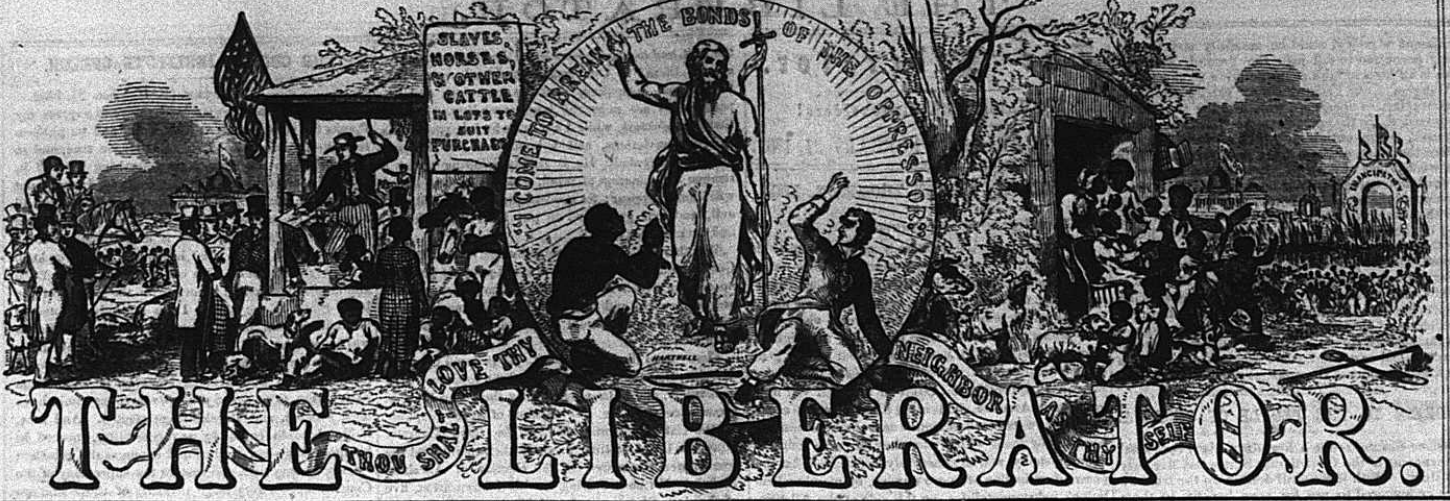


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

"GARRISON." It is announced that William L. Garrison, "the Nestor of the Abolitionists," as he is boastfully placarded, is to deliver an address on the war in Washington Hall. We cannot but think that this announcement must have taken this community by surprise. The position of this man, and the fact which he is the "Garrison," has been and is well known as one of the undisputed, deadly hostility to the Constitution, the Union, and the Government of the United States. For years, Garrison has, in season and out of season, denounced the Constitution of the United States in terms of unmeasured bitterness and hate, and openly advocated and urged the dissolution of the Union established by our fathers.

Selections.

MR. SUMNER'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following are the resolutions on the present relations of the rebel States to the General Government, introduced on Tuesday in the Senate by Mr. Sumner: Resolutions declaratory of the relations between the United States and the territory once occupied by certain States, and now usurped by pretended Governments, without constitutional or legal right.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH OF HON. ALBERT G. RIDDLE, OF OHIO.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 27, 1862. The House being in Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Mr. RIDDLE said,— The one great question which to-day presents for solution to the people of this country, is the disposition of the African race among us. And so near does this question lie to the nation's life, and so intertwined is it with its vital fibre, that the prosperity, perhaps the existence, of the country itself depends upon its solution.

THE BRITISH LION.

There have been many good lions in the world. But since the days of the royal lions among whom Daniel fell, there have been none so temperate, so exemplary in every Christian grace, as the lions among whom Jonathan has fallen. Where England got her lion-stock; of what breed it is; by what cot or training it has been improved, we do not know; but so well-bred, well-behaved, and altogether admirable lions as there are in that royal den, we do not believe the world ever saw.

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH.

