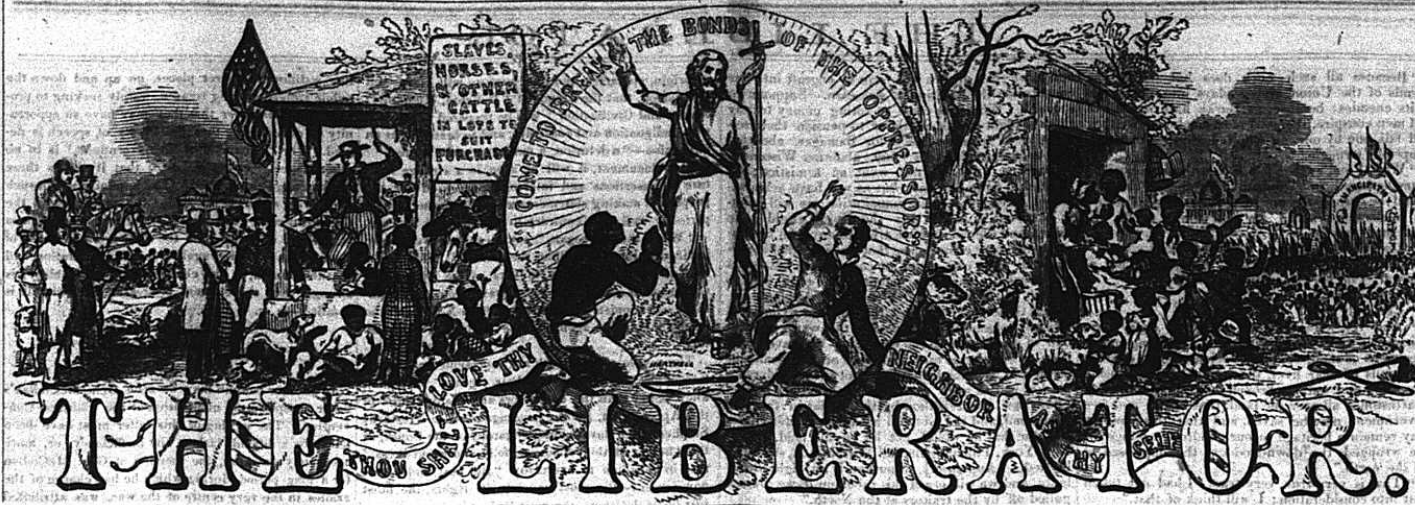


TERMS—Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for ten cents, if payment is made in advance.

Advertisements of a square and over inserted three times at five cents per line; less than a square, 75 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.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

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

They this down as the law of nations. They 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 GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMY HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

PEACE OVERTURES.

We are sorry to see that a large class in the community—smaller here, however, (and we thank God for it) than in almost any other place in the country—who talk of adjustment, have but one answer, and that a senseless one—they will make no terms but independence.

SLAVERY AND "WHITE PARIAHS" IN THE BORDER STATES.

The following is from the excellent work of the Hon. Robert Dale Owen, a notice of which appeared in the Liberator a fortnight ago:—

It is true as to the Border States, where the tilled estates more frequently assume the aspect of farms than of plantations, where the owner and his sons sometimes work along with the slaves, and even where they do not actually work with them, yet personally superintend their labor so as to recognize and take interest in them as individual human beings, it is true, and should here be stated, as to these States, that the phase of slavery there existing is sensibly modified, and is directed, more by practice, however, than by relaxation of law, of some of its most odious features.

SELECTIONS.

AN APPROVING VOICE.

In the absence of the editor, we venture on the responsibility of laying before the readers of the Liberator an article published on the 22d of August, in the Newcastle (Eng.) Daily Chronicle. It is, if we are not mistaken, from the pen of the proprietor and editor of that journal, Joseph Cowen, Jr., Esq., of Stella House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

The power of one man in the moral world of the world has never perhaps been better exemplified than in the life and labors of William Lloyd Garrison. Poor, obscure and friendless, he began, more than thirty years ago, that crusade against slavery which he has never since relinquished, and which is now on the point of culminating in success.

