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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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WILLIAM BLUNKY CHAPRING.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDS

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1860. WHOLE NO. 1566

VOL. XXX. NO. 52.

## KEFUGE OF OPPRESSION. PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS.

Among the many unhappy effects which have reulted from the enactment of the present Fugitive
Slave Law may be included the passage, by a majority of the Northern States, of very stringent Personal Liberty Laws. These laws appear upon their
face to have been designed to obstruct as far as possible the execution of the act for the recovery of fugitive slaves passed by the Congress of 1850.

While it is our sincere desire that no slave who
exapes from his master may be re-taken by him, we
at the same time regret that any State should do

at the same time regret that any State should do anything by its legislation to prevent the recovery of such a slave by his master. So long as the clause of the Constitution respecting those 'who owe labor or service in one State, escaping into another, remains in that instrument, and so long as the Fugitire Slave Law is a Statute of the land, we regard it as an unfortunate thing that any State should seem to evince a disposition to render nugatory a provis-ion of the Constitution, or to nullify an act of Congress Whatever honor or disgrace may attach to nullification, we desire may be possessed by South

But we object to Personal Liberty Laws not merely for the objects they seem to be intended to accom-plish, but also because we consider them to be of litthe value to the slave. Our own State law forbids the servants of the State, either civil or military; to assist in the rendition of fugitive slaves, and forbids the use of buildings belonging to the State for their detention and confinement. But does any one supdetention and confinement. But does any one sup-pise that the act will prevent the recovery of slaves? May they not still be arrested and confined in buildings or vessels belonging to the United States? May they not be as lely kept by the servants of the General Government, either civil, military or navai?

Is it then desirable there should be on our Statute books an act which exposes Massachusetts to the emerge of Nullification, when no practical good has resulted or may be expected to result from its enact-

We know that it may be said that Personal Lib. y Laws are needed for the protection of the rights free colored persons. But we would ask, whose rights have these laws preserved? If the rights of any of our citizens are in danger, why seek to maintain them by an insufficient protection, since, as we have shown, slaves may still be re-captured, and it does not appear that Personal Liberty Laws can prevent the kidnapping of free colored persons. If we mean to nullify the Fugitive Slave Law, let us do it boldly, and if we do not mean to do it, let us not do anything which seems intended to nullify it, particularly where little or no practical good can result to any person from such action as does not nullify it

enactment not only irritates the South, but furnishes her one of those 'injuries' which she considers justify her in withdrawing from the Union. We have always thought, and long before the present troubles, took occasion to say, that the passage by the Legislatures of Northern States of laws designed to hinder the execution of statutes enacted by Congress for the benefit of the South, constitutes iew the most plausible ground of complaint which the South brings against the North. There are in the South men of great ability and influence, who earnestly desire a dissolution of the Union. Is it wise in the friends of the Union to furnish these men with the means for weakening and perhaps dis-solving the bonds which unite the States of this con-federacy?—Taunton Republican.

#### OUR PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW. We have already expressed our own opinion of our

Personal Liberty Law. We consider the enactment of at least doubtful constitutionality, and of clear worthlessness in a practical point of view. We bave thought that such legislation, in nearly all cases, has been rather the expression of a just indig-nation aroused by the outrageous provisions of the present Fugittre Slave Law, than the result of a conviction that any useful end was certain to be attained by it. And while we should greatly prefer that a modification of the Federal act should precede the repeal of our own, yet considering-not the arowed secessionists at all-but the accordant wish of the sound Union men at the South; the honest prejudices of the masses in that section, who are kept from the circulation of truths prevailing here; the requirements of the new era of triumph upon which the Republican party is now entering, calling for a wise conciliation and ready generosity; consid ering all these things, we say, we should be glad to see the Personal Liberty Act repealed promptly by the Legislature shortly to assemble.

Our readers will find in another column an address to the people of Massachusetts, urging reasons for a repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, which must command attention. Backed by the authority of such names as Ex-Chief Justice Shaw, Judge Par-Washburn, and other eminent men, whose sympathies are Hepublican, as well as of men of other parties, this appeal to the good faith of the people of Massachusetts, in a matter in which we are clearly in the wrong, cannot be lightly regarded. -Boston Journal,

# TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The undersigned are moved by an imperative sense of duty to address their felllow-citizens of the State of Massachusetts, concerning the portentous condition of our public affairs.

We are private citizens of different political parties, neither holding nor desiring any public em-ployment, having no interest in the subject which is not common to all, and being impelled by no motive save the love of our country and our sense of responsibility to God, for the preservation and transmission of the priceless blessings of civil liberty and public order which His providence has bestowed upon us. Many of us have heretofore held public employments; and we say, not in a spirit of boasting, but because the occasion calls on us to say it, that the people have seen we have

not been unfaithful to their trusts.

For our honest and profound convictions, for the cause of truth and right, for the sake of your own duties and welfare, we ask you to hear us.

A large and important part of our common country is excited and alarmed. We deceive ourselves if we suppose this excitement and alarm are not real, deep and general throughout fifteen States, which country is excited and we have constituted in the country of th have been united to us by the closest ties which ever did, or in the nature

ion of our own-conduct.

When we shall have done altogether right our-elves, we can firmly demand all that is due from thers, and calmly abide whatever consequences may ensue from insisting on that demand.

Fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, we are forced by these considerations solemnly to declare, that we believe the State of Massachusetts has violated our great national compact, by laws now on her statute book, which are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Federal Government, like the governmen of each State, extends over the territory of each State, and over all persons within its limits. Each of these governments is sovereign and supreme within its own constitutional sphere of action, and officers and its citizens to do an act, the other can- with them as members of the same society, who these governments, and its executive officers are dren's shame; and we know that these patriotic, by its laws to preserve that custody, then wise and courageous men are checked as its constitutional powers; and laws commanding it, mon country call on us in tones more eloquent

perilous contest, special commissioners are required to be appointed in each county of the Commonwealth, and the treasury of the Commonwealth is subjected to their unlimited control, for the purpose of provoking the conflict, and pressing it on-ward to its final and inevitable issue of physical We know they have

We hold it to be plain, that a State has not the to doubt the integrity, the magnanimity, the intel-constitutional power to subject to severe and ignominious punishment, persons who, by mistake of these great qualities we earnestly appeal. We be-facts, or misapprehension of law, and without any seech you to consider carefully this momentous corrupt or wicked intent, make a claim under the subject; to act upon it justly, firmly, wisely, as belaws and before the authorities of the United comes men to whose care so great privileges have States. If such power existed, every law of the been entrusted, and who are accountable to pos-United States could be rendered inoperative by terity, to the world, and to our Creator for State legislation. For who would demand any right under a law of the United States, if the penalty of an innocent failure to prove his case, which may proceed from merely accidental causes, should not the public servants be above the people, who may proceed from merely accidental causes, should not the public servants be above the people, who subject him to a fine of five thousand dollars, and are their masters. See that they do right. imprisonment in the State Prison for five years? Yet such is one of the laws now on our statute

ook.
The volunteer militia are prohibited from acting, in any manner, in the rendition of a person ad-judged to be a fugitive from service. The volunteer militia is the only arm on which the municipal magistrates of our cities and towns can rely, to quell organized and dangerous riots. Every one of its members is a member of the militia of the United States, and they are armed at the expense and un-der the authority of the United States, expressly conferred by the Constitution. Yet this law de-clares, that the arms of the United States, in the hands of citizens of the United States, who are a part of the militia of the United States, shall not be used by them to protect officers of the law of the United States from lawless violence in the streets of a city, whose peace the Commonwealth

s bound to preserve. Fellow-citizens, is it consistent with the duty we owe to our common country, to our State, and to ourselves, that such laws should be permitted longer

to exist?
We know it is doubted by some whether the present is an opportune moment to abrogate them.
It is said—We grant these laws are wrong, but will you repeal them under a threat? We answer no.
We would do nothing under a threat. We would repeal them under our own love of right; under our own sense of the sacredness of compacts; under our own conviction of the inestimable importance of social order and domestic peace; under our feeling of responsibility to the memory of our fathers and the welfare of our children, and not under any threat. We would not be prevented from revealing them. We would not be prevented from repealing them by any conduct of others, if such repeal were in accordance with our own sense of right. He who refuses to do a right thing merely because he is threatened with evil consequences, acts in subjection to the threat; he is controlled by it; his false pride may enable him to dispensed the threats, but pride may enable him to disregard the threat; but he lacks courage to despise the wrong estimate of his own conduct, which conduct he knows would which ever did, or in the nature of human affairs ever can connect different political communities.

The foundations of our Government are shaken, and, unless the work of destruction shall be stayed, we may soon see that great Union, our honor and safety abroad and at home, broken into weak, discordant and shattered fragments; and that people, who have dwelt under its protection in unexampled peace and prosperity, shedding fraternal blood in civil war.

At such a time, it is a great and solemn duty of the people of every State to consider well whether any part of the wrong which has produced this condition of affairs can justly be laid to its charge.

and if any such should be found, every consideration of duty and interest demands that such wrong should be promptly repaired.

No specious fallacies, no blind resentments, no loud recriminations, no false pride, should be allowed to keep us in any wrong which can form even a small part of the causes which threaten a great people with ruin.

Our first duty is with ourselves. It can be performed only by a just, candid and manly examination of our own-conduct.

Whatever may have been true in the past, whatever faults of speech and action may have been

peal these laws under a threat? Who threatens us if they should not be repealed?
Whatever may have been true in the past, whatever faults of speech and action may have been committed on the one side or on the other, we firmly believe that the men from whom the worst consequences to our country and ourselves are likely to proceed, have no wish that these laws should be repealed, and no disposition to use any threats in reference to them. On the contrary, they desire to have them stand as conspicuous and palpable breaches of the national compact by ourselves, and as affording justification to themselves, to the world and to posterity, for the destruction of the most perfect and prosperous government which the Providence of God has ever permitted the wisdom of man to devise. How far these acts of ours are from affording any justification for the enormous entitled to the implicit obedience of the people to its laws, and to its judicial and executive officers measures they are seeking to pursue the property of the people to apply and enforce them. To be a seeking to pursue the property of the people to apply and enforce them. its laws, and to its judicial and executive officers measures they are seeking to pursue, we know but appointed to apply and enforce them. It is plain, too well. But we know equally well that there are that if one of these governments may command its other men, living among these last, and connected officers and its citizens to do an act, the other cannot command them to abstain from doing it, or
require them to do something which prevents or seeking for other remedies than revolution and
obstructs its execution. It is an inevitable consequence, that, when either persons or property have
ever bounded, and who would not see the glory of
been taken into the custody of the law of one of
our fathers sink into the darkness of their chilthe other government cannot require its officers and ened in their efforts to save the country, by our citizens, in any manner, to interfere therewith persistence in our wrong. They threaten no one; Such interference would be a plain departure from but their labors and their sacrifices for our comthan any words, to do out many,

Yet, it is nevertheless the fact, that if a fugitive

Yet, it is nevertheless the Constitution and laws of

We have heard it suggested, also, that this is

the United States require to be delivered up, be in not the time to repeal these laws, because, in any the custody of a Marshal of the United States, who future attempt at a compromise between the North is commanded by the laws of the United States to and the South, we should not have them to surretain that custody, the laws of Massachusetts re-quire every Judge of its Supreme Court, its Supe-who counsel us to make merchandise of our own rior, Probate, or Police Court, (and any Justice of honor. Shall we grasp what does not belong to the Peace, in some contingencies,) to issue a writ us, and, when we are satisfied it is not ours, say, requiring the Marshal of the United States, having we will keep it wherewith to make a bargain? And such custody, to bring the fugitive before a State a bargain with whom? With strangers—with tribunal, to subject him to the control of such tribunal, and to relinquish his custody upon its order.

We all have but one country, one and having thus taken the fugitive from the custome country, one destiny? We taken the fugitive from the custome country, one destiny. And having thus taken the fugitive from the cus welfare, one destiny; whether that destiny be to tody of the law of the United States, the State tri-bunal is to proceed to a trial of the matters in the height where we should be the envy and de-issue, with forms and principles of its own, which it is believed have never been applied to any other civil discord, and find a dishonored grave. No seri-case, which are wholly inconsistent with the laws of our would can be inflicted anywhere on our body the United States, and in open defiance of their politic, without making the whole head sick and authority. And, as if the execution of these laws the whole heart faint. And he who should apcould not be left to the ordinary instrumentalities, proach an attempt to cure our disorders, not with a seemed sufficient for the protection of the lives, spirit of moderation, of justice, of kindness and rersons and property of our citizens, and in prepa fraternal regard, but with a disposition to seem to ration, as it would seem, for an inevitable and surrender what is not our own, that we may keep

We know they have in times past had great provocations. And we firmly believe that if they have so far yielded to them, as to allow their re-Besides the laws already referred to, there are have so far yielded to them, as to allow their re-other provisions which are manifestly designed to sentment to press too strongly on their judgment, nd the performance of our constitutional it is not because they do not love the right, or beduty of surrendering fugitives from service, with cause they feel any indisposition to discharge hon-such obstacles as must prevent its performance, early and generously every constitutional obliga-even though, by so doing, our own public peace tion. The entire history of our State, back to its earliest germon the rock of Plymouth, forbids us

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INCREASE SURVEY, Great Barrington.
Asa C. Russell.

J. C. RUSSELL

As a general rule, there could be no better ordered city than this of Boston. On all public occasions, its inhabitants behave themselves with a decorum which sometimes has almost the effect of tameness. It is true, our ancestors over the water styled it a 'rebellious city' but this was because the people had too much latent spirit to submit to intolerable oppressions; and when endurance became a vice, broke out from time to time, after remonstrance, into open and forcible resistance. The time comes in every community, when a little deviation from the ordinary rules of demeanor are called for by circumstances which can be met and

brought to a summary conclusion, by turning the tables completely upon the conspirators against common sense and decency. That the result was not more disastrous to those irresponsible persons who were responsible for the meeting, resulted from their incapacity to defend themselves, and from the incapacity to defend themselves, and from the meeting themselves are provided by a latting exception to the rule laid down by a latting poet:

Ingenuas didicises fideliter artes,

Emollit mores, necessities esse feros, which means, substantially, that every scholar must used by a latting exception to the rule laid down by a latting poet:

Output to a summary conclusion, by turning the standing exception to the rule laid down by a latting poet:

Dispensation to the rule laid down by a latting poet:

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Dispensation to the rule laid down resolute good nature of the public who took possession of the HALL. We are not disposed to be rights. This might be a clear case for the intervention of that higher law, so often appealed to by the Brownists themselves. Still, under the call for the meeting, which was merely to discuss the ques-tion of slavery, all good citizens were entitled to take

inferiors in claims to public good will, over THE JUST DOOM AWARDED TO JOHN BROWN, proved the opportunity for a powerful expression of appropriate sentiments in regard to that desperate ruffian and his is to day the faith, and be an infidel. If some power would only give him the gift to conceive that misdeeds. Another effect will follow. No such assembly, for that or any similar purpose, is very likely to be held in any conspicuous place in Boston again. Nor do we believe that our people will listen hereafter, as they have hitherto done, to the fierce tirades of Phillips and his crew, to the empty platitudes of Summer, or the insolent bravado of Wilson. Indeed, it was a marked feature of the occasion, yesterday forenoon, that neither Phillips Boston Courier. nor Garrison were visible. Their names were the summons, and the posts of some of them at least assigned—but when the day of battle came, these leaders of an ignorant and fanatical multitude sedition and treason put their followers forward, but they reserved their own persons for some other than that which so imperiously demanded

We publish, this morning, an accurate and elaborate report of the proceedings of the meeting, called to discuss the slavery question, and, under It turned out that the bulk of the audience was of this city. Reports, unfounded in truth, had composed of men who think that the hanging of John Brown himself was 'right.' The meeting gone forth to the effect that the meeting at which was organized by the choice of an able body of cation' would be broken up, and the result was the officers, and FREE SPECH WAS VINDICATED, and seembling of an immense multitude. Every part of sound resolutions were adopted. All this is recorded. In the evening the Abolitionists executed in the specious corridors of the ball was crowded, and the specious corridors of In the evening, the Abolitionists assembled in the African church, a building in Smith Place. A crowd impropriety of the harangee. The police were likegathered in the street outside, but there was no interruption of the proceedings. At the close, Wendell Phillips was escorted to his home by the police, and the other white leaders were invisible, though some of them were armed. The Belge, the street of the proceedings are the street of the proceedings. The Union men of Boston attended the 'services' through one of them were armed.

Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison-

dom of speech on their side. After their expulsion from the Temple, they assembled in their rookery on Smith Court, and while the police protected them, they passed resolutions, censuring the Mayor of the city and the Chief of the very men who guarded them from an angry populare. Is not this freedom of speech?—Boston Courier.

The time comes in every community, when a little to deviation from the ordinary rules of demeanor are called for by circumstances which can be met and counteracted in no other way. Thus, we have long suddressed by a set of incendiaries, who spared nothing and nobody—who have gone on actually cursing the Constitution which protects them, and gathering audiences pretending to represent the sentiment of the community. The effect of this abroad has been most pernicious. It has alienated our fellow-citizens from us, and multitules of our fellow-citizens from the ferouth fellow-citizens from us, and multitules of our fellow-citizens from us, and multitules of our fellow-citizens from the fellow-citizens from t Our reports give a sufficient account of the quiet, low pot-hours bully, but he speaks like Cicero. It is a jewelled hand flinging filth. Mr. Phillips is a jewelled hand flinging filth.

which means, substantially, that every scholar must needs be a gentleman. He is utterly unaware that freedom of speech is subject to any moral limita-tions, or any restraints proceeding from good man-ners and good taste. We have been a pretty dili-gant reader of Mr. Phillips's speeches for many years, and we recall them as an unbroken series of polished invective and graceful vituperation. There are certain gentlemen whom he is constantly serving a proper part in the proceedings, and to determine the question in the way most agreeable to their own views.

The effect of the whole affair is, that a public meeting, called really, though covertly, to renaw the lamentations of negroes, and white men far their inferiors in claims to public good will, over THE JUST of slavery should be dealt wish. To differ from him up with viper sauce for the intellectual palates Boston Courier.

The chief local event is the 'sermon' of Mr. Wendell Phillips. The Music Hall was crowded yesterday morning, and the police were obliged to protect the preacher from violence on his way home. It was a queer spectacle for Boston; but those persons who have encouraged this man in his abuse of the present the present that the approximation of the present that the present the present the present that the present the present the present that the present the occasion than that which so imperiously demanded their presence. Men like these, who can only scold in presumed safety, are not martyrs of that stuff on which the fortunes of a great country should be events which may follow this free speech. The troops were ordered to be in readiness for any omergency yesterday .- Ibid.

elaborate report of the proceedings of the meeting, called to discuss the slavery question, and, under the rose, to eulogize the murderer, John Brown. though some of them were armed. John Brown, it is it, and for the purpose—so far as many were given no detailed report of the insane speeches in the church.—Boston Courier, Dec. 4. described .- Boston Post.

more withstanding the formidable organization of colored Wide-Awakes in this city—were not in attendance at the John Brown meeting yesterday morning. Who are the cowards?—Courier, Dec. 4.

137 We notice that there is much discussion in the abolition papers on the subject of free speech, and it is intimated that the rights of the negroes who congregated at the Temple last Monday were infringed in this respect. To our mind, the utmost latitude was given to the dusky ordiors. Indeed, we reported a speech of Fred. Douglass, which, had a white man made it in the Legislature, the Sergeantat-Arms would have removed him from the chamber. The truth is, the Abolitionists have all the freedom of speech on their side. After their expulsion from the Temple, they assembled in their rookery on Smith Court and while the rollier protected.

As our reporters show, by their soco another column, an extraordinary spectacle was presented on Sunday at the Music Hall, and in the streets of this city. Reports, unfounded in truth, had gone forth to the effect that the meeting at which Wendell Phillips was to speak on Mobs and Education' would be broken up, and the result was the assembling of antimeseus multitude. Every freedom of speech?—Boston Courier.

EF A good deal has been said in certain quarters—for instance, in the New York Times—concerning the insignificance of the white and black traitors who assembled in the Trement Temple last Monday, to again, in the name of Massachusetts, sulogise the asserters. John Brown. Our New York critic has devoted a good deal of time to Mir. William Mulligan; and why? Because he is a dangerous bruiner. Our minances are not bruiners to go on with his draw of persons war against our fellow-countrymen of the Nouth, and when the more courageous of their Rollowers are conget in the act of source, the counsellors by the England, Canada and Hayre. We have in our better that the meeting at which Wendell Phillips was to speak on 'Mobs and Reducation' would be broken up and the result with the assembling of antisuments multitude. Every part of the hall was crowded, and the specima corridors of each floor were crowded, with people distinguished floor were recorded with people distinguished to you can with his drawfor of persons were likewise out in large force. But Mr. Phillips was permitted to go on with his drawfor of persons were parter to the persons of the persons and the persons were persons out the persons of th

## SELECTIONS

DISTURBANCE AT MUSIC HALL.

It is very certain that it was not excess of re-igious zeal, or regard for Christian truth, which ed men to the Music Hall to interrupt Mr. Philled men to the music man his return home; the piety of this city does not show itself in that man piety of this city does not show itself in that manner. And however difficult it may be to secount for the process by which Mr. Phillips and his hearers obtained their views, it must be evident enough, that had there been no interruption of the meeting at Trement Temple a few days since, there wou'd have been no occasion for Mr. Phillips to have delivered a lecture on Sunday upon 'Mobs.' It takes a great while for some men to learn the simplest truths; the cause and effect, to them, are not very apparent, and frequently the one is mistaken for the other. In this instance, it ought to be very clear to the dullest minds.

The first mob was proclaimed throughout the country as a triumph of the Union sentiment of Boston over abolitionism; if so, what must be said of the failure in the attempt of yesterday? If this one had been successful, would it have been beneficial to the cause of the Union, and have effectually put down the abolition spirit, as it will be called?

put down the abolition spirit, as it will be called? Would it not rather have increased that spirit brought multitudes into sympathy with them and made it more difficult to shut their mouths the next time? Had the press and the leading men of this city been unanimous in their condemnation of the city been manimous in their condemnation of the outrage at the Temple, there would have been no attempted repetition of it at the Music Hall. On the right view of this subject now will depend the renewal of these scenes, which, if continued, must inevitably result in bloodshed. We take pleasure, in this case, in commending the conduct of the police, and trust they may ever be as efficient in the performance of their duties.

the performance of their duties.

Should it be said that the language of Mr. Phillips was calculated to produce irritation, and provoke disturbance, it is a sufficient answer to say that it does not become the objectors to make such a plea. They were under no obligation to listen to it; and if there was a justification, some of their friends would long ago have been mobbed on the the same pretext. The language of Caleb Cushing in Fancull Hall, in stigmatizing Gov. Banks and other officers of the State government as 'drunken mutineers,' would have been sufficient justification on the same ground for the entire destruction of that sacred edifice.—Atlas and Bee.

# THE LAST BOSTON MOB.

The mob which assailed Wendell Phillips in Boston, last Sunday, does not got such notice from the Boston press as it deserves. The Alles and Bee has spoken of it very properly, and the Traveller has given it similar attention; but most of the other ournals recorded the leading particulars without comment. The Boston Transcript spoke of Mr. Phillips with great severity, but had not a word, either of consure or commendation, for the mob that sought his life. "It seems to us that our Boston emporaries have a duty to the laws, to the good name of Biston, and to the well-being of the com-munity where they live, which some of them fail to discharge. It is our opinion that a Sunday mob in Biston, such as that which introded itself into Music Hall, and made such ferocious efforts to sobse and injure Mr. Phillips, should be denounced in terms which the dallest reader can understand. It is not our intention to criticise of question the

It is not our intention to criticise of question the Transcript's estimate of that gentleman or his speeches; but it seems to us that something more than criticism was required when his right to speak was foully put in jeopardy in the city of Boston. He is not likely to escape criticism at any time. We believe he does not shou criticism, nor wince under it. He certainly should not, for he never sparse others, who get in the way of any principle or policy he advocates. But when his life, or the life of any other man, is assailed by a brutal mob in broadcloth, a subject is presented on which the press should have

be advocates. But when his life, or the life of any other man, is assailed by a brutal mob in broadcloth, a subject is presented on which the press should have something to say. And every man who sees any worth in free principles, or who has the slightest respect for the institutions of Manachusetts, should deal by that mob as all satanic shings should be dealt by, before he rentures even to inquire the subject of Mr. Phillips's discourse.

This matter is becoming serious. Free speech can not be suppressed in Boston, not any where else in Massachusetts, and they are the worst enemies of law and order who encourage mobs to assail it, either directly by such inculations as have appeared in the Courier, or indirectly by equivocal words, or still more equivocal silence. We who live outside of Boston are astonished that such things can be done or attempted there in this sixtisth year of the aine-teenth century. To us it is very plain that free speech cannot be suppressed there; but, if the press continues to neglect its duty, this matter may go on as it has begun, until it shall end in a fearful tragedy.—Worcester Spy.

#### A SUNDAY ROW .... FREE SPEECH SUS-TAINED.

TAINED.

Wendell Phillips spoke last Sunday in Music Hall, Boston, on mobe and education. He was engaged to deliver his address by the Committee of the Society of the last Theodore Parker. Fearing a riot, about one hundred of the police went to the Hall, and remained through the nervices: Mr. Phillips was as brilliant as usual, and justly severe. He gave Fay and his base followers who broke up the meeting at Tremont Temple, the castigation they richly deserved. Mr. Phillips was frequently interrupted by himes, derisive laughter, and the Bell-Everett cry of 'all up,' but when interrupted, the orator repeated the passage the more emphatically, and they were compalied to hear. Mr. Phillips left the hall accompanied by a body guard of friends, but when he resched the lower entry, the crowd swayed to and fro, so that he was bustled about, but without doing him any injury. As he emerged from the building, he was greeted with lengthing years, interspersed with the phrase 'all up.' The police now came, and took a position near the orator. One rough-looking rescal attempted to strike him. A mob of two thousand followed him to his home, booking and relling. Some wasted his life taken, declaring that he had lived long enough. A large crowd assembled before his residence, some making insulting remarks, while others gave the most enthumastic theory. Mr. Ham, Deputy Obie of Police, addressed the proved, and they dispused. One thing a evaluating the life, for he is 'the noblest Roman of them all.'—The Varmonter.

"If to had been allowed to go on quietly and peacey in the discussion of the question which it proed to treat, viz: "How can American Sharery be
olished!" would not have exerted any considerable
ect upon public opinion, because its attendants
end have been few, and the expressions of its
and the expressions of its
and the expressions of its
enders.

speakers discordant.

Mr. Fay, at the head of a rabble of merchants' elerits and speculators in Southern securities—asgress included—chose to go in and distort the public gross included—chose to go in and exhibiting in peace included—chose to go in and distarts the par-peace by breaking up the meeting, and exhibiting some conspicuous way their very humble devot to their Southern overseers. In thus voluntari and by previous arrangement and combination, suming the part of disturbers of the peace, \* for cake of the Union, they are to be regarded, of course, as any other rowdies would be, when so en-

Mr. Pay and his mob of clerks passed the follow

That the people of this city have submitted too ing in allowing trees onsible persons and political emagogues of every description to hold public more. these to disturb the public pence, and misrepresent me adroad; they have become a misance, which, in self-defence, we are determined shall henceforward be

By this they meant that anti-slavery folks had been allowed too long to hold public meetings in Boston, and that they, the money changers and cringing clerks of State Street, would thenceforward prevent such meetings, by sould disorderly interruptions with the state of the stat as they were then organicd in. How this threat, and how it competent were Mr. Fay and this threat, and how incompetent were Mr. Fay and his adherents to maintain their own resolution, even for one day, was shown by the holding of the same 'shated' anti-slavery meeting in Joy Street Church, that evening. Mr. Fay and his upholders did not then appear to carry out the pledge of his resolution read in the morning, but wisely kept away from a place which would undoubtedly have proved prejudicial to their health. It is true that a loose and disorderly mah of recolusions with the shall have and disorderly mob of people, with oaths in their mouths and bad rum in their stomachs, infested the ricinity of the Joy Street meeting during the evening, 'making night hideous,' but it does not appear that Mr. Fay and his friends were among them. The evening mob was encouraged, not by the presence, but only by the example of those who figured by daylight.

by daylight.

The Boston authorities, on this occasion, showed themselves either incapable or unwilling to preserve the rights of unpopular persons in a public meeting.

Those who summoned the gathering on Monday, and bired the hall, had a clear right to organize the meeting in their own way, and conduct without disturbance the discussions which they proposed. And when other parties went in, and frustrated the designs of those who projected the Convention, and proceeded to discuss topics not mentioned in the call, with the purpose of breaking up the assemblage, it was the clear duty of the police to eject the intruders from the hall. That they did not do so indicated inefficiency, or else indifference to the rights of citizens, which is worse.—Salem Observer.

### THAT ADDRESS.

The Springfield Republican, referring to the address issued by Judge Shaw and others, says:-

There are only four or five names on the list that can have any influence with the Republicans in behalf of the object desired. The list as a whole is positively a stumbling block in the way of repeal; and when the Legislature comes together, and the division which the question will create is made, the fact will be made sadly apparent. Two-thirds of the men who have signed Two-thirds of the men who have signed parent. Two-thirds of the men who have signed this unheralded document have no more influence upon the popular will of Massachusetts than James Buchanan or Jefferson Dayis—no 1977 as much Buchanan or Jefferson Davis-no, nor as much for the latter can control the office-holders and the for thousand who voted the Breckinridge ticket; but these "old Boarbons" of Massachusetts, can scarcety govern more voters than the coats on their backs will cover. Whether the men who got up this manifeste in secret caucus, and peddled out the privilege of joining in it to their especial associates and sympathizers, scattered like solitary and almost forgotten trees over the plains of the Commonwealth,—excluding from even the opportunity do the desired work, if it be done at all, pursued this course through a stupidity that is bomb-proof against all the teachings of political sagacity, or with the secret purpose of preventing the very result they profess to seek, may well be a serious with the rest of mankind."

Judge Shaw and some thirty other elderly and re speciable gentlemen have issued an address urging a repeal of our laws for the protection of personal liberty. They think it would save the Union, cast out devils in South Carolina, fill the Southern States patriotism, and make slavery as gentle as an fresh from beaven. So we understand them They do not say, however, that it would secure a faithful execution of the laws against the slave trade, nor ensure protection for citizens of Massachusetts, who may have occasion to visit the Southern States; neither do we find in their address any assurance that it would make Wigfall a decent man, or President Buchanan a dream of manliness. If the had said positively that a repeal of our personal lib-erty laws would cleanse Wigfall and convert Buchanan, we might have been in favor of trying the

experiment.
But, seriously, the law in question was not de signed to nullify, either the Constitution or oven the Engitive Slave Law. It was meant as a precaution against kidnapping, and it has a right to remain on the statute book. Any question touching its right to exist can be decided by the courts. It has no more to do with the present excitement in the country, than with the present civil war in Mexico. The ionists know and care so little about it, that they cannot quote it correctly. It is not well to give it such an exaggerated importance in connection with secessionism; and it does not seem to us becoming in Massachusetts men to undertake a crusade against it now.—Worcetter net it now .- Worcester Spy.

