

AN
ORATION

BEFORE THE

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS

OF MARBLEHEAD,

DELIVERED AT THEIR REQUEST, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1834.

BY FRANKLIN KNIGHT.

**BOSTON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE.
1834.**

MARBLEHEAD, July 4, 1834.

Respected Sir,

I am directed by the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS to present you a copy of a Resolve, which passed unanimously at their meeting this evening.

'Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Mr FRANKLIN KNIGHT, for the very eloquent and patriotic Oration delivered by him this day, and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for the Press.'

With great respect, Sir,

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS JOY, Secretary.

MR FRANKLIN KNIGHT.

MARBLEHEAD, July 7, 1834.

DEAR SIR,

The hasty observations, suggested by the events of the day, and delivered before the Democratic Republicans of Marblehead, on the 4th instant, are at the disposal of their Committee.

Please communicate to the Committee my thanks for the token of approbation, expressed in their resolve, and accept for yourself my best wishes.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANKLIN KNIGHT.

MR FRANCIS JOY, Secretary of the Democratic Committee
of Arrangements.

AN ORATION

Delivered at Marblehead, July 4, 1834.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

THIS day, fifty-eight years ago, the Declaration just read was promulgated to an astonished world; and one, with small pretensions to the needed requirements, is deputed to address you on the interesting event. But he has no apologies to offer for thus appearing before you, nor will he ask that you should judge of the merits of his performance with more than ordinary charity, though perhaps good reasons are at hand to prove his claim to it. But he neither doubts your candor, nor your judgment, and will without reserve throw himself upon your justice. And, why should he ask such a measure of charity from this audience, whose liberal political sentiments, whose patriotic devotion to the rights of man, and whose love of liberty have been so fully exemplified, as to become a theme of praise and admiration? To such an assembly, even on ordinary occasions, the request would be superfluous; how much more so then, would it be at the present time, where the speaker and the audience harmonize in sentiment and feeling, and where all obey one common impulse, to unite, not only in recounting the sufferings and the sacrifices of those illustrious Heroes, whose blood purchased our independence, but also in enumerating some of the inestimable blessings resulting from the glorious event. An event, which not only spake into

being a nation, that was soon to rival in arts, in arms, in wealth, and true greatness, the glory and magnificence of the long matured and time perfected nations of Europe, but also to proclaim the eternal and immutable truth 'THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.'

I need not at this time enter very minutely upon the history of our ancestors, before the event we this day celebrate. Though deeply interesting and deserving our most profound attention, as affording the cause for the astonishing effects which soon followed, whose vivifying and soul stirring influences unborn millions are yet to feel and bless; still the time allotted me will not allow more than a casual glance at the events of that period, and then we shall pass on to times more near, and in which we are more directly interested.

After the penetrating genius of Columbus had conceived, that in order to balance the terraqueous globe, so that the land and sea might be proportioned to each other, another continent was necessary, he set himself at work to induce his countrymen to patronize the undertaking, and afford him the means to carry to a successful issue the important enterprise. But in this as in every improvement or discovery, both before and since, he had to contend against the prejudices of the ignorant and the selfishness of the designing. The learned from motives of envy, inveighed against the idea of another continent, coming as it did from an obscure Genoese pilot. The canting hypocrite, swelling into importance through the miseries of the debased and ignorant multitude, uttered aloud the cry of 'dangerous to the church.' The people in their turn detested the philosopher, and accused those who investigated the causes of things as presumptuously invading the rights of the divinity. Socrates, for having demonstrated the unity of God, was forced to drink the juice of the hemlock; Galileo was cast into prison for having proved the motion of the earth; Harvey was persecuted for the discovery of the circulation of the blood; and Columbus was rejected and despised as a chimerical projector. His laudable attempt

was treated with ridicule; and the christian fathers went so far as to account it an error little short of damnable heresy. But his cause was too momentous and his convictions too deep to be easily daunted, and he persevered for eighteen years, until he prevailed on Isabella of Spain to promote the grand design, who supplied his wants by pawning a part of her own jewels. He sailed on the third of August 1492, and soon found himself upon a trackless, unknown and bewildering ocean, where nature herself appeared to deviate from her eternal round, which involved our hero in new and unaccountable difficulties, that well nigh turned the scale, and this new world had still remained in embryo. But perseverance, judgment and fortitude triumphed. This western hemisphere was soon discovered, though with a series of disappointments and difficulties, which would have broken down and destroyed a spirit less daring and adventurous than his; and he returned in triumph, bearing the evidence of his superior wisdom, and led the way to new enterprises and farther discoveries, which proclaimed a country boundless in extent, infinite in variety and grandeur; and promised the greatest abundance, and the greatest blessings.

