

E 400

.B92

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0000502383A



LECTURE,
SHOWING THE NECESSITY FOR A
LIBERTY PARTY.

AND SETTING FORTH ITS PRINCIPLES, MEASURES, AND OBJECT.

BY

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

~~~~~  
"WHOSO STOPPETH HIS EARS AT THE CRY OF THE POOR,  
HE ALSO SHALL CRY HIMSELF BUT SHALL NOT BE HEARD."  
~~~~~

CINCINNATI:
CALEB CLARK, PRINTER.
1844.

E 100
. E 2 -

LECTURE,
SHOWING THE NECESSITY FOR A
LIBERTY PARTY:
AND SETTING FORTH ITS PRINCIPLES, MEASURES, AND OBJECT.

“In the dark ages of the world, when the human mind was held in thralldom by artifice, superstition and bigotry, *ignorance* superceded the influence of reason, and man became but as the *slave* of man.”

Such was the declaration of one of the brightest intellects that our country has ever produced; and that it is an important and solemn truth, the history of the world bears ample testimony.

Where *ignorance* of the *rights* and *duties* of humanity prevails, there the *spirit of oppression*, uniting in the breasts of the ambitious and aspiring *few*, stimulates to the establishment of a *lordly aristocracy*, who trample upon the rights of the *many*, until by degrees, they are reduced to a state of servitude, either collectively through the agency of the government, or individually by the power of the master, aided by the civil law; so that the masses are doomed to be “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” and to perform all the labor of production in the community; while aristocratic nabobs, by one device or another, manage to appropriate to themselves so great a share of the production, as enables them to riot in wealth, in luxury, in pomp, and pride and power, and the producers are subjected to a condition of abject penury and want.

Wretched and deplorable as is the picture, which the spirit of oppression thus exercised presents to our view, of gorgeous wealth and extravagance on the one hand, and squalid poverty and suffering on the other, it still falls infinitely short of the frightful exhibition of *wickedness* and *crime*, which under *such a culture* of the fruitful soil of frail humanity, springs forth in luxuriant abundance, obscuring the glory of the noblest workmanship of the Creator of the universe, and sinking to degradation, infamy and ruin, beings constituted but little lower than Angels, and designed for glory, immortality and eternal life.

In the opposite extremes of riches and luxury on the one hand, and destitution and starvation on the other, we may ever look *in vain* for the exhibition of justice, virtue and truth, as the characteristics of such a community.

Oppression, in itself, is one of the most heinous sins in the sight of God ; and he who so disregards the divine law of love as to be guilty of this sin, cannot escape its soul-hardening influence ; and by its inevitable tendency, his conscience becomes seared, and the spirit of pride, arrogance and despotism, rises into dominion in his mind, and he becomes the enemy of the peace, prosperity and happiness of his species. While *he* tramples upon the rights of those by whose labor and suffering he lives, his wicked example exerts a powerful influence in the destruction of *their* moral principle, and their destitution and misery drive them to the commission of crime, to obtain sustenance for their animal nature. Wherever the spirit of oppression rules, ambition, violence, pride and revenge, are the characteristics of the aristocracy ; while meanness, sycophancy, lying, theft and prostitution are the characteristics of the oppressed.

There is probably no community composed of oppressors and oppressed, but which contains also, an intermediate class, a small phalanx of middling-interest men, separate and distinct from both the other classes. Among these, we find the principles of justice, and the love of virtue predominant. And here is an exhibition of the excellency of that religion which teaches its disciples, in all things, to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. These remain to be the salt of the earth, the light of the world—and for their sakes, God spares the the world yet a little longer ; while, by his *faithful* Ministers, and by his Holy Spirit, he is calling unto both oppressors and oppressed to forsake their sins, repent and live.