GEN. SAXTON AND THE COLORED SOLDIERS.

The following extract is from an interesting article in the Atlantic Monthly for September, entitled "Regular and Volunteer Officers," attributed to Col. T. W. Higginson.

The officer makes the command, as surely as in educational matters, the teacher makes the school. There is not a regiment in the army so good that it could not be utterly spoiled in three months by a poor commander; nor so poor that it could not be altogether transformed in six by a good one.

A LOOK BACKWARD.

Some of the more venturesome radical papers, in the backward city, seek to stay the public indignation against Mr. Lincoln's ultimatum, by the old talk and twaddle about the Slave Power, and of what it ruled the country. They have a curious notion on this subject. They seem to think that the Slave Power is a gigantic tyrant, which once at the head of the war would abolish all rights of property, and would bring the people that are not abolitionists, and would bring the people that are not abolitionists, and would bring the people that are not abolitionists.

THE FUTURE OF THE BORDER STATES.

But even under this comparatively moderated phase of slavery, the inherent injustice of the system exhibits itself in the character of the very indigent classes which in other Slave States are forbidden by law. In visiting the colored population of Louisville, this presented itself in a marked manner to the notice of our Commission.

THE FUTURE OF THE BORDER STATES.

But Garrison is accused, not only of falling off in tone, but of receding in principle. What is the ground of this accusation? The charge is founded on the circumstance that the Liberator objects to the candidature of Gen. Fremont, and supports the reelection of Abraham Lincoln. Personally, perhaps, that is not the question. Mr. Garrison may prefer somebody else to either—Charles Sumner or Wendell Phillips. Ought he to advocate the election of the man he admires most, regardless of his chances at the poll?

THE FUTURE OF THE BORDER STATES.

Both women expressed the greatest satisfaction that they were allowed to hire themselves. It was sufficiently apparent that nothing short of compulsion would cause either of them to return to what they still called "home." What sort of home could that be, compared to which the privilege of hard labor at the wash tub, purchased by a weekly payment of money—coupled in one case with a similar payment for the children and in the other with the loss of them, was regarded as a favor and a blessing?

THE FUTURE OF THE BORDER STATES.

It was in the office of a gentleman charged with the duty of inspecting the colored population of the city, that I saw a Black and white. There entered a rough, dirty, unshaven specimen of humanity, tall, stout, and wiry-looking, and abrupt in speech and bearing, and clothed in shabby, worn-out clothes. He was a colored man, and he was a free man.



by one festival day—that of the anniversary of the President's Proclamation, upon Fort Mifflin, on the 1st of January, 1863. For the past year or two...

"Because all such work does but divide the friends of the Union, and so plays into the hands of its enemies; because, as Burke hath it, 'When bad men combine, the good must combine, else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.'"

The Liberator. No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1864.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR. A LETTER FROM ANNA E. DICKINSON. PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 3d, 1864. MY DEAR FRIEND: You ask me what I intend doing, and how I feel in regard to the Presidential campaign...

FOR PEACE IN AMERICA. The People of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the people of the United States.

We are of the same race, and many of you are our brothers. Can we not, therefore, come to you as peace-makers, and address you as friends?

These letters were first an annoyance, then a trouble, finally an absolute persecution. Therefore, without in the least supposing myself to be a person whose word and work in the world are of special weight or import, may I be permitted to send you a public answer...

What, permit us to ask, are the Southern people doing beyond following the precepts and example taught and practiced by your fathers and theirs, when they withdrew their allegiance from the Mother Country, and asserted their right to establish a Government of their own?

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its origin, character, and real purpose will be so well understood, that the friends of Religion, Humanity, Justice and Civilization will be prepared to reject it with indignation and contempt, and to brand it as an impious—a delusion, a mockery, and a snare."

"This document, it will be seen, is a strange mixture of assertions and interrogations, used for the purpose of making statements which the writers knew perfectly well were contrary to the facts of the case."

"The people of the South are represented as having risen up in defence of their rights." No men knew better than the concoctors and manipulators of this Appeal, that in the language of Vice President Stephens, the slaveholding oligarchy of the South, in the height of their madness, folly and wickedness, rose in rebellion to overthrow the best and freest government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon."

