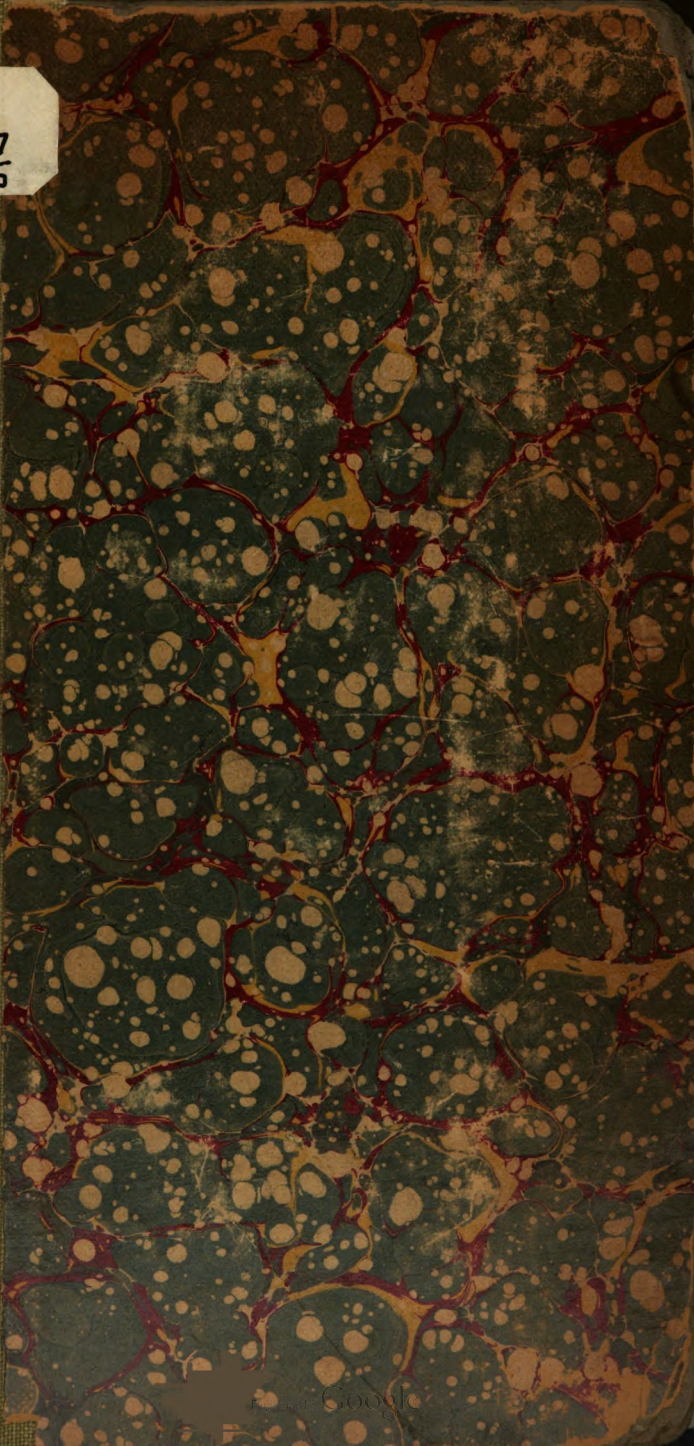


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COURSE

OF

POPULAR LECTURES,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

AS DELIVERED BY

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT,

IN VARIOUS CITIES, TOWNS, AND COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

BEING

INTRODUCTORY TO A COURSE

ON THE

NATURE AND OBJECT OF AMERICA'S POLITICAL
INSTITUTIONS.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

1836.

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Chas. Christopher Follen,
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TO THE PEOPLE
OF
THE UNITED STATES.

RECEIVE, Fellow-citizens of my adoption! this second volume of discourses, prepared, as was the first, for your mental instruction—at all times indispensable for, and now, more certainly than ever, preparatory to, an increase of moral contentment and physical éase. Receive it, Fellow-citizens! and study it in the same spirit which has inspired its counsels; namely, a spirit of active, untiring, and all-devoted love to this nation and to humankind.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT.

P R E F A C E.

IN presenting to the American nation a Course of Lectures, whose opening, in some of their states and cities, has been met, not merely by a storm of words, but by the open violation of all law and all decency, on the part of authorities officially appointed and sworn to protect the very rights and the very peace they outraged, it seems both due to the public and to myself to give, with the discourses themselves, a statement of facts connected with their first delivery. This perhaps may be best effected by presenting in order the greater part of those "Notices to the Public" which *federal* violence has called either from the Committees of Arrangement or from myself, during the last three months. Let me however preface these newspaper records by a few observations.

When circumstances and my own convictions induced me, in May last, to resume my labours as a public teacher in the very city (Cincinnati) where I first commenced them, I felt that perhaps I alone could wrest from foreign intrigue and home faction the question which served for their war-horse. Setting aside all influence that I might be supposed to possess, as the individual who, nine years ago, had arrested in that city the flood of superstition, at a time when it had well nigh irrecoverably upset the intellect of one half of the population, and destroyed the domestic peace of the whole; and, setting aside old personal relations and interchange of friendship, not forgotten on either side as having subsisted during my some years' residence in the Western Valley—setting aside these and many other associations and sympathies, extending from

the Lakes to New-Orleans, I knew that I was generally conceived to possess a more intimate acquaintance with the bearings of the slave question than any other individual. I was equally remembered as a practical friend of the man of colour, and as a peaceful and dutiful citizen of a southern state. I was known to have studied the south and planted myself down in its bosom, not to spy out the land with a view to its betrayal, the slandering the character of its people, nor the disturbing of its peace, but simply to understand its position, its difficulties, its feelings, and its interests, with a view to the full and accurate comprehension of a question which I had long been convinced was least understood by those who most actively meddled with it. When I found, therefore, the whole country designedly disturbed by foreign intrigue and home faction, under the mask of abolition philanthropy to-day, and that of anti-abolition fury to-morrow; the two bodies working in concert with secret pass-word, the better to promote the great *Federal* design of throwing all into confusion, and thus aiding transatlantic schemes for the unseating of the American Union, and the establishing throughout the civilized world one universal consolidated financial despotism—When I found this, I determined quietly to defeat the enemy by exposing the nothingness of the weapon he brandished. From the circumstances I have explained, I was satisfied that my views on the subject of slavery would be received with attention, and *perfectly without suspicion*. In delivering them, I had no apprehension of being taken for a “British spy,” nor for a “Tappan abolitionist,” nor for a Federal whig “anti-abolitionist,” working an abolition press with one hand, and pushing by the shoulders a bank mob to break it to pieces with the other. I had no apprehension of being taken for a *mad dog* of any description, and even Federal

whigs themselves I knew would be embarrassed, in my case, to raise the cry. They were indeed so embarrassed, that when my discourse on slavery was announced, but one individual could be found *openly* to run through the streets to exhort quiet citizens to stay at home, and whisper incendiaries to turn out; and only one hireling from the office of the lowest federal press in the city, to raise in the midst of the astonished assembly a signal for disturbance, which no accomplice had the courage, or the impudence, to second.

It will here probably be asked, and that by men of sense, though, as I conceive, by those who have not embraced a general conception of the position of this country, both with reference to her internal affairs and her external relations;—it will be asked why I did not content myself by treating one question, or at most two questions, at a time? Why, after showing a true reading of American history and political institutions, and exhibiting the unmeaningness, on the one part, and the mischievous design, on the other, of the abolition question as now presented, why I must also break a lance against chartered monopolies? Why? Because, in the west more especially, all other questions are but sham questions, decoy-ducks, matters of moonshine, ghosts dressed up to divert public attention from examination of the political edifice. There, all and every thing resolves itself into chartered monopolies. There, no one imagines that abolition or anti-abolition signifies aught but clerical or federal intrigue; or that these find not their support in chartered companies in general. There, no man conceives that religious zeal means aught but stock-interest in the churches or favour in the church-building banks; that trade means aught but land-speculating or produce-monopolizing by aid of bank favour and long credits, nor

that the federal financial scheme, with its legion of foreign stockholders, was more firmly seated in the Branch of the United States Bank, than it is in the Life and Trust. Truth is, that Cincinnati, like New-York, is a city of banks. Her whole business is scheming in, and by aid of banks; and so alive is the intelligent population of Ohio to the secret good understanding of all her banks in general, that those politicians who, with a view to the more effectual destruction of the old federal monster, forbade in ward and county meetings, public journals, and even by *written pledges*, handed round for signature to electors, the discussion of the broad question of chartered privileges—such politicians, I say, instead of throwing dust into the eyes of the people, only threw dust into their own. Honest citizens, unable to distinguish between one rogue and another, and aware that credit is the soul of industry, that banking furnishes credit, and that the Bank of the United States pretended to furnish it on surer foundation and no worse principle, that they could distinguish, than any other—honest citizens, I say, paused in their hostility to the traitor, became bamboozled by the tricks and the talk of Federal whigs, until Cincinnati and three parts of the towns on the western waters assumed the distinctive epithet of *whig*. Such was the state of things when I was in the west. Cincinnati, as the great western centre of Federal manœuvres, needed something more to the purpose than political intriguing to draw her from the toils of the enemy to the side of the nation. She wanted some plain truth; I gave it her, and the sound part of her population received it.

And now I will concede, and it is a position I have ever myself assumed—*that all things have to be taken successively and in order*. But, one thing is to propose measures, and another thing to take a general view of the

state of affairs. One thing is to distinguish where we are; another, whither we are to go; and another, how we are to get there. It is by no means necessary to knock down all the chartered monopolies the first fine morning; nor, on any morning, that we should unsettle such as may be judged of *real* public utility, or of importance to the public defence and safety, at a time, too, when, of all others, the financial affairs of the nation require careful and skilful guardianship. Yet I do think that it is not only allowable to look at them, any and every morning that we choose; to investigate the nature of their whole structure, examine their foundations, pry into all their hidden passages, back entrances, secret cupboards, traps and cellars, but moreover, that it is right and proper, and of urgent necessity, that we should do so. I will not quote the old proverb which says *a cat may look at a king*, a proverb that is practically true in most countries where there are kings to look at; nor ask why, in this country, the King, which is, *de jure* at least, the People, may not look at the eat—and at a cat too that gives him many hard scratches.

But, joking apart, I would ask if on the part of any set of men there be either policy or decency, in a world whose rule is Right and whose guide is Reason (or which otherwise is without either rule or guide at all) — I would ask, I say, whether at the point of enquiry at which the public mind has now arrived, there be policy or decency in the attempt to prevent, or even to retard, the investigation of any question whatsoever? It is a law of the human mind instinctively to resist injustice and to spurn arbitrary dictation. In America, moreover, such is the law of the State. To cry “silence!” to the voice of public curiosity is here outrage; to induce silence by bribery or enforce it by violence is overt treason. What policy

is there or can there be in endeavouring to hide what every body sees, or in making endless turns and tricks when the public eye is open to them all? There is a mode by which, in this country, all prudence may be secured and all patience commanded. It is simply *to tell the truth on all occasions*. Never to mystify and never to falsify. To say — such and such is our position. By so much it is false; but, in setting it right, let us beware of the lee shore and the false current. And, so that we hear of dangers really in existence and not of imaginary ones invented to draw the ship into some new course of error, or to keep her from taking the shortest course, consistent with safety, into the right one, we may be sure that all on board will possess their souls in peace and wait for salvation or strain every nerve to aid it, without a murmur or even a hard thought. All above-board and nothing in the dark. Whenever a measure is right, or even when not absolutely right in itself, but only indispensable under existing circumstances, there is always reason to give for it; and, let it be given, and given without fear of opposition or evasion of discussion, and the mass of this nation will support it.

And now all this may pass for folly with what are called politicians, unhappily rather a numerous body of men in the present state of public morals; and yet I am by no means sure that those of the soundest sense among them may not distinguish in it some policy as well as wisdom. But let me observe that it is not to *sets of men* that I speak. It is *the public mind* I address; and, to address it I feel to be both my public right and my individual duty. My public right? This in common with every human being; the check to the exercise of the right being public opinion; no other. All who esteem me an inefficient teacher will of course not attend my

instructions. They who esteem the contrary will attend them. My individual duty? This regards my own convictions, both as respects my views of general utility, and my own persuasions as to my fitness to advance it. Such is my answer to the instigators of Federal Bank mobs, such as assaulted me and my hearers at the Falls of Schuylkill; to preacher politicians, such as attempted to prevent my occupying the public Court-house in York, Pennsylvania; and to the Mayor of this city, whose official summons tendered in a lawful way, I shall always be ready respectfully to answer, but whose arbitrary orders I shall at all times disregard, and whose incendiary proceedings I shall resist, and, as I believe, defeat, even as was the case on a late occasion.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT.

Philadelphia, 15th Sept., 1836.

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

THE following extracts from public prints will explain the course of Federal violence with which the Bank press backed its libellous assaults. In the view of obviating all pretext for difficulty respecting the slave question, the following appeared in the *National Laborer* previous to my opening the course :

PHILADELPHIA, June 23d, 1836.

To the Editor of the National Laborer :

SIR—The circumstances which decided me to treat the question of southern slavery with the people of Cincinnati, may be surmised from the tenor of the following communications. But if I then inclined to consider the proper treatment of that question as important for the quelling of political intrigue in that western city, more recent and extended observation has convinced me that the same is equally demanded elsewhere. If, as is asserted, the most effectual mode of mastering a furious animal be to seize it by the horns, much more certainly the surest way for rendering a tempestuous question harmless, is to meet it fairly, openly, fearlessly, rationally, and, in this country we may add, *constitutionally*. I now *fully know*, what I formerly surmised, that the question of slavery is at the present hour, throughout the whole American territory, made, openly or covertly, directly or indirectly, a pretext for the fomenting of disorder and the breeding of disunion. In the south, the enemies of American principles and of American union ring the tocsin of alarm in the ears of the planter, persuading him that the north is leagued for his ruin, is in close understanding with anarchist abolitionists, is armed with manifestoes, proclamations, and designs rife with provocation, violence, and unconstitutional legislating interference; and, exciting him to retort and retaliation, urge to search of the mails, censorship of the press, and, it may be, to suspension of *habeas corpus*. In the north, similar enemies to the national peace, union, and prosperity, raise, by turns, according to the purpose of the hour, every imaginable cry, and invent every imaginable slander. Here, the south is represented as the necessary enemy of the north; as suspicious of all its designs, hostile to all its interests, as bent on rending in twain the national flag, as dreaming but of violence, rebellious usurpation, and national domination.

And now let this matter be fairly examined. Who, everywhere,

north and south, are found to be the instigators to dissension, and the libellists of the south to the north, and of the north to the south? *One and the self-same party.* Whatever be the sentiments put forth, the arguments imagined, the provocations hazarded, still is it everywhere the enemies to the pure reading of American constitutional law, the advocates of *Federal*, more properly, of *European* corruptions—in one word, *the insurgents against equal rights*, who instigate Americans against Americans, who slander the northern people, who alarm the southern planter, who falsify facts, who belie characters, and who prophesy evil of this nation's destinies.

I have made a longer introduction than I intended to the communications adverted to, and which I now enclose. F. W. D.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette of May 23, 1836.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT TO THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI.

My object in stepping forward at the time present, must now be sufficiently evident to all who have followed the course of my observations as presented on two successive Sundays in the Cincinnati Court House. But by those who (wanting the testimony of their senses) have to receive their impressions through the incorrect medium of party or prejudice, my intentions may be as misconceived as my sentiments.

Knowing the situation of this country to be critical beyond what is generally imagined, I saw with regret, not unmingled with alarm, the public mind in this influential centre of the west, either sunk in apathy or divided by party. It appeared to me but the fulfilment of a citizen's duty, to exert some old influence over popular sentiment in an attempt to rally it around America's institutions. With such an object in view, clumsy and inefficient indeed must be the advocate whose attempt should be altogether unsuccessful. But my object was two-fold. First, to present the political institutions in their true character of simple beauty and saving power, poised on the principle of justice, and trusting, for their full development, in full confidence, to the onward progress of the human mind. Second, to disarm their enemies, by exposing the nature of the weapons employed, both through the past, and at the present, openly or secretly, for their subversion. This necessitated the embracing of a general view of the civil history of the United States, and necessitated, equally, the presenting satisfactory replies to questions employed at the time present as sources of disunion and confusion.

