

TERMS—Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment is made in advance.

Advertisements of a square and over inserted three times at five cents per line; less than a square, five cents for three insertions. Yearly and half-yearly advertisements inserted on reasonable terms.

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

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—WILLIAM PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUAY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Jr.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXIII. NO. 5.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1863.

WHOLE NO. 1669.



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

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

They this down as the law of nations. They say military authority takes, for the time, the place of all legal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from being treated as the slave, every slave who has the ordinary management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Congress of the United States, has POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

VALLANDIGHAM GIVING "AID AND COMFORT" TO THE TRAITORS.

Extracts from an inflammatory and seditious speech delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 14, by the notorious VALLANDIGHAM of Ohio:—
What, I ask, is the immediate, direct cause of disunion and this civil war? Slavery, it is answered. Why? Because the South obstinately and wickedly refused to restrict or abolish it at the demand of the philosophers or fanatics and demagogues of the North and West. Then, sir, it is proper, the purpose to abolish or interfere with and been in slavery, which caused disunion and war. Slavery is only the subject, but abolition the cause, of this civil war. It was the persistent and determined agitation in the free States, because of the alleged irrepressible conflict "between the forms of the two sections, or in the false and mischievous act of the day, between freedom and slavery, that forced a collision of arms at last. Sir, that conflict was not confined to the territories. It was expressly proclaimed by its apostles as between the free States, against the platforms of slavery everywhere. But, assuming the standard, and stating of the Republican party in favor of that party, it was the refusal of the South to consent that slavery should be excluded from the territories that led to the continued agitation, North and South, of that question, and finally to disunion and civil war. Sir, I will not be assuaged nor by the clamor about "the rights of the States," nor by the charge of "mischievous aggressions of the Slave Power."

Selections.

WORK OF THE DEMAGOGUES.

The systematic efforts which are now in progress to create alienations and hostilities among the various political sections of the country, are beginning to assume an alarming importance. They have their origin, as is well known, with a few selfish partisans, who expect thus to regain the places of power and emolument which they have lost. These men are doing nothing for their country, but are basely calculating how much they can make for themselves out of its ruins. They have been, from the beginning, to a greater or less degree, sympathizers with the rebellion. They have stood aloof from all the trials and sacrifices of the war. They have given nothing, either of their blood or their treasure, for the defence of the national life; but in every hour of disaster and gloom they have come forth from their hiding-places, to sow the seeds of jealousy and disunion among those who should be united in one great and glorious endeavor for the salvation of the perilled Republic.

THE REAR QUESTION.

The "peace-at-any-price Democrats" in the free States get little comfort from their friends in the South. The following is the reply which comes up from Richmond, in the Dispatch of January 10th, to the peace propositions recently made by Mr. James Brooks, of New York:—
"Mr. Brooks appears to be in earnest in these extravagant propositions, strange as it may appear to any man who has possession of his senses; for, upon the occasion of presenting them, he made a long speech, and expressed himself as confident of their success. Are the Northern people all natural born fools, or are they only stricken with that judicial madness which we are told the gods always inflict upon the victims of their wrath preparatory to their ruin? Can they suppose that the South are so glib and so ready to accept of themselves, and that they are willing, for mere considerations of interest, to forget the unheard-of outrages under which they have suffered during the war? Can they believe them capable of so soon burying in oblivion all that they have done, and all that they have suffered?"

GEN. BUTLER ON EMANCIPATION.

On Gen. Butler's arrival home at Lowell, he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect. He made an excellent speech, in which he fully maintained the views in regard to slavery which he has so freely and nobly uttered since he left New Orleans. It is not a little singular that the Democratic newspapers in this State should maintain such a dogged silence in reference to the movements and sayings of this man? So far as we have noticed, they have not even alluded to his arrival home, for fear that some interest might be excited among their duped readers in reference to what he might have to say about his sojourn in rebellion. While their papers teem with the most infamous and wicked scurrilous, gathered up from the sayings of the Vallandighams, the New York Herald, Express, and other organs black with treason—the noblest attributes of this New England Democrat are studiously suppressed. Under slavery, its direct agency in originating all our existing troubles, the barrier it presents to the establishment of a permanent and honorable peace, he speaks from experience; and from the fact that his mind has been made up in the face of strong and deep-rooted prejudices in the other States, he speaks with authority. He should like us, as a universal liberty should make a living and lasting impression upon the great heart of New England. We trust therefore that some pains will be taken to circulate the speeches he has recently made among the people. Their outspoken, evident honesty is attractive, and their warm patriotism will have an electric influence upon every truly loyal heart.—Cincinnati Commercial.

