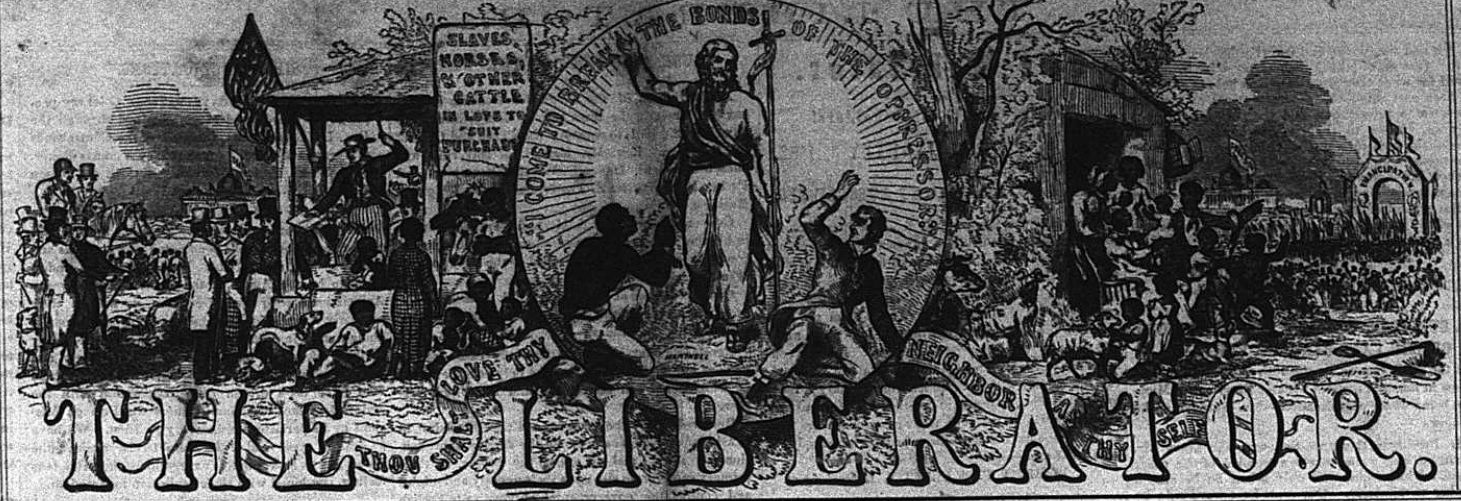


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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 1. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1619.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE TRUE INTERESTS OF BLACK AND WHITE.

It is evidently more desirable that the Union should be restored with slavery existing as before, than without it, unless a form of labor be at the same time substituted in the place of the one which has been destroyed.

Let no man say this is a base and sordid view of a question of personal freedom. It is not so. We say nothing in favor of the perpetuation of slavery as an institution. If any man will devise a substitute for it which will take care of the black families alone, to say nothing of the white, he will do the work of a century.

Men may well propose to take care, as some have proposed, a hundred or a thousand, or many thousands of negroes, and pay them wages for their labor. But will the same man take them, with their families, old and young, sick and insane, and contract to furnish them, instead of pay in money, abundance of food, clothing, medical attendance, and the necessaries of comfortable life, throughout life, with all its changes?

It would seek to plunge the black race into ruin with the white? The politician who does this is blind to all questions of public good, and must have his mind fixed on one idea, to the exclusion of all other reasoning.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE OPPOSITION.

The party line seems to be drawn with great distinctness by the abolitionists, and the opposition is now composed of the leaders and the rank and file of the radical Anti-Slavery party.

of their ability to preserve the nation against the insidious attacks of the enemy at the North. The question which has been under discussion for some time has been speciously and falsely stated by these gentlemen, and they bookwinded a few by their ingenuity. They stated it to be, 'Shall we restore the Union, or shall we preserve slavery?' and a very few really believed that there was something of the sort at issue.

Let us be thankful for the present strength of the Administration, on this all-important position. Let meetings be held and in every possible way. Let the men who are on the side of the Constitution and the law speak out boldly and in clear tones. Nine-tenths of the people are united in these conservative views, and should make their opinions known.

The following extract from a letter of a distinguished banker at Washington to one in New York, is worthy of universal attention:— 'I am a good deal alarmed at the rampant spirit of Abolition. This war has professedly been in defence of the Constitution and the restoration of the Union to its original state.'

CONGRESS HAD BETTER ADJOURN!