Such was the country for which civil and religious disability had long been preparing her future proprietors in the old world. Thither our fathers fled to rid themselves of the legalised robberies of king-craft and priest-craft. Oppression and persecution had long rested on their devoted heads. Civil and political rights were then denied or unheeded, or if acknowledged, it were only to make the darkness of their degradation the more visible and their feeling the more poignant, in comparing the monstrous usurpations practised upon them, with their just rights and prerogatives. Injustice and fraud, corruption and impurity, sat with her brazen crest upon the throne, and the degraded multitude mourned in silence their debased condition. Would that we could stop here and relieve a degenerate and corrupt race from the half of their iniquity. But not so: the fell spirit of religious bigotry cried for tortures and extermination. The fiery faggot was put in requisition to produce conformity and

abject submission to the defender of the faith, and the expiring groans of victims were sent up to an all just and benevolent God, to test their zeal in his cause. Here sat the infuriated fanatic, long bereft of reason and dead to revelation, eying with fell purpose and hellish malignity for a victim on whom to wreak his unholy vengeance; and here again the defender of the faith, with eager impatience, watching for the spiritual stroke, that should wing the persecuted soul to his God, ready to appropriate his effects to purposes still more revolting. Terror occupied every breast, and superstition hung as an incubus on a deluded world. Fines, imprisonment, banishment and death, followed in rapid succession, and were the only alternatives to non-conformity.

Such were the causes which induced our ancestors to flee for repose and peace. Sooner than endure the persecution of their native land, or the licentiousness of Holland, whither they at first fled, they threw themselves upon an unknown shore, surrounded by savage beasts, and still more savage man, without hope or promise of future favor, and bereft of either comfort or consolation, save the prospect of enjoying their last sad moments, free from writhing tortures and grinding extortions.

Such were the conditions and the prospects of these solitary christians.

Tried by such fire, exposed to such hardships for conscience sake, devoted to liberty, and sighing for her enjoyments, it is not wonderful, that the outrages practised upon them in the land of their birth, should never permanently take root in the land of their adoption. And it is the less so, that their immediate descendants, born beyond the corruptions and evil examples and false education of their parents, and free to roam the fields of free enquiry and free discussion, should fan the half extinguished spark of liberty within their bosoms, and be prepared to assert the natural and indefeasible rights of man.

The steady purposes of our ancestors, their wisdom and moderation; their rapid growth in population and increasing prosperity; their love of justice; and their advances in knowledge and in the arts; their skill and valor displayed in their defences against the enemies by whom they were surrounded, soon attracted the attention of the British parliament, and excited in the crown a disposition to check the rising greatness of this new world.

History records the Tea, the Stamp, and the Proscription Acts. The closing of our ports; denying us a trial by a jury of our countrymen; transporting our citizens to foreign climes; quartering mercenary soldiery in our cities and towns, and destroying our commerce. Petition after petition was offered, couched in the most humble terms, beseeching the British tyrant to relax the rigor of his edicts, and give peace to a half-distracted country. Their justice and consanguinity were appealed to; but all without effect and without answer, except by new and repeated insults, and in urging farther claims to new exactions. The crisis had now arrived, which left them no alternative but open resistance to these unparalleled impositions, or an abject submission to the arrogant pretensions of the crown. And, my countrymen, we have abundant reasons this day to rejoice, that our fathers did not accept the humiliating terms; and for the sake of vegetating in peace and in obscurity part with the vital principle of liberty. They chose rather to die freemen, than to live slaves: — to hazard an unequal and exterminating war, than ignobly yield to the demands of a reckless despot. Already had the industrious yeomanry surveyed with keenness of purpose the condition of their little stock, and contemplated in the prospect, their fields laid waste; their houses reared through bloody sweat to protect their little ones, in flames; themselves upon the tented field and their families scattered and in distress: But no reflection however agonizing, could chill their ardor for liberty, or choke the uprisings of their indignation at the presumption of a foreign invader. The old conjured the young to manful resistance to the hateful despot-

