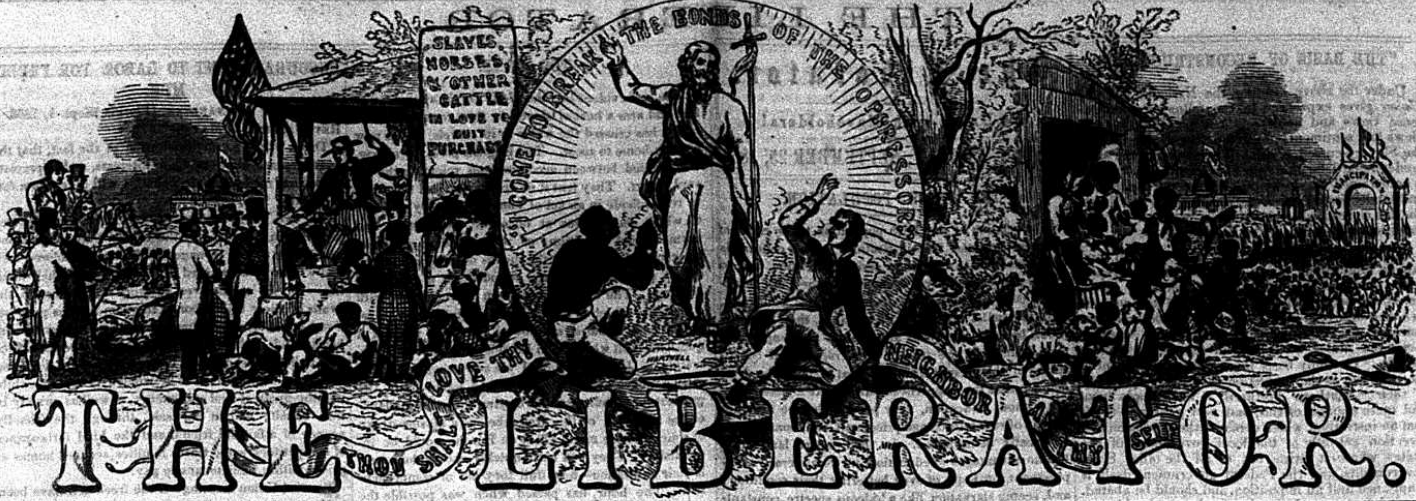


TERMS—Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for the month, if payment is made in advance.

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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that militarily taken, 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 whose slaves only have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Congress of the Army, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

J. R. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers

Refuge of Oppression.

THE CHURCH THE ONLY EMANCIPIATOR.

Are the negroes of America capable of civilization? They certainly are, because they are rational beings. They are a race, or nation, in all its stages. Is there anything in Protestantism to civilize them? We have just seen that the Church alone has done all that the nation has done, and it has done it in a way that has been a blessing to the world.

And will the Church teach and liberate the Black race of America? It will, but long, long is the day when it has done so. Catholicity and freedom to the slave will be preceded by Catholicity to the white master—in fact, to all the white race in the country, because the Church has a greater interest in bringing the slaves within its fold than the Blacks—and this, not on account of spiritual, but on account of temporal considerations.

Here we have the principle that negro emancipation can be effected by the Church alone, and that as the time passes it must pass before the Church effect. The Abolitionist will not admit this. But that does not alter the fact. The Church alone has the mission to teach and liberate the Black race, and the Church cannot be rebuffed in its mission.

Let us tell Wendell Phillips that Holy Writ sanctifies slavery. The fanatic would respond that Holy Writ was wrong, and accordingly, he rejects Holy Writ, taking negroes to be more truthful. Multitudes of Puritans are spiritually diseased in the same unfortunate manner.

Let us therefore, hold our breath. Slavery has many virtues, because it is connected with it. But negroes, as has been said, is a greater evil. When to it is added the terrible fact, that it stands in the most exceptional light. The Church, in its own good time, will embark in the matter. Haste is not the word. The Mother of Wisdom cannot be driven. The world is here; she will exist forever; therefore take her time. Nothing stronger can be said against negroes than this, that the Church, which alone has the mission and the capacity to do it, has not done so.

Selections.

O'CONNELL OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES.

I speak of liberty in commendation. Patriotism is a virtue, but it can be selfish. Give me the great and immortal Bolivar, the savior and regenerator of his country. He found her a province, and he has made her a nation. His first act was to give freedom to the slaves upon his own estate.

Man cannot have property in man. Slavery is a nuisance, to be put down, not to be compromised with; and to be abolished without cessation and without mercy by every blow that can be levelled at the monster.

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but, so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. In the course of my parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits.

It is utterly impossible that anything should exist more horrible than the American slave-breeding. The history of it is this: The American slave-trade, the foreign slave-trade, earlier than England, but with this consolation, that it afforded more money to the nation than the slaveholders—that by such abolition, they enhanced the price of the slaves then in America, by stopping the competition in the home market of newly imported slaves.

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THE CONDITIONS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Letter to Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

BY ROBERT DALE OWEN.

The construction of the Republic, part free, part slave! This is a Northern delusion, not a Southern doctrine. The Southern leaders are too enlightened to believe in it, and too honest to pretend that they do so.

Adverting, in the same address, to slavery as having been regarded by the leading revolutionary statesmen to be "wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically," he adds: "This view, which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice."

Wise are these men in their generation! Statesmen are they, in running out their conclusions, if only custom and tradition had not deluded them into one foundation principle, monstrously false. Frank, too, and bold do they show themselves, in announcing that principle. No paltry temporizing! "It is the natural and moral condition of the negro," says the new government, "that he should be a slave."