We are seriously alarmed lest the present Congress will do more harm to the country, and more to break up the Union, than all the armies Jeff. Davis could bring into the field. At such a time, when the question is so much irritating that ever, we find them continually tampering with it.

We speak it plainly: the scheme for general emancipation or arming the blacks will lose every slave State to the Union. It would take a standing army of two hundred thousand men to retain Kentucky in the Union, and then the soldiers would be compelled to aid in exterminating the black race.

EMANCIPIATION AND THE SLAVE POWER. As President Lincoln, powerless to resist the tendencies of the present crisis, finds himself 'drifting' towards an emancipation policy, yet does what he can, step by step, to resist this tendency, and to delay that consummation which he cannot prevent, so the organs of the Church, forced by the same strong current into words and acts more or less deprecatory of slavery, still oppose the radical cure of that evil, and do what they can to prevent immediate emancipation.

half-way policy, the essential part of which is as follows:— 'But the question returns, since it is settled that our armies shall not fight for slavery, shall they be ordered to fight against it? Well do we know, that as slavery began the rebellion, it deserves to die; but how to strike the monster is the question.

'There are two ways. One is by a general act of emancipation, the other by confiscation of the property of rebels, slaves of course included. Each has its advocates, and in our country, and its advantages.

'Emancipation has the merit of being a bold and decided course. It goes straight to the mark. It proclaims a distinct object. It presents an end, and a very inspiring to the mind of the North, and which would at once attract the sympathy of all who hate slavery in Europe.

'This act discriminates between loyal and rebel masters; it holds firm the border States; it strengthens the Union men at the South; and, above all, it is a strictly legal and constitutional method of securing the end, setting the slaves of men in rebellion free.

Let us glance at each of the Evangelist's three objections to the abolition of slavery, above stated. The closing sentence of objection No. 1 utterly nullifies the sentences preceding it. Indeed, the three assertions of which this objection is composed bear the same relation to each other with the three reasons which a boy gave for not lending his knife.

As to the Journal of Commerce's objection to the abolition of slavery, we may properly place under this head statements which, in a person of ordinary hearing, might be considered merely the blunder of 'reckoning without his host.'

THE LIBERATOR. Just so, when this pious paper proposes to restore the Union 'precisely as it was,' it knows very well that the slave States will not have it so, and broke out of the old Union because they would not have it so.

As to the 'lingering Union sentiment in the South,' all that there is worth having is among the non-slaveholding citizens, men who have long felt their own freedom to be hopelessly hampered by slavery, and who have been so far disarmed and subjugated by it as not to feel able to make the least demonstration in support of their pioneer and ally, Mr. Helper.

It is instructive to hear it asked, by this reverend editor of a paper miscalled 'Evangelical,' 'what more do we want?' after the slaves of rebels shall have been set free by 'confiscation.'

Another conspicuous representative and advocate of that sort of piety which exists without godliness is the New York Journal of Commerce, a paper which has thoroughly fulfilled its promise of making no improvement, when it was forced, a few months ago, to pretend to make a change of editorship.

It assumes that slavery has really been 'the foundation of property' to the slave States, and a positive and very great advantage to the free States allied with them; that its bare cessation (apart from any evils incidental to forcible interference with it from the North) would be 'ruin' to the whole country.

The Journal of Commerce is accustomed not only to ignore, but to deny such existing facts as do not suit its theory and wishes. One would think that Sewall's 'Ordeal of Free Labor in the West Indies' had been read by people enough to make it useless any longer to pretend that the liberated negro will steal, and will not work; that Mr. Olmsted's books had been read by people enough to make it useless to pretend that white men in the South cannot and will not work; and that the history which for five years has been displaying itself before our eyes, had rendered it useless to pretend that slavery is a source of prosperity and welfare, to either North or South.

These are but two specimens of a state of things commonly existing among those papers which uphold the popular churches, the American Tract Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They almost invariably oppose the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, and equally oppose a turning of the existing war into that direction.

They are not opposed to the colonizing of either small or large portions of our colored people. But, unless

GERRIT SMITH TO JOHN A. GURLEY. PETERBORO, December 16, 1861. HON. J. A. GURLEY, M. C.: DEAR SIR:—I have read a newspaper copy of the Bill which you submitted, 9th instant, to the House of Representatives. Nothing in it do I wish to speak of, save its proposed assumption of special powers over liberated slaves.

