of the posing forces of slavery extension and slavery re-North, who would allow slavery to pour itself out striction. The nation once more presents to manwithout restraint, and find no limit but the South- kind the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict ern ocean,' in the autumn of 1856, told the people with avarice and oppression.' This 'conflict' is of Virginia that— The South could not, without degradation, submit to the election of a Black Republican President. To tell me we should submit to the election of a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, is to tell me that Virginia and the fourteen Slave States are already subjugated and degraded (cheers); that the state of the people in State Legislatures, are already subjugated and degraded (cheers); that the state of the people in State Legislatures, and in these Chambers, disloyal and revolutionary

Sir, the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Iverson.) maintain. (Cheers.) If you submit to the election before the meeting of Congress, boasted before the to the degraded WHITE SLAVES OF THE NORTH, is ow-He avowed his readiness to put the military force of Virginia upon a war footing; and he gave the valorous assurance to his disunion associates that the chivalry of Virginia would hew its bright way through all opposing legions. Rumor said, and I believe truly, that this Democratic aspirant of a Southern confederation:

'In a confederated government of their own, the Southern States would enjoy sources of wealth, prosdisonion; that he and his disunion compeers or-ganized a plot to seize the arsenal as Harper's Fer-ry; to take possession of the navy yard at Norfolk, and inaugurate rebellion, revolution and disunion, destiny to ours, and Cuba, now withheld from us by Coming into this Chamber, the honorable Sena-

tor early sought occasion to say :

· Sir, I will tell you what I would do, if I had the who had the right to control me. Sir. I go farther Mr. Corry of Ohio reports Mr. Banks of Virthan that. I would counsel my constituents instantly ginia as having said to him, a few days after the who thus trample on our rights. This is what I

In a carefully prepared and very elaborate speech, recently delivered, the Senator from Georgia said:

Sir, there is but one path of safety to the South; but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic slavery, and that is, a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements—a confederacy of Slave States alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a confederated republic, with a constitution which would be an entrance of all seconds. shut out the approach and entrance of all becongrous ous and conflicting elements, which should protest the institution from change, and keep the wiole nation ever bound to its preservation by an unchangeable fundamental law, the fifteen Slave States, with the power of expansion, would present to the world the nost free, prosperous and happy nation on the face of

the wide earth. which recent events have only seemed to confirm, that the "irrepressible conflict" between the two sec-Henry A. Wise, declared, as was said he did, in Octo-ber 1856, that, if Fremont should be elected, he speed, and must end, in the Union, with the total would seize the National Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, extinction of African slavery in the Southern States,

> The Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Brown,) in the speech to his constituents, from which I have already quoted, and in which he avows his desire to acquire territory in Central America and Mexico, to plant slavery in,' says:

. Whether we can obtain the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we cannot. But I would make an honest effort, and if we failed, I would go out of the Union, and try it there. I speak plainly-I would make a refusal to acquire territo secause it was to be slave territory, a cause for disunion, just as I would make the refusal to admit a

Surely, no one can mistake the position of the Senator. If the people of the Free States, who be-lieve slavery to be what denry Clay said it was, 'a curse,' a wrong-a grievous wrong,' that 'no contingency could make right,' should refuse to acquire territory because it was to be slave terri-tor, he would make that refusal cause for dis-union. The Senator has laid upon our desks an address, delivered in the capital of the State he so accents of Union upon their lips, sanction the ap- ahly and faithfully represents; and in this address I find this declaration :

'The election of Mr. Seward, or any other man of ernment in the hands of men who mean to use it for our subjugation, ought to be resisted, even to the disruption of every tie that binds us to the Union.'

On the 6th of July, the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Davis,) whose ability and large and varied formation are acknowledged by the Senate and the country, delivered an elaborate address to the people of this State. By common consent, the country recognizes the Senator from Mississippi as one of th foremost leaders of his section and of his party, an his opinious command attention and consideration. In this address, the honorable Senator says:

For myself, I say, as I said on a former occa

that if John C. Fremont is elected President of the United States, our people ought to have sense enough to know that the issue is upon them, and cannot be avoided.'

I speak on my individual responsibility: if Premont be elected President of the United States, I am for the people in their majesty rising above the law and leaders, taking the power into their own hands, going by concert or not by concert, and laving the States have sent their own hands after the election had been won by the aid, by the swert to give When that happened, when the Government was in hostile hands, when the presidency is material aid,' of alarmed and quaking conservations, after the election had been won by the aid, by the whole country; not to shed the blood of their fellow-near the people of his State at Jack is upon me to inform the Senator is reported to have said: 'If the Republicans should elect a President, the question would be presented, what should the South treat with Cuba, and Brazil.'

Sir, this journal, which, during the canvass, had avowed the rankest disunion sentiments—this journal, which had been the trumpet of the alarmists, after the election had been won by the aid, by the war to give. When that happened, when the Government was in hostile hands, when the presidency is material aid,' of alarmed and quaking conservation, that 'Governor Wise threatened disunion only to save the Union'! Yes, sir; the valiant Wise, ready to put the military force of his ween the Ohio and the lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat with Cuba, and Brazil.'

Sir, this journal, which, during the canvass, had address the Senator is reported to have said: 'If the Republicans should elect a President, the question would be presented, what should the Routh one and the Routh one and the the South treat with Cuba, and Brazil.'

Sir, this journal, which had been the trumpet of the alarmists, after the election had been won by the aid, by the 'when the Bourd one and the South treat with Cuba, and Brazil.'

Sir, this journal, which had been ernment was in hostile hands, when the presidency and the houses of legislation were controlled by the enemies of the South, he was for asserting the independence of Mississippi; he was for immediate withdrawal from the Union. And in view of the performance of their duties, they will not invade the server of public affairs the honorable Servers and aspect of public affairs, the honorable Senator advised the people of the South to turn their old mus-kets into Minnie rifles, prepare powder, shot, shell, annumition of all kinds, and fortifications, so as to

in this speech, prepared with the elaborate care that Senator is accustomed to bestow upon the subjects he discusses here, the Senator assumes, in effect, the position that it is impossible for the people of the South to live under a government administered by the Republican party. He says:

Do you suppose that we intend to bow our necks to the yoke; that we intend to submit to the domito the yoke; that we intend to submit to the domination of our enemies; that we intend to sit here in your presence as hostages for the good behavior of our conquered people—a people who will be under your administration, not as sovereigns to rule, but as subjects to be governed?"