My intention had been to execute the whole of this task in one meeting, and, in the subject as sketched at the opening of my first discourse, it was thus announced. The geographical, political, and historical picture of the United States, with all the condensation I

could apply to it, occupied an hour and a half. My strength was exhausted, and I deferred until that day se'nnight, the treating of the question, now everywhere, openly or secretly, placed as the order of the day, and made, unhappily, and oftentimes most unrighteously, a subject of dispute, and firebrand of contention. This question—all acquainted with the general tone of my sentiments, or with the impressions conveyed by my preceding discourse, must have done me the justice to feel would be presented in a point of view at once rational and constitutional. Was it then surmised that I should convert it from a source of discord, into a source of union, that reports were spread through the city of threatened disturbance; reports, that one only, misguided individual from the office of "The Echo," was found to realize? This futile attempt, met as all such will ever be by an American audience, could only recoil upon its inventors; and, if I advert to it here, it is only as I did upon the spot, to make it breathe a lesson of warning to faction, and of encouragement to patriotism. The drawn knife of the ruffian is powerless in this country, and were the public good and the public peace assailed by no subtler weapons, both would run no hazard. But to distinguish correctly the arguments of sophistry from those of truth, is not always easy, especially if the one alone possesses their ostensible advocates and expounders. I have considered it therefore of importance, that all questions important to America's safety, to America's independence, and to her national union, should be presented in their true light. The beautiful political institutions of this country present a facile mode of testing the nature of every question, and of distinguishing, either in the present or future, the rational and peaceful mode of its solution. Every constitutional difficulty will find easily its remedy, if justice and human happiness be always taken for the object; the political institutions as the means, and the prudent and just regard to circumstances and immediate individual interests as the check or spur. Every unconstitutional question has to be entrusted, solely and safely, to the gentle, but ultimately, omnipotent action of human improvement, guided and aided, as it is in this country, by the national principle of government, and by the nature of the political institutions. The human mind and human affairs left freely open to this action, every question of temporary difficulty must finally be solved, righteously, honourably, ay! and advantageously, in every sense of the word, to all parties concerned, that is to say, both to individuals, to the nation, and to particular races, whose fate may be involved in American destiny.

I have yet to present my concluding observations to the Cincinnati public, which the press of matter again obliged me to leave unfinished at our last meeting. On Sunday morning next, as promised, I will state the views which occur to me as yet important to explain, consistently with the object I proposed to myself, of at once uniting and tranquillizing the public mind at the present critical moment. Union and firmness are indispensable for the national salvation, but

not less so is prudence. To take every step in a forward direction, but to take none without due reflection and due knowledge, is what the American nation is called to execute.

F. W. D.

Cincinnati, May 25, 1836.

From the Cincinnati Gazette of June 4, 1836.

The present observations are elicited by the innuendo which closes the editorial remarks appended to my communication to the people of Cincinnati, in the Daily Gazette of Saturday, May 28. Occupation has prevented me from offering the same an earlier reply.

Let me preface my remarks by what I conceive a just testimony to the liberality of the editor, in his ready insertion of my circular in his columns; and moreover, of what I conceive a fair interpretation of motives in his concluding comment upon the same. To the body of the paragraph I have nothing to say. It is for those who heard me, and for those who are acquainted with the general tone of my writings and public discourses, to judge whether, now, or at any period of my life, I have addressed the popular fancy, or the popular reason, and whether I am or have been the organ of party, or the organ of American principle, union and dutiful citizenship. Before noticing the conclusion of the article referred to, let me state, that I see no cause for attributing, neither do I attribute, malevolent intentions to the writer. He may have received upon trust, as too generally the custom is, my previous views respecting American Negro Slavery; a question with regard to which, though few have thought more, or expended as much, in time, health and fortune as myself, few have said less. Whatever epithets the anger of misguided party, or misconceiving prejudice may have coupled with my name, it rather pleases me to imagine, that of *philanthropist* cannot be one of them; a title which, however good in its etymological and dictionary meanings, has ever been, considered in its actual application, and current worldly acceptance, as foreign to my ambition as to my regard. I should have thought also, I might have escaped that of '*abolitionist*;' which, in the sense now generally attached to it, is certainly as far removed from my character, as could be any other epithet significative of violent or unconstitutional sentiment or proceedings.

The passage to which I advert in the editorial comments on my circular of Saturday, is the following: "At the time present *this* ('modern abolitionism') is so effectually ostracized, that even Madame F. W. D., forgetting all her ancient amalgamation notions, has more prudence than to discuss it."

The editor of the Gazette is evidently unaware that my experiment in Western Tennessee (of which others have talked and writ-

ten more than myself) proposed for its means, well directed, or what might express it better, enregimented and thoroughly disciplined labor; and, for its compound object, *the improvement of the Negro, morally, intellectually, and industrially*, (without which emancipation must ever be a work of anarchy,) *and his colonization without the limits of the United States*. The soul of the plan contemplated, was agricultural, and otherways, industrial schools, in which each generation might repay the cost of its raising, training, outfit, and all other expenses before colonization. Viewing, as I have ever done, all human reform as a work not *governmental or controlling*, but educational, administrative, and industrial, I could never propose to myself or others, any measures that should run counter to public opinion or national sentiment.

The editor may be also unaware that my own people, in compliance with public sentiment, and in keeping with my own pledge to the citizens of the slave state in which my experiment was attempted, were removed to the island of Hayti. And since I have been led to advert to this subject, let me here subjoin, in testimony to the honorable and much slandered character of the southern planter, that never, during the whole course of my journeyings and residence in the south, although my general sentiments and purpose were understood, did I ever experience aught but respectful treatment, and confiding, open-hearted hospitality. There is a tone of thought and a mode of proceeding, with regard to all questions, that in America will disarm prejudice, and conciliate good feeling; and, were such sought and followed by all who desire human reform, pretended philanthropists and intriguers, foreign and domestic, would be distinguished on the instant, and consequently quieted and disarmed.

Let me observe in conclusion, that, to whatever 'amalgamation notions' the editor may refer, the amalgamation practice, such as it exists in the present degraded state of human morals, must be revolting to every mind alive to the sentiment of human respect, or to the belief in human improvement. Whatever blending of races may befall the human family in the course of its destiny, let us hope it will be other in the future, than what, up to this hour, has, for the most part, alike violated decency, and brutalized character. One thing is to my mind evident, and will, I expect, in the course of time, become evident to all—that the removal of the African slave population may be effectuated, at one and the same time, with its civilization and enfranchisement, and with the improvement and enrichment, on a gigantic scale, of all the southern section of this northern continent. The developement of this idea, as already observed in my discourse on southern slavery, would be now premature, and is not what concerns the north, whose states have enough before them in the remedy of their own evils, and the allaying and the rectifying of their own confusion.

F. W. D.

Cincinnati, June 2, 1836.

The opening discourse which appears in this volume was delivered on the notice of a few hours to a crowded assembly of well known and respected citizens in Military Hall, and that on Southern Slavery was announced at the close of the meeting, and then, by public advertisement in all the papers, for the Thursday evening following. On the morning of that day, an official prohibition from the Mayor appeared on the door of the building; the same was posted throughout the city, and the following appeared in the United States Gazette:

A lecture on southern slavery is advertised for to-morrow (this evening, at the Military Hall, by Mrs. F. W. Darusmont, formerly Miss Wright.—We have been requested to state, that, apprehensive that the subject is one calculated to create an unpleasant excitement, and perhaps lead to a breach of the peace, the Mayor will interfere to prevent the delivery of the lecture. •

With a view to the preventing of disturbance, as likely to be provoked by an interference so extraordinary, the lecturer forwarded to the Mayor a written notice that the subject objected to would be postponed until he should have made himself acquainted with the nature of her views on a question which it was her object to despoil of all danger; and that she would therefore substitute for the discourse on slavery, one on Chartered Monopolies. To this, answer was returned, that the objection was the same to any and every discourse which might be proposed by the same individual.

Such a course of proceeding towards a public teacher, known and popularly respected from Maine to Mexico, was certainly audaciously calculated to effect one of the two great federal objects—the fomenting disorder, or the prostration of the most sacred of all human rights. The composed perseverance of the public and their teacher succeeded in averting both.

At the hour appointed, notwithstanding the veto of au-

thority and a pouring rain, a large crowd of respectable citizens of both sexes collected in the open space between the Hall and the building formerly occupied by the Bank of the United States. At the appearance of the lecturer the meeting was regularly opened, and a request preferred and seconded, that she would address the people, without the city, on the Sunday following. The following notice then appeared in the public prints:

NOTICE.

In consequence of the combination existing between the stockholders and other proprietors of all the public buildings in Philadelphia, and the further interference of the city authority to shut the doors of the only room, (the Military Hall) obtained by the Committee of Arrangement, and let to them for yesterday, (Thursday,) by which the public were disappointed of a meeting duly advertised in the public papers, and by placards posted throughout the city; and a body of the public, including many ladies and the lecturer herself, were held in the streets and in the rain before the doors of the Hall thus closed by authority—

Therefore, in accordance with request made in public meeting last night by the crowd of citizens disappointed of entrance to the Military Hall, FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT will deliver a discourse on Sunday next, the 17th inst., at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, on the hill near the Columbia Railroad, between the Four Nations Hotel and Pratt's Garden. Should the weather prove unfavourable, the meeting will be considered as postponed until the Sunday following.

The subject of the discourse as selected by the meeting, will be Chartered Monopolies.

On the Sunday, a vast multitude of both sexes collected in peace on the ground, when, on a sudden, at the appearance of the lecturer, some half a dozen well known bank rioters pressed towards the carriage and attempted disturbance. This was successfully quelled by the order of the multitude and the readiness of the Committee; but the stand having fallen, the meeting was again unavoidably adjourned. The following circular exhibits, in its postscripts, the successive acts of hostility which, after three weeks of struggle, were closed in a last desperate and unsuccessful effort at the Falls of Schuylkill, five miles from the city.

From the public prints.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT
TO THE PUBLIC OF PHILADELPHIA.

Not unadvisedly, nor in a spirit of wanton opposition to authority, however illegally and unconstitutionally exercised, do I hold to my determination of making my voice heard, at this season, by the American people. As this resolution has been taken after long and mature reflection, and with a thorough understanding of the dangers which now threaten both the national independence and the political institutions of the country; and also (as I am conscientiously persuaded) with a farther understanding of the means by which, peacefully, judiciously, and constitutionally, these dangers may be averted, so shall I hold to my determination with a pertinacity proof against all opposition, fearless of every persecution, and ready, at all times, to answer at the bar of authority, as at the yet higher bar of public opinion, for my conduct and my sentiments.

That the actual position of things is critical in the extreme, every thinking mind must distinguish. But, while the more fearless are persuaded that safety lies in holding the eyes open and the soul prepared, the more timid imagine it prudent to conceal the danger; to temporize, and, above all, to keep the knowledge of it from the mass of the nation. Among those of the latter character are many honest citizens. Many who, seeing that the vessel of the state is driving under full sail in a wrong direction, are fearful of the shock which a thorough knowledge of the truth might occasion to all on board, many also who, themselves unable to distinguish any possible means by which the course of affairs may be rectified without convulsion; that is, without remedies as bad, temporarily, at least, as is now the disease, naturally enough shrink from taking counsel on the subject, anxious to hold things together during their time, and, perhaps, saying with the old French monarch, who destroyed his accounts in order that none might accurately judge his expenditure or his deficit, "after me the deluge."

But such a sentiment was more worthy of a selfish lazy monarch than an active and generous nation. And so, at this time, the American people (that only soul and marrow, heart and head, spirit and intelligence of the American nation) are far removed from the thought of witnessing the ruin of America's liberties, and with them, the annihilation of the bright destinies of humankind; and all this, too, for the puny and very causeless apprehension of losing one day's mess of pottage while engaged in the inquiry of how every individual man and individual woman may be secured in the fair enjoyment of his and her own, and how the public, or associated mass of individuals, may be secured in the fair advantage accruing from the just, the enlightened, and the constitutional administration of the surplus

wealth or public fortune. No! I say, and I say it with knowledge, intimate knowledge of the people, of and for whom, I presume to speak—No! the American people are *not* disposed to rest satisfied with the assertion that the discussion of one important question is calculated to produce an unpleasant excitement, and that the agitation of another will not be suffered. We shall see whether freedom of speech be yet annihilated in this country. It is my resolve to bring this to the proof; satisfied, as I am, that at the present epoch free enquiry alone can save the nation.

Influenced by this conviction, I hold, and *shall* hold, to my determination of discussing, in the broad eye of day and in the hearing of the people of this city, both the questions illegally forbidden by authority and stifled by political intrigue.

I shall discuss the question of southern slavery for two reasons. First, in order to wrest it from those who unrighteously, *a propos* to every thing and to nothing, thrust it forward as a firebrand of contention, in public conversation, in public prints, in public meetings, and even in the Congress of the nation. Second, in the hope of convincing those numerous lovers of liberty and justice who, as it seems to me, sometimes agitate the question without duly understanding all its bearings—In the hope, I say, of convincing such that the mode in which the abolition of slavery is now advocated is neither desirable in itself nor possible of execution; that the means by which this evil may be effectually and beneficently approached are different from all that has been imagined, and are such that, when understood, and when circumstances shall be ripe for their application, will convert our southern country into a garden; will at one and the same time prepare its territory for enlightened white labour, and its black population for emancipation, colonization, and self-government.

I shall discuss the question of *chartered monopolies* for reasons too numerous and weighty to recount here. Let one of these suffice. Monopoly, under one form or another, constitutes the whole evil of civilized society throughout the globe. As being the opposite of justice it is every where in conspiracy against human happiness, but, in this country, as being in farther conspiracy against the political institutions, it is necessarily at variance with public order and acknowledged law. This position is terrible, and there is here whereat to turn pale with affright. But what has to be done? Dissemble the evil? Were this the wisest, instead of the most foolish, course to pursue, it is now shut against us. The truth is flagrant, and every honest man in the country is, more or less, awake to it. What alternatives then remain? There are three. The one is the moral, and political, and industrial prostration of this Republic. Its becoming entirely, what it is now in part, a lieutenancy of the old world. Tributary in its territory, in its productions, in its energy, in its science, to the aristocracies and financial scheming of Europe. A feeder of home extortioners and foreign absentees, even like unto

Ireland, whose energetic population are reduced to what the world knoweth. Another alternative is a revolution by violence, when an armed people, reduced to desperation, shall have recourse to their muskets. A third, and the only, alternative befitting rational beings and a people in possession of the means of self-government, is to examine the dangers of the hour and the means of safely averting them. These means, to my mind, are clear as the sun at noonday. They are gentle, they are safe, they are wise, they are constitutional, and they are certain.

And now, People of Philadelphia! I shall for a third time appoint you a rendezvous—not in the city, since, hall, theatre, temple and public square are closed against us by a combination which the prosecutors of productive labourers might do well to consider; nor yet upon the hills, since your numbers are too many for a human voice to embrace, and since two or three ill-disposed individuals or emissaries, not of *civic* and *civil* authority but of illegal provocators, might disturb the thread of our investigations.

Until Sunday next, then, fellow-citizens, (see the advertisement) your perseverance, I doubt not, will be equal to mine; and as persecution begets courage, so shall we find sufficient to establish freedom of speech as a practical law of the land.

F. W. D.

P. S. The Pennsylvania Inquirer and United States Gazette of the day are just handed to me. Though little accustomed to notice prints of their character, I shall prefer a few observations to-morrow respecting their notice of “the populace” of this city, meaning the dense thousands of self-respecting citizens, of both sexes, who covered the hill to the right of Fair Mount last Sunday.

Philadelphia, Tuesday, July 20th, 1836.

P. S. The above was scarcely penned and the advertisement sent to press, when a fourth interference was commenced to break the written engagement by which the committee held the walled yard rented for Sunday next in Blockley township.

The committee have now procured a spacious building whose owners are alike proof to threats and to bribery. Our citizens will only have to lengthen somewhat their excursion, which may prove as useful to health as refreshing to the mind after the labors and confinement of the week. It is proper to state that Sunday is selected, and selected *only*, because it is the people’s day of leisure; the day on which they are alone free to yield their minds to the study of those great general principles and public interests which their daily occupations must prevent them from considering.

From the Democratic Herald.

