PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES OF TRUE DEMOCRACY.

THE ADDRESS

OF THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN LIBERTY CONVENTION,

HELD AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 11, 1845,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES;

ALSO, THE

LETTER OF ELIHU BURRITT TO THE CONVENTION.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED AT THE GAZETTE OFFICE.
1845.
NOTICE.

The Southern and Western Liberty Convention, held at Cincinnati, on the 11th and 12th June, 1845, was the most remarkable Anti-Slavery Body yet assembled in the United States. The call embraced all those who were resolved to act against Slavery by speech, by the pen, by the press, and by the ballot. It was not therefore exclusively a Convention of the Liberty party; and accordingly not a few were in attendance, who had not acted with that party. The whole number present as Delegates, was about two thousand—from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan; from the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa; from Western Pennsylvania, and Western Virginia, and from Kentucky. Deputations were also present from Massachusetts, New York and Rhode Island; and the whole assembly, including spectators, varied during the sittings from two thousand five hundred to four thousand persons. James G. Birney, formerly of Alabama, but now of Michigan, presided, assisted by Messrs. S. C. Stevens, H. Mendenhall and S. S. Hardinge, of Indiana; Stephen E. Giffen, John Keep and Samuel Lewis, of Ohio; Edgar Needham and John G. Fee, of Kentucky; J. Codding, Owen Lovejoy, James H. Dickey, of Illinois; A. L. Barber, of Wisconsin; Robert Hanna and Thomas Miller, of Pennsylvania, and David Craig, of Virginia, as Vice Presidents. The Secretaries of the Convention were Thomas Heaton, of Ohio, Russell Errett of Pennsylvania, and M. R. Hull, of Indiana. The Committee which reported the Address, consisted of Messrs. Chase, of Ohio, Smith, of Pennsylvania, Cabell, of Indiana, Dickey, of Illinois, and Fee, of Kentucky.

The proceedings of the Convention were marked by unanimity, vigor and decision. An Alabama paper, in anticipation of its assembling, spoke of the Convention as "the most important movement" of an Anti-Slavery character yet made, and declared that it "should look upon its proceedings as speaking more fully the real sentiments of Northern Anti-Slavery people" than any previous meeting of like character. The Address, which follows, embodies the views of the Convention. It is commended to the candid consideration of the people of the South, West, North and East. The movement of which it is a herald and a sign, cannot go back, but must go forward. It is the part of wisdom to know its nature, its progress, its tendency, and its end. The purpose of the Address is to reveal fully, explicitly, without reserve, its whole character. It is desired, therefore, that each one into whose hands it may fall, will read it carefully; and, when read, hand it to a neighbor for perusal; and so let it go round!

Orders for this pamphlet to any extent will be supplied at $1.50 per hundred, and in proportion for a smaller quantity. Address (post paid) Thomas K. Smith, Cincinnati, Ohio.
us reflect what would have been the condition of the country had the original policy of the nation been steadily pursued, and contrast what would have been with what is.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania had become non-slaveholding States. By the ordinance of 1787, provision had been made for the admission of the States of Vermont and Maine, as non-slaveholding States. The admission of Vermont and the District of Maine, as separate States without slavery was also anticipated. There was no doubt that New-York and New Jersey would follow the example of Pennsylvania. Thus it was supposed to be certain that the Union would ultimately embrace at least fourteen free States, and that slavery would be excluded from all territory thereafter acquired by the nation, and from all States created out of such territory.

This was the true understanding upon which the Constitution was adopted. It was never imagined that new slave States were to be admitted; unless, perhaps, it seems probable that the opening hasty to admit the Western Districts of Virginia and North Carolina, now known as Kentucky and Tennessee, as States, without any reference to the slavery already established in them. In no event, to which our Fathers looked forward, could the number of slave States exceed eight, while it was almost certain that the number of free States would be at least fourteen. It was never supposed that slavery was to be a cherished interest of the country, or even a permanent institution of any State. It was expected that all the States, stimulated by the examples before them, and urged by their own avowed principles recorded in the Declaration, would, at no distant day, put an end to slavery within their respective limits. So strong was this expectation, that James Campbell, in an address at Philadelphia, before the Society of the Cincinnati, in 1787, which was attended by the Constitution-Convention then in session, declared, "the time is not far distant when our sister States, in imitation of our example, shall turn their vassals into freemen." And Jonathan Edwards predicted in 1781, that, "in fifty years from this time, it will be as disgraceful for a man to hold a negro slave, as to be guilty of common robbery or theft."

It cannot be doubted, that the original policy and original principles of the Government have been adhered to, this expectation would have been realized. The example and influence of the General Government would have been on the side of freedom. Slavery would have ceased in the District of Columbia immediately upon the establishment of the Government within its limits. Slavery would have disappeared from Louisiana and Florida upon the acquisition of those territories by the United States. No laws would have been enacted, no treaties made, no measures taken for the extension or maintenance of slavery. Amid the rejoicings of all the free, and the congratulation of all friends of freedom, the last fetter would, ere now, have been stricken from the last slave, and the Principles and Institutions of Liberty would have pervaded the entire land.

