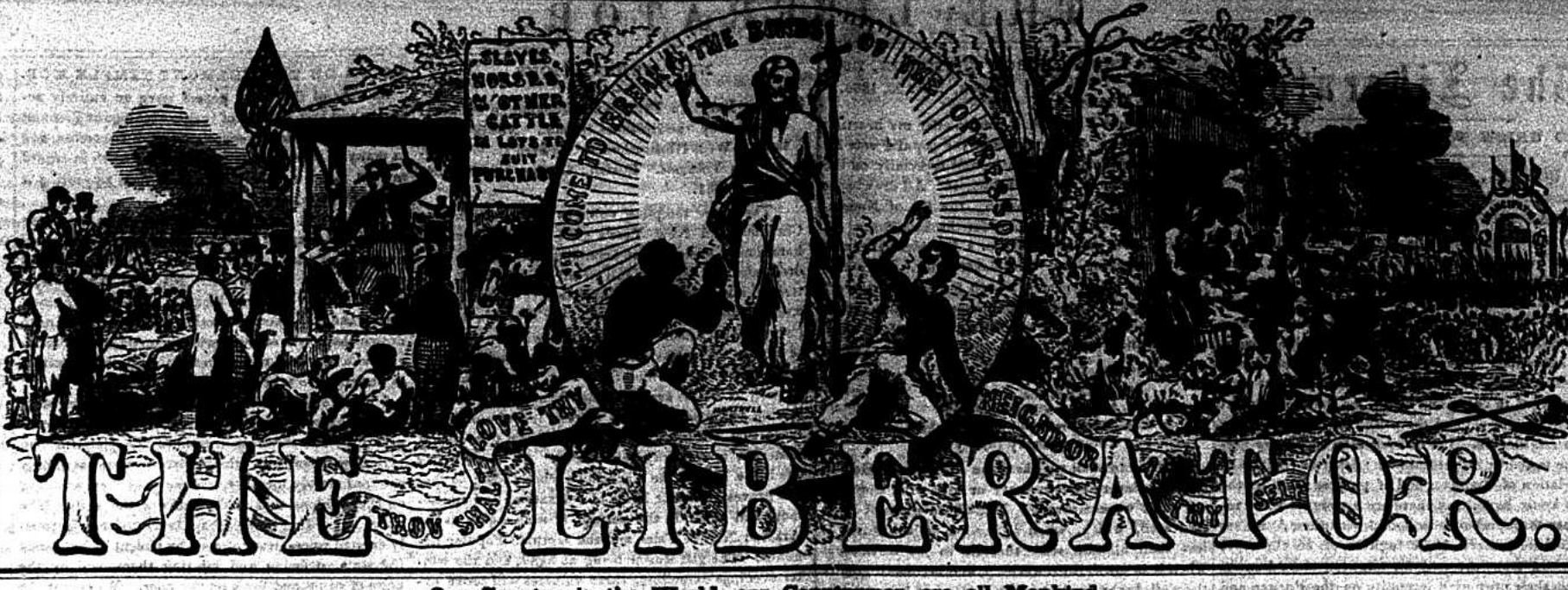


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the
contents of the paper, viz: — FRANCIS JACKSON, Ed-
ward Quincy, EDWARD JACKSON, and WALTER
PATTERSON.



TO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
The Union is the only basis of a permanent and
solid, and an agreement with them.
The free States are the guardians and main-
tenance of the institution. We are the fathers and
founders of the institution. There is some reason
for commencing, when, under a generous impulse,
they expose the crimes of the oppressor in other States,
and by their restorers their rights, but they are without
power in aiding other States in their own
institutions. On this subject, our FATHERS, in
framing our Constitution, evidently had their
eyes fixed. We their children, at the end of half a cen-
tury, are the path of duty more clearly than they,
and we stand in it. To this point the public mind
has long been tending, and the time has come for
looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly
and Christian resolution. No blessing of the Union
can be a compensation for taking part in the main-
tenance of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be
perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it
can only continue through our participation in wrong
doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.
— WILLIAM BRLEY CHAMBERS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
VOL. XXX. NO. 50.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1860.