In response, the Senator says:

but, in conclusion, will only say, that, if she is faith-ful to the pledges she has made and principles she So much for the people of the free States. As to has professed; if she is true to her own interest and their representatives in this Capitol I will say, that her own honor; if she is not recreant to all that State if, while in the discharge of their duties here, they has professed; if she is true to her own interest and pride, integrity and duty demand, she will never submit to your authority. I will add, that unless she and all the Sonthern States of this Union, with perhaps but two, or, at most, three exceptions, are not faithless to the pledges they have given, they will never submit to the government of a President proessing your political faith and elected by your sec-

When the Senator from Alabama took his seat, the Senator from California (Mr. Gwin) rose, and declared that he considered 'it as the inevitable result, that the South should prepare for resistance, in the event of the election of a Republican President.' The Senator went on to argue that the South must, could, and would, dissolve the Union, if the strife begins. So much their constituents will de-That Senator went on to show how the South could carry out the scheme of disunion : how she could seize the public property within her limits; that, by doing so, before the Government passed into the control of such an Administration, to administer the Government in that portion of the country. And he declared that 'it is impossible for a Repub lican President to administer this government over the slaveholding States of the Confederacy; ' and

man) assures us, that in the South 'there are hundreds of disunionists now, where there was one ten years ago; 'that in some of the States men who the country could have witnessed the applauding would willingly to-day see the Union dissolved' are in the majority; and in other States a large class of men are 'ready to unite with them upon the happening of a cause.' And he says :

'In my judgment, the election of the Presidential of the Black Republican party will furnish scorn of an indignant people.

Early in the session, Mr. Nelson of Tennessee, se

To the suggestion that they 'ought to wait for some overt act,' the Senator says : 'No other "overt act" can so imperatively de-

mand resistance on our part, as the simple election of their candidate. Their organization is one of avowed hostility, and they come against us as enemies. Referring to the distinguished Secator from New

York, (Mr. Seward,) he declare that-

'The objections are not personal merely to this Ser ator, but apply equally to any member of the party elected by it. It has, in fact, been suggested that, as a matter of prudence, for the first election they should choose a Southern Free Soiler. Would the colonies harshly u have submitted more willingly to Benedict Arnold than to Lord Cornwallis?

But the Senator seems to be in favor of the seces sion of the States, but not of the secession of the members of Congress. He says:

that this is a point to be voluntarily surrendered to

The Senator from North Carolina evidently in dulges in the pleasing illusion that 'the public enemy,' as he is pleased to characterize his fellowcountrymen, will abandon the Capitol, if ' the southern members of Congress' remain in the Capitol. 'If lives should be lost here,' exclaims the Senator, 'it would seem poetically just that this should occur'! If, after this declaration of seeming valor, the Republicans, in the event of their success in November, do not flee from the Capitol with as much haste as did the 'chivalry' of this region in the late war with England. I am quite sure the Senator from North Carolina, who is 'struck' with the original idea 'that this is a point not to be voluntarily surrendered to the public enemy,' will be disappointed in his expectations. But the Sena-tor goes on to express his emotions of contempt for men of the non-resistant school. 'I cannot fied,' says the Senator, 'words enough to express my abson and Wendell Phillips, who stimulate others to deeds of blood, and, at the same time, are so cowardly that they avoid all danger themselves. expression of 'abhorrence and detestation' for such n-combatants, such 'cowardly creatures,' is, I suppose, intended to admonish us on this side of the Chamber that the Senator is terribly in earnest when he makes proclamation of his wishes in these

n so doing, to secede from this Capitol, nor surren der it to those who may remain within the Union. Having declared that, if lives are to be sacrificed, it will be poetically just that they should be excrificed here on this floor; and that, as so much has gone forth from this Capitol to inflame the public mind, here on this floor; and that, as so much has gone forth from this Capitol to inflame the public mind, it is but proper that the first fruits of the struggle should be reaped here, the Senator gives us, therefore, distinctly to understand that there may be a physical collision— a bloody struggle; that the scene of this conflict is to be in the legislative halls of this Capitol. To simply say, in reply to this of this Capitol. To simply say, in reply to this threat, that northern Senators cannot thus be intim-

be ready against any emergency.

The Senator from Alabama (Mr. Clay) early addressed the Senate upon the resolution introduced by the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason); and of the people of the free States, or the character of

preferred to illustrate it by deeds. They are not fighting men by profession, nor accustomed to street broils, nor contests on 'the field of honor,' falsely that they are more desperate and determined, more reckless of consequences to themselves and to their antagonists, than are those who are more accus-I make no predictions, no promise for my State; tomed to contemplate such collisions. The tightest are assaulted with deadly intent, I give the Senator from North Carolina due notice, here, to-day, that those assaults will be repelled and retaliated by who will not dishonor fathers that fought at Bunker Hill and conquered at Saratoga, that trampled the soil of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane to a bloody mire and vindicated sailors' rights and national honor or the high seas in the second war of independence. Reluctant to enter into such a contest, yet once in, they will be quite as reluctant to leave it. Though they may not be the first to go into the struggle, they will be the last to abandon it in dishonor. Though they will not provoke nor commence the conflict, they will do their best to conquer when the mand of them when the ' bloody struggle ' the Senator contemplates is forced upon them; and they will not be disappointed when the exigency comes. I say no more; I await the issue, and bide my time.

Mr. President, during the protracted and excited contest in the other end of the Capitol, the leaders of the Democracy have avowed the rankest disunior sentiments; and these avowals of disloyalty to the Union have been often rapturously applauded on the Democratic side of the Chamber and in the galleries, that 'the election of a Republican President is the inevitable destruction of this Confederacy.'

Clings Officials, Government contractors or dependents. nevitable destruction of this Confederacy.'

The Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Cling-Sir, if the Union-loving, liberty-loving, patriotic throngs in the galleries, and the applauding Democ racy on the floor; and could have witnessed the mocratic smiles, the Democratic nods, and the Democratic congratulations, they would visit upon the actors in this farce, and upon their compeers here and at home, the stern rebuke and withering

> distinguished member of the Southern Opposition, rebuked the disunion sentiments which had been so profusely scattered through the debates by the seces sionists; and he avowed his devotion to the Union in tones of thrilling eloquence. His patriotic and national sentiments received the enthusiastic ap-plause of the Southern Opposition and the Republicans. The patriotic sentiments of the eloquent Tennesseean, reminding us of the days before the advent into these Halls of the secession disciples of Calhoun, when the followers of Clay, aye, and of Jackson too, had made the Chambers echo with sentiments of devotion to the Union, seemed to grate harshly upon Democratic ears. Mr. Pryor of Vir-Richmond Enquirer, echoed the disunion sentiments of Governor Wise, rose and propounded to Mr. Nelson this question :

Would you be willing Wm. H. Seward should I may say, however, that I do not think there will be any secession of the Southern members of Congress from this Capitol. It has always struck me that this is a point to be voluntarily surrendered to of those powers, or would he resist it even to the ex-tent of going out of the Union?