(Prof. Parker.) was one of the Commissioners to revise the Statutes, and assisted to put the Personal Liberty Bill in its present shape in the General Laws. Gen. Ousbing, who complains so bitterly of its existence there and Gen. Butter another Proching istence there, and Gen. Butler, another Breckinridge supporter, passed upon these statutes as legislators. If this bill was so raipably unconstitutional, so gross a violation of the national compact, and so flagrant an outrage on the rights of sister States, why did they suffer it to remain without so much as an effort to remove it? Nevertheless, if it be unconstitutional, let it go, but let us have sufficient to remove the Republicans did not tence there, and Gen. Butler, another Breckinridge warrant for so doing. The Republicans did not originate the Personal Liberty Bill; they have no re to violate the Constitution; and we do not doubt that the Legislature, when the subject comes legitimately before it, will be disposed to do what is right and proper in the premises .- Salem Register. Another prominent name to the Address i

y suggestive. In 1858. ally suggestive. In 1858, when the general co of conservative men asked his aid in the Legis-tre to assist in the revision of the statutes, and a publicant convention. Republican convention nominated him and instruc-ied their committee to sek his acceptance simply as a larger, and not as a party man, leaving him at liberty to yote against a Republican candidate for United States Benator, Judge Curtis declined an op-portunity in which he might have changed this sod unconstitutional legislation; but now, when litical crisis agitates the country, he appears as the signer and reputed author of an 'Address to the Proples' not a 'petition to the Legislature,' deal-tailes and demonstrations of alleged authorate. ing in denunciations of alleged unconstitutional statutes. To my the least, this was a notable instance of neglected opportunity, which might have proved far more beneficial than the present effort possibly can be.—Atlas and Bee:

A QUESTION FOR THE FIVE-AND-THIRTY CITY A Question for the Five-and-Thirty Cirisins or Hower and Propound Convictions.

If Congress, in order to secure the constitutional
fright of a colored citizen of Massachusetts to go
into South Carolina, and there exercise and enjoy
the privileges and immunities that belong to the
attisens of that model Republic, should pass a lew
requiring United States Marshais and Commisrequiring United States Marshais and Commisscourse, on the affidayis of a Yankee shipper, its
course, on the affidayis of a Yankee shipper, its
series in that State say colored person so sworn to,
and by summary process deliver him to the said
askipper to be transported away from South Carolina, would that State have no right to legislate any
indical barrier to protect slave property from being
series away by such ministerial federal process?
Come, good and wise veterans, is your goose-sauce
mapplicible to gander? Of course, freedom in
Massachusetts is not no sucred as alive property in
described to gander? Of course, freedom in
Massachusetts is not no sucred as alive property in
described to gander? Of course, freedom in

ned commissioned the control beginning to the real restriction of the control to the control to

# The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

GLOSE OF VOLUME XXX. The present number completes the suitant uses of the Liberator, in full; but, in consequent

liable friends it freedom, in all parts of the Com-monwealth, for immediate circulation. It is precisely the same which, for the two preceding years, has been signed by thousands of the most virtuods and humane/cotion of the people, and which ought to be subscribed by every man and woman in Massa-Shusetts. Those to whom it has been sent are ear nestly urged to te up and doing, for the time is short ed intirely "-soc a bone of us was broken. of the Legislature. Let every family, and every person, be tested by its presentation; let it be (as it will) a revelation of character and of purpose; and let the world know how many there are among us who 'remember those in bonds as bound with them,' and are therefore for protecting the fugitive, or, on the other hand, how many are still for allowing slave-hunters to seize their prey with impunity on the Puritan and Revolutionary soil of the old Bay State, and to act as heir accomplices in kidnapping.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representative. of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ?

The undersigned, citizens of

Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING in Massachusetts, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a Slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' to such claiment, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

THE PRO-SLAVERY MOB AT THE TEMPLE. The riotous interruption of the Anti-Slavery meeting held at the Tremont Temple on the 3d inst., by Richard S. Pay, J. Murray Howe, and others of that members of the Confederacy to apply their united enstripe, and its unlawful suppression in the sequel by ergies to the abolition of slavery, and to pursue that Mayor Lincoln, have been duly set forth in our columns; but little bas been said respecting the course mained! of the daily press of the city toward that meeting. We purpose, therefore, to say a few words in that doubt it? It is perfectly plain that a course like this

Prior to the meeting, nothing adverse to it appeared in any of the daily papers, except the Post. That had two or three articles well calculated, and we believe expressly designed, to create a riot on the occasion. It branded the meeting as making a severe culated to augment the general distress and trouble. It taunted James Redpath with being an Englishman, and not a citizen of the United States a man whose association with the difficulties in Kansas and It would not only be a direct and immense benefit to John Brown had rendered his name obnoxious to us of the North, but it would give all parties, slaves, very many peacs-toring (11) people.' And having slaveholders and non-slaveholders, a chance for perthus played the incendiary, and kindled the fire, the Post proceeded to express the hope that no conflagra-never had before. tion would follow! It is in this insidious manner that riots are generally created.

After the deed had been consummated, the Boston their abettors (!) If our city had acted in this man- cooperate with the causes that have produced it. ner before, (!) it is quite certain that the country would not be so agitated as it now unfortunately is (!) quiring immediate action from the citizens of Massalition of patriotic sentiment MAY BE POLLOWED BY A OREAT MANY (!) And thus the Pilot sanctioned the honor and safety, abroad and at home. scoundrelism of the mob, and stimulated to the renewal of similar outrages in time to some! And its really such! publishers and editors are men glorying in the name . If it were customary for England, France or Spain of Irishmen! Such Daniel O'Connell ever indig- to imprison our sea-faring men, without the pretence nantly disclaimed as his countrymen. They are of crime on their

The Boston Journal knows how to be as mean and contemptible, as base, and unacrupulous, with refe- pay jail-less for the outrages inflicted on their sailors, rence to the Abelitionists, as any paper in the land. Utterly destitute of all principle, and mercenary in its calculations to the last degree, it is sure to cater to the prevailing sentiment of the hour, especially if without even a demand for justice, because we are is that sentiment be adverse to radical reform. Of course, it sanctioned the mob. . The fellows, it said, who got up that meeting, "love to be persecuted," and nothing would please them better than to be the martyrs of a riot. This is a hydraulic compression of falsehood and defamation : its accusation and taunt are equally malignant and brutal. It has the impu- eted just such an insult and outrage, in repeated indence to declare, - The majority in attendance, under such a call, had a right to organize the meeting, and take part in its proceedings -though they went there for the express purpose of breaking up the and transacting important business for his native State meeting by lawless violence l . The proceedings did in England, France, or Spain, were to be assaulted and not violate the right of free speech, says the Jour half-murdered by officials in either of those countries,

speech has never yet been violated. the various articles culled from its columns in the other States that applauded and rejoiced over it! Refuge of Oppression, on the first page. Professfriends of the enslaved the temper and attitude of chusetta man, travelling for health, pleasure or With the insolence of a bully, it proclaims, - No bed, besten, imprisoned, tarred and feathered, and i very likely to be held in any conspicuous place in cials, only for holding or expressing certain opinion Boston again.' And so it summons the mob to be in or even merely for being Massachusetts men-w readiness for the next occasion. It stigmatizes the should surely, should we not, demand and obtain ruffian and murderer '; it talks of the fierce tirades of Phillips and his crew, the empty platitudes of union with the States that commit them ! Sumner, and the bravade of Wilson'; it affects con- Is our enforced aniferance of such things as ther tempt for the courage of "Mr. Wendell Phillips and the possession of honor and safety abroad and a came, these leaders of an ignorant and fanatical mul- upon us? Or, if other considerations render its pres ed\_and it sake, ' Who vare the cowards ?' sentence it says, The truth is, the Abolitionists have all the freedom of speech on their side '-and in the next it says, After their aspulsion from the Temple, they assembled in their rookery on Smith's Court. Now it speaks of the 'insignificance of the white and black traitors who assembled at the Tre-Court. Now it speaks of the 'insignificance of the white and black traitors who assembled at the Trement Temple, to again, in the name of Massachusetts, [what deliberate lying I] sulogize the murderer John Brown ; and, anon, in order to justify the villanous conduct of Messay. Fay, Hows, & Oc., it conrectly amountes the meeting as called to discovered. innous conduct of Messes. Fay, Howe, & Oc., it correctly amountees the meeting as called to discuss the absency question, and, therefore, tall good citilizes were entitled to take a proper part in the proceedings, and it was organized by the choice of an able body of officers, (1) and free aponh was vindicated, (11) and sound resolutions were adopted (11) and so it goes on, raving, dessiving, falsifying, bullying, from day to day. Towards Mr. Phillips its spirit is absolutely internal.

The present number completes the summer votes was of the Liberator, in full; but, in consequence of the pressure of important matter,—especially in reference to the question of Southern secession.—we shall add another number to be included in the present of the commence of the published on Monday next, Dec. 31.

We should like to commence our next volume with a large addition to our subscription list. It is a factorist when the present of the subscribe.

NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MARSACHURETTS. The following petition is now in the hands of reflictions of the subscribes and the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the friends at a revedom, in all parts of the Complete which they had been made in the moment of failing it what folly might have been committed had the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the friends at a revedom, in all parts of the Complete when the present and the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the friends at a revedom, in all parts of the Complete when the present the the mass of Massachusetts ment would make the folials and humiful concessions urged in the Address above named, they are obliged to panels in consequence of the settle from which they had hoped to avert by the concessions in question. We have been thrown into a panel for the following petition is now in the hands of results and the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the fright continued, what sudden, self-desirued the fright continued in the moment of the following petition is now in the hands of results are undersomed the first the mass of Massachusetts men would make the folials and humiful concessions urged in the folials and humiful concessions are well as a folial parts of the folials and humiful concessions urged in the folials and humiful concessions are well as a folial parts of the folials and humiful concessi diversish we might have made, in the moment of alarm, (like Cowper's sheep, who were connected by filely leader to 'leap into the pit,' to escape the terrific noise of hounds and horn,) cannot now be told; in noise of hounds and horn,) cannot now be told; in or, most fortunately, before we had time for action, for, most fortunately, before we had time for action, the crash came. The dreaded event had taken place; and we could stand still, and recognize the fact that, so far from being crushed events. so far from being crushed—ruined—' kilt and smash-

We may profitably use this pause in looking deliberately at the assumptions made and the bounted given by Judge Shaw and his associates; in looking to see whether all their assumptions are correct; wheth er such of them as are really correct, do not point to a course of remedial policy quite different from the one suggested; and whether the policy suggested would not be practically ruinous; as well as disgraceful The Address urges that a large and important part of our common country is excited and alarmed, and that this excitement and alarm are real, deep and general, throughout fifteen States.

Granted. But before their excitement and slarm can justify similar feelings on our part, we must look into the cause of them. Why are they thus spitated? The one cause of their disturbance is, that their peculiar institution of negro slavery is growing less and less secure, and that they see more and more reason to believe that they can neither extend it nor

perpetuate it !
. Is this a reason for us to be alarmed ! Is it not, or the contrary, the best news, with one exception, that could possibly come to our ears? Have we not long known this villamous 'institution' to be the chief disgrace and the chief danger of our country?

The very best thing that could possibly happen to the United States would be, for the slaveholding work heartily and vigorously, until not a slave re-

Does anybody doubt this } Does even Judge Shaw would remove the worst evils under which our country now suffers, and would open to her a career of prosperity such as she has never yet known.

The thing next best-next most to be desired-to a poluntary discarding of slavery by the slaveholders, is their inability to extend and maintain it. If slavery test of the forbearance of this community. It ex- should grow unprofitable, diminish, and gradually die pressed the hope that it would be shandoned, as calout, in spite of all the efforts of the slaveholders to sustain it, so that, at last, our country should become really a free country, a land of liberty, this would be manent and progressive welfare, such as they have

It is precisely this thing, the weakening and decadence of slavery-the second best thing that could (Catholic) Pilot,-true to its despotic instincts and excitement and alarm of the fifteen slave States. possibly happen to the nation—that has caused the base pro-slavery feelings, exulted over it, saying . Is this a cause for the free States to be alarmed? Is . We are proud of this (!) It is not likely that the it not an unhoped for blessing and advantage? Why furious Abolitionists amongst us will ever again at- should we fear it? Why should we not rather joyfully tempt to make themselves the exponents of public welcome it? Instead of dreading and counterasting feeling (!) This is the proper fate of criminals and this state of things, our wisdom would be, heartily to

The particular motive urged by the Address as re-But better late than not at all; and the present shut- chusetts, is a fear lest the union of these States be dissolved; a union which the Address declares to be our

Our honor and safety! Let us see if the Union b

their ports, and to compel our ship-masters, first to hire additional labor, and then, on their departure, to we should, long ago, have demanded and obtained reparation. At present, we suffer such cutrages to be constantly committed upon citizens of Massachusetts, union with the States that commit them !

If England, France or Spain had insulted and igno miniously expelled from her territory a Commissioner sent by Massachusetts to look after the interests and rights of Massachusetts men, we should demand and obtain reparation for that. But we have quietly pockstances, because we were, and are, in union with the States that committed them !

If a citizen of Massachusetts, high in official statio nal. This is either very cool lying, or else free expressly because he was transacting his proper business among them, we should surely demand and re-Since the riot, the Boston Courier has been pre-eminent in diabolism of spirit and rowdyssm of pur-bearing such an insult and outrage because we are pose. For an outpouring of its venom and filth, see in maion with the State that committed it, and with

ing to be on the side of law and order, it glories in long catalogue of injuries and disgraces that Union Finally—to make but one further citation from the the most lawless acts, and exhibits towards the has brought upon us-if it were customary for Mess. a Southern overseer towards, his cowering slaves, ness in England, France or Spain, to be seized, rob such assembly, for that or any similar purpose, is sultingly expelled from those countries by their offi heroic and inspired John Brown as that desperate reparation. At present, we are in the habit of sub mitting quietly to such outrages, because we are i

Mr. Garrison, lyingly declaring that "their names home ? Is it really desirable for us to preserve the were to the sammons—but when the day of battle Union which has brought these injuries and disgraces titude to sedition and treason' ignominiously skulk- ervation desirable, what security are we to have In one against the repetition of such outrages t Strange to say, the Address does not me

outrages, for the sake of continuing the Union

Let us look at these additional concessions, The are two of them. The first in, that we repeal certain laws, the enact-ment of which was found imperatively necessary to secure the liberties of our own citizens, on our own soil, from the assaults of citizens of other States, with

soil, from the seculits of ciriosh of other States, with which we are in union?

The second is, that we prevent our own ditisals from giving relief to destitute and helpless strangers who ask it of them, and that we formally make the State of Massachusette an accomplicate whatever rob-

Otrange to say the Addition delibers

Gardier: seen fifty enough appended to such an Address as this. It is a malangebuy sign of the low grade of public storals and religion; when the names of eminent Judges, and of popular Diergymes, and of aggregation of Harvard University, are also found approximation.

Union, which has extorted from us the sacrifice of all the mails. The friends and supporters of Mr. Philips, the fact things. We have shrunk from the duty of putting forth our hand to break this bond, this fetter, which men have dignified with the name of Union. But now, when a merciful Providence is kinder to us than our deserts; now, when the Sintes that have so the capressed determination to protect him at all long outraged us are setting us free by taking them ing lived so far, because we have unjustifiably favored. Phillips was announced by a round of applause. it, seems now about to die! Let us not so absurdly Mr. PHILLIPS was introduced by Mr. MILES P. uphold the continuance of slaveholding by Southern, who occupied the chair during the evening. After men, as to offer ourseless to be their staves.

have not manhood enough to act to advance, in this sided, Mr. Phillips said :-emergency, let us at least stand still, and look at the Ladies and Gentlemen. Some two months ago the

## PEACE AND LIBERTY.

on Christmas Bye. Its subject was: The voice of Christ to this people at the present time.