ism which an unnatural prince was attempting to impose, and appealed to their scars to excite the vigorous youth to the conflict. They recounted their sufferings and their persecutions. How they fled the faggot and execution axe — from dungeons, stripes, and the tortures of the inquisition. Public meetings were held, and amid the burst of enthusiastic aspirations for liberty, the very hills re-echoed with the eloquent appeals of a Gerry, an Adams, a Henry and a Jefferson calling upon their countrymen to maintain their violated rights. Nothing could resist their eloquent appeals, or the impetuous ardor of these sons of freedom. The cry of liberty or death resounded through the colonies, and dwelt on every tongue. British legions were already martialled and on their way across the Atlantic to force submission. The tempest now thunders nigh, — clouds of darkness hovered and thickened, and threatened the poor and defenceless colonies with undistinguished and irreparable ruin. All is doubt and uncertainty ; fears and hopes alternate, and the stoutest heart desponds upon contemplating the unequal contest. The hostile invader disembarks his legions, — the blood thirsty leader gives the signal for the attack, — the thunders of their cannon announce the conflict, and the expiring groans of our murdered countrymen cried aloud for vengeance. Nor is that cry in vain, nor does their blood flow unavenged. Though in military arts unskilled, — not versed in camps, nor disciplined in blood — with no chief to lead, that they might avenge their wrongs, nor hope of foreign aid or countenance ; still they swore upon the altar of their God, to make common cause against the tyrant, and cease not to defend their rights but in death. That holy purpose — that fixed determination — that uncompromising hatred to oppression — that love of liberty — that perseverance under trials the most heart-rending — that final triumph, we this day celebrate. Auspicious day ! Hallowed event ; that proclaimed a nation emancipated, which broke the chain of servitude, laid claim to religious liberty, and maintained the rights of man.

The gratitude due the founders of our institutions cannot be cancelled. Nor time, nor space, nor circumstance can lessen

the merit of the work, or calculate its blessings. And all sufficient should it be for the highest honors and enjoyments, for fame and for praise, for any man to say, 'I too fought in the war for independence.' Are any such now present, to whom I may address myself? Hail, venerable men! chosen of God. Selected by the eternal one to break the oppressor's rod, to set the bondsman free, and stay the persecutor's arm. The age in which you live is rendered illustrious by your deeds. The world concedes your greatness. The brilliancy of your military triumphs, is outshone only by the lustre of your political virtues. Your countrymen grateful for your services, chant forth your praises to high heaven, as the best return to God, for his great goodness. Your fame shall stand, so long as liberty endures. The ever placid countenance of the Almighty will attend you, and when the recording angel shall note your time on earth as ended, the attending host of heaven shall waft your freed spirits into the presence of your compatriots and your God, to go no more out forever. Glorious consolation! Blissful reflection; to find yourselves thus honored and beloved, for the part sustained by you in the cause of suffering humanity.

But, fellow citizens, amid the pleasing sensations elicited upon reviewing the events of our revolution, and while praising the living, and in uttering prayers for their long and happy continuance among us, the melancholy bereavement we have just experienced, calls upon us to honor the memory and offer a tribute of respect to the illustrious patriot and philanthropist, who has just departed full of years and honors. The name of Lafayette is interwoven with our choicest recollections. And if it be a virtue to cherish the memory and commemorate the deeds of our fathers, it were doubly so, to lament the loss of one, who though a stranger, espoused our cause, supplied our necessities, and fought our battles. The sacrifices made by this young nobleman to freedom, educated as he was in the notions peculiar to courts, and with his fortunes allied to the reigning monarchical governments of Europe, entitle him to a distinguished eminence among the benefactors of his race. Yes, indeed his name ought

