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WALKER, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and  
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.  
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of  
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.  
VOL. XXVI. NO. 45.



# THE LIBERATOR

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

**No Union with Slaveholders!**  
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH  
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.  
Yes! it cannot be denied—the slavesholding  
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their  
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to  
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR  
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,  
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was  
the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an  
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,  
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the enactment, fatal  
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-  
sentation for SLAVES—by articles of merchandise, under  
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor pres-  
enting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-  
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of  
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of  
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the  
government of the nation is to establish an artificial  
majority in the slave representation over that of the  
free people, in the American Congress; and THEREBY  
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPE-  
TUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT  
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

## REFUGES OF OPPRESSION

**SPANISH AMERICA AND SLAVERY.**  
The rapid decadence of nearly the whole of  
Spanish America during the last three decades  
of the present century, has been a puzzle to states-  
men, historians and philosophers. Some have at-  
tributed it to one cause, some to another cause,  
and some to the combined influence of co-operating  
causes. One has declared that it had its origin  
in the corrupting influence of the native  
gold and silver; another, that it was due to the  
general degeneracy of the Spanish race; a third,  
has ascribed it to the political anarchy in  
which the various Spanish-American States have  
been plunged since they threw off the yoke of old  
Spain; and still a fourth, probably to all of these  
combined. But all have left out of the argument  
the most potent of all the facts in the history of  
these countries—which was the abolition of sla-  
very contemporaneously with the achievement of  
their independence, and the attempt to elevate  
the native Indians and the negroes, mulattoes,  
mestizos, &c., of all shades of color, and of every  
degree of civilization, to a level of equality with the  
population of pure Caucasian origin.  
This was a fatal error. Instead of improving  
the inferior classes, it only tended to degrade the  
superior, to deteriorate and waste it by amalgama-  
tion and interbreed. Agriculture was blighted,  
the useful as well as elegant arts ceased to be  
cultivated, the masses were immersed in hope-  
less ignorance and superstition; and this day,  
outside of Brazil and Cuba, and excepting the few  
remnants of pure Caucasian blood, there is  
nearly a Spanish-American people which is more  
degraded than the subjects of the Montezumas and  
Aztecs were over three centuries ago. The coun-  
tries which they inhabit must be re-conquered or re-  
colonized, and brought again under the dominion of  
civilization, and made to subserve the uses of agri-  
culture and commerce. New Cortezes and Pizar-  
ros—the Vikings and empire-builders of the modern  
world—may there find open and ample fields for  
their enterprises, prowess and statesmanship. New  
land, new ideas and new aims are wanted, to re-  
deem them from the savagery of man, and a new  
system of slavery is demanded to rescue them from  
the conquering wildness of nature. Reforming  
politics alone will not do; revolution may follow  
revolution; and still, so long as there is no solid  
base of labor—so long as the agricultural and in-  
dustrial arts are paralyzed, government will pass  
through successive stages of anarchy until it  
reaches a state of political nihilism. In such  
a state, let the history of any of the pseudo-  
civilizations to which we allude be traced—especially  
the history of Mexico during the last quarter of a  
century. Their decadence dates, as we have seen,  
from the abolition of slavery, and their regenera-  
tion can only be effectually and permanently effec-  
ted by its restoration. They can only recover from  
the nihilism which now darkens and depresses  
them through Caucasian immigration, and nothing  
but slave-labor can ever redress their wretched  
and lamentable wiles to a systematic and profitable  
agriculture.