The coming of Jesus was announced as a coming of peace on earth, and good-will to man. And when he declared his own mission, he chose, as best suited to express it, these words of the Hebrew prophet, Isaiah :-The spirit of the Lord is upon me,

Because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor:
He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted,
To preach deliverance to the capties,
And recovering of sight to the blind, And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised.
To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

work of Christ in the world. There are two kinds of and myself, or our friends in Watertown, should atliberty, and two kinds of peace. And if we would be tempt to reintroduce a Lyceum. Well, we concluded followers of Him, we must discriminate between these, we would try. (Appleuse.) So here we are to night and choose the right.

with our own eyes. The following of error, or the through comfortably, we shall probably try some blind adherence to another man's notion of truth, is other lecturer not so unpopular as I am, and see if not liberty.

Peace, too, may be outward or inward. The true peace cannot be bought by mere external conformity, don't know where I could find a fitter field. The still less by a compromise of right, or a concession to

between Christmas in Massachusetts, and Christmas out some extreme democratic theory of governmen in South Carolina, Mr. Clarke inquired :-What are which didn't suit Gov. Winthrop and the old South, our Christian duties at this hour, in reference to this (Applause.) contrast >

conclusions to which they come, he said :- A moral respectable meaning-the same old spirit which in difficulty is always a question between truth and love. this town started the first germ of what we may call. The question is often solved by sacrificing one of these s real representative government of the Commonto the other. But both should be invariably pre- wealth, which under the first church of elder Knowles

We must never surrender truth for the sake of love, nor justice for the sake of peace. Our duty and our not yet ready to give up to State street, but means to wisdom are, firmly to resist the demand, or the solic- have a municipality or township of its own. (Apitation to do either.

solicitations from eminent citizens of Massachusetts, to concede these three things :--1. To allow the undisturbed and permanent estab-

2. To repeal our Personal Liberty Laws.

3. To allow freedom of speech to be suppressed, and the mouths of abolitionists to be closed.

We are now called upon to consider and deside these things. What is to be said of them? As to the first-It can never be permitted.

As to the second - Our Personal made for reasons of urgent necessity, which still ex- | fit, and when he sees fit." (Applause.) Now I don't ist; for an indispensable protection of our own citi-mean to leave the Governor alone in that matter; we zens, endangered by the Fogitive Slave Law. It is mean to show him a constituency worthy of such a our manifest duty to provide against the kidnapping Governor. (Applause.) That is the reason why we of Massachusetta men; though, strange to say, the are here to-night. And I don't think, with such an eminent men of this State, who are now appealing to audience, I need fear it will be surrendered. Some us to abolish these safeguards, not only suggest no men dread secession; but now, Mr. Chairman, I'dread other mode of accomplishing this, but seem neither to concession a great deal more than secession. (Aphave cared for, nor thought of it.

are unconstitutional. But this is an error. Portions ing than South Carolina is to walking. The Northof them which were really unconstitutional were re- ern States may give up all which is has been the ob pealed, at the suggestion of Governor Banks, soon af- ject of thirty years of agitation to impress upon them, ter their enactments. The existing Personal Liberty and to make them determine to maintain; and I don' Laws, however at variance with particular laws of the care whether they maintain it of not, provided they United States, (the Fugitive Slave Law,) are in no leave our Yankes tongues free to sak all sorts of ques-manner or degree at variance with the United States tions at all sorts of times. Napoleon said he feared

But it is further complained that these laws of ours interpose difficulties and were intended to interpose difficulties—to the re-capture of actual fugitives from than five newspapers ! elavery.

This is true, and it is right. It is our duty to favor by claiming and taking it.

master to recepture the fugitive, but it does not re. Greek drew his sword and said, 'This is more than quire us to do a work so repugnant to justice and hu. them all, for with it I can gain them all!' So I say quire as to do a work so repugnant to justice and hu. The mail, for with it I can gain them all! So I say manity. If we comply with the letter of this law, of the unfettered tongue. Let the North yield all; this is all that the Constitution requires of us. Not an inch further of concession is to be made to a law contrary to natural justice. Our own principles have some chim to consideration, as well as the demands of the South. The Declaration of Riorrs of the Gibraliar that we should see to it that we defend. It

States Constitution does not denly herry possess advantage and facility are to be given to liberty. Not any to the gentlemen in Congress. We care not to an inch beyond the strict letter of the United States be compromised at all. We are to repeal nothing.

Constitution is to be yielded to slavery. This second give back nothing.

Constitution is to be yielded to slavery. This second concession is, therefore, not to be granted.

Neither can we grant the third thing claimed, suppression of the freedom of speech, and interference with public about slavery. To attempt it would be futile, to tecnnaplish it would be deargerous. Freedom of speech is our eafety-valve. It must never be given up. There is no danger that this concersion will be made, but the very attempt to make it, should be exposed and resisted. be given up. There is no danger that this concern will be made, but the very attempt to make it; she bet expected and resisted.

The value of Christ now says to un. Seet per but not by falsehood! Seek Rherty, but not by but not by traces or compromise of principle.

If the slave States choose to go, for the mise of a very, let them go. But let us address to filterty,

real to not treabled. Let us not be troubled, ye had trials in our past history. The pre-se, pripage, the greatest of them. But, like a, later designed to lift us into a higher plane

as be gentle and sympathising, yet loyal to true
Buck is the substance of Mr. Clerke's Chr
Buck is the substance of Mr. Clerke's Chr
Buck sermon. Being often obliged to chronicle
in which the pulpit perverts the Gospei, I rejmention one case in which the preaches prove
self 'a minister of the Gospei, '-- G. E. W. le and sympathining, yet loyal to truth, the substance of Mr. Clarke's Christo

selves away, in God's name, let us not interpose ob- which, at 74 o'clock—the hour appointed for the lec-stacles to their departure! Let us not offer further ture — was filled by an audience most respectable protection to that villanous 'institution' which, have in every sense of that word. The entrance of Mr.

Mr. PHILLIPS was introduced by Mr. MILES PRATT. men, as to offer ourselees to be their slaves! If we the applause which greeted his appearance had sub-

Chairman, Mr. Pratt, and myself made an agreement that I should come here to lecture in a sort of Lyccum experiment, to see whether we could resume or re-An excellent sermon, suggested by, and suited to, in this town in previous years, and we fixed upon this James Freeman Clarke, at the Indiana Place Chapel, population of Watertown on that point. Well, since that time some people have lost a good deal of money in the stock merket, who didn't want me to come here; and one of our State family has run away, and left the household. We shan't suvertise her, or ask anybody to bring her back, nor offer her any reward, (applause,) and people who have felt some degree of grief at her loss from the family table think that I ought not to come here to speak; but what precise connection there is between my speaking and South Carolina going out of the Union, nobody has attempted to discover. (Applause.)

But still there was a great deal of feeling some Liberty and peace are the two chief elements of the where in the neighborhood as to whether Mr. Pratt we can succeed better. It seems to me that Watertown is a very good place to try the experiment. L earliest record of Watertown, in the history of Massachusetts, is that she was always making difficulty After sketching the strong contrast now existing with the city of Boston, She was always finding

Well, it doesn't suit them now. It runs in the Alluding to the difficulty which many people find blood, that same old democratic spirit-words that n judging of this matter, and to the very different have been abused here of late-let us give to them a made glory for the rest of the colony. I hope it survives now, and that it means that Watertown is platise.) So we mean to have free speech here. (Con-We are now leset by demands from the South, and tinued applause.) A man always goes home when he undertakes to vindicate his rights—to a place where, if he becomes a pauper, he would have right of settlement; and I should have a right of settlelishment of slavery in the Territories of the United ment in Watertown, on account of the first settlement-they don't want to have me in Boston. I should have to come back here with you.

I mean to-night to consider the question whether we should choose our own subject and our own time. As Gov. Andrew excellently says ... White or black rich or poor, hated or loved, at all times, good times and bad fimes, in season and out of season, truth or great suti-slavery reformers are the special plause.

It is complained that these Personal Liberty Laws I think New York is a great deal negret to kneel Constitution. There is no need of repealing them. five namepapers more than a hundred thousand men What would he have said of twelve hundred thou sand Massachusetts tongues, infinitely more dreadful

han five newspapers !

Now what we want to decide at this hour and thi year is, not whether the North will back down o and help the escaping slave. God made him free; stand up, but whether New England keeps her right and he has additionally earned the right to freedom, of discussing free all things. (Applause.) The old one has additionally earned the right to freedom, story goes, that when Crossus showed the Greek his The Constitution of the United States allows the costly array, the treasures, and gens, and gold, the of the South. The Declaration of Riours of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' is no matter to us about the compromises they agree opens with this statement:—

Article I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.

Personal Liberty Bill, but they can never repeal it; and if they do, John A. Andrew will never sign the among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.

Gentlemen at Washington are making learned and defending their lives and liberties.

and defending their lives and liberties.

Gentlemen at Washington are making learned in accordance with these just and noble ideas, and speeches and saying what ought to be repealed, what with our own impulses of right and humanity, we will interpose every obstanle to the regularement of a human being, which the spirit of our own truly free Constitution permits, and which the letter of the United stitution permits, and which the letter of the United States Constitution does not deng. Every possible cook, when she saked him how he would prefer to be States Constitution does not deng. Every possible cooked—I don't want to be cooked at all.' So we advantage and facility are to be given to liberty. Not

This is, to be sure, but a Lyceum lecture—noth ing but an ordinary literary lecture. But when man says it shall not be delivered, it is of inestima his importance that it should be. As Luther said of the Eabbath, when the priests charged upon him at that day,—I don't care what I do on that day, but that may, — I don't care what I do on that day, but if you say I shall not play upon the ciolin. I will, to show that I had a right to. Daniel Webster said the same thing, not quite so bumbly, in Congress, that when a man told him he should not discuss, it was the very time he intended to discuss. So I am

the lecturer then proceeded to deliver his lecture-party familiar to lecture-goers - Toussale Juventure. Two or three allestons to John Brown

village Lyceums. Having concluses his lecture Mr.
Phillips said :-There! Watertown still lives! (Laughter and the There! Waterrown must uses: (Lenguer and applicase.) And I don't think any harm has been done.

The could say something something. either, I wish I could say something weeky the occasion. It is a pity that so many good either. I wan I count may sometime weeky the occasion. It is a pity that so many good men shell come out here to-night to hear nothing better, but the thing. The sining come out here to-night to near nothing better better the coming here was the thing. The sitting here was has not bought increased. While we keep the keep tongues, yet, (Applance,) While we keep the English language and this glorious Saxon torque of English language and this giorious calculated ours, we mean to use it, wherever we chose, at a the Sidneys, the Adamses, the Hancocks, the Otion of that day when it was treason to pract he of that day when the preached it if they broke to the speech. Bu they presture to the order in the pire asonder, and we will sustain it and practice it. pire assumes. Canada line goes down to Macq ad Dixon's. God speed the day-let it trate for

The lecturer having thus closed his reach, the The lecturer naving ... Mr. Phillips left the hall was rapidly cleared. Mr. Phillips left the hall surrounded by his friends. There was a considerable surrounced of the curious about the door, some of the amused themselves by crying 'All up!' when the amused themselver without meeting any obstraction bowever, Mr. Phillips reached his carriage and left for Boston. So far as could be as certained, no spling men, or other persons more evil disposed than the men, or other reporters and Mr. Phillips's gand of friends above named, who took the trouble to go est from Boston to strend the lecture. [The preeding report we take from the Boston Journal of Saints,

# PRO-BLAVERY MORS.

GROVELAND, (Mass.) Dec. 19, 1863. Ma. Rorron I have read with pain the account. given by the Boston dailies, of the riotous most Bunday, attempting to do ir jury to the person of

Wendell Phillips, Esq.

Wendell Phillips, Esq.

Is America the land of forty thousand churche, and is this the character of the Sundays in one of her principal cities?

Do the pulpits of Boston, -to some extent bigold and time-serving, - keep silence in these days of trie, lest they should disturb the moneyed aristone, instead of teaching them to worship God!

Is this the Puritan Boston of Wilson and Cotton, or the patriotic Boston of Hancock and Adams, that the first orator of the country cannot stand up in the place of the great anti-slavery preacher who labored for oppressed humanity till the last what do these rioters think Mr. Phillips is note

off Hare they not yet learnt that menaces do not daunt him, and that money cannot bribe him! Ha he not said repeatedly, by actions which speak Tonder than words, Frangas, non Sectes - You may bend, but shall not break me '-and has not the shown that he is not easily broken? Is not one man who is true to his own convictions, radical though they be, worth whole seres of your Fays and Horn! Caleb Cushing can stand up in Fancuil Hall, and liken Massachusetts to a piratical ship, and solely disturbs or threatens bim; but when Wendell Phillips, Rev. J. Sella Martin, and others, wish to express the opinions upon the 'Abolition of Slavery,' instead of the Preservation of the Union, they are mobile by duty-loving Mayor Lincoln, and educated Cher.

Carlyle says, in his lecture on 'The Hero as Prophet, 4 The greatest of faults is to be conscious of none. Mr. Richard S. Fay seems to be about as coscious of his faults, relative to the mob, and the injury thereby done to the colored citizens of Bostes, as he does of the existence of parliamentary laws and usages.

The mobocrats have not been entirely successful. If you hush the whisper for freedom, be sure the next tone you hear will be that of thunder! Some Wendell Phillips will speak in Music Hall, and nobody can help it.

Anti-Slavery meetings may fail of accomplishing their objects, and anniversaries of the martyrdom of John Brown' may fall to the ground before an ignorant mob ; but they fall as falls the sandal-tree, shedding perfume upon the axe that brings it to the earth.

The cause of freedom will continue to excite the interest of our people, and will ever awaken them to new and manly efforts. Dr. Adams says, in his sermon on Choate, ' Great men are the special gifts of God to a nation, and through it to the world.' 80 race to all mankind; for whosever does aught for the cultivation or elevation of a single man, thereby enriches humanity. The days of disunion will pass away; secresion movements will blow up in inoffensive resolves; freedom will be triumphant, and the American slave set free. H. G. ROLLINS.

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the base and bear a viole at a more retrocked and the state of the base of the state of the stat

### THE PORTLAND MOB. Mr. GARRISON :

DRAR SIR, - In the address of Mr. Phillips at Mr. sic Hall, on the subject of Free Speech, Education and Mobs, I find the following passage :-

I have known three cases of magistrates quelling mobs. One was Neal Dow, in Portland—not necessary, I think; done merely to show his courses. Asy man who steps one step out of his path to prore his courage is of course a coword.

I am sorry to meet with this remark, coming from such a source. I never before knew the same opinion to be expressed, except by persons in the rum in terest, or political demagogues, or else by person who had a personal dislike to Neal Dow; and I should be very sorry to have to think that Mr. Phillips could from any motives be influenced, even us-

consciously, by such a feeling.

But why, I would like to ask our friend Phillips. was it not necessary that the Portland mob should be quelled as well as any other mob? It may be the case that some future magistrate may think it right and necessary to quell a mob got up to crush an antislavery meeting, and then will Mr. Phillips say it was not necessary, but done to show his course, because none of his predecessors had either the courage or will to do it? But if Mr. Phillips will not say so, some popular orator, like Edward Ererett, may say the same thing; and should we not all suppose that some hostile feeling prompted the utter-

I differ from Mr. Phillips, for I think it was necesmary for Mr. Dow to quell that mob. But, after all, it is not so much what Mr. Phillips thinks, or what I think, but what Mr. Dow thought was necessary or that occasion. He was a magistrate, sworn to see that the laws were faithfully executed, and he had proclaimed that he should not fail to use all the power with which the law had clothed him to perform that duty. It seems rather uncertain whether Mr. Phillips means that it was not necessary to suppress the mob on that occasion, or that it was not necessary to resort to extreme measures to do it. Now, if he means that it was not necessary to suppress the mod on that occasion, and that it would have been better to have let them triumph over the government, and seize and destroy, or convert to their own use, the overnment property, I have no reply to make, for I make, for I must acknowledge that no is anogovernment man, ble. But Mr. Phillips is not a no-government man,

and therefore I suppose that he meant that it was not successary to resort to the extreme measures which were used for that purpose, I was a resident of Portland at that time, and although I was not at the mob, I know, as well as I know any thing about the life of the suppose of the life of the suppose of the life of that mob, or the one at Tremont Temple on stant, that Mr. Dow tried every other means is his power that he could think of before resorting to u'timate violence and extreme measures. True, I think he erred in ordering blank cartridges to be

Translated for the Liberator from the Boston Pionier (German) of Dec. 20th.] SLAVERY AND MOBOCRACY AT THE NORTH.