"The Declaration of Independence asserts the self-extended right of the South to set up a government for themselves." The truths asserted by that great charter of American liberty are these: first, that men are created equal; second, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; third, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; fourth, that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men; fifth, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and sixth, that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish it.

"The object of the rebel conspirators of the South was the overthrow of these principles. The traitor at this moment next in rank to the desperate chief of the Southern Confederacy has distinctly and authoritatively repudiated the ideas promulgated in the Declaration of Independence. He has branded them as 'fundamentally wrong.' Here are his words—'Our government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery is his natural and normal condition.'"

"The people of the United States are asked if they will not be struck by the great physical, philosophical and moral truth—the subordination (or slavery) of the inferior to the superior race." The revolutionary fathers taught that established governments should not be changed, save when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce the people under absolute despotism. That then, and only then, it is their right and duty to throw off such government.

"If a frank, earnest and persistent effort to obtain these objects [the voluntary return of the seceded States and the re-establishment of the Union] should fail, the responsibility for all our consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union. But the Union must be preserved at all hazards."

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"When any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights." I will not dwell here upon the enormous fallacy implied in this sentence, of consent that any rebel State, on becoming satisfied that the plan of forcible secession is a failure, and that the pursuance of it by arms must lead to utter ruin, may at once resume its place in the line of honest and loyal States, and send the civil and military leaders of the rebellion to be its Senators and Representatives in Congress.

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shall be given him. But, if the McClellan party shall conquer, that power will be in the hands, not of a slavery. The thing proposed by that party which, with monstrous effrontery, calls itself the Democracy, and is to reinstate slavery in all the States where it formerly prevailed, and with it the assumption that people of color are an inferior class, and must hold a subordinate position, even when circumstances make them technically free. This theory, and a practical corollary, as soon as concealment and rule through the fetters. Of course, whenever this point is gained, and the advocates of it have seats in Congress from every Southern State, not only will slavery be reinstated there, but the question will again arise of extending it into the Territories. The adverse legislation of the last three years is not a finality. The Constitution is as open to "amendment" (forgive the description of the word) on the side of slavery as of freedom. In short, the success of this policy would be for a period of a century, to decide whether free representation or oligarchic despotism shall have sway over this continent. This struggle, in the future, in the past, must constantly tend towards war and division. So no prospect of permanent peace opens to us from this quarter. This nation cannot possibly have peace, still less prosperity, until slavery shall be utterly annihilated.

MOCCLELLAN'S LETTER. In another column may be seen Gen. McClellan's letter accepting the nomination of the Chicago Convention. The writing of this speech must have been felt to be a difficult task. The inefficiency, or, more accurately speaking, the inaction of Gen. McClellan for a long period, during which he had charge of the armies in the very centre of the war, was attributed by some to want of military capacity, by others to want of will to overcome the enemy. His friends defended him against both charges, alleging that he was the ablest of our Generals, and that he was doing everything in his power for the overthrow of the rebellion. Now, those same persons have made him their candidate for the Presidency, on the express ground that they wish the rebels conciliated, not conquered. For two years they supported him as having the arm and the heart of a thorough warrior, claimed his continuance at the head of the army on that ground, and held up their hands in amazement at the audacity of those who judged him otherwise. Now, when their thoughts, they must confess, are turned on peace, they select this same determined fighter as the person best fitted to carry out the peace programme. These two things don't hang well together. The terms of acceptance of such a proposal from such people must have been hard to express in a decently plausible fashion. In fact, he has not made them plausible. Let us look at some of the particulars.

"The preservation of our Union," he says, "was the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced." Whoever accepts this proposition not only accepts a false statement, but ignores a truth which is essential to McClellan's purpose to keep out of sight. The destruction of our Union, not its preservation, was the avowed object for which the war was commenced. The rebels began it; they began it for that purpose, and have continued it for that purpose; and the last utterances of their leaders show an unshaken persistence in that design. When we adopted our war measures in defence, no doubt, the object was the preservation of the Union thus assailed; and this has continued to be our immovable purpose. And Gen. McClellan writes in this purpose, if the repeated declarations of this letter are to be trusted. "The Union," he says, "is the one condition of peace."—"The Union must be preserved at all hazards."—"The re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement."

