

E

386

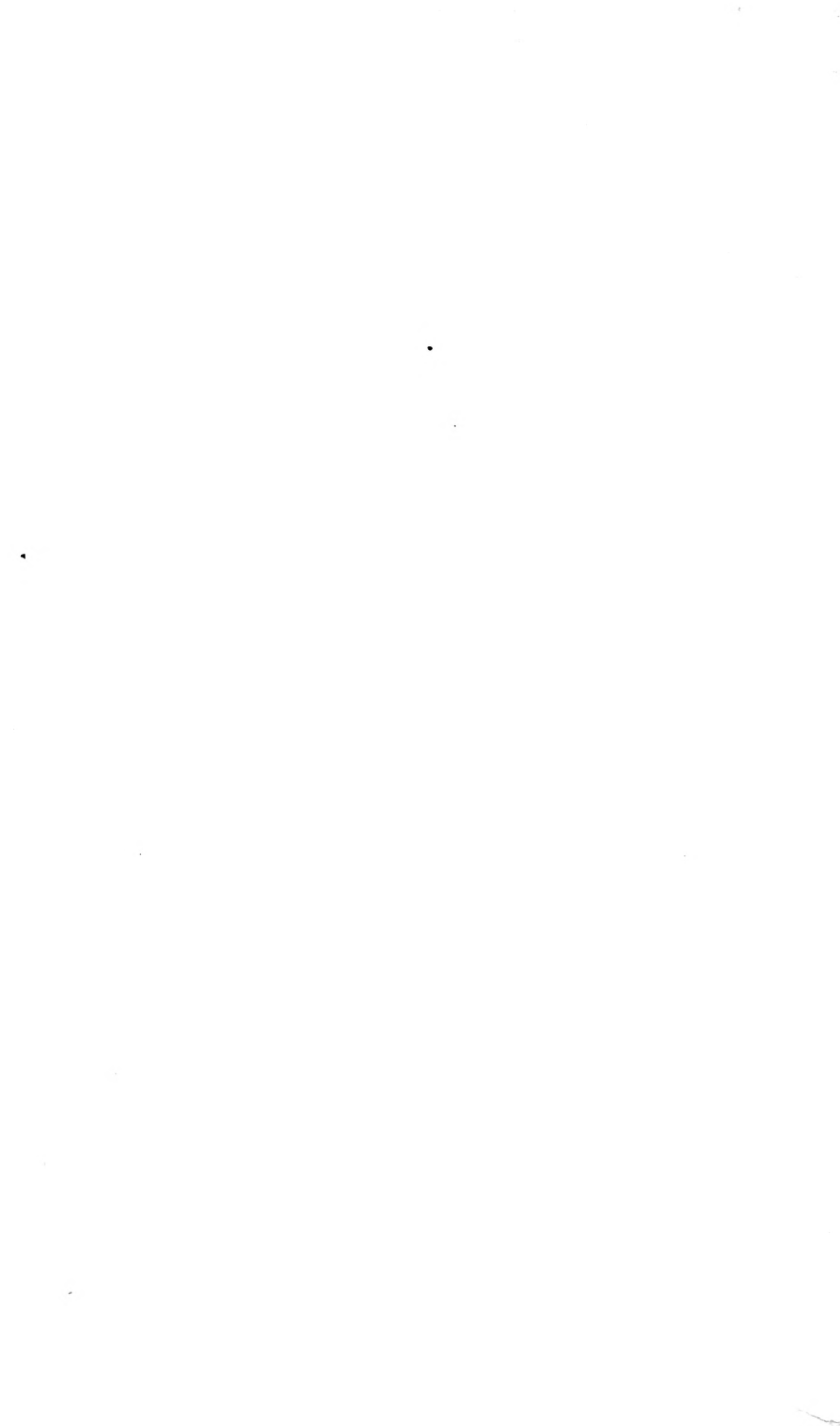
N53



Class E 386

Book N 53





PROCEEDINGS

OF THE GREAT

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN

M E E T I N G ,

IN THE CITY OF

NEW-YORK,

JANUARY 2, 1838.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE MADISONIAN OFFICE.

1838.

E384
N53

PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting of the Democratic Republican Electors of the City and County of New York, held at the City Hall, January 2d, 1838, pursuant to public notice, the call having been read, the meeting was organized by the appointment of the following officers :—

M. M. QUACKENBOS, *President.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Preserved Fish,	Judah Hammond,
James N. Wells,	Joseph Meeks,
John Delamater,	Samuel Swartwout,
Henry P. Robertson,	Benjamin C. Gale,
Gideon Lee,	William L. Morris,
Andrew C. Wheeler,	Levi Cook,
Ezra S. Conner,	Uzal P. Ward,
John R. Rhinelande,	Benjamin Birdsall,
Frederick A. Gay,	Isaac Adriaance,
Effingham H. Warner,	Daniel Howell,
William H. Tyack,	Elijah W. Nicholls,
Daniel Jackson,	Isaac Lucas,
George Greer,	Burr Wakeman,
William Timpson,	John G. Rohr,
George Mills,	John J. Cisco,
Wm. B. Van Nortwick,	James Harriott,
John C. Bergh,	Willet Seaman,
Cornelius C. Jacobus,	Richard H. Winslow,
John Harlow,	James B. Murray,
Isaac H. Underhill,	Andrew Lockwood,
Henry Anderson,	James D. Oliver,
Edward Jenkins,	Anthony Woodward,
George Sharpe,	James C. Stonecall,
John Harris,	James B. Douglass,
Amos Palmer,	James Dusenberry,
Peter S. Titus,	Henry D. Gale,
Stuart F. Randolph,	William H. Peck, and
John R. Peters,	Isaac Townsend.