J. B. YERINGTON & SON, Printers.
WHOLE NO. 1564.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

Nothing is more certain than that lunacy, of a
type equally grotesque and incurable, reigns through-
out South Carolina. Remembering that all her mad
pranks and treasonable machinations are resorted to
solely for the purpose of perpetuating her horrible
slave system, re-opening the foreign slave trade, and
preventing the extension of free institutions, — and
remembering, too, that more than half of her population
are chattel slaves, to whom are accorded no more
rights than to cattle, sheep and swine, — who but lu-
crales would think of singing such sentiments as we
give below? Surely, "madness rules the hour" — oth-
erwise this would present a case of matchless im-
probability. To think of such inflammatory appeals to
liberty being sung in the hearing of slaves, instigating
them to "grasp the sword," and calling them "to
arms" in defence of their long-lost rights! Who are
the real incendiaries at the South?

THE MODERN MARSEILLAISE.

The Cooper Opera Troupe, singing in Columbia,
S. C., introduced the following hymn, which Miss
Anne Miller was to sing, "waving the flag of the
Lone Star as a compliment to South Carolina": —
Ye sons of the South, awake to glory!
Hark! hark! what thousands bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandfathers hoary,
Prevent their tears, and save their cries!
Shall tyrants, tyrants, mischiefs breeding,
With sectional hosts, a ruthless band,
Affright and desolate our land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?
To arms! to arms! ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheath!
March on! march on! all hearts resolved
On victory or death!

Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling,
Which insubordinate men confederate raise,
The dogs of faction, loose, are howling —
And, lo! the flames would soon invade.
And shall we, we, who are the rule,
White-trodden slaves, with gully stride,
Spread desolation far and wide,
With crimes and blood his hands imbruing?
To arms! to arms! &c.
Oh, Liberty! can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts and bars confine thee,
Or threats thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the South has borne, bewailing,
That falsehood's dagger northern wield —
But Freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.
To arms! to arms! &c.

From the Carolina Spartans.

A SOUTHERN MOTHER'S APPEAL.
SOUTH CAROLINA, our pride and boast,
Soil of the gallant and chivalrous brave;
Now is the time, with you we stand, to fight,
From Northern oppression your country to save!
No longer can you to the tyrants submit,
Nor from the Union you surely will sever;
Though in letters of blood you may write,
Our Rights you'll defend, or resign life forever.
Can you sit still, when your homes are in danger?
Persecution is over! The hour has come
When each heart must be bold, and to fear be a stran-
ger.
March valiantly forth; and no reckoning sum!
Your wives and your daughters, like SPARTANS of old,
Will gird on your armor, and buckle your shields!
But you, O God-speed, and God-blessed be!
Exerting their influence wherever it wield!
Then let your bright banners wave high in the air,
The "Lone Star" will beam as a beacon of light!
The dark clouds may lower, and you may fear,
When guided by rays so glorious and bright!
Then wait not, ye brave hearts! Fear not to act;
Our cause is just, it's noble and right!
With a firm trust in God, may you never retreat;
SECESSION is the Watch-Word our foes to af-
fright!
Spartanburg, Nov. 23.

From the Mobile Tribuna.