and will be canonized and placed side by side of those on whom the world has loved to linger with admiration and delight. In his character is presented the living example of one, in the fire of youth, the strength of manhood, the wisdom of riper years, and the experience of old age, the same, the pure, and single hearted in devotion to liberty and human happiness. The steady and consistent among the vacillating. The open advocate of freedom and the defender of the people's rights and liberties even in the presence of crowned heads and sceptred tyrants. The honest among the venal and corrupt — the liberal among the selfish, — the open and generous, among the proud and austere — a mental and moral pyramid of excellence and grandeur among the strange and corrupt mass by whom he was surrounded. The world will mourn his loss, for in that event, liberty hath lost a champion, humanity a friend and benefactor, and virtue, her choicest ornament. The light, which for a full half century, has illumined the two hemispheres, has disappeared. France has lost her truest — worthiest son; and on her agitated bosom, no Lafayette is longer found, to guide and council her erring sons, and to cheer their efforts in the cause of liberty. And although they pay their tribute of grief, still the poignancy must be less, since there, the principles for which he periled his life, are neither understood nor prized as here, where rational liberty is enjoyed by all. There, despotism has become amalgamated with the very soil. There, the ruthless despot wields the iron rod of power, almost unquestioned. There, ignorance is nourished, and the human mind is crushed under its accumulated impositions; and, if some daring spirit shall lead the way to freedom, then, liberty degenerates into licentiousness, and the last arguments of kings — the application of brute force — is put in requisition to repress the uprising of popular feeling. Hence his loss to them is less, for his principles are less appreciated. While here, but one principle and one feeling pervades society; and the expression of grief, comes as it were from the throbbing of but one mighty heart. And while we lament his loss, may we look back upon the good he has performed, and the lessons of wisdom

he inculcated, and endeavor to emulate his deeds, and practise upon his virtues.

It is now rising half a century since the memorable event we this day celebrate. And the greater part of the heroes in that drama, have long since winged their flight to their eternal rest, leaving to us the sacred investiture, for a patrimony. And what report have we to send, when the last few remaining patriots shall hold converse with their already ascended brethren? Have we been true to the important trust? Have we not only cherished the rights transmitted us, and held fast to the sacred, never-dying principle of equality, but have we also practised upon, advocated and extended its influences, and rectified those errors in our system, which time only could discover? Have we built upon that singleness of purpose which shone so conspicuously bright in the days of the Revolution? What account are we prepared to give of our stewardship? What opportunities omitted to ameliorate the condition of our species? What departures from correct principles? Have we strengthened the barriers against usurpation and against intolerance? Have we maintained the public virtue, and rewarded the honest, the industrious and the worthy with our esteem? Is there no cry of oppression among us, and do the worthy poor stand upon a level with the wealthy? No legal enactments, granting exclusive privileges to combinations of men? Are there no approaches to the habiliments of the old world; no hankering after distinctions, and no disposition to separate into grades and rank? Do not the laws create a feverish desire for distinction, or can we appeal to the integrity and patriotism of our law makers, for a negative answer to the enquiry? Would to God, there were less cause of apprehension, that many of the impositions of king-craft were not entirely eradicated by our Revolution; and more cheering hopes for the final extinction of every species of oppression. True, that we have much reason to rejoice in the prosperity of this people. True, that we have a written constitution, which guaranties the liberty of the press and freedom of debate; the

power of choosing our rulers ; that it secures to us the rights of conscience, the security of our persons, and eligibility to office. True, that virtue is encouraged, the useful arts patronised, and titles prohibited. But I need not at this time assert, that written constitutions can be no safeguard against oppression, unless in the people are combined the moral force, with integrity of purpose and capacity of understanding sufficient to a proper interpretation and a steady application of their provisions. In all countries and in all ages the mass of the people have ever been the dupes of the intrigues and corruptions of the degenerate and the base. The pride of wealth, and the power it confers ; the hope of splendor and aggrandisement ; the longings for pomp and show, and the desire for distinctions and for office, have been the operating motives, to usurp the supreme authority and ride upon the liberties of the people. And in our republic, the same causes are in operation, that have involved myriads of the human race in the lowest degradation, and overwhelmed whole nations and empires in ruin. And though nature's laws are uniform, and her productions regulated according to determinate laws and conditions, still it is not to be denied, that *monsters* in human form, sometimes appear among us and shake the virtue and the peace of the community by their hideous moral deformity. Nor was the period we this day celebrate exempt from this dread curse to man. No, fellow citizens. That holy cause ; — the exalted principles contended for ; the oppressions resisted ; the manly heroic firmness ; the wisdom and the valor displayed in our revolution, were no security and no safeguard against the wicked purposes of the ever-to-be-execrated tory faction of that period. We are filled with astonishment, when the recurring thought of their infernal machinations flits across our mind, and exposes their enormities against their countrymen, against humanity, against the honor of our nature, our happiness and our liberties. And though our armies triumphed and peace returned to bless the patriot's care and suffering in the conflict, still the ever active incendiaries to public liberty and happiness ; the haters of republicanism and of equality ; the adorers of monarchical

governments, who sigh for its privileges, its benefices, and its favors, conspired again against the institutions of our country and liberty throughout the world. This was indeed a 'reign of terror.' The enemies of equality were the ascendant party, and in power. Our battles had long since ceased. Our invaders had recrossed the ocean cowed and broken down, and the blood of our citizens had consummated our independence. The world had gazed upon the scene in utter astonishment. We had become the hope of nations. The political reformer in lands benighted and enslaved, had seen in our example, the promise of his own country's redemption from thralldom, while in the same, the philosopher had based his hopes for the final and universal enfranchisement of the human race.