MR. BRIGHT ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

From the London Daily News.
The members for Birmingham, Messrs. Bright and Scholefield, met their constituents, in compliance with an invitation, on Wednesday, and addressed them on the topics of the day, but especially the American war.
Mr. BRIGHT was received with loud and prolonged cheering. Having referred to the distress in Lancashire and its cause, he then proceeded to state his views on the American question, and tracing the course of public opinion in this country, observed:—
"So far as I could see, nobody thought the South had any just cause for breaking up the integrity of a great nation. Now, I appeal to you whether this was not the case, and whether the course of public opinion in this country were not ready to admit that the South was ruled by a Government mild, and in no degree oppressive. It was a Government, it is true, which some among us loved and some disliked. It was not a costly monarchy; it was not an aristocracy creating and living on patronage; it did not support a very burdensome foreign policy; it had no great army, no great navy, no suffering millions of discontented and overgrown charges all of which have been brought against Governments in this country and throughout Europe a hundred times over. Therefore it was said very generally here, when the intelligence of the secession of the South reached us, why should these men revolt? At the moment at which that revolt took place, the Government at Washington appeared to be paralyzed; it had no army, it had no navy, and it was by many stances, acquiescent in the rending of the republic; and it was said, indeed, by certain public writers in this country, that the contest was entirely hopeless, and a similar view of it was taken by no less a personage than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I am, however, happy to say that, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer can often decide to a penny what shall be the rate of taxation, he cannot determine what is to be the fate of a whole Continent.

TREASON IN INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS, JAN. 9, 1863.
When I say that Indiana is ripe for a revolution within her borders, I expect the statement to be received with a good deal of incredulity by those who are not familiar with certain facts which are patent to all observing men in the State. The loyal people of Ohio will be slow to believe that there was a plot laid by the Democratic leaders of Indiana, and intended to be carried into execution less than ten days ago, for the seizure of the State Arsenal and the distribution of its contents among men who had been the disruption of the Government. Since my arrival here I have heard men say, alluding to the subject, that if they had once got the arsenal, it would have taken all the Abolitionists in the country to have taken it from them; that they had 28,000 men in Indiana to fight against the Yankees, and they intended to bring them out before long; that I have got on the best authority that the design of the conspirators was, after having made the seizure, to get the Republican members into the Senate and House of Representatives, crowd the lobbies so far as possible, and then, by the aid of the Democratic leaders of this State, Messrs. Hendricks, Bright, Purpee and others have been preaching for some time past, to restore the Union of the South with the North, and that in the event of a dissolution of the Union, it will be the utter ruin of the North-West to remain under one government with the New England States. The policy of the present Legislature of Indiana—which is nothing but a tool in the hands of such men as Bright and Hendricks, will be to paralyze, by refusing to appropriate money for the maintenance and equipment of Indiana troops in the field, and thus to render as much assistance as possible to the Confederate army, knowing that upon the success of Jeff. Davis's revolution depended the chances for the establishment of their Utopia. They assert that the South, and the bulk in the present nation, will intervene in the East and West. The political rascals are watching the course pursued by Kentucky with great interest. Secessionists and traitors at heart, they are opposed to the actual secession of Kentucky, believing they can make more capital and sympathy by her remaining in the Union, and calling upon her ministers of slavey in the North to assert and defend her rights for the Southern Confederacy, but expect her to form one of the serious consultations of States under the

REBUKE OF TOBY-DEMOCRACY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 20, 1863.

The Toby-Democracy are singing a new song lately. They shift with every political wind, and to accomplish their party ends...

MR. BINGHAM.—My colleague volunteers to speak for the great and free Northwest...