## THE LIBERATOR.

**THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.**  
DETROIT, Oct. 21st, 1856.

**FRIEND GARRISON:**  
Observing a few years since, a notice of a Yearly  
Meeting of Progressive Friends, or Friends of Human  
Progress, whose only basis of association was the  
brotherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, I became  
much interested, and very desirous of attending one of  
their Conventions. This long-cherished wish has at  
length been gratified, and as the character of this So-  
ciety may be as new to some of your readers as to  
myself, I propose by your permission to give a brief ac-  
count of it.  
It originated some six or seven years since among  
the Quakers; and the immediate cause of the new As-  
sociation was found in the fact, that the members of  
this religious body were averse to mixing themselves  
up with 'the world,' as they termed all outside their  
organization, and those among them whose souls were  
alive to the great moral questions of the age, finding  
'the place to strain,' persisted in cooperating with re-  
formers every where. For this cause, the old Society  
disowned some; others disowned the old Society; and  
thus commenced this truly progressive movement,  
which is becoming stronger and stronger, and seems  
not unlikely in its onward course to sweep away that  
old and still body from the list of sects.  
The Progressives have no organization, no discipline,  
no membership, even, of which I could learn any  
thing; but their association is wholly voluntary, en-  
tirely untrammelled by form of any kind.  
The Yearly Meeting for this State was convened in  
Battle Creek, one of the prettiest villages, by the  
way, in all Michigan, and surrounded by a beautiful  
country, whose varied scenery is seldom equaled in the  
West. There was a fine gathering of true reformers  
from different parts of this State, and a few from Pen-  
sylvania and New York. The meeting continued three  
days, and was of a most stirring, yet harmonious  
character. The platform was entirely free to any one,  
man or woman, white or black, orthodox or heterodox.  
Resolutions of a thorough-going, radical character  
were brought up for consideration, and discussed in a  
most spirited and masterly manner. Slavery, intem-  
perance, the use of tobacco, human governments, wo-  
man's rights, home reformation, and the claims of the  
Christian Church, were earnestly and candidly consid-  
ered. Possessed of true manliness, these friends were  
not afraid to investigate with boldness and energy  
every subject which came before them. There was no  
hesitation—no fear entertained, that though God has  
created us with the faculty of reason, he will never-  
theless condemn us to everlasting misery for the free  
exercise of it.  
That the character of the meeting, and its prevailing  
spirit, may be judged, I will insert a few of its resolu-  
tions:—  
Resolved, That the movement of the Society of the  
Friends of Human Progress is emphatically a religious  
movement. Our cherished purpose is to restore the  
union between Religion and Life. We have no set  
forms or ceremonies, nor have we sought to impose upon  
ourselves a system of theological belief. We have no  
opinions too sacred for examination, nor in respect  
to which human reason should yield to human authority.  
The union we seek will be secured by purity, by  
knowledge, by long-suffering, by the Holy Spirit, by  
love unfeigned, by the armor of righteousness on the  
right hand and on the left.  
Resolved, That we desire to aid in building the true  
and beautiful, as well as to destroy the unshapely and  
the false; our weapons are truth, our arguments love.  
Resolved, That the claims of the self-styled Christian  
Church, in relation to the plenary inspiration of the  
Bible and tests of discipline, are unfounded, and that  
the agencies used by it are inadequate to secure the  
freedom and regeneration of man.  
Resolved, That the true object of the mission of Je-  
sus is entirely above the proselyting schemes of the  
present age—its intent being to enlarge the sphere of  
thought and widen man's sympathies, upon the com-  
mon basis of the common brotherhood of man.  
Resolved, That American slavery is the most stupen-  
dous crime the world ever saw; that no interest  
which it may be thought to subserv, however val-  
uable and important, can for a moment justify its continu-  
ance, and no fancied ills, how terrible soever, which  
may be consequent upon its abolition, should for a mo-  
ment deter us from striking it to the earth at once, as  
the enemy alike of God and man.  
Resolved, That on woman's fidelity to her mission, as  
the mother of the human race, depend the happiness  
and greatness of all future generations; that we there-  
fore demand for her the most perfect freedom for all  
her powers of body and mind, and are firmly and aver-  
sely opposed to all institutions, doctrines or sentiments  
tending in any degree to abridge her liberty, or limit  
her sphere of action.  
Many other resolutions of a highly reformatory and  
no less interesting character were discussed, some of  
which have already appeared in your paper.  
The speakers from abroad were Henry C. Wright,  
Andrew T. Fass, and Joseph Dugdale. The meeting  
was also enlivened by the presence of Sojourner Truth,  
whose songs and speeches came with telling effect upon  
an audience entirely new to her peculiarities.  
To one brought up, like myself, in the Presbyterian  
Church, and accustomed to the conventionalities of a  
city, the social life at intervals during the three days  
session, and after the close of the meeting, was exceedingly  
refreshing. Never before was it my happiness to  
breathe an atmosphere of such entire freedom.  
The most unharmed kindness, intelligent hilarity, and  
joyous harmony, every where prevailed. The social gath-  
erings at the houses of Henry Willis, Joseph Merritt,  
and other friends, the boat excursions on Lake St.  
Mary, the walks in the neighborhood of this beautiful  
sheet of water, and the picnic in its vicinity, will long  
be remembered with the liveliest pleasure, and a weary  
citizen like myself may thankfully list on the 'strengths  
of this food many days.'  
This free social life, among a people nearly all born  
Quakers—a sect to outward observance very solemn and  
strict-laced, seemed at first unaccountable; but on re-  
flection, this appears to be the explanation. While  
Friends have always been in the habit of holding meet-  
ings two days in the week, Sunday and Wednesday,

