Republican Steam Printing Office,

In Hawley & Lathrops' Building, up stairs.

BUSINESS CARDS.

S. H. SAYRE & BROTHER,

MANUFACTURERS of Mill Castings, Castings of all kinds, Stoves, Tin and Sheet Iron Ware, Agricultural Implements, and Dealers in Dry Goods, Groceries, Crockery, &c.
Montrose, Pa., October, 1859.

JOHN GROVES,

FASHIONABLE TAILOR. Shop opposite "Republican" Steam Printing Office.
Montrose, Pa., Oct. 29, 1859.-tf

DR. C. C. HALSEY,

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON, tenders his professional services to the citizens of Montrose and vicinity. Office over Store of J. Ly. ons & Son. Boards at Mr. Etheridge's, Montrose, October 19, 1859.-tf

P. REYNOLDS,

FASHIONABLE TAILOR. Shop in basement of Searle's Hotel, corner room, Montrose, Pa.
Montrose, October 20, 1859.-tf

DR. W. C. HULL,

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON, having located himself in Auburn Centre, is ready to attend to all the calls of his profession. Particular attention given to the treatment of Chronic Diseases.
Auburn Centre, Susq. Co., Pa., Sept. 1, 1859.-6mp

DRS. BLAKESLEE & BRUSH,

HAVING associated themselves under the above name for the prosecution of the duties of their Profession, respectfully offer their Professional services to the Invalid public. Office at the residence of Dr. Blakeslee, midway between the villages of Springville & Dimock.
S. B. BLAKESLEE, N. E. BRUSH.
Dimock, April 27, 1859.-1y

J. DUBOIS,

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE and COMMISSIONER OF DEEDS for the State of New York, at Great Bend, Susq. Co., Pa.
Great Bend, Aug. 24, 1859.-1y

A. A. HALL,

MANUFACTURER and Dealer in all kinds of FURNITURE and COFFINS.
New Milford, Pa., Aug. 24, 1859.-tf

BACON & WEEKS,

DEALERS in all kinds of Groceries, Foreign and Domestic Fruits, Oranges and Lemons, Nuts of all kinds, dried Peaches, Apples, Berries, Prunes, Pickles, Preserves, Olives, Worcestershire Sauce, Flour, Fish, Lard, Tallow, Pork, Salt, &c., &c.
E. BACON, E. L. WEEKS.
Montrose, August 24, 1859.-tf

P. LINES,

FASHIONABLE TAILOR, Brick Block, over Read & Cox's Store, Montrose, Pa.
Montrose, July 27, 1859.-tf

HENRY C. TYLER,

DEALER in Dry Goods, Groceries, Umbrellas, Yankee Notions, Boots and Shoes, Shovels, and Forks, Stone Ware, Wooden Ware and Brooms. Head of Navigation, Public Avenue.
Montrose, Pa., June 22, 1859.-1y

WILLIAM H. COOPER & CO.,

BANKERS, Successors to TOST, COOPER & CO., Montrose, Pa. Office one door east from Post's Store, Turnpike Street.
WM. HENRYNG COOPER, HENRY DRINKER.
Montrose, June 9, 1859.-tf.

H. GARRATT,

WHOLESALE and RETAIL DEALER in FLOUR, GRAIN, SALT, &c., New Milford, Pa. Sales room, Pratt's Office. Will keep constantly on hand the best brands of Flour, by the Scale or hundred pounds, at the lowest market prices. Also Salt by the single Barrel or Load. All orders from Merchants and Dealers will be promptly attended to. ☞ Cash paid for Grain, Wool, Pelts, Hides, and all kinds of Farmers produce in their season.
New Milford, Pa., March 30, 1859.-1y

G. F. FORDHAM,

MANUFACTURER of SADDLES, HARNESS & TRUNKS, & CARRIAGE TRIMMING in all its branches. Shop one door below Keeler & Stoddard's.
Montrose, March 1, 1859.

