TO THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH.

We present to you herewith "A Plan for the Amelioration of Slavery," and solicit your aid to carry it into execution.

Your numbers, combined with those of the Slaves, will give you, in all cases, the power to have it carried into effect. You have but to use it, and the work is done.

The following self-evident principles of justice and humanity will serve as guides to the measures proper to be adopted.

1. That the Slaves have a natural right to their liberty.

2. That they have a natural right to compensation (so far as the property of the Slaveholders and their abstainers can compensate for the loss and injury which they have suffered).

3. That as long as the governments, under which they live, refuse to give them liberty or compensation, they have the right to take it by stratagem or force.

4. That it is the duty of all, who can, to assist them in such an enterprise.

In rendering this assistance, you will naturally adopt these measures:

1. To ignore and spurn the authority of all the corrupt and tyrannical political institutions, which the Slaveholders have established for the security of their crimes.

2. So soon as may be, to take the political power of your States into your own hands, and establish governments that shall punish slavery as a crime, and give to the Slaves civil rights for damages for the wrongs that have already been committed against them.

3. Until such new governments shall be instituted, to recognize the Slaves as free men, and as being the rightful owners of their persons, their liberty, and of all the property which they have acquired as such owners, and which they have a right to retain.

4. That it is the duty of all, who can, to assist them in such an enterprise.

We are unwilling to take the responsibility of advising general measures, or any taking of life, until we shall witness the North go down to take its stand in such numbers as to secure a certain and easy victory. We therefore advise the public to give us the lead on the matters above indicated: to the general security of the property, and the emancipation of individual Slavesholders, and to all those things be done only as far as they can be done, without too great danger to the public and to the liberties of the people.

It is especially advised the towing of individual Slavesholders. This is a case where the medical principle, that "take care of the patient," will certainly succeed. Give the Slaveholders, then, a taste of their own medicine. Spare their lives, but not their backs. The injuries they have acquired by being the abettors of that system, and of those who practice it, must be taken off them, when the same wounds shall be applied to themselves.

A band of ten or twenty discerned negroes, well armed, having their renown in the frontier, coming out upon the plantations by day or night, among individual Slavesholders, stopping, seizing, and shooting them annually, in the presence of their own Slaves, would soon establish Slavery over a large district.

The bands could also do a good work by kidnapping individual Slavesholders, taking them into the forest, and holding them as hostages for the good behavior of the people remaining on the plantations, compelling them also to execute deeds of emasculation, and conveyances of their property, to their peers, and to all to whose property they may dictate. Afterward be successfully done, on the ground of Slaves (especially after new governments, favorable to liberty, have been established instead), such contracts and deeds must be recognized as nothing more than justice; and men may rightfully be urged to do justice to their country. They would be identified as so lit a cause as to be authorized to take immediate measures for the extermination of the Slavesholders. The moral effect must be such as to encourage those among themselves who are honest and determined in the cause. If the former cause could only be advanced far enough, after to be able to put them in possession of the lands, build forts in the forest, and drive cattle, it would be sufficient to restrain them, and carry on their warfare upon the Slaveholders.

Another important measure, on the part of the Slaves, will be to demand their slaves, as far as that is practicable, by seizing and compelling their negroes whenever opportunity offers. They should also kill all slave-hunting dogs, and the owners too, if that should prove necessary. To recover the Slavesholders, when they are not powerful or courageous enough to resist, they should be encouraged, in a bold way, to come to terms or to be served with papers, in order to cause the crops to perish for want of hands to gather them.

In any other way they will suggest themselves to you, and, to the Slaves, by which the Slavesholders can be menaced and injured, without causing any general outrages, or shedding of blood.

OUR PLAN THEN IS—

1. To make war (openly or secretly as circumstances may dictate) upon the property of the Slaveholders and their abettors—and not to be afraid of the one which can be most effectually met, but to convert it to the use of the Slaves. If it cannot be thus converted, then, at least, destroy it. To drive the Slavesholders into their great, strong, and extensive slave-owners' buildings, to kill their cattle and horses, to destroy and burn their stables, barns, and other property. Make Slavery respectable, in this way, if it can be done in no other.

2. To make Slavesholders objects of derision and contempt, by hanging them, whenever they shall be guilty of seizing their slaves.

3. To risk no general insurrection, until the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid.

4. To cultivate the friendship and confidence of the Slaves; to consult with them as to their rights and interests, and the means of promoting them; to show your interest in their welfare, and your readiness to assist them. Let them know that you have your sympathy, and it will give them courage, self-esteem, and ambition, and make men of them; especially better men than the fellow negroes and slaves. Let them be the instruments of religion, as the indolent, arrogant, sullen, haughty, domineering rulers and tyrants, who now keep both yourselves and the Slaves, in subjection and subjugation; as the instruments of religion, as the indolent, arrogant, sullen, haughty, domineering rulers and tyrants, who now keep both yourselves and the Slaves, in subjection and subjugation; and when the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid, then the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid.

5. To destroy and burn, in all cases, the property of the Slavesholders, so as to cause the crops to perish for want of hands to gather them.

6. To make Slavesholders objects of derision and contempt, by hanging them, whenever they shall be guilty of seizing their slaves.