How different—how sadly different are the facts of History! Luther Martin complained at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, "that when our own liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of men; the danger being thought to be passed which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more and more insensible to those rights." This insensitivity continued to increase, and prepared the way for the encroachments of the political slave power, which originated in the three-fifths rule of the Constitution. This rule, designed to perpetuate our system at the expense of having denied to the slave States the full representation to which their population would entitle them, has had a very different practical effect. It has virtually established in the country an aristocracy of slaveholders. It has conferred on masters the right of representation for three-fifths of their slaves. The representation from the slave States in Congress has always been from one-fifth to one-fourth greater than it would have been, were freemen only represented. Under the first apportionment according to this rule, a district in a free State containing thirty thousand free inhabitants would have as many representatives as a district in a slave State, containing three thousand free persons and forty-five thousand slaves, would also have one. In the first district a representative could be elected only by the majority of five thousand votes; in the other he would need only the majority of five hundred. Of course, the representation from slave States, elected by a much smaller constituency, and bound together by a common tie, would generally act in concert and always with special regard to the interests of masters whose representatives in fact they were. Every Aristocracy in the world has sustained itself by encroachment, and the Aristocracy of slave-holders in this country has not been an exception to the general truth.

The nation has always been divided into parties, and the slave-holders, by making the protection and advancement of their peculiar interests the price of their political support, have generally succeeded in controlling all. This influence has greatly increased the insensibility to human rights, of which Martin indignantly complained. It has upheld slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories in spite of the Constitution: it has added to the Union five slave States created out of national Territories: it has usurped the control of our foreign negotiation, and domestic legislation: it has dictated the choice of the high officers of our Government at home, and of our national representatives abroad: it has filled every department of executive and judicial administration with its friends and satellites: it has detained in slavery multitudes who are constitutionally entitled to their freedom: it has waged unrelenting war with the most sacred rights of the free, stiling the freedom of speech and of debate, setting at nought the right of petition, and denying in the slave States those immunities to the citizens of the free, which the Constitution guarantees: and, finally, it has dictated the acquisition of an immense foreign territory, not for the laudable purpose of extending the blessings of freedom, but with the bad design of diffusing the curse of slavery, of perpetuating the insensibility of those who were our masters.

Against this influence, against these infractions of the Constitution, against these depatures from the National policy originally adopted, against these violations of the National
faith originally pledged, we solemnly protest. Nor do we propose only to protest. We recognize the obligations which rest upon us as descendants of the Men of the Revolution, as inheritors of the Institutions which they established, as partakers of the blessings which they so liberally bestowed upon us, to use them forward and perfect their work. We mean to do it, wisely and prudently, but with energy and decision. We have the example of our Fathers on our side. We have the Constitution of their adoption on our side. It is our duty and our purpose to rescue the Government from the control of the slaveholders; to harmonize its practical administration with the provisions of the Constitution, and to secure to all, without exception and without partiality, the rights which the Constitution guarantees. We believe that slaveholding in the United States is the source of numberless evils, moral, social and political; that it hinders social progress; that it embitters public and private intercourse; that it degrades us as individuals, as States, and as a Nation; that it holds back our country from a splendid career of greatness and glory. We are, therefore, resolutely, inflexibly, at all times, and under all circumstances, hostile to its longer continuance in our land. We believe that its removal can be effected peacefully, constitutionally, without real injury to any, with the greatest benefit to all.

We propose to effect this by repealing all legislation, and discontinuing all action in favor of slavery, at home and abroad; by prohibiting the practice of slaveholding in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction, in the District of Columbia, in American vessels upon the seas, in forts, arsenals, navy yards; by forbidding the employment of slaves upon any public work; by adopting resolutions in Congress declaring that slaveholding in all States created out of national territories is unconstitutional, and recommending to the others the immediate adoption of measures for its extinction within their respective limits; and by electing and appointing to public stations such men, and only such men as openly avow our principles, and will honestly carry out our measures.

The constitutionality of this line of action cannot be successfully impeached. That it will terminate, if steadily pursued, in the utter overthrow of slavery at no very distant day, none will doubt. We adopt it because we desire, through and by the Constitution, to attain the great ends which the Constitution itself proposes, the establishment of a perfect security for liberty. — We insist not, here upon the opinions of some or all the States that no slaveholding in any State of the Union is compatible with a true and just construction of the Constitution; nor upon the opinions of others, that the Declaration of Independence setting forth the creed of the nation, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right of liberty, must be regarded as the Common Law of America, antecedent to and unimpaired by the Constitution; nor need we appeal to the doctrine that slaveholding is contrary to the Supreme Law of the Supreme Ruler, preceding and controlling all human law, and binding upon all legislatures in the enactment of laws, and upon all courts in the administration of justice. We are willing to take our stand upon propositions generally conceded— that slaveholding is contrary to natural right and justice; that it can subsist nowhere without the sanction and aid of positive legislation; that the Constitution expressly prohibits Congress from depriving any person of liberty without due process of law. From these propositions we deduce, by logical inference, the doctrines upon which we insist. We deplore all slavery wherever it exists; but do not dread discord so much as the subjugation of the States and the people to the yoke of the Slaveholding Oligarchy. We deplore the dissolution of the Union, as a dreadful political calamity; but if any of the States shall prefer dissolution to submission to the Constitutional action of the people on the subject of slavery, we cannot purchase their alliance by the sacrifice of inestimable rights and the abandonment of sacred duties.