J. H. SMITH,

MANUFACTURER of HARNESS, SADDLES, and TRUNKS. New Milford, Susquehanna County, Pa.
New Milford, January 19, 1859.-1y

KEELER & STODDARD,

DEALERS in BOOTS & SHOES, Leather and Findings, on Main st., first door below Searle's Hotel.
GEORGE KEELER, N. S. STODDARD.
Montrose, Pa., Jan. 1, 1859.-v2n1

E. H. ROGERS,

STILL continues the MANUFACTURE of all descriptions of SLEIGHS, CARRIAGES, WAGONS, &c., in the best style of workmanship and of the best materials, at the well known stand, a few rods east of Searle's Hotel, in Montrose, where he will be happy to receive the calls of all who want anything in his line.
Montrose, September 15, 1858.-1y

H. D. BENNETT,

BOOK BINDER, Smiley, Susquehanna County, Pa., respectfully informs the people of Susquehanna and neighboring counties that he is prepared to bind Periodicals and Books, and Repair old Books. E. W. FRAZIER will receive Periodicals, &c., for H. D. Bennett. Gibson, Sept. 8, 1858.-tf

WILLIAM B. SIMPSON,

WATCH REPAIRER, having Worked for the past nine years with the most skillful workmen, he feels confident that he can do the most difficult jobs on short notice. All work warranted to give satisfaction. Jewelry repaired neatly and on reasonable terms.

☞ Shop in Boyd & Webster's new Store, corner of Main and Turnpike Streets, below Searle's Hotel, Montrose, Pa.

REFERS to Wm. Elwell, E. W. Baird, E. D. Montanye, E. O. Goodrich, B. Kingsbury, Towanda; B. S. Bentley, L. Searle, C. D. Lathrop, J. Wittenberg, Montrose.
Montrose, Sept. 15, 1858.-tf

WM. W. SMITH & CO.,

CABINET AND CHAIR MANUFACTURERS. Keep constantly on hand all kinds of CABINET FURNITURE, or furnished at short notice. Shop and Ware Rooms foot of Main street.
Montrose, Pa., May 25, 1858.-tf

HAYDEN BROTHERS,

WHOLESALE DEALERS in YANKEE NOTIONS, Watches, Jewelry, &c., New Milford, Susq. Co., Pa.
☞ Merchants and Pedlars supplied at New York Jobbing Prices.
New Milford, May, 1858.-1y

WILLIAM & WILLIAM H. JESSUP,

ATTORNEYS AT LAW, MONTROSE, Pa. Practice in Susquehanna, Bradford Wayne, Wyoming and Luzerne counties.

WILLIAM H. JESSUP,

ATTORNEY AT LAW, NOTARY PUBLIC, AND COMMISSIONER OF DEEDS, for the State of New York, will attend to all business entrusted to him with promptness and fidelity. Office on Public Square, occupied by Hon. William Jessup.

BENTLEY & FITCH,

ATTORNEYS AT LAW, AND BOUNTY LAND AGENTS.—Office west of the Court House, Montrose, Pa.
B. S. BENTLEY.....H. F. FITCH.

ALBERT CHAMBERLIN,

ATTORNEY AT LAW, AND JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.—Office over I. L. Post & Co.'s Store, Montrose, Pa.

A. BUSHNELL,

ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW. Office over S. B. West's Drug Store, SUSQUEHANNA DEPOT, Pa.-1y1

WILLIAM N. GROVER,

ATTORNEY AT LAW, ST LOUIS, MISSOURI. Practices only in the Civil Courts of Record, and devotes himself chiefly to COMMERCIAL CASES. Business from abroad will receive prompt attention. OFFICE No. 46 Chestnut Street.
St Louis, December 22, 1858.-1y

BOYD & WEBSTER,

DEALERS in Stoves, Stove Pipe, Tin, Copper, and Sheet Iron Ware; also, Window Sash, Panel Doors, Window Blinds, Lath, Pine Lumber, and all kinds of Building Materials. The Shop, South Searle's Hotel, and Carpenter Shop near Methodist Church.
WM. H. BOYD..... A. L. WEBSTER.
MONTROSE, Pa., April 14, 1858.-tf

DR. JOHN W. COBB,

BEING now prepared to practice MEDICINE and SURGERY, has located himself in Montrose, Pa., and will strictly attend to the calls of those who may be favored. OFFICE over Z. COBB'S Store, opposite Searle's Hotel.
MONTROSE, Susq. Co., Pa., March 2, 1859.-tf

DR. G. Z. DIMOCK,

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON, has permanently located himself at Montrose, Susquehanna county, Pa. OFFICE over Wilson & Son's store. Lodgings at Searle's Hotel.
Montrose, March 10, 1858.

