



AN ADDRESS

BY

WILLIAM D. KELLEY,

Delivered on the 68th Anniversary of American Independence.

IN THE STATE HOUSE YARD, PHILADELPHIA.



AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

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DEMOCRATIC TOWN MEETING,

IN THE STATE HOUSE YARD,

JULY FOURTH, 1841,

BY WILLIAM D. KELLEY,

BY INVITATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE MEETING.

Printed at No. 9 South Third Street.

1841.

A D D R E S S .

FELLOW CITIZENS:—

In obedience to the call of your committee I appear before you to day. It is at all times pleasant to me to meet you and discuss our rights and duties, and when summoned to meet you now I could not refuse, although it was apparent that I must make great haste to prepare for the occasion. This day sanctified as it is to freedom by the deeds of our fathers should ever be a joyful one. Its annual occurrence should be celebrated, not only by bonfires and music and the thunders of canonry but, by public renewals of the pledges heretofore given, that the blessings we received from our fathers shall be transmitted to our children,—by calling up in review the principles of those who gave it historial splendor and applying them to the circumstances of the times, and by appeals to the Searcher of hearts, to exalt and purify our motives, and guide us in our onward course. Such is the method we have chosen; and as we assemble in the name of Democracy, to commemorate the advent of popular liberty, I shall survey with my own eyes the aspect of our political affairs, apply to them my reason, and utter my own convictions without bias either from fear or favor. This the day demands. To do less than this, to flatter you, or defer my judgment to that of others would prove me a degenerate son of the men who asserted the equality of man, and pledged their lives, fortunes and sacred honors to maintain the assertion; but if in so doing I utter opinions to which you cannot subscribe I beg you to examine them calmly and refute them fairly: this it is not only your right to do, but your duty also. It may be well, before proceeding further, to inquire what were the peculiar circumstances that caused this day to hold a larger place in the affections of the people than any other in the calender? for in answering that question

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we must recount the cherished principles of those who achieved the American Revolution, and founded our republic. According to the theory of the British government, the liberty man enjoys is not a God-given right, but a privilege granted by the king and the peers of the realm, and guaranteed by a written charter under the great seal of state, to which he must refer when he would learn how far he may obey the impulses of his nature, or when government is violating his rights by exercising any prerogative which it promised to abandon. The American colonies were established under royal charters and acknowledged this doctrine; but they considered many of the measures of the king and ministers as extensions of the royal power and encroachments on their franchises, against which they must rebel or be forever slaves. War had actually commenced before the idea of independence found much favor with the people, although Jefferson, Franklin, and other leading minds, had long contemplated its approach as the inevitable consequent of visible causes, and this day, sixty five years ago, the time arrived when it was to be declared, and the colonies absolved from all allegiance to the British crown. In preparing the popular mind for this step all theories of government had been discussed, and the awakening of the people to a knowledge of their rights quickened in them a warmer faith in the integrity and natural worth of man. In these discussions the fundamental truth of Christianity—the fraternity and natural equality of men—had been brought with all its beauty and power home to the common mind, by which the axe was laid at the root of all systems of tyranny, oppression, and privilege. The prevalence of this truth must reverse the whole order of society. No more should the many be the sport and victims of the few,—the people but a flock to be shorn by government; but where all were equal each one should have a voice equal to that of his brother. No more were ministers of a soulless power to rob the laborer of his hire by inordinate taxation,—was man to stand uncovered and trembling in the presence of his self-styled superior,—was the passion or caprice of a pampered prince to drag thousands of God's children from home and friends to the field of carnage and death, or a hireling clergy to live in the riotous or indolent enjoyment of the first fruits and fatlings of the land, while their people hungered and thirsted for the manna and water of life. The evils here enumerated had not all obtained an existence in the