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT'S SONG.
Hark! on the breeze it is wafted afar;
The sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war.
Let us up with our banners! the hour has come!
Let each Southern patriot prove true to his home!
When we are united, what have we to fear?
So banish contention and discord forever.
Grasp the sword,
Press the word,
And stand in defence of our own native land.
Is it peace that ye ask for, when there is no peace?
Let such useless clamors forever cease!
The time is long past when a freeman should kneel
A knee to his knees like the down-trodden slave;
Nay, stand to your arms like your fathers of old,
The un-color proudly above you unrolled;
Never blanch,
Then, but fight,
Ever staunch,
In our might.
We know that we battle for Freedom and Right.
Then fearlessly face ye this fierce coming storm,
Like a lion we will drive back the hireling swarm;
For justice and right we will stand, and we will
We fight for the love of our fair Southern land;
Like heroes be bold, and so surely we'll prove
He fights doubly armed who is armed with his love.
Let "The South"
Be our cry,
That your mouth
Ring it high!
These hounds of the Northland before us will fly.
But let the base coward shrink, trembling away —
And leave us the honor and brant of the fray;
While hid in the covert and the shadowy place,
The bluish of his shame deeply mantling his cheeks,
The bright crown of glory shall cover the brow
Of every true Southern that strikes down a foe.
Firmly stand
By the rod,
That your hands
Sweep the foe,
And trust in the truth of your cause and your God.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:
Throughout the year, since our last meeting, the
country has been eminently prosperous in all its
material interests. The general health has been
excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and
plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce
and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy
and industry, and have yielded fair and ample re-
turns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has
ever presented a spectacle of greater material pros-
perity than we have done until within a very recent
period.
Why is it, then, that discontent now so exten-
sively prevails, and the Union of the States, which
is the source of all these blessings, is threatened
with destruction? The long continued and in-
temperate interference of the Northern people with
the question of slavery in the Southern States has
at length produced its natural effects. The different
sections of the Union are now arrayed against each
other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded
by the Father of his Country, when hostile geo-
graphical parties have been formed. I have long
foreseen, and often forewarned, my countrymen of
the now impending danger. This does not proceed
solely from the claim on the part of Congress or
the Territorial legislatures to exclude slavery from
the Territories, nor from the efforts of different
States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive
Slave Law. All or any of these evils might have
been endured by the South without danger to the
Union, (as others have been,) in the hope that time
and reflection might apply the remedy. The im-
mediate perils arise not so much from these causes,
as from the fact that the incessant and violent
agitation of the slavery question throughout the
North, for the last quarter of a century, has at
length produced its malign influence on the slaves,
and inspired them with vague notions of freedom.
Hence a sense of security no longer exists around
the family altar. This feeling of peace at home
has given place to apprehensions of servile insur-
rection. Many a matron throughout the South re-
tires at night in dread of what may befall herself
and her children before the morning. Should this
apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or
imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall
permeate the masses of the Southern people, then
disunion will become inevitable. Self-protection
is the first law of nature, and has been implanted
in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest
purpose; and no political Union, however fraught
with blessing and benefits in all other respects, can
long continue, if the necessary consequence be to
render the homes and the firesides of nearly half
the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure.
Sooner or later, the bonds of such a Union must
be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal
period has not yet arrived; and I pray to God, that
He would preserve the Constitution and the Union
throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the
causes which cannot be denied that, for five
and twenty years, the agitation at the North against
slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835,
pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were
circulated extensively throughout the South, of a
character to excite the passions of the slaves and
in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate
them to insurrection and produce all the horrors of
a servile war." This agitation has ever since been
continued by the public press, by the proceedings
of State and county conventions, and by abolition
lectures. The time of Congress has also been
occupied in violent speeches on this never-end-
ing subject; and appeals in pamphlet and other
forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been
sent forth from this central point, and spread broad-
cast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people
to settle the slavery question forever, and to re-
store peace and harmony to this distracted country!
They, and they alone, can do it. All that is
required to accomplish the object is, that each
of the slave States have ever contended, is to
be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic
institutions in their own way. As sovereign
States, they, and they alone, are responsible be-
fore God and the world for slavery existing among
them. For this, the people of the North are not
more responsible and have no more right to inter-
fere, than with similar institutions in Russia or
Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic fore-
bearance, I still greatly rely. With all their
abilities, it is beyond the power of a President,
no matter what may be his own political procliv-
ities, to restore peace and harmony among the
States. Wisely limited and restrained as is power,
under our Constitution and laws, he alone can ac-
complish but little, for good or for evil, on such a
momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election
of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of
President does not, of itself, afford just cause for
dissolving the Union. This is more especially true
if his election has been effected by a mere plurality,
and not a majority of the people, and has resulted
from transient and temporary causes, which may
probably never again occur. In order to justify a
resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Govern-
ment must be guilty of a deliberate, palpable and
dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the
Constitution. The late Presidential election, how-
ever, has been held in strict conformity with its
express provisions. How, then, can the result jus-
tify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution?
Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all
require that we shall wait for some overt and dan-
gerous act on the part of the President, before re-
sorting to such a remedy.

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the
President elect have been sufficient to justify the
fears of the South that he will attempt to invade
their constitutional rights. But are such appre-
hensions of contingent danger in the future suffi-
cient to justify the immediate destruction of the
noblest system of government ever devised by mor-
tals? From the very nature of his office, and its
high responsibilities, he must necessarily be con-
stantly exposed to the stern duty of administering the
vast and complicated concerns of this Government,
affords in itself a guarantee that he will not at-
tempt any violation of a clear constitutional right.
After all, he is no more than the chief executive
officer of the Government. His province is not
to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a re-
markable fact in our history, that notwithstanding
the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no
single act has ever been directed at pleasure by any one
of our Presidents, which has been so confidently
relied on as a precedent, to be perpetuated and dis-
solved by the first adverse wave of public opinion
in any of the States. In this manner, our thirty-
three States may resolve themselves into as many
petty, jarring and hostile republics, each one re-
ferring to the Union without responsibility, when-
ever any sudden excitement might impel them to
such a course. If this process, a Union might be
entirely broken into fragments in a few years.
That direct or indirect interference with the
Union is a crime, and that many years of civil
division and blood is inevitable.