It has been the boast of the Republicans, that ur der Lincoln they would restore freedom of speech and of the press at the South, maintain personal carity, &c., and, in a word, carry out the Constitution. What we think of such brag and gammon, our readers have long understood, and we long ago explained, too, that to carry out the Constitution at the South would require as great force and energy as to conquer the South. We have, moreover, endescored to make it clear, that we shall have to proride against the conquest of the North by the South. of course, with the aid of Northern demagogues and mobs, in the interval between the 6th of Norember and the 4th of March,-before we dare to think of trying the opposite experiment.

Thus far, the result has shown that we did not underrate the Republicans. A few weeks have elapsed nace the Presidential election, and already we have red so far, that the question is not of the triumph of freedom at the South, but of the preservation of freedom at the North. What greater mockery than lies in the fact, that those who would restore freedom of speech at the South, shandon it in their own home. the free States, through indifference and cowardice. after a toilsome victory at the polls? If things conmore as hitherto; if what has already happened in Pailadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn and Washington, must be taken for a symptom of what is yet to han pen, then one day it will read in history : . After the election of Lincoln, there were in the North American Republic only two parties,-the traitors and the countils. The former were the supporters of slavery in all inhabited States, the latter the supporters of freedom in all-uninhabited Territories.' Look at this Messieurs Republicans ! You wish to keep slavery out of the free Territories, and you virtually allow it to establish itself in the free States. Or is it something other than slavery that makes compromises a Washington, and persecutes free speech in Philadelphia and Boston? Where are your Wide Awakes, when the defence of free speech against the brutality of slavery is at stake? Where are your Wide twikes, when the issue is to crush out the mobocraer that is rampant before your eyes? Where are your organizations, your orators, your leaders, your orinciples, your promises? Every where the rabble drummed together in Union meetings, where the commer of freedom hold their muster; why do you not call the Proper to their feet, to hold a muster of the friends of freedom? Every where, too, at the North are thousands ready to hang a free man; where are as many ready to defend him? Take away be succe, and, in a fortnight, no truly free man and brailive in all the large cities. And yet this North has a victorious party, which wants to carry out the Constitution Before the victory of the Respublican party, one sould still speak freely; after this nctory, the 'amp-post beckons to such as open their mouths! That is the great step forward. For the first time in the history of this country has one party tnumphed in favor of another. Were it not for the Atolitionists and the free negroes, the world would no longer know that there are still at the North free men, determined at every cost to preserve the Re-

and all your denunciations bullying. There is nothing more instructive in the recent

public from dishonor, and freedom from suppression.

Your chattering in the press, as experience has shown.

morrow you crouch; and while to-day you cry, 'No

more Compromises! --- to-morrow you yourselves pre-

sent the compromise on a salver. As long as you do

not say and show- Here are so many hundred thou-

tand men, who are resolved and prepared not only at

all hazards to restore the Constitution at the South,

but also to annihilate at the North every violater of

to rights '-all your platforms are but empty words,

history of this Republic than the late occurrences in We have already noticed the first debut of mobceracy in this most orderly of all American cities. This half-successful debut had only tickled the palates of its instigators and abettors, but had not estisfied their appetite. After they saw that they could play the barbarian with impunity,-yes, and with the consent of almost the entire daily press of this city, and the passive approbation of the victorious party, ther hankered after more. Sunday before last, Fredrick Douglass, a colored man, spoke in Music Hall before Mr. Parker's congregation. In that hall, in which the statue of Beethoven represents harmony, and the din of a fierce mob had never been heard, were present a gang of Southern sympathizers, who sought to continue the tune begun at the Tremont Temple, and to disturb the meeting by rowdyish prises. But they were not strong or resolute enough, and, even without the police, were reduced to silence. This indignity the honor of rabbledom could not brook. The true mob, if it is not floored by grapethat and forced into silence by determined energy. will consider a foiled attempt to commit an outrage as an invitation to the commission of a greater. No wild beast possesses a more obstinate engerness for blood and destruction than a mob whose bestial deares on the one hand are roused and encouraged, and on the other are not kept in check by fear and chastisement. It is a chief trait in the character of the moh, as manifested originally at the South, and then most successfully aped at the North, that it sees in every endurance of an outrage a justification of a new one, and in every repulse of the same a justification of revenge. The argument can impart to it the consciousness of having perpetrated an outrage, the pleasure of whose repetition only force can rob it of. And if only one weak man confronts it, who can oppose to it no force and inspire it with no fear, the mob will persecute him the more implacably, the more cowardly he proves himself. Where the weakness of their adversary disarms noble and courageous men from shame and magnanimity, just there the mean and cowardly man serves himself up as a feest of brutality for this weakness. If the people of the Revolution were a noble lion, the people of the Recotion are a loathsome hyena. No greater delight for a mod at the South than when some thousand barbarians can perform the exploit of hanging and burning a lone and fettered negro; no greater delight for a mob at the North, when some thousand spes of berbarism can perform the equally great exploit of mobbing a lone and unprotected abolitionist, or of tram-pling his human rights in the dust. To live to see such bestiality in a Republic, and especially in the Cradle of Liberty, excites a greater loathing and a deeper revolting than would the sight of a genuine annibal performance in mid Africa.

What we experienced last Sunday in Boston belongs in this category. The speaker at the Music Hall was Wendell Phillips, and his theme was, ' Mobs and Education.' It was known that a new, and of course improved, practical litustration would be lent his subject; wherefore a considerable number of police was deputed to the defence of the quiet Music Hall, and the military kept in readinces. The hall was filled as perhaps never before, and Phillips spoke as appropriate the subject of the property of the p nanifest, that a large craw of disturcers of the peace

had there assembled, with the aim of proving their

ing his love of freedom! What is freedom, what is a are only an entering wedge; only to give expression republic, what is right, what is a people, what is hu- to the suppressed sentiment of thousands. manity, and what is man? Is a republic an instituto place them in power? But there we have the re- with the slave States? sult of slavery and the consequences of enduring it, 1. Does the union of all the States give greater and the wretched effect of a 'legal,' indulgence of power to resist foreign aggression, and, of course, conditions for which no human law can exist. Slave- importance abroad, then would be possessed by any ibal of him who protects it.

bition to become the Northern Baltimore, nay, to sur- ful without them. pass Baltimore? In sight of the old Bunker Hill 2. Does our union with slave States increase our tection of the police? Boston has taken a disgrace the most glorious and admired in the world, upon her, which she must efface at any cost, and 3. Does the Union ensure to our citizens greate

#### ALL COMPROMISES USELESS. NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1860.

They believe that slavery should be prohibited in the tween the two independent republics. Territories, that it should be abolished in the District 5. Does the Union sustain commerce between the than half the Republican party hold these views; At any rate, the party holding such views, substantially, are respectable in numbers and determined in freedom. purpose, as the compromisers will find if they undertake to make concessions inconsistent with the Chicago the effect of the Union on the intelligence, humanity Convention. That Convention and its candidate but and morality of the North, All unbiassed traveller faintly and feebly represented the moral conviction of in the alava States, and even residents, who are no Anti-Slavery men and women in the Free States, interested to make misrepresentations, invariably rep Pressing hard in the rear of that political organization, and supporting it, are the material interests and the free States. The denial of the Scriptures to the humane influences of the times. We cannot re- slaves, causing their more general disuse; the discourverse the engine of human progress. Men of mercenary aims may damage and retard the movement, but the swelling tides of truth are rolling in with resistless power, and before them this ancient wrong population unmistakably indicate the prevalence of must retreat. Let, then, every patriot, every antislavery man, in this hour of peril, stand firm. Whatever the result, let us do our duty. If driven from as that of savage communities. I do not deny ex-Washington, we will retire with our faces to the enemy. They may push their successes as they threaten-to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Slavery may review its forces in Beacon street-call its roll on Bunker Hill. It may spread its tents in Newburyport, and use its Cushing for the legitimate the advance of intelligent and moral sentiment at the purpose for which cushions are made. It may form through Nehemiah Adams reiterate the sentiment of which is indeed to be ascribed to immigration, but that the Blue Ridge of Virginia is higher than the throne of God. Still, all is not lost. Quincy and Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Beecher, Giddings and

in universal emancipation. A SECESSION AGREED UPON. CHARLESTON, No. 20. The Convention met to

our death, if need be, a conflict which shall end only

day at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Rhett's resolution for a committee of thirteen to provide for the assemblage of a Convention of the seceding States to form a Constitution was adopted.

Mr. Inglis reported the following ordinance:

Mr. Inglis reported the following ordinance:

Tuted. Mr. Inglis reported the following ordinance:

We, the people of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declaresand ordain that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d of May, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and all acts or parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the anion now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

The ordinance was passed unastropously by 169

States of America, is hereby dissolved.

The ordinance was passed manimously by 169 members, at a quarter past one o'clock.

The news spread rapidly, and a crowd collected amid immense cheering.

Mr. Miles moved that the Clerk telegraph the intelligence to the members at Washington. Carried manimously.

The ordinance was ordered to be engressed on parchasent, and to besigned by the President and members, at six and a half o'clock this evening, at Institute Hall, and to be placed in the grotives of the State.

greatest orator in America had to be escorted home decrrine; and who are brought, by recent events, to by a police force, lest the freedom-loving populace doubt the value of the Union. The question will should hang him to a lamp-post by way of recogniz- soon be forced upon us; and the remarks now offered

The question in its simplest form is, What is the tion to rear barbarians? Are republicans necessary value to the free States of their federal connexion

ry makes a coward of him who endures it, and a can-portion separated ? In the early period of our govshall we congratulate Theodore Parker, that he lay might have been true; but now the truth is directly down to rest in the Italian soil, and lived not to see the reverse. Considering the magnitude of the unthis disgrace? How would it have fared with him, easy slave population at the South; the necessity of the author of the revolutionary anti-slavery manifesto protecting the Union from an internal, as well as an from Rome, if, in the sense of that document, he had external enemy, our connexion with the slave States just now in Boston Music Hall defended the rights of is an element of weakness, and not of strength: the man and combatted slavery? Has Boston the am- free States separated would be decidedly more power-

nument, is banging threatened to the men who are credit and respectability among foreign people, and fighting on the new Bunker Hill against the new op- admiration of our republican institutions? It is the pression? If the spirit which now so unexpectedly uniform testimony of all travellers abroad, that our rears its shameless head in this city is still to live country is perpetually reproached with its maintesome time, Senator Toombs need not bring his negroes nance of slavery : it is the triumphant excuse of deshere, in order, for the fulfillment of his prophecy, to potism; the discouragement of the advocates of popucall the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker-Hill. lar freedom. The free States, while in the Union, The roll of his white slaves in Boston is already cannot plead exemption from responsibility for it; longer than that of the black ones on his plantation for it is well-known, that as great a support of slavewill ever be. What is left of freemen here, if the ry is effected by party ties at the North, as by slavefree word, whose surest protection should be the holding interests at the South. Delivered from conspirit of the people, can be spoken only under the pro- nexion with slavery, our free confederacy would stand

she herself has not the will and the strength harmony, order and good government? It is scarcely to do so, the State must come to the rescue. They necessary to answer this question; for the most want to destroy freedom in Boston, that the money- thoughtless mind must perceive that the 'irrepressibag may quietly serve the slave-whip. Unless the ble conflict' which has disturbed our quiet, enlaws of the world are reversed, all Boston must be de- croached on our rights and interests, and outraged stroyed, sooner than it should witness the destruction our humanity, has entirely proceeded from our political connexion with slaveholding communities, and would cease with our separation.

4. Does the Union insure peace between the Northern and Southern sections of the country? Should Are we in earnest? How vain is the hope by any there be an attempt on the part of the free States of tinkering of a committee to effect a settlement of this the North to coerce any of the seconded slave States controversy that shall be satisfactory to the North into the Union, undoubtedly there would be war; but and the South! Let us for a moment look at the true should any States be permitted to secode by agreement issue. More than half of those who voted for the and mutual consent, there would be no danger of war. Republican President elect, as we think, believe that The free States would have no interest or disposition slavery is a sin. They are desirous to relieve the to make war on the slave States; and the slave States, Government of all responsibility with and for it. in view of their slave population, would not venture They could not be pribed persuaded or coerced into to commence it. There is far more danger of a civil aiding in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. war under a nominal union, than a legalized one be-

of Columbia. They believe that slavery is emphatically—in the language of the heroic Sumner—a Rvery tyro in political economy knows, that the barbarous institution; that a Christian man can no changes of government in nations, or their politimore sanction or uphold slavery, than he could sanc- cal relations to each other, do not materially affect tion or approve of murder, adultery or arson. We their mutual commerce, unless restrained by rigorous believe in the higher law; and we claim the right to penal laws; and that even these have not always the interpret the Constitution as we understand it. We power to suppress such commerce. While the manutell you plainly and frankly-you of the Slave States, fuctories of the North afford a good market for the you slaveholders, while we disclaim any personal cotton of the South, no restrictions by the governenmity or malice towards you—we hate your institu- ments of either section on this commerce could be en-We declare uncompromising hostility against forced, even if either party was so unwise as to make slavery, -- politically under the Constitution, and them; no such restrictions would be borne by the morally and religiously everywhere on the face of the people of either republic. The loss of the revenue earth. We may be mistaken in assuming that more also, collected mostly at the North, and expended but we think, from the manner such sentiments are and this would more than compensate for any possible mostly for the benefit of the South, would be avoided : greeted at popular meetings, that such is the case. diminution of trude; and, certainly, no pecuniary gain should be considered in opposition to political

6. But the most serious and paramount question agement of other instruction; the frequent lynchings, expulsions, and murders, denote an awful state of barbarism; the complexions of a great portion of the licentiousness; and the general practices of gambling, intemperance and profanity evince a depravity as low ceptions; I speak of the state of society as a whole Now it is next to impossible, that communities thus connected by political ties, strengthening those of a social and relative nature, should not have a corrupting influence, diminishing aversion, and obstructing hollow square around the grave of Webster, and the great increase of crime, noticed by moralists, part North; and, accordingly, we perceive this effect in quite as much or more to the influence of Southern Plymouth Bock are left; and, if driven from these, at the North is most apparent among those of the ig-the friends of liberty, with their leaders and prophets, norant masses, who are the least opposed to the con-Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Beccner, Gudings and there taking up the Ark of Freedom, will retire to diminished by separation.

North Elba, that Calvary of our cause, and there,

by the division between the free and slave States, the former will be exempted from the tyrannical and odious Fugitive Slave Law, and from all obligation to return escaped alaves to the cruel punishment of their masters, which is so torturing to the feelings of humane men of the North, supposed to be binding them.