We copy the following from the Ledger, in order to make an observation upon the *riotous* disposition of the Police; and the malignant persecution of Madame Darusmont by the friends of chartered

monopolies.—It is without a parallel in any country, and from what we hear personally from several members of the *whig party*—it appears to be their determination to put down free discussion by force! When it comes to that, blood must flow, and anarchy commence. We have no right left but this solitary one of liberty of speech and of the press. This is the brink of freedom—we must maintain our position here or perish in the struggle to defend it. We observed that the National Gazette, of Saturday, *threatened* Mrs. D. with an assault!

[For the Public Ledger.]

Messrs. Editors,—You will please to state that the Lecture of Frances Wright Darusmont on Chartered Monopolies, delivered by her on Sunday last at the Wire Factory, was attended by about one thousand persons, whose behaviour was peaceable and with marked attention throughout, and was concluded in the space of one hour and twenty minutes. Some disturbance occurred on the outside, by boys urged on by men in genteel garb, among which was observed some of the police, who did not prevent the throwing of the stones, in which some peaceable citizens were slightly injured. The lecture will, at the request of many citizens, be repeated at the same place on Friday. Yours, &c.

T. R. S.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT TO THE PUBLIC.

By request of a number of citizens disappointed of entrance on Sunday last, in consequence of the overflowing audience which attended the lecture, and in consequence of other engagements which will soon call me from the city, I shall take an intermediate week-day for concluding the present course. The lecture, therefore, on Slavery, will be delivered on Friday next.

I trust by this time the conspirators against freedom of speech are satisfied that their assault on that first and last bulwark of human liberty is as hopeless as it is unwise and unrighteous.

The large assembly which heard me with religious attention last Sunday, unmoved by the futile attempts to disturb a meeting in which were discussed the pressing dangers of the hour and the dearest interests of the nation, can now appreciate the real motives of those who attempted to forbid enquiry into the nature, tendency, and inevitable consequences of the existing unconstitutional system of monopoly-monarchy first grafted on the fair tree of American Liberty by Hamilton, and since fostered and nurtured to its present monstrous growth by the ambition of some, the error of others, and the supineness of all.

It is yet time to redeem the past, and to prepare a happy future

without loss or injury to any existing individual. I have pledged, and I hereby again pledge, myself to show to the clear comprehension of all who will give their attention, how this may be effected, judiciously, constitutionally, beneficially, and yet radically. My present course is one of inquiry into the vice, insecurity and danger of *what is*; my next will comprise a development of *what ought to be*, and of how the same may be gently and facilely brought to bear. The two are indispensable for a right understanding of the whole.

True principles will never be developed, nor true remedies applied by Politicians — that is, by men who, while attending to public affairs, are looking to place or profit for themselves. My sex removes me from the one, my pursuits and habits from the other. Up to this hour my services have been given to the public gratis, and my fortune, so far as it would go, has been freely expended to extend the sphere of human knowledge with a view to securing human happiness. Insinuations I answer not, nonsense I heed not, slanders I despise. A life of integrity is my answer alike to the malignity of party and the vituperations of individuals.

On Friday next, at 4 o'clock, P. M., I shall again meet the public in the spacious building, formerly occupied as a wire factory, at the Falls of Schuylkill.

FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT.

Philada., Tuesday Morning, July 26, 1836.

From the Democratic Herald.

TO THE PEOPLE.

Aided by a strong body of the energy and intelligence of this city, I have brought to a successful close the most extraordinary struggle in which I ever found myself engaged.

If in Europe a public officer had crossed my path to arrest me in the exercise of the dearest and most important of human rights — that of the free emission of thought to our fellow creatures, I should have stepped aside with a silent censure of my own imprudence, for idly encountering power where liberty holds no guarantee. But here, in this country of my adoption and my love, whose institutions fence (as I have conceived) the rights of humankind with a barrier of adamant, here I RESISTED. I resisted, reflectingly, conscientiously, composedly, and pertinaciously, and aided and defended by a phalanx of intelligent and virtuous citizens, I have carried out my resistance — at the risk of life, according to the shameless boast of the ruffian press of that lawless and reckless party which is now conspiring against the peace and the life of this noble Republic, throughout all her cities and her states, but in fact, only with the certainty of seeing principle effectually defended by the people against power. In this reliance on the people I have not been deceived. As the champion of the freedom of speech, and of law,

they have stood around me proof to threats, to bribes, and to violence. Thus upstayed and defended, I have spoken on the interdicted question of chartered monopolies. With America's declaration in the one hand, and her constitution in the other, I have examined it to the bottom, turned it inside out, in the presence of a thronged assembly, gathered as it were in the midst of a fortress surrounded by deep water, while the hired myrmidons of bank power, instigated by police officers, bank runners, and well-dressed, and some well-known bank speculators, were arrested in their violence without the walls, and driven from the precincts by a band of citizens whose forbearance and cool self-possession knew how to quell tumult rather than to revenge it. Thus sustained, I have elucidated also the question of southern slavery, showing, among much other matter, that the north has to amend her own fast-gathering and wide-spreading white slavery, before she can present any counsel to our southern brethren touching any judicious remedy to be applied to their black slavery. Showing also that, at this existing point of time, southern slavery stands without the pale of effective and beneficent legislation either national or of the southern states themselves; and showing moreover, that, when circumstances and a righteous example in the north shall have prepared the southern mind for the consideration of southern affairs in conjunction with human interests rightly understood, and eternal principles advantageously exhibited in practice, then the evil of the south may be transformed into a good, the source of its poverty into a source of wealth, and the rapid improvement of its lands and development of all its resources may be effected, at one and the same time, with the civilization, enfranchisement and colonization without the North American continent, of the now slave population, conjointly with the introduction of enlightened white labor, the facilities discoverable by science, and applicable by means of a truly American system of administration organized in the townships and thus extended through the states. My mode of elucidating the question of southern slavery was surmised in this city, previous to my arrival, in consequence of communications circulated among the public in several newspapers widely spread, (see the *National Laborer*, June the 25th,) and the opposition with which I was illegally, unconstitutionally, and outrageously confronted, had for its exciting cause, not any apprehensions respecting the excitement I might produce on the subject of black slavery, but many respecting the new and strong light I might throw on the subject of white slavery, and the various forms under which the dependence and degradation of human labor in general, is effected all over the earth. Here was the real motive for shutting my mouth. Here was the stimulating cause for raising the cry of 'mad dog' against a peaceful inquirer and reformer. For this was I stigmatized by the Bank press of this city as a "*Tappan Abolitionist*," even as I am now barefacedly by the party prints in New York, who know the truth about as well as it was known here from the beginning by the incendiary Mayor,

And now what has authority gained by this indecent struggle? And what could it hope to gain, or what can any man or set of men whatever, hope to gain by gagging the mouths, and assaulting the persons of peaceful inquirers and self-respecting citizens? They will, and must, gain what the Mayor of this city has gained—a signal defeat. The American institutions are not destined to die; and they who conspire against them openly or secretly, will sooner or later find that they have conspired against themselves. Such conspirators in fact are only injuring the cause of the class they profess to defend. They have now on their side a modification of the same principle which is invoked by reformers. If on the side of the many be justice absolute, on that of the few is justice relative. And if the principle, considered in its abstract purity, necessitate that reform be radical in its end and aim, and final result, the same principle, considered in relation to existing men and existing things, demands that reform should be conducted with due regard to existing individual claims, habits and feelings. It is not the many who will cancel these claims, but they may be cancelled by the few themselves. Their own conduct may be such as to cancel all claims other than those admitted by rigid justice, and which may leave to their account barely a cent in the dollar. I warn them as a friend, as one who would see and who will faithfully aid reform in the spirit of conciliation according to the most generous dictates of relative justice. Let the few be wise in time. The loss would be to them, could they silence prudent and gentle reformers. Happily, this they will not do. Printed speech they cannot suppress: I shall publish my discourses as soon as my engagements will permit, and thanks to the Mayor of Philadelphia, and all the writings, sayings, and doings of the Bank presses and the Bank party, the people of this city at least will not be slow to read them.

FRANCES' WRIGHT DARUSMONT.

Philadelphia, Saturday, 30th July, 1836.

From the York Gazette.

MRS. FRANCES WRIGHT DARUSMONT.

This lady delivered a lecture in the Court-house of this Borough, on Saturday evening last. It was the first of a series of lectures on the "History of the United States," and, we understand, gave general satisfaction to a very numerous auditory. An attempt was made, in the name of "*Morality*" and "*Religion*," by some who neither care for the one nor practise the other, to disgrace our borough by getting up a *mob* on the evening of the lecture. We are proud to say that the attempt was abortive—our citizens hold too highly the right of *freedom of speech* enjoyed by every American, to aid in destroying that invaluable franchise.

YORK COUNTY, PA., Aug. 14, 1836.

To the Editors of the York Gazette.

Yesterday evening, Saturday, 13th August, a discourse was delivered in our old revolutionary Court-house, by Frances Wright Darusmont, to an overflowing assemblage of our best citizens. The subject, American History. A printed notice of the meeting had been posted during the day. In the evening, about the hour of the entrance of the lady into our town, accompanied by several respected citizens

of Marietta and of our county, a preacher, who has abandoned his flock to turn politician, got up a large printed handbill, notifying all friends of religion and morality opposed to FANNY WRIGHTISM, to assemble in the Court-house half an hour before the appointed meeting. The opposition notice was posted and appended to the other so that both were read by the public; but, lest the postscript notice should not exercise a sufficiently potent effect to fill the house and barricade the entrance against the lady, intrigues were set on foot to get the doors closed with or without order of the commissioners. "The doors of this Court-house were always open for any public discussion," was the answer. When the doors were opened, no opposition assembly made its appearance; and when the lecturer entered, escorted by her friends, the seats were found already occupied; and in a few minutes a dense crowd filled the building and pressed around its walls. One knot of ladies had filled the seats to the right of the stand before the opening of the meeting, and afterwards, all farther entrance being rendered impossible, a body of ladies stood throughout the discourse in the crowd at the door. Although the wildest reports had been spread touching the sentiments of Madame Darusmont, and the object of the meeting, the people of our town showed the good sense, to prefer hearing and judging for themselves, to taking upon trust the story of preacher politicians. "I would hear the Devil himself, before I pass judgment on him," was the answer of one. "I know nothing that I am afraid of hearing," says another. "I employ no man to judge what I shall hear, or what I shall not hear," says a third. And so our good town's people, not being afraid to use their ears, and trust their own judgments, went to hear much useful and virtuous instruction.

There is now but one feeling on this matter; for we think that our town contains no such abject followers of a preacher politician, as to stand by his assertion in preference to what they have now heard themselves. If he still object to the views of the lady, he has churches at his command wherein to answer them, and the Court-house also, which no man will attempt to shut against him. We trust that this is the last time we shall ever see or hear of an attempt made to prevent the people from occupying a Court-house to listen to any person on any subject. Free speech and a free press are the two arms of liberty, and reason and good sense the only sound and safe judges of their use, or their abuse. Let arbitrary interference be exercised and gag-laws instituted, popular violence and riots are the inevitable consequences.

Some good people of York who were very curious to know what FANNY WRIGHTISM could be, now understand it to signify good American doctrine, such as the author of the Rights of Man would have signed, and Thomas Jefferson have set his seal to. It might not be so pleasing, it is true, to the worshippers of the federalist idol, Alexander Hamilton, nor to the rebellious directors of the traitor bank. Although, let it be said, that throughout her historical strictures on the past and the present, she dealt ever with a woman's gentleness upon men, and bore down with a sledge-hammer only upon measures.

Her audience were peculiarly gratified with her opening allusions to the historical recollections of the place. "In this town," as she said, "where the high-souled republican, Thomas Paine, sounded his tocsin of American liberty, *the rights of man*, and prepared the thirteen American colonies to assume the position of the thirteen American independent states; and, in this building, where the first National American Congress, driven from Philadelphia by British arms, first assembled to direct the councils of the thirteen American independent states—" Here," she said, "I open with peculiar interest, an investigation into the principles of American government, and the events of American civil history."

At the close of her discourse she appointed a meeting for this day week, Sunday the 21st inst., to be held at 2 o'clock, P. M., in the well-known and spacious saw-mill at Chiques Rock, on the canal and river, one mile below Marietta, 14 miles west from Lancaster, and 12 east from York. The subject, we understand, will present the history of the Federal party and a development of the Hamiltonian financial system.

E.

COURSE OF LECTURES.

LECTURE I.

GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN UNITED STATES.

[As first delivered, on Sunday, the 15th May, 1836, in the Court-House of Cincinnati, State of Ohio, and then in the City of Philadelphia.]

A Map of the North American Continent, surmounted with the Flag of the United States, is suspended behind the speaker, in front of the audience. At her right, lies, unrolled, the Declaration of Independence. To one or other, or to all, of these emblems, the speaker will be understood as making appeal during the course of her address.

[It was this opening Discourse on American History (here published as spoken in Military Hall, to a crowded and respectfully attentive and sympathizing assembly) which produced the official Veto of the Mayor of Philadelphia against the delivery of any and every future discourse by the same public teacher: the Veto, resisted by the teacher, was followed by the course of personal outrage sketched in the Preface to the present publication, and then by the course of libellous abuse with which the Federal press has for weeks past insulted the good sense of the country.]

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I salute you respectfully and affectionately, after an absence of years.

My object, in the course of Lectures I open this day, is to take, with you, a comprehensive view of the ground occupied, physically and politically, by the American nation. To establish, by a recurrence to its principles,

its origin and its object, the true character of its government: to trace, in a rapid view of its civil history, the dangers it has escaped, and those which still threaten it; and, finally, to present some general observations on the questions which agitate the public mind at the existing moment.

With this object in view, let us stand as on the highest summit of North America's central mountains; and, from thence, embracing, as with the sight of those mountains' eagle, the continent throughout its vast extent, let us contemplate the national territory.

Thus stationed, we perceive it to exhibit every soil and every climate. Stretching from the snows of the pole to the sun of the tropic, fertilized by multitudinous streams, traversed and wonderfully intersected by gigantic rivers, washed by the earth's two oceans, Atlantic and Pacific, it presents to the eye of the mind, not an empire, but a world.

Such is the mighty country we behold; and what is the population that treads its soil?

In this, extending our glance over the surface of the continent, the eye distinguishes, on the instant, three races; the white, the black, and the red.

Of these, the white, as supreme in numbers, industry, intelligence, and civilization; as having conceived the American political institutions; as destined to develop, and to carry out the same to perfection for the final enfranchisement of the human race; and thus, consequently, as charged with the direction and future improvement of the black population and of the red—the white race constitutes, virtually, the American nation.

Our investigations of this day, being in their character, nationally historical and political, will fix our attention upon the white American race alone. The

consideration of the two dependent races—their character, position, and destinies, will find its place at a future meeting, when we shall be called to pass in review the question of Southern Slavery.

What then is the population that treads the soil of the North American continent, as sovereign?

The martyrs of European tyranny were its fathers: and the sons of the men who fought under this banner of equal liberty (*Dec. of Ind.*), are its children.

One, then, is the mighty country we consider; one, the wide-spread population that explores and improves its treasures; one, the great principle of JUSTICE that rules, protects, insures, its destiny.

But let us push our eagle-survey farther, and, from the great whole, proceed to examination of details.

The great continent before us may be considered as divided—

First—longitudinally, by two mountain chains, into three sections; the eastern, or Atlantic border; the middle, or great Mississippi valley; the western, or Pacific border.

Second—transversely, by the great Lakes, and their eastern outlet, the Niagara and St. Lawrence; the same presenting a great northern section whose limit is the polar snows.

We may then farther consider, in the leading great divisions, several subdivisions.

Three, in the great eastern section, or Atlantic border; effected by Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and by the Potomac where it bursts asunder the Blue Ridge or eastern wall of the Alleghany.

Two, in the great middle section, or Mississippi valley, which may be considered as traced by the Ohio where it flows from the Alleghany, and the Missouri

where it flows from the Rocky Mountains, to fill, with their united streams, the giant bed of the great Father of Waters.

And, if we please,

Two, in the western, or Pacific border, as intersected by the Columbia river. In all, eight geographical divisions, whose limits are as follows:

1. The northern division; encircled by the polar snows, the Atlantic, the great lakes and their outlet—the Niagara or St. Lawrence.

2. The north-east; encircled by the Atlantic, the Niagara or St. Lawrence, the line of smaller lakes, and the Hudson.

3. The middle section; traced by the great lakes, the line of the Hudson and Champlain, and where the western foot of the Alleghany is washed by the Ohio, and where the Blue Ridge is burst asunder by the Potomac.