Somebody is mistaken. Either Dr. Campbell is, or the peace folks are. Somebody's lion has been conducting himself ridiculously. What are the facts? A FABLE WITH A MORAL. Once upon a time a Southern preacher said to his slave, "Peter, how did you like my sermon this morning?" "Ah, massa, berry much! You look jes like a lion." "Lion, Peter? Why, you never saw a lion." "Oh, yes, massa, I seed 'em. Roman soldiers used to water 'em with vinegar, ober de day." "Why, Peter, that is a jakes, and not a lion." "Well, massa, can't help it. Dat's jes de way you look."—N. Y. Independent.

EMANCIPATION BY ACT OF CONGRESS.

A movement is now made to prescribe for the Executive a course of procedure on this question different from that indicated to him by the vote of the people in the election of 1860. That Government is to make Emancipation by Act of Congress the ruling feature in the policy of the Government, in regard to the institution of slavery. This is, unquestionably, the gravest question that has yet been forced upon the legislative councils of the Nation. It is one which has sprung up as an incident to the troubled times attending insurrection. It is not one upon which the people have been interrogated, and upon which their verdict has been rendered. It therefore behooves the Government, both in its Legislative and Executive functions, to take great heed as to what they would do on this momentous question.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory is invalid and void against the Constitution, and when sustained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, *seceded*, ceases to exist.

THE APPLICATION OF OUR POWER.

In the application of our power, however derived, to the subject under consideration, I would apply the principles of that proclamation to the language of the ally of the rebels; and it is a most wonderful thing that the oppressed and laboring heart of the nation should be a way out of it. The woman-faced lion-headed Memphis Sphinx propounded a riddle to the passers by, and those who failed to read it aright were put to death. To-day, like the Sphinx, propounds to us this question, and if we do not answer rightly, we shall also perish. And those who would postpone this weighty matter ought to remember that the sword is already suspended over it, and a downward sweep will settle it forever.

THE BLOOD RIVERS.

The blood runs as red and hot and generous on the breezy shores of Lake Erie as in a more southern clime. If more men are needed, there are ready thousands to go to take all. The newest bride shall be the widow; and the youngest babe shall be the last heart shall be left desolate; and the last heart beat and break under the war-hoop, without question or condition. No wavering or hesitation weakens an arm or checks the devotion of my people.

THE LION'S SHARE.

Our traders, however great their losses, have viewed with a temperate spirit; our ships have patiently borne vexatious annoyances which will never be always endured; and even our working population in the manufacturing provinces, whose main support is cotton, have, in the face of present news, left off murmuring. England can stand erect in the face of the world, and defy any one to put to a single word or action on her part which infringed that strict neutrality which she has always so anxiously striven to preserve.

THE LION'S SHARE.

Not to meddle with affairs that do not belong to him costs much to his traders, his ship-owners, and his manufacturers. But, let the world take notice, the lion does not stir out of his tracks yet. He growled, but even that is now stopped, and he says he has "left off murmuring." Not a growl, not a whiff, not a purr: ever so gentle!











Poetry.

The Liberator.

of the Southern ports, it can only have, from your point of view, anti-American results. What a consolation it is to know that, under and beyond all the follies and wretchedness of mankind, there is a Divine wisdom working to Divine ends!

Again—may it not be said, for the slave there are two hopes—

at the statement—it is because it is the intention of the Administration to return all these fugitives to masters who, after being whipped, profess loyalty!

A REIGN OF TERROR IN RICHMOND. From the Albany Express.

THE RETRIBUTION WAITING. Not yet! not yet! our cup is not yet drained— We see not yet the angel through the loes; But when he will it, when our Father pleases, We then shall meet with a soul unstained.

LETTERS FROM ENGLISH ABOLITIONISTS ON THE WAR IN AMERICA.

On the great topic of the day, the American Revolution of 1861, there is a wide difference of opinion entertained between New and Old England. Public opinion here I think decidedly recognizes the right of the Southern States to choose their own form of government. I have never yet seen an argument against it worthy of notice, except the statement that a designing minority have produced the division, which all the facts that have come under my notice repudiate and refute.

(England), Dec. 7, 1861. (Scotland), 6th mo. 1861.

Our sympathy in the cause is as great as ever; and I do not think that the Anti-Slavery feeling has any whit diminished in Britain. It is no evidence of its being less, that we have failed in hearty unity with the Northern side in this war among you. I fully believe, if the Federal Government and Northern people would have proclaimed an anti-slavery war, and acted in accordance with such proclamation, that the voice of Britain would with one hearty acclaim have wished you God speed.