I want to know, again, by what authority he says that I stand here to tell him that he slanders the free West...

MR. LOVEJOY.—The people will take care of the poor parrot who runs around in New York...

I thank God that he has allowed success to the Democratic party, so as to bring out the despised traitors...

MR. DAVIES.—I wish to say to the gentleman that we have come to know that New England is of vast importance to those men that they are to New England.

MRS. STOWE ON SLAVERY.

From the London Dial, Jan. 1863.

A voice comes to us from America, which we are sure will not speak in vain. The pen which, in the glowing pages of "Uncle Tom's Cabin,"...

More than eight years ago, Mrs. Stowe was made the medium of presenting to the women of America an address from their English sisters...

Well may Mrs. Stowe, after such a retrospect, thank with sadness to England, which has been so wanting in sympathy to America...

Every cannon-ball fired from a Federal cannon is helping to batter down those dungeons, gates, and to give life and liberty to the prisoners...

MR. LOVEJOY.—Well, sir, we are all of importance to each other. All loyal hearts are of importance; but we can much better spare the rebels...

still bears true to the cause of freedom; that her all-dread will find an echo in hundreds of thousands of the English household; and that the soldier to which the people will yet discard its false teachers...

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1863.

NOTICE TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.

The GENERAL AGENT of the Liberator begs leave to remind delinquent subscribers—i. e., such as are owing from January 1, 1863...

WHY A PROLONGED WAR.

When the electric wires conveyed with lightning speed the startling intelligence of the surrender of Fort Sumter...

It may be profitable to inquire into some of the causes of these sanguine expectations on the one hand, and these severe disappointments on the other.

1. None but those who had thoroughly mastered the spirit, tendency and necessities of chattel slavery saw that from it proceeded the flames of this rebellious war...

Every cannon-ball fired from a Federal cannon is helping to batter down those dungeons, gates, and to give life and liberty to the prisoners...

Of course—other things being equal—eight millions of people cannot successfully cope with twenty millions of the same blood and nation...

THE OLD SLAVE-DRIVING SPIRIT.

The following disgraceful personal exhibition—a specimen of Border State slaveholding loyalty—took place in the U. S. Senate on Tuesday last...

Mr. Sausbury made a long and foolish speech, and was called to order several times in the course thereof. Finally, when ceasing the course of the President of the United States...

Mr. Sausbury—Then the voice of freedom is not allowed in the American Senate...

Mr. Sausbury—Does the Senator from Wisconsin say that I am in contempt of any honorable man? The Chair (Mr. Clark)—The Senator from Delaware will take his seat...

The Chair—The Senator will take his seat, and the Sergeant-at-Arms will take him in custody.

GEN. BUTLER. Universal satisfaction is expressed at the announcement that Gen. Butler is to be recalled to his post at New Orleans...

"The people of New Orleans feel quite free since Gen. Butler left; secessionists feel well. Three shooting affairs in the city within three days, and loud talk of President Davis, and insulting remarks to officers and Union men, such as have not been known for many months...

AS SOON as Gen. Butler arrives at New Orleans, Gen. Banks will proceed with the great feature of his original expedition—the invasion and possession of Texas...

IN THE U. S. HOUSE of Representatives, on the 8th, a resolution of thanks to Gen. Butler, for his administration at New Orleans, was adopted, yeas 88, nays 28.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. Gen. Burnside has been relieved at his own request, and Gen. Hooker now commands the Army of the Potomac.

Mrs. STOWE'S ADDRESS IN ENGLAND. Mrs. Stowe's reply to the Englishwomen's address has been reprinted in London by Sampson Low, Son & Co.

AN EXCELLENT WOMAN IN A RESPONSIBLE SITUATION. Mrs. Frances D. Gage has been appointed by Gen. Saxton superintendent of the plantations, six in number, on Paris Island, S. C.

GEN. FREMONT. The President is strongly urged to appoint Gen. Fremont Military Governor of North Carolina, in place of Gov. Stanley, whom it is desired to supersede for various causes.

THE OHIO CATECHISM. Read the quotations we have made, in the 'Refuge of Oppression,' from a speech recently made in the U. S. House of Representatives...