Sir, this question clearly implied that Mr. Pryor would resist, even to the extent of going out of the Union, the inauguration of Wm. H. Seward. But that was early in the session. Gov. Wise, who, if Faulkner is to be relied upon, 'sees far in advance of his contemporaries,' had not then avowed his resolution to fight in the Union, and to stay in the Union. The Enquirer, the family organ, which is engaged in warning the people of the South not to precipitate disunion, but to prepare for it,' has de the wonderful discovery that ' the election of a Black Republican advocate of the "irrepressible conflict," will be the withdrawal of the St porting such election from the Union.' As Governor Wise has resolved to fight in the Union, and as his family organ has declared that the election of a Re publican is a withdrawal of the States supporting his election from the Union, Mr. Pryor will not now resist the inauguration of Wm. H. Seward, ' to the extent of going out of the Union; ' but cling to this new 'Virginia abstraction,' and assume that the States voting for Mr. Seward are out of the

Mr. Curry of Alabama, in a speech which is by far the most comprehensive and philosophical presenta-tion of the issues yet made on the slavety side, in the House, said :

words:

'As from this Capitol so much has gone forth to inflame the public mind, if our countrymen are to be involved in a bloody struggle, I trust in God that the first fruits of the collision may be reaped here.'

This language, Mr. President, admits of but one interpretation. Gentlemen from the South, who are in favor of a dissolution of the Union, do not intend, in so doing, to seeded from this Capitol now arrange.

'However distasteful it may be to my friend from New York, (Mr. Clark.) however much it may revolt the public sentiment or conscience of this country, I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to gow that the election of William H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase, on any such representative of the Ropublican party, upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy to-greater.' (Applause on the Denocratic side of the House.)

Mr. Pugh of the same State, in a speech of mucl rhetorical beauty and eloquence, said :

If, with the character of the Government well de-

patible with the honor, equality and safety of the South; and the sooner it is known and acted upon, the better for all parties to the compact.

The truest conservation and wisest statesmanship demand a speedy termination of all association with such confederates, and the formation of another union of States, homogeneous in population, institutions, interests and pursuits.

Mr. Moore of the same State, said :

'I do not concur with the declaration made yesterday by the gentleman from Tennessee, that the elec-tion of a Black Republican to the Presidency was not cause for a dissolution of the Union. Whenever a President is elected by a fanatical majority at the President is elected by a fanatical majority at the North, those whom I represent, as I believe, and the gallant State which I in part represent, are ready, let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on their reserved rights and say—"As to this Union, we have no longer any lot or part in it." .

Mr. Boyce of South Carolina, before the meeting of Congress, addressed his constituency in an elaborate and very carefully prepared speech, in which he says that the election of a President by the Republican party 'would constitute of itself a good reason why the South should refuse to submit to their rule.' Our policy is, first, to prevent, if possible, the election of a Republican President; second, if this must occur, in spite of all our wise exertions to the contrary, to cause it to occur under such issues as will best enable us to set up a southern government." 'The great point, then, is to ripen public opinion at the South for a dissolution of the Union, in the contingency referred to-the election of a Republican President.' He avows that 'it is the fixed policy of this State to secede as soon as the Republican party elect their President. 'If we desire to ripen public opinion among ourselves for southern inde-pendence, in the event of the election of a Republican President, we must exercise the policy of mod-eration in our movements preliminary to that result. We must use the most consummate prudence now, that we may be able to profit by the most desperate

Mr. Bonham, of the same State, said on the floor of the House :

'As to disunion, upon the election of a Black Republican, I can speak for no one but myself and those have here the honor to represent; and I say, without hesitation, that upon the election of Mr. Seward, our new other man who endorses and proclaims the doc-trines held by him and his party—call him by what name you please—I am in favor of an immediate dis-solution of the Union. And, sir, I think I speak the sentiments of my own constituents, and the State of South Carolina, when I say so.'

Mr. Crawford of Georgia, as a quotation from his speech will show, spoke not only for himself, but for his associates from that State; and his disunion sentiments received the applause of his Democratic

Now, in regard to the election of a Black Republican President, I have this to say, and I speak the sentiment of every Democrat on this floor from the State of Georgia: we will never submit to the in-auguration of a Black Republican President. (Ap-plause from the Democratic benches, and hisses from the Republicans.) I repeat it, sir-and I have authority to say so—that no Democratic Representative from Georgia on this floor will ever submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. (Renewed applause and hisses.) • • • The most confiding of them all are, sir, for "equality in the Union, or ndependence out of it: " having lost all hope of the

Mr. Gartrell, also of Georgia, has supported the position assumed by Mr. Crawford. He declares:

Just so sure as the Republican party succeeds in electng a sectional man upon their sectional, anti-slavery latform, breathing destruction and death to the rights unmistakable and decided action; and that then "he who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned." I need not tell what I, as a Southern man, will do—I think I may safely speak for the masses of the people of Georgia—that when that event happens, they, in my judgment, will consider it an overt act, a declara-tion of war, and meet immediately in convention, to take into consideration the mode and measure of re-dress. This is my position; and if that be treason to

Governor McRae, of Mississippi, declared that he was not willing to submit to the election of a Republican President upon a Republican platform:

· I said to my constituents, and to the people at the eapitol of my State, on my way here, that if such an eyent did occur, while it would be their duty to determine the course which the State would pursue, it would be my privilege to counsel with them as to what I believed to be the proper course; and I said to them what I now say and will always say in such a creat that my coursel would be take independent. an event, that my counsel would be to take indepen-dence out of the Union, in preference to the loss of constitutional rights, and consequent degradation and dishonor, in it. That is my position, and it is the po-sition which I know the Democratic party of the State of Mississippi will maintain.

Mr. DeJarnette of Virginia will resist the inauguration of the candidate of the Republican party, if that candidate is Mr. Seward, for he says:

'Thus William H. Seward stands before the country a perjured traitor: and yet that man, with hands stained with the blood of our citizens, we are asked to elect President of the United States. You may elect him President of the North, but of the South, never. Whatever the event may be, others may differ; but Virginia, in view of her ancient renown, in view of her illustrious dead, and in view of her sic semper

Mr. Leake, unlike his colleague, Mr. Pryor, will not follow the lead of the late Governor Wise, and fight inside the Union. Mr. Leake evidently does not see so far in advance as does that noble son of

·I repudiate the sentiment which the gentleman ascribes to the late trovernor of Virginia. I choose rather to refer to the Representatives of that State to hear her sentiments than to any other source. It never entered my head, and I undertake to say that it never entered the brain of any Representative of Virginia on this floor, to fight inside the Union. The idea is ridiculous in the extreme. It is the reduction

And Mr. Leake emphatically declares that-

· Virginia has the right, when she pleases, to withdraw from this Confederacy. (Applause from the Democratic benches.) • • • • That is her doctrine. We will not fight in the Union, but quit it the instant we think proper to do so.

Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, openly avows, on the floor of the House, that 'their determination is fixed and unalterable: that they will have an expan-sion of slave territory in the Union, if you will allow it, or outside of the Union if they must,' and that sentiment was received with Democratic applause.

'The question now is, if we sever the connection which binds us and the North together, how are we to preserve the institution of slavery? There is but one mode by which, in my humble judgment, it can

Thou hast fallen in thine armor, Thou martyr of the Lord! With thy last breath crying, 'Onward !' And thy hand upon the sword. The haughty heart derideth, And the sinful lip reviles, But the blessing of the perishing Around thy pillow smiles.

Oppression's hand may scatter Its nettles on thy tomb, And even Christian bosoms Deny thy memory room; For lying lips shall torture Thy mercy into crime, And the slanderer shall flourish As the bay-tree for a time.

But where the South wind lingers On Carolina's pines, Or falls the careless sunbeam Down Georgia's golden mines; Where now beneath his burthen The toiling slave is driven, Where now a tyrant's mockery Is offered unto Heaven;

Where Mammon hath its altars Wet o'er with human blood, And pride and lust debases The workmanship of God; There shall thy praise be spoken, Redeemed from falsehood's ban, When the fetters shall be broken, And the SLAVE shall be a MAN !

In the evil days before us, And the trials yet to come; In the shadow of the prison, Or the cruel martyrdom; We will think of thee, O brother ! And thy sainted name shall be In the blessing of the captive, And the anthem of the free.

LINES, written by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, and sung at the Music Hall, on the twenty-sixth National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary, Jan. 26, 1860.

THE HERO'S HEART. When he went from the jail to the gallows, he stooped to kiss a colored child that stood near.'

A winter sunshine, still and bright, The Blue Hills bathed with golden light, And earth was smiling to the sky, When calmly he went forth to die.

Infernal passions festered there. Where peaceful Nature looked so fair: And fiercely, in the morning sun, Plashed glittering bayonet and gun. The old man met no friendly eye,

When last he looked on earth and sky; But one small child, with timid air, Was gazing on his silver hair. As that dark brow to his up-turned.

The tender heart within him yearned: And, fondly stooping o'er her face, He kissed her, for her injured race.

The little one, she knew not why That kind old man went forth to die; Nor why, mid all that pomp and stir, He stooped to give a kiss to her.

But Jesus smiled that sight to see, And said, . He did it unto me! The golden harps then sweetly rung, And this the song the angels sung :

. Who loves the poor, doth love the Lord! Earth cannot dim thy bright reward; We hover o'er you gallows high, And wait to bear thee to the sky.'

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE SLAVE-GIRL'S PRAYER. Within the fairest of the Southland's bowers, Beneath thy blue, star-jewell ed canopy, Amid the clustering vines and fragrant flowers, Father, in agony I kneel to thee !

Still through the leaves I see the moonlight gleaming Still hear the far-off murmur of the sea; But, ah! no longer comes the old, sweet dreaming In anguish deep and strong I kneel to Thee!

The dreams of childhood, they were glad ones ever I knew not then the misery of my lot; Too soon I learned; and in my soul, oh! never Can that dark hour of suffering be forgot.

Once every flower and wave and star seemed given To fill my heart with joy; now all is o'er; The glory of Thy earth, and sea, and heaven, But mocks my woe-it gladdens me no more

I know that Thou art merciful and tender; Thou can'st not hear, unmoved, the prayer of wo Oh, take me to Thee! let me now surrender This hated breath-my spirit longs to go. Ah, worse than death the doom of shame and sorrow

That now, oh, Father! waits thy suffering child! The horrid fate that waits me on the morrow, Whereat my heart grows sick, my brain turns wild Only to die! it seems not much to pray for!

"Tis but a little boon, yet oh, how blest! And the crushed soul, with naught on earth to stay for Enters with joy into that perfect rest. The night speeds on ! and yet Thou dost not hearker To the last prayer e'er to be breathed by me :

Closer the clouds of anguish round me darken. For I am losing faith and hope in Thee. Oh, hear me, Father ! let it not be shaken-My trust in Thee-my only hope of peace;

Oh, grant my prayer! for if by Thee forsaken, By mine own hand my miseries must cease! From friends, from kindred, every loved one parted.

No heart to pity me, no hand to save, I seek the refuge which the broken-hearted Find only in the quiet of the grave. Salem. Mass., 1859.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard. CHARLES SUMNER.

Home, to thy post, brave Sumner !- years of pain, Of sorrowing exile, have but proved thee true ! With silken fetters what hast thou to do? Thine is the bludgeon's blow, the foeman's cane. Teach, still, thy better way! that all in vain The death-stored armory, Right to subdue: That war's unholy orgies are untrue To man, to God : raise to the Christian plane How raise? By strivings, such as Christ's and thin-Lessons of Peace, enhanced by life and deed Proving their origin from source divine By martyr-suffering, so there be need.

way-Whence all light cometh, thou shall meet the day. Milney, Nov. 22, 1869.

Where Mann hath gone-where Abans led th

PARKER TO A PRIEND IN BOSTON.

THE LIBERATOR.

ROME, Dec. 24, 1859. What a stormy time you are having in America! Your cradle was rocked in the Revolution, and now in your old age you see the storm of another Revolution beginning: none knows when and where it shall end. Yesterday, the telegraph brought us the expected intelligence that the slaveholders had hung a negro in Savannah tell a Northern minister- I no Capt. John Brown ! Of course, I knew from the mo- want to be free !- I only 'fraid to be slave of sin! dat's ment of his capture what his fate would be: the it, massa, Ise fraid of de Debil, not of massa! What logic of slavery is stronger than the intellect or per- a guffaw he gave when with his countrymen alone sonal will of any man, and it bears all Southern poli- and how he mimicked the gestures of the South ticians along with it. No martyr whose tragic story side, white-choked priest, who bore 'his great com is writ in the Christian books ever bore himself more mission in his work'! heroically than Capt. Brown; for he was not only a But I end as I began-what a stormy time is befor martyr, -any bully can be that, -but also a Saint - us! There are not many men of conscience like John which no bully can ever be. None ever fell in a Brown, but abundance of men of wrath-and the more righteous cause :-- it has a great future, too, time for them-I know not when it is. which he has helped bring nearer and make more certain. I confess I am surprised to find love for the man, admiration for his conduct, and sympathy with his object, so wide-spread in the North, especi ally in New England, and more particularly in dear, good, old Boston! Think of the Old South on th same platform with Emerson and Phillips! Think of sermons like Wheelock's, Newhall's, Freeman Clarke's and Cheever's Thanksgiving sermon at New York-an Orthodox minister of such bulk putting John Brown before Moses! The New York Herald had an extract from . . . sermon. It was such as none but a mean soul could preach on such an occasion; but we must remember that it taxes a mean man as much to be mean and little, as it does a noble one to be grand and generous. Every minister must bear sermons after his kind; ' for of a thorn men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble-bush gather they grapes.' I rather think the Curtises did not fire a hundred cannon on Boston Common when they heard that John Brown was hung, as they did which endered him the prodigy of the past year when the Fugitive Slave Bill passed. There has been, A. h. nas it come to pass that people are so widea little change since 1850, and men not capable of ly disied in opinion in respect to him? repentance are yet liable to shame-and if they cannot be converted, may yet be scared.