Such, fellow citizens, are our views, principles, and objects. We invite your cooperation in the great work of delivering our beloved country from the evils of slavery. No question can be of more importance to our country, than the happiness, safety, and security of all the inhabitants. We believe that the American people, no less than any other people, are entitled to liberty, and should enjoy it. Our Constitution, no less than any other Constitution, is framed for the happiness of the people. The United States, no less than any other States, are a commonwealth of free men. Our framers, no less than any others, were inspired by the spirit of the times. They aimed at no less than the promotion of the general welfare, the promotion of the general happiness, in all respects. They aimed at no less than the establishment of a strong government, which should protect the people, and promote their prosperity. They aimed at no less than the establishment of a nation of free men, a nation of free men, which should secure the happiness of the people, and promote their prosperity. They aimed at no less than the establishment of a government, which should secure the happiness of the people, and promote their prosperity. They aimed at no less than the establishment of a nation, which should secure the happiness of the people, and promote their prosperity. They aimed at no less than the establishment of a government, which should secure the happiness of the people, and promote their prosperity.
duties of men as citizens. And our reverence for Democratic Principles is the precise measure of our detestation of the policy of those who are permitted to shape the action of the Democratic Party. Political concert with that party under its present leadership, is, therefore, plainly impossible. Nor do we entertain the hope, which many, no doubt, honestly cherish, that the professed principles of the party will at length bring it right upon the question of slavery. Its professed principles have been the same for nearly half a century, and yet the subjection of the party to the slave power is, at this moment, as complete as ever. There is a prospect of any change for the better, until those democrats whose hearts are really possessed by a generous love of liberty for all, and by an honest hatred of oppression, shall manfully assert their individual independence, and refuse their support to the panders of slavery.

There is another party which boasts that it is conservative in its character. Its watchwords are "a tariff," "a banking system," "the Union as it is." Among its members, also, are many sincere opponents of slavery; and the party itself, seeking aid in the attainment of power, and anxious to carry its favorite measures and bound together by no such professed principles as secure the unity of the Democratic Party, often concedes much to their anti-slavery views. It is not unwilling, in those States and parts of States where anti-slavery sentiment prevails, to assume an anti-slavery attitude and claim to be an anti-slavery party. Like the Democratic party, however, the Whig party maintains alliances with the slaveholders. It proposes, in its national conventions, no action against slavery. It has no anti-slavery article in its national creed. Among its leaders and champions in Congress and out of Congress, none are so honored and trusted as slaveholders in practice and in principle. Whatever the Whig party, therefore, concedes to anti-slavery must be reluctantly conceded. Its natural position is conservative. Its natural line of action is to maintain things as they are. Its natural bond of union is regard for the party. There are, doubtless, zealous opponents of slavery, who are also zealous Whigs; but they have not the general confidence of their party; they are under the ban of the slaveholders; and in any practical anti-slavery movement, as, for example, the repeal of the laws which sanction slaveholding in the District of Columbia, would meet the determined opposition of a large and most influential section of the party, not because the people of the free States would be opposed to the measure, but because it would be displeasing to the oligarchy and fatal to party unity. We are constrained to think, therefore, that all expectation of efficient anti-slavery action from the Whig party as now organized, will prove delusive. Nor do we perceive any probability of a change in its organization, separating its anti-slavery from its pro-slavery constituents, and leaving the former in possession of the name and influence of the party. With the Whig party, therefore, as at present organized, it is as impossible for us whose motto are "Equal Rights and Fair Wages for all" and "the Union as it should be," to act in alliance and concert, as it is for us to act with the so-called Democratic party. We cannot choose between these parties for the sake of any local or partial advantage, without sacrificing consistency, self-respect, and mutual confidence. While we say this, we are bound to add that were either of these parties to disappoint our expectations, and adopt into its national creed as its leading articles, the principles which we regard as fundamental, and enter upon a course of unfeigned and earnest action against the system of slavery, we should not hesitate, regarding as we do, the question of slavery as the paramount question of our day and nation, to give to it our cordial and vigorous support, until slavery should be done away.

With what party, then, shall we act? Or shall we act with none? Act, in some way, we must: for the possession of the right of suffrage, the right of electing our own law makers and rulers, imposes upon us the corresponding duty of voting for men who will carry out the views which we deem of paramount importance and obligation. Act together we must; for upon the questions which we regard as the most vital we are fully agreed. We must act then; act together; and act against slavery and oppression. Acting thus, we necessarily act as a party; for what is a party, but a body of citizens, acting together politically, in good faith, upon common principles, for a common object? And if there be a party already in existence, animated by the same motives and aiming at the same results as ourselves, we must act with and in that party.