REV. M. D. CONWAY, a native-born Virginian, and an uncompromising opponent of slavery, preached in the Senate Chamber at Washington on Sunday last...

A METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Another effort is to be made, it seems, to take from the City Government of Boston the control of the Police of the City.

Such is the curt dismissal by the Boston Journal of a grave and important question. In place of argument, we get only the state rebuff which is the certain portion of every reform.

It would be difficult to assert that any city in the North, on the line of growth or immigration, has not become corrupt in the ratio of its increase.

The instances in which the police system of Boston is palpably deficient are too numerous to escape observation, or to call for repetition.

There are almost at the close of our second year of civil war. One noble army has vanished—another is melting away rapidly as the snow in bright time.

It has been a costly twenty months; costly in human life, in treasure, and in suffering.

On the opening of this new year,—day ever memorable in the annals of humanity for the new birth of a race,—the government of the United States...

There is, then, a grievance. Our police system is not perfect. These keepers of the peace must keep a peace with their employer, no matter with what detriment to public order and safety.

The Journal cannot see its action the country towns—that is, the State at large,—have to do with the internal government of the State capital.

The country has a very obvious interest in the integrity of the town, because of the effect on the lesser communities of a sign of defiance or contempt of law in the greater.

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its memory of Wightman times, and pass a law which shall enable us to forget them. If Boston has not the self-respect, nor property the sagacity, to let the leaders in a work of reform, let us be grateful to our country brothers for their benevolence in our behalf.

COMMON SENSE.

When the war broke out, the Abolitionists add to the general government, in their petitions and speeches, "There is but one honorable and safe way out of the impending struggle; that is, universal emancipation under the war power."

"You make a fearful mistake," returned the Abolitionists; "this is the veritable 'irrepressible conflict' which you predicted,—the death-grapple between the systems of darkness and light,—a petty revolt of States. To ignore the primal cause is a vanity. Comprehend the true issue, and strike where there is yet time."

Of course, these warnings were unheeded. When were powers and principles ever yet ready to lie on to the unpopular and the despised? Judges scorned the humble carpenter and fisherman who spoke speaking words; the North said to the Abolitionists, "Birds of ill-omen, cease your croakings; cease! twenty millions of people will ten, without touching the confounded nigger!"

It has been a costly twenty months; costly in human life, in treasure, and in suffering. "Not painlessly does God chastise and mould a nation." But the fires of civil war have cleared away much dross, and we stand nearer the divine mark.

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Poetry.

LIBERALS.

For the Liberator. LIBERALS. On hearing of the noble... Ye have conquered us, O Freedom!

EMANCIPATION.

For the Liberator. EMANCIPATION. 'Tis done!—the righteous deed is done! Proclaim'd the jubilee!

PROCLAMATION LINES—Jan. 1st, 1863.

I heard the silver voice of angels cry, And hark! it all along the sky, 'Hoanna unto Him who sits on high!'

The Liberator.

GERRIT SMITH TO GOVERNOR REYNOLDS.

Hon. HORATIO REYNOLDS. DEAR SIR,—I have read your Message. Although I belong to no party, I belong to a country.

or ever can stand, that does not make martial law supreme in time of war. The main reason why the comparatively petty South is still able to resist the gigantic North is that the one has, and the other has not, a Democratic party to hold it back from an unbridled and successful prosecution of the war.

Hence it is that you are what you are. You are stone blind, both morally and politically. You see not God's hand in this war. You see not that His time has at last come for setting free his sable children.

witness is attested by any valid evidence. The crossing of the Jordan in the manner specified is undoubtedly a fiction, and signifies a crossing by natural means, accompanied by the favor of Jeva.

It is wrong without proving it so. This is not becoming a champion of orthodoxy. A just judge forms his opinion by the evidence, and takes unswerving pains to ascertain, systematize and estimate it.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1863. DEAR MR. GARRISON: I have not seen the Liberator during the last few weeks until to-day, and am sorry to learn, for the first time, that you have been compelled to take into consideration the subject of discontinuing its publication.

WEISS & ZOEBISCH.

European and Fancy Furs. 308 Washington Street, BOSTON. Particular attention is paid to altering and repairing Old Furs.