colonies, but the stamp act, tea tax and port bill were usurpations which gave assurance that grosser wrongs would follow. They were therefore resisted; and henceforth man should stand boldly up the equal and measure of man,—the united voice of all be the ruling power, assess all taxes and declare all wars,—every man be both a citizen and a governor,—every child be eligible to the highest honors in the land; and worship be the free and unrestrained act of the individual, subject to no forms but such as conscience might prescribe. Such were the fears and hopes of our fathers: and such was their faith in man, and the power of truth and justice, that few and feeble as they were, they declared, and in the face of Britain's mighty power, regardless of sacrifices, maintained the declaration, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of a people to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The promulgation and general acknowledgement of these far-reaching truths is what has made the annual return of this day a season of joy; and the universality and enthusiasm with which it is observed, furnish no slight proof of man's love of right and liberty. But let us not fall into the mistake of thinking that these opinions were unanimously received. The debates in the convention for draughting a constitution for the United States demonstrate clearly, that many of the men of those days were unwilling to give them a full practical application, or in other words, that society was then as it ever had been and now is, divided into two parties, the one satisfied with the existing state of affairs, or looking back with sorrow and sighing over the departing splendor or quiet of the past, and deprecating all change; the other looking forward to a better condition of things, and striving to modify and improve all institutions from which unhappy consequences flow. The former is the conservative party, the party of the past, whose face is on the back of its head, and whose vocation is to garnish the tombs of the prophets; the latter is the movement party, whose face

is ever turned towards the future, and whose dearest objects are the progress of the individual man, and the melioration of his political and social condition. The movement party was then the most powerful, and triumphed in the convention. A portion of the members of that body sought to shackle the popular will by establishing long terms of office and a body of life legislators; and, by empowering the government to create privileged corporations and grant charters to a favored few, to establish an aristocracy. But their efforts were fruitless; and not only were the States secured in their sovereignty, and the people in the enjoyment of their rights as then understood, but the doctrine of progress was affirmed, and the power of altering, amending, or even revolutionizing the government by the peaceable means of reason and the ballot-box, was confided to the people. Yet when the provisions of the constitution were to be administered, those who had been defeated in the convention, the conservative few, obtained the power and managed to infringe the rights of the many, and secure to themselves privileges of which most of the aristocracies of Europe might well envy them. Weary as the people were of the long war they had sustained in achieving the independence of the country, and of the political excitement which followed it, they would have rallied in their might to resist an armed and open foe though it had combined the powers of earth. But having reared their government they forgot that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and giving themselves up to agriculture, commerce and the pleasures of life, permitted their foes, who understood them too well to resort to force, to adopt a series of measures designed with more than Norman cunning, to corrupt the fountains of political influence, and ultimately reduce the many to dependence on the few. Although the people in convention, and the several states, had decided explicitly against investing Congress with the power to create corporations or grant special privileges, these avaricious or ambitious statesmen found a warrant for exercising both these powers in the clause of the constitution, authorising congress to provide for the "general welfare" of the United States. They funded a debt, and by granting a charter to a banking corporation, clothed a few individuals with the privilege of making a currency, and trading with the funds of the government; and pursued a system of legislation based on a latitudinous construction of the constitution, so unlimited and

with so little regard to the rights of the states, that it became apparent that if their assumptions were not checked the states would sink into mere departments, and the general government be converted into a second central despotism. Nor were these their only usurpations. They passed the alien law in the vain hope of checking the growing influence of the masses, and the sedition law to prevent the people from discussing their rights and publicly expressing their opinions, lest they might thereby become enamoured of anarchy or infidelity. In brief, they exhibited by all their acts a determination to reproduce in this country the British government, which one of their leaders had called the most stupendous fabric of human wisdom, and another pronounced the best model the world ever saw. Matters were hastening rapidly to a crisis when Virginia and Kentucky in view of the pending danger, re-asserted their sovereignty, and in resolutions that will live while the history of our country lives, called the government back to its original purity. Now were party lines drawn. The friends of the rights of the States and the people, flinging to the breeze the bright banner of peace—breathing democracy, on which were inscribed as their principles “a strict construction of the Federal constitution—free suffrage—no monopolies—no privileges, but equal rights to equal chances for all men,” rallied around Jefferson as the man who had asserted the broadest theory of human rights and the one best qualified to lead their champions on to victory. The result of that campaign proves the wisdom of their choice. The friends of privilege drew out their serried cohorts, the patronage of the government and the influence of the money power were brought to bear upon the press, and while it denounced that great and good man as a Jacobin, a radical, agrarian, and leveller, the pulpit poured forth torrents of licentious abuse of him and the people whose cause he espoused. The clergy forgetting that their mission was to produce peace on earth and good will among men, entered the political arena, and denouncing the entire democracy as a band of infidels, pointed to the federalists as the friends of religion and a religious administration. Yet all would not do. The people were thoroughly aroused to a sense of their danger, and triumphantly carried into power the man who had sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of government that enslaves the mind of man, and asserted their rights without compromise or qualification. When our party is prepared

to follow this lofty example, its labors will be crowned with results no less glorious.