That there is such a party, is well known. It is the Liberty Party of the United States. Its principles, measures and objects we cordially approve. It stands itself upon the great cardinal principle of true Democracy and of true Christianity, the brotherhood of the Human Family. It avows its purpose to wage implacable war against slaveholding as the direct form of oppression, and against every other species of tyranny and injustice. Its views on the subject of slavery in this country are, in the main, the same as those which we have set forth in this address. Its members agree to regard the extinction of slavery as the point which can, at this time, be proposed to political action; and they agree to differ as to other questions of minor importance, such as those of trade and currency, believing that these can be satisfactorily disposed of, when the question of slavery shall be settled, and that, until then, they cannot be satisfactorily disposed of at all.

The rise of such a party as this was anticipated long before its actual organization, by the single-hearted and patriotic Charles Lenox, a German by birth, but a true American by adoption and in spirit. "If there ever is to be in this country," he said in 1836, "a party that shall take its name and character, not from particular liberal measures or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom—a truly liberal and thoroughly republican party, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression; and, having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principle of Liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual and social, moral, intellectual, religious and political freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slaveholders or consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole
sphere of human action; watching and opposing the slightest illiberal and anti-republican tendency, and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is absolutely negligible. Thus was the Liberty Party organized in 1836.

Are you men of the Free States? Have you not suffered enough of wrong, of insult, and of contumely from the slaveholding Oligarchy? Have you not been taxed enough for the support of slavery? While it is the interest of all the powers of the government are exerted for its maintenance, and that all the Departments of the Government are in the hands of the Slave Power? How long will you consent by your votes to maintain slavery at the seat of the National Government, in violation of the Constitution of your country, and thus, give your direct sanction to the whole suicidal system? How long will you consent to be represented in the National Councils by men who will not dare to assert their own rights or yours in the presence of an arrogant aristocracy: and, in your State Legislatures, by men whose utmost height of courage and manly daring, when your citizens are imprisoned, without allegation of crime, in slave States, and your agents, sent to their relief, are driven out, and you would escape from your present insidious cur, is to recede and submit. Awake up, Men of the Free States, for shame, sit not for duty! Awake to a sense of your degraded position. Behold your president, a slaveholder; his cabinet composed of slaveholders or their agent instruments; the two houses of Congress submissive and servile; your representatives with foreign nations most of them, slaveholders; your supreme administrators of justice, most of them slaveholders: your officers of the army and navy most of them slaveholders.—Observe the results. What numerous appointments of proslave citizens of slave States to national employments! What careful exclusion of every man who holds the faith of Jefferson and Washington in respect to slavery, and believes with Madison that it is wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man, from national offices of honor and trust! What sordidness in negotiations for the reclamation of slaves, cast, in the Providence of God, on foreign shores, and for the extension of the markets of cotton and rice and tobacco, and of men! What zeal on the judicial bench in wresting the Constitution and the law to the purposes of slaveholders, by shielding kidnappers from merited punishment, and paralyzing State legislation for the security of personal liberty! What readiness in legislation to serve the interests of the Oligarchy by unconstitutional provisions for the recovery of fugitive slaves and by laying heavy duties on slave-labor products, thereby compelling nonslave-laboring laborers to support slaveholders in power and influence? When shall these things have an end? How long shall our futile endurance be protracted? It is for you, fellow-citizens, to determine. The shameful partiality to slaveholders and slavery which has so long prevailed and now prevails in the administration of the government will cease when you determine that it shall cease, and act accordingly.