Well, things can never stand as they did three months ago. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, at day-break, Old England and New-Great Britain and the thirteen colonies-were one nation. At sunrise, they were two. The fire of the grenadiers made reconciliation impossible, and there must be war and separation. It is so now. Great events turn on small hinges, and let mankind march through. How different things happen from what we fancy! All good institutions are founded on some great truth of the mind or conscience; and, when such a truth is to be put over the world's highway, we think it must be borne forward on the shoulders of some mighty horse whom God has shod strong all round for that special purpose, and we wonder where the creature is, and when he will be road-ready; and real character, those traits (Combativeness and Firmlook after his deep foot-prints, and listen for his step or his snorting. But it sometimes happens that the sas and Harper's Ferry. Nor can I give it as my Divine Providence uses quite humble cattle to bear his most precious burthens, both fast and far. Some trayed in all that has yet appeared in the papers, re-3000 or 4000 years ago, a body of fugitives-slavespoor, leprous, iil-clad, fled out of Egypt, under the is, he cannot have been both the good and the bad guidance of a man who slew an Egyptian. He saw man as he has been represented. What, then, was a man do a vile thing to one of his slaves, and lynch- it, that so much distinguished John Brown from al ed him on the spot-then ran for it.

Those fugitive slaves had a great truth. The world, I think, had not known before 'The Oneness of God'; -at least, their leader had it, and for hundreds know what the sense of fear is or could be. Firmness of years did this despised people keep the glorious in John Brown was like the quality of the flint, which treasure which Egypt did not know-which Greece resists the pressure of your fingers; or like the qualiand Rome never understood. Who would have ty of the granite, which resists the pressure of the thought the Ark of such salvation would have been trusted to such feeble hands!

Some 1800 or 1900 years ago, who would have looked to a Jewish Carpenter of Galilee, and a Jewish tent-maker of Tarsus in Cilicia, with few adherentsfishermen-obscure people-unlearned and ignorant fifty men of an average capacity. He was certainly men? Who would have looked to such persons for a truth of religion which should overturn all the temples of the old world, and drive the gods of Olympus from their time-honored thrones of reverence and power? The Rome of the Popes is, no doubt, as Poly-pressed, as it often is in others, by physical fear. theistic as the Reme of the Cæsars-but the old gods are gone, and men worship the Fisherman and in Springfield. Mass., some twelve years since, has the Tent-maker.

It was the Augustinian Monk who broke the Ro- offered a grand opportunity for the exhibition of his man Hierarchy to atoms. Tough in the brains, tough real character, as, at that time, he had not engaged in the bones, mighty also by his love of the people in the defence of Kansas, and he had had no personal and his trust in God, he did what it seemed only the great councils of the learned could accomplish—he gical operation performed on a lady whom I had renrouted the Popes, and wrested the German world from their rude and bloody gripe.

God had kent from the foundation of the world-a en out thence with fire and sword, would be the Representative of Humanity, and claim and win that Bride, and wed her too, with nuptials now so auspicious? Yet so it turns out, and the greatest social and polit-Slavery shall go down, even if it be put down with Brown bore it like a hero. But, then, he had the adago: he and I are no strangers, and still more now looking like sole leather; it was tanned by the sun, his sainthood is crowned with martyrdom. I am and looked as if it was impervious. Not so, however, glad he came from that Mayflower company-that when the ammonia was held to his nose; for then, by his grandfather was a captain in the Revolutionary a sudden jerk of his head, it became manifest that he such veins. All the grand institutions of America, system to endure what I had rendered a timid lady which give such original power to the people, came able to bare, without any manifestation of pain.

same source. Virginia may be the mother of Presidents, (she yet extraordinary amount of physical pain, therefore keeps the ashes of two great ones, -only their ashes, another person could do the same. not their souls,) but it is New England that is mother of great ideas. God is their Father-mother also of communities, rich with intelligent and democratic combining with his integrity of character, drew from

proves it and his death. It is not for you or me same 'honest, truthful, sincere,' and brave man, was to select the instruments wherewith the providence signed by this same slaveholding, tyrannical Governor of mankind has the world's work done by human hands : it is only for us to do our little duty, and take | Posterity will do justice to the memory of this marthe good and ill which come of it.

When the monster which hinders the progress of Humanity is to be got rid of, no matter if the battle- ful, and sincere,' and who manifest the rare qualities axe have rust on its hilt, and spots, here and there, upon its blade-mementos of ancient work; if its edge was not insune, he was not a monomaniac, (insane on have but the power to bite, the monster shall be cloven down, and mankind walk triumphantly on, to- Those who speak of him in this manner, do not know morrow, to fresh work and triumphs new.

this\_it wrote itself, and I couldn't help it. I cannot sleep nights, for thinking of these things. I am ashamed to be sick and good for nothing in times EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THEODORE like these, but can't help it, and must be judged by

what I can do, not can't and don't. It is curious to find the slaves volunteering to go to shoot men (in buckram) who are coming 'a thousand at a time to rescue Capt. Brown'! The African is as much superior to the Anglo-Saxon in cunning and arts of hypocrisy-except the ecclesiastical -as he is inferior in general power of mind. Didn't

Farewell! THEODORE PARKER.

JOHN BROWN.

Not any spot six feet by two Will hold a man like thee; John Brown will tramp the shaking earth, From the Blue Ridge to the sea, Till Liberty shall come at last, And ope each dungeon door, And God's 'Great Charter' holds and moves O'er all his humble poor,

And then the humble poor will come In that far distant day, And from the felon's nameless grave They'll brush the leaves away,
And gray old men will point the spot
Beneath the pine tree shade,
As children ask, with streaming eyes,
Where "Old John Brown" was laid.

What made John Brown so different from ordinary men. What were the elements in his character

It has never been common, I think, for the multitude to be united in opinion respecting any truly great man. We may suppose Individual men and women so far in advance of the race, that it will be impossible for them to be, in all respects, correctly estimated. And, besides, when one or two of the mental faculties happen to be enormously large, the nobler faculties are thus brought into notice, and afforded a chance for display. Thus, one having average Benevolence, and very large Firmness, would be more likely to manifest his philanthropy under opposing circumstances, than another whose Benevoence was large, without a corresponding degree of Firmness.