Owing to the adoption in this country of the common law of England, the unconstitutional charter granted to the bank could not be repealed. Our supreme judicial tribunal recognised this law, replete as it is with feudal technicalities and monarchical principles, and would have decided that the charter was a contract which could not be violated; which means, in plain language, that congress or our state legislature, under the pretence of providing for the general welfare, may sell absolutely and unconditionally, any portion of the rights of the people—that one legislature may enact a law which the next cannot repeal, or that one generation may enter into a compact from which the next, Heaven-descended and naturally free though it be, cannot absolve itself. This evil therefore Jefferson had to tolerate; but in all other respects was the government restored to its proper sphere and action. And as a reward for his integrity and devotion, his name is enshrined in every American heart; to have supported him is a passport to popular favor, and those who opposed him with most virulence are compelled to come forward and, giving the lie to their whole past lives, avow themselves Jeffersonian democrats of the true Virginia school. And yet, fellow citizens, we who wear his party name and bear the standard he raised, find ourselves ousted from the seats of power with a popular verdict recorded against us. Why are we in the minority? Have the people found reason to repudiate the principles of Jefferson? Were that the case they would hardly cherish his name and memory as warmly as they do. No, it is the punishment following on the heels of our own folly. We have faltered in the performance of our duty, been false to our principles and deceived the people, and as we deserved they have deserted us. May Heaven grant that they fall not in with a band of thieves in their wanderings! Mr. Madison, able and good as he was, made the first departure from the true state-rights democratic theory, when, after long and ably opposing the re-charter of the bank, he listened to the voice of expediency, and embracing the doctrine that “a power repeatedly exercised by congress and acquiesced in by the people should be taken as constitutional,” signed the charter. If this be true, the federal theory of a free construction of the constitution is correct; and then is a democracy the worst form of despotism. The people in convention

draughted the constitution, and the states as sovereigns ratified it. They are both parties to it; and if the entire population by a direct and unanimous vote were to declare themselves in favor of altering it they could not do it until three-fourths of the states in their corporate capacity would give their assent. The people can alter or amend that instrument; but they must act in a double capacity—as individuals and as members of the state,—and then a bare majority is powerless. If a simple majority could change the constitution, it would be a farce and a mockery to refer to it as a binding authority. If then a power was unconstitutional in the beginning, it must be equally so now, though congress has often exercised it, and the people acquiesced in their acts. Establish this doctrine, and you not only convert wrong into right by frequent repetition of the wrong, but virtually abrogate the constitution, remove all restrictions from the absolute will of the majority, and establish the despotism of the many. If the majority may do one act prohibited by the constitution it may do any other; if it may establish a bank it may grant a monopoly of trade, or establish a state religion, or deprive the minority of the right of suffrage: in fact there is nothing that it may not do. These are legitimate conclusions from this doctrine: and the federalists foresaw them when they first promulgated it, and sought by the aid of the banking and funding system and other kindred contrivances, to enable the designing few at the head of the government to control the will of the majority by controlling their interests. The commission of this mistake by Mr. Madison was a triumph to the Federal party. From the day on which he signed that charter the brilliancy of the star of democracy waned, or rather, clouds of error gathered about it, obscuring its lustre; and the compromise effected in the election of Mr. Monroe was not the burial but the triumph of Federalism. The friends of privilege are never willing to abandon the favors they seek. Their appetite is insatiable, and that compromise was all, so far as essential principles were at stake, made by the Democracy. During the administration of Mr. Monroe the Bank enjoyed a peaceable existence, internal improvements were begun by the general government in several of the states, protective duties were imposed, and this dangerous doctrine was applied in various ways. It was not carried out so far or so boldly as the Federalists would have carried it, but it was acknowledged and practised on. Hence it was that so many candidates for