4. The south; stretching from the Potomac to where the reefs of Florida skirt the tropical line.

5. The west; encircled by the northern lakes, the Ohio and Missouri, and the great desert which skirts, in its whole length, the eastern wall of the northern Andes or Rocky Mountains.

6. The south-west; stretching from the Ohio and Missouri, south to the Mexican gulf, and west to the desert.

7 and 8, or transandine sections; stretching, west of the Rocky Mountains, along the Pacific, from California to the Arctic snows.

Such, considering the lie of the soil, the outer boundaries of ocean, and the inner sectioning of flood and mountain, appear the great geographical divisions of the continent; presenting us, in all, with eight.

Under the reign of ignorance and antique routine,

and of that evil principle—violence, by ignorance engendered, and by routine fostered and strengthened;—under the reign of ignorance, violence, and antique routine, such as in the continents of the old world hold sovereign sway, these geographical divisions, one or all, would have become the landmarks of hostile nations, of conflicting aristocracies and rival tyrannies, each contending for individual aggrandizement, and all uniting for general human oppression.

But such *holy alliancing*, for the purposes of despotism, was forbidden in this western world, by the character of its first settlers; men, not as it pleaseth European libellists to state, lawless robbers, outcast from society and forfeit to Justice; but men, the choice of their nations and generations, the high-souled of the earth, leaders of the human mind, and enlightened guides of human destiny.

Forfeit to law, indeed, were those fathers of liberty and equality: Forfeit to law, in its worst forfeiture; for they were Huguenots, the flower of France, and the condemned of its monarchy and its priesthood: Forfeit to law; for they were insurgent Puritans, iron-souled regicides, and man-loving excommunicated philosophers—the mighty and the wise of England: Forfeit to law; for they were whigs and Covenanters—the enduring and the reasoning of Scotland: Forfeit to law; for they were rebels and martyrs—the unsubdued and resisting of Ireland: Forfeit to law; for they were Dutch republicans, who fled the Stadtholder's usurping power, to found a new, a fairer and a freer Antwerp, on the shores of the Hudson: Forfeit to law; for they were the chivalrous, and the daring, and the scrutinizing, and the heretical,—the challengers of error, the explorers of truth, the contemners of unwise authority, the resisters of oppression, and the heart-worshippers of liberty! Yea, for-

feit to law; but Oh! more true to Justice, more practised in deliberative order and righteous administration, more inspired by love of the common weal, than any founders, of any empire, in any age, through all the annals of time! And what marvel? The first fathers of this nation came hither with all the experience, past and then existing, of the world they abandoned.

The geographical outlines and divisions of the North American continent were little known, and less considered, by the colonists scattered along the Atlantic littoral. Their territories, portioned out by royal grants and charters, usually as ill-defined as they were arbitrary and capricious, sufficed to decide the first landmarks of the colonies; and though, in some cases, incommodiously large, and, in others, inefficiently small, sufficed also as the first demarcations of the thirteen infant United States, the sixtieth anniversary of whose blessed consolidation for the purposes of national independence and righteous political administration, we have lately been called to celebrate.

In the minds of those master-statesmen, the wisest, because, as already observed, the best enlightened by experience, that great teacher of the human race;—in the minds, I say, of those master-statesmen who laid the colonial foundation-stones of the States, and in the minds of those equally enlightened statesmen who laid the national foundation-stone of the United States, considerations far more important than those generated by mere geographical divisions of territory, were predominant. The great and only object of government, the weal of the governing and the governed (here happily one), was the pole-star that guided their work. To this, all secondary objects gave way; and, distinguishing government to signify just administration of the *res publica*, i. e., of

the interests common to each and to all the members of the associated body politic, they proceeded to effect this with such means as were in their power, aided by the best light supplied by the experience of their generations. With their sight then fixed on the population, they saw how far more important was the righteous regulation of human interests, than the geometrical measurement or geographical sectioning of territory. Not that this last was without importance; and so, as soon, and in as far as, circumstances permitted, the national government adjusted the territorial claims of the different States, and, in laying off new States, has consulted the fitness of size and the mass of population best calculated to develop human resources and to stimulate human energy.

Let us now again inspect the continent as from our mountain-station, and consider its prominent features in relation to the action of human power upon them.

What do we see? No longer eight geographical divisions, but twenty-seven political states and territories, with circumambient regions: these, waiting the events of time, and peaceful, even course of human improvement, to cluster in new-born stars of brightness round and about this galaxy of united commonwealths.

But what see we farther? Within these first great artificial divisions, called states, we distinguish a number of subdivisions, called counties; and, again, within these counties, other subdivisions, called townships.

Within these artificial sectionings, all government is now exercised; and, hereafter, all human affairs will be wisely administered in conjunction with human interests.

The continent, or great whole, in so far as populated and ostensibly organized under the bond of the American principle of Justice consecrated in this instrument as the guide of all American government,—the continent, or

great whole, is occupied by **THE AMERICAN NATION**; and *the two conjoined, i. e., the population associated under this instrument, for the just administration of their general interests, and the territory occupied by the population thus associated,* constitute what we call **THE AMERICAN UNITED STATES.**

The nation, or associated mass of human beings, have not only special interests of a common character, but also general interests of a common character; and, as the less general and more special interests have to be administered in the subdivisions called states, counties, and townships, so have the greater general interests to be administered in the great whole by those appointed by the national voice for that object.

Without entering, at the present, into a systematic examination of how many, and what, these great general interests are, it will suffice us, for the moment, to observe upon one of them, viz., *common defence against foreign aggression.*

I have here employed familiar words to express what may appear the most familiar of all ideas; and yet I am far from satisfied that the meaning conveyed by them is generally understood. *Common defence against foreign aggression.* Defence of what? Of all that constitutes the American United States. We have seen this name to typify, not merely a certain mass of human beings, living any how or in any way, and occupying a certain given territory; but to signify the mass of human beings associated within the American continent, under the bond of a common principle, for the attainment of a common object. *Common defence* then signifies, equally with the defence of the territory and the lives of the associated human beings who occupy the territory, the defence of the common principle protective of the common object;

and so also must *foreign aggression* signify any and all aggression against that common principle and that common object.

Such aggression may come from without; *openly*, as in the two wars waged by the monarchy of Great Britain against the American principle and the American nation; or it may farther come from without, *secretly*; fomented by foreign intrigues and influences acting upon individual home vanities and ambitions. Such was the scheme of division attempted in the West, during the reform administration of Thomas Jefferson. Such also was the scheme in the East, under the administration of his successor, the bubble of which burst in the Hartford Convention. Such again, more lately, gave momentary sound, if not life, to sedition in Carolina. And such again, perhaps, has provoked disturbance, under false pretences, in our Atlantic cities and in our Southern States. Or, again; aggression may come from *within*; treasonably conceived in minds unimpressed with the saving power of the American principle as consecrated here (*Dec. of Ind.*), and eager, not indeed to render independent America tributary to European empires, but to expunge from her national escutcheon, *equal rights of all*, and to inscribe thereon, *privileges of a few*. Such a mind was that of Alexander Hamilton; a mind of consummate ability; one that, in a generation safely launched in a rail-road of just practice, might have imparted a wondrous impetus to the onward movement of his country's prosperity; but a mind that, in America's infancy, called to aid in the organization of her government, knew only to distil drops of poison; and which passed over the opening beauties of American liberty a breath of pestilence.

We are not here to sit in judgment on the dead, any more than on the living; but as it is impossible to advert

to the principle of American government without recurring to the name of Jefferson, so is it equally impossible to consider the erroneous practice of American government without recurring to that of Hamilton. The time in which they lived, and the influence their high talents called them to exercise, render those men, in American history, the personification of two opposing principles. In Jefferson, we see personified, DEMOCRACY, with all its moral confidence in the power of man to work out his own salvation by the lights of experience; in Hamilton, MONARCHY, with all its suspicion of human nature, and mean conception of its destiny.

Personified in these two men, stood by the side of the infant America, the good and the evil principle.

While the storm of the revolution blew, the pulse of the nation beat with all the energies of generous passion. The foul influences of money and patronage were on the side of the transatlantic enemy, and American Tories followed openly the standard of a British King. Then the sound mass of the population, that mass whom honest labour keeps pure, pushed on, firm, free and untrammelled, towards the goal of the public good. The then small body of American intriguers and speculators, whose stake of property was in the country while their principles were out of it, stood by to see which way the wind would set; or, manœuvring carefully, essayed to hold back the vessel of the infant state, until feeling it borne onward by the gale beyond their mastership, they too cried "Good voyage to independence, and, in so far as *must* be, to equal rights!"

That great measure, the Declaration at once of national independence and of human Justice, as breathed in this instrument;—that great measure carried, and carried purely and wholly by the voice of the people, and

despite of the secret leanings (allowing for noble exceptions) of American capitalists and speculators (then, comparatively, a small number), all moved on, unitedly and honestly, until the close of the war. The great struggle by the sword over, the people went home to their families and their labours, and the half-measure men, joining with whitewashed Tories, set to the patching up private fortunes at expense of the public good. America's good Genius was then absent. Thomas Jefferson was in France with Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, old in years and services, returned but to pay the debt of nature; and Thomas Jefferson returned, as he himself tells us, too late to prevent the scheme of Hamilton. What followed the adoption of the Hamilton financial system, formed after that of Great Britain, with such alterations and modifications as the nature of American institutions and the character of the American people rendered indispensable—what followed this, we shall not now trace. Suffice it that from stock-jobbing, banking, and, consequent, land-jobbing, the party misnamed Federal, and which ought to have been named European or monarchist, proceeded to aim a blow at American government, which recoiled on its own head. That blow was the attempt to exalt legislative authority over constitutional power: in plain language, the attempt was to subvert American government, and to place in its stead a government cast in the mould of that of England. It is important to our object that this matter be clearly understood.

We often hear and read of the British constitution. Correctly speaking, there is no such thing in existence as a British constitution. There is, doubtless, and there has been, for ages, a *peculiar*, one cannot say a *national*, mode of governing in England, and plenty of governing power. But as to any constitution, or *supreme law regu-*

lative of that power, there is no such thing. Without going through English history, past or present, we may observe, that English government is made up of old usages, old charters, old fictions, and old prejudices; we might add also—old, and many *new*, corruptions; the whole together presenting a standing, and wondrously lasting, scheme of mystification. Examine it in the whole or in its parts, you will find the sign, but never the substance; the name, but never the thing. The key to the trick consists in lodging the whole controlling power of the state in the hands of a body of individuals called *the Commons*, or representatives of the *common people* or working classes; but who, in fact, represent always one of three bodies of men living at expense of the people, viz., holders of land, holders of *real* and holders of *false* capital (I reserve for a future occasion the establishing of this distinction), and holders of office, place, or pension, in the gift of the crown, either directly or indirectly. With the assembly thus composed, is lodged the power of statute-making; and the accumulation of statutes, superadded to two old royal charters called Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, whose few popular and not quite obsolete provisions (be it observed in passing) the irresponsible and omnipotent statute power can abrogate or suspend whenever they threaten to be troublesome—the accumulation of its statutes, as made, altered, and revised, to fit every exigence of the hour, is ingeniously, or, if you will, *impudently* styled *the British constitution*. America's first political fathers had evidently deeply studied the machinery of British government, and distinguished where the shoe pinched. The Puritans of New England, the choice of the commonwealthmen of the mother-country, came hither determined to establish popular power in its substance; and to them we are

indebted for that first organization or systematic division of the parts of government, together with the sectioning of territory so as to facilitate the action of the population, which, in its whole, will constitute, in the progress of its developement and sound action, the definitive state of human society.

The acute intelligence of Hamilton failed not to distinguish that the strong hold of American democracy lay in the scientific divisioning of territory with a view to its government, and in the frequent exercise of the direct popular voice. Now, his object being to subvert democracy, the first thought was to annihilate the state jurisdictions and to establish a President for life: in other words, and in plain language, the thought was to found an elective monarchy.

It is known how this intention has been disclaimed by the monarchist party; but the charge is now substantiated beyond cavil, in the published "History of the Convention held in Philadelphia, 1787," and charged with the presenting a draft of a national constitution to supersede the first articles of confederation, found insufficient for the purposes of national government.

It may be well to examine the twofold proposal of the monarchist Hamilton, to which I have adverted, in its more immediate and self-evident consequences.

The annihilation of the state jurisdictions must have generated instant and evergrowing confusion; out of this confusion must have arisen neglect and malversation of affairs, either, or both together; until entanglement and corruption reaching their acme, Great Britain would, when and as she pleased, have established her suzerainship over the North American continent, or have divided it with the other European powers who at that time held extensive territorial claims. After this, it should seem

unnecessary to remark farther, that the existence of an immovable, which must be always an *irresponsible*, executive, must greatly have facilitated this result — a result compounded of national dependence and human degradation.

I pause to observe that I would not be understood as here attributing to Alexander Hamilton the *design* of producing this result in its twofold character. Blind to the principle of improvement inherent in human kind, and, consequently, an infidel in human virtue and in the grandeur of human destiny, Hamilton necessarily conceived of human degradation as a law of nature. His conscience acquitted him of designing this; he saw it ready made to his hand, was incapable of conceiving how it might ever be otherwise, and must therefore have regarded, as the inspiration of common sense, the selection of a government suited in principle to the race of beings it was to govern.

But national independence was another question. For this, Hamilton had fought; and he, doubtless, reasoned not respecting a time when human degradation might be pushed so far as to barter that national independence for gold. He examined not how, in evil as in good, men are led on step by step, and saw not how it is invariably the first step which decides the last. And so, doubtless, they who, in subsequent years, communed with the spy Henry and sat in the Hartford Convention, would, at the era of which I speak, have flushed with honest indignation at the bare suggestion of such possibilities.

But, without attributing to Alexander Hamilton the design of laying the young America, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of her old enemy, such as I have painted it, must have been the inevitable result of the monarchist proposal. The state governmental divisions once broke

through, the Union must have fallen by its own weight; and, an irresponsible power once established, American government was destroyed in its principle.

In spite of the closed doors of that national convention, and despite the exhaustion which weighed on the people after the long agony of the revolutionary struggle, the monarchist party dared to speak but in whispers; and, trembling lest the lion should awake, quickly, as the hidden thought was exposed and confronted, shifted the ground of attack and the nature of their weapons. Foiled in their first attempt, their determination was to take, by the sap and the mine, what could not be carried by assault; and, in the national constitution, as finally drafted, and adopted by the States, the evil principle appears but faintly. We find it, however, with more than sufficient distinctness, in the articles providing for the election of the President and the Senate of the United States. In both cases, the direct action of the democratic principle, the only existing source of pure government, is evaded, and, in both cases, experience has proved a vicious result. On one occasion, the highest office in the nation, that which demands, more than any other, a high-souled conception of the American principle of even-handed justice, together with a high-souled confidence in the ultimate destinies of the American nation under its guidance—that office, the noblest that exists upon the globe, was thrown into the midst of an assembly of delegates, as to play at bowls with. Again, and in occasions still more recent, have we not seen, in the United States Senate, the states' representation in open hostility both with the national representation and with the national executive? And how should this be otherwise? when, instead of being freely and fairly chosen by all the citizens of each state, the senators of Congress are selected by those citizens'

attorneys — attorneys also appointed for other objects, the sphere of whose action lies in a division of territory and administration set apart from national purposes? Here then we find a trace, however faint, of the twofold proposition of the monarchist Hamilton; an evasion of the democratic principle, and a confounding of state with national affairs. And, be it observed in passing, that the three great securities of American government are:— First, its distinct and scientific sectioning: Second, the direct constitutional action of the popular voice: Third, the frequency of appeal to that direct, constitutionally expressed, voice. It is only where the door is left open to party intrigue, that the frequency of elections can present inconvenience. When, in every case, this back door shall be closed, and the broad great gates shall be thrown open, and held open, by the arm of equal Justice, then, and then only, may we see order and security everywhere. To arrive at that result must be the object held in view. Every step made must be in approach to it; and, whenever circumstances or the state of the public mind may prevent such advance, we must stand still, hold firmly our ground, waver neither backward nor to the side, but hold ourselves ready to move forward on the first occasion.

