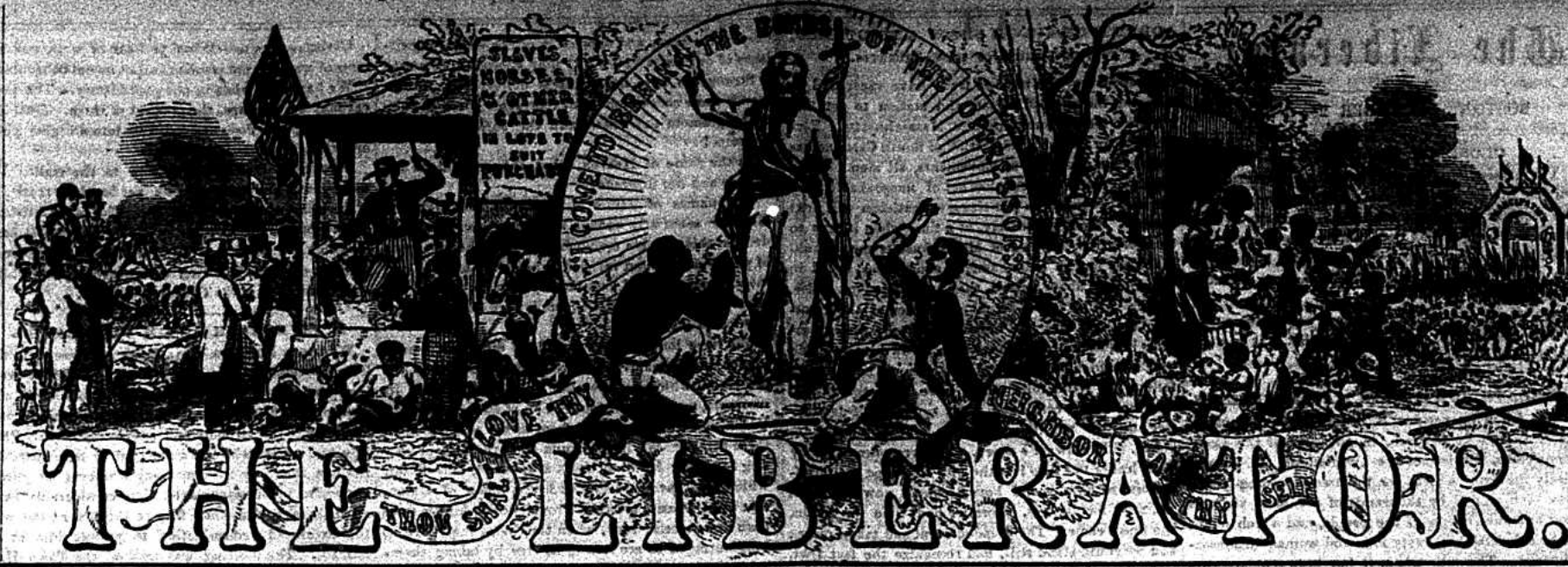


THE LIBERATOR  
—A WEEKLY PAPER—  
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,  
—AT—  
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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.  
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,  
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cieties are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE  
LIBERATOR.  
The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-  
cial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the  
debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ED-  
WARD QUERRY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WENDELL  
PHILLIPS.  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
The United States Constitution is a covenant with  
blood, and an agreement with hell.  
The free States are the guardians and essential  
supporters of slavery. We say the just and con-  
stitutable of the institutions. . . . There is some ex-  
ception, when, under a general impulse,  
there comes the cause of the oppressed in other States,  
and by force restore their rights; but they are without  
cause in aiding other States in binding on them an  
unholy yoke. On this subject, our ATTORNEY  
in relation to the Convention, expressed these views.  
We, their children, at the end of half a cen-  
tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,  
and must walk in it. To this point the public mind  
has long been tending, and the time has come for look-  
ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and  
Christian resolution. . . . No Meeting of the Union  
can be a compensation for taking part in the enacting  
of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be  
perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it  
can only continue through our participation in wrong  
doing. In this conviction the free States are standing.  
—WILLIAM RILEY CHAMBERS.  
J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXX. NO. 52. BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1860. WHOLE NO. 1566.

### REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

#### PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS.

Among the many unhappy effects which have resulted 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 escapes from his master may be re-taken by him, we 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 labor or service in one State, escaping into another, remains in that instrument, and so long as the Fugitive Slave Law is a Statute of the land, we regard it as an unfortunate thing that any State should seem to possess a disposition to render nugatory a provision 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 Carolina alone.

But we object to Personal Liberty Laws not merely for the objects they seem to be intended to accomplish, but also because we consider them to be of little value to the slave. Our own State law forbids the arrest of a slave in this State, and forbids the rendition of fugitive slaves, and forbids the use of buildings belonging to the State for their detention and confinement. But does any one suppose 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 safely kept by the servants of the General Government, either civil, military or naval? Is it then desirable there should be on our Statute books an act which exposes Massachusetts to the charge of Nullification, when no practical good has resulted or may be expected to result from its enactment?