the Presidency were brought into the field at its close. Party lines had been effaced. There was no distinctly defined principle espoused by either party, and the contest necessarily became a mere personal or sectional war. Had the Democratic leaders, the men in whom the party confided, been true to principle, there would have been no difficulty in uniting upon a candidate. The people would have inquired only as to who had been the ablest, most zealous and honest advocate of their principles, and fixing their minds upon that man would have given him a nomination and a triumphant election. Interest them in a cause worthy of their devotion and there is no danger of the people being led away by men. See how nobly they sustained Jackson in every step he took against the money power and the federal influence in congress. Party leaders often flinched, prominent friends fearing the loss of popularity by hazarding too much, forsook him, but the people never. He was the impersonation of their cause, and through good report and evil report they cheered him on and felt that in deserting him they would have betrayed the interests of their country. Why then it may be asked was not Mr. Van Buren sustained? Was he not honest as Jackson and true to Democracy as Jefferson? Yes he was all that, and the cause of his defeat is not with him but with his friends. Their treachery to the people ruined him. His administration will have its place in history, and be referred to with pride by the friends of good government when the Normans who now occupy the Capitol will be remembered only to show how corrupt or perversely blind men of acknowledged intellect may be. But during the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren the Democratic party was in power in a majority of the states, and while sustaining them in their warfare against privilege, it in many instances created, and in more winked at the creation of scores of corporate monopolies, especially of banks; and by thus deranging the currency, the exchanges and the financial affairs of the country, gave force and plausibility to the sophisms of those who ask for a United States Bank, with a capital large enough to regulate them all. Nor was this the only argument with which our dereliction furnished his foes. These state corporations are privileged to manufacture currency—to put forth promises to pay money and call it by the name of that which it but remotely represents, which they have done without regard to right, justice or even law, until by depreciating our circulating medium they have raised the price of commodities so high that other nations can man-

ufacture them, transport them hither, and sell them in our markets cheaper than we can fabricate them. Thus they have paralyzed our industry and given weight to the arguments of the friends of discriminating duties. For my own part I believe that a National Bank and a tariff are both necessary if banks of issue are to be created in the several states; and when it is demonstrated to my satisfaction that the public good requires the chartering of a legion of banks with the privilege of creating an unlimited amount of paper currency, I will agitate the question of an alteration of the Federal constitution, and advocate the insertion of a clause empowering congress to charter a bank and enact protective duties; measures which, thanks to the wisdom of our fathers, it now prohibits. But worse perhaps than all this in its consequences on Mr. Van Buren and our cause, in the late campaign, was the want of popular confidence in our local party leaders, who had habitually held forth large promises and beautiful theories to the people, yet shown their love for the fat things of the land whenever placed in responsible situations. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and the people thus often deceived were ready for any change that promised consistency, and rallied to the support of a man whose intellect was weak, whose views were contracted, but who was frank, warm-hearted and faithful to his promises. Had Mr. Van Buren stood alone he would have been re-elected. But general and state politics were mingled, and the sins of his friends were visited upon his head. Indeed, a retrospective glance at the legislation of the states is enough to sicken the heart of the ardent lover of human equality and constitutional freedom, and if it be permitted the spirits of the fathers of our government to look down from their lofty abodes, and note the events of earth and time, it must cast a shade of disappointment over their beatitude. All the states would be too large a field to traverse. Let us therefore confine ourselves to our own commonwealth and glance hastily at its history, to see how widely we have departed from the Democratic creed. But first let us settle what Democracy is, and what it requires. There are many who say that Democracy is the absolute government of the majority. This position we have already examined somewhat, and seen that the government of the majority may to a large minority be unmitigated despotism. If the will of the majority is absolute it may pass sumptuary laws, or say when a man may kiss his wife or child, as the early settlers of Connecticut did, and that would certainly not be Democratic. If the majority is

absolute it may adopt a state religion and code of morals, and denouncing freedom of thought and boldness of expression as high crimes, punish dissent, and thus destroy all hope of progress; and this would not be Democratic, for he is as much a slave who trembles at the frown of a mob, as he who pales and cowers in the presence of an angry monarch. Democracy is the unabridged liberty of all. It wars against all power but that of justice as proclaimed by the common voice after the freest and fullest discussion; it respects the rights of the minority; and as we represent justice with nicely balanced scales in her hand, it requires that government do no more than protect each man in the enjoyment of his rights, and raise by a tax, assessed equally on all, the trifling expense incurred in the performance of this limited duty. Democracy demands not much government but little, not splendor but simplicity, and when a government attempts to do more than preserve order in the state and administer justice between man and man, it must infringe the rights of some and become a tyrant, be its name Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy. How closely has our state adhered to this standard?