In these United States of America, the spirit of oppression was early transplanted from the old world, and despotism in its most frightful form, here raised its hideous head. Men who fled from oppression in England, here became the most rank oppressors ; buying, holding, and treating their fellow men as if they were endowed by their Creator with no more rights than dumb animals. Thus a system of oppression and robbery of rights was established in our country, which has extended itself, until it has become the ruling spirit and the predominating interest in the land. This interest is sustained by the laws of half the States of our Union, and also by the laws of the *national* Government. By virtue of these laws, every inch of ground in our country is so far accursed with the demon spirit of oppression, that one-sixth part of the children born in our land, are *every where* subject to the yoke of bondage, and to the ruthless gripe of the oppressor. The existence of such a system on our soil, has exerted a powerful influence in strangling the spirit and quenching the fire of liberty, that sixty years ago burned bright in the bosoms of our fathers ; and the aristocratic spirit is rising

into dominion, and threatening the destruction of all that is just and holy among men.

The question *has* arisen, and is now forced upon us to decide, " Shall our country, like the Republics in olden time, be surrendered to the spirit of tyranny and despotism : shall it go down in darkness and despair ? or, shall the genius of *liberty* be invoked and aroused, to save us from the thralldom which now involves those fair regions which once boasted of their freedom, but where despotism now reigns with unlimited sway?"

As the fire is increased in proportion to the fuel wherewith it is supplied, so the spirit of *ambition* grows brighter and stronger in the human bosom, as the best of power is stimulated by acquisition and exercise. And as the bestowment of power upon individuals in a great nation like ours, is indispensable to the administration of the sovereignty of government, the safety of the people, and the preservation of their liberties, can only be maintained by the most vigilant watchfulness and care.

The tendency of all human governments is to concentrate wealth and power in a few privileged families, who by degrees come to be regarded as the legitimate rulers of the nation, and who at the same time regard the mass of the people as mere instruments, to pander to *their* gratification in the acquisition and enjoyment of wealth—to fight for *them* their battles—to gather laurels for *their* brows, and to build for *them* monuments of imperishable fame ; while the people are made to forge for themselves chains—to crouch before the spirit of oppression—to disrobe themselves of their humanity, and to become mere beasts of burden under the yoke of their lordly oppressors.

To guard against the catastrophe of this tendency—to preserve to ourselves and our children the rights and enjoyments designed for us by an all-bountiful Creator—to give to the world of mankind an illustration of the capacity of a nation of freemen to govern themselves, and to maintain unimpaired their liberties and their rights, it is indispensable that the wise and the virtuous—the patriot, the philanthropist, and the christian, should exercise an untiring and sleepless vigilance on the citadel of *freedom*; and should exert all that influence which their virtues secure to them, in promoting the election of men, to make and administer the laws, the conduct of whose lives is an exhibition of the fruit of those correct principles, on which alone we can rely for the beneficial exercise of that power, which the people delegate to those whom they elect to offices in the government.

In taking a survey of the present condition of the people in all the nations of Europe, the conclusion is irresistably forced upon us, that

the *government*, in each and all of them, is but an engine of oppression to the *many*, while it gathers so large a share of the productions of the laboring poor, and bestows it upon the *few*, as enables them to live in splendid palaces, keep their swarms of liveried servants, feast on the most costly viands, roll through the streets in splendid coaches, and, in short, indulge in every luxury, extravagance and vice.

With these facts before us in relation to the condition of the people of other lands, it becomes us, candidly and impartially to inquire, "*What are the causes*, of the oft-recurring pecuniary embarrassments, and prostration of the prosperity of *our* country? And what are the means by which such calamities can be averted in future, and *our* rights and liberties rendered secure?"

As a nation, we possess the elements of prosperity in a greater degree than any other people. The extent and fertility of our soil—the salubrity of our climate—the great abundance of water power dispersed over the land, sufficient to perform, in mechanical and manufacturing operations, the labor of millions of men—the facilities for internal commerce, by natural water courses and lakes, with the mines of wealth *in the bowels of the earth*, consisting of Salt, Coal, Iron, Lead, Copper, Silver and Gold, in abundance. These all combined and developed by the industry of an intelligent, hardy and enterprising population, should assuredly constitute us the most prosperous people on the face of the earth. Let us then diligently search for the *cause* which has kept us back from that state of unequalled prosperity, which the bounties of nature and providence unite in tendering to our acceptance; and let us like *men* do our duty, in applying the proper remedy.