But a thick darkness came upon us and covered us with impenetrable gloom. The Alien and Sedition Laws of the Stamp Act, announced the black intrigues and monarchical vengeance of the 'tory party.' The every energy of their fiend-like dispositions were centred against the liberties of their country and the rights of man. Their malignant joy in their triumph, well contrasts with their hellish propensities to tyrannize over a too confiding community. Not long, however, did they enjoy the banquet scene of rioting on the violated rights of our citizens, and outraging the sacred charter of our liberties. For their revolting impositions soon aroused the latent energies of the people into action. They had seen their countrymen fall while breasting their invaders in the days of the revolution; their dearest friends expire in dungeons and in prison ships; their country violated by a mercenary soldiery, and desolation spreading wide her horrors, with no hand nigh to save and comfort; but still they triumphed, and beheld peace restored and prosperity re-illumine the long dejected countenance. Were then these sufferings, these trials, and these sacrifices made in vain, and the blessings secured consequent thereon to be so soon lost? No: indulgent Heaven in compassion looked down upon her chosen people, and the Deity decreed the complete overthrow of

this pre-concerted despotism ; and Jefferson, the Sun of Democratic strength, shone forth with resplendent glory. The reign of terror ceased. The prison doors were opened, and the illegally confined captive once more inhaled a new atmosphere. The new created pack of federal judges sighed in vain for a confirmation of their unexecuted commissions. The excrescences of the body politic were lopped off, and the hated trappings of monarchy consigned to the tomb of the 'Capulets.' The philosopher, the statesman, and the patriot, restored the lost equilibrium of our system, gave security and peace to the people, and our country again rapidly progressed in power and prosperity.

That noxious race, dispirited at their failure to overthrow our government, and riot on its ruins, retired to ruminate on their sad reverses and wait a new occasion to fasten upon their country an odious despotism. Their turbulent and disappointed spirits could not bear defeat, and their hatred to republicanism, prompted them to watch with eager impatience for an opportunity to bury the liberty of their country ; bring chaos out of order, and substitute their unbridled passions for the laws. And but too soon were the distinguishing features of the 'old tory' recognized in the 'federal convention at Hartford.' Long had they matured their plans, and in secret conclave with the British Spy, prepared the way to ruin the last hope of man. Their chief object was soon made manifest, by slandering the government and the agents of the people, and by distorting the aim and motives of the administration, in the hope, as their subsequent efforts showed, to produce division. A just war in defence of our immolated countrymen, our property and our dearest rights presented a fit moment for these parricides to accomplish their nefarious designs. Our citizens were dissuaded from loaning their money to aid the government. Our governor refused to call out our forces, upon the requisition of the chief executive of the nation. Our Legislature declared it 'immoral and unbecoming to rejoice at our victories over the bulwark of our religion.' Te Deums were sung in our churches in honor of British victories,

and succor was furnished their fleets upon our coasts. The cry of disunion was murmured in the distance. The five striped flag was floating on the breeze, to rally the discontented, and excite our citizens to deeds of violence. Then, Oh then, was the cry sent forth in the agony of despair; — Was it for this, our fathers raised the standard of freedom? Was it for this, they braved an empire's power, and bore a seven years' war and tribulation? Was it for this, they set at naught the threats of parliaments and thrones, to be thus basely destroyed by tory traitors? Was it to change the tyrant only, that they pledged 'their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors?' Was it to incur disease and death and bloody sacking war, that they contended for, and then be foiled at last? But hark! whence comes that sound? whence this trembling motion of our earth? — the cannon thunders; the hills reverberate the sound; the valleys echo with the cry of victory, victory! New Orleans is safe; our Jackson triumphs; the disorganizers are foiled, and the last hope of their British allies ends in death and ruin; the federal traitors are prostrate; O God, thou who did'st preserve our fathers in the day of their extremities, and who did'st break the sceptre of trans-atlantic oppression, and did'st confound the machinations of those soul-hardened wretches who conspired against their country — dissipate now the darkness of ignorance in our people, and unveil the dark designs of this often defeated, but never-ceasing enemy to our liberties. As of yore, thou did'st nerve the minds of our fathers to assert their rights before the cannon's mouth; so do thou this day, and in all succeeding time, enable us to thwart the doings of mad ambition, and protect ourselves from secret, as our fathers did from open enemies. Lead us to know that liberty cannot be secure, but by eternal vigilance; that the hatred to equality and the rights of man is not destroyed, but is only silenced, and that the new and fair sounding names and professions are only assumed, the better to betray, and make their prospect of final success over our liberties the more easy and the more certain.