## THE POSITION OF VIRGINIA.

Whether Virginia is, or is not, to be regarded  
as the representative of the fifteen slave States,  
some of which are certainly not far behind her,  
we leave every man to judge for himself; but this  
we would say, that if Virginia is to be judged by  
her practice during the past year, she can in no  
wise be regarded as a free country for any class or  
color of men; and if we can rely upon the words  
of her Governor and newspapers for what she  
really proposes to be and do in the future, then  
Virginia has become the hot-bed of the vilest des-  
potism that ever saw the sun—a tyranny that

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so far forth as it seeks to extend itself into new ter-  
ritories; the other regards this question of exten-  
sion as a mere side-issue, and seeks to cut up the  
whole system by the roots. The one is pledged to  
respect slavery in the States; the other declares its  
purpose, with the help of God and good men, to  
overthrow and abolish slavery in the States. The  
one boasts that it is 'the white man's party,' and  
disclaims as a motive of its action all sympathy  
with the negro; the other avows itself as primarily  
the black man's party, and although bearing in  
its hands the richest blessings to all classes, it  
designed originally and is designedly for the benefit  
of the negro. The one with hearts apparently untouched  
by the appeals of the bondmen already in chains, says,  
'this is no negro question'; the other, believing  
that God hath made of one blood all the nations  
that dwell on all the face of the earth, and that all  
are brethren, and moved to indignation at the sight  
of nearly four millions of men held in chains, on  
no other pretext than that of the color of their  
skin, declares that this is emphatically a negro ques-  
tion. The one stands aloofly smug and satisfied, and  
execute the pro-slavery compact of our fathers—a  
compact made under circumstances of temptation,  
and expected to be only temporary in its opera-  
tion—a compact by which the North agrees to de-  
liver up the fugitive slave, to shoot down the slaveholder  
his extra-proportional representation in Congress  
and in the Electoral College. The other openly  
denies the obligations of this compact, and peremptorily  
refuses to be bound by it. It pronounces it  
in the strong language of Scripture 'a covenant  
with death and an agreement with hell,' and asserts  
that the first and only duty we owe in regard  
to it is to labor for its annulment. In short, the  
Republican party is a Union party; our party is,  
on this question, a Disunion party. That there may  
be no misrepresentation on this point, let us ex-  
plain the import of this phraseology:—  
In the first place, we do not mean to undervalue  
the proper uses of union—whether of States, or of  
individuals, or to question the utility of any of the  
advantages of political confederation. Nor do  
we mean to be understood as cherishing a self-deny-  
ing or pharisaic sense of our own superiority;  
or as holding to the belief that civil govern-  
ment may not, like the man from heaven, which  
descends upon the just and the unjust, extend its  
benefits to all classes; or that a body politic may  
not be rightly constituted, and yet include among  
its citizens even the worst of evil-doers. Nor do  
we mean to imply the existence on our part of any  
feeling of hostility toward the South, or a belief  
that the people of the North are, abstractly and  
apart from circumstances, any better than those of  
the slaveholding States. In speaking of disunion,  
we do not speak as politicians. We cherish no  
ambitions plans of self-aggrandizement, or individ-  
ual schemes of political ascendancy. We contem-  
plate no popular tumult; no convulsive disruption  
of political ties; no general disintegration of the  
States. We propose nothing, we intend nothing  
but the quiet, but certain, and complete, and  
in common with all good men, regard the idea of civil  
or servile war, or any form of internecine strife.  
When we speak of disunion, we speak as the  
advocates of a moral principle; and in advocating  
this doctrine, we are simply contending for the  
practical application of this principle to all exist-  
ing relations in this country, religious and polit-  
ical. The pro-slavery ligaments, we maintain,  
which hold in union the Northern with the Southern  
States, imply the existence of a covenant, com-  
pact, under the obligations of which, whether as  