Our leading politicians, of the *Whig*, the *Democratic*, and the Tyler parties, *all* agree, that we possess the sources of wealth and prosperity, *beyond any other people*; and they also *all* agree, that our reverses of prosperity are chargeable upon the mal conduct of political demagogues, in the administration of the government; each party alledging that its opponents are *bad men*, and *hostile* to the interests and welfare of the people.

In this view of the character of their opponents, we give them full credit for accuracy of judgment, and truthfulness in declaring it. That the blame rests on the heads of the aspiring demagogues, who lead in those parties, and who control the administration of the national government, there can be no dispute.

What then is that element in our country, which corrupts our politicians and statesmen, and so controls our national legislation, as thus successfully to thwart the natural results of the intelligence, industry and enterprise of the people?

In the apportionment of Representatives and Presidential Elector among the States, the people of the *non-slaveholding* States, are represented in proportion to their population, *they* are not privileged to elect members of Congress, or Presidential Electors, to represent *their* property. But the citizens of the Slaveholding States, having chosen to invest a portion of *their* capital in *human beings*, instead of dumb animals, holding property in men, women and children, to the amount of twelve hundred millions of dollars, are deemed, *for this violation of the laws of God, and the rights of man*, to be entitled to especial and peculiar favors and privileges, and are therefore permitted to elect twenty-one members of Congress, and twenty-one Presidential Electors, as the representatives of *their* property. In addition to this most extraordinary element in our national government, the fact that the laboring portion of the *free* population of the Slaveholding States, are not permitted to exercise their right to vote, in the choice of their rulers, secures to the Slaveholder twice as much political power as is exercised by a freeman in a non-Slaveholding State; so that in point of fact, one thousand Slaveholders' votes, go as far in the election of the President and the Congress, as two thousand votes of freemen north of Mason and Dixon's line.

This power, awarded to those who claim property in human beings, of having *that* property represented, both in the Presidential election, and in the Legislative department, *is the element*, which corrupts the aspirants to office in our country, controls *all* the measures of foreign and domestic policy in our government, and so frames those measures as to give them the greatest possible tendency to build up a Cotton, Sugar, and Tobacco planting, and Slaveholding Aristocracy in the land, and to prostrate the prosperity of every other interest of domestic industry throughout the whole country.

Here, fellow-citizens, is the key which unlocks the mystery of all that servility and debasement, which mark the career of our northern dough-faced politicians, in their humble submission to the arrogant demands and threats of the lordly nabobs who traffic in *human* flesh and blood. Here is the true secret of the cause why all aspirants, even to the most petty offices, are so exceedingly zealous that the stigma of being thought favorable to the cause of universal liberty, should be ward off from their party. Political demagogues, of every grade, regard it as an object of the first importance to the success of their own elevation, that the national party to which they belong should be in the ascendancy in the General Government, because the party in power, always attracts to its support, a large portion of those who have not sufficient intelligence and principle to act upon the convictions of their own

understanding. Therefore it is, that political aspirants are so exceedingly zealous to secure the vote of the *privileged class* for their party, in the election of our national President. And seeing the slaveholders too well understand their own interests, as slaveholders, to vote for any party which is favorable to the principles of human liberty, or opposed to aristocratical domination and oppression, it is nothing strange that unprincipled men, whatever may be the secret convictions of their own minds, should vie with each other in professions of devotion to the Slave-power, and of hostility to *every movement in favor of Liberty*. Hence the slanders which emanate from the political press, and even from a corrupted portion of the ecclesiastical and religious organizations, against the advocates of the holy principles of human rights. Hence, too, the secret slanders of the ravening wolves who go about in sheep's clothing, laboring incessantly to defeat the labors of those who have taken their lives in their hands, and forsaken the pursuit of gain, and the comforts of a home, and are wearing themselves out in pleading before a guilty nation, the cause of the millions who are wickedly robbed of the right to plead for themselves. The judgments of an offended God, have evidently been poured out upon some of these *secret slanderers*; let others take warning, fear and repent, before it be too late.