DR. E. F. WILMOT,

GRADUATE of the Allopathic and Homeopathic Colleges of Medicine, is now permanently located in Great Bend, Pa. Office, corner of Maine and Elizabeth Sts., nearly opposite the M. E. Church. May 1st, 1857.-1y

DR. H. SMITH,

SURGEON DENTIST. Residence and office opposite the Baptist church (North side,) in Montrose. Particular attention will be given to inserting teeth on Gold and Silver plate, and to filling decaying teeth.
Montrose, January 13, 1858.-tf

DR. C. D. VIRGIL,

RESIDENT DENTIST, MONTROSE, PA. Office at the Franklin Hotel. Room No. 2.
Inserting teeth on Gold or Silver plate done in the highest style of the Art. All jobs warranted.
MONTROSE, April 7, 1858.-1o6

DR. R. THAYER,

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON, MONTROSE, Pa. Office in the Farmer's store. v2n28

ABEL TURRELL,

DEALER IN DRUGS, MEDICINES, CHEMICALS, Paints, Oils, Dye-stuffs, Varnishes, Window Glass, Liquors, Groceries, Crockery, Glassware, Wall Paper, Jewelry, Fancy Goods, Perfumery, Surgical Instruments, Trusses, Clocks, Brushes, &c.—and Agent for all of the most popular Patent Medicines. Montrose, Pa.

CHANDLER & JESSUP,

DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, Ready Made Clothing, Groceries Books and Stationery, etc., Public Avenue, MONTROSE, PA.

POST BROTHERS,

DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, Groceries, Crockery, Hardware, Leather, Flour, etc., corner of Turnpike street and Public Avenue, Montrose, Pa.

J. LYONS & SON,

DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, Groceries, Hardware, Crockery, Tinware, Books, Melodeons, and Sheet Music, &c.; also, carry on the BOOK BINDING business—Public Avenue, MONTROSE, Pa.
J. LYONS..... T. J. LYONS.

READ & CO.,

DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Groceries, Hardware, Crockery, Iron, Clocks, Watches, Jewelry, Silver Spoons, Perfumery, &c. Brick Block, MONTROSE.
J. P. W. READ..... with..... C. P. READ.

BALDWIN & ALLEN,

WHOLESALE and Retail Dealers in Flour, Salt, Pork, Fish, Lard, Grain, Feed, Candles, Clover and Timothy seed. Also GROCERIES, such as Sugar, Molasses, Syrups, Teas, Coffee, &c. West side of Public Avenue, one door below J. Etheridge's
MONTROSE, Oct. 30, 1858.-tf

Z. COBB,

DEALER IN GROCERIES, &c., at the store recently occupied by Crane & Rogers, Montrose, Pa.
MONTROSE, March 17, 1859.-tf

MILLINERY.

MISS B. CHAPMAN, formerly of Brooklyn, is located over Chandler & Jessup's Store, where she will be happy to wait on all who may favor her with their custom.
Montrose, Sept. 21, 1859.-tf

☞ Patronize those that advertise.

Independent Republican.

"FREEDOM AND RIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

VOL. 5. | MONTROSE, PA., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1859. | NO. 50.

The Independent Republican.

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY, AT MONTROSE, SUSQUEHANNA COUNTY, PENN'A., BY

H. H. FRAZIER,

AT $1,50 A YEAR, IN ADVANCE.

Rates of Advertising.

SPACE.	1w	2w	3w	1m	2m	3m	6m	1y
1 square,	$0 50	0 75	1 00	1 25	2 25	3 00	$5 00	$8 00
2 squares,	1 00	1 50	2 00	2 50	4 00	5 00	9 00	15 00
3 squares,	1 50	2 25	3 00	3 75	6 00	7 50	12 00	20 00
4 squares,	2 00	3 00	3 75	4 50	8 00	9 50	15 00	24 00
Half a column,							18 00	30 00
One column,							30 00	50 00

Twelve lines of this size type, } make a square.
Eight lines of this size type,—Agate. }

Yearly Advertisers will have the privilege of altering or changing their advertisements occasionally without additional charge.

Business Cards not exceeding five lines inserted at $3 per annum.

Advertisements, to insure insertion, must be handed in by Tuesday morning.

Job Work.—The office of the INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN is provided with three printing presses, a STEAM POWER PRESS, a large HAND PRESS, and a CARD PRESS, together with a good assortment of Jobbing materials; and all kinds of Job Work, such as Cards, Circulars, Posters, Handbills, Labels, Pamphlets, &c., will be done neatly and promptly.

Blanks.—Justices' and Constables' Blanks, School Blanks, Notes, Deeds, Leases, Land Contracts, &c., kept on hand and for sale at the INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN office.

The Knight's Leap at Altenahr.

"So the foeman has fired the gate, men of mine,
And the water is spent and done;
Then bring me a cup of red Ahr wine;
I never shall drink but this one.

And fetch me my harness, saddle my horse,
And lead him round to the door;
He must take such a leap to-night, perforce,
As horse never took before.

I have lived by the saddle for years a score,
And I must die on the tree,
The old saddle-tree, which has borne me of yore,
Is the properest timber for me.