My acquaintance with John Brown commenced in 1847, when I had what I suppose to have been one of the very best opportunities for a knowledge of his ness, or Counage) which made him the hero of Kanopinion that his character has been accurately porspecting his past or more recent conduct. Certain it other men? I answer, it was PIRMNESS, COURAGE, and his power to endure pain. In this respect, he excelled all the men I ever knew : he did not seem to ocean waves. His distinguishing trait was FIRM-NESS; next was Conscientiousness; next was Combativeness, and then Benevolence. His Firmness combining with Combativeness made him courageous, and he seemed to me to possess more firmness than coarse and repulsive in his manners; nor do I suppose his benevolence was above that of common men But, possessing Firmness, Resistance and Courage, as he did, whatever philanthropy he had was not sup-

His conduct in one of my lectures on Pathetism

been referred to in the papers, lately. That occasion

encounters with Slavery. He had witnessed the surdered insensible to pain, as she alleged, by Pathe tism. This, with the other phenomena which At a later day, when the new Continent which he witnessed in my lectures, was beyond his comprehension; and so he arose one evening, and virgin hid away between the Atlantic and the Pacific pronounced my lectures a humbug, and he ofseas-was to be joined to Humanity, in the hopes of fered to prove it, if I would only allow him to founding such a Family of Men as the world had come upon my platform, and test the consciousness of never seen, was there any one who would have thought one of my patients. To this proposed I consented, on that the Puritan, hated in his British home, and driv- two conditions, namely, that his tests should not endanger the health of my patient; and this to be determined by the physicians of the town; and secondly that Brown himself should submittee the same processes which he should infirst upon the entrance ical achievement of the human race is wrought out lady. To this he readily agreed, aithough it was by that Puritan, with his Bride-whose only dower quite evident that when he attarst purposed his test was her broad lands. Really, it seems as if God chose he had no idea of going through withit himself. He the small things to confound the great. But when we had consulted a physician for a process which should, look again, and study carefully the relation which beyond all doubt, demonstrate the consciousness of these seemingly insignificant agents bear to the whole pain, if any such consciousness existed in the lady force of Humanity, then it appears they were the very who was entranced. And so the next night, Brown agents most fit for the work they did. I think it will and his physicians were on hand, with a vial of conturn out so in the case of Capt. Brown. What the centrated ammonia, and a quantity (q. s.) of dolicho masterly eloquence of Seward could not accomplish, pruriens (cowhage). This 'cow itch,' as it is some even by his manly appeal to the Higher Law, nor times called, is the sharp hair of a point, and when the eloquence of Phillips and Sumner, addressed to applied to the skin, it acts mechanically for a long the conscience and common sense of the people, seems time, tormenting the sufferer like so many thistles or likely to be brought to pass by John Brown-no needles being constantly thrust into the nerves. No statesman, no orator, but an upright and downright one, I am sure, would willingly consent to suffer the

man, who took his life in his hand, and said application of cowhage to his body more than once. red swords! ' I thanked God for John Brown years vantage of the entranced lady—the skin of his neck war :- the true aristocratic blood of America runs in | could not, by his own volition, screw up his nervous

from that Puritan stock, who trusted in God, and The infliction upon Brown was a terrible one, fo kept their powder dry-who stood up straight when he confessed three days afterwards, that he had not they prayed, and also when they fought. Yes, all been able to sleep at all since the cowhage was rubbed the grand original ideas, which are now on their way into his neck. In submitting himself to that test, the to found new institutions, and will make the future audience declared him 'foolhardy,' as it proved nothbetter than the past or present-they come from the ing against the genuineness of my experiments. It would not follow, that because he could endure an

The degree of counage manifested by John Brown made him the extraordinary man he was; and this, Gov. Wise the testimony that he was 'honest, truth-John Brown came from a good lineage; his life ful, and sincere. And yet, the death-warrant of this Wise.

tyr to Democratic slavery. Men never pause to parley over the errors of those who are 'honest, truthwhich combined in the character of John Brown. He one subject,) nor was he moved by a feeling of revenge. the man. Instead of being revengeful, he was hu-But I did not mean to write you such a letter as mane, even to his own detriment, as may be shown

from numerous incidents in his career. And, above Underground Railway are conducted, and may do all, he was a hero, whose manly bearing and courage has struck terror into the hearts of American tyrants, from which they can never recover. John Brown from which they can never recover. John Brown was never so really alive or so efficient in action as now, and hence it is that the Moloch of December 1. now, and hence it is that the Moloch of Democratic will and others, in Chatham and Windsor. That

Boston, Dec. 9th, 1859.

THE MISSION OF JOHN BROWN. Had the churches and the ministry in this country only thirty years ago begun and continued an earnest, united, peaceful protest, with the word of God, against the wickedness of alavery, John Brown's protest in action would at this day have been superfluous; such an interference would not have been needed. A right and faithful proclamation of that word of God which made John Brown a Christian Abolitionist would have broken up this whole sys-tem of wickedness in less time than it pleased God to take for the moulding and discipline of his character and life the first great martyr before the Moloch of the sm. We thank God for the grace of God youchsafed in him. He is the legitimate fruit of that piety with which the study of the word of God by prayer baptizes, informs, energizes the soul. He is the masterpiece of that school of the old masters among whom he had his education and brought up his family, Bunyan, Baxter, John Fox, Dod-dridge, the Saint's Rest, the Book of Martyrs, and the Pilgrim's Progress. We thank God for the unaffected deep humility towards God, mingled with such firmness towards men, conspicuous in his na-ture. We thank God for all the precious evidences of his Christian experience and character. We thank God for the triumphant testimony he has been enabled to leave in gratitude for the infinite grace of God, to the honor of His word, to the efficacy of prayer, to the reality of faith, in the confidence of his own soul in God, in Jesus Christ, unshaken in the most trying hour and circumstances of ex-istence. One such man, one such great heart, one such noble Christian, outweighs the baseness of a million hypocrites; and his single testimony against slavery shines like the sun, in spite of all the darkness and lying of all the pro-slavery churches in Christendom. In an age of shams, here is one re-

