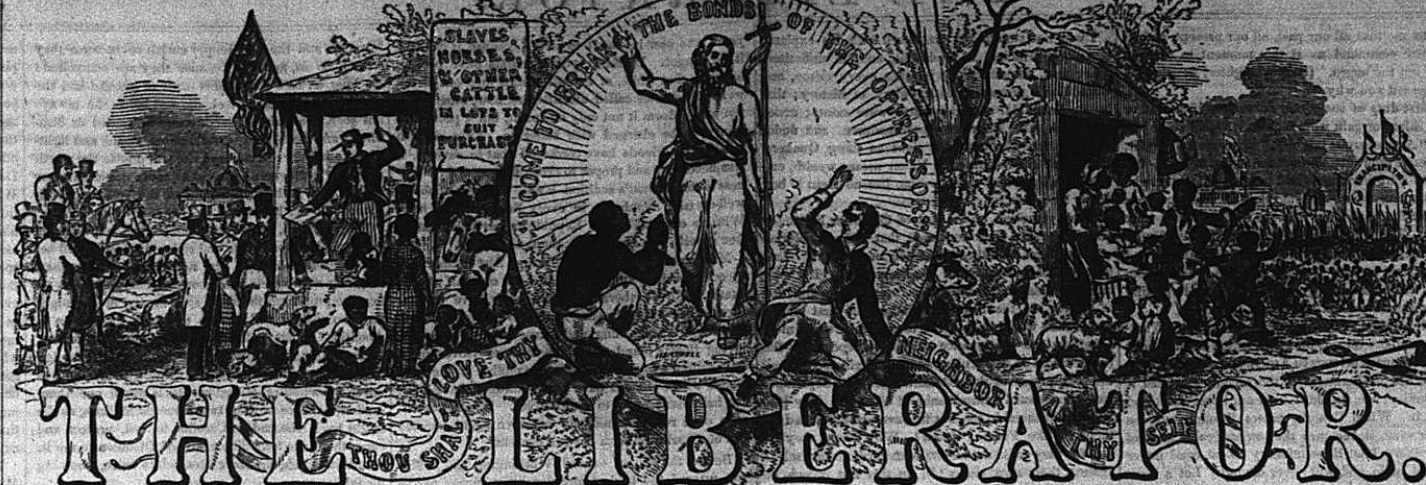


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the hands of a species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of robes and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define the model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUERRY ADAMS.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

EPHRAIM AND JUDAH RECOGNIZED. Extracts from a Sermon Preached in the First Congregational Church in Lynn, on occasion of the National Fast, Jan. 4, 1861.

BY REV. PARSONS COOKE, D. D.

NORTHERN OFFENCES. Let us endeavor, for the time, to keep passion and resentment in abeyance, while we candidly consider some of the offences against the Union, which have been committed at the North.

Justice in the first place, that they have suffered a wrong and provoking annoyance from Ultraists among us, whose declared purpose has been a dissolution of the Union. For thirty years we have had among us a class of people whose zeal, activity, and perseverance have supplied the want of numbers—who have carried on ceaseless war, first and chiefly against the Gospel of Christ and its institutions, and then against social order and the authority of law.

On a platform so constructed, this body of professed reformers have gone forth against slavery, and against our National Union, for the time of one male generation. The impression which they have made is much greater at the South than at the North. And at the North, the mischief which they have indirectly done are vastly greater than the regard which is consciously paid to their denunciations.

ANTI-SLAVERY PREACHING. Now I proceed to say that the parent cause of the present trouble, so far as that cause proceeds from the North, has been our abolition preaching.

We freely grant that if the claims of the Gospel conflicted with national compacts, those compacts must go to the winds. So we are to show, in the first place, that the Gospel does not require that we should condemn the man of ungodly opinion, and that it here be understood, that the nations through which the apostles carried the Gospel were in the worst form of slaveholding nations.

Yes, not only did they not preach in that style, but they expressly forbade it. Hear Paul, in his letter to Timothy:

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, makers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but being void of questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of facts of corrupt minds and destitute of truth."

THE OLEBY ON THE ORIGIN.