We know that it may be said that Personal Liberty Laws are needed for the protection of the rights of 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 a feeble 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.

This 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, that such legislation, in nearly all cases, has been rather the expression of a just indignation aroused by the outrageous provisions of the present Fugitive 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 real abolitionists at all—but the accordant wish of the sound Union men at the South; the honest prejudices of the North; the section who are kept from the circulation of truth by the press; the requirements of the new era of triumph upon which the Republican party is now entering, calling for a wise conciliation and ready generosity; considering 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 our people of Massachusetts, urging reasons for a repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, which must command attention. It is, in nearly all cases, such names as Ex-Chief Justice Shaw, Judge Parker, Ex-Gov. Washburn, and other eminent men, whose sympathies are Republican, 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 fellow-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 employment, 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 untrue 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 bear 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 ever day are united to us by the closest ties, which ever day, or in the nature of human affairs cannot be severed. We had hoped that the greater can consent to these principles, are they inapplicable to the conduct of a great and populous State? On what ground can it be maintained that hundreds of thousands of innocent citizens are to be subjected to suffering, because the false pride of their rulers refuses to do right? Mankind have been afflicted long enough and grievously enough by commotions and strifes, and were springing from such scenes. We had hoped that the nature of our Government would prevent us from expelling the great sun of human misery, produced by the evil passions of rulers. We have hoped that, in-

### THE LIBERATOR.

#### OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

As a general rule, there could be no better ordered city than that 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 counteracted in no other way. Thus, we have long suffered under the inflictions of a law which, addressed by a set of incendiaries, who spared nothing and nobody—who have gone on actually curving 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 multitudes of our people from them—until, finally, the safety of the country itself is in imminent peril.

Some people, whom we cannot but think ill-judging, talk of making martyrs of our streets by resisting them. By neglecting to furnish them a proper expression of public sentiment, they have indeed victimized the better portion of the community to a most extraordinary degree. From an insignificant handful, by being permitted to go on in their own way, these martyred Abolitionists have at length contrived to get possession of the Commonwealth by throwing themselves, and inducing others to throw with them, more than a hundred thousand votes for an Abolitionist. At length, they had the impudence to announce their intention of holding a public meeting in this city on the anniversary of John Brown's execution. And this, too, in the midst of the severest apprehensions and trials of the country. The parties who got it up were all irresponsible—a large majority were negroes—and among their committee was the notorious Redpath, an Englishman, reputed an emissary to stir up disturbance here, under pay of British abolitionists, and himself author of the Life of John Brown. This was really too much.

Our reports give a sufficient account of the quiet, yet effective manner in which the meeting was 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 resolute good nature of the public who took possession of the hall. We are not disposed to be very nice upon such an occasion, in discussing legal rights. It might be a clear case for the intervention of the nation, or to plunge into the gulf of civil discord, and find a dishonored grave. No serious wound can be inflicted anywhere on our body politic, without making the whole head sick and the whole heart faint. And he who should approach an attempt to cure our disorders, not with a spirit of moderation, of justice, of kindness and fraternal regard, but with a disposition to seem to surrender what is not our own, that we may keep what we have not the courage otherwise to claim, has but a poor kind of cunning, and very little manhood.

We do not believe that such is the temper of the people of Massachusetts.

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 resentment to prevail too strongly on their judgment, it is not because they do not love the right, or because they feel any indisposition to discharge honestly and generously every constitutional obligation. The wrongs of our State, back to the earliest cart on the rock of Plymouth, forbid us to doubt the integrity, the magnanimity, the intelligence or the patriotism of our fellow-citizens. These great qualities we earnestly appeal. We beseech you to consider carefully this momentous subject; to act upon it justly, firmly, wisely, as becomes men to whose care so great privileges have been entrusted, and who are accountable to posterity, to the world, and to our Creator for their transmission unimpaired to our children. Let those whom you have delegated to represent you know your own duty. Cause them to obey it. Let not the public servants be above the people, who are their masters. See that they do right.

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#### THE MEETING YESTERDAY.

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### SELECTIONS.

#### DISTURBANCE AT MUSIC HALL.

It is very certain that it was not excess of religious ardor, or regard for Christian truth, which led men to the Music Hall to interrupt Mr. Phillips, or to hoot after him on his return home; the propriety of this city does not lie in this manner. And however difficult it may be to account 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 Tremont Temple a few days since, there would 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? Would it not rather have increased that spirit, brought multitudes into sympathy with them, and made it more difficult to shut them out than the first time? Had the press and the leading men of this city been unanimous 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.

Should it be said that the interference 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 same pretext. The language of Caleb Cushing in Faneuil Hall, in stigmatizing Gov. Banks and other officers of the State government as "drunken mutineers," would have been sufficient justification of the same ground for the entire destruction of that sacred edifice.—Atlas and Bev.