7. To risk no general insurrection, until the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid.

8. To cultivate the friendship and confidence of the Slaves; to consult with them as to their rights and interests, and the means of promoting them; to show your interest in their welfare, and your readiness to assist them. Let them know that you have your sympathy, and it will give them courage, self-esteem, and ambition, and make men of them; especially better men than the fellow negroes and slaves. Let them be the instruments of religion, as the indolent, arrogant, sullen, haughty, domineering rulers and tyrants, who now keep both yourselves and the Slaves, in subjection and subjugation; and when the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid, then the North go to your assistance, or you are sure of success without our aid.

9. To destroy and burn, in all cases, the property of the Slavesholders, so as to cause the crops to perish for want of hands to gather them.

10. To make Slavesholders objects of derision and contempt, by hanging them, whenever they shall be guilty of seizing their slaves.

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[The following note is to be addressed to some person at the South, and signed by the person sending it, giving his own residence.]

Sir:

Please accept, and exhibit to your neighbors, this copy of a document, which we are intending to distribute very extensively through the South, and which, we trust, will give birth to a movement, that shall result not only in the freedom of the blacks, but also in the political, pecuniary, educational, moral, and social advantage of the present non-slaveholding whites. Please let me hear, from you often, informing me of the progress of the work. Direct me to...
A PLAN FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

When a human being is set upon by a robber, raviisher, murderer, or tyrant of any kind, it is the duty of the bystanders to go to his or her rescue, by force, if need be.

In general, nothing will excuse men in the non-performance of this duty, except the pressure of higher duties, (if such there be,) inability to afford relief, or too great danger to themselves or others.

This duty being naturally inherent in human relations and necessities, governments and laws are of no authority in opposition to it. If they interpose themselves, they must be trampled under foot without ceremony, as we would trample under foot laws that should forbid us to rescue men from wild beasts, or from burning buildings.

On this principle, it is the duty of the non-slaveholders of this country, in their private capacity as individuals — without asking the permission, or waiting the movements, of the government — to go to the rescue of the Slaves from the hands of their oppressors.

This duty is so self-evident and natural a one, that he who pretends to doubt it, should be regarded either as seeking to evade it, or as himself a servile and ignorant slave of corrupt institutions or customs.

Holding these opinions, we propose to act upon them. And we invite all other citizens of the United States to join us in the enterprise. To enable them to judge of its feasibility, we lay before them the following programme of measures, which, we think, ought to be adopted, and would be successful.

1. The formation of associations, throughout the country, of all persons who are willing to pledge themselves publicly to favor the enterprise, and render assistance and support, of any kind, to it.

2. Establishing or sustaining papers to advocate the enterprise.

3. Refusing to vote for any person for any civil or military office whatever, who is not publicly committed to the enterprise.

4. Raising money and military equipments.

5. Forming and disciplining such military companies as may volunteer for actual service.

6. Detaching the non-slaveholders of the South from all alliance with the Shareholders, and inducing them to cooperate with us, by appeals to their safety, interest, honor, justice, and humanity.

7. Informing the Slaves (by emissaries to be sent among them, or through the non-slaveholders of the South) of the plan of emancipation, that they may be prepared to co-operate at the proper time.

8. To encourage emigration to the South, of persons favoring the movement.

9. When the preceding preliminaries shall have sufficiently prepared the way, then to land military forces (at numerous points at the same time) in the South, who shall raise and inducing them to cooperate with us, by appeals to their safety, interest, honor, justice, and humanity.

10. If emancipation shall be accomplished only by actual hostilities, then, as all the laws of war, of nature, and of justice, will require that the emancipated Slaves shall be compensated for their previous wrongs, we avow it our purpose to make such compensation, so far as the property of the Shareholders and their abettors can compensate them. And we avow our intention to make known this determination to the Slaves beforehand, with a view to give them courage and self-respect, to nerve them to look boldly into the eyes of their tyrants, and to give them true ideas of the relations of justice existing between themselves and their oppressors.

11. To remain in the South, after emancipation, until we shall have established, or have seen established, such governments as will secure the future freedom of the persons emancipated.

And we anticipate that the public avowal of these measures, and our open and zealous preparation for them, will have the effect, within some reasonable time — we trust within a few years at farthest — to detach the government and the country at large from the interests of the Shareholders; to destroy the security and value of Slave property; to annihilate the commercial credit of the Shareholders; and finally to accomplish the extinction of Slavery. We hope it may be without blood.

If it be objected that this scheme proposes war, we confess the fact. It does propose war — private war indeed — but, nevertheless, war, if that should prove necessary. And our answer to the objection is, that in revolutions of this nature, it is necessary that private individuals should take the first steps. The tea must be thrown overboard, the Bastile must be torn down, the first gun must be fired, by private persons, before a new government can be organized, or the old one be forced (for nothing but danger to itself will force it) to adopt the measures which the insurgents have in view.

If the American governments, State or national, would abolish Slavery, we would leave the work in their hands. But as they do not, and apparently will not, we propose to force them to do it, or to do it ourselves in defiance of them.

If any considerable number of the American people will join us, the work will be an easy and bloodless one; for Slavery can live only in quiet, and in the sympathy or subjection of all around it.

WE, the subscribers, residents of the Town of , in the County of in the State of believing in the principles, and approving generally of the measures, set forth in the foregoing "Plan for the Abolition of Slavery," and in the accompanying address "To the Non-Slaveholders of the South," hereby unite ourselves in an Association to be called the LEAGUE OF FREEDOM in the Town of for the purpose of aiding to carry said plan into effect. And we hereby severally declare it to be our sincere intention to co-operate faithfully with each other, and with all other associations within the United States, having the same purpose in view, and adopting the same platform of principles and measures.