The base purposes of that faction, and the circumstances under which they acted, combined to render their name so odious and revolting, that it soon became apparent to them, that their only hope of success in domineering over our liberties, was to renounce forever their name, and lull the people into security, under the wolfish cry of 'no party.' And having also found, that the attachment to the union was too strong to be shaken, they henceforth formed the determination to cry up the union and magnify its blessings, while they sapped its foundation by their newly devised schemes.

The first bold stroke of their malign policy inveigled a portion of the democratic strength into their cold death-like embrace. And the greatest curse which ever befell this nation was consummated upon a violated constitution. That mother of abominations — that hated monopoly, was the precursor of a system of public measures, that completely moulded our government into a monied aristocracy. A tariff for 'protection' followed next. Commerce paralyzed, to foster manufactures. Sectional jealousies created, ending in nullification. Monied corporations springing into existence, with privileges secured to benefit the wealthy and oppress the poor. Extravagance and idleness encouraged, and habits of ostentation and parade engendered, consequent upon the unequal operations of the laws. Misery and squalid poverty increased, while the outward show of cities building, steeples towering, and works of grandeur in full progression, most forcibly illustrating the garnished sepulchre. Then next in train came the 'Internal Improvement System,' whose insidious windings, were well designed to work corruption. In this system, a pretext was offered for a 'high tariff,' and taxes were increased; profligate expenditures were encouraged; jealousies were excited; wealthy individuals were benefited at the expense of the whole community; corruption in the scramble for appropriations and favoritism in their bestowment; speculation encouraged, and honest industry discarded, are a few of the many evils of this justly termed 'log-

rolling system.' Hundreds of millions of the hard earnings of the people, would have been required to keep its advocates in pay and complete the '*Glory*' of the mis-termed '*American System*.' Our happy constitution was invaded and perverted, and a privileged class had built themselves upon its ruins. The press belonged to them — the bar and the bench were theirs. Through their disguises, they had obtained possession of the legislation of the country, and our whole productive industry was at their disposal; and the productive classes were compelled from necessity to yield in submission and part with the first fruits of their toil, to the monopolisers. The people's ignorance were fed by high sounding names and titles, and words were palmed upon them for truths, and forms for principles. Equality was outraged, while the millions were harassed with over labor, and suffering all the ills of haggard want, while the few were rolling in luxury and splendor. These, fellow citizens, are some of the evils arising from the violation of the great charter of our liberties. Mark the pride of wealth — the abasement of poverty — of industry unrewarded — of ignorance unenlightened — of misery unpitied and unheeded. Go, mark all the wrongs which daily forced themselves upon your senses, and then say if the cursed spirit of toryism was not at her unhallowed work again. Is it not apparent to us all, that the measures supported by the '*opposition*' have a direct tendency to produce the greatest inequality among us, and for which the '*tory party*' have labored through all their mutations of names, from the Revolution to the present time? The change of name has worked no change of principle. Power and office and family distinctions prompted them to favor the cause of Britain in our struggle against her usurpations, and the same desire animates and controls them now to favor monopolies and privileged corporations. The hatred to equality is the same, and the longings for power are no less in an American than in a British aristocracy. The same men oppose the great distinctive principle of our own system — '*the greatest good of the greatest number*.' We need not go beyond our State for proof. Where are the Otises, the Quincys, the