CIRCULAR LETTER. New York, Jan. 1, 1860. To the Church and Laity of Christian Churches in the Southern States of the Union:

We would salute you, brethren, in the spirit of the apostolic formula: "Grace, mercy, and peace." As fellow-heirs of a kingdom that "endureth forever," we have common interests and relations superior to all political bonds, furnishing the basis of fraternal intercourse, even in seasons of greatest civil commotion. Faith in God would seem to be the only alternative in a crisis which reveals the impotence and short-sightedness of man.

A dispassionate view of public affairs constrains the belief that a system of gross and persistent misrepresentation has had much to do with leading the Nation to the verge of revolution. The South has been slandered at the North, and the North as grossly misrepresented at the South. The extreme political or party views of individuals, and the passionate utterances of inconsiderable bodies, political or ecclesiastical, have been heralded through the land as the deliberate expression of opinion of great parties, denominations or sections of country; whereas, they merely represent the extravagance of their authors, and should have been consigned to the oblivion they merited.

If this view of the question be accepted, does it not vitally affect our relations, and the duty of good citizens, North and South? Do not truth, justice, and self-respect demand extreme measures, in the adoption of measures for the redress of grievances, which, on this hypothesis, may prove to be partly unreal, and at best are greatly exaggerated? Mutual misunderstanding has been often enough the occasion of domestic or national calamity to induce the utmost patience and forbearance, before irrevocable action involving the honor and the interests of thirty millions of souls.

Another objection often urged is, that slavery is worse here than it was when the Apostles preached. But this is simply contrary to historical fact. If the scope of this discourse would allow, we could show that Roman slavery involved immensely more of wrong and cruelty than American slavery. But it is said that Christianity evaded a direct attack on slavery then, because it was weak, but now it is strong, and can afford to speak in bolder terms.

Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine! Just God and holy! It is that church which lends strength to the spoiler, Thine? How long, O Lord! how long Shall such a priesthood barter truth away, And in Thy name, for robbery and wrong, At Thy own altars pray! 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!"

SELECTIONS.

REPORT OF HON. G. F. ADAMS.

The Select Committee of Thirty-Three, to whom was referred so perils of the President's message as relates to the present perilous condition of the country, made a degrading and villainous (majority) report to the U. S. House of Representatives, last week, through its chairman, Mr. Corwin, of Ohio. The following is the report of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, submitting the following reasons for his disagreement with the action of the Committee:

The atmosphere is loaded with the wildest kind of rumors as to the purposes of the rebels. After a careful sifting, I am disposed to think that the following notions are actually entertained, and I wish to draw public attention thereto, in order that the people may be prepared for emergencies.

The rebels are moving heaven and earth, or think they are, to overturn the government of Maryland by means of a self-constituted Convention, which shall seize upon the sovereignty of the people. There is now sitting in this city a nest of conspirators for that purpose. They propose to ignore the Governor, and to hold a Convention without authority of law. The plan is to have a voluntary election, at which none but the revolutionists will vote.

A public man of some standing, and belonging to the revolutionary party, openly declared to-day that Mr. Lincoln would not be permitted to pass through Maryland on his way to Washington, and that he never would be inaugurated in Washington! One of the plans to keep him from passing over our territory is to tear up the rails of the three great lines of communication leading into Baltimore from the West and the North.

Resolved, That peaceful acquiescence in the election of a Chief Magistrate, accomplished in accordance with every legal and constitutional requirement, is a high and imperative duty of every good citizen of the United States.

Great was the surprise of the mover on perceiving that the announcement of this indisputable proposition, in his belief, of vital moment to the permanency of any Republic founded on the consent of men, was met by hesitation on the part of several members. The President, in his annual message, had distinctly affirmed the same thing in another form of language.

THE MARYLAND REVOLUTIONISTS TO BLOCK LINCOLN'S WAY.

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Poetry.

The Liberator.

A SERMON.

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION.

THE COMMON COUNCIL AND THE ABOLITION MEETING.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

STANZAS. BY JOHN G. WHITTIER. "The despotism which our fathers could not bear in their native country is inspiring, and the sword of justice in her righteous hands has equalled its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, create the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a Kingdom in its age?"—Dr. Follen's Address.