Why, then, should we pray for the success of the North? Well, for one reason—because we cannot help it. But I fear the rout at Bull's Run was a good element for the slave. Declare for emancipation, and see what England will do for it! Not one advocate of slavery will be discoverable for another quarter of a century!

EUROPEAN SYMPATHY. We are entitled to the sympathy of Europe only on the ground that this war, as waged by the Federal Government, is either in its aims or inevitable tendency, a war against slavery.

For twenty years, Mr. Garrison, you have labored to prove that the American Constitution was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and that the only exodus for the slave was over the ruins of the American Union.

I have said that the uniform doctrine of Mr. Seward is, that the question of slavery is not involved. I would not do him injustice. In his Instructions to Mr. Burlingame, (page 187,) he says—

Both the justice and the wisdom of the war must, in the end, be settled, as all questions which concern the American people must be determined, not by arms, but by the ballot. At least the ballot is to be employed, after the sword, then, in addition to the pregnant questions I have indicated, (viz, that slavery will be safer in the Union than out of it, the right of secession, &c.) two further ones will arise requiring to be answered—namely, which party began the conflict, and which maintained in that conflict the cause of freedom and humanity?

When the rebellion broke out, the Southern people rejoiced that they had cut loose from the democratic associations of the North; in fact, they declared that all sin and vice were to be found north of the Potomac.

"The rowdism now rife in this city has become intolerable, and demands immediate suppression with the high hand. Acts of brutal violence, vulgar ruffianism and gross indecency are of momentary occurrence in our streets. The most orderly citizen and the most delicate lady are exposed to outrage and insult. No man's life, even, is secure in broad daylight on our most public thoroughfares.

It happening to be in Deerfield, Mass., a few days since, the following unpublished, but spirited effusions upon the condition of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, (written at the time by a much respected citizen of that place,) were read to us in manuscript by a friend. We deem them worthy of printing, even at this late day, as slave-hunting at the North is not yet ended.—[Ed.]

LETTERS.

Written on learning that Thomas Sims had been delivered to the "man-stealers" in Boston. Sons of "Old Massachusetts," say, has it come to this? And have ye learned to bend the knee, th' oppressor's rod to kiss?

Of course, you are far too proud a people to believe this yet. A seven-years' war, with all the sufferings it will entail on the whole continent and the world at large, will make you both a sadder and a wiser people; and, as it often is the case with high-spirited young men here, and I dare say with you also, nothing but bitter experience of life will tame the wild blood, and extort from them the recognition of those facts which prudent age always saw, but youth was blind to.

The sentiment here is, that the conquest of the South, and their subjection to Northern ideas, is a sheer impossibility, and therefore absurd to fight for. No doubt distance from the scene of contest, as well as from the passions excited by it, must always present the facts very differently from their appearance to an excited actor in their midst. The difference is natural; the justice and truth of the conclusions of either can have no arbiter but time. We must await the final result, and believe and trust in the goodness of that ever ruling Providence

But we are very thankful to be informed by thee, that there is a strong undercurrent of genuine anti-slavery motive and feeling among the people. We trust it may increase, and bear fruit abundantly. In the mean time, this bitter feeling against England has been fostered; and now your officers have committed an outrage on liberty which we fear may bring on war with us!

Mr. Lincoln came into power, and the country was plunged into a gigantic war. From the beginning, the sole purpose of the war has been declared to be the preservation of the Union. The President's last message declares—and all his messages contain substantially the same declaration—"I have in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union preeminent as the primary object of the contest on our part."

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There are two classes of slaves in the cotton States, as in those of the border: the field hands, black in complexion, whipped almost daily, and locked up for safety at night, and the household servants, the offspring of incestuous intercourse between masters and good-looking, yellow-girls, who themselves are the children of white men. I have seen but one young girl in Washington, with light-brown smooth hair, clear rosy complexion, and blue eyes, who, I was informed, was a slave. I had previously heard of such cases, but attached small credit to the reports.

Mr. Seward says "exactly the same." The Hilton Head correspondent of the London Star says: "There are two classes of slaves in the cotton States, as in those of the border: the field hands, black in complexion, whipped almost daily, and locked up for safety at night, and the household servants, the offspring of incestuous intercourse between masters and good-looking, yellow-girls, who themselves are the children of white men. I have seen but one young girl in Washington, with light-brown smooth hair, clear rosy complexion, and blue eyes, who, I was informed, was a slave. I had previously heard of such cases, but attached small credit to the reports.