I have lived my life, I have fought my fight,
I have drunk my share of wine;
From Trier to Coln there was never a knight
Lived a merrier life than mine.

So now to show bishop, and burgher, and priest,
How the Altenahr hawk can die.
If they smoke the old falcon out of his nest,
He must take to his wings and fly."

He harnessed himself by the clear moonshine,
And he mounted his horse at the door,
And he took such a pull at the red Ahr wine
As never man took before.

He spurred his old horse, and he held him tight,
And he leaped him over the wall;
Out over the cliff, out into the night,
Three hundred feet of fall.

They found him next morning below in the glen,
And never a bone in him whole;
But Heaven mayget have more mercy than men
On such a bold rider's soul.

Lecture on John Brown.

MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE "REPUBLICAN" AND THE "DEMOCRAT":—By a vote of the meeting which listened to the following Defence of Capt. John Brown, I am requested to hand it over for publication in your several papers.

My time will not warrant me in furnishing you each with a separate copy of the manuscript, and I trust in your mutual generosity, to accommodate each other with the one.

In submitting it, permit me to add that I had no expectation of the call which is made for it; and I can now consent to its publication *only* as an expression of my own sentiments, for which no man besides myself, and no party or sect is responsible.—As to political parties, I stand outside of them all.—None of them come up to my standard of right and duty, although, occasionally, they may have men in nomination, for office, for whom I can vote. I say this much, in justice to all parties concerned. Let therefore none but the author be held responsible for the sentiments, at least until they shall have read or heard, and endorsed them.

Respectfully yours, A. L. POST.
Montrose, Pa., Dec. 5, 1859.

A DEFENCE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN.

Delivered at the Baptist Meeting House in Montrose, on the Evening after his Execution.

BY A. L. POST.

The dark deed, probably, is done. The Moloch and minions of Slavery are jubilant over the strangulation of another, the noblest of all its victims. The drop of a Virginia gallows, in hot haste, has fallen, and the spirit of another martyr in the cause of human freedom, has taken its flight to that better land, "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." Peace to his remains, and honor to his memory. Now that Capt. John Brown has been executed, on conviction by a Virginia Court, of Treason, Murder, and Insurrection, it may be hoped, by many, that all the excitement occasioned by his disinterested and noble daring, may die out; and that his name may be forgotten, or remembered only as connected with the sad fate of those who have suffered the extreme penalty of violated law. Vain hope! As to the excitement, we have had but the beginning of the end; and as to the memory of Brown, it is impossible that it shall not be cherished. It must be wreathed in a hero's crown, and embalmed in the incense of a martyr's glory. Maybe this generation will not do him the anticipated honor.—Maybe that lust for prerogative and power has so corrupted the heart of the nation, and the wisdom which an inspired Apostle denominates, "earthly, sensual, devilish," has so blinded its conceptions of law, justice, and true glory, that his name may be handed to the next generation with the tarnish of infamy, or apologies for madness. But that, or another, shall surely wipe off the stain. Truth and justice will, somehow, keep a clean and sufficient record. Some Mary, or Lydia Maria Child will go with spices to his newly-made sepulchre; and if not "many noble or wise men," at least some few men who have reputation neither to gain nor to lose, with honest hearts and truthful words, will vindicate his honor, and the justice of that cause in which he has fallen. However malignant and threatening may be the cry of 'treason,' still they will do it. But I expect more and better things even of this generation. It is impossible that Brown's heroic deeds, followed, if possible, by more noble utterances, and an undaunted christian faith, while in prison, can be lost, or prove destitute of power in arousing the nation, even now. Gov. Wise may take and give to Southern bloodhounds the so much desired snuff of Abolition blood, but that will only madden to destroy.—He may become as famous, among the thousands who have urged him on, as Perseus of Old, who Mythology tells us cut off the head of Medusa; but he may have reason to fear that the mythic drops of blood which fell from that head, and produced innumerable serpents, may have a more substantial counterpart in the blood of Brown. But the better hope is, that the martyr's blood may cleanse the Church and ballot-box, and restore to them the power to vindicate justice, re-establish human rights, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," and give honor "to whom honor is due." Yes, maybe this generation will do John Brown's memory justice, and finish the work, peaceably, if it can, which he attempted. Aiming at so desirable results, thus early, on this day of his execution, I bring my offering. However feeble, or in the light of the present, presumptuous, it is honest. Take it for what it is worth.