It thus appears, that the free States not only no advantage from their Union with the slave States, but positive injury; and the desire and proposal for exparation should rather proceed from the former, than from the latter; at least, the inference is, that when any of the slave States are bent upon excession, it should not be upposed by others, but permitted peaceably and cheerfully, as a happier revolution than that which delivered us from British domination. Every stayeholding State, which ascedes from the Union, cuts of a decayed tranch from its growth, and union, cuts of a decayed tranch from its growth, and accolurates, it advants to poster, respect, virtue and prosperity. no advantage from their Union with the slave States

CF THE ATLANTIC MONTHER, for Jenniery, 1881

had there assembled, with the date of proving their much-runned enthusasem for 'corter' and 'constitute the much-runned enthusasem for 'corter' and 'constitute the much-runned enthusasem for 'corter' and 'constitute the much and the province of the street of the much of the street most commodious and freest in the world, has 'di- I had two good meetings in Pall River. Id the evewine institution, her cotton; the sole and only needful ning, the large City Hall was well filled with attenbasis of her wealth, and above all her splendid Church tive hearers, mostly young, and State arrangements, the one the abode of a royal Lest Sunday, Dec. 9th, I spoke for the first time priesthood, pledged to the divinity of the institution, the other the sure precursor of a long line of afternoon. I took occasion to criticise with some se-nob's descendants!! Is it strange that a great nation of \$3,000,000 of freemen should suspend all At the close of my address, a gentleman arcse, and work and worship to contemplate such a theme as offered the following resolution ithis! No wonder that the Union threatens to crack and dissolve under the pressure of such a crushing wark of American slavery. this! No wonder that the Union threatens to crack

> sist from our labors when we would much prefer to be at work to earn a few dollars for the support of our families, than to listen to harangues about se families, than to listen to harangues about secession and no objection to getting a shot at the Republican par-dissolution every time we would do a kind or honest ty, provided L could shoot through the heart of thing either as citizens, Christians or men. We say the Democratic party, which was always before it it is confounded hard that, because we just want to in iniquity. While making these remarks, I noticed act out the religion which our mothers taught us in great merriment and good feeling in the audience, infancy and youth, and which our Bibles and com- which I could not account for, at I was quite sure mon sense teach us now-we say it is hard that in I was saying bothing pungent or witty; but all was the exercise of that benevolence which our religion made very plain, when, at the close of the meeting. declares to be a duty, so that when a poor man knocks I learned that my ultra anti-slavery friend was no Buffalo, at our doors, and sake for bread or inquires the way to other than a Democratic lawyer, by the name of Canada—we say it is mighty hard that we can't be Cushman, who has a brother in Boston who is a allowed to gratify this poor man's wish, without being | United States Commissioner : . ool on orange liable to punishment therefor, on application to the . It was talked about town that our meeting in the legal authority, by a ruffien barbarian living a thou- evening would be mobbed and broken up by genteel sand miles off. Why, we can't even choose a Presi- rowdles, in imitation of their brethren in infamy at dent, or a Governor of a State, or enact a law, or Boston. But the Mayor and Chief of Police were speak or publish a word, or travel South as our Na- on hand, with the determination to protect the freetional Constitution says we may, or even trade, with- dom of speech; and so the large audience was unout getting a black or white mark on our backs; or do disturbed, as the meeting in Boston would have been anything under the heavens tending in the alightest if those functionaries there had been rewally faithful. degree to illustrate our love for freedom rather than slavery, without thereby preparing halters for our own necks, or tar and feathers for our backs. Now it is a fact, and we must say it even at the

Really, it is a hard case that well-disposed citizens,

risk of our lives, that we do not like this state of things; and yet, it is because of this that our South- New Bedford were so successful was, that they were ern brethren (some of them brethren, not all) are de- thoroughly notified. If our friends in all places termined, if they can't go off and leave us, to constantly try to frighten us out of our wits with cries of sepession; and yet, these poor deluded creatures, who have flattered themselves that they do frighten us-and it is a fact that they have, some of us-now begin to tell us themselves, and through their representatives in Congress, that they don't care a snap about our State legislation, or the choice we have just made of President; and some of them begin to whisper-(we are glad to see even faintest signs of returning honesty) - that they not only do not now care for us or our legislation, but that they never did; that there is a diverse and irreconcilable difference in our SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY ideas and institutions; that we cannot live together on any peaceable terms for this reason, and that therefore they are determined to 'cut stick,' whether we like it or not. Now there is no chance for an argu- the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of ment here. We concede the point. Our ideas and the year, on the year, of year, on the year, on the year, on the year, of year, of year, of year, of year, of year, or year, of year, or yea institutions and different and irreconcilable, and we WEDNESDAY, the 23d of January, Day and don't complain of you because you dislike this fact. Why under the sun did n't you ever tell us of this before? Why don't you instruct your representa- even of those whose company is most desired, the tives in Congress to let it straight out to the Nation, Ladies basten to say, that are with hate slavery, and so that we can all understand what it is you are wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful. driving at? Then we shall have something to talk immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obby. It is always best to be honest, not because it is tain special invitations (without which no party is ever best policy -the devil invented this phrase-but admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 22 is best, and that's the long and short on't. Why, in the name of common sense, if you want to go out of the Union, and set up for yourselves, haven't you pluck enough to say so? We always thought you had pluck; for bowie-knives and pistols, tar, feathers and hemp, sell well in your section. Why, you always said you had pluck, and we never denied it-some. If you desired to go out of the Union, why did you want to fetch it about in such a size sneaking way! Why compel editors, and speechmakers, and philosophers, and all sorts of thoughtful men, all over the nation, on the other side of the Atlantic and in Congress, to spend their money and their treasure to argue about personal liberty bills, and fugitive slave laws, and constitutions, and supreme courts, and presidential elections, and a thousand other things, and thus absorb the money and time and intellect of the people about matters which have no possible bearing on your case? O, this is poor, miserable business for Southern chivalry! It looks as if you were not so honorable and aboveboard as we used to suppose you to be. Now, for once, let us play a fair game; be serious, frank and honest. Use no longer those old edgless, poingless, rusty weapons of cunning and chicanery, employed so successfully in times past, in hewing your way to power. Strip off the mask ! With open face and steady eye, clearly and honestly state your case ! Urge the 'incompatibility of the two systems of labor,' and that, success of this incompatibility, you both honestly see and feel the pecessity of separation. Make your appeal in man-fashion to the free, magnanimous North, and you shall not lack the listening ear. But do not, as you value your manhood, place yourselves in the attitude of hypocrites and cowards, and pretend to claim redress for grievances you never suffered. Do not, like a pettifogging lawyer, meanly seek to throw the burden of proof on the spoulders of those who never offended you, and thus 'assume a virtue' which you know you do not possess. Shoulder to shoulder, in a solid unit, press straight to the issue. Declare your preference for a separate existence; but don't diagrace your nature, and the Union to which you now belong, by an effort to sheak away from us under the cover of a lie, and then feel your selves ferced to steal the property of the United States in defence of a position which you will valuely

strive to maintain [20 come along the tall growth and the tall growth dealer their earthers of MELETTER FROM A. T. POSS. Valuer Pains, (R. L.) Dec. 14, 1860.

int of my recent Auti-Slavery labors. ith of October, I was about two w in the county of Goos. (N. H.) among the everlast-ing hills. There, has been but, little anti-slavery labor in this part of New Hampshire, and messequent-ity the raign of pro-slavery Democracy, has been but

ittle disturbed.

There were three things that were must influenced ble to the execution of the district of the passes of constitution in the execution of the first section of the heat of the Presidential election discondly, the weather was unperhistore, rain billing all the care of the strendants at the endiscondly, the weather was unperhistore, rain billing all the care of the strendants at the endiscondly, the weather was unperhistore, rain billing and shrewly in the care of the strendants at the endiscondly, the weather was unperhistore, rain billing the day.

EV. The Germania Eard will fill the passes of constanting the day.

EV. The Germania Eard will fill the passes of constanting the day.

I supposed the speaker was one of our friends of

an ultra stripe. I was, therefore, quite in sympathy as everybody knows Northern men to be, should be with him, and remarked that I had no objection to constantly compelled almost at stated intervals to de- the resolution, only it seemed an implication that the Democratic party was not equally involved in this wicked support of slavery. I remarked that I had

Some of my meetings in the week time have failed, others have been well attended. The petition for a Personal Liberty Bill meets with some favor,

but will not be as numerously signed as last year. One reason why the meetings in Fall River and would be equally faithful, the labor of the Agents would be much more pleasant and profitable.

I held a good though not large meeting in this place last evening. To-day I am enjoying the hospitality of the home of our friends Samuel and Elizaboth Chase, where many a weary worker in the world's reform has found rest to soul and body. Yours truly,

. THE TWENTY-SEVENTH

# NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY

The Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask

Evening, in Boston. As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable

ton street, and of the Ladies at their respective MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON. MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON MARY WILLEY, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW, LYDIA D. PARKER, BLIZA P. EDDY BARAH RUSSELL MAY ABBY KELLEY POSTER. SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, BLIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, BLIZA APTHORP. MARY BLIZABETH SARGENT. MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER MARY E STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or n country towns with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are carnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums,—to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. Now, as the very time for this most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most most emerge expension of the hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence nor in individual whose heart is in unison with our on this subject, will be found wanting to our lies. W on this sucject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the psinful remembrance of having more been slave-holders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception;—af all events, to receive their subscriptions by fetter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the urangements for the even

WOMAN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW.

Max. Date's Lagrona, 16 Suscess Street Mas. Dall, will delive a course of Lectures successive Wednesday afternoons, at the Roo Young Men's Christian Union, No. 16 Summe

Windranian, Jan. 9th, at 2 o'clock, P. M. Jan. 9. French and English Law.

Jan. 16. The Buglish Common Law Jan. 16. The Baptist Common Law-continued.
Equity. The Law's estimate of a woman's truthfulness. Divorce by Act of Parliament. The Hou.
Mrs. Norton. Hungarian Law contrasted with the
English. Practical immorality of the Law, which
makes virtue in the wife depend on rigislance in the
husband. Suffrage. Objections met. The Art Critic
and Rose Bonheur. Suffrage a death-blow to three
kinds of Law. Harris v. Butler. Delicate discussions in Parliament. Divorce Bill. Dutte of Nortsions in Parliament.

and Rosa Bonheur. Suffrage a death-blow to three kinds of Law. Harris v. Batler. Delicate discussions in Parliament. Divorce Bill. Duke of Kork's Trial. John Stuart Mill on Suffrage. Women of Upsal. Dames de la Halle. Blackwood in 1854. Abbuses in Parliament. Beckle's Lacture. Changes in Canada. Piteature I land.

Jan. 23. The U.S. Laws and the Servet of Success. The despotism of a Republic. Hent. The man's notice. Poynter on Consistency. The Laws of nineteen States changed in ten years. Graham's decision. Mrs. Dorr's claim. New York Bill. Complication of legislation. Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Hannah Cobbold. Human rights. Patient shacoughness the title to respect. Through Laboute Suffrage. Mean men. Woman's right to man as counsellor and friend. The historical development of the question. The practical question. Mahomet and this Venetian riend. The historical development of the question. The practical questions: Mahomet, and this Venetian

Catechism.

These lectures are given in the alternoon in order to permit persons from the neighboring to me to attend. The autject is very little understood by women, and this course of lectures concludes the twelve Mrs. Dall originally projected.

Doors open at 2, P. M. Admittance to each lec-

NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. Conventions, in the State of NEW YORK, to be addressed by Rev. Bertan Green, Elizabeth Cape Stanton, Rev. S. J. Mar. Ashow M. Powned, Susan B. Anthony, and others, will be held as fol-Thursday, Priday, Jan. 3.

| Lockport,      | Bunday,  |
|----------------|--|
| Albion Tidl es | Tuesday, Wednesday, director 8, 1  |
| Rochester,     | Reiday, Saturday, Sun., 11, 12, 11   |
| Utica,         | Monday, Tuesday, " 14, 16  |
| Rome,          | Thursday, Priday, 4 17 18  |
| Cortland.      | Saturday, Sunday, 14.49, 20  |
| Fulton.        | Tuesday, Wednesday, 192, 2   |
| Oswego,        | Thursday, Priday, 24, 24   |
| Port Byron,    | Saturday, Bunday. 26, 27   |
| Syracuse,      | Tuesday, Wednesday, 7 29, 30   |
| Auburn,        | Thursday, Priday, Jan. 31, Peb. 1  |
| Peterboro'.    |  |
|                | Saturday, Sunday, Peb. 2, 3  |
| Tue. sessions  | of the Conventions will be after   |
| noons and even | ings, at 2 and 7 o'clock. Afternoon  |
| sessions FREE. | evening sessions, 10 cents.  |
| Pur Las shan   | The state of the s |

LET Let there be a grand rallying of the Paople.

The friends in the several places will give free entertainment to those in attendance from the country.

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION. The Fourth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention will be field at Albany, in Association Hall, Monday evening, Tuesday and Wednesday, afternoons and evenings. Faby 4, 5, 6. Wendell Philips, Hor. Gerni. Smith, Lucretia Mott. Rev. Beriah Green, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Oliver Johnson, Rev. S. J. May, Auron M. Powell, Susan B. Authony and others will address the Cin. Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Con-

Afternoon sessions will commence at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission, 10 cents.

. WOMAN'S RIGHTS. .... Head

The Second Annual New York State Weman's Rights Convention will be held at ALBANK, in Association Hall, Thursday and Friday, afternoons and evenings, Feb. 7 and 8.

Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, Bracetine L. Rose, Elizabeth, Carly, Stanton, Hon, Gerrit, Smith, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. S., J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Con-Afternoon sessions at half-past, 2 o'clock.

Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clook. Ad-evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clook. Admission 10 cents. EF ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The next meeting of this Society will be held at Law-rence, Sanday, Jan. 30th, day and evening. Dass. L. Remore and A. T. Foss and others will speak. The public are invited. CHARLES L. REMOND, President.

Lydia M. Tenner, Sec y . . i twoid somall list!

SIXTEENTH COURSE.

The Fifth Lecture Sefore the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be given by Rev. Summin Reus, of Lynn, on Sunday syening. Dec. 30th, in Lyceum Hall, at 7 o clock. Admittance five cents.

CAROLINE BALCH, Rec. Sec.

H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at North Oxford, Friday, Dec. 28. Leicester, are Oakdale, Monday, 50.

Monday, 51.

Tuesday, 12.

Wednesday, 2.

Sunday, 6. West Boylston, 7 540 Clinton. Sunday 6: Tuesday 10. Thursday 10. Friday 11. Sunday 13. Lancaster, Od-14000 1 1 2 c) Groton. Pepperell, al affilia desa

SITUATION WANTED.—A lady who has had large experience in matters of house-keeping, and who is eminently qualified satisfactorily to discharge the duties connec ed therewith, desires a sleen either as house-keeper, or matron of some establish-ment, in this city or vicinity. The best of references given. Address X., Anti-Slavery office, 221 Washngton street. Ora in the thirt and

> BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D., Marie No. 34 AUBURN STREET, BOSTON,

Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases. Orrica House from Il, A. M., tille, P. M. Nov. 23. And, so that

PREE DISPENSARY

For Women and Children, 274 Washington street, Boston. Open every day, from 12 to I o'clock!
The above institution (in connection with the LADIES' MEDICAL ACADEMY) is new open for the connection of the connecti the gratuitous treatment of Women and Children, and for Surgical Patients of both sexes. Difficults cases may have the benefit of a Consultation on Wednesdaya, at 12 o'clock. MIDWIFERT. Attendance by duly qualified female ractitioners will be provided for the poor, at their wn homes, free of charge.

Dr. Basers S. LOCKWOOD, Physician for Decem-CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

COMMONWRALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MIDDLESEX, So. To the Heim at Law, Crediton, said all other persons interested in the last Will of JOHN CABOT, late of Newton, in said county, deceased, testate:

WHEREAS, application has been made to me to appoint Grand Jameson, of Boston, Treates under the Will of said deceased, in the place of France James—you are kereby cited to appear at a Probate Court, to be held at Cambridge, in said county of Middlesex, on the second Tuesday of Jamesy next at nine o'clock before hoom, to show came, if any you have, against granting the said.