But to resume the thread of our historical observations. The monarchists, defeated, as we observed, in their attempt at open counter revolution by poisoning American constitutional law at its source, proceeded to effect their design by poisoning it in the current of its stream. We have seen what constitutes the trick of British government. How a scheme of vicious legislation is made to pass for a national constitution; and how the people, who are without any voice in the state, are, by a law fiction, supposed always to be the party acting, instead of,

as they really are, the party acted upon. But the American people were familiar with the *reality* of constitutional government. They were the sovereign *de facto*, no less than *de jure*, and there was, at least, something novel and daring in the open insurrection of a body of functionaries who, flushed with successful scheming—land-jobbing, stock-jobbing, and charter-jobbing, trampled the people's mandate and the nation's law under their feet; and, making no more account of the national commandments than robbers of a penal code, passed the British alien bill through an American Congress, voted the British gagging bill, discussed the suspension of *habeas corpus* and increase of the standing army, and then, taxing with sedition expounders of the American principle and exercisers of the human right to free speech, written and spoken, threw American citizens into prison, stifled the American press, and by aid of favour, and patronage, and false capital, and false credit, forced up, in hot-beds of corruption, a British press, to decry inquiry, to defame all honest patriots, yea, to slander the immortal author of this instrument! yea, to blaspheme this immortal instrument itself!

The people looked on in a stupor of amazement. The states' assemblies, when apostrophized by those of Virginia and Kentucky, not content with disclaiming their constitutional right, as a distinct power charged with other attributions, to pronounce judgment on the acts of the national government; and, instead of recommending the Virginia resolutions to the attention of the people, to be pronounced upon in their congressional districts at the polls, expressed an opinion confirmative of the anti-American decrees! *Foreign aggression* was everywhere; the people saw it, and rose in *common defence*. Then, for the first time, was put to the proof the beautiful framework of American government, and example given to the world

of a civil revolution effected constitutionally by the peaceful action of the sovereign popular voice.

The memorable elections of 1801 ejected the monarchists from office, but wealth, party spirit, and persevering, ever busy intrigue, still upheld their power and influence. They weighed like an incubus on the nation throughout the administrations of Jefferson and Madison; when, finally, during the latter, they matured a new scheme for effecting their object.

To annihilate the state jurisdictions was now out of the question; to mystify the American people by, systematically and, openly elevating legislative authority over constitutional power, seemed equally hopeless. They then turned their attention to those geographical divisions which the action of American government was rapidly effacing; and, under false pretences, and by aid of an anti-American press, the wise, democratic, and well ordered New-England was made the seat of sedition. But when, the plot being matured and pushed far beyond the original design of American monarchists by the interference of British emissaries; when, in the very hour of war and danger, foreign interference was detected, and treason became flagrant, the spirit of old Massachusetts awoke in her people; honest men detected the mystification; scales fell from the eyes of malcontents; unmasked traitors hid their faces in confusion, and the old monarchist party, as a *national party*, disappeared.

At the close of the last war, which was, in fact, but the close of the revolutionary struggle, commences a new era in American history. Until this period the monarchists, under the name of the *Federal party*, though anti-American, had not been, as a body, anti-national. The half of this instrument they denied, but the other they acknowledged. Equal rights they accounted a chimera,

or had determined to prove it so; but a national government, resting on a hierarchy of classes of which they themselves should constitute the upper strata, was their ambition. The British government was the ideal perfection held in view; but the impossibility was not admitted of creating the copy as a distinct existence from the original; the hope on the contrary was entertained of perverting, by sophistry, the sense of this instrument, and of changing and neutralizing, by means of corruption, the democratic principle without foreign agency.

After the close of the American, which was also the close of the great European war, the face of affairs assumed a new appearance throughout the civilized world. The question at issue between the few and the many began to be simplified, and a homogeneous system of exploitation organized from country to country. The British mode of riding the people by corruption and mystification was rapidly adopted by all the European empires, as at once the safest and the most effectual; and the treaty of Ghent, which opened, as they had never been opened before, diplomatic relations between Europe and this country, exposed to American eyes the secret springs of European policy. From this period a new party took its rise in these United States. The term monarchist would be no longer sufficiently expressive of its nature. The *European party* is the only appropriate, as bespeaking, in one word, its compound hostility to this instrument (*Dec. of Ind.*) and to that emblem (*the flag of the Union*).

The original scheme of subjugating this country by force of arms was now finally abandoned by the British government; the far more feasible, no less than more profitable, plan of subjugating it indirectly by means of its own vicious financial system, was determined on.

Started as this had been by Hamilton on the plan of that of Great Britain, an arrangement was not difficult, and, through the channel of the United States Bank, a check-rein on the energies, and sure drafts on the wealth of the young America, was passed into the hands of the great financiers of Europe.

The firm purpose of a truly American chief magistrate first denounced and disturbed this scheme of European dominion. I say *denounced* and *disturbed*, for let us not conceive of it as destroyed. It lives; it reigns. It defies alike the national executive and the national sovereign—the people; it has its counsellors in the national senate, its hired servants in states' assemblies, its creatures and emissaries throughout the land. It proves the truth of an old saying, that he who holds the purse holds the power. And, so long as the principle consigned in this instrument shall be violated, so long as the equal rights of all shall be bartered away to a few, so long as the surplus wealth of the nation—that which should constitute the public fortune, and the industry of the nation—that which should constitute the public credit—so long as these, I say, instead of being wisely administered, directed and developed *by* all *for* all, shall be cast, as we see them, in prey to chartered companies and corporations, therewith to feed, abroad, the sloth of European aristocracies, the pride and the rapacity of European monarchies, the gambling and swindling of European stock-jobbers and bankers, and therewith, at home, to build up dishonest private fortunes, to bribe individual integrity, to ruin honest labour, and to work universal injustice—so long must the fortunes of American citizens, must the union of the American nation, must the integrity of the American territory, must the peace, and the honour, and the moral improvement, and the future destinies of humankind—all, all

entrusted to American safe-keeping, so long must all these stand exposed to ruin, shame, and shipwreck!

There are those who imagine that in overturning the Bank of the United States, the bonds of European dominion would be severed. This is an error. A national bank affords, undoubtedly, the most convenient saddle in which the monarchies of Europe may ride the American democracy. But others are not wanting, and it is likely even that others may be now preferred, as less exposed to the national vigilance, and beyond the control of the central power. A league among such state corporations as European credit shall agree to favour, and the object is effected as before. Nor can European monarchies be at any loss for due compensation. In return for bank paper and *promises to pay*, as emitted by their correspondents here, they will appropriate American lands, mortgages on American real estate, shares in American internal improvements, canals, railroads, insurances—what, do I say *will*? They have; they do. And all this is not since yesterday. I have named the epoch. During and subsequent to the treaty of Ghent the European scheme was digested and developed; until, at the time present, all is so organized *in* both worlds and *between* both worlds, that the privileged orders of Europe, having drained their own people's life-blood, may now gorge themselves, at leisure and at pleasure, with the heart's blood of America.

My friends; in all diseases, before recourse may be had to a remedy, it is indispensable to understand the nature of the malady to be treated. That American society is sick, sick to danger, all minds of ordinary observation and reflection can distinguish. That its sickness has source in the financial system which now governs the world, the same minds are for the most part aware.

Within the last eight years, enquiry on this subject has been pushed far. Important publications have appeared, and important statements, accompanied by solemn warnings and enlightened counsel, have been addressed by the highest authority in the nation, to the nation's judgment.

The people have not been deaf; but, in this matter; more even than the people are concerned; it is *the nation*. I have said the nation; and, in employing that word, I comprehended all classes, all professions, all parties, both sexes—the whole population. Yea! even that very European party whom I may appear to have denounced as anti-American and anti-national. I hasten to explain my thought.

The financial system adopted by, and, yet more, the financial European league surreptitiously carried on in, this country, all must distinguish to be anti-American; but that they who countenance them, and that they who live by them, are *necessarily*, in feeling and intention, the enemies of their country's institutions, I would be the last to assert and the first to deny. Life, at present, is a scene of warfare; and, as on a field of battle, each soldier acts his part obedient to the movement of the body in which he is enveloped, or as the instinct of self-preservation determines, so, on the stage of life, are men now hurried along, struggling against they know not whom, for they know not what, beyond the avoiding of some immediately threatening evil or the seizure of some momentarily enticing good. With the exception of a few leaders, the body of a party are blind to the hidden thought and secret object. America, in her revolution, had domestic troubles. Her children, from anguish, from long suffering, from intrigues of the enemy, from petty causes of anger, of vanity, of ambition — her children, for a season, would go astray. But Oh! during that long agony unto

famine and unto death, America had but one traitor; but one whose palm touched foreign gold, and who, for the base metal, plotted her betrayal. Revolutionary America had but one Arnold. Let us not think that independent America, strong in sixty years of union and of freedom, should, to that unit, have added tens and thousands. No! her traitors are few, her erring children many. But, as to start from the serpent in the grass, it needs but to see it, so will the bare surmise of foreign influence and home treason suspend intrigue, arrest faction, and sift American citizens from European agents and emissaries, as sound grain from chaff.

But the question of European influence, the existence of faction, and the possibility of treason, constitute only a part of the evil and the danger before us.

Numerous are the body of men throughout the nation, who, spurning the bonds of foreign financial slavery; who, honestly indignant at seeing their country's wealth turned in full tide into the thirsty treasuries of European monarchy and aristocracy, yet deem it constitutional, in the face of American history, in the face of this righteous instrument, the law of their country and the inspired scripture of Human-kind, to establish and to foster a system of American financial slavery, in which Americans only are to figure as tyrants, but Americans always as slaves.

Side by side, yet ranged as hostile parties, each struggling for supremacy in this world of equal rights and equal chances, appear at this hour, two devastating armies in the field. Each carries in front its distinctive banner, the one inscribed "Bank of the United States;" the other, "States' Chartered Monopolies." The first assaults this instrument in its twofold provisions, undermining national independence, and violating Justice; the

other, respecting, or attempting to respect, the nation's inviolability, but smiting equally on the nation's principle. The first, making of this new world a poor Lieutenancy of the old; the second, converting the American democracy into an American aristocracy; both, equally, robbing industry of its dues, undermining individual integrity, annihilating public virtue, and realizing the scheme of Hamilton, by neutralizing, perverting and circumventing those institutions which the early Federalists or revolutionary monarchists failed to overthrow.

We have now sketched our outline of the North American continent, and of the political institutions which are to rule its destinies; we have also brought our general view of the civil history of the United States up to the existing point of time.

It remains for us to distinguish our actual position at the moment; first, with a view to the averting of danger from abroad, in league with Federal treason at home; and next, with a view to the wise and prudent correction of abuses, and the establishing America's political edifice on the safe foundation of her own principle, **JUSTICE**.

We shall now proceed to investigate the history of the Federal party, together with the famous Hamilton financial scheme as finally brought to bear by and through the action of the Bank of the United States.

The history of the Federal party, coupled with a view of the Hamilton financial scheme, will supply the subject of my next discourse. A third, having for its object the tranquillizing of the public mind on a question little understood by those who treat it with good intentions, and, of course, intentionally perverted by those who treat it with bad intentions, will, I trust, enable us to look in the face, and effectually to avert, the two most imminent dangers of the hour.

I shall then discuss, in order, various other subjects connected with the public safety, public peace and national union: the whole previous to a course to which for years past I stand pledged to the American people, one, namely, ON THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF AMERICA'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

VOL. II. — 5.

LECTURE II.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL PARTY; WITH A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HAMILTON FINANCIAL SCHEME.

[As first delivered in Lancaster County, Penn., on Sunday, 21st August, 1836, and afterwards in Philadelphia.]

AT our first meeting, placed, in idea, as on the top of America's central mountains, we embraced a comprehensive view of the ground occupied, physically and politically, by the American nation. We distinguished those geographical divisions which under the reign of ignorance, violence and antique routine, such as, until the birth of this nation, had ruled the earth, would have become necessarily, one or all, in the progress of this continent's colonization, the landmarks of hostile nations, conflicting aristocracies and rival tyrannies, each contending for individual aggrandizement, and all uniting for general human oppression. We then observed how such conflict of nations, or alliancing of despotisms, being rendered impossible by the character of America's first settlers (drawn, the choice and the elect, from all the more civilized nations of Europe), an artificial and truly scientific sectioning, both of the territory and the population, had been conceived and effectuated: That the object of this artificial sectioning being to facilitate the political action of the population, as united under the bond of a common principle, JUSTICE, for a common object, HAPPY-

NESS, its effects had been, through the past, and must be, yet more powerfully and effectually, through the future, to efface all geographical divisions of territory, to cement, ever strongly and more strongly, the bonds of citizenship, and to prepare the whole nation, throughout all its divisions and subdivisions of states, counties, and townships, to move onward unitedly under the guidance of the human principle, IMPROVEMENT, to the practical illustration and full developement of the American principle, JUSTICE.

In the course of our investigations, we inspected the frame-work of American government, and observed its distinguishing features to be: First, its distinct and scientific sectioning: second, the direct constitutional action of the popular voice: third, the frequency of appeal to that direct constitutionally expressed voice. We passed in review the civil history of the United States, noting the various attempts made, by violence to subvert, or, by fraud to neutralize or to change, the nature of the institutions. At present, in rapid summary, we may state that since the Declaration of America's Independence and of America's principle, Equal Rights to equal chances, or Justice, as set forth together in this instrument, the United States have been ever held on the defensive by a course of overt or secret acts of aggression. That this warfare, sustained, on the one hand, by American Democracy; on the other, by European Monarchy, has presented various phases. For facilitating the conception of the whole, we may divide this period of struggle into three epochs: the first, embracing the war of the revolution; in which the struggle lay between transatlantic power, aided and abetted by the colonial tories, and the young American nation united for the conquest of Independence: second, involving the struggle for the American principle, Justice,

and its twofold support, Democracy and American constitutional and scientifically sectioned Government; the aggressing parties here being — American malcontents and British power. The epoch, in time, extending from the organization of the Federal Government to the discomfiture of the American monarchist party at the Hartford Convention and the cessation of British hostilities by the treaty of Ghent: the third, commencing at the treaty of Ghent and close of open war, presenting a long, hidden and still sustained siege by the sap and the mine of America's institutions and political independence; the parties here being — on the one hand, this instrument, assaulted in its principle of equal rights or Justice, and the American nation attainted in its territorial and monied independence; on the other, the corrupt financial system surreptitiously planted in the bosom of the nation by Hamilton and the misnamed *Federal*, more properly *monarchist* party, and linked to the great European scheme of dominion and financial despotism and corruption at and since the treaty of Ghent. The epoch of this third struggle, although continuing to the present hour, may be marked as extending from the treaty of Ghent to the veto of America's President against the recharter of the United States Bank. That great measure, so convincingly and nobly justified in the communications of the Executive to Congress and to the nation, and so intelligently received and generously sustained by the American people throughout the whole extent of the American dominion, may be said to have opened a fourth epoch in the civil history of the United States.

This epoch, which we are now traversing, and which we may denominate an epoch of enquiry and preparation, is to be followed by one of practical reform, and must, in its course, present the satisfactory solution of all

the difficulties, financial and political, whether states or national, of the hour, and thus farther prepare human opinion and human practice for the honourable, and, withal, advantageous solution of that sectional difficulty, southern slavery — removed, as I think we shall distinguish when called to investigate the subject at our next meeting — removed, I say, equally by good sense as by compact, from national legislation, but left confidently to the silent action of human opinion, to the power of righteous example as to be presented by a reformed administration and wise political economy in the northern states, and, as influenced by these, to the future decision of our southern fellow-citizens themselves acting constitutionally within their own states' jurisdictions.

The fourth or existing epoch being then one of enquiry and preparation, and, consequently, one also of uncertainty, uneasiness and agitation, it would appear highly desirable to shorten its duration with a view to the approaching another epoch, that of practical reform; an epoch which must present, in the onward course of its progress, the gradual realization of the American principle of Justice by means of the full, fair and enlightened development of America's political institutions; and thus, open for this nation, and, through its influence, for the world, the great advent of Humanity, when absolute Justice shall establish her reign upon earth.

Having given many years of reflection to this subject, it has appeared to me that a systematic course of enquiry into the nature, object and end of American government, might best prepare the American nation to pass speedily and safely from the present uncomfortable epoch into that which lies ahead of practical reform.