This is the key which unlocks the secret of the voluntary surrender, by the representatives of *freemen*, of the *rights of their constituents*, and of the *principles on which alone are based the liberties of any portion of the human race*. Hence, too, the base truckling of the *Church* to the dark spirit of Slavery, and its hostility to those labors of love in the cause of *Freedom and Humanity*, which fill the heart of the real christian with rejoicing, and give him confidence to look forward in hope, to the coming of that glorious day, when every yoke of bondage shall be broken, and the oppressed shall go free.

All these things are done, by the seekers after popularity, and by the lovers of worldly applause, to secure the praise and the favors of the oppressors of God's poor, because they, being a *privileged class*, hold the reins of popularity, and dispense the patronage of the Government upon whomsoever they will.

Having been a careful observer of the proceedings of the National Government for half a century—having witnessed its devotion for upwards of forty years to the Slaveholding interest, I have been led to look carefully over the acts of national legislation, and to examine minutely the operation and bearing of the measures which have been adopted, and I can arrive at no other conclusion, than that for the last *forty years*, every act of a national character, has originated with the Slave-

holders, and has been adopted in a spirit of devotion to their interests, and of hostility to every other interest in our country. Thus OUR *national Government* has already been made, like the governments of Europe, an engine for building up an ARISTOCRACY in OUR country, which when once completely organized, will rob, not only the slaves on their own plantations, but also nine-tenths of the American people of *their* rights, and reduce *them* to the same wretched condition, which is now witnessed among the laboring population in Europe.

Notwithstanding the representation of the *property* of Slaveholders in the national government, we in the non-Slaveholding States, having nearly three-fourths of the popular vote of the nation, have a majority of 47 members in Congress, and the same majority in the Presidential Electoral Colleges: So that, were it not for the dough-faced servility of a portion of the representatives of freemen, in the Presidential election and in Congress, we might even now, have *our* rights protected, *our* welfare promoted, and all *our* elements of prosperity and sources of wealth successfully developed.

The remedy which we need, for the difficulties we now suffer, is to be found in the election of a President and members of Congress, who will *not* basely bow themselves down to the moloch of Slavery, but who will impartially administer the government on its true and original principles, for the promotion of the general welfare, and equally for the benefit of all who are subject to its power. The election of such men, is entirely within the power of the non-slaveholders of the country; and such men will be elected, just so soon as the non-slaveholders shall have been effectually aroused, to investigate and understand the arts of designing demagogues, who have heretofore but too successfully deceived the majority, into the support of Slaveholding Aristocrats, or the sycophantic tools of the Slave power.

Within the last 42 years, Slaveholders have filled the Presidential office 34 years, and non-Slaveholders only 8 years. The office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Speaker of the House of Representatives, President pro tem. of the Senate, Secretary of State, and most of the other departments of the Government, have been equally occupied and controlled by men, who from the nature of their "*peculiar intitutions,*" are inevitably hostile to a laboring community of freemen.

Some of the measures which the Government has adopted, intended for the promotion of the Slave interest, have, by the ingenuity and enterprize of freemen, been so appropriated as to become productive of general benefit to the whole community, and to promote the prosperity and welfare of all; but when it has become evident, that an adherence to the existing order of things, would be productive of such *favorable*

results, the policy has been changed, and measures which were operating thus beneficially, have been abolished; so that we have in the end been made deeply to suffer, in consequence of having conformed our business arrangements, to the operation of the acts of the Government.

When the Slaveholders have desired any measure of foreign or domestic policy, calculated to strengthen their power in controlling the action of the Government, or to promote their individual prosperity, they have always come up to the executive or legislative department of the Government, with an authoritative demand for compliance with their interests or wishes, and they have in no case been finally defeated. Every law has been passed, every measure adopted, at whatever sacrifice of all other interests it might require, which the Slaveholders have demanded for their benefit. On the other hand, the interests of non-Slaveholders, have as invariably been unheeded; or what is still worse, the action of the Government has in many important cases, been *hostile* to the non-Slaveholding interest, without the anticipation of *benefit* to any body. No Measure of a general character, tending to *our* benefit, has been permitted to stand any longer than was *necessary* to answer some sinister purpose of the Slaveholders, or to operate upon our concerns, as the bait operates upon the fox, who is thereby beguiled into the well-concealed trap, which is then sprung upon him, whereby his foe is enabled to rob him of his skin. Such precisely has been the operation of our tariff laws, by which the citizens of the non-Slaveholding States, were induced to invest a hundred million dollars in manufacturing establishments, all to be swept away, by the springing of the Calhoun and Clay compromise trap upon them in 1833. Such too was the operation of two United States Bank charters, each running 20 years; just long enough for the people to conform their business arrangements to the operations of "*the Great Regulator*;" when by the demand of the Slaveholders, they were both forced to go *down*, that they might carry down with them the general prosperity of the people.