"The formal statement of both these sides, Rebel and Union, showing that the two parties, from the beginning to the present moment, have pursued purposes diametrically opposite and irreconcilable, shows also the absurdity of Gen. McClellan's claim that had the war been conducted 'only' for the preservation of the Union, 'the work of reconciliation would have been easy.' To say that reconciliation was easy or possible during the continuance of such conditions is absurd. To say that the war has been perverted, by the Administration, to other purposes than the re-establishment of the Union, is false.

Gen. McClellan is now the candidate of the unconditional Peace party. Portions of his letter, it is true, speak in the direction of war, else he must have lost the votes of the War Democrats, and lost also the election. But he gives in his address to the Peace party in this paragraph—"The Union was originally formed by the exercise of a spirit of concession and compromise. To restore and preserve it, the same spirit must prevail in our councils and in the hearts of the people."

The very next sentence of the letter, however, declares that "the re-establishment of the Union, in all its integrity, is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement." From these two things, combined with Gen. McClellan's intimation that the present Executive has erred in not conducting the war solely for the object last mentioned, we get his decidedly original idea of the judicious method of conciliation, namely: "Confine yourself to the one point in which your purpose is diametrically opposite to that of your antagonist."

In fact, a good deal of this letter is suited to remind us (as far as self-contradiction is concerned) of the rallying-cry of the party to which the author has now joined himself, recorded in Book first of The New Gospel of Peace, as follows: "Peace and Free Speech, and Death unto him that sayeth to the contrary."

With all his faults, however, Gen. McClellan is not so lost to shame and decency as to ignore the strong probability of failure in that movement of conciliation which is the chief purpose of his party, and of the fact that, in the event of such failure, the nation must maintain such Union with force and arms; that it say, must continue to use the very means of which the Peace party now complain. Here are his words—"If a frank, earnest and persistent effort to obtain these objects [the voluntary return of the seceded States and the re-establishment of the Union] should fail, the responsibility for all our consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union. But the Union must be preserved at all hazards."

In short, if such conciliation as can go hand in hand with point-blank refusal of the one chief demand made by the rebels shall not avail, Gen. McClellan admits that we must continue to fight. No wonder that the more determined of the Peace men already object to his letter. The wonder is, that McClellan, adhering (as so many expressions in his letter show) to the maintenance of the Union as indispensable, should consent to be the candidate of men who show themselves so ready to relinquish it.

"Another passage (the last I shall refer to) in Gen. McClellan's letter shows his thorough agreement with the Peace party in one of the purposes which they have warmly at heart, the re-establishment of slavery. He says—"When any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights."



LETTERS FROM NEW YORK, NO. XVI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: The devil, who is always an ass, was never more than an ass in Chicago.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: We publish elsewhere a singular correspondence between several worthy gentlemen and Mr. Fremont.

I did not see this in the Daily Advertiser, and should not have taken the trouble to reply to it; but as you have copied it, I wish to say a few words.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have now the third part of this very ingenious and amusing, and in the main accurate, satirico-historical work.

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THE DAYS OF THE PRESENT INCUMBENT are numbered, for New York has repented of him in sackcloth and ashes, and she will as little repeat her folly of two years ago as she will desert the cause of the Union in November.

LETTER FROM GEORGE L. STEARNS. Editor of the Liberator: Boston, Sept. 12, 1864.

Sir:—I notice in your last paper the following paragraphs:— "We publish elsewhere a singular correspondence between several worthy gentlemen and Mr. Fremont."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have now the third part of this very ingenious and amusing, and in the main accurate, satirico-historical work.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

The secessionist newspapers in Great Britain are publishing with exultation a letter recently addressed by Mr. Douglass to an English correspondent.

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SPEECH BY MR. SEWARD.

The Albany Evening Journal of Tuesday, contains a speech made by Mr. Seward at Auburn, on Saturday, in response to a call from his fellow-citizens who were engaged in celebrating the victories of Farragut and Sherman.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have now the third part of this very ingenious and amusing, and in the main accurate, satirico-historical work.