And the said George Jameson is according to give public actics themost, by publishing the rotted ten gray posts at the Cambridge in the temperature of the county of the said George Jameson is according to give public actics themost, by publishing the rotted ten one as week, for three accounts weeks, in the newspaper called the Liberton, printed at Boston—the last publication to be three days at these materials.

Witness my hand, this 57th day of November.

rt.

or my hand, this 27th day of November the year eighteen hundred and all WILLIAM AT HIGHARD

A true copy: attest, J. H. Tran, Register

CLERICAL APOLOGISTS AND DEPENDENS OF BLAVERY.

[In the report of a celebrated pro-alayery meeting in Charleston, S. C., published in the Courier of that city, If is stated, 'The CLERGY of all denominations attended in a body, impoint that allowed the course of the second course of the impressive character of the second []

Just God !-- and these are they Who minister at Thine altar, God of Right ! den who their hands of prayer and blessing lay On Israel's Ark of light !

What I preach and kidnep men? Give thanks-and rob Thy own afflicted poor? Talk of Thy glorious liberty, and then Bolt hard the captive's door !

What I servants of Thy own Mergiful Son, who came to seek and save The homeless and the outcast, fettering down The tasked and plundered slave ! Pilate and Herod, friends!

Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine! Just God and holy! is that church, which lends Strength to the spoiler, Thine !

Paid hypocrites, who turn Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book Of those high words of truth which search and burn In warning and rebuke? Feed fat, ye locusts, feed !

And, in your tasseled pulpits, thank the Lord That, from the toiling bondman's utter need, Ye pile your own full board ! How long, O Lord ! how long Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,

And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong At Thy own alters pray? Is not Thy hand stretched forth Visibly in the heavens, to awe and smite? Shall not the living God of all the earth,

And heaven above, do right? Woe, then, to all who grind Their brethren of a common Pather down! To all who plunder from th' immortal mind Its bright and glorious crown !

Woe to the priesthood! woe To those whose hire is with the price of blood-Perverting, darkening, changing as they go, The searching truths of God !

Their glory and their might Shall perish; and their very names shall be Vile before all the people, in the light Of a world's liberty.

Oh! speed the moment on, When Wrong shall coase—and Liberty, and Love, And Truth, and Right, throughout the earth be known As in their home above !

#### STANKAS FOR THE TIMES. . BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Is this the land our fathers loved, The freedom which they toiled to wind Is this the soil whereon they moved ? Are these the graves they slumber it. Are see the sons by whom are borne The manties which the dead have would And shall me crouch above these graves,

With graven soul and fettered lip? Yoke in with marked and branded slaves, And tremble at the driver's whip? Bend to the earth our pliant knees, And speak-but as our masters please?

Shall outraged Nature cease to feel? Shall Mercy's tears no longer flow? Shall ruffian threats of cord and steel-The dungeon's gloom—th' assashin's blow. Turn back the spirit roused to save The Truth, our Country, and the Slave Of human skulls that shrine was made,

Round which the priests of Mexico Be fore their loathsome idel prayed ;-Is Freedom's after fashioned so? And must we yield to Freedom's God, As offering meet, the negro's blood?

Shall tongues be mute, when deeds are wrought Which well might shame extremest hell? Shall freemen lock th' indignant thought? Shall Pity's bosom cease to swell? Shall Honor bleed ?-shall Truth succumb?

Shall pen, and press, and soul be dumb No-by each spot of haunted ground, Where Freedom weeps her children's fall -By Plymouth's rock, and Bunker's mound-By Griswold's stained and shattered wall-By Warren's ghost-by Langdon's shade-By all the memories of our dead !

By their enlarging souls, which burst The bands and fetters round them set-By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed Within our inmost bosoms, yet-By all above around below-

Be ours th' indignant enswer-NO! No guided by our country's laws, For truth, and right, and suffering man, Be ours to strive in Freedom's cause As Christians may as freemen out!

Still pouring on unwilling ears That truth oppression only fears. What I shall we guard our neighbor still, While woman shricks beneath his rod. And while he tramples down at will

The image of a common God! Shall watch and ward be round him set, Of Northern nerve and bayonet?

And shall we know and share with him The danger and the growing shame? And see our Freedom's light grow dim. Which should have filled the world with flame?

And, withing, feel, where er we turn, A world's represen around us burn ! Is't not enough that this is borne?

And saks our haughty neighbor more? Mast fetters which his slaves have worn, Clank round the Yankee farmer's door? Must he be sold, beside his plough, What he must speak, and when, and how?

Must he be told his freedom stands On Blavery's dark foundations strong On breaking hearts and fettered hands, On robbery, and crime, and wrong? That all his fathers taught is vain-That freedom's emblem is the chain?

Ate life—its soul, from slavery drawn? Pales foul profune! Go—teach of Of holy Truth from Paleshood born! Of Heaven refreshed by size from Hell [ Of Virtue in the arms of Vice) Of Demons planting Paradice!

No seal to on the Yanker's mouth, 'Ap setter on the Yanker's press! From our Green Mountains to the Rea. One value shall thunder—wa and ress!

Mr. Speed on the light to those who dwell

# THE LIBERATOR

Attend, ye Southern monniabanks.
While I your tricks expose:
And think not, by your binating prant
To lead us by the nose!
To scare the North and West, you try
Re-threatening to sected: A WARRING.

To sears the North and West, you try
By threatening to secede:
While you are setting out the lie,
You date not do the deed!
You alares, though all so fuliet now,
Their necks your feet beneath.
Would breathe the long heart-cherish'd you
For 'Lansair on Dears!
A hundred thousand glittering knives
Around your heads would dash,
And you, your children, and your wives,
Must meet their lightning fissh,
Let but your trampled bondmes hear
That stey may dread no more
The Northern sword, or Western spear,
To sentinel your door,

To sentinel your door, And soon the dreadful sound would come All this you know, you braggart knaves!
We're of your tricks aware:
Wolf! wolf! you cry-look to your sla: Wolf! wolf! you cry—look to your slaves.
You'll find the Wolf is there!

For the Liberator.

P. M. ABLINGTON

LINES. Suggested by reading the Procla dent for a day of Fasting and Prayer.

O, James Buchanan! are you thinking
That prayer will save a ship from sinking,
If, all the tiresome labor shirking.
The sailors pray, instead of working!
Dost think that going without eating,
And each attending his own meeting,
And saking God the work to do,
That He has given to me and you,
One day of such 'humiliation'
Can help to save our emility nestion? Can help to save our guilty nation?
After that day, will there not be
Four million slaves to be set free, After same and a second and a second a We know full well our country's nee Our holiest prayers are noble deeds; Our nonest prayers are noose deeds;
Such prayers go heavenward every day—
Yes, James Buchanan, wa will Prax;
But we'll not ask our God to save
The Union whilst it holds a slave! E. D. MORSE.

Sherborn, Dec. 19, 1860.

From the New York Tribune. PRAYER MEETING IN A STORM. [See President Buchanan's late Proclamation.]

A gale came up from the sou'-sou'-weet; Twas fierce November weather:
But the ship had felt such a storm before,
And her planks still held together. And thus, though the howling tempest showed No signs of diminution,

The passengers said—'We'll trust our ship,
The stanch old Constitution.'

The captain stood on the quarter-deck-The seas, he said, they batter us : Twas my watch below in the former gale-I doubt if we'll weather Hatteras.
The wind of the one side blows me off,
The current sets me shoreward: I'll just lay too between them both, And seem to be going forward.'

Breakers shead!' cried the watch on the bow; 'Hard up!' was the first mate's order;
'She feels the ground-awell,' the passengers cried,
'And the seas already board her!' The foresail split in the angry gust: In the hold the ballsst shifted:

And an old tar said - If Jackson steered We shouldn't thus have drifted!

But the captain cried—'Let go your helm!'
And then he called to the bo'swain—
'Pipe all hands to the quarter-deck,
And we'll save her by Devotion!'
The first mate hurled his trumpet down; The old tars cursed togeth To see the good ship helpless roll
At the sport of wave and weather.

The tattered sails are all a-back. Yards crack, and masts are started;
And the capitaln weeps and says his prayers,
Till the hull be mid-ships parted;
But God is on the steersman's eide— The crew are in revolution;
The wave that washes the capitain off
Will save the Constitution!

BATARD TAYLOR. New York, Dec. 20, 1860.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

An adjourned meeting of philanthropic persons

interested in measures for the protection of the Inat Allston Hall, Tremont street.

filled by Dr. H. F. Gardner. The Chairman briefly alluded to the former meet-

ing in School street, on the 19th ult., and explained that the present meeting had been summoned to de- on the subject. Many of these had made him halftermine the mode of calling a General Convention, and the time and place at which such Convention forward. should assemble. He then read the following resolutions, which had been referred from the former meeting to the present one for final consideration :-

Whereas, The design of all just governments and of all true religion is to promote the best interests of all mankind; and for this purpose organizations are instituted for the benefit of every class of men, with the exception of our frontier Indians, who are literally left to perish for the want of adequate care; there-

Resolved, That a General Convention of the friends of the Indians is hereby invited to assemble in the city of Boston, on the 9th day of January, 1861, and provided he could raise the needful sum for exto continue three days, during which the following subjects shall be considered;

1. The reason why the Indians have not become civilized.

2d. The cause of their fading away. 8d. A plan for their future government.

ath The location and extent of the domain or do- up with a deep sympathy for the cause which it had mains which should be appropriated for their final met to promote. settlement.

of Indians to send delegates of their own people to a general convention of their race, at some appropriate To Farmenick U. Thaox, Treasurer, and the Assessor place, during the coming summer, to determine for elves relative to the foregoing points.

6th. The propriety of asking Congress for an ap-propriation sufficient to carry the foregoing into ffect.

Resolved, That a Committee of Arrangements for

Resolved, I nat a Community by appointed.

Resolved, That the entire press of the country be respectfully invited to give these resolutions a place in their respective papers.

In their respective papers.

FAYRIXE BERRON, in his usual simple, earnest language, enlarged on the wrongs and sufferings of the Indiana, at the hands both of the Government and the settlers. Treaties are made with the Indiana, but no adequate provision exists for carrying them out. Such treaties are a solemn monkery, violated almost at pleasure, and with impunity, by white settlers and others. You the press, with few exceptions, is allent: the pulpit is allent;—and thus, unprovided by law, and formcommed by public opinion to annihilation, the red man suffers the most sweater outreges. Look at the more cost of this barbarous treatment. In four yours, not less than topologies. cetreges. Look at the more cost of the money for treatment. In four years, not less than money for allient of delaw have been expended in months. Indian years and now the forestory of West money.

rifle, the revolver, and the number of the marker York Tribuse contained an automat of the massers of 200 Indians in California. Of source, resons are assigned for much brutality; but we have not one side of the question—the white man's. Trues is one side of the question—the white man's. or numeral life, which on this equitment is blending as many races into one people. He desired that the proposed Convention should meet during the session of Congress, and nearch into the question submitted in the recolutions. When the subject is then fairly before the people, the wrongs complained of must constitute us remember, that in the effort to save inferior races, we shall ourselves be slevaled. The Chairman here introduced Mr. Ralph Wals Emerson to the audience, amidst hearty chesring.

Mr. Exemples said that he was impres must be, by the remarks of Mr. Rec served an audience as large as the country levels. He had regretted that the meeting had been called now, when political and commercial affairs are in such an agitated state, and it is difficult for people to extend their sense of duty to distant objects. Yet there is something jesperative in the time,—because the law of Kanaas has to come before Congress, and other questions of Indian reserves, and perhaps some further injustice will be consum It is always time, and never too late, to do right :-

these are words out of the heart of the world. We are severally parties to wrongs which are coming to a crisis, and it is fit some present effort should be made in explation. Fet we hardly realize our res ty here. In this portion of the country, the Indian is a picturesque antiquity. We have the waters of Massachusetts Bay, and the State bearing their name. We have recollections of them as a race which preceded ours, and who have covered the country with their beautiful names. But where are the men? We read Cooper's novels, and think of the Indian with an interest belonging to a creature of fiction. But he is himself worthy of the interest he inspires. He is a naturalist by what is called the rule of thumb He is as wise as a hound. He is not imitable in arts properly his own. "You cannot lose an Indian' is a proverb. He finds his way by marks which the white man does not make. He can call the moose, and the moose will come. He can call the muskrat while he is swimming, and the animal obeys. He has the greatest self-command, and sense of a wild justice which is true to the laws of his tribe and his religion. Many of the Indians have exhibited extraordinary traits. Red Jacket's speech to the missionaries who came to convert his tribe deserves the very best consideration of every thoughtful person It is remarkable, for its keen wit and truthful eloquence. The interest in the wild man increases as we ourselves become scientific. His arrow-heads and hatchets are found all over the world; even, it is said, under the glaciers of Switzerland ! His very antiquity should give a sacred tenderness to our thoughts of him. But there is come into our country, with its amalgamation of races, a power not civilized nor humane.

The wrongs of the Indians on our western from tiers are owing to the large share which the State of Missouri has had in settling these regions. The free and hearty settlers from the North, untainted by slavery, could never of themselves have committed such crimes. I hope that, in the time before us, a happier ers is to be inaugurated. I entreat you, gentlemen, for the sake of civilization, to have regard to the In-

All union means justice; all injustice means dis union. If only two people understand each other, and mean justice, they will gather strength and prevail. Injustice is ever the disuniting principle.

The Chairman here introduced Miss Ball and he sister, who sang from the platform a song called Speed on ! Illustrative of a beautiful superstition among the Seneca Indians. At the conclusion of the

Miss Ball briefly addressed the audience on the wrongs of the Indians, and the retribution ever following injustice. Bach race of men is a special type of the Divine. In the red man wasee a natural simplicity, sagacity, and unconquerable love of freedom In the African, a race full of music and of social affection, happy even in bondage. The Anglo-Saxon lives by method, laws, institutions; and force their souls into the forms they have made. This brotherhood of States will yet be owned,—and the political and social institutions of the now dominant race

At this stage of the proceedings, a collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the hall.

The Chairman read the resolutions again, when dians, assembled on Friday evening, the 14th inst., on the motion of Mr. Beeson, the time for a Convention to meet was changed to the 20th, 21st and 22d Mr. John Berson called the meeting to order, and of February, (the latter day being the birth-day of the usual officers were appointed; the chair being Washington.). In their amended forms, the resolu-

tions were then adopted unanimously. Mr. Reeson expressed his regret at the non-attendance of the clergy, of whom he had seen twenty-four promises of personal co-operation, but none had come

Dr. Gardner spoke with his usual clearness on the subject of justice to the Indian, and followed up Mr. Beeson's comments on clerical lukewarmness with an earnestness of indignation which aroused the dissent of some individuals, and the hearty applause of the rest of the meeting.

On motion, a Committee was appointed to issue call for a Convention, consisting of the officers of the meeting and any persons they might select to make up the number of five. The Chair announced Mr. Beeson's desire to go t

Washington to advocate in person the Indian claims, Mr. Emerson highly commended Mr. Beeson's

book on the late war in Oregon as full of interesting and valuable matter.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, after a little animated discussion, the meeting broke

5th. The propriety of aiding all the principal tribes TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION Boston, November 6, 1860.

> and other Authorities of the City of Boston : My tax-bill for the year 1860 is before me. A now, on this national election day, when men are ing to and fro, seeking voters by fair means o running to and fro seeking voters by size means or foul; when men of all nations—no matter how ignorant, or now unfitted by imbeality, intemperance, and poverty for paying their taxes even—are freterably solicited to exercise this high function of ottisenship. I feel, with seer emphasis, the fact that woman alone, of all same adults, is denied this right,—although contributing millions for the maintenance of government. The payment of a tax to support government identifies the payer with that government; responses

sent, and which, therefore, like is many other then.