Are you non-slaveholders of the slave States? Let us ask you to consider what interest you have in the system of slavery. What benefits does it confer on you? What blessings does it promise to your children? You constitute the vast majority of the population of the slave States. The aggregate votes of all the slaveholders do not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, while the votes of the non-slaveholders is the day of its triumph.
ers will number at least six thousand, most daily occurs within the jurisdiction of this superseding each adult male to possess a vote.—Commonwealth." And the Governor of Ark.
It is clear, therefore, that the continuance of slavery depends upon your sufferages. We re-
State, said, "Why do we hear of stabbings and spoke, what interest have you in supporting the sys-
plag, what interest have you in supporting the tem of our State?" A Judge in New Orleans, in an
address on the opening of his Court, observed, dis-
ders your prosperity. Compare New York with
Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky; Arkansas with north,
Michigan, Florida with Iowa. Need we say
more?
It prevents general education. It is not the
interest of shareholders that poor non-sharehold-
ners should be educated. The census of 1810 pro-
reveals the astonishing facts that more than
slavery is a source of most deplorable weak-
oneseventeenth of the white population in the ness. What a panic is spread by the bare sug-
slave States are unable to read or write, while-
gestion of a servile insurrection! And how not a hundred and fiftieth part of the same completely are the slaveholding States at the class in the free are in the same condition, and mercy of any invading foe will who raise the
that there are more than twice as many standard of emancipation? In the Revolution-scholars at public charge in the free States as any War, according to the Secret Journals of
in the slave States.
It parallels your industry and enterprise.—The census of 1810 disclosed the fact that the great proportion of citizens necessary to run the free States, with two millions and a quarter inhabitants more, and ninety-eight million acres the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of less than the slave States, produce annually, in
value, from Mines thirty-three millions dollars the danger of insurrection was then great, it
more; from the Forests, eight millions dollars would be, circumstances being similar, tenfold
more; from Fisheries, nine millions dollars greater now.
Slavery seeks to deprive non-shareholders of political power. In Virginia and South Caro-
lines especially, has this policy been most stead-
ily and successfully pursued. In South Caro-
the political power of the State is lodged in the great slaveholding Districts by the Con-
on of the Constitution. The House of Repre-
sentatives consists of one hundred and thirty
that the former may be excluded from it. —four members, of whom sixty-six are chosen by
Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, teaches the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and seven-
that, "so far as the mere laborer has the pride, to eight by the counties east. The Senate
the knowledge or the aspiration of a freeman, consists of thirty-two members, of whom thir-
he is entitled for his situation." And he likens them are assigned to the western, and nineteen
the laborer to the horse or the ox," to whom it to the eastern counties. Already the free
would be ridiculous to attempt to import "a white population west of the Blue Ridge ex-
cultivated understanding or feeling." Gov-
needs the same class cast in number, but no
ner McDaniel, in a Message to the Legislature change in the population can affect this distr.
South Carolina, went on so far as to say that, nation of political power, designed to secure
the institution of domestic slavery supercedes and preserve the ascendancy of the slavehold-
the necessity of an order of nobility, and the era, who chiefly reside cast of the Ridge, so long
other appendages of an hereditary system of as the Constitution remains unaltered, the civil
government." Of course the shareholders are
those of the slave States, the noble, and you, the non-shareholders, are the are the fruits of slavery. You surely can have
getic, or even a feudal system, it is no reason to have a system which entails such
Slavery corrupts the religion and destroys consequences. Yet it lives by your suffer-
the morals of a community. We need not resume. You have only to speak the word at the
pent Jefferson's strong testimony. In a message ballot-box, and the system fails. Will you be
to the Legislature of Kentucky, some years restrained from speaking that word by the con-
since, the Governor said, "We long to see the situation that the enslaved will be benefitted
day when the law will assert its majesty, and as well as yourselves; or by the slish expect-
stop the wanton destruction of life which ab
tion that you may yourselves become slave
holders hereafter, and so be admitted into the ranks of the Aristocracy? If such considerations withhold you, we bid you beware lest you prepare a better retribution for yourselves, and find to your mortification and shame, that a patent of nobility, written in the tears and blood of the oppressed, is a sorry passport to the approbation of mankind.

We would appeal, also, to slaveholders themselves. We would enter at once within the lines of selfish ideas and mercenary motives, and appeal to your consciences and your hearts.—You know that the system of slaveholding is wrong. Whatever theologians may teach and cite scripture for, you know—all of you who claim to be religiously your own selves and our children as a birthright precious beyond all price, and inalienable as life—that no person can rightfully hold another as a slave. Your courts in their judicial decisions, and your books of common law in their elementary lessons, rise far above the precepts of most of your religious teachers, and declare all slaveholding to be against natural right. You feel it to be so. God has so made the human heart, that, in spite of all theological sophistry and pretended scripture proofs, you cannot help feeling it to be so.—There is a law of sublimer origin, and more awful sanction than any human code, written in ineffaceable characters, upon every heart of man, which binds all to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. And where is there one of all your number who would exchange conditions with the happiest of all your slaves? Produce the man! And until he is produced, let theological apologists for slaveholding keep silence. Most earnestly would we entreat you to listen to the voice of conscience and obey the promptings of humanity. We are not your enemies. We do not pretend to any superior virtue; or that we, being in your circumstances, would be likely to act differently from you. But we are all fellow-citizens of the same great republic. We feel slaveholding to be a dreadful incubus upon us, dishonoring us in the eyes of foreign nations, nullifying the force of our example of free institutions, driving us back from a glorious career of prosperity and renown; sowing the seeds of discord, division, dissension; and we are anxious for its extinction.—With Jefferson, we tremble for our country when we “remember that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever.” With Washington we believe “that there is but one proper and effectual mode by which the extinction of slavery can be accomplished, and that is, by legislative authority; and this, so far as our sufferages will go, shall not be wanting.”