More vigilance should be required of the police, and a larger constabulary employed. Every street-corner should be manned by a policeman in uniform, armed to the teeth, whistle in hand, prepared to rally a dozen colleagues on the instant of disturbance.

Another column of the Examiner, we find the following extraordinary statement, on which it is not necessary to remark at all— "A few nights ago, the gamblers of Richmond held a convention in this city, and after the fashion of 'the noble refrigerators' of Congress, transacted their business in secret session. We are informed that one hundred and fifty members of the gambling and 'plug' fraternity were present; that fifty thousand dollars were voted and subscribed to as a fund to carry the next election for Mayor; and that the candidate nominated as likely to unite the gambling and rowdy interests of Richmond is an ornamental grocer and whiskey-squire of the name of David J. Saunders. We are very much of the opinion that, if matters are not speedily bettered in Richmond, the gamblers, 'plugs,' and the retired and unsavory whiskey dealer they propose as their candidate, will be in the hands of a vigilance committee before the date of the next municipal election."

ON THE RETURN OF ANTHONY BURNS TO SLAVERY. Once more, O Massachusetts! you've vilely bent the knee; Once more proclaimed to earth and heaven that you dare not be free!

I dare say you will demur to the doctrine, and see fallacies to the application of my principles to the present case. But just look back a few years ago to the sympathy of the Free States with the Canadian insurrection; or suppose that now, for any reason—mere logical reasons in such cases are the veriest moonshine of delusion—the Canadians thought fit to assert their right to govern themselves independently of the mother country, and were to show the same unanimity that the South has done—would you or any intelligent American deny their right to do so? and would not your sympathies involuntarily flow forth towards them in their endeavors? I am sure they would; and just so every lover of liberty, whose personal feelings do not warp his judgment, will wish success to the South at this present crisis. How can they do other? All charges of treason and conspiracy and robbery mean nothing but the expression of revengeful feelings or disappointed ambition. Assuming the truth of the conspiracy, and the traitorism of the South, it is all justified, so far as the thing can be justified, and perfectly so too, as against the North, by the present attitude and behavior of the North itself. If the South had not availed itself of the opportunities of arming itself, &c. &c., where would it have been now, in the face of the overwhelming military power of the North? Take Maryland as an example. The North will not allow the free constitutional expression of opinion on the part of a "sovereign" State. That your power is hated, and your influence only coincident with your military strength, is seen in the fact that Maryland, in spite of the presence of an overwhelming military force, would have voted herself out of the Union, but for its parallel in Russia and Austria at the present time. And I hold military despotism to be the same everywhere, and that is at present the character of your government wherever your armies coerce the people of the separate States.

Truly, you never needed money more than at present; and it was a great mistake to give out, in the spring, that your work was likely to be accomplished for you. I expect you will still have a very great deal to do, for the end is not yet. Oh! I long for your preservation on the right hand and on the left, and that the little salt may not lose its savor!

It is, indeed, equally without a reason and without an object, necessarily to add to any discussion of a revolution on account of it, (slavery,) is, as I have already said, without reason and without object. "The territories will remain in all respects the same, whether the revolution shall succeed or fail. The condition of slavery in the several States will remain just the same, whether it succeed or fail. There is not even a pretext for this complaint that the disaffected States are to be conquered by the United States, if the revolution fail; for the rights of the States, and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed, or whether it shall fail. In the one case, the States would be federally connected with the new confederacy; in the other, they would, as now, be members of the United States; but their constitutions and laws, customs, habits and institutions, in either case, will remain the same."