But previous to engaging in such a course of enquiry, I have judged it indispensable to examine our position

both in the past and at the present: and this with a view to the clearing human heads of political fog, without which they can never possibly distinguish political truth—I say that some, and even much, previous and preparatory investigation is necessary for the clearing human heads of political fog. Yes; *political fog*, as raised in them designedly by political intriguers, styled Federal Whigs *alias* old Tories, and by priestly politicians *alias* the old Christian party in politics; two set of men, once in *open*, and now in *secret*, understanding to stifle American patriotism, to destroy all human good feeling, and, by confounding every question, preventing all rational discussion, raising false excitements and provoking riots by hue and cry of *mad dog*, abolition and anti-abolition, either and both together, infidelity, agrarianism, and Heaven knows what—essay to throw, and to keep, all in darkness and confusion, in order to carry their own schemes of strong government and irresponsible financial dominion.

Having attempted a short summary of the matter delivered at our last meeting, which placed before us a rapid sketch of the political institutions and civil history of the country, we have now to inspect our situation at the moment under the influence of the Hamilton financial scheme.

Before we proceed to investigate the nature of this scheme, it may be useful to say a few words, in addition to all that was said at our last meeting, touching the set of men, or the political party, with which it originated.

The sketch of the civil history of the United States, presented in my opening discourse, showed us the Federal or monarchist party as arming to do battle against this instrument (*Dec. of Ind.*) at the close of the revolutionary war, and as openly proclaiming their hostile designs in the

convention held in Philadelphia, in 1787. It was then that Federalism, in plain language *monarchy*, raised openly its standard and organized itself as a *political party*.

We will pause here to establish, as my custom is, the meaning of the term employed to designate the existence we propose to investigate.

Political party. Party, from part: a part as opposed to the whole. Political, from politics. Politics, from *polus*, many: the business of the many. Political party: a part, or body of men, organized, in opposition to the whole, for the purpose of turning the business of the many to their special advantage.

It is not correct, what is often asserted, that there exist in this, as in all countries, two parties; the monarchist and the democratic. This is true as applied to Europe, where there is always a party organized to govern, and another party organized to be governed. But the same is not the case in America. There is here *one party*, and *one nation*. The party is composed of what we shall examine. The nation we specified at our last meeting to comprise the mass of human beings associated within the North American continent under the bond of a common principle, JUSTICE, for the attainment of a common object, HAPPINESS.*

With *the nation*, as thus correctly defined, *the party* has nothing in common. The men composing it have never congregated with the American people and their

*It is often conceited that wherever there is a name, and a man, under that name, wanting an office, there is a party. The word is foolishly employed. As regards politics, or the business of the many, all resolves itself definitively into principles. Here the principle of the nation is *equal rights to equal chances*, or *Justice*. All who stand by this principle belong to the nation; those who stand by *privilege* belong to the party.

government under this instrument; or, when they have done so ostensibly, it has been with a lie in their mouths and with treason in their hearts.

In order clearly to follow out the history, and trace the design, of this hostile and destructive party, it may be well to advert to its origin.

In the sketch of America's territory and history with which my first discourse opened, we saw that the early colonial settlers were the choice and the elect of all the civilized nations of the old world; men who preferred the mind's freedom to the body's ease. It was these, the lion-hearted and the eagle-souled, who fought and conquered, as they alone could, the earth, the elements—untamed nature herself, with all her savage tribes of beast and man; and who, on New England's rocks of flint and in Virginia's perilous swamps, laid the foundations, broad and deep, of America's democracy. Such, fellow-citizens, were the fathers of *the nation*. Let us now inspect those of *the party*.

When the young Colonies had grown—not, as a British orator well observed, by the care, but by the neglect, and as in despite of, the mother-country—to power and opulence, then came, thick and fast, flocks of old parasites and young idlers; half-beggared Lords, with unportioned sons and cousins; worn-out creatures or creatures half-made at the birth, nothing knowing and of nothing capable; yet good to swell the petty courts of royal governors; to wear the titles and consume the pensions and perquisites of office whose duties could be performed by substitutes; good also to occupy the mansion and consume the rents of some large domain, settled, where this was possible, by royal grant in perpetual entail on heir male; good also for every political mischief, big or little, of which, both big and little, old country government

found immensely to do, in a world where young democrats sprang up like mushrooms. Such, fellow-citizens, were the fathers of *the party*.

At the period of the revolution, this colonial monarchist party was powerful in number, while, what it might lack in energy, was made up in wealth. At the declaration of this instrument the mass of *the party* divided into two. The one, and that, perhaps, not the least honourable, sided with their patron the British government, and did openly the work of Tories. The other portion resolved to stand by their property and to make the best of their principles. They put the black cockade in their pockets to serve upon occasion; took oath to the new Republic with mental reservations; were the half-measure men of '76; the backers and abettors of Hamilton in 1787; were the sticklers for the Cincinnati order of nobility; the tormentors of the upright Washington; the seducers of the honest, but somewhat facile, John Adams; the traducers of Jefferson; the factious opposers of Madison; the plotters of the Hartford Convention; the concoctors, upholders and mystifiers of the American system; the hatchers and instigators of the Christian party in politics; to sum up all, the executors, negociators and Bank directors of the Hamilton financial scheme.

The party, whose origin and history we have thus rapidly sketched, we perceive to have lost much strength by the effects of the revolution. One half, as was observed, held fast to toryism and British monarchy, and of these America and democracy was in a measure relieved. I say *in a measure*; for many found means, by aid of *Federal* intrigues, to retain or recover American property, and failed not to join their old brethren in land-

jobbing, stock-jobbing, and pushing rapidly forward the Hamilton financial scheme.

The first great object, therefore, of the Federalist, or American division of the colonial monarchist party, was to strengthen their numbers by importation from abroad and corruption at home. Under plea of aiding the national instruction, necessarily much neglected during the revolutionary struggle, professors and preachers were sought in Great Britain, and thus the darkness of English tory universities and royalist Scotch Calvinism was brought to quench the light and the fire of the spirit of '76.

The arch Federalist, Gouverneur Morris, a man of more wit than faith, political intrigue than religion, had shipped for the United States, by aid and through influence of Lord Melville, the famous Dundas of Pitt's administration, two score and upwards of fire and brimstone Presbyterians. I hold this fact from the lips of the venerable Duane, the last act of whose life was consistent with its whole tenor.* The arrival of these frighteners of women and children, and European perverters of America's youth, will be found noticed in the files of the *Aurora*.

To the party's manœuvres of that period may be traced the close connexion between financial scheming, priestly intriguing, and youthful education—the banks, the churches, the colleges, and Sunday-school unions, out of which grew the famous Christian party in politics.

* Colonel Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, who fought in its columns the hard fight of democracy during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The son of Col. Duane was Secretary of the Treasury during the struggle between the Executive and the Bank of the United States, and refused to remove the deposits at the order of America's President. The indignant father commenced a new series of the *Aurora*, and died shortly afterwards.

This powerful coalition shows to this hour the directors of the Federal bank, and, generally, the presidents, cashiers, and other officers of state banks, on the list of church elders and bible society directors. It shows also the President of the United States Bank at the head of the Girard College, which college, it would seem, under his agency, is to be filled with professors fresh imported, after the old federal plan, from British universities.

One effect of the revolution had been to loosen the hold of superstition, and to quench that spirit of fanaticism which, imported with the early puritans, had been gradually subsiding in the free atmosphere of a new world, even previous to the dawn of the revolution; but which, during the ten years of struggle which the revolution embraced, had died fast away, both in the habits and in the minds of the people. The genius of revolution is fearless, expansive, and aspiring. Under its influence pure truth is ambitioned. No enquiry is too bold; and no aim too high. At the peace of '83 two subjects more especially commanded attention: law and education. But, in that day, the feeling was better than the knowledge was profound. Instruction, as is but too much the case still, was supposed synonymous with education, and learning with knowledge. To give the go-by to judicial reform was the object of lawyers; to see the popular instruction rendered worse rather than better, was instinctive with the clergy. Hamilton and Morris, themselves lawyers, men of the sharpest intellect, and no ways encumbered with superstition, failed not to distinguish this; and, under pretence of importing learning, imported toryism and a religious faith based on the principle of passive obedience.

But if, on the one hand, the party recruited their numbers from abroad, the nation did also, and yet more

largely, the same. Successive European revolutions threw ever on these shores men of the same stock with the first peoplers of the continent: defeated patriots and banished philosophers, teachers too of humanizing science, too man-loving and truth-knowing to find patronage in a world where the few reign by permission of the ignorance of the many. Men of this stamp, whether of home or of foreign growth, it was ever the main object of the Party to throw, or to keep in the shade. Under its paramount influence, that is, from the convention of 1787 until 1801, all such were carefully excluded from public administration and public education. Office was gradually secured to toryism; the colleges were crammed with toryism; the supreme and other judicial courts were overruled by toryism; the churches expounded toryism; the press was ridden by toryism, and, soon, the country was governed by toryism. One material advantage, also, there has ever been on the side of the Party. When even its numbers have been at the smallest, and, equally, when its numbers have been most multiplied by corruption, they have ever planned with forethought and moved with system; while the nation, frank and fearless, might have risked and might yet risk, being checkmated, were not its destinies written on the gates of Time by the hand of Immortality.

Before leaving the subject here touched upon, of foreign influence, as experienced through the tide of European emigration, we may observe that the recruits added to America's population from abroad, have always been, and are to this hour, of two distinct characters. There have been, and there are, those who come for liberty and those who come for plunder. The first, from wherever they migrate, immediately join the nation; and become, if they possess, or so soon as they acquire, a knowledge of the language and institutions, good and generous citizens.

The others, those who come for plunder, as readily join the Party, and swell the army of gambling traders, desperate speculators, bank clerks, correspondents in foreign mercantile houses, foreign stockholder agents, bible society directors, seditious abolitionists or anti-abolitionists, either or both together, incendiary editors of the Party's journals, and of periodicals in the Party's pay and in European interest—the whole constituting an important and never-failing supply of recruits for the army of federal whigs and the mobs of federal mayors.

Having inspected the origin and rise of the Party by whom was brought to bear the Hamilton financial scheme, we will now proceed to investigate the nature, object, and effects of that scheme itself.

This scheme, as first attempted under forms openly European—such as a funded debt, an expensive administration, a standing army, an imposing navy, and all the regular artillery of arbitrary laws, restricted press, taxation, vexation, personal arrest, imprisonment, and transportation, was frustrated by the nation, with Thomas Jefferson at its head, in 1801. The same scheme, as next attempted by the United States Bank, in financial correspondence and conjunction with the agents and comptrollers of the governments of Europe—namely, with Messrs. Rothschild and their whole fraternity of stockholders, stock makers, and stock loaners—This second edition of the Hamilton financial scheme, as got up, at and since, the treaty of Ghent, yet lives, and lives in open defiance of the law of America's government, and the voice of America's people.

We have seen that the first scheme of the Party was to establish a strong government, armed with direct power—in one word, A MONARCHY; that *name*, no less than that *thing*, being openly advocated by Hamilton and

his coadjutors. The second was to create an indirect, but absolute, power subversive of all legitimate government whatsoever. This power, by fraud and corruption, by concentration of real, and fabrication of false capital, with the investiture and entail of the same on the mystical head of an omnipotent and eternal, incomprehensible, irresponsible, and unseizable monster called the Bank of the United States, or consolidated national monopoly, was to present, has presented, and does present all the attributes of monarchy, with a slight variation of form, and a still slighter of name. I have said with a slight variation of form and still slighter of name. Let us pause to investigate the position.

The term monarchy, considered in its Greek etymology, typifies exactly the thing signified. Monarchy—from *monas*, one. An order of things in which the advantage of one is the one thing consulted. The term monopoly, in its origin, is equally significative. *Monas*, one, and *polus*, many. One in many, or many consolidated into one. A sort of hydra, with many heads but one brain, and that brain ever working for the feeding of its own heads alone, at expense of the whole mass of the nation on whom it preys. Such has been, such is, the Bank of the United States. It has been, it is, a monopoly-monarchy. A monster holding in its fangs the whole capital, real and fictitious, the whole credit, whether correctly or incorrectly calculated, whether prudently or imprudently exercised—the whole capital and the whole credit, I say, of the American United States, and therefore holding at its disposal the whole material force, and moral and industrial energy of the American nation. More than this: its correspondence and positive affiliation with the great consolidated financial scheme of Europe, places the material force, and moral and industrial energy of the

American nation under the control of the consolidated monarchical, aristocratical, and church hierarchal governments of Europe—in other words, of the Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance! that monstrous creation of British diplomacy, British commercial dominion, and British monopoly of capital and credit, which, by direct force, or by indirect financial influence, variously employed, according to circumstances, and to the more or less advanced point in civilization (that is to say, in productive industry and political science) at which each different nation has arrived—that monstrous creation which, either by force or by fraud, by coercion or by corruption, by force of arms, by treasonous practices, secret tamperings, bribery, hush-money, diplomacy, palaver and mystification, has strangled or is strangling the national independence and popular liberty of every state upon the globe. Such is the consort of the Bank of the United States. Such is the union subsisting between the old Hamilton, American federal, and now *whig federal* financial scheme on the one hand; and the old Pitt, British tory, and now *whig European* financial scheme on the other. The names and the tactics of the parties on both sides of the ocean, though changed for the nine hundred and ninety-ninth time, ever designate a set of men and a scheme of politics having in view the same objects with those proposed by the old parliament of George the Third; namely, the subjugation of the whole industry and credit of the civilized earth to one monstrous consolidated monopoly-monarchy. A monarchy whose throne of thrones is in London, whose prime ministers are Messrs. Rothschild & Co., and whose vice-kings and vicegerents are the ministers of finance, boards of trade, branch banks and bank presidents, who dictate the policy of state cabinets throughout the world. Such is the scheme which America's national Executive

smote in Washington on the forehead, and which you, people of Pennsylvania! have to smite, through your State's Assembly, in Philadelphia.

You will observe, Fellow-citizens, that it is not Banking that is here in question; not any particular currency, nor any particular representative of wealth nor of credit. We are on much broader and much higher ground. We are on the question of the national independence, or the national subjection to foreign suzerainship. We are passing in review that Hamilton financial scheme which, however varying in its form, has never varied in principle nor design; and which, finally, in its practical development, has sapped the foundations of America's independence and America's liberty.

The question now arises, Fellow-citizens! how you are to approach the enemy. Driven from the national centre, he has ensconced himself in the states, ready on the first occasion to reseize the post from whence he has been driven. Yes, ready on the first occasion. And yet, whatever the designs and whatever the hopes of the foreign or domestic enemies of this instrument, I find it hard to conceive that such occasion will present itself. No; surely the step gained will not be ceded. Assuredly the expression of the national voice against the recharter of the United States Bank has thrown this question definitively out of the walls of Congress. I so conceive, notwithstanding all the attempts made, making, or to be made, to alter the decision of that voice, to brave or to evade it. When the Directors of that high-throned institution derided the mandate of America's Chief Magistrate, braved the decision of America's representatives; excited, fomented and rewarded assault of the American constitution by the American senate, in the person of America's President, those Directors sealed the doom of

the national monopoly. The searing-iron of a nation's opprobrium stamped on the frontal of its golden palaces, HIGH TREASON; and never was that stigma fixed upon individual, on corporate body, or on political party, by the hand of free America, that the flood of Time itself might efface it. Nor, as we have seen, does the national monopoly stand condemned only by certain special acts of treason. Its original design, its whole line of policy, its objects and its effects, all constitute *a course of treason*. In league with the European coalition, it breaks this instrument, it subverts the institutions, it robs the nation, it rends to shivers that flag. True to its federal origin, the institution of the United States Bank has ever pursued the same course with the first leaders of the Federal party. We have seen that those leaders first tried their scheme of despotism under the form of one central strong government with obliteration of state divisions. Then the cry was "union!" "consolidation!" and, as emblematic, not of the real, but the pretended, object, the party assumed the name of *Federal*. Defeated there, then came attempts to rupture the union; by rebellion, by foreign intrigues, by force of arms in the west, by treason in the Hartford Convention. And what has been the course of the United States Bank? Even a second, though until lately, a more specious edition of the old Federal drama. The Bank, started and consolidated, all was quiet. The traitor scheme, carried forward silently and stealthily, the union was good and convenient to preserve. At home and abroad, overt hostilities were suspended, and the nation believed itself at peace and in safety. But soon symptoms of uneasiness appeared in the bosom of the population. A high tariff, prolonged beyond even a plea of expediency, under pretext of encouraging labour, oppressed the labourer, vexed the consumer, introduced, in

league with foreign mercantile houses and by favour of Bank credit, bribery into the great seaports and customs, advantaged the northern speculator, ruined the southern planter, and as misrepresented, mystified and angrily sustained in Congress by parties, alike indifferent to the vital interests of the many both in the north and the south, fomented ill will and anti-institutional and anti-constitutional sectional divisionings of political interests and feelings between the two halves of the great Republic. Fast growing disparities of fortune and consequent distinctions of class betrayed departure from democratic principle. Industry met with discouragements, speculation with ever greater reward, and over-trading ran to ruinous excess. A European system of instruction took deeper and deeper root in the Colleges. European doctrines, driven from the field during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, retook the American press as by storm; a union of Church and State was attempted. Law became more and more venal, Legislation more and more unconstitutional; corruption entered the national Congress and the States' Assemblies, and the poison of old Toryism poured in like a flood upon the land.