We would not invade the Constitution: but we would have the Constitution rightly construed and administered according to its true sense and spirit. We would not dictate the mode in which slavery shall be attacked in particular States; but we would have it removed at once from all places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the national government, and, also, have immediate measures taken, in accordance with constitutional rights and the principles of justice, for its removal from each State by State authority. In this work we ask your co-operation. Shall we ask in vain? Are you not convinced that the almost absolute monopoly of the offices and the patronage of the government, and the almost exclusive control of its legislation and executive and judicial administration, by slaveholders, and for the purpose of slavery, is unjust to the non-slaveholders of the country? Can you blame us for saying that we will no longer sanction it? Are you not satisfied, to use the language of one of your own number, “that slavery is a cancer, a slow consuming cancer, a withering pestilence, an unmitigated curse.” And can you wonder that we should be anxious, by all just, and honorable and constitutional means, to effect its extinction in our respective States and to confine it to its constitutional limits? Are you not fully aware that the gross inconsistency of slaveholding with our professed principles astonishes the world, and makes the Name of our Country a mockery, and the Name of Liberty a byword? And can you regret that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to redeem our glorious land and her institutions from just reproach, and, by illustrious acts of mercy and justice, place ourselves, once more, in the van of Human Progress and Advancement?

Finally, we ask all true friends of Liberty, of Impartial, Universal Liberty, to be firm and steadfast. The little handful of voters, who, in 1840, wearied of compromising expediency, and despairing of anti-slavery action by pro-slavery parties, raised anew the standard of the Declaration, and manfully resolved to vote right then and vote for Freedom, has already swelled to a Great Party, strong enough numerically to decide the issue of any national contest, and stronger far in the power of its pure and elevating principles. And if these principles be sound, which we doubt not, and if the question of slavery be, as we verily believe it is, the great question of our day and nation, it is a libel upon the intelligence, the patriotism, and the virtue of the American people to say that there is no hope that a majority will not array themselves under our banner. Let it not be said that we are factious or impracticable. We adhere to our views because we believe them to be sound, practicable and vitally important. We have already said that we are ready to prove our devotion to our principles by co-operating with either of the other two great American Parties, which, honestly and honestly, in State and National Conventions, avow our doctrines and adopt our measures, until slavery shall be overthrown. We do not indeed expect any such adoption and avowal by either of those parties, because we are well aware that they fear more, at present, from the loss of slaveholding support than from the loss of anti-slavery co-operation. But we can be satisfied with nothing less, for we will compromise no longer; and, therefore, must of necessity, maintain our separate organization as the True Democratic Party of the country, and trust our cause to the patronage of the People and the blessing of God!

Carry them, Friends of Freedom and Free Labor, your votes to the ballot box. Let no difficulties discourage, no dangers daunt, no delays dishearten you. Your solemn vow that Slavery must perish is registered in Heaven. Renew that vow! Think of the martyrs of Truth and Freedom; think of the millions of the Enslaved; think of the other millions of the oppressed and degraded Free: And renew that vow! Be not tempted from the path of political duty. Vote for no man, act with no party politically connected with the supporters...
of Slavery. Vote for no man, act with no party unwilling to adopt and carry out the principles which we have set forth in this address. To compromise for any partial or temporary advantage is ruin to our cause. To act with any party or to vote for the candidates of any party which recognizes the friends and supporters of slavery as members in full standing, because in particular places or under particular circumstances, it may make large professions of anti-slavery zeal, is to commit political suicide. Unswerving fidelity to our principles; unalterable determination to carry those principles to the ballot box at every election; inflexible and unanimous support of those and only those who are true to those principles are the conditions of our ultimate triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled: and our triumph is certain. The indications of its coming multiply on every hand. The clarion trump of Freedom breaks already the gloomy silence of Slavery in Kentucky, and its echoes are heard throughout the land. A spirit of enquiry and of action is awakened every where. The assembled of the Convention, whose voice we utter, is itself an auspicious omen. Gathered from the North and the South, and the East and West, we here unite our councils, and consolidate our action. We are resolved to go forward knowing that our cause is just trusting in God. We ask you to go forward with us: invoking His blessing who sent his Son to redeem mankind. With Him are the issues of all events. He can and He will disappoint all the devices of oppression. He can, and we trust He will, make our instrumentality efficient for the redemption of our land from Slavery, and for the fulfilment of our Fathers' Pledge in behalf of Freedom, before Him and before the World.

ELIHU BURRITT'S LETTER.

WORCESTER, May 23d, 1845.