There is no exaggeration in this. Southern slave does things not charged against the Cities of the Plain; for the last account of which, see the Special Correspondent in the Morning Star of December 13th. And British Anti-Slavery hurries to protest against this being attacked, because it is not clear to the purity of the assailants' views. It might be lawful to put an end to the "institution" and its peculiarities, if done with pure views; but if anybody joins with the view of also suppressing a rebellion, the "institution" and its peculiarities shall flourish under special protest against the intrusion. Meanwhile, on the American side of the Atlantic, things look not amiss. American common-sense will conquer, in spite of all that can be done to hinder it. Every day brings men over to the knowledge that to quench rebellion in the Southern States by calling on the loyal, including the colored population, was from the first the way that civil or military wisdom would have taken for a bloodless solution, and which, after oceans of bloodshed, must be taken at last. An uncommon head must the man have, who ever dreams of an exodus of four millions of negroes to go on any whither. Had General Fremont been let alone, he would have offered emancipation to the slaves on condition of their entering into such engagements as they might, to work for wages for such masters as gave in their adhesion to the new order of things in return for condonation of past rebellion, and for government commissioners appointed to administer the estates of obstinate rebels. And this, accompanied with General Orders against vagrancy, such as a general in the field knows how to give, and the Provost-Martial on horseback to make repressed.

PRAYER OF A CONTRABAND.

In one of Mr. Lockwood's (missionary to the contrabands at Fortress Monroe) letters, he reports a portion of one of the colored brother Carey's prayers, though he says it is impossible for him to give its force and beauty, as follows: "O Lord, if you please, look down upon this evening, I pray, and give us a closing blessing. We thank and praise thee for all that we have heard from the lips of our Northern brethren, who have come over the briny waters to preach to us the pure gospel. O Lord, though I cannot read thy word, I thank thee that thou hast written it on the table of my heart, and given me an understanding mind, and kept it bright before my eyes like the sun. Yet, O Lord, I confess that I have never been thankful enough for all thy blessings. We confess that we are like the children of Israel, ever ready to murmur and complain. But for murmuring, O Lord, you have given us blessings, and this makes us come for more. O Lord, we believe that you have come to deliver your people. O temple the secessionists under foot—bless the Union cause, and right every wrong. Bless the President, the Congress Hall and the Senate. Help them to make laws that shall be for the good of the Union, and the freedom of the oppressed people. O Lord, I pray thee, O Lord, I pray thee, O Lord, I pray thee, as a serpent, and bold and powerful as a lion, till thy people are delivered. Look this evening upon our dear brethren and sisters and children far away in the home of bondage, especially those who have been carried away by the secessionists. Comfort their minds, and interpose for their deliverance, and if they are not in Christ, bring them in, O Lord, I pray. Remember our dear brother (Jocelyn) who has been with us, and is about to leave: preserve him on the mighty waters, and reward him for his labors of love, and remember our brother (Lockwood) who has come back to us. Strengthen him in his inner and outer man, and give him grace and strength for suffering time, that he may go on and on before us, and us good. And when you have remembered all, remember me, and after you have done and suffered your holy will with me, please to receive me to yourself, O Lord, I pray, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

HOME IS WHERE THERE'S ONE TO LOVE US.

Home's not merely four square walls, Though with pictures hung and gilded; Home is where affection calls— Filled with shrines the heart hath builded! Home! go watch the faithful dove, Sailing 'neath the heaven above; Home is where there's one to love— Home is where there's one to love us.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

The great, the learned, the noble in England are in frightful anxiety lest slavery should be put down in America, with the aid of people not acting from an abstract moral principle, and they may rest to cry of the policeman because they have a doubt whether he has not an eye to pay or promotion, rather than to speculative morality. There is no exaggeration in this. Southern slave does things not charged against the Cities of the Plain; for the last account of which, see the Special Correspondent in the Morning Star of December 13th. And British Anti-Slavery hurries to protest against this being attacked, because it is not clear to the purity of the assailants' views. It might be lawful to put an end to the "institution" and its peculiarities, if done with pure views; but if anybody joins with the view of also suppressing a rebellion, the "institution" and its peculiarities shall flourish under special protest against the intrusion. Meanwhile, on the American side of the Atlantic, things look not amiss. American common-sense will conquer, in spite of all that can be done to hinder it. Every day brings men over to the knowledge that to quench rebellion in the Southern States by calling on the loyal, including the colored population, was from the first the way that civil or military wisdom would have taken for a bloodless solution, and which, after oceans of bloodshed, must be taken at last. An uncommon head must the man have, who ever dreams of an exodus of four millions of negroes to go on any whither. Had General Fremont been let alone, he would have offered emancipation to the slaves on condition of their entering into such engagements as they might, to work for wages for such masters as gave in their adhesion to the new order of things in return for condonation of past rebellion, and for government commissioners appointed to administer the estates of obstinate rebels. And this, accompanied with General Orders against vagrancy, such as a general in the field knows how to give, and the Provost-Martial on horseback to make repressed.