I had hoped that among the good effects of the war, would be the recognition of human rights under whatever skin, and the equalizing before the laws of the black and red races with the white race.

The great sin of our country in all the periods of her existence, whether under Colonial or Constitutional rule, is the assumption of special powers by her white race over her other races; and on the principle of her own law, she is guilty not only of our own, but also of the past commissions of that sin.

If we have all believed, God has made of one blood all his children, then must this assumption, even when in small measure, be a high crime against His equal fatherhood toward them all, and against their equal brotherhood toward one another.

Do not suppose that I argue from your Bill your lack of kind feeling toward the negroes. Anything which, in your judgment, would subvert their interests, and yet be compatible with the safety of the whites, would, I doubt not, have your favor.

Why, dear Sir, could you not have framed a Bill, which would provide an easier lot for these brethren? Do you reply that their former one was much harder? I rejoice, that the harder was that, the easier should be this. Under the righteous doctrine of re-compense we should, if we could, make their condition now as much happier than that of others as it was before more miserable.

I might reasonably ask Congress to do much for the liberated slaves. I content myself, however, with asking it simply to recognize their manhood, and withhold from them no civil or political rights which it accords to others.

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

'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.' ... From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. ... It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST carry it on, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions suspended by the board, and military powers TAKE THE PLACE OF THEM. When the hostile armies meet in a local arena, the commands of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

The Lecture before the Fraternity Association, at the Tremont Temple, on Tuesday evening, 24th ult., on "Common Sense," by E. H. Heywood, Esq., of Boston, was a brilliant and highly creditable effort, and a grandly received. Below is an abstract:—

OUR PERILS FROM ABROAD.

The impression which the seizure of Messrs. Sillidell and Mason has made in England, confirms the view that it may be employed as an occasion of war. In Liverpool, a violent indignation meeting was immediately held, which demanded energetic action on the part of the Government.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

BOSTON, December 12th, 1861. To FREDERICK W. TRACY, Treasurer, and the Assessors and other Authorities of the city of Boston, and the citizens generally, and the Legislature in particular:—

THE COLORED PEOPLE ARMING.

The colored people in Canada, for the most part, are fighting for the slave States—present their Northern Abolitionists under the U. S. R. R. It says a little for the negro's gratitude as for his appreciation of the blessings of "freedom," that he should thus be showing an inclination to take up arms, as it were, to help Jeff. Davis fight his benefactor.

RECENT FIRE AT ANTONIO, TEXAS.

AT ANTONIO, TEXAS, Dec. 22nd, about one o'clock, several of the soldiers in Camp Leslie, Arlington Heights, were startled by a terrific noise, as if a whole regiment of cavalry were charging through the camp at full speed.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNUARY.

THE time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNUARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement.

Poetry.

LIBERTY, EQUAL RIGHTS, BROTHERHOOD WITH ALL.

It was a stirring cry through France that rang, "Liberty, Equal Rights, true Brotherhood!"

III. EQUAL RIGHTS. America, what say'st thou honored Law? "Free, free and equal all mankind are born!"

IV. BROTHERHOOD. America, thy pride of skin and race Spurns not alone the hapless, purchased slave,

V. THE FUTURE. Taught by Experience and Time, and saved By counsel from the men thou once hast braved,

THE MARTYR OF HARPER'S FERRY.

The earth looks sad and dreary, as if God with sin were weary; Holy secret tears are falling—sacred souls on God are aching;

THE OLD FOGY'S APPEAL; "DO NOT TOUCH THE NIGGER." AIR—Yankee Doodle.

What though they arm and drill the slave? We do not care a fig, ah! Let the Confederate banner wave,

The Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT BROMLEY, ENGLAND.

On Tuesday evening, 23d Nov., a very interesting meeting of anti-slavery friends was held in the Methodist Free Church, Devon's Road, Bromley, England.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with much applause, said—My dear friends, we have met here this evening to hear an address from a gentleman whom I am always glad to meet, as he is a very able advocate of the anti-slavery cause.

THE NEWS FROM ENGLAND.

Alas! that this news should find us still embarrassed, and still dithering with the negro question! Alas! that we should still have one war upon our hands, while we are threatened with another!

The Rev. Mr. KINNAIRD, who, on rising, was much applauded, said he always deemed it a high privilege to be permitted to offer a few words, on an English platform, on behalf of his oppressed countrymen in America.

reference to his own visits to Canada, and stated his conviction that much could be done to elevate the position of the colored man, after his escape from bondage had been completed.