Adamses, the Perkins, the Sullivans, and the Prescotts ? Where is Webster and Lathrop, and a host of other leading federalists of our times ? They each may be found singing hosannas to the 'Golden Calf,' which an idolatrous generation set up. Are they not the same who assume a 'lordly bearing,' and speak of the 'lower orders' and the 'higher orders,' who, having controlled our legislation, have amassed great wealth, live in idleness and splendor, and arrogate to themselves all the talent of the land ? Can then any Democrat follow where such lead ? And is it not astonishing that men, professing republicanism, who breasted a foreign foe, in defence of their government, and were immured in prisons and felt the 'tender mercies' of our enemy in the second war for independence, can now turn against their institutions in favor of a great monied power, controlled and regulated by the lords and vassals of this same foreign foe ; and act in concert with the very men, whose conduct prolonged the war and aggravated its evils, and would have sacrificed their nation's honor and liberties ? That the same hope of personal aggrandisement, the same hatred to equality and the rights of man, the same aspiring notions of superiority exists in the present opposing faction, that prompted the 'tories' of the Revolution, is, we think, proclaimed by their every movement. Think not then, that toryism is extinct, and that public liberty has no enemy. Think not that oppression ceased with British insolence — that there remained after the Revolution, no hankering after power, no sighs sent forth for stars and coronets, and no curses on Equality. Think not, because no tocsin of alarm is sounded, and no hostile invader hovers on your coast, to rob you of your heritage, that your liberties are not in danger ; for a power more potent — more hateful — more insidious — more enervating — more destroying, is preying on your vitals. Think not, you yet experience the sweets of liberty, while other laws than yours, decide upon your rights and upon your property. Lay not the flattering unction to your souls, that religious freedom still exists in full fruition. That no persecutor's arm is raised. Think not you yet are free, while the highest power of sovereignty is given to soulless

stock-jobbers, to regulate your currency as best suits their cupidity.

But, fellow citizens, we have more cheering prospects, and may soon hope for better things.—The chain which has borne so heavily upon us, imposed and riveted by corrupt legislation and exuberant desire, has snapped asunder. The many combinations of wealth cannot now expect to stem the popular current; for the people are beginning to see the causes as well as to feel the effects of avarice and fraud. Privileged classes already tremble for the safety of their ill-gotten and worse used powers and prerogatives. Yes, the philanthropist and the patriot can now rejoice, that the corruptions of toryism, with her dozen of aliases down to whigism, are giving away before a more enlightened people; and their unjust and aristocratic measures, those which make the poor poorer and the rich more potent, are fast dissipating before the matchless energy, the enlightened policy, and the benevolent intentions of our venerable chief. The people are no longer willing to take opinions upon trust, but begin to scan the justice and the expediency of our laws, and the motives and interests of the law makers. Cherishing the highest veneration for our form of government, and grieved to the last degree to see its spirit and provisions violated, they have chosen an actor in the tragic scene of the Revolution, to weed it of its noxious parts, and restore it to its primitive simplicity and purity. That the venerable sage has performed the work with success and satisfaction — that he has stayed the march of corruption, and redeemed our violated constitution from the inroads of avarice and ambition — that he has through the influence of his all-powerful name and energy of character, equalized the burdens of the people, and thwarted unequal and unjust legislation — that he has stopped the tide of extravagant, sectional, and unconstitutional appropriations — that he has successfully extinguished our national debt, a spectacle never before witnessed in any country — that, during his administration, justice has been done the patriots of the Revolution, and confirmed the truth that republics are not un-

grateful — that our paralyzed commerce has been imbued with new vigor, our liberties received new safeguards, and our happiness farther accessions — that our Union has been preserved from the disorganizers — that our difficulties with foreign nations have been honorably settled, our injuries satisfied, our merchants remunerated, and peace secured upon a permanent basis — that nothing wrong has been submitted to, and that more than justice has not been asked — that he has manfully and successfully met corruption in her strong hold, and grappled with the monster, whose pernicious influence is felt throughout society, corrupting our morals, — bribing our press, — granting uncommon ‘facilities’ to our congressmen, — forcing its way into our courts of justice, — contending for equal power with the government in deciding upon our laws and her responsibilities — defying your representatives, and comparing your chief magistrate (elected with a unanimity never before known) with felons — demanding a recharter, and threatening distress and ruin in case of a denial — bringing dismay and panic upon her dependants, and again pampering her mercenary followers with new favors, and paying to every man his ‘price’ — that he has brought back our constitution to its original meaning, and confined its provisions to the happiness of the people, and in dispensing alike its blessings as the dews of heaven upon the whole mass, are truths upon which I need not at this time speak ; for the facts are open, tangible and acknowledged by all, whose minds are not stultified by party rancor.