My Dear Sir:—I am almost at a loss for language to express my sense of obligation to you, and the Committee in whose behalf you speak, for those terms of kindness and confidence with which you invite me to be present at your great Convention in Cincinnati, on the 11th of June. And it is with a profound sentiment of regret that I am compelled, by circumstances which I cannot bend to my wish, to forego a pleasure which I should have cherished during the remainder of my life, as one of the choicest souvenirs in the jewelry of my remembrance. It is with great difficulty that I can so arrange my labors as to permit me to be absent from Worcester a fortnight at a time. Still I have longed to see your great and prosperous State; and when, a few weeks before I received your communication, a letter came from certain literary societies connected with the Oberlin Institute, inviting me to deliver their next annual address, in August, I accepted the invitation, that I might associate with your visit some other object than that of mere curiosity. To fulfil this engagement will exhaust all the time that I can force out of the discharge of my labors at home, which would preclude the possibility of making two journeys to Ohio in one season. Although I cannot be with you in person—or rather in body—I shall Freedom which enthrone the universal deluge of be present with every earnest sympathy of my soul, with every attribute of my humanity that its heritage, was one for the sacrifice of human it was the first to become intoxicated with the spirit of its domestic slavery, and, under its influence, to curse its posterity with an evil which has operated with unspent and unsparking of the children of a common Father, either on earth or in heaven. The place, the motives and the members of your Convention, will all conspire to give it a moral might and majesty, which will be felt over the Union, and carry a premonition of death to an institution which, like a huge deep-rooted upas, has diffused its subtle poison over the once greenest portion of this continent, until every thing that lives or lies beneath its shade bears the hectic of the scaring curse. No place in the Union could have been more appropriately selected than Cincinnati. Situated on the heaven side of freedom, a magnificent illustration of what it can do for human nature and human society, well might it say to those who live in the pale and sickly wilderness of slavery, "Come, and let us reason together." And it should quicken the pulse of great-hearted patriotism, that this friendly call has been greeted by a cordial response from the first home of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent—from unfortunate Virginia, the primeval Eden of Nature in America, now pining beneath the breath of an institution which has blasted the foliage and the fruit of her tree of knowledge, and her tree of life; and which, if it has not banished her into the wilderness without, has brought the wilderness into her paralytic region. Virginia! oldest patriarch in the ark of with you in person—or rather in body—I shall Freedom which enthrone the universal deluge of be present with every earnest sympathy of my soul, with every attribute of my humanity that its heritage, was one for the sacrifice of human it was the first to become intoxicated with the spirit of its domestic slavery, and, under its influence, to curse its posterity with an evil which has operated with unspent and unsparking
bond and free, through their successive genera-
tions. Virginia! still venerable in her misfor-
lucks at the bottom of this great enterprise of
tunes and grand in her decadence, the devout
and filial memories which cluster about her an-
cient virtues, like the pious sons of Noah, which
should hide from the subject and object
of the sorrowful vision, the sight of her uncon-
scious weakness and insensible prostration.

And old Virginia, the Virginia of the best
days of our history, will be with you, repre-
sented by a few choice spirits, with the
sublime chivalry of moral heroism, the offspring
and origin of better things in her condition,
will go up to your communion, as the extraged
and scattered children of Israel went up from
their coasts to worship with their Jewish brethren
in the temple at Jerusalem in the days of
Hicekiah. And between that ancient jubilee
and your Convention, I pray that there may be
features of resemblance to which future gen-
nerations shall revert in grateful memory. If
there is one thing more than another, which
would enhance my pleasure in being present
on the occasion, it would be the privilege of
meeting there those heroic spirits from Virginia.
Above all the places on earth, I should prefer
to give them the honor of being the bearers of
those green banks of the Ohio. There, in
view of the luxuriant fields and all the ver-
dant life of your illuminated Eden, I would hold
with them a brotherly communion on the gos-
pel of nature and the great principles of
humanity. While a beautiful world of exuberant
fertility expanded to their view beneath the
blessed labor of free hands, and cities and
villages, buoyant with the vigor of youthful
activity, vied with vegetation in rapidity of
growth—I would remind them, with earnest
tenderness, that the rain, the dew and the sun-
light fell upon the fields of Virginia with the
same richness of beneficence as upon those of
Ohio: that nature had ravished upon the "Old
Dominion" all that she could do for her choiced
valleys. In all this, Virginia, if she would
make it the garden and glory of America, I
would say to them, that if the recent wilder-
ness of your state has been made to blossom as
the rose, it is an evidence, bearing the signature of the Almighty, that no slave breathes its pure
air or treats its free soil; that in it and in all
men are born free and equal, inheriting and
enriching all those "inalienable rights" laid
down in that Magna Charta of democracy which
bears the broad seal of Virginia in the blood of
her patriots. I would say to them, that all the
difference, in condition and prospects, between
Ohio and Virginia exists in the difference of their
devotion to that sublime dogma of demo-
cracy which stands at the head of the Declara-
tion of our Independence; and that the United
Union, among all the children she has
brought up, has none left to guide her: if her
walls are broken down and her fields laid waste, means of gratuitous instruction. Is Virginia
if the music of machinery never breaks the declining in political power, and fast losing
silence of her streams, and degraded labor has
her share of influence in the councils of the
no songs in the night or the day; if her children
nation, we would give her far more than she
fly from her bosom to regions where honest toil
is not the condition of the slave, it is because
in human rights which she was the first to pro-
claim to mankind. I would give them the
brotherly hand of every liberty-loving son of
this great work of philanthropy, shall we talk
toil in New England in pledge, that their ha-
ted of dissolving the Union—that Union to which
tried of slavery is the strongest expression of the success of our efforts must give elements
Dissolution of the Union;—abolition of slavery would give a moral power equal to the common defense, promote that should lift up the race from its darkness the general archite; and secure the blessings of life and prosperity. This is What! cut in two the Mississippi, that euale the work you will unite to resume. This is vein of the New World, and sever all the the foundation on which you will descend to mighty earthy anns of the Union, and leave it to lay the first stone that has been laid therein bleed to death in hostile segments, both with—since our fathers fell asleep. As the nations ing in the cuterities of mutual hatred! Nature round about Juden contributed materials to itself would repel this profane disruption of the erection of Solomon's Temple, so the system to whose integrity every stream from world, with all its moral wealth, will be the Sabine to the St., John's, is as necessary as some tributary to the structure of the Great vein in the human body. Dissolve the American Temple of Liberty, founded on such Union run the amputating knife through the a rock, and hail its completion as the asy-child of all that the progressive ages of human- um and admiration of the race. The Union! have produced of freedom and virtue! and it is the world to the destiny of hu-those because one of its members is infected man, nature for the abolition of slavery; and with a cutaneous disease, which not a drop of the abolition of slavery will add the wealth blood less than that which now circulates in and moral power of the world to the Union,—its whole system will remove! Does God or May we speak of the value of salvation, and mankind require the sacrifice of this Union, the extent of infinity in—ben, for lack of a more this spirit of the race, in which all nations religious term, let me express the hope and he-should be blessed! And shall Americans let but his Convention will enhance the knife against it, not as an act of faith, but value, because it shall increase the strength and of pitiful lirious distrust in God? If nothing vitality of the Union. In that hope-inspired in the natural religion of patriatism could imagination with which I am wont to contem-stay their suicidal arm; let every lover of his plate the destiny of the American Republic, I kind pray that the Almighty who arrested the have fancied that, in the life-time of the pres-patriarch's descending blow which was to sever cut age, some heaven-kissing monument, the his son, may open the cloudly curtain of his pavilion, and interpose a cheaper victim of im-molation; or that might