States or as individuals—we rest, to send back the  
fugitive, to strike down the uprising, to join hands  
with the enslaver, should be at once rescinded.  
There should be no connection whatever on the  
part of the people of the free States with those of  
the slave States, which would make the former  
partakers with the latter in the support of the  
slave system.  
That this is what we mean by disunion. These are  
the sentiments which we seek to propagate, and  
ready they are cherished and acted upon by an in-  
fluential portion of the community. When they  
come, as we believe they will, to be so wide-spread  
as to make up the general public opinion, they  
will, by their own force, and without any special  
effort on our part, take the proper practical shape,  
and bring about the needful political action. What  
particular political changes and civil reconstruction  
may be necessary to insure all the legitimate  
benefits accruing from their adoption, is not our  
prerogative to say. That we leave to those whose  
provinces or mission it may be to settle the affairs  
of State. Our concern with this question relates,  
as we have already said, to its moral aspects.  
That the people generally are averse to a discus-  
sion of this Disunion question, we are well aware.  
So were we once to the discussion of the slavery  
question. They have got used to the one; they  
will become accustomed to the other. But, whether  
or not, the question is now fairly launched, and  
it will not cease to be debated, till some definite  
action is taken upon it. What the end of it all  
will be, it does not seem difficult to conjecture.  
In the very nature of things, the infamous compact  
which now holds together the slaveholding and non-  
slaveholding portions of the country must be can-  
celled, and the Union dissolved.  
This Union has already existed longer than it  
was supposed it would by some of the men who  
aided in forming it. Its dissolution has been pre-  
sented by the secret fears which have ever been  
shadowed by the secret fears which have ever been  
betrayed in regard to it, and by the Farewell Ad-  
dresses which have been relied on to prevent it.  
The instincts of the people have taught them that  
slavery and the Union were bound up indissolubly  
together, and that to lay effective hands upon one  
was to cut the ligaments of the other. The ablest  
political philosophers that have ever spoken upon  
the subject have expressed the belief that the ex-  
isting Union would be dissolved. The profound  
and impartial De Tocqueville, faintly whom no man  
has ever better comprehended our institutions, and  
expressed his belief that, 'happen what would, the com-  
mercial States would remain united,' and would  
'one day become the first maritime power on the  
globe.'  
The universal feeling that now exists in this  
country is a presage of coming dissolution. Politi-  
cians may protest their devotion to the Union  
and their followers may say amen; parties may vie  
with each other in professions of loyalty, and  
each may declare that there is no danger of dis-  
solution except from the success of the other; and  
both may asseverate, as they do, that the Union  
must and shall be preserved. Nevertheless, the

## THE RE-OPENING OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The re-opening of the slave-trade, which has recently been issued by General  
Walker, President of the Republic of Nicaragua,  
re-establishing the institution of slavery, and in-  
viting the importation of negroes, is now attract-  
ing much attention.  
For our own part, we were highly pleased with  
the decree, for we are decidedly in favor of re-  
opening the slave-trade, in order that the price of  
negroes may be reduced to such figures as that  
very industrious poor man may purchase, and be-  
come a slaveholder.  
We regard the course pursued by Gen. Walker  
as not only just, but challenges the approval of  
the entire mass of people inhabiting the Southern  
States, and we believe that they will sustain him  
in the position he has assumed.  
Thinking and believing that the Confederacy now  
existing as the United States of North America will  
soon be dissolved, we look upon this movement of  
Gen. Walker as that of a statesman, and we hope  
the day is not far distant, when a Central America,  
embracing the Island of Cuba, will form part of  
the Southern Confederacy.—Caroline Times.

## A PROTEST.

To the Citizens of Massachusetts, and to all lovers of  
Justice and Equal Rights.