REWARD FOR LOYALTY.

The Port Royal correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his account of the destruction of the rebel batteries at Port Royal Ferry, after describing the retreat of the rebels before our troops, says that our forces returned as rapidly as possible, leaving the poor negroes to the tender mercies of masters enraged by the loyalty of their slaves to the Federal flag. He says— "The negroes were greatly disappointed, having had no notice of the departure of the troops. From every direction, they came running across the fields, loaded with bundles, followed by their wives and children, and in some instances mounted on horseback, which had lately belonged to their masters. Few of them were able to go away. We could see from the deck, slowly, and mournfully retreating to the rear, the fire had not spared loyal homes. It was sad to think what their fate might be if the rebels returned, as they almost certainly would, to carry back with them the negroes whose willing services they rejected. I must not forget to say that the pilot of the Ottawa was an intelligent slave named William; and that only by his knowledge of the channels and perfect fidelity were the gunboats able to penetrate these treacherous waters, and I am glad to add that he was cordially thanked on the quarter-deck by Capt. Rodgers and Capt. Stevens."

AN ACCUSED STATE.

Mr. Times Russell, L.L.D., is shocked because the chaplain of one of the Pennsylvania regiments at Port Royal spoke of South Carolina as "this accursed State" which we worship God. What should we have called it? This blessed Paradise? This happy, prosperous State? Paria Carolina is "accursed," and there is no more unfitness in applying that epithet than in calling a spade a spade. It is not cursed with the slavery of 400,000 Africans in its territory—cursed with the prevalent ignorance and degradation of its white inhabitants—cursed with an overhearing, factious, rebellious aristocracy—cursed in the lack of wise counsellors and in the rule of wicked demagogues—cursed by invasion of its soil, and the possession of its best harbor by a hostile force—cursed in the destruction of its chief city by fire. It is not (to follow the chaplain) to grow the cotton and wheat, and market in the extreme? What could aggravate its ruined condition? Uncle Toby would not have the heart to curse the devil, as South Carolina has cursed herself. Why should the honest chaplain pick and mine his phrases in speaking of it?—Missouri Democrat.

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The Port Royal correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his account of the destruction of the rebel batteries at Port Royal Ferry, after describing the retreat of the rebels before our troops, says that our forces returned as rapidly as possible, leaving the poor negroes to the tender mercies of masters enraged by the loyalty of their slaves to the Federal flag. He says— "The negroes were greatly disappointed, having had no notice of the departure of the troops. From every direction, they came running across the fields, loaded with bundles, followed by their wives and children, and in some instances mounted on horseback, which had lately belonged to their masters. Few of them were able to go away. We could see from the deck, slowly, and mournfully retreating to the rear, the fire had not spared loyal homes. It was sad to think what their fate might be if the rebels returned, as they almost certainly would, to carry back with them the negroes whose willing services they rejected. I must not forget to say that the pilot of the Ottawa was an intelligent slave named William; and that only by his knowledge of the channels and perfect fidelity were the gunboats able to penetrate these treacherous waters, and I am glad to add that he was cordially thanked on the quarter-deck by Capt. Rodgers and Capt. Stevens."

AN ACCUSED STATE.

Mr. Times Russell, L.L.D., is shocked because the chaplain of one of the Pennsylvania regiments at Port Royal spoke of South Carolina as "this accursed State" which we worship God. What should we have called it? This blessed Paradise? This happy, prosperous State? Paria Carolina is "accursed," and there is no more unfitness in applying that epithet than in calling a spade a spade. It is not cursed with the slavery of 400,000 Africans in its territory—cursed with the prevalent ignorance and degradation of its white inhabitants—cursed with an overhearing, factious, rebellious aristocracy—cursed in the lack of wise counsellors and in the rule of wicked demagogues—cursed by invasion of its soil, and the possession of its best harbor by a hostile force—cursed in the destruction of its chief city by fire. It is not (to follow the chaplain) to grow the cotton and wheat, and market in the extreme? What could aggravate its ruined condition? Uncle Toby would not have the heart to curse the devil, as South Carolina has cursed herself. Why should the honest chaplain pick and mine his phrases in speaking of it?—Missouri Democrat.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

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