#### THE LAST BOSTON MOB.

The mob which assailed Wendell Phillips in Boston, last Sunday, does not get such notice from the Boston press as it deserves. The Atlas and Bev. has spoken of it very properly, and the Transcript has given it similar attention; but most of the other journals recorded the leading particulars without comment. The Boston Transcript spoke of Mr. Phillips with great severity, but had not a word, either of censure or commendation, for the mob that sought his life. "It seems to us that our Boston contemporaries have a duty to the laws, to the good name of Boston, and to the well-being of the community where they live, which some of them fall to do. It is not likely to escape criticism at any time. In Boston, such as that which interrupted itself at Music Hall, and made such atrocious efforts to injure Mr. Phillips, should be denounced in terms which the dullest reader can understand."

It is not our intention to criticize or 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 fouly put in jeopardy in the city of Boston. It is not likely to escape criticism at any time. In Boston, such as that which interrupted itself at Music Hall, and made such atrocious efforts to injure Mr. Phillips, should be denounced in terms which the dullest reader can understand."

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#### WENDELL PHILLIPS'S LAST APPEARANCE.

Once upon a time, a young Scotch clergyman, after preaching a silly sermon, was dining with a shrewd old farmer, and in reply to some inquiry about his health, said that he had been rather unwell before service, but felt much better since; to which the farmer quietly rejoined that he should think he would feel better after getting so much trash off his stomach. In like manner, we hope and trust that Mr. Wendell Phillips feels better after throwing off such a mass of poisonous and malignant trash from his stomach as he did on Sunday. We hope he relished his dinner after it. After such a thorough jail-delivery of bad temper, vituperation, and hatred, we hope that Mr. Phillips will be quiet for a season, and allow the land to have peace. We have read with closed nostrils and glare-guarded eyes—the verbatim report of his tirade, as contained in one of the morning papers, and laid it down with no other feeling than that of compassion for the state of mind which it evinces. We sincerely pity any man whose breast is such a cage of unclean birds as this discourse of Mr. Phillips proves his to be. We pity any man whose chief intellectual mainpring is hatred. There is something so painfully incongruous in the contrast between Mr. Phillips's finished rhetoric, and the ferocity and brutality which constitute the staple of his public speaking, that we are often served on silver, or black-strap presented in a goblet of Bhenian glass. We find all the graces of speech—all the ornaments of language—lavished upon a style of discussion usually accompanied with big grammar, profanity, indecency, and slang. Mr. Phillips thinks like a Billingsgate fishwoman, or a low pot-house bully, but he speaks like Cicero. It is a jumbled hand-fingling fifth. Mr. Phillips is a standing exception to the rule laid down by a Latin poet—

Iugenas didicisse sedit arte,  
Enollis mores, sed stult excolit,  
which means, substantially, that every scholar must needs be a gentleman. It is a pity that the freedom of speech is subject to any moral limitations, or any restraints proceeding from good manners and good taste. We have been a pretty diligent 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 up with viper sauce for the intellectual palates of his hearers—men of irreproachable lives—good men, moral men, men as faithful to duty, to affection, to honor, to religion, as Mr. Phillips himself, to say the least; but whose sole offense is that they don't agree with him as to the mode in which the subject of slavery should be dealt with. To differ from him is to deny the faith, and be an infidel. If some paper would only give him the gift to conceive that it is just possible he may be wrong! but as the age of miracles is past, this is too much to hope. But, as we before said, we hope now for a little peace.

Mr. Phillips has triumphantly vindicated and asserted his position as a speaker, backed by the police force of the city of Boston. The freedom of speech cannot go beyond his discourse of Sunday, until new language shall have been invented. Let him rest content a while, and repose upon his laurels.—Boston Courier.

#### 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 weakness in a practical point of view. We have thought that such legislation, in nearly all cases, has been rather the expression of a just indignation aroused by the outrageous provisions of the present Fugitive 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 real abolitionists at all—but the accordant wish of the sound Union men at the South; the honest prejudices of the North; the section who are kept from the circulation of truth by the press; the requirements of the new era of triumph upon which the Republican party is now entering, calling for a wise conciliation and ready generosity; considering all these things, we say, we should be glad to see the Personal Liberty Act repealed promptly by the Legislature shortly to assemble.

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—Boston Journal.



The Liberator

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

CLOSE OF VOLUME XXX.

The present number completes the thirtieth volume of the Liberator...

NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The following petition is now in the hands of reliable friends of freedom...

THE PRO-SLAVERY MOB AT THE TEMPLE.

The riotous interruption of the Anti-Slavery meeting held at the Tremont Temple...

THAT ADDRESS.

The Springfield Republican, referring to the address issued by Judge Shaw...

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IF CONGRESS, in order to secure the constitutional right of a colored citizen...