Concede this, and South Carolina's Declaration of Independence is a document stamped with forecast, and entitled to commendation. Whoever drafted it ran out his premises to their logical results. The Convention that adopted it saw their way before them, and did not like their weak sympathizers in the North, to expect incompatibilities.

Wise, in their generation, are South Carolina and the States that followed her lead! Building their political system upon a "great philosophical and moral truth," which (unfortunately, they say) the rest of the civilized world still regards as a flagrant moral falsehood, they can maintain the stability of their political edifice only by debarring all questions, all discussions that might result in remedying its foundations.

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THE RESULTS OF THE REBELLION.

It was the silly boast, for many years before the commencement of the rebellion in the South, that the people of the Northern States were an inferior race; that the South was the birthplace of a race of gentlemen, and the North produced naught but grasping men of commerce, without refinement, without education, with no intelligence except that for scraping together the dollars; and so the people of the South revelled in the idea of their superiority; and had learned to look upon the North almost as a dependency.

How different has been the result so far of the rebellion! Throughout the North, there is a prosperity so enormous as almost to challenge belief. Never before was money so plentiful, commerce so extended; never before has the travel upon our railways and steamers been so great; never before have our hotels and watering places been so crowded. Our places of amusement are enjoying a share of public patronage such as never before fell to their lot.

But the very head and front of our former offending against the South remains yet untouched on the loose manes, namely, in which she alleges that the Fugitive Slave law has heretofore been enforced. This, our offence, was so grievous in the eyes of South Carolina that she put it forth, in her Declaration, as the first, and in itself the all-sufficient cause for separation; adding: "Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken, and South Carolina is released from her obligation."

What chance, even the remotest, is there that with slavery and freedom in political partnership, this rock of offence will be avoided hereafter? Let us, for a moment, imagine that the Emancipation proclamation has no force in law. Nevertheless, its glad tidings have penetrated to the remotest haunts of Southern slavery. To the slave it is a reality. In his heart it has called up the assurance—the fervent hope, at least—that if he can but once elude the vigilance of his master, there is yet freedom for him on this side of the grave.

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MR. SEWARD'S CIRCULAR.

Secretary Seward has issued a very able and a very cheering Circular to our Foreign Ministers, presenting a truthful and satisfactory view of the progress of our arms against the rebellion, and the present condition of National Affairs. Its comprehensive conclusion is in the following words:—

It will be seen that since the breaking out of the insurrection, the Government has extended over a hundred square miles, an area as large as Austria or France, or the whole of Spain and Portugal. The insurgents lost in the various field and siege operations of the month of July which I have described, one third of their whole forces.

Jefferson Davis, the leader of the secession, has since proclaimed a levy of all the able-bodied men within his military lines. This, if carried into effect, will exhaust the whole material of which soldiers can be made. The insurgents estimate the number of conscripts thus to be gained at 200,000. Our arms now confront the insurgent force at a point with superior numbers. A draft for 300,000 more is in progress to replace those whose terms of service have expired, and to fill up the wasted ranks of our veteran regiments, and the people, just so far as the evidence of the necessity for that measure is received and digested, submit with cheerfulness to the ascertained demands. Our armies everywhere are well equipped, abundantly fed, and supplied with all the means of transportation.

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FLOWERS IN THE MARKET.

I've seen by the hillside, and down in the vale, A meek little blossom, with cheeks like pale...

The Liberator.

INFERIORITY OF THE NEGRO.

POST-SCRIPT (Mich.) Sept. 13, 1863. Mr. GARRISON—The idea has become so deeply imbedded in the mind of the masses, that the negro is inferior to the white man in all the moral and mental virtues...

"Being left behind at Duckport, in care of the staff baggage, I was lucky to be on hand to witness the bravery and capability of our own black recruits, and to partake with them in the spruce at Milliken's Bend. The rebels had been skinning for several days with our cavalry pickets, and finally drove them in. The second line of pickets was composed of three black regiments of infantry, who were commanded by skillful officers, who repulsed the rebels with great slaughter."

RELIEF OF CONTRABANDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The first anniversary of the Relief Association for the contrabands of the District of Columbia was held at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, on Thursday evening, 18th ult., and the proceedings were of an unusually interesting character. The church was densely filled with ladies and gentlemen, and the large number of white citizens present indicated the interest taken in the commendable object of relieving the wants of a class who have heretofore been regarded as degraded beings.

"The meeting of individuals at Exell, Kansas, on Tuesday, was evidently not so large a demonstration as was expected, and was chiefly remarkable for Jim Lane's speaking three hours in a heavy rain storm. It is hoped that he caught a severe cold, which will lay him till the excitement is over."

THE SLAVE IN TENNESSEE.

A slave, say you? and yet he stood Up straight beneath God's sky, And very rarely man on earth Has uttered words more high...

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO.

DEAR FRIENDS—The negro laborers on the Government farms need shirts and shoes. Will the North furnish them? While the negro is a refugee, a pauper, and a prisoner also—since military law challenges him when he attempts to follow the North Star outside the lines—he must look to the North for help.

STOCK & EXCHANGE BROKER.

EDWARD M. DAVIS, STOCK & EXCHANGE BROKER, No. 39 SOUTH THIRD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA. I HAVE this day opened an office for the transaction of a general EXCHANGE and BANKING BUSINESS...

FATHER ABRAHAM'S PROCLAMATION.

FATHER ABRAHAM has spoken, and his words have made power. They tell us of the coming of the long-expected hour: Upon our night of sorrow the dawn of joy appears...

THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN.

I believe I know all the good points in that paper; but it is sometimes guilty in a way very irritating to any just and earnest mind. When reading, last evening, Mr. Sumner's great speech upon our Foreign Relations...

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO.

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IMPROVEMENT IN CHAMPOOING AND HAIR DYEING.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER, WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to No. 31 WINTER STREET, where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair...

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