ality; in an age of speculative theological and edi-torial skeletons hung round with broadcloth, here is one living soul; in an age of paste, here is one rude gem; in an age of dough-faces, here is one of God's flints; here, in a time of hollowness and cant, is a man of faith—a man to whom the idea of disinterested benevolence was a living expression-a man to whom the negro was a brother and a man-a man who, to the death, rejected religious communion with slaveholding ministers as defiling to his soul; on the way to the scaffold, stooped down and kissed a little negro child whom God had put in his path. that through that little one his last dying act might be the giving of a cup of cold water to that enslaved race for whom he died. Here is grandeur; here is God's own work and grace; here, in an age of sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, is one great soul like a living organ, through whose trumpet-tones God had blown an anthem that shakes the land like an earthquake. Can Senator Mason put down John Brown's ghost by a bill of inquiry? Can Senator Trumbull put down John Brown's ghost by standing up to be catechised? Will it put down wn's ghost to declare that slavery is no crime? You might as surely imagine that you had imprisoned his immortal spirit in the grave by put-ting an additional screw in his coffin. Presently you will hear of some new miracle of disinterested love to them that are in bonds as bound with them; and a new battering ram of God's divine word and providence will be driven against this wickedness and Herod again will start from his uneasy slumbers John I have beheaded, but who is this?' John the beheaded, is but the forcrunner of Christ the conqueror; and if need be in this conflict, he will raise up soldiers for his truth out of the stones in the streets. But whoever comes, on whomsoever the mantle falls, he cannot go beyond John Brown in his faithfulness, living or dying; no man can strike a more terrible blow at the heart of the Slave Power, nor bear a more emphatic lawful record in life, in death, as to the incompatibility of slavery and Christianity. Rather than seem to admit to th world that a man defending this wickedness could be a Christian minister, he would pass to the scaffold and the grave alone, rejecting the offer of the gospel from such a man. But God was with him, and John Brown felt that any man who, by defending slavery, maintains the moral assassination of the living as consistent with the gospel, is unworthy and unfit to convey its spiritual revelations even to the dying. We rejoice in the sublime and sacred scorn apologist for such a crime. That dying protestation was a blew against slavery more effective than could Thanks be to God for the firmness and consistency of John Brown's testimony even to the close; for the awfully solemn witnessing, on the verge of eternity, against the wickedness of slavery, as so wicked that the man who defended it would not be suffered to worship the same God with a Christian about to die for his opposition to it. Let that work, and work it will, in the hearts and consciences of millions. Let that work, as by the grace of God it can be made to work, till our churches everywhere shall be constrained to excommunicate this wickedness as plenty more of such creations through the power of God's word, God's discipline, God's spirit, when God's time has come—plenty more of such scourges. They that will keep slaves must be content to do it as men settle on the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius, with all the offsets God has appointed against the security of such property. Twenty thousand signatures for a Union-saving meeting cannot prevent the eruption of the volcano under them—it cannot

tify his cause.—CHEEVER.

prevent the resurrection of John Brown. They

annot silence God's word : they cannot prevent the

such a man as John Brown, from breaking forth as

in a conflagration. They cannot prevent God,

raising up men to execute his plagues against their

henever and in whatever way it pleases him, from

THE RUNAWAY SLAVES. The New York Herald is, at this present speaking, in a state of painful excitement upon the question of slavery, and negroes in general. The un- made to punish the authors of these gross crimes, ever bending firmness of the Republican party in Congress, and the indications of weakness in the Southern ranks, are inciting it to fresh exertion. When Southern fire-eaters are backing down, extra exertions are necessary on the part of their North-ern sympathizers. Hence it is that the Herald is ng up an immense number of 'bloody and facts, in connection with Northern abolitionism, all designed to create a reaction of public feeling against Republicanism, and to help profesthe peculiar institution and its abettors. Three for the purpose of having the documents recorded. special objects are aimed at: first, to disgust American philanthropists with their efforts to keep the Underground Railway trains in motion: second, to spread an impression among the slaves that they will be worse off amidst Canadian freedom than in will be worse off amidst Canadian freedom than in Southern slavery; and, third, to excite bitter feelings in the States against Britons, on account of the sympathy which the runaways receive in Canada. Southern stately, and, Mark, to excite litter legions in the States against Britons, on account of the sympathy which the runaways receive in Canada. The assertion, that the agents of the Underground Railway are paid for their services, that they devote part of the funds entrusted to them by philanthropists for their own use, and not to the fugitives, may be true to a certain extent. When the trains are kept running so regularly, it is impossible to depend upon volunteer stokers and conductors, and money-seekers may have got in among the workers. Such men have obtruded themselves into the church and every laudable enterprise, but we do not find that the fact checks the labors of the pious and charitable. The assertions of the Herald are entirely unsupported by facts, but they may lead to inquiry into the manner in which the affairs of the

slavery trembles, and stands aghast from the fear of what the memory of that 'honest, truthful, aincre, and 'brave old man,' will yet do for the liberation of the slave.

LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

Boston, Dec. 9th, 1859.

will and others, in Chatham and Windsor. That the fugitives suffer somewhat when they first arrive in Canada, that many of them bring the vices of slavery with them, is beyond question. But the facts, as we receive them, do not justify the sweeping averments of the Herald. That many of these unfortunate fugitives establish themselves in farming and trading and support themselves and their ing and trading, and support themselves and their families in comfort, is unquestionable; that all can do so, if they possess the desire and the capacity to work, is undoubted. The condition of the colored work, is undoubted. The condition of the colored race in Canada, as a whole,—we say it without fear of contradiction,—is favorable to their capability to support themselves by their own unaided efforts, free from the tyranny of the white man. To say that many of them are convicted of petty larceny, and ever of a converted in only what may be and ever of a converted of petty larceny. and even of graver offences, is only what may be said of other uneducated classes. If there are more black convicts than white, in proportion to num-bers, it is due to the vices of slavery, to the num-bers coming in, who find it difficult to procure employment at once, and not to any inherent defect in the race. That the colored man improves in Can-ada, and becomes an intelligent citizen, we have abundant evidence. That the people of Canada have to undergo some penalties, before the work of amelioration can be accomplished, is also true; but we can assure the Herald that they are willing, as a rule, to undertake the burden, and will never shrink from the duty of succoring refugees from the Moloc of Southern slavery. The time will come, no doubt, when that duty will be lightened by the abolition of the fugitive slave law of the United States Then the runaway will be safe from his pursuer in his native country, and will prefer a milder climate to that of Canada. Even with the present law in to that of Canada. Even with the present law in force, many escaped slaves return to the States, after the hue and cry has subsided; and the numbers arriving here do not actually represent those who be

come permanent residents.