To these statements and charges, bold and sweeping as they are, I challenge an answer. If there is any politician, Whig, Democrat, or Tyler man, who can name *an instance* in which the Slaveholders have failed of obtaining a compliance with their interest and wishes, or in which any measure has been *adopted, carried out, and persevered in*, for the advancement of any of the other great interests of the country, I hope that through some medium, they will let the public know what it is. I call not for private contradictions of my statements; my allegations are publicly made, and the challenge for an answer is a public one; let the refutation be as public as are my charges, and then I will con-

clude, that the respondent has some confidence that he will be able to maintain his ground. I call not for mere declamation, or common party slang; but I call for facts, and I challenge the world to name the facts, in contradiction of the statements herein contained.

I call upon the leaders of the two great political parties, which have ruled the nation for the last forty years, to let the *people* know what *benefits they have derived* from the action of the Government, to support which, we have paid more than five hundred millions of dollars in taxes, of the earnings of the laboring people. For let the revenue of the Government be collected in what manner it may, whether by direct taxation, or indirectly, by the laying of duties on articles of consumption, the whole amount must be supplied by the productive industry of the country.

If any measures have been adopted by the Government, which were intended by *any portion* of those who voted for them, to promote the prosperity of the non-Slaveholders of the country, such measures have been suffered to remain in operation, *only* long enough to induce a change in individual pursuits in conformity to the encouragement thus held out by the Government, and then, they have been prostrated at the demand of the dealers in human flesh, and those who had trusted to the faith of the Government, have been prostrated with them.

The Slaveholders in all the States of our Union give but about two hundred and fifty thousand votes in popular elections; while the non-Slaveholders give more than two millions, being more than eight times as many as are given by the Slaveholders. Hence it is evident, that when the *true issue*, of *Slavery*, or *Liberty*, shall constitute the division line of political parties in our country, the *aristocratical* power will be entirely prostrated in the National Government, and the traffickers in human flesh will be left to rely on State legislation alone, for the protection of their "*peculiar institution*." Then a President and a Congress will be elected, who will be neither *Slaveholders*, nor the sycophantic tools of *Slaveholders*. Our Government will then mark out and establish a systematic and permanent policy, and will conduct the affairs of the nation, in accordance with (not "the wishes of *Slaveholders*," but) the interests of freemen, and with the principles of the Declaration of Independence; giving stability and permanency to that cause, in which our forefathers embarked, when they declared it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an unalienable right to be free, and to pursue their own happiness. The principles of a true democracy will then be practically applied in the administration of the Government; the rights of the people will then be maintained, and their welfare and prosperity will be so

promoted, that the spirit of aristocracy will stand abashed, in despair of obtaining a royal diadem, or of effecting by any means the subjugation of the people. Then indeed will our institutions and our prosperity hold out to an admiring world, an irresistible invitation to demolish their thrones, dash their crowns in pieces, and build upon their ruins a temple of freedom, to guard the rights, and promote the happiness and welfare of the people.

Our whole object as a political party is, the inculcation and practical application of the great principles of human rights, derived from the charter given forth by the SUPREME LAW GIVER of the universe, when He created man in his own image, and gave to man universally the right to exercise dominion over all inferior beings in this world. We believe, that it is only by the faithful maintenance of these principles that any people can long retain their liberty, and enjoy the rights and privileges mercifully dispensed to *all*, by the common PARENT of us *all*. The practical application of these principles will put an end to all tyranny and oppression throughout the world, and secure to every human being the perfect enjoyment of the right to pursue his own happiness; restricted only by the divine prohibition of authority to trespass upon the happiness of others.