When at length People and Government awoke and the Veto was pronounced and carried against the Bank, what saw we then? what have we seen? and what see we at this hour? The old Federal incendiary schemes at work — north, south, east and west. Carolina nullification. Panic and pressure; slavery abolition-preaching in the south; anti-abolition excitements in the north. *Manceuvrings in Texas and concerning Texas.* Jeremiads touching invasion of Indian rights, at the moment that the tomahawk is raised, the frenzy of the savage is desolating the Florida peninsula, and intrigues from within, in unison with provocations from Mexico, are ex-

citing the black man throughout the United States, and the red man through the south-west and along the whole western frontier! Such, Fellow-citizens, is a faint sketch and imperfect enumeration of the history and the doings of the European monarchist party in these United States, under the cloak, and strengthened by the power, of the Hamilton financial scheme.

But how, the question was asked, how are the People of Pennsylvania to close with the Hydra who has ensconced himself behind the barrier of their state laws? Again I pause, Fellow-citizens, at the question propounded. What does it not convey? What does it not involve?

Behold here again an evidence of the fearful influences that have been at work in sapping the noble institutions of free America! and behold, again, the fearful power exercised by an institution already smitten by the thunderbolt of a nation's wrath! Its influence is such as to throw a state into standing rebellion against a national decree; its power is such as to uphold that influence against the voice of the people of that state itself! Will the carriers of that high-handed act of sedition unblushingly assert it to have been an act of legislation? An act of legislation! What is, or what should be, such an act? A formula of the will of the Legislator's constituents. True, in many cases, that will may not be known, or, being known, may plausibly be represented as unknown. Here, was there ignorance? was there doubt? No; the watchful and often mystified People had well explained their intentions and held their servants for pledged. No; the votes which carried that measure were perjured, were bribed. See then the omnipotence and omnipresence of the power of the consolidated Hamilton financial scheme! Driven from Washington, it rules in Harrisburg. Conquered by the People, it

vanquishes their appointed attorneys. Its promises to pay, backed by all the capital, real and fictitious, and by all the credit, useful or ruinous, of America, and, moreover, endorsed by the master-schemers of Europe — its promises to pay may be multiplied, with small risk of detection, for any purpose, either special or general, at any time, to any amount; and thus may the monopoly-monarchy push its dominion, by means of legislative bribery, until every Assembly of the Union present but a board of Bank Directors and every law of the States be countersigned Messrs. Biddle & Rothschild!

It is for you, Fellow-citizens, to judge how this ultimatum may be averted. The political horizon is heavy with clouds. The old enemies of this life-giving, life-preserving instrument, are busy throughout the whole North American continent. It is for you, citizens of Pennsylvania, greatly to advance their odious designs or to aid their defeat. The nation demands of you to crush the Hydra in the deformed offspring it has spawned in your state. Observe its deformity, Fellow-citizens! its mongrel, its unnatural origin, as betrayed even in its name! *The United States Bank of the State of Pennsylvania.* Oh! how full of Federal design is the name and the thought that fathered it! You will recall in my opening discourse the elucidations presented touching one peculiar feature of American government — namely, its *distinct and scientific sectioning*; and you will recall also my elucidations touching the artful mode in which Hamilton attempted, first to annihilate and then to confound all those important divisionings and subdivisionings of territory and administration which form the first elements of political order and enlightened civil liberty. Oh! never has the Party swerved from its original policy to pervert, to confuse, to confound, to betray, and to drag us into

despotism through the pass of anarchy. See, Fellow-citizens, all the confusion of words and ideas and jurisdictions embraced in the name of this young Hydra! *United States Bank of the State of Pennsylvania!* Here have we a scheme of consolidated national finance confounded with a state's financial institution. Is it the one? is it the other? is it both? is it neither? My friends, it is neither. It is a member of that monstrous association which holds in alliance all the despotisms of the old world. It is one of the arms of that mighty Briareus, THE HOLY ALLIANCE, who hath all but seized the globe in his grasp, and who, should he finally seize on these United States, would annihilate its soul.

Would annihilate the soul of the world, I said. Yea! would for ever break this instrument. Yea! would destroy this nation's independence. Yea! would destroy this nation's union. Yea! would banish from the earth this here consecrated principle of justice.

My friends, there is an important truth which it has been ever the steady object of the monarchist party in this country to conceal or to mystify. This important truth is, that Europe is one world and that America is another. In these two worlds not the forms only, but the principles of government are different. The very conditions of the two political existences are opposed. The law of Europe is PRIVILEGE; the law of America is JUSTICE. All in Europe has been and is closely calculated to give meaning and stability to her motto, *Privilege of the Few*. For this was her financial system concocted in Great Britain; and, with the same in view, has it been carried out in all the consolidated monarchies of the old world. It would appear self-evident that what is suited to protect the European rule of Privilege must be totally inadequate to secure the American rule of Justice. That the mon-

archies of Europe should consolidate their force and their credit is natural. Their object is one and the same; their interests are all identical, and the means they employ to upstay the one and to promote the other may in reason and consistency be calculated in common. But the deep Atlantic, which severs the domain of monarchy from that of democracy, must sever also their policy. Peace with all the world is the axiom of America; but *peace at arms' length*—peace without the involvements and the hazards of financial consolidation. These financier love passages, so dear to the followers of Hamilton, are to a free nation the embrace of the boa constrictor, which enfolds but to crush. The subject is too serious for pleasantries, or we might subjoin that any approach towards any intimate financial communion between America and Europe must be like a marriage between an old rake and a young heiress. On one side youth, health, and fortune, on the other decrepitude and debts. It is easy to see on which side must be all the advantages, and on which all the hazard and the loss. No, my friends! whatever financiers, interested in the funds of the institution, or politicians interested in its principles, may advance, the Bank, miscalled of the United States, and more justly called of the Holy Alliance, is a drain upon the nation's wealth, a tax, and a *foreign tax*, upon the people, a foe to the institutions, in one word, an enemy to the country. To destroy it, citizens of Pennsylvania! be your first object. To destroy it root and branch. No bargaining, no compromise. Here are no claims to settle. Here is no contract; or, if there be one, it stands between treason on the one hand and invasion on the other: let the parties settle it between them. The enemy once destroyed, the snake not scotched but killed, let America arrange her own affairs with the good of humankind in her heart; and

with the wealth, and the power, and the majesty of this nation in prospect, and with her mind given to understand how best she may do this wisely, securely, and justly.

A question, fellow-citizens, has been asked and not answered, and I feel delicacy in attempting a reply. I shall at the most but offer a hint.

The legislature of Pennsylvania has betrayed the people of the state and outraged the nation. Seeing the power of the institution whose nature we have investigated, it seems difficult for the people to right themselves. Bribery once brought full to bear on a legislative body, representation becomes a mockery, and a people with a constitution in their hands, are very like a people without one. But the measure is in agitation of revising the constitution. Such a measure will of course be well reflected and matured, and every care taken to ensure, that *change* be rendered synonymous with *improvement*. My suggestion is only this. A member of either house of Assembly, as of either house of Congress, is the attorney of his constituents. It should seem, then, that he should have, in law language, *a power of attorney*, precisising, in as far as possible, the objects for which he is appointed. In other words, that his *written, signed, and published* instructions should be clear and distinct; that departure from the same should involve dismissal; and, perhaps more, that a vote in evident contradiction to written orders should pass for no vote at all.

This would appear the more indispensable, seeing that the Party hath ever a new trick for each new position. Defeated in their present scheme of refixing themselves under their old name and on their old bottom of branch banks throughout the states, they will next baptize their hydra under new names; incorporate its funds under

new charters, and comfortably nail down the claims of its foreign stockholders on the national domain, under the form of mortgages on real estate, (as is now done by the Life Insurance and Trust Company of Ohio,) until America's very bosom be assigned away to foreign aristocrats, and her sons be converted from free lords of the soil to miserable vassals to foreign absentees, like the hapless children of Ireland. To provide against such and endless other schemes, the remoulded constitution of Pennsylvania should supply some efficient check over the volition of public servants. American government is theoretically a government of principle, and not of men. How far this is the case in practice we all know; and what chance there is for its being rendered so under the operation of the Hamilton financial scheme, our investigations of the day may enable us to judge.

LECTURE III.

ON THE SECTIONAL QUESTION—SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

First delivered in Cincinnati, on Sunday, May 22d, 1836.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

We have now passed in review the nature of the political institutions, and the history of the country; established the national principle, and, under its guidance, the direction of the national destinies. We have considered also the origin, history, and object of the party that wages war on that principle, and that threatens those destinies. We shall now proceed to investigate the real nature of a question which, as treated by the friends of liberty without due knowledge, or as agitated by the enemies of America with a view to her mischief, is capable of making shipwreck of this nation's fortunes, and, with its fortunes, of those also of humankind.

The subject which I propose to treat with you this day is the sectional question: Southern Slavery.

This subject, to be rendered not only harmless, but fraught with general instruction, has only to be thoroughly investigated, and presented justly; both with respect to its actual bearings, in fact and in principle, and to its suitable issue in time. There is no danger in truth in any case, on any occasion whatsoever. Where it appears dangerous, it is only that we see not the whole of it. In something there is error, or confusion, or indistinctness. All circumstances have not been collected, examined, and

correctly estimated. Some points of view have not been embraced, while others may have been unduly studied. Some principle of the human mind has been forgotten, and some other allowed to absorb our exclusive attention. It is thus that our judgment may be oftentimes biassed when we conceit it to be most fairly exercised, and even our best feelings misemployed when we are most certain that they are righteous. To remedy this, what is wanted? In all cases, what is wanted? Calm investigation and untrammelled enquiry. Before these all difficulties will disappear, and all doubt and uneasiness die away in the mind. It is in the hope of allaying some uneasiness on the part of good citizens, and defeating the schemes of bad citizens, that I now invite your attention to the consideration of the sectional question: southern slavery.

By a sectional question, I understand a question which, in the first place, is not general and uniform in its bearings upon America's territory and population, and is unprovided for in the national constitution; moreover, and in the second place, which is not yet so brought under the action of public opinion in the section of country which it regards, as to stand within the pale of effective and beneficent legislation, either national or state's! Such a position do I conceive slavery now to occupy, and therefore it is that I have called it the sectional question.

I have stated southern slavery to be, at this existing point of time, without the pale of effective and beneficent legislation. To be effective and beneficent, how must legislation be conducted?

First; it must move within the pale of constitutional law; in that road and upon that rail, levelled, moulded and laid by political science for ensuring safe and regulated movement. All movement off that road and *without* that rail is anarchy, is madness, is ruin. On either hand,

before, behind, yawns a gulf of perdition. Whatever measures the progress of the human mind may encourage, circumstances may demand, or the blind rage of faction, in league with foreign enmity, may necessitate, that rail must first be laid before the car of legislation may venture forward.

Second; before legislation may be effective and beneficent in its action, public opinion must be in unison with its statutes. The truth cannot be too deeply impressed on our conviction that all power, in this country, hath its seat in the mind. Here government hath no bayonets, a fact our legislators, too prone to stretch their sight across the Atlantic in search of precedent and example, are apt to forget; and which our citizens themselves, in their impatience to attain a result, are not unfrequently apt to forget also.

Having thus distinguished the two-fold source of beneficent and effective legislation, it is easy, in every case, to lay down the course which reform must follow. Where and when constitutional provisions trace the mode and supply the means of action; and where and when the public mind is prepared to employ the same, the American principle of Justice, considered both in its absolute and relative character (we shall have occasion at a future meeting to elucidate this position)—the American principle of Justice must ever constitute the guiding pole-star of reform. Where and when constitutional law doth not speak, but the public mind is prepared to make it speak, the people have to supply its deficiencies or to rectify its errors; and when and where the public mind is *unprepared*, and circumstances are not imperative, the difficulty must be entrusted, and may, in this country, be entrusted confidently, to the human principle of improvement.

Improvement, that principle whose source is in human

organization, and the assurance of whose development lives in America's institutions—human improvement promises in its course, ultimately to remove every evil and to realize every good. With a view to the aiding and accelerating the progress of improvement, we have observed that, in this country, the only power, as the only appellative jurisdiction, rests with public opinion. All reform must be effected through and by public opinion; and all law, to be any thing, or even not to be worse than nothing, must be the faithful expression of public opinion. To propose changes, therefore, in any section of this country, to which, in that section, public opinion is opposed, or for which it is unprepared, would be an absurdity. Disturbance might be created, violence provoked; but I have yet to learn that disturbance and violence are elements of improvement.

In thus establishing slavery to be, at this moment of time, without the pale of legislation, I have equally reference to that of the southern states themselves as to that of the nation. All appeal, therefore, to the compact, which is usually made the sole argument against national interference in the question, becomes superfluous. To the particular sacredness of that compact, made in the most solemn hour of America's history—the hour in which her independence, her union, her principle of Justice, and all her destinies, as resting on the development of her principle, were struggling into existence, most assuredly I am not insensible; but, I own, it is more consistent with my habit of thought to appeal to the force of Truth than to that of Contracts. An appeal to the latter, unbacked by sound arguments addressed to our mental and moral conviction, constitutes but a begging of the question. This mode of reply, at all times unworthy of rational beings, is yet more especially unworthy in the

case now before us. Happily, in the moral conflict which the contemplation of the sectional question must ever raise in a truly American bosom, we are reduced to no such resources; and, in our investigations this day, as at all other times, I shall endeavor to address myself to reason and to good sense alone, seeking my arguments in Truth itself, and in the nature of the human mind.

My fellow-citizens! The question we are now passing in review has, you may be aware, occupied my attention especially. It is ever with unwillingness that I advert to myself; and the doing so is, in my estimation, at once the violation of propriety and the transgression of a principle. Strictly, in all things, should the line of demarcation be drawn between what regards the individual and what concerns the mass; and so has it ever been my endeavor, in addressing the public mind, to annihilate self, and to think and to speak as an abstract principle, or, if you will, as the American principle speaking to the American people. In treating the sectional question, however, now forced upon the national attention by the thousand rapid and contrary currents which disturb the natural stream of events, I feel that I may best render my views intelligible by showing the mode and the order of their formation in my own mind. I trust that this explanation will suffice for my apology.

Humankind, its condition, its nature, its capabilities, and its destinies, have formed the study of my life. To aid its progress has been at once my occupation and my passion. In the warmth of young enthusiasm I sought America for her liberty. Having studied her history and her institutions with admiration, I examined her territory and her population with curiosity. In her negro slavery, I, at first, saw her only evil, and resolved to devote my energies, my time, and my fortune, to its consideration

with a view to its remedy. Having studied the north, I proceeded to examine the south, widely and closely; and, the better to approach my object, became a southern citizen and, even, a slaveholder. It was neither disease, nor loss, nor disappointment, though, of course, I experienced all, that arrested my design. I persevered with good hope and good courage, until I distinguished that I had commenced at the wrong end. Negro slavery, like all other special or partial questions, is never rightly understood until the whole body of the subject be present to the mind. The more I considered the evil of slavery, and approached it in comparison with the other evils that corrode the face of society, the more distinctly I perceived them to have not only the same root, but to be, in fact, only different phases of one and the same thing.