I do not intend to go into the details of the old hero's life; nor the minutiæ of circumstances connected with his death. From my stand point, there is no need, in the vindication of his character and conduct, to make apologies for what is called his last "raid" or "foray," at Harper's Ferry; and therefore no necessity that I should recount those scenes of Slavery ruffianism and outrage in Kansas, which are supposed to have made him a monomaniac, or madman, bent on revenge. Enough for my present purpose, that Capt. John Brown, who to-day expired upon a Virginia gallows, inherited the name and spirit of a lineage, traceable directly back through Capt. John Brown, one of the heroes of our Revolution, to Peter Brown, one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, in 1620, after a long and perilous ocean voyage, in pursuit of an asylum from the oppressions of the Old World, and a place of freedom to worship God, stepped from the Mayflower upon Plymouth Rock. Enough that his conduct and conversation, while holding the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, while lying mangled and bleeding, surrounded by official dignitaries, the bristling bayonets and cutlasses of the soldiery, while chained in a Charlestown prison, and confronting the mockery of a Court, and the gallows, he honored that lineage, and established the right and justice of his claim. Let Col. Washington and his fellow prisoners witness to his bravery, humanity, and self-sacrificing generosity. Let Brown's own indignant repudiation of the advantage which might have been gained by a plea of insanity, and his prison letters, humble, unequivocal, frank, truthful, and sublime, vindicate him from the charges of enemies, and misjudged apologies of friends. Virginia's officials, from the Governor down to Constable, or up to jailor—for he, Capt. Avis, seems noblest of them all—though thirsting for the poor remains of his blood, believed every word the old hero said; and were forced by their own convictions, to pronounce him the bravest man and the noblest old Roman they ever saw. On the conviction of Virginia and the whole nation that Brown tells the truth, I put in for him the plea of justification. In the light of these facts, Municipal Law, as interpreted by the world's civilization, and christian morality, as expounded by the Christendom of the age, both alike, must acquit him of crime.

Now to the proof. First the facts, and then the moral and civil law, as applied to them.

THE FACTS.

The facts include Brown's object, and the means of accomplishing it. His object was the liberation of slaves, and the abolition of Slavery. It was not the creature of momentary impulse, but of a sober, long-cherished sense of duty to God and the millions of his enslaved fellow countrymen—an object worthy of his life and death. In pursuance of this object, he fought the battles of Freedom in Kansas; became the terror of Border Ruffians and the minions of Slavery, and accomplished really more than any other man in preparing Kansas to come into the Union as a Free State. He finished up his labors there by running off a company of slaves from Missouri, and taking them in triumph to Canada. With a reputation thus established, he entered upon the work of emancipation on a grander scale. He rallied a few brave and true men around him, and organized a Provisional Government, under a Constitution which clearly sets forth his object, and the means by which that object was to be accomplished. The Preamble to that Constitution is sufficiently definite upon this subject. It reads as follows:—"PREAMBLE.—*Whereas*, Slavery through its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of a portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude, or absolute extermination, in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Independence: *Therefore*, We, the citizens of the United States, and the oppressed people, who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court, are declared to have no rights which the white man is bound to respect, together with all other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following Provisional Government and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives, and liberties, and to govern our action." Thus organized, with twenty-two men—seventeen white and five colored—he proceeded to Maryland. After maturing plans, he took the town of Harper's Ferry, containing two thousand or more inhabitants, the United States Arsenal, and a number of men prisoners, without the shedding of blood. The State and United States troops, in large numbers, urged on by Gov. Wise of Virginia, in person, made an attack upon him; shot down and butchered thirteen of his men—disregarding, by the way, the flag of truce held sacred at least among all civilized nations—and after two days of turmoil and conflict, succeeded in capturing him and the remainder of his men, left in the Arsenal. Six of his combatants are reported to have been killed, and several wounded. Trials before a Virginia Court, in hot, indecent haste, have followed, resulting in the condemnation of Brown and four of his associates for treason, (excepting one colored man on this count,) murder, and insurrection, under the penalty of death. To-day, between 11 and 12 o'clock, Brown was to have been, and probably has been executed.

Such is a brief, but plain statement of the facts.—Does law, applied to this state of facts, condemn Brown as a criminal, and justify the judiciary and executive of Virginia? In the examination of this question, let us divest ourselves, as far as possible, of all prejudices, partisan predilections, and especially of the influence of those forms of law, which have either lost their substance, or been perverted to the service of injustice, wrong, and outrage; and, with the full expectation that our conclusions will pass in review, at the judgment of the Great Day, honestly inquire after truth. What is right? What is justice? In other words, what, in its true sense, is law, as applicable to this case?

THE LAW.

Blackstone, the world renowned Commentator on Law, defines it as follows:

"Civil or Municipal Law is a rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the supreme power in a State, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong."