Hitherto, the mass of mankind have been enveloped in mental and moral darkness, intelligence has not been sufficiently diffused among the masses, nor the moral principle sufficiently cultivated, to bring them forth from the degradation into which oppression has plunged them. It is but 201 years since the first newspaper was printed in England; and before the art of printing was known, a poor man gave thirteen year's labor for one copy of the bible. Now, the PRESS, that mighty engine, is disseminating intellectual and moral light and life throughout the earth: it is the Archimedian fulcrum found, whereon to ply the lever that moves the world. By its influence, aided by the living voice of pure philanthropy, knowledge shall be poured into every hamlet and every cottage, and the moral virtues shall be cultivated in every heart, then will aristocratical oppression of every form, vanish before the light of truth, as the darkness of night fleeth before the rising sun.

The public sentiment of the world, is now in a state of transition from darkness to light, and it is the work of christian philanthropy, to accelerate this transition by the communication to the public mind, of facts, illustrations, and arguments, showing the dreadful consequences which have resulted from the exercise of aristocratical and arbitrary power, trampling the rights of the *many* under foot, and robbing them of the fruit of their labor, to pamper a privileged class, in the exercise of dominion over their fellow men.

This regeneration of the public sentiment is rapidly progressing by the power of truth, which is ever mighty, and when brought to bear upon existing abominations, never fails of accomplishing their overthrow. When this regeneration shall have been fully accomplished, it will speak out in the social circle, in the church, and in all the departments of the body politic, in vindication of the true doctrine of human rights.

It was the declared object of our fathers in establishing the Constitution of the United States, to secure to themselves and to their posterity the blessings of liberty; this object can never be realized, merely by the delineation of true principles of government on paper, in the form of Constitutions and laws; it can only be made secure to *us* and *our* posterity, by the establishment in the public sentiment, of those heaven-born principles, which are now upheaving the false elements of existing organizations, throughout the civilized world.

The American LIBERTY PARTY, is not, (as it is often denominated by our opponents) a *third* party. We are the true original American party, seeking to carry out the principles of our forefathers, as set forth in the declaration of Independence. These principles have for a time been lost sight of, in the fog of the two great parties, which are contending with each other for the mastery, *not* for the promotion of the cause of liberty, but for the establishment of a domineering Oligarchy, and for the perpetuation of the old monarchical and aristocratical doctrine, that the well born and the rich have a right to tyrannize over the poor, and to appropriate to themselves the product of their labor.

We hold, that the all-wise Creator of the Universe hath endowed man with certain rights—that those rights being the gift of God, are inalienable—that they appertain to man *as* man, and *because* he is man—that they are essential ingredients in his constitution as a moral agent—and that God himself cannot take them away, without destroying the organization and constitution of human nature.

Man has no rights, except those which appertain to his nature and are the gift of God—he can have no other rights—government cannot create rights, and no man can by any possibility, acquire any right, which does not exist in his constitution as a moral agent—there are no other rights, there can be none other.

To prevent bad men from encroaching upon those rights, and to promote the most perfect enjoyment, and the most beneficial exercise of the same, social compacts or governments are instituted. The only legitimate purpose and duty of human government is, the protection of each and every member of the social compact, in the enjoyment of his natural rights, and to afford facilities of combination, where combination is ne-

essary, for the attainment of the greatest good in the exercise of those rights.

Any government which assumes the prerogative of trespassing upon natural rights, or in any degree curtailing their enjoyment, is guilty of injustice and oppression—is warring upon humanity and upon God's constitution for the government of the universe. The constitution by which God governs the universe, being the supreme law, and paramount to all other laws, any thing in the constitutions or laws of men, which is contrary thereto, is insulting to God, and inevitably tends to promote misery, degradation, and crime among men; and no man can have any right to obey such criminal laws.

Some of our opponents, probably through ignorance, have represented it to be our intention *forcibly* to emancipate the slaves in the Southern States; we intend no such thing. We complain, that by the action of the national Government, and also of the governments of many of the non-Slaveholding States in *support* of Slavery, we are made participants in the crime of robbing men of their natural rights—we wish to absolve ourselves from such crime.