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GEN. MCCLELLAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

ORANGE, (N. Y.) Sept. 8, 1864. GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, as their candidate at the next election for President of the United States.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have now the third part of this very ingenious and amusing, and in the main accurate, satirico-historical work.

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A CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF SOLORED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The present state of our country, together with the claims of humanity and universal freedom, and the favorable developments of the Providence of God, press, demand of us to be united in council, labor and faith.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: I have now the third part of this very ingenious and amusing, and in the main accurate, satirico-historical work.

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Poetry.

WAITING FOR THE HOUR.

By Mrs. J. L. Garrison. [Suggested by W. J. Garrison's picture, entitled "Waiting for the Hour," representing slaves waiting for the time to come when the President's Emancipation Proclamation should be in force.]

WAITING.

Down on the beach where the surges rise, And faint their spray at the muttering skies, A woman waits with fearless eyes.

THE FUGITIVES.

Under the cover of darkness, Watching with lynx-like eyes, Parting the tangled brushwood,

SEPTEMBER. O, golden autumn sun! thy balmy breath O'er the bright fields of ripened grain,

The Liberator.

THE LATE JOHN HOPPER.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT HIS FUNERAL, BY REV. O. B. PROTHROK.

MY FRIENDS: A sadder funeral than this I have never been called to; the service of one foremost among my truest, most constant and dearest personal friends, among the most affectionate and faithful of my parishioners.

THE PEACE PARTY.

FRIEND GARRISON—The constantly crowded condition of thy columns has often deterred me from offering any thoughts for publication, but the perusal of true peace principles under the shadow of the "Peace party" of our land impels me once more to offer you a few lines.

THE HOME FOR THE AGED AND INFIRM.

THE HOSPITAL.

ARLINGTON HOUSE.

SAMUEL KEESÉ.

PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.

nature falling and disgracing itself utterly, and when I heard him sometimes pour out his most scathing wrath, I could only sit dumb, and wish that I had ever loved enough to give me the privilege of being so greatly angry as he was.

of those whom he has adorned and kindled, an immortality wherever he has lived. This life does not go out; on the contrary, it glows in the spots where he worked, the places where he enjoyed, the world he loved.

is not reached. Unfortunately, we arrived about an hour late. The children had been turned loose from their studies, and were playing in groups around their new-found homes.

contains a number of occupants whose histories would doubtless prove absorbingly interesting did their infirmities and age permit a relation of them.

Hospitals are always sad scenes to visit, and the Freedmen's Village hospital is no less sad than many others.

Through thick woods, spotted here and there with tents which glitter brightly in the light which poechnes through the boughs upon them, Arlington House is approached.

The portals are no longer swung wide open from that capacious, chaste and beautiful portico. The windows which overlook the semi-circular lawn, fringed with dark-yeard trees, and sloping down toward the glittering Potomac, are shattered, and the birds which have built their nests upon the cornice, wing their way through the broken panes.

converted to far different uses to those for which their late proprietor intended them. The interior of the mansion is to be remodelled so as to conform to the purposes of a cemetery which will be surrounded it, and some of the cemetery which will be a burial-ground, known as the National Cemetery.

which is approached through a very noisy and a sepulchral tunnel. At the time the man, aged every man and boy on Mason's Island was roused, and a fort was thrown up which was called Fort Greene.

During the month of June, the firing out was carried on at the rate of eleven per cent per day. The children are hired out until they are of age.

As you stand upon the steps of the house, you see an incessant stream of colored women and children coming up from the barracks below.

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converted to far different uses to those for which their late proprietor intended them. The interior of the mansion is to be remodelled so as to conform to the purposes of a cemetery which will be surrounded it, and some of the cemetery which will be a burial-ground, known as the National Cemetery.

which is approached through a very noisy and a sepulchral tunnel. At the time the man, aged every man and boy on Mason's Island was roused, and a fort was thrown up which was called Fort Greene.

During the month of June, the firing out was carried on at the rate of eleven per cent per day. The children are hired out until they are of age.

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