Hence he is reviled and persecuted with a rage that knows neither bounds nor decency. His glorious triumph over their British allies, cannot be forgotten, nor forgiven. The tory party well know the man — how firm in the affections of the people — how devoted to their cause — how zealously he has defended their rights and liberties — how pure his purpose — how unsullied his integrity — how great his moral worth, and firm his republican principles. And they also know that so long as he shall hold upon the affections of the people, their attempts to disunion will be fruitless. Hence the fears of some, the prejudices of others,

and the passions of all are appealed to, and the cry of levellers and infidels is sent forth, to drown the sentiment of equality and stay the progress of reform. No national debt to feed their pampered idleness, and mar the happiness of the people,—no established church, ‘to take from the mouth of labor the bread it hath earned:’—no patrician order to insult, and claim pre-eminence over merit:—these are the reasons for their opposition and their hatred. He has scattered the money changers and upturned their tables:—he has reformed corruption, and as far as in him lay, compelled the many who before were living upon the people by unjust and iniquitous laws, to depend upon their own resources for their own prosperity. He has plead the cause of the poor, and for them resisted the oppressions of the wealthy. He has followed the example of our illustrious Jefferson, and maintained the republican principle of rotation in office. Why then should he not be opposed, and hated for teaching this people wisdom and virtue:—for enlightening their minds, and instructing them in the science of government, and in advancing their happiness, and opening new sources of national prosperity.

O, my countrymen, great is our responsibility. The struggle now going on will not only test the strength of our institutions, but will also decide upon our capacity for self government, and the whole world and all coming ages are interested in the issue. Much did our fathers do, and suffer, to vindicate our too much decried nature, and it remains for us to build upon their foundation—to raise the corner stone and perfect the arch, that shall resist the accumulated and accumulating ‘weight’ which the hope of distinctions and the lust for power and patronage would impose upon us. We must enlighten the human mind, if we would avoid the errors and misfortunes which have so afflicted the human race. The human character and the spring to human action should be known, if we would counteract the desire for power, and place, and circumstance. If we would be free we must be intelligent. If we expect to find fidelity, and justice and goodness in our public servants, we must not suffer a single officer in

this wide republic, to be independent of our control and supervision, but must subject his character, his integrity and qualifications, to a periodical scrutiny for approval or condemnation. If we would avoid the impositions practised upon a liberty-lost world, we must learn the source of power. If we would disabuse public sentiment, and show the follies and pretensions of the wealthy, as being the hinges on which hang the prosperity of the nation, we must learn the source of wealth. If we would advance in knowledge, in truth, in prosperity and in happiness, we must renounce and reject that pernicious sentiment, that the few alone are capable of any improvement, while the many can exist but by the grossest sensuality, and are fitted only for the most degraded services.

We are singularly blessed above every other nation, inasmuch as we possess a government, whose constitution is based upon general equality. And though many corruptions are entwined around its fair proportions, still we possess the *form*, and can apply the remedy, without any of those severe measures, which alone can purify the long standing corruptions and abuses of other countries. There, the prejudices of the ignorant — the haughty arrogance of wealth — the entrenchments of power — the privileges of the venal, and the hopes of future favors, must be eradicated and destroyed. Wars, the most distressing, inasmuch as the bitterness and strife and slaughter will be directed against their own countrymen, must ensue. Battles must be fought, and won. Peace must return, and confidence must re-assume her wonted stand, before the still more difficult part of all, the power of self government can be accomplished. While here, the still small voice of public opinion if properly enlightened and directed, will correct the errors and atone for previous faults, without tumult and without bloodshed.

Let us then, fellow citizens, rally around our republican institutions, through which so much has been accomplished, and protect them in purity from the unhallowed touch of ambition and

avarice. Let us fortify our constitution in the strong hold of an intelligent and discriminating community. Let us hold fast to the Union of the States, and support the patriot chief who declared the 'Union must be preserved.' Then, may the factionist rage, and the agitator storm:—then, may disappointed ambition hurl its shafts, and malice raise her hideous form:—then, may 'torics' rail, and 'whigs' caress and flatter to betray,—for the people, with heaven for their aid, will hurl them to the four winds, and scatter their unholy aspirations.

THE END.