THE ORISIS. A SERMON. Preached at Dorchester, Mass., on the occasion of the late National "Fast." BY REV. NATHANIEL HALL. I deem it becoming the good citizen to respect, so far as he conscientiously can, the recommendations of the constituted authority. A respect to the authority, as such, does not imply a respect for the person in whom, for the time, it is vested. Nor does a compliance, in general, with a recommendation like that in response to which we are assembled, imply an acceptance of the views in which it originated, or the policy which it dictated. If I thought it did, I, for one, would have nothing to do with the occasion. But, believing, as I do, that Religion and the Pulpit have something to do with Politics, and with the unrighteousness they may favor and empower; (a proposition no longer, it would seem, the heresy it was,) believing in the efficacy of prayer—which is not hollow and hypocritical; in the efficacy of fasting—such as consists in an abstinence from cruelty and fraud; believing, moreover, that we are a people laden with a great iniquity, who ought to humble ourselves therefore, before Heaven, and seek light and strength for a crisis which wicked compromises and wicked rulers have brought upon us;—believing, thus, I see nothing less than a holy propriety in an occasion when, in the language of the Proclamation, "with deep contrition and penitent sorrow, we may unite in humbling ourselves before the Most High, in confessing our individual and national sins, and in acknowledging the justness of our punishment."

What I mean to say is, that the occasion originated, and the policy which it dictated. It judging them to be what I do, I reject and repugn them. They are heaven-wide from those which my convictions compel me to accept as true and worthy. I am ashamed for my nation that such views and such a policy should find adoption by its Chief Magistrate. For, what are they? They are views which accept slavery as a thing to be tolerated, deferred to, compromised with, and this at the cost of moral loyalty, of honor, conscience, manhood, and the welfare and rights of millions of men; views which practically deny the truth of human brotherhood, the equality before God of races and of men; which put expediency before justice, self-interest before mercy, Satan before God. It is a policy which, in consistency with such views, would seek peace by unrighteous concessions; by playing into the hands of despotism; by betraying the cause of the poor and helpless; by blinking the issue which Providence is presenting, through an atheistic dread of consequences,—the consequences of placing oneself in alliance with the Almighty. And this is the Religion of the nineteenth century, as witnessed in the Chief Executive of the model republic;—allowing him to appeal to God, while the veriest traitor to his cause; allowing him to talk about "deep contrition" and "penitential confessions" and "humiliations" and "beseechings" before Heaven, while violating, and urging others to violate, and seeking to have the nation more grossly violate, Heaven's plainest requirements, as writ in the universal soul—rising above all human enactments, testing the divinity of all verbal scriptures. Have we got no farther than this? Do we linger in the old Pharisæic superstition, which Jesus reproved when he said, speaking for God—"I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," and the prophet, when he said, in the same dread name—"Your solemn observances my soul hateth: put away the evil of your doing from before mine eyes: cease to do evil, learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed?" Does the President really think that the things he thus advises will more God to avert his impending judgments; that any sacrifices avail with Him but the sacrifices of righteousness? The inward shudder with which I read his Proclamation, for its seeming blasphemy, was only relieved by the thought that such was his superstition;—illustrious specimen of the cursed fruit of that Theology which separates Religion from Morality, which puts Pietism for Goodness, Sacrifice for Mercy, places the Letter above the Spirit, the Bible above the Soul, and which allows the Bible, by the undiscriminating and idolatrous recognition of it as the "Word of God," to be a justifier and patron of slavery. And yet, it is beyond belief that a man should be superstitious to the extent of supposing that a prostitution of his official influence for the stability and extension of a palpably immoral and inhuman institution was uncondemned of God, and still more, that God's interposition in its behalf—which is the thing sought for—may be secured by a nation's whining supplications and canting confessions and foodless stomachs, and of those who have no thought of being other than just the miserable sinners that they are. Monstrous delusion, if it be one! Monstrous impiety, if it be not! God help us to cling the closer to the faith, that the availing prayer is that alone which echoes through the life, in accordant deeds; the availing confession that with which is bound the heart's resolve to abandon, and to tread under foot, wholly and forever, by the grace of God, the sin confessed; that the accepted service is a loyal fidelity to the Heavenly Law, a cheerful reception of the Heavenly decrees, a manly righteousness, a self-devoting benevolence.