By the voluntary act of Virginia and Maryland, in ceding to Congress the District of Columbia, the institution of Slavery in that portion of those States, standing as it did *only* on State authority, would have fallen to the ground, had not our *Northern* members of Congress, yielded themselves as props for its continued support; and all we ask of them in regard to Slavery in that district—in Florida, and on the high seas, is, that they get out from under it, and let it fall of its own weight, as it assuredly must, when the national government no longer stands its god father and supporter.

In relation to Slavery in the States, politically we claim no right to interfere. So long as the people of the South may choose to hold a portion of their children in bondage, and traffic in them as they do in brute animals, they must do it; but we are not willing that men who plunder their *own* children of their rights, should rule over *our* children; we will not therefore support any Slaveholder for office in the government,—besides, regarding Slavery as the most grievous wrong that was ever inflicted by one man upon another, and as a palpable violation of the laws of God; and knowing that its existence in our country, has a powerful tendency to stifle every feeling of humanity—to annihilate every principle of justice—to drive morality from our land, and to build up a lordly aristocracy, which if unresisted would eventually establish itself in power, to the entire subversion of the liberties of the nation, we can but feel, that it is an object which should claim the untiring devotion of every patriot or philanthropist, to promote the speedy and entire abolition of the system. We should therefore be *criminal*, were we to neglect the use of all *legitimate* means for accomplishing this great object.

Slavery is a dark institution—it cannot stand before the light of truth; this the Slaveholders well know, and enact laws prohibiting the education of the oppressed. We believe however, that although they may

keep the minds of their enslaved children, in a state of mental and moral darkness and degradation, the system cannot stand before that full blaze of intellectual and moral light, which is now being disseminated among the free.

The abolition of Slavery in our country, will be but an incidental result of the establishment of our principles; the practical adoption of which, in the administration of the government, is as necessary for the security of our rights, and the rights of our posterity, as for the security of the rights of the oppressed in the Southern States.

Such, fellow-citizens, are the principles, such the aim, of the Liberty men in our country. Against these principles, and this aim, are arrayed in unholy combination, the aristocratic enslavers of men, and through their influence, the existing administrations of the National and State Governments. These are sustained in their opposition, First, by the drunken mobocrats, whose arguments consist of rotten eggs, tar, feathers, and brick-bats. Secondly, by a majority of the Clergy and the Church; these have no arguments, but "stopping their ears against the poor,"—"Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard"—*Proverbs*, xxi: 13) and on secretly circulating *slandorous falsehoods* against the prominent advocates of our cause!!! Thirdly, and strange to tell, by a small party of Abolitionists; they rely on either ignorant or intentional misrepresentations of our principles, motives and measures.

If any class of the above named opposers, are honest in their opposition, we invite them to meet us in the field of reason, argument and truth, and to debate with us the questions which divide us. We have in our ranks many, in various parts of the country, who hold themselves in readiness to discuss these questions, either orally or through the medium of the press. We ask for open opponents—such as are not ashamed to subscribe their names to their arguments that posterity may know that in this age of the world, they stood forth in opposition to the holy cause of liberty and human rights, as advocated by us. Let them show to the world, if they can, that our principles are unsound—that our measures are unwise—that our facts are unreal, or that the object which we seek, is unworthy of the efforts which it will cost. If they can successfully do this, then we must fall; but should they fail in the attempt, or should the conviction that we are right in all our propositions, prevent them from making the attempt, then let them, if they choose, continue as heretofore, to rely upon mobocracy and slander, and let the intelligence and the moral sense of the world decide, on which side lies the truth, and the best interests of mankind. Let every Patriot, every Philanthropist, every well-wisher to the happiness of our race, frown indignantly upon all attempts to stifle a discussion which has for its object the regeneration of the public sentiment of the world, and the abrogation of all the abuses which keep the mass of our people in bondage and tend to perpetuate among the
Let all honest men, unite in procuring rights; and the spirit of despotism—man every where shall assume native dignity, "redeemed, regenerated in the assurance, that his posterity shall enjoy the blessing of RATIO

ERRATA.—Fifth page, third paragraph, read "LUST of power."

W46