My friends; the evil which corrodes and convulses human society is the degradation of human labor; its enslavement in some countries, its subjection in all. Nearly every where throughout the globe, at epochs more or less remote, it has existed in the earlier stage of degradation; namely, positive enslavement. Be it observed, however, that, in this country, it never would or could have existed in that stage but from the circumstances which induced, and the transatlantic power which forced, contrary to the habits, principles, and feelings of the early colonists, the introduction of the unfortunate children of Africa into the North American continent. But, once introduced, the position of the master, and of the slave, race, became one of great complication. In the one appeared the choice and the elect of all the white civilized nations of Europe; in the other the uncultured, and, even in their own clime, the enslaved black race of Africa. Here, therefore, were not only the races distinct, but removed the one from the other, as by a chasm

of centuries in the stage of civilization; and *vice versa*, not only were the mental and moral state of the two races opposed, but the very physical being presented distinctions. The searing iron which stamped the origin and fixed the destiny of the old British serf could be thrown aside in the progress of civilization, and, in a subsequent generation, the Lord and the Villain might stand confounded. But here nature herself had placed a distinction calculated to lengthen illimitably the reign of injustice and prejudice; while the opposing stage of civilization in which the two races stood, uniting to the distinction established by nature, conspired and yet conspires to render the mode by which, in other countries, the difficulty dies a natural death, in this country repulsive, and, therefore, impossible.

Agitated as the sectional question has usually been—by some with any motive but a righteous one, by others with more generosity of zeal than comprehensiveness of knowledge, one or the other of these difficulties is wont to be kept out of view or unfairly presented. But this is no mode of arriving at a question's solution.

In all cases mere declamation is worse than useless; but in that of America's negro slavery, it is injurious in the extreme. If there be, in the whole compass of human affairs, difficulties, and sorrows, one that should be approached with temper, with gravity, and with a solemn desire to distinguish, in the future, its happy and honourable termination, it is that under consideration. Will you ask me if I distinguish such a termination? I do; although, at the time present, how far explanations might appear to you thoroughly intelligible or, consequently, satisfactory, I am doubtful. At some future period I trust I shall feel encouraged to present the subject clearly, fully, and convincingly, to the entire comprehension of

the American nation. Then I shall expect to make it evident that our southern states, instead of possessing in their slave population a blight and a curse—a source of agricultural sterility, industrial poverty, and a bar to internal improvement, hold in it a mine of unexplored and unimproved treasures, capable of turning the whole southern territory into a garden, and of effecting simultaneously the civilization and removal of its slave population, and the introduction of free, enlightened, and, as it ever should be, honorable and honored labor, by immigration from the northern states. Reserving, then, for a future day, the full developement of this important subject, I must confine myself at present to some general, and perhaps as they may prove, introductory and preparatory observations.

I have said that when I saw to embrace the entire question of which slavery constitutes but a part, I forthwith interrupted my labors respecting it. It was then that I determined to remove my people forthwith to a country free to their color, and to fix my mind unchangeably on the forwarding the great cause of human improvement, by aiding its advance there, where it occupied the most advanced position.

And now, before proceeding farther, will you permit me to enquire what answer you would return to the planter who, if taunted with the sufferance of slavery within his borders, should reply with such observations as the following? “You object to me the prolongation of slavery. I see slavery every where; only in other countries I see that it is white; and here that it is black. With you your own race is held in subjection, and the richest among you cannot say that it may not be his turn to serve to-morrow. Your very son may become a cotton-mill tool, and your daughter be sold to dishonour. If,

with us, labour be enslaved, with you it is considered degrading. Mark your distinctions in, what is called, *society*, in your schools, and even in your churches. He who lives by the labor of his hands, however intelligent, however honest, however decent in his department, is held aloof by the wealthy, and, yet, more by the speculating, class. His children, albeit as decent in manner, as clean, if less gaudy, in apparel, and oftentimes more moral in habit, are considered unfit associates in the school-room or the play-ground. His wife, although presenting, in her household, industry and economy, conjugal affection, and maternal providence, is judged unfitting company for the richly attired, and, oftentimes, extravagant merchant's wife and banker's daughter. Your district schools, which exhibit every where the least erroneous and most American system of instruction, are shunned contemptuously, and your places of public relaxation, such as your ball-rooms, theatres, and churches, are esteemed in proportion to what is called the fashionable assortment of their frequenters. To me all this appears not only to savor little of virtuous democracy in habit or sentiment, but to evince, in practice, a positive contempt for the very labor your discourse recommends to my adoption. And, truly, that labor itself I see it struggling with increasing disadvantages; tricked and oppressed by triumphant speculation; its first fruits laid at the mercy of legislative intrigue and bank monopoly; and all this to a degree so fast increasing, that my thoughts are made to traverse the Atlantic in order to seek in Europe the picture of that state which you seem to have adopted as your model. Shall we consider that state in its model? Not too closely, lest it should freeze our blood and turn our brain: the field of southern slavery presents nought so horrible. Let us throw only a glance on the country select-

ed by Hamilton, and still proposed by his followers, for our example. Look to Great Britain, and see to what her yeomen are fallen! Her once independent farmers, now the servile dependants or half-starved drudges of some great landed proprietor! Pierce into the dark alleys of her cities, her cellars and dens of death! See from thence the tender infant, the wretched mother, the diseased, hopeless, and helpless father crawling to the place of torture and lingering execution called a manufactory! They are not sold in the market place, you will say? No—not often; although, when reduced to what is denominated the pauper state, they are sometimes. But, to escape from, or rather to prolong, the miseries of famine and despair, are they not always forced to sell themselves? and that, not to the highest bidder, but to the lowest rate to which a system of vicious political economy can sink the value of labor and the human dignity of the laborer? I speak of Great Britain, you will say? Yes; of that Great Britain who could find no better way of relieving the bondage of her West India African, than by laying the price of its burden upon the shoulders of her already starving, dying, degraded native population at home! I esteem too highly our energetic and patriotic working population of the north, and I love too much the independence and the honor of our common country, to supplicate the directors of state banks to negotiate loans for the payment of southern indemnities; and, if the truth must be told, I see too much danger of the final enslavement of white labor in the north, and perhaps of the final subjection of the whole country to European claims, under favour of land monopolies, mortgages, paper money, stock-jobbing, bank favors, and bank credit, to be in a hurry to exchange our system, vicious as it is, for yours.”

Should the southern planter thus retort, what could you say in reply? I know not what you could *say*, but I know what you could *do*. Effect the righteous work of establishing human affairs on the American principle of Justice, by means of the free, fair, and full developement of the American political institutions. Equal rights to equal chances. To youth protection, instruction, guidance. To manhood and to womanhood free choice of occupation; credit equal to his or her industry, and reward proportioned to his or her works. To sickness and helplessness—care, succor, tenderness; to age—honor, repose, security. Then, when you shall have insured to productive industry—affluence; to skill and to genius—consideration, encouragement, reward; when, throughout your borders, shall be peace, and order, and abundance; enjoyment at the present and security at the future; when, from birth to death, the citizen shall be the duteous, and the useful, and the loving child of the state; and the state shall be to the citizen the guardian and the parent—then, my friends, we shall not have to reason, to theorize, to exhort; we may say to the southern planter, “Come and see;” and, seeing, doubt not that he will go and do likewise.

I trust that the imperfect observations now presented will enable you to distinguish that southern slavery is not a question distinct from all others; not a question which can be discussed hastily or singly, and not a question that can be solved at the existing moment to the complete satisfaction of the public mind in any section of the country. I regard as indispensable for its full and clear apprehension, the primary investigation of the first principles of political truth, and the distinct perception of that just system of practice at which humankind has to attain with a view to happiness, peace, order, and stability.

Society, in the northern states, is far removed from what it ought to be; its evils are multitudinous and every hour increasing. To effect reform every where at the same moment of time would be impossible; to make such attempt, therefore, would be not only absurd but injurious, since confusion must be the evident and immediate result, and since confusion is, in all things, in all places, and at all times, the antipodes of reform.

Before dismissing the sectional question, so deeply interesting to the best feelings of America's best citizens, I must call your attention to some particular features in the existing population of the North American continent; which having considered, we may then perhaps succeed in attaining a point of view commanding a perspective sufficiently distinct to prove consolatory and satisfactory to the mind.

Once again then, let us stand as on the highest summit of North America's central mountains; and now, without regard to geographical divisions of territory, nor yet to that scientific sectioning which we have seen to supersede and obliterate those divisions, let us fix our attention on the appearance of the population itself. In considering this, the eye, on the instant, distinguishes three races, varied in external appearance, and equally varied in their moral, intellectual, and political state, in consequence of the three differing points in civilization at which each has arrived.

First in number, power, and resources, appears the white race. This, for the time being, divided into the great American nation, occupying the continent from its Atlantic border to about the 17th degree of longitude west of Washington, and the British colonies, stretching (without here attempting useless precision) from the St. Lawrence northward. Second, the red. This, which once covered the whole surface of the continent, (sparsely,

indeed, as living in the hunter state, but universally,) now reduced, like the wild game, its prey and nourishment, to a feeble remnant, but embracing the white population, American and British, north and westerly, in a semicircle. Third, the black. This not concentrated in a body, but intermingled with the white American population throughout a full half of the American territory, with one, however, curious, and, in its influences, very important interruption.

The interruption I am about to elucidate will doubtless prove familiar to those acquainted with the southern section of our country; although, what has appeared to me strange, I have never met with an allusion to it either in books or conversation. It has been common, occasionally for Americans, and invariably for foreigners, to consider the American union as in danger of being ruptured into two—the division to take place at the slave line, following, perhaps, the Potomac, and crossing the mountains to descend with the Ohio. We need not follow the misshapen thought farther; misshapen in every point of view—morally, politically, and geographically. When the progress of internal improvement shall have rendered the inspection of our southern country easy and familiar, the impossibility of such a division will be apparent to all minds. For any such carving into America's vitals to be feasible, the imagined line must divide two territories and two populations, each homogeneous in character. This is not the case. The slave population occupies the Atlantic littoral of Virginia and North Carolina; and again the rich western river country of Kentucky and Tennessee. Between these two portions of territory stretches an extensive mountain region—there climate and soil alike repulse slave labor, and nourish an active white agricultural population, whose habits, feeling, and interests,

may all be styled northern. You will now easily distinguish that to establish any divisioning that should have actual slave and free labor for basis, it would be necessary to cut the south into three or four sections, of which the east, west, and south might be slave, and the middle free. Having reduced our proposition to the absurd, I think we may here leave it; with the observation, however—that there exists, in the very heart of the south, an energetic population ardently desirous of the enfranchisement, and removal on some gigantic plan of colonization, (necessarily very different from all that now exists) of the African slave population from the country.

To resume our general review of the population occupying the North American continent, the thread of which has been somewhat broken by my latter observation. We had considered the relative positions of the white race and the red, and had entered upon that of the black. This we observed was not concentrated into a body, but appeared intermingled with the white American (allowing for the peculiarity just specified) throughout a full half of the American territory, as now politically organized and occupied.

Thus distinct in color, these three races are equally distinct in character and condition. The white advanced to the utmost existing point of human civilization; the red presenting the fierce, warlike, and unsociable man of nature; the black—the gentle, docile, but indolent and vicious, child of servitude.

We thus find, then, the American nation placed with two discordant races, one in its bosom, the other now concentrating on its western flank. While, on its northern frontier, reigns, not indeed a hostile population, but a population submitted to the government of a hostile principle.

North of the St. Lawrence, monarchy still holds the acknowledged ascendant, lying ever ready to mark and

to foment the difficulties of her powerful neighbor's position. To excite the red man to hostility and the black man to revolt, has invariably been, and is, the policy of European power inimical to this instrument. (*Dec. of Ind.*)

As already observed, declamation is ever powerless for good; it is, however, oftentimes very powerful for evil. And so do we find, now, that in the progress of civilization, human opinion has more or less established her throne universally over the civilized world—so do we find that monarchy, the European antagonist of the American principle, has chiefly recourse to accusations and vituperations against American injustice and cruelty, as evinced by the disappearance of her Indian, and the servitude of her African, race. I hold it, my friends, in this case, equally idle to plead in excuse as to retort in recrimination. How, or by whom, the one population was brought here, or the other has been enticed and excited so as to neutralize all the best efforts made by the government of the United States towards Indian civilization, it matters little to enquire or establish. Recrimination would be here as unworthy of America as is declamation on the part of Europe. All that can be useful, and, therefore, all that can be rational, is to ascertain the nature and actual state of the evil, and the nature and mode of the remedy.

Foiled in many partial attempts, the United States government has now adopted a general measure with respect to the remaining aborigines of the continent. Concentrated on the western frontier, and secured from farther encroachment, all will be done that can be done towards preserving intact the last remnants of North America's native tribes, until the peaceful action of a neighboring and improving civilization shall lanch them also in the broad and fair path of enlightened improvement.

Thus, then, may we envisage a satisfactory solution of one of the nation's difficulties. Here, for a season, she will have only to protect the Indian from white aggression and from the influence of foreign intrigues. All beyond this must be the work of time and example; until, when America shall be herself organized in accordance with her own principle, she may extend to her red children a more perfect and efficient guardianship, and endow them, after her own model, with a plan of enlightened, industrial, republican education.

The African race, more intimately associated with America's political and social state, will demand, both for its own good and the good of the white population, as still dependent on its labor, a gradual but efficient preparation for enfranchisement and colonization.

I have no other objection to enter into full details on this head but that, at the present moment, they would be premature. One thing at a time and all things in order. We have to emancipate, to regulate, to elevate, and to stimulate the industry of the north; that done, the south, whose statesmen, as a body, have ever been the highest souled, the most national, and the most republican that this nation has produced, will see, effectually and honorably, to wipe off the stain from their escutcheon; to turn to good—to a source of wealth and gigantic internal improvement, the evil which weighs upon them; and, at one and the same time, to cancel the wrong inflicted during a course of ages by the white race on the black, and to pour from their shores a reflux tide on Africa of intelligent industry and conquering civilization!

Will it be said this perspective is drawn in too colossal proportions? Nought is too colossal for America. Her destinies are coeval with time. The growth of her power, and, hereafter, of her virtue, shall be lasting as her principle, unlimited as human improvement.

It remains for us still, Fellow-citizens! to investigate several other subjects of vital importance to America's national independence and to her popular liberty. These two questions, of national independent existence and of popular liberty, my two opening discourses showed to be indissolubly connected. We may distinguish yet more clearly, in our future enquiries, that neither of the two can be preserved *singly*; and that whatever, therefore, may tend to infringe the one, must go to endanger the existence of both. Up to the time present, America's independence, national consolidation, and true national administration, have found their most generous support in southern republicanism; her political institutions and internal civil policy their strongest arm of defence in northern democracy. To the union of interest and of policy between the chivalrous, high-souled planter, and the honest, fearless, and intelligent northern laborer, we owe that America, at this hour, is not nationally crushed and politically annihilated beneath the chariot wheels of Europe's gigantic Juggernaut—the Holy Alliance.

Two powerful means have been tried by the enemies, home and foreign, of this instrument, (*Dec. of Ind.*) to sever the union of interest and policy which, at one and the same time, holds together the two halves of the great Republic, sustains the national independence, and gives energy to the political institutions.

Of one of these means—the most unrighteous, nay! the most *sacrilegious*, as being veiled in the garb of philanthropy, and employed in the sacred name of human liberty—of one of these means it has been the object of this discourse to show the futility. Dear to my soul is the well-being of the man of color! The best years of my prime and one half of my fortune have been expended in the study of his condition, and in arduous efforts to

improve it. Yet can I point the finger of scorn and raise the voice of denunciation against the white fomenter of confusion and promoter of strife, who, in these United States, less intent on the enfranchisement of the race of color than on the moral and political degradation of all humankind, would snap by violence the physical chain of the slave, and, without one preparation made for his intellectual culture, industrial improvement, or advantageous colonization abroad, would cast him upon the face of society, a charge and a curse; to crush down in the scale of civilization the nation which shelters him or the country which may receive him, and to render yet more arduous the rise to respectability of the free race of color in all the countries of the earth. No truly! abolition, as now presented—that is, *the turning adrift on the wide world three millions of benighted beings, to collect their living like the fowls of the air, or like that organized and affiliated band of white robbers, kidnappers, gamblers, and forgers of all nations, well known to infest the towns, steamboats, and territory of the west, from British Canada to the Mexican Gulf*—no truly; abolition, as thus envisaged, can present to an enlightened mind no question at all. In what mode it may, in the progress of events, be rendered a question—and a question, at once, of territorial improvement, national salvation, and human regeneration, it has been my endeavor to shadow out, as it will be, hereafter, more fully to explain.

I observed that two means had been mainly employed by the enemies of America to sever the union of interest and policy existing between the southern planter and the northern people. One of these it has been my object to neutralize in the present discourse. The other yet remains to be considered. It will find its place on some future occasion.

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