Believing that every unjust exercise of power  
should be resisted by the best means we possess,  
and regarding taxation without representation as an  
aggression upon the rights of those so taxed, it has  
become, for the third time, my duty to protest against  
such abuse of power.  
In the town of Plymouth, Mass., in 1855, there were  
\$418,570 00 worth of property taxed, owned by wo-  
men, and, consequently, not represented, beside a vast  
amount actually owned by women, and taxed in the  
husband's name, and not represented by its owners.  
In many other towns of this Commonwealth, the  
amount is very much larger, and in the cities it is im-  
measurable.  
The axiom, that 'government derives its just powers  
from the consent of the governed,' is a fundamental  
principle in our government, and it therefore requires  
no sage's ken to perceive the injustice of power exer-  
cised without the consent of the governed. It is indeed  
a complete state of vassalage, in which the subject has  
no choice, but is compelled to obedience by the powers  
assumed, not consented to.  
I would ask the freemen of Massachusetts to consider  
in what does the political state of the women of Mas-  
sachusetts differ from that of the Free State men of  
Kansas, except that their oppressors are their relatives  
and friends, instead of the border ruffians and deadly  
enemies. A great difference indeed, so far as personal  
security and peaceful living are concerned, but so far  
as principle is involved, none at all.  
Of what have the Free State men of Kansas to com-  
plain? Why, precisely this:—that the ballot-box is  
taken from them; that rulers are placed over them  
without their consent; that they are compelled to obey  
laws which they had no voice in making; that, conse-  
quently, legislation is against them, instead of for  
them, obliging them to support measures that rob them  
of their just rights, instead of protecting them in  
their rights.  
Are not these grave wrongs? Do they not lay the  
axe at the root of the tree of Liberty? Can they be  
submitted to without degradation? Every patriot will  
say, no! emphatically, NO!  
Look now, at the state of woman in Massachusetts,  
which has ever been foremost in demanding liberty for  
one half of her citizens. Does she not take the ballot-  
box from women as effectually, though more quietly  
than the Missourians did from the Free State men of  
Kansas?  
Have the women of Massachusetts more voice in  
electing their rulers than the Free State men of Kan-  
sas? None at all.  
Are not the women of Massachusetts compelled to  
obey laws which they had no voice in making? As  
true as the Free State men in Kansas.  
Is not the legislation of Massachusetts against wo-  
men, instead of for them? Witness the disposition of  
property, unless kept separate, and secured by special  
legislation, or entailed by will, before she received it.  
How is it when the husband dies first? Does the wid-  
ow hold his property, unless specially provided for by  
those from whom he received it?  
Or no! 'She receives the use of one third of it dur-  
ing her life, but cannot devise it by will.' She is, in  
fact, a minor, whose guardian, the Law, will allow her  
the income of one third of her property while she  
lives, but never to spend one cent of the principal,  
whether suffering or not for its use!  
Again—Are not the women of Massachusetts com-  
pelled to support laws which rob them of their just rights,  
instead of protecting their rights? Emphatically, Yes!  
Freemen of Massachusetts! you whose patriotic souls  
are roused to earnest action by the intolerable wrongs  
of your brethren in Kansas, be consistent! Be true to  
the great principles you are endeavoring to sustain;  
and when you have sent home to Missouri the border-  
ruffians who have violated the sanctity of the ballot-  
box, and you have established free institutions on the  
lovely plains of Kansas, do not lay off your armor  
until you have carried out your convictions in your  
own State, and liberated one half of your fellow-citizens  
from an oppression as unjust, if not as intolerable in its  
infliction, as that of the noble Free State men of Kan-  
sas, whose wrongs send a thrill of horror through every  
heart that pulsates for FREEDOM.  
In behalf of the women of Massachusetts, and the  
world,  
MERCY B. JACKSON,  
Plymouth, Mass., Oct. 15, 1856.

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denies the obligations of this compact, and peremptorily  
refuses to be bound by it. It pronounces it  
in the strong language of Scripture 'a covenant  
with death and an agreement with hell,' and asserts  
that the first and only duty we owe in regard  
to it is to labor for its annulment. In short, the  
Republican party is a Union party; our party is,  
on this question, a Disunion party. That there may  
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plain the import of this phraseology:—  
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