It has enacted a multitude of laws not required by the public good, and by thus erecting factitious standards of right and wrong, has rendered it impossible for any citizen to know his legal responsibilities without devoting years to the study of law, exclusive of all other pursuits.

It has legislated for particular interests and sections, and thereby created an arbitrary and artificial diversity of interests, and made the many tributary to the few.

It has concentrated wealth and invested it with privileges, and by thus increasing the power of accumulating it already possessed, has augmented the inequalities in society—making the rich richer at the expense of the laboring poor.

It has enacted under popular titles, laws restraining trade in money, and by checking individual enterprise, has enhanced the privileges of its chartered favorites, whom in the plenitude of its usurped power, it has attempted to raise above all law.

It has entered the field of private enterprise, and by undertaking the construction of splendid facilities for trade and commerce, the good effects of which are only felt in the parts of the state they traverse and in which they commence and terminate, and which nominally depreciate all other property in the ratio in which they appreciate those sections, has compelled a large body of the people to contribute funds for the creation of the means of their own impoverishment.

It has, in consummating this undertaking, and conducting the business of a common carrier, created a multitude of offices with trivial duties and large salaries and thereby enrolled an army of tax consumers, and tainted the purity of elections.

It has, in order to effect these anti-Democratic measures, borrowed tens of millions of dollars and mortgaged the farms and workshops of the people, for the payment of millions of interest to an aristocracy who are thus raised above the necessity of labor, enterprise, or even thought, and enabled to "clothe themselves in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day."

It has adopted the English law, arising from her construction of the marriage contract, and extended the doctrine of tenancy by courtesy, and thus reduced so far as law can do it, the women of the commonwealth to the condition of toys or slaves, dependent on the will of the stronger sex.

And by its constitutional provisions, together with this unwise and unjust legislation, so fraught with the causes of pauperism and crime, it has deprived thousands of men of the right of suffrage and thus invested them with the acknowledged right to rebel against a tyrant who will not listen to their voice or consult them in the enactment of laws for their government.

These are but part of the errors and usurpations of our state, and we discover their effects in the fear so generally expressed each winter that the legislature will increase the duties of the tax collector—in the comparative decay of some of the oldest and once most flourishing towns in the commonwealth—in the uncertainty of trade and the expense of our courts of law—in the embarrassed condition of the government—in the loss of private honor and honesty—in the increased love of luxury, magnificence and idle but costly display, and in the increase of squalor poverty, and wretchedness, in the midst of a commonwealth composed of men who are all created equal and endowed by their creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As Democrats, my fellow-citizens, it is our duty to correct these evils, to defeat this system of special legislation, to purge our statute books of every law that grants a privilege to any man or body of men, and to raise as it were a wall of fire around the rights of the poorest and weakest of our brethren, that they may not be oppressed or wronged with impunity by the richest or strongest in the state, nor by the state itself. If we prove recreant to this duty we deserve de-

feat in every contest into which we may enter; but if we are true to it, victory will not fail to perch upon our banner, for we will be fulfilling the mission of Democracy and our country. Engage with heart in this work and the people will rally in support of our cause, and bearing down all opposition will win us triumph after triumph until liberty and equality shall be realised among men, and the destiny of our country completed. Think not that this is unmeaning declamation, or that I claim the spirit of prophecy in declaring thus positively what the future will yield. It is truth established by philosophy and demonstrated by history. Man is not the creature of chance. Like all things else, humanity is under fixed laws, and society subject to God's providence; and under that providence no nation has yet been false to its mission. Men in masses are sound logicians; and we may look back to remotest antiquity and find that every people who have enjoyed a distinct independent existence, have pushed forward, to their last legitimate results, the ideas that filled the minds of those who reared their fundamental institutions. Thousands of years have elapsed since the religious idea called into existence the governments of the East, and imagination cannot conceive a people more obedient to a government than those of India and Asia are to their Theocrats. Beauty, the muses, and graces were the objects of Greek adoration, and the remaining fragments of Grecian poetry, eloquence, statuary and architecture, still furnish the world with unequalled models. Rome worshipped power, conquest, and dominion, and she ceased not to grow and flourish until she sat upon her seven hills the mistress of the world. But to come nearer our own age and country let us glance at England. The idea of her government is a graduated scale of factitious distinctions, the cement of which is a love of conventional honor and the hope each man feels that he may one day enter the rank above him and tower over his former neighbours. This is a complicated and a base design. Yet see how thoroughly it has been perfected! Behold the magnificence of her sovereign, the luxuriousness of her lords, spiritual and temporal, the wealth and power of her commons, the comfort of her traders and the poverty and degradation of her overwrought and enslaved laborers, the millions on whose emaciated frames this splendid pyramid is erected, and doubt if you can whether nations are practical logicians or true to the principles that pervade their institutions.