I am aware that casuists, and those who have endeavored to make it appear that laws are valid, right or wrong, have found fault with this definition; and yet it must be admitted as the true. The clear and unmistakable inference I draw from it is—that which does not command what is right, or prohibit what is wrong, is not law, and as such, can have no binding force.

Justinian, the great Roman lawyer, in his Institutes, (according to Blackstone,) reduces the doctrine of law to three principles, viz: "We should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to every one his due." These, Blackstone includes among "the eternal, immutable laws of good and evil, to which the Creator himself, in all his dispensations conforms."

Rutherforth, in his Institutes of Natural Law, page 10, says, "As has been shown already, the law of nature enjoins all those actions which are morally good, and forbids all those which are bad. By this means, the former become duties and the latter become crimes."

With these testimonies, we can hardly mistake the nature of law, or the distinction between duties and crimes. If I am met here by a cavilling lawyer with the declaration that there are important distinctions between municipal and natural law, my reply is, admitting that, yet still in a conflict between the two, the municipal must give way to the natural. The former is null and void if it encroaches upon the authority of the latter. Let him turn to his Blackstone, Vol. I, pages 41, 42, 43, and he may read as follows: "The law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times. *No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this*: and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority mediately or immediately from this original." Further, "Those human laws that annex punishment to murder, do not at all increase its moral guilt, or superadd any fresh obligation in the forum of conscience to abstain from its perpetration. Nay, if any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit it, *we are bound to transgress* that human law, or else we must offend both the natural and divine."—Still Further, "Those rights then which God and nature have established, and therefore are called natural rights, such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are. Neither do they receive any additional strength, when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary *no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them*, unless the owner shall commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture." What act, by the way, has the American slave committed that amounts to a forfeiture of his natural rights, as "life and liberty?" But to proceed. "The law of nature," says John Quincy Adams, and he is good authority, "is precedent and paramount to all human governments. Every individual of the human race comes into the world with rights, which, if the whole aggregate of human power were concentrated in one arm, it could not take away. The Declaration of Independence recognizes no despotism, monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic. It declares that individual man is possessed of rights, of which no government can deprive him.

But let the Declaration of Independence speak in its own language:—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing their powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. * * * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

These doctrines, once at least, had the authority of law. On the strength of their vitalizing power, our nation sprang into existence, and gained an acknowledged sovereignty. True, their authority has come to be denied. Shamocrats, assuming the name of Democrat and Republican, have publicly, in many cases, denominated them "nonsensical abstractions," a "mere rhetorical flourish." Yet it is equally true that the Fathers of our Revolution wrote them upon the world's statute book with a pen of steel dipped in the indelible ink of their lives, and "sacred honor." Can it be possible that half a century has changed the nature of "self-evident and eternal truths," and annihilated unalienable human rights? Then O Liberty—Liberty! what hope in this sin-cursed world is left thee? But no, there is still hope. Our Declaration of Independence is still Law—law for every country and clime, for every kindred and color.

I will conclude these authorities with a short, but sublime passage from the celebrated English divine, Hooker,—"Of law," he says, "no less can be acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice is the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and earth do her homage, the least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power."

Such then is law, and to its authority I would most humbly bow. If Brown can not be justified on the doctrines of law, as defined and promulged by the authorities given, then let him be condemned, and the speaker with him. "*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*"—"let justice be done, though the heavens shall fall." If they do not condemn him now that he is dead, at least let his history be acquitted of crime. Whatever may be your decision; whatever may be the decision of the nation now so long staggering and reeling under the load and curse of human slavery, I must say, however much it may subject me to the charge of treason, that so far as the authorities given go, (and they go to the full extent of acquittal,) that John Brown died innocent of the charges preferred against him; and more, if treason, and murder, and insurrection have been committed, it has been done by the Court and Executive of Virginia; and that too against God and Captain John Brown.

But I may be told that I have been dealing in the abstract generalities of law and justice; that "circumstances alter cases," and these may so vary the application, if not change the principles of strict law and justice, as to make them condemn what they seem to justify, and acquit what they seem to condemn.

CIRCUMSTANCES.

To this I reply, that however circumstances may change things which have no inherent moral character, they cannot make law valid against inalienable natural rights, "such as," in the language of Blackstone, "are Life and Liberty." These are the rights involved in the case under consideration. It is the law of Slavery, that, directly or indirectly, condemns Brown and his associates. Is it asked, What is the law of Slavery? I answer, It is the law of might against right. It takes the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness from one class of men and hands them over, in perpetuity, to another class. It makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of beings made in the image of God. It herds four millions of Americans with cattle, and makes the other twenty or more millions of Americans, blood hounds, to run after them if they run away. It is a law of war against man, and to say nothing of God, the fatness and fertility of a free earth. Or, in the more expressive language of the preamble of Brown's Constitution, it is "the most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of a portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination, in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths, set forth in our Declaration of Independence."