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION. THE MOST SPIRIT RAMPANT—FREEDOM OF SPEECH COERCION—INEFFICIENCY OF THE CITY AUTHORITIES—ROCHESTER DISGRACED! The secret conspiracy, hatched by a few riotous spirits within a few days past, against Freedom of Speech in Rochester, last night developed itself in a most disgraceful and scandalous disturbance of a public meeting, held by an insignificant cabal of fanatical men and women, and at last broke out in open and flagrant defiance of the constituted municipal authorities. Every reader of the Express knows that our party views and political action are diametrically opposed to the sentiments and the policy entertained and inculcated by the so-called Garrisonian school; and furthermore, that the Republican creed, to which we subscribe, looks with equal disfavor and offers equal resistance to the principles of extremists in both North and South. But, at the same time, in common with all conservative and law-abiding citizens, we recognize the imperative necessity, as well as sacred obligation, of maintaining Law and Order—of affording to every class and every individual protection in the enjoyment of free and untrammelled SPEECH! Neither does the political crisis which we now experience,—the complication and danger of public affairs,—in the least impair that more than ordinary obligation. On the other hand, it is more than ordinarily important to maintain it now than in the ordinary peaceful condition of affairs.

THE COMMON COUNCIL AND THE ABOLITION MEETING. The Mayor being absent from the city, and Ald. Angevine occupying his position by request, the latter thought it prudent, in view of the excitement apparent among citizens, some of them very respectable persons, to convene the Common Council yesterday, and take an expression of their views as to the means proper to be adopted to preserve the public peace. Sixteen Aldermen responded to the call. The meeting was held in the Mayor's room, and Ald. Angevine was appointed to preside. On motion of Ald. Buell, Ald. Angevine was appointed to act as Mayor in the absence of His Honor Mayor Scramton. Ald. Angevine briefly stated the object of calling the Board together, and asked advice as to what should be done in case a breach of the peace occurred during the evening, in consequence of the Abolition meeting.

THE RESOLUTIONS. The following are the Resolutions presented to the Anti-Slavery Convention yesterday afternoon, by A. M. Powell, and discussed and attempted to be again read last evening, by Rev. Samuel J. May. Resolved, That in the present condition of our national affairs, the universal agitation, the aroused public feeling, and in the dismemberment of the Slaveholding Confederacy of the United States which is now taking place, we have increased hope and encouragement that the day of deliverance to the nearly five millions of enslaved men and women at the South is near at hand. Resolved, That as by the terms of the original compromise, the national government, by the act of the American Union, has ever been the lawful guarantor of the maintenance of a slaveholding oligarchy, by guaranteeing for twenty years the three accused African Slave Trade, by the three-fifths representation in Congress, by putting down false assertions, and by the rendition of heroic fugitive slaves from all parts of the Confederacy, its support has ever involved blood-guiltiness; therefore, not only should there be no more compromises with slaveholders, but those which have long been maintained in unpardonable complicity with forever and men-stealers should be at once and forever repudiated. Resolved, That heartily expressed as an intemperate and unwarrantable abuse of the State of New York to slave-hunting, and the rendition of fugitive slaves, we emphatically denounce the humiliating subservience, the inexorable disregard of the convictions of his constituents, and the interests of Liberty, exhibited by Gov. Morgan in recommending the repeal of the so-called Personal Liberty Bill of this State, of gratuitously including the Personal Liberty Law of other States, so that the whole North may be free and unobstructed hunting ground for the robber, but deeply injured men and women, by their own dominions. Resolved, That deprecating the professed allegiance of the Republican party to compromises in favor of slavery "where it is," we would recommend that South of Mason's and Dixon's line, by the madness of "those whom God would destroy," in their opposition to slavery in the abstract, and their extension into the Territories, Republicanism be driven to make common cause with slaveholders and Abolitionists, and are persecuted and exiled by the power of the Union they would falsely maintain.