Come, thick night,
And poll it in the dimness smoke it felt.
That its keen knife rend the wound it makes,
Or heaven peep through the blanket of the dark.
To cry Help! Hold!"

Dissolve the Union! dissolve the whole moral power we have and need to abolish slavery! May God grant that your Convention may banish that treacherous idea from every American heart. I trust that its Satanic lineaments will be detected and detected, should it surreptiti-iously enter your counsels in the guise of an angel of light. Nor will you not meet to dis-solve, but to evolve the Union; to revivify it on the basis of the fathers of the Republic.—That basis is broad and deep enough to unite the world. A better foundation cannot be laid by fallen men. You will meet as our fathers of cohesion stronger than ten thousand chains met, you will begin where they began, and of adamant!—that Union, the concentrating where their degenerate children left off to nucleus of the hopes and interests of the future build. You will meet, To form a more perfect ages of humanity—that Union to which the Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility of abolition of slavery would give a moral power equal, provide for the common defense, promote that should lift up the race from its darkness the general archite; and secure the blessings of life and prosperity. This is What! cut in two the Mississippi, that equalize the work you will unite to resume. This is vein of the New World, and sever all the the foundation on which you will descend to mighty earthly anns of the Union, and leave it to lay the first stone that has been laid therein bleed to death in hostile segments, both with—since our fathers fell asleep. As the nations ing in the cuterities of mutual hatred! Nature round about Juden contributed materials to itself would repel this profane disruption of the erection of Solomon's Temple, so the system to whose integrity every stream from world, with all its moral wealth, will be the Sabine to the St., John's, is as necessary as some tributary to the structure of the Great vein in the human body. Dissolve the American Temple of Liberty, founded on such Union run the amputating knife through the a rock, and hail its completion as the asy-child of all that the progressive ages of human- um and admiration of the race. The Union! have produced of freedom and virtue! and it is the world to the destiny of hu-those because one of its members is infected man, nature for the abolition of slavery; and with a cutaneous disease, which not a drop of the abolition of slavery will add the wealth blood less than that which now circulates in and moral power of the world to the Union,— its whole system will remove! Does God or May we speak of the value of salvation, and mankind require the sacrifice of this Union, the extent of infinity in—ben, for lack of a more this spirit of the race, in which all nations religious term, let me express the hope and he-should be blessed! And shall Americans let but his Convention will enhance the knife against it, not as an act of faith, but value, because it shall increase the strength and of pitiful lirious distrust in God? If nothing vitality of the Union. In that hope-inspired in the natural religion of patriatism could imagination with which I am wont to contemplate their suicidal arm; let every lover of his plate the destiny of the American Republic, I kind pray that the Almighty who arrested the have fancied that, in the life-time of the pres-cult age, some heaven-kissing monument, the offspring of the 11th of June, might be erected from the bed of the Ohio, opposite your city, as a kind of centri-mundane column, saying to all things that shine and sing in heaven, and all that can carry the news on the wings of the wind; saying to all ages, to all men, to all bondmen groaning in the undiscovered habitations of cruelty:

"I stand the plan's proud period; I pronounce the work accomplished," the warfare closed, the victory won, the triumph of the American Union.

Please, Sir, to accept for yourself, and tender to the other members of your committee the profound sentiments of respect and sympathy with which I am theirs and yours for humanity,

Elihu Burtis.

Samuel Lewis Esq. of Com., &c.