The CHAIRMAN said he had no great pleasure in calling upon William Henry Pullen, Esq., Secretary of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, to address the meeting.

Mr. PULLEN, who was well received, said, although he was a long way from home, yet, when he was at an Anti-Slavery meeting, he was always at home.

Mr. HERBERT THOMPSON said that, although he had come with the intention of listening, and not of speaking, he was ready to respond to the Chairman's call by a few brief sentences.

CHANGE IN WASHINGTON.

To-day treason is held in New England, the sanctuary of loyalty, than here in the seat of government. The hearts of patriots are gladdened all the day, at the signs of fear that show the harmless venom of slavery's minions.

The lecture system has been inaugurated in Washington for the purpose of introducing Beecher, Phillips, Emerson, Curtis and others of like character to an audience at the Capital.

Of Michael smote and felled squadrons at once. Never have the proprietors of that room been so startled as by the repeated and continued applause that followed every telling blow upon the shackles of the slave.

JUST THE OTHER WAY. The following advertisement will explain itself:—"\$500 Reward. Run away from me on the 7th of this month, my massa Julian Rhetts."

portion) of our press to stir up our national feeling against her—I say, I will not believe that this loved and honored England will make war upon us for a deed in which we intended her no wrong; in which, so far as her own example is authority, there is no wrong, and in which, in the light of reason, and, as it will prove in the judgment of mankind, there is no wrong.

1st. Reprimand, or more severely punish, the Captain of the Trent for his very gross and very guilty violation of our rights in furnishing exceedingly important facilities to our enemy.

How preposterous is the claim of England to her right to make war, because we took our rebellious subjects from her ship! The taking of them into her ship is only the criminality of taking the rebels into the land.

Moreover, England, instead of turning to her own conscience with the true case, has the brazen effrontery to appeal to our conscience with her trumped-up case.

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upon. With this part of her people the inviolability of the British flag is more than all earth besides. But it is not by the more, nor by those classes, to whom it appeals with such peculiar force, that the Government will be moved.

If England wishes to go to war with us for any wrongs we have done her, she shall not have the chance for we will promptly repair the wrongs, at whatever sacrifice of property or pride.

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WHAT'S THE MATTER? A Reconciliation—James Redpath, formerly the Kansas correspondent of the Tribune, and who is now a member of the more progressive school of Abolitionists, publishes a man who has been charged with having done almost as much as any other in fomenting discord between different States of the Union—now comes out in a public acknowledgment of past errors, repudiating the mischievous course, culminated in former days, such time as he shall have attained a clearer view of more humane and Christian views of the duties of the freeman to the enslaved.

A PREPARATORY WORD. Having been sincerely convinced that many of the political doctrines that I have advocated in my writings are dangerous and abhorrent to the highest insight; the murderous policy, for example, of inciting the States to war, which I have urged repeatedly, and with terrible mistaken zeal—I wish to announce here that I shall retire from any participation in the political management of the journals, dissenting from the purpose of retracting past errors, and announcing that I have attained a clearer and more humane and Christian view of the duties of the freeman to the enslaved.

This frank acknowledgment is certainly very noble in Mr. Redpath, and it is as a preface of a general conversion from the old to the new, there is more hope for the country.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

A CONVERT. We have often been puzzled to know how a genuine Abolitionist could at the same time be a conscientious man, but we doubt not there are many such. The most woefully deluded persons are often perfectly honest in their political opinions.

THE AMERICAN TYPE SETTING MACHINE. We learn that Mr. Charles W. Felt, who is now in England, has received orders for some of his type-composing machines from responsible parties in the trade.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. "FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which parties pay tribute.

PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES have many qualities that recommend them to use in families. The several parts are pinned together, so that it is always adjusted and ready for work, and not liable to get out of repair.

We would call the attention of our readers to the advertisement, in another column, of the Parker Sewing Machine. This is a licensed machine, being a combination of the various patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, with those of the Parker Sewing Machine Company.

THE PARKER SEWING MACHINE is taking the lead in the market. For beauty and finish of its workmanship, it cannot be excelled. It is well and strongly made—strength and utility combined—and is emphatically the cheapest and best machine now made.

JUST PUBLISHED.

An elaborate Work, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery." By Charles K. Whipple. A volume of nearly 250 pages. In cloth, 37 cents—in paper covers, 25 cents. Aug. 30.