SELOQUENT VINDICATION OF TRANSPORT

SENDING WITH THE SENDING OF TRANSPORT

OF SPERCH.

The minute of this country ought certainly to be

The people of this country ought certainly to be the uninterested are admitted to all the rights and duties of ditienable. Is this just? Is it is according to a stream of our people?

The election of the proper National State and City officials and not, therefore, be delegated to any one sex or class. Especially is this felt in the choice of the squares here arise many questions involving amornous expenditure, and many changes of old established ways, so the widening of atreets—which were intended for the joint benefit of all classes, and not the supecial benefit of corporations, at great in jury to the property and comfort of the residents upon the same—and other questions affecting the vital interests of many, and upon which the moral sense and rights of all concerned should be consulted, but which nose are managed too much by about-sighted partizans or imprudent speculators, who do not hearitate to increase the city debt for any purposes of display or luxury, outside of the legal provisions for the expenditure of taxes, and at any disadvantage to the tax-payers, who have no special benefit therefrom.

plo-'The consent of the governed.'

This is respectfully submitted. HARRIOT K. HUNT

32 Green Street.

LETTER PROM MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

MENDOTA, (III.,) Dec. 1, 1860. PRIEND GARRISON, I have just laid down the Liberator of the 16th of November, containing the letter of Parker Pillsbury, bearing date from this place. We thank him for those frank words of reproof to the manhood of our country; but he is mistaken in saying that the most lynx-eyed of the Woman Rights Lecturers have failed to note the wrong' which he so graphically describes. Some of us have not only noted, but we have been chiefs tion; thus, rather abandoning their old and dear among them taking notes, and, faith, have printed firesides, than yielding their consciences to Caleb them' many a time.

Well might the sights and scenes which every day met his eyes and ears almost make him forget the 'plantations of the South'! The four million slaves of the Southern plantations, whose akins mark their position, are but a fraction of the slaves of these United States; and if these things meet us among reformers, among men professing to believe in human rights, what shall be the condition of wives where men recognize only rights for the 'free white male citizen'? Can we expect any earnest anti-slavery effort while nearly every man in the country over twenty-five years of age owns one pair of hands, for of the sentiment that slavery could be abolished in no better way than by invading the Southern States Well might the sights and scenes which every day necessary support'? Will he have any realizing sense of the degradation of easte, so long as he spurns the idea of equal rights for the sexes?

We heard an anti-slavery man of the strongest stamp, a few days since, asserting the idleness and dependence of Illinois women-indeed, of all women there ' was not one in fifty that was the least help to a man in getting a living, and nine-tenths of them could not even do their own work without hired help. Talk about giving such women the right to acquire and hold property!

We asked him demurely, who raised all the children of Illinois - who cooked all the food - who tended all the household operations—who made the clothes for the family who nursed the sick who set the tables, swept the house, and washed the garmenta?

'What does that all amount to?' was his scornful

Why, my dear sir.' I replied, 'if you will pay your wife the ordinary price for simply doing up your washings weekly, and allow her to put that money in the savings' bank, and continue it for twenty years, she will have more money laid up at the end right to pass, and if they can personde the South of that time than half you men could raise as the that Boston is not altogether an anti-slavery city, saving of the same number of years."

· I tell you,' he replied, · it would be mighty little she would have left, if she would pay me for furnish- by free ing soap and water, tubs, fire-wood, board and house

'Heaven save the mark!' He seemed to forget that she would, or could, or did ever do anything else but wash his two or four fine shirts a week!

We met another of these reformers, who, in the presence of a large company, scolded a young wife portunity to make another speech for the Union not twenty-one, who was the mother of two children, his health permits, and I sincerely hope it has

not set well their pair. We pray that both mer do notice in the time to come. If we have spakes aspecially of anti-alevery measured recovering it is because we feel that they should stand preventions above all above is their works of kindness and lover and, beginning their labous at home, let them go from themse outward to the units of the earth wherever themse outward to the units of the earth wherever

play or luxury, outside of the legal provisions for the rance, used the watchwords of liberty in the advocably expenditure of taxes, and at any disadvantage to the of slavery. It does not appear that his prodigiously incandering search after his maternal relative (laugh-daying that, at no very distant day, our Government would have received more votes, if fewer people had been any converts for his cause.

would have received more votes, if fewer people had heard his eloquent voice.

But examples still more striking are crowding upon any memory. It is eaid that the eloquent Caleb Cushing is laboriously engaged in the delivery of a speech, which he commenced at a time out of men's memory, and which he means to continue to a time out of men's endurance; [continued laughter] a speech in which he has proved, is proving, and will still further prove, that the people of the North have speedily to abandon the principles contained in the Republican platform, or this young and hopeful Republic will sink to the bottom of the unfathomable ocean, never to rise again. And yet I am informed the moral convictious of the people are successfully enduring the most unearthly of trials. The New York Tribune even asserts that this speech has crea-York Tribine even asserts that this speech has created a panic in the good town of Newburyport, and that the citizens are rapidly moving their families to Plum Island, [laughter] in order to escape the inflications. Cushing's oratory This, however, I do not believe.
I think the report is exaggerated. For, although

no better way than by invading the Southern States and liberating the negroes by force of arms—suppose this proposition had been ever so publicly discussed had been set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and the set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and the set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and the set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and the set forth in language eyes so closing a proposition and the set forth in language eyes and the s this proposition had been ever so publicly discussed, had been set forth in language ever so glowing and brilliant, had been urged upon you in appeals ever so warm and touching, do you think a single individual within the reach of its influence would have promptly resolved to shoulder his musket, to marel into the South, and to undertake this terrible busi ness? Do you not think if it had ever been serily entertained, the same freedom of speech which

You may remind me of John Brown. Ah, it was not in consequence of rights and liberties safely enjoyed, but of oppression ignominiously suffered, that
he entered upon his fatal career. It was not in the
free and serene atmosphere of public discussion, but
in the dark secresy of a despairing heart that he conceived his terrible design. (Sansation) ceived his terrible design. [Sensation.]

Nor do I think that those who disturbed the meet-

ought it forth, would have subjected it to a rigo-

rous criticism, and would have worked its abandon

ing of Abolitionists had any such fears. They deem ed it necessary to satisfy the Southern customers of their loyalty, so that trade might not suffer They had to demonstrate that State Street is not disposed to invade Virginia or South Carolina, all of which was very right and proper. Everybody has a let them do so.

But is it necessary for that purpose that they should put down the freedom of speech? Why not by free speech counteract the mischief that free speech threatened to accomplish? Why not call a meeting on their side, a tremendous outpouring of the conservative masses, in Fancuil Hall? Have they no orators on their side, whose voices will reach farther than that of Fred. Douglass, and drown that of Wendell Phillips? [Voice in the audience, that of Wendell Phillips? [Voice in the audience, No. 1] Mr. Everett is certainly longing for an opnot twenty-one, who was the mother of two children, suffered in the Presidential campaign. [Laughter.] and about to become the mother of the third, till she He will describe the horrors of the slave meurrection

ve jusce and about to become the mother of two children, and about to become the mother of two children, and about to become the mother of twith, all she wept like a child in her agony; simply because some stiding matter of mere convenience to him had not been attended to in an absence of weeks, leaving the with all the household cares. Poor alwel!

Another one who writes letters for the Liberative and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and gives his energies to the defence of the about letters and the state of the about letters and the state of the commentation of the defence of the about letters and the state of the about letters and the ab

And now there are millions of men living in the And now there are millions of men living in the old world, watching the development of this in this Republic with anxious solicitade, foodly length for the final solution of the great problem applieding with exultant joy every success we achieve, to ploring with heartfelt grief every reverse we achieve, to ploring with heartfelt grief every reverse we ache.

—for our victories as well as our defeats as then also—and whenever I hear, in this Republic, of a dividual rights invaded, of liberties therefore, at a dividual rights invaded, of liberties therefore, as a dividual rights invaded, of liberties therefore, and the great agencies of progress disturbed to dividual rights invaded, of liberties threatend, at of the great agencies of progress distorted, I can of the great agencies of progress distorted, I can help asking myself: W hat will they think; who expect to hear from our few will they think; who expect to hear from our few the divine message that man is capable of respecting the himself, and, being free, capable of respecting the freedom of others? To them, another spark of light is extinguished, another ray of hope obscured, both or bond of sympathy severed. er bond of sympathy severed.
Indeed, those whose eyes

er bond of sympathy severed.

Indeed, those whose eyes were hopefully find epon this land, have already had to reconcile themsing to many a contradiction. Slavery existing in a praction of this Republic of equal rights, and all the contradiction of this grows out of slavery. But the despotism that grows out of slavery. But the slavery does not exist, there, at least they sayout would Liberty throw her shield over any atmitted man. And now they have to be a slavery to be would Liberty throw her shield over crey mind right of man. And now they have to lear the reven here the freedom of speech means, that crey man has a right to say what is not unpleased others! [Applause.] They will remember that there never was a despot on earth who refund to tolerate opinions which exactly agreed with his ra-I must be pardoned, if, in my public address,

I must be pardoned, if, in my public address, have not always been able to refrain from expression of scorn and contempt; from applying the last of invective and bitter denunciation to those of significant the fair image of liberty, which this Repulse holds out to the world, and drove into despects. ured the fair image of liberty, which this Repulse holds out to the world, and drove into depondent the millions of liberty-loving men in the walk abroad, who, with all the tendrils of their real clong to this last hope! I feel every pang of day pointment that distresses them, vibrating in ay heart, and so I ask, again and again: What wall that think? It is true, the time is out of the state heart, and so I ask, again and again. Whit will they think? It is true, the time is out of just clashing interests and ideas are standing up some clashing interests and ideas are standing up some cach other in formidable array: the minds of an each other in formidable array: each other in formitation mind in the mines of he are disturbed here by the pusillanimous fresh of fear, there by the madness of a stabbors inhisfear, there by the manness of a studeors inhibition, and every day an untoward event may res tion, and every day an untoward event may non the elementary forces of society to despents ca-flicts. The passions of the multitude may be fore than in ordinary times, bewildered by the period ties which seem to beset our path. And believes, I do not belong to those who think lightly of my ties which seem to beset our path. And believes, I do not belong to those who think lightly of the dangers threatening the Republic. I have, its many of us, watched the development of our any with profound anxiety, weighing the take which the universal cause of human liberty and civiliant the universal cause of human liberty and civiliant the momentous attues is and making the momentous attues is and making the momentous attues in the the universal cause of human mercy and reing tion has in the momentous struggle, and reing with a scrutinizing eye, for a gleam of light in the confusion. Terrorism rules the hour in one part the country; the light of reason seems to be tinguished by headlong passion, and the role of counsel drowned by the clamor of infattated as In our midst peace is still reigning, not undstried but not forever broken. Shall we follow their a ample? Is it better that here, also, the inteles pie : 18 it bester state should supplant t fe passions of the multitude sound of the sales and quiet exchange of opinions? If there is a light that may guide us in the storm, it is proteting that may guide us in the rights of the individual liberty extended to all, the rights of the interests mutually respected, and the freedom of opins held inviolable. (Applause.) Then the freedom of thought and the freedom of utterance may see from this crisis as it has done a thousand ties; not only as the great agency of progress, but a the firmest bulwark of peace and order, moderator of strife, us the great safety-taire of the social machinery.—[Estract from Carl Schuri's lie-ture at the Tremont Temple, Boston.

From the New York Times.

A CANDID VIEW OF SECESSION. Extract of a private letter from a lady in South

K-, S. C., Saturday, Dec. 1, 1860. MY DEAR UNCLE,—It is with different feelings that I sit myself to pen these lines to you from those which actuated me when I wrote you hat. Then, all looked bright and cheerily in the future now, how gloomy and portentous! Still I ferrent pray God that this cup may pass away from a! The country here is all aglow with the area of the revolution, and such is the intensity of excitence that we can scarcely find time or inclination to the or think of anything else than the political topic of the day, and the moral and socia directly pertaining to accession. I fear that seession and revolution are, with our people, foregon conclusions; that we have gone so far, retracted and recession are impossible, and that civil ve, with all its consequent horrors, is already speam. shudder for the wives and mothers, sisten as babes of South Carolina, as I contemplate the inmediate future of the State. You need not be seprised at any time to see me and the children a your midst, for no argument could induce me to remain here an hour longer than I should be conpelled to, if the worst should come to the worst

Rsy Dyou of the boars of a Market over transmit for remarks on the boars of the boa

Trogged of the state of the sta

You may imagine, dear uncle, our situation, but you never can realize it in its fuliness. Alresty we tremble in our own homes, in anticipation and expectancy of what is liable to burst forth at ut oment, a negro insurrection. Could you see the care and precaution displayed here by the propre-tors of the negroes,—not only planters, but other, -you would not for a moment envy us our poions. Not a night passes that we do not seour ly lock our field servants in their quarter; but our most loved and valued house servant, who is ordinary times we would trust to any extent are watched and guarded against with all the scrating and care that we possess. Our planters and overs of alave property do not allow their servant to have any intercourse with each other, and the groes are confined strictly to the premises shorthey belong. We are all obliged to increase or force of overseers, to prevent too free intercount even among our own servants. The negross fed and notice these new restraints, and naturally sal, Why is this?' But it is unnecessary for them to ask the question, for they all comprehend the case as well as we who own them. They have sheat learned enough to give them an idea of that is going on in the State and nation, and this hos-edge they have not gained from Abolitocista some suppose, but from the conversation of their owners indirectly held in their presence. Dry have already heard of Lincoln's election, and have neard also that he is for giving them their libery,

and you may imagine the result.

You have heard that our servants all love their Now have heard that our servants all fore term masters, and their masters' families, and would hydown their lives for them—that the colored nee is the South prefers slavery to freedom—that they would not be free if they could, &c. That is but the poetry of the case; the reality consists in sleeping upon our arms at night—in double-beling and barring our doors—in establishing and maintaining an efficient patrol force—in buying watch-dog, and in taking turns in watching our sleeping children. Or watch them and ourselves from the vengence of to guard them and ourselves from the vengeance these same 'loving servants'—a rengence which though now smouldering, is liable to burst out any moment, to overwhelm the State in spite of the Palmetto flags or State precautions.

You at the North are not the only ones who are suffering financially by this new pant. The plant

suffering financially by this new panic. The platers among us are really suffering from the depters among us are really suffering from the depters among us are really suffering from the depters are not worth half price. No one dares to buy a sering worth half price. No one dares to buy a sering the state of the stat fearing less he, in doing so, should be introducing upon his plantation one tinctured with the ides of freedom.

My husband has but a few servants—I believe him the ides below the idea of the idea o

but thirty-one all told-still I feel (and so does be that they are thirty-one too many in such times these. He would sell them immediately, if h repossible, but the truth is he could realize acting for them at present, or at most not over hell their real value. Slaves are a drug in the matrix, my husband says, and you know him well sough to longe of his indement in such matter.

judge of his judgment in such matters.
Now, one word as to the military force of the State, to protect us against an insurrection. I presume, with the exception of Charleston, and pages a few large towns, that the remainder of the company of the sume, with the exception of Charleston, above haps a few large towns, that the remainder of the State is bituated very much as we are here; and will give you an idea how well prepared we are recist a mob. On our place of about 1200 are, we have:—Of whites, males—husband, two offers, and my son of 18 years—total, four; female are capable of bearing arms. To offset which, we are capable of bearing arms. To offset which, we have at least seventeen field hands, stardy rough negroes; besides the female servants. And this is fair representation of the force upon our plants tions. Considering such a state of facts, do yet blame me for desiring to absent myself, my hands and shildren from the State?