It is alleged, as one cause for immediate seces-
sion, that the Southern States are denied equal
rights with the other States in the common Terri-
tories. But by what authority are these denied?
Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I
believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery
from these Territories; and certainly not by the
Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that
slaves are property, and like all other property,
their owners have a right to take them into the
common Territories, and hold them there under
the protection of the Constitution.
So far, then, Congress is concerned, the ob-
jection is not to anything they have already done,
but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely
be admitted that this apprehension of future dan-
ger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution
of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Leg-
islature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860,
passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the
Governor, declaring that slavery "is, and shall be,
forever prohibited in this Territory." Such an act,
however, plainly violating the rights of property,
secured by the Constitution, and surely he-
reby void by the judiciary whenever it shall be
presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration, the Su-
preme Court of the United States solemnly ad-
judged that this power did not exist in a territorial
legislature. Yet, such has been the factious temper
of the times, that the correctness of the decision
has been extensively impugned before the people,
and the question has given rise to angry political
conflicts throughout the country. Those who have
appealed from this judgment to our highest con-
stitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if
they could, invest a territorial legislature with
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The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 14, 1860.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. The following petition is now in the hands of the...

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts...

CARL SCHURZ ON FREE SPEECH. The eleventh of the Fraternity lectures was delivered...

On our first page may be found a fiery political (!) effusion, entitled 'The Southern Patriot's Song.'

WHAT A SPECTACLE! If the Union survives the present 'crisis,' it may indeed be deemed imperishable.

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. My dear Garrison: A brief note I must send you, to offer my heartfelt...

LETTER FROM WM. S. BAILEY. NEWPORT (Ky.) Dec. 6th, 1860. W. L. GARRISON: My good friend, I was indicted by the Grand...

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. (continued) Whereunto shall we flee? The Kingdom of God in his...

LETTER FROM WM. S. BAILEY. (continued) I paid off that pressing portion of debt upon my...

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. (continued) The newspapers of England, with some exceptions...

LETTER FROM WM. S. BAILEY. (continued) My good friend, I was indicted by the Grand Jury...

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NEW PUBLICATIONS. GENERAL POPULAR TALES AND PROVERBIAL STORIES...

THE ANTI-CHRIST OF NEW ENGLAND. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Essex North Conference...

LETTER FROM WM. S. BAILEY. (continued) My good friend, I was indicted by the Grand Jury...

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NOTES ON THE TREMONT TEMPLE MOB. As none of the daily papers gave an entirely accurate...

LETTER FROM WM. S. BAILEY. (continued) My good friend, I was indicted by the Grand Jury...

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

BY EDW. M. MASON.

Addressed to the Republican crew, who will bring that negro slave to free, but who did not wish the thick-skulled, fat-necked, long-beaked wretches to live among us.

And the curse of unpaid toil, Downward through your generous soil Like a fire shall burn and spall.

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THE LIBERATOR.

PRINCIPLE VERSUS THE SPIRIT OF FEAR.

The present political crisis furnishes a good opportunity to test the moral courage of the dominant party of the country. We shall soon see which will prevail, commercial considerations based on expediency, or loyalty to great principles, which we have all along professed.

It requires but a handful of unscrupulous and defiant men, by aid of an inflated rhetoric, to inoculate with false ideas a multitude of such white men as mostly populate the South.

It is some time that we have been always accustomed to hear from that quarter. No overt acts against the laws of the country have yet been perpetrated, and we are, up to this time, legally at peace.

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THE LIBERATOR.

A GOOD MAN GONE.

Born to the spirit-world, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, Friday, Nov. 15, RICHARD GRANT, aged 70.

For the last twelve years, he had taken an active part in Reform movements.

He was a man of clear and vigorous intellect, of decided and positive character, of transparent integrity, and of a moral courage that knew no wavering.

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THE LIBERATOR.

THE RIOT IN BOSTON.

It is possible that I may give the Tribune some details of the Bell-Everett riot, and the riot which followed by its vigilant reporters, who were not only present, but also active.

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THE LIBERATOR.

FREE SPEECH.

I have omitted to mention that Mr. Amos A. Lawrence was present. I do not think he was participating with the rioters to any great extent.

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THE LIBERATOR.

BLACKGUARDS IN BROADCLOVE.

Certain blackguards in broadcloth, in violation of order and decency, repaired to the meeting, and by violent physical demonstrations—chiefly of the lungs—so disturbed it that it was obliged to be abandoned.

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