Th Herald's commissioner, while representing the colored man to be in a miserable condition in Canada, does not conceal the fact that he possesses considerable political power through the franchise. The two statements are inconsistent; and we can hardly help thinking that poor Cuffee in the South, if he should be permitted to read the Herald's correspondence, will sigh for a land where he can enjoy not only freedom, but power; where the leaders in the community will not dare to cast contumely upon him, for fear of suffering from his vote. The correspondent has a good deal to say against the attempts which have been made by benevolent

persons to assist the refugees in Canada; but every-thing is tinctured with the same spirit of prejudice, and many statements are made which are positively false .- Toronto Globe. NEGRO TROUBLES IN CANADA. The troubles which

have existed to some extent in portions of Canada, in consequence of the number of fugitive blacks from the United States, whose constitutions are unsuited to the climate, and some of whom are, no doubt, viciously inclined, seem to be on the increase. The New York 'On Monday, an intense excitement was caused in

Anderson, C. W., caused by an assault by negroes upon the family of Mrs. Greyean. Four negroes went to the house about 12 o'clock at night, and made an attack upon it. Mrs. G. and three men were at home at the time, and they defended themselves; but, as they were destitute of fire-arms, the negroes made an entrance, and knocked down and beat the immates in a terrible manner. The lady was beaten in an inhu-man manner, and subjected to most fiendish indigni-The next day, officers started in pursuit of the ruf-

fians, and succeeded in arresting them; but, before they could be secured, they were rescued by an armed mob, and set at liberty. This aroused the white citizens, who formed themselves into bands to assist in the punishment of the negroes.

Recent accounts state that the citizens are deter-

mined upon arresting the murderous band mitted the outrages, and the negro population are dis-posed to protect them; and there is, consequently, great danger of a general disturbance. The and blacks, in that and the adjoining township, are about equally divided in numbers; and, while the latter are villainous, the former are determined to protect themselves from outrage

The Detroit Free Press of Tuesday says:

At Chatham, forty miles from Detroit, a gang of negroes took possession of the school-houses on Mon-day morning, and refused to allow the white teachers e authorities were called upon, but dared not enter. The negroes were headed by one Shadd, a negro of desperate character. The negroes demanded not only that the schools should be thrown open to them, but that they should be allowed to partici which he refused the spiritual services of any pate in their management, which, on account of their

numbers, is equivalent to giving them the control.

A conference took place between the negroes and into consideration, and such arrangements made as could with propriety be brought about. A similar disturbance occurred at Sandwich, three miles below Detroit, on the same day.'

Bogus Negno Ournages .- A paragraph in vester day's paper narrated some alleged gross outrages per-petrated by negroes in Canada West. The story was originated by the Detroit Free Press for sensation pur-poses. The Detroit Advertiser affirms that the only foundation for it was a fight between some low whites heaven, and slavery will speedily be abolished. And now, let men remember that because John Brown is hanged, the stock is not exhausted. There are charging them with taking foreible possession of charging them with taking foreible possession of school-houses and expelling the white teachers. Such and negroes at a house of ill-fame kept by an Indian a prostitution of the press to party purposes is disgraceful .- Boston Journal.

INVESTIGATIONS AREAD. - We understand that it is the intention of some of the Republicans, so soon as the House is organized, to move for a Committee to inquire whether there have been any recent violations of that clause of the Constitution which provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the severa States; and if so, what action, if any, of either defire of God's word, when it gets into the bones of partment of the Federal Government, is necessar o punish past and prevent future violations of thi sort; with power to send for persons and papers We hope this will be done, and that there may be thorough examination and exposure of the recenss : and when God commissions such a man wickedness; and when God commissions such a man outrages which have been perpetrated upon peace as John Brown, he will protect his memory and jus-

pened to be dwelling in the Southern States. We also learn that an inquiry may perhaps be in stituted into the recent mail-robberies which have been committed by Government Officials under the pretence of suppressing incendiary publications; and that if the facts seem to demand it, an attempt may be though it be necessary to resort to impeachments to accomplish the object.

If these investigations, together with that in regard

to the Harper's Ferry raid, are presecuted with vigor, much valuable information may be educed for the study of contemplative and conservative minds in all sections of the country.—N. Y. Tribune.

Twenty-eight slaves were manumitted by the feeling against Republicanism, and to neip processional Union-savers. Among other efforts baying this end in view, the Herald sent a special correspondent to Canada for the purpose of raking up everything that could be said in reference to the ev fugitives from slavery in this section of the Queen's dominions. The result is, something more than a page of Herald small print, containing an immense mass of statements, some true, and others false; but all given with a strong bias in favor of were brought to the city by the executors of the will

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES ENJOYING CHRISTMAS FESTIV TIES .- The Natchez Courier of the 27th, in noticing the Christmas festivities in that city, says: 'Yester-day was almost a saturnalia for the colored folks

IT IS NOT A DYE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION.

Warranted not to contain deleterious aubstance This pleasant and valuable preparation has been took his pleasant and valuable preparation has been use for many years by hundreds of the most distin-guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from

· 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 beath from it. Persons personally known to us have come rolung.

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

given universal satisfaction, wherever it has be a used. It can be used with perfect safety, and in perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet. Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Man.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE. MRS. S. A. All Man of confidence. STORER is worthy of confidence. Philadelphia Christian Chronich. Incomparably the best preparation we have the

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. 8. 4.4.

LEN's as the Hair Restorer.' Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Ristorn in Mrs. S. A. Alless at the head of all articles of the kind.'

Michigan Christian Bush, Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

Knozville Presbyterian Wilnes. There never has been a prescription or remedy in

improving the hair, published in the Assen, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquesianed standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. Allrs's. Buffalo Christian Advects Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like rela

and appearance they cause the hair to assume, of the only way to have grey hair assume its samuly yournered colon, is to use that which will be fire. ual and yet not a dye-Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's Wolling HAIR RESTORER will do this. U. S. Jewes In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted the greatest discovery of the present day, it was

freshing to come across that which is what it may really excellent article is Ma. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. AJERS. sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a ma by using it often prevents a serious and unnecess loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harden it being a chemical compound of ingredient one lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair." Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston, Those of our readers whose hair is turning green

losing its color, and who are opposed to user a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World'tha RESTORER a preparation that will speedily charge the hair to its natural color, and at the same in render it soft. It is superior to any heretokeep-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair to sessing NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A PIL. Philadelphia Mercury. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that ha

mequired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Auss's WORLD's HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Small because it is a preparation of real ment, and is never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its propri-tor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, all we begin to think that it is denominated most sp propriately the . World's Hair Restorer. We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. A.

LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER 'is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wist circulation and immense sales it has schieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally apprecia-Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restoria The

most successful remedy of the day. We know d instances where its good effects have been remetable.' Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y. From individual cases that have come under our est

observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly mo-ommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cardially commend it to tice and use of those of our readers who needs remedial agent of this character.'

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

Providence Daily Tribune. Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hatt Ristor. ER. It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertion made in its ble persons. Rahway Advocate and Register.

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

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing posses of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy glossy. appearance almost instantaneously. The Restort is easily applied, and will not stain the fuer lines. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied seconding to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in sire-tisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hill RESTORER are correct. Boston Olice Branch. Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

\*Those unsuccessful with other articles can try th It is just what it purports to be.' Clere. Leeder. We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

We export these preparations to Europe eren, and they are superseding all others there as well as it the United States.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the princips wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. where address all letters and inquiries.

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this on which they make more cont. for circular, terms and information. ed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of controlled.

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

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