Such is the law of Slavery. Is it, can it be valid law? Can it have force in a Court of justice? No, I repeat it, no. It is absolutely void; and yet such is the law that has condemned and executed Brown. He guilty of crime? no. With the command of God ringing in his ears—"Remember those in bonds as bound with them." "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," he put on his armor, ran into the ruthless, barbarous, and unprovoked war, which Slavery had long ago commenced, and was now prosecuting with redoubled fury, cruelty, and madness. He went into a war of defense and rescue; more justifiable than the high purpose that brought the great and honored Lafayette into our Revolutionary struggle; or that which sent Americans to fight the battles of Greece. True, circumstances wonderfully alter cases; but why a change of cases without a corresponding change of circumstances? Here is a case. If I remember rightly, in the time of the Greek Revolution, the cry was raised in this country for bread and clothing, and men and munitions of war, for Greece. It is reported that the renowned John Randolph pointed some benevolent ladies who had become deeply interested in making clothing for Greeks, to a company of ragged slaves, and cried, "the Greeks! the Greeks! there are the Greeks!" Dr. Howe, of Boston was honored in being sent with the nation's liberality to the Greeks of the old World, and there covered himself with glory in fighting their battles against the Turks. Now he is said to be a fugitive in Canada, because of his connection with John Brown, in freeing, from a thousand fold worse than Turkish oppression, John Randolph's "Greeks," in the Old Dominion. O Consistency, Consistency! hast thou fled, under Slavery's scourge, "to brute beasts?"

SELF-DEFENCE.

But I have not done with this question of defence. It is said that Brown took life. There is no proof of this; and yet admit it. By all the rules of warfare, man has a right to take life, in self defence.—Cook, in his confession, gives the concluding portion of Brown's charge to his men, before taking the town of Harper's Ferry. Said Brown, "Now, gentlemen, let me press this one thing upon your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your lives are to your friends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them, as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of any one, if you can possibly avoid it; but if it is necessary to take life, in order to save your own, then make sure work of it."

If they "made sure work of it," in some few cases, is there any evidence that the simple orders of defence were disregarded? no. But what is the Law of Defence? Rutherforth hands it down from Grotius thus: (R. Inst., p. 196.) "We ought not to take away any one's life immediately, or directly, for the sake of preserving our goods," but he allows, however, that "we may defend them till our life is in danger; and then we may justly kill the robber."

If we may, virtually, go to the extent of taking life in defence of our goods, certainly there can be no doubts about the right of defending persons, to the extent of taking the lives, if necessary, of the robbers of God's poor. While I give the law of Civilization and Christianity, as generally received, I give no opinion of my own, upon that subject—I simply apply the law as I find it, and as almost universally admitted; and apply it to the case of Brown. This law must acquit him of guilt. But I am told, perhaps, that he resisted the authorities, the Governor and Government. Very well; yet he must be justified. How stands the law? As authority upon this point, I will introduce again Rutherforth's Institutes of Natural Law. The author says, (p. 453–4,) "Rights of resistance begin when civil subjection ceases," then, after setting forth that subjection ceases where governors abdicate, he proceeds—"Secondly, civil power or authority, in its highest degree is limited by the laws of nature and of God: it does not give, those who are invested with it, a right of commanding what is inconsistent with these laws, or of compelling obedience to such commands. In respect, therefore of what is inconsistent with these laws, civil subjection ceases—for, when the civil government has no right to command, or to compel, *the people are under no obligation* to obey or submit."

Our author goes further, even to the annihilation of duty to suffer the penalty of void law, when we disobey its commands. "Though," he proceeds, "the people are at liberty to submit patiently if they will, it will be of no consequence that they are obliged thus to submit. Though no law of nature or of God has forbidden passive obedience—unless, perhaps the law of self-preservation, upon which I shall not insist—yet you cannot conclude from hence that such obedience is duty. To support this conclusion you must produce some law of nature or of God which enjoins it. In the meantime, it seems self-evident that where civil governors of a society have no right to command, they have no right or authority to make use of force either to compel obedience, or to punish disobedience. But it is a known principle of natural law, that, where there is no right on one part, there is no obligation on the other part.—The people, therefore, are not in subjection to any force which is made use of by the civil governors for these purposes, or are not obliged passively to submit to such force." This would have been good grounds for either Brown's acquittal or his rescue.