Am I wrong then in saying that our countrymen will sustain us

when we pledge ourselves to the promotion of liberty and equality? Was it not the love of liberty that brought the early settlers of our country from home and friends to a wilderness abode,—that carried our fathers through the war of the revolution and again through the late war? Is there one in this vast assemblage that would not rather die a freeman than live a slave—nay, that would not rather toil from morning till night for a subsistence, than know that a fellow-man enslaved to his will trembled at his bidding?

But liberty is not the sole idea that possesses the American mind; we habitually join equality with that word, and answer to all who assume superiority, “I am as good as you, you may be wiser or richer, as you may taller or stronger, but we are children of a common Father, and our rights before Him, the state, and society, are equal.” To realise these ideas, or this idea—for to enjoy liberty, equality of rights must be established—is the mission of the American people, Let us then return to the broad ground of Democracy, fling to the breeze the standard of Jefferson, and pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to efface from our laws and institutions every principle that is not consonant with the truths, that all men are created equal and all power is inherent in the people. Looking towards the Federal government, we must make the constitution the sheet anchor of our hope, prevent the adoption of any measure by which the rights of a single state may be infringed, and oppose the passage of laws in aid of any special interest. Labor is too hardy and too honest to need protection. Discriminating duties protect the capitalist at the expense of the laborer, or as some have it, take care of the rich and thus enable them to take care of the poor; we must therefore oppose the whole so called protective or American system, which gives to the proletaire, the man without property, just such protection as the vulture gives the dove. And not only must we oppose the chartering of a bank by congress, but should a majority of that body in defiance of the constitution incorporate such an institution, we must raise the standard of repeal, make repeal our watchword, and labor without rest until the obnoxious law is abrogated, the money power dethroned, and the functions of the Federal government restored to the hands of officers chosen by the people and responsible to the people. It is quite time that we should explode the feudal doctrine of vested rights, and establish beyond cavil the principle that the only business of the American legislator is to enact laws; and that when he barter or

gives away the least portion of the rights of any one citizen, he transcends his powers, and his acts are null and void from the beginning. If we resolve to repeal any charter congress may grant, we can do it, and if the parties aggrieved sue for their franchises, we need not doubt but the sound constitutional jurist who now presides over the Supreme Court of the United States will vindicate the constitution against all encroachments from Judicial legislation, and drive such slaves of mammon from the halls of justice in humiliation deep as that of the whipped money changers of old. In all matters pertaining to the general government, we must look to the rights of the states and preserve the Federative system in its purity. But in our own state we must be democrats not in name or in words alone, but in deeds. Rapidly as we can we must repeal all grants of special privilege—simplify our laws—withdraw the state from the field of private enterprise, reduce the number of offices, increase the duties of many of those remaining and decrease the salaries of others: in brief we must enter our protest against all injustice, extend the hand of fellowship to the poor and lowly, and promote by our every act equality of condition among men. This is our duty. Let us pledge ourselves anew to perform it, and to nominate no man in the coming campaign who will not pledge himself to forward with all his power our good cause. Thus much accomplished, the election will be needed only to confirm a forgone conclusion; for with such a cause we must succeed. Each member of the party will rally again, and inspired with new hope and courage throw himself into the breach determined to conquer or fall fighting: the vain pretences of our foes to the title of democrats will be exposed, and the thousands of laborers who under the influence of disappointment and chagrin at our past derelictions have deserted us, will again buckle on their armour, take their stand with us shoulder to shoulder, and when the fight is done and the ancient democratic character of the Keystone state restored, will join us in shouts of triumph, and deeds of purity worthy the days of Jefferson and Snyder. Fear not denunciation; Radical, Agrarian, Leveller, and Loco Foco, are but words, and have never yet served to frighten men from their love of liberty. Inscribe your principles broadly and plainly on your banner, repose a just confidence in the people, and casting aside party management, ask only what is right and just, and you may calmly leave the consequences to Him who searches the individual heart and sways the destiny of nations.