Upon this point, let Virginia, when she was the Old Dominion of Liberty, instead of Slavery, as she now is, in her history speak:

"On the arrival," says that history, "of the stamp act in America, the smothered feelings of the colonists broke forth in one general burst of indignation. The House of Burgesses in Virginia, being at that time in session, made the first opposition. In five resolutions, which were introduced and supported by the eloquent and ardent Patrick Henry, they asserted the rights and privileges of the colonists, and declared that they were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxes on them, unless made by their own Assembly. It was here that the conduct of the Stamp Act, for the first time in America, publicly arraigned; and Henry was the first man who dared publicly assert that the King had acted the part of a tyrant in taxing the colonies without their consent."

As applied to the present case, all I have to say is, that Patrick Henry's name is proved to be in the same category with Brown's; and that, if justice is done, fifty years will not have passed, before the daring of Brown will be as highly honored as that of Henry. It should be more highly, for the reason that the former ran the greater hazard. Henry bearded the lion three thousand miles off; Brown knocked out some of his teeth, and bearded him in his den.

But take another historical incident, a nearly, if not exact parallel with the case of Brown.

In 1775, Gov. Gage, of the Massachusetts Colony, sent from Boston a force consisting of eight hundred men, under the command of Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn, to destroy a large quantity of ammunition and stores at Concord. When they arrived at Lexington, they found the militia of the place drawn up and ready to receive them. On the refusal of the militia to lay down their arms, the regulars fired upon them, and killed eight men. This following up the Boston massacre commenced the American Revolution.—Were the militia justifiable in resisting the colonial authorities of Great Britain? Americans, what say you? Will you dodge a justification of the beginning of your own Revolution, for the sake of condemning old John Brown?" Shame on such degenerate cowardice and injustice! You dare not.

I conclude, therefore, this part of my defence by saying that it matters not, that Brown and his associates were contending against governors, or civil magistrates. Those authorities had no right to command his submission, nor to use force to compel it; and Brown's right was that of disobedience and defence.

CONSTITUTIONAL REMEDIES.

But I may be told that there are "constitutional remedies for existing evils, and these alone should be resorted to."

There may be more in this, as applied to the case, than in any other objection; and yet it must be construed in the light of the Declaration of Independence to be, in all cases, valid. It must admit, that the Constitution is a Consitution for Freedom; and that its forms must furnish all needed facilities for the remedy of wrongs. If it, and all legal forms may be put under duress, or, by construction, be made to annihilate natural and unalienable rights; and to tolerate injustice and outrage, then the objection becomes invalid. Have not petitions and remonstrances, for a whole generation, been urged against slavery with all possible eloquence and pathos, only to be treated with ridicule, contempt, and mob violence? Has not the ballot box been adjured to come to the rescue, against the peril of insurrection and general devastation, and yet, under the terror of a threatened dissolution of the Union, has it not cowered and truckled, spaniel-like, at the feet of despots? Has it not been stuffed with illegal votes, by officials, and bought by promises of preferment, until it has become so corrupted that even pretty good men think they have done wonders in bringing the free States up, with faltering step, to the stand that slavery may be let alone where it is, but must make no further aggressions upon free Territory? May not slavery propagandism have half the credit of even this?—Has not slavery, all the while, been growing stronger, more arrogant, and murderous? What power has made, for so many years, all of our Presidents; commanded our armies; represented us in foreign Courts; passed Fugitive Slave Bills; knocked down Senators; destroyed a great Compromise that favored free Territory: butchered free State men, rewarding that butchery with office; encouraged filibusterism against weak nations; revived the foreign commerce in the bodies and souls of Africans; and so corrupted the Supreme Court of the United States, as to force its dictum that "the black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect?" What power but slavery, and that, too, under a construction of the spirit and forms of the Constitution?—Slavery has done all this, and more; and yet twenty-two men, under the noblest Captain of the age, the noblest "old Roman" of all modern Romans, must be shot down or hung for "Treason, murder, and insurrection," because, "a Forlorn Hope," they dashed into the conflict to rescue constitutional liberty, and emancipate the crushed and bleeding slave. Slavery is an outlaw, although making war on God and humanity, professedly under the banner of the Constitution—it is constitutionally an outlaw; and as has been demonstrated, on every principle of natural justice, it is an outlaw. It is a modern Cain without God's mark on him, to shield him from retribution. So Brown believed, and so, to put the worst possible construction upon his conduct, he acted.

EXPEDIENCY.

As a last resort, for a law by which to condemn Brown and his associates