SECRETARIES.

Charles O'Connor,	William A. Smith,
A. B. Haxtum,	Luther R. Marsh,
S. Jones Mumford,	Edwin Townsend,
Elbridge G. Stacy,	Jacob V. Carmer,
A. O. Millard,	Caleb W. Lindsley,
George W. Soule,	William Wycoff,
Mortimer De Mott,	Jacob S. Baker.

The following resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted :

1. *Resolved*, That the present crisis calls upon the Democratic Republican party to erect the standard of Jefferson and Madison, and to proclaim and reinstate the principles of '98; to frown upon every effort to engraft novel doctrines upon the great "essential principles" established by those patriarchs of democracy, and to maintain uncompromising hostility against all disturbing financial measures of government and against all radical and destructive doctrine and sentiments.
2. *Resolved*, That in a republic, it is essential to the liberty, safety and happiness of the citizen, that the government and its officers should receive their rule of action from the people; that when this vital principle ceases to operate, when the convenience of the many is disregarded or made subservient to political ambition and self-interest, it becomes a public duty to bring the administration back to first principles, to guard against future encroachments, and by cherishing the spirit of liberty and curbing that of licentiousness to secure at once the stability of the government, and the prosperity of the people.
3. *Resolved*, That the past history of our country strikingly illustrates the truth of the declarations of Washington "that the foundations of our national policy ought to be laid in the pure and immutable principle of private morality." That "there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble connection between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity."
4. *Resolved*, That the course of the administration which has so deeply and suddenly affected the financial condition of the nation, and placed the general government in an attitude of open hostility to the institutions of the States and the business interests of the people, and which is now coupled with an effort to unite in effect the sword and the purse, evinces the existence and predominating influence in our national councils, of a spirit which has greatly endangered and threatens to subvert our republican form of government, our social institutions, and individual happiness.
5. *Resolved*, That the scheme of destroying all state institutions which has been deliberately formed and which is now distinctly and boldly avowed as an "ulterior object" which is so systematically and perseveringly followed in despite of popular suffrage, will, if successful, virtually annihilate the State sovereignties, cast the whole power over the institutions and business of the country, INTO THE HANDS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, and accomplish the ultra federal design of consolidation, thereby practically establishing an absolute tyranny over these States.
6. *Resolved*, That the Sub-treasury scheme is an important feature in the accomplishment of these "ulterior objects." That we have seen no reason to dissent from the declaration of the government press in 1834, stigmatizing it as a measure "disorganizing and revolutionary; subversive of the principles of our government, and of its entire practice from 1789 to this day, and which will incalculably enlarge the powers of the Executive and expose the public treasure to be plundered by an hundred hands where one cannot now reach it."
7. *Resolved*, That we cannot regard with greater favor the proposed substitution of a special deposit for the sub-treasury scheme, both contemplate the same odious principle of hoarding the precious metals, and shutting them out from circulation among the community to whom they rightfully belong,—producing violent fluctuations in the price of labor and value of property, making an invidious distinction between the currency of the people and that of their servants, to the prejudice of the former, and we believe that the disapprobation of these measures just expressed by the democratic State of Georgia, will be followed by an immense majority of the great republican family in the Union.
8. *Resolved*, That any system of national finance which leaves the public treasure under "the liberal supervisory powers of" any individual, or which has for its foundation "the voluntary principle" recommended by the Executive, is unwise and inexpedient, and greatly harrassing and vexatious to the people.
9. *Resolved*, That since the "ulterior object" of amhilating the State Institutions and destroying the paper currency of the people, has been avowed, we look upon the late recommendation of a Bankrupt Law applicable to "Corporations and other Bankers" as an effort to bring the business interests, and of the people under the control of the Federal Government. That on this subject we fully concur in the declarations made by the Honorable Martin Van Buren, in the Senate of the United States, in the year 1826, when opposing the adoption of a similar project;—that "now the attempt is to be made, if not in an open and unequivocal manner, at least in an indirect way, to strip the States of the power of chartering Banks. That it interferes with the regulations which the States may have adopted for the government of these institutions, and is an odious exercise of power not granted by the constitution, and that this was never done and never attempted in any country on the face of the globe."
10. *Resolved*, That we distinctly trace the war upon our State institutions to the doctrines promulgated in this city in 1829, by a faction, of which Robert Dale Owen, a disciple of Fanny Wright was leader, among the most prominent of which were the necessity of "a civil revolu-

tion which would leave behind it no trace of any government that had not provided for every human being, an equal amount of property on arriving at the age of maturity, and during minority, equal food, clothing and education at the public expense," and which would totally subvert the existing "unequal appropriation and transmission to posterity of the soil of the State and banking institutions, as the great cause of the existing unhappy condition of society" and that the proper means of relief was "the election of men who from their own sufferings know how to feel, and from consanguinity of feeling would be disposed to afford the remedy."

11. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Republican party, organized by our Fathers, and as we maintain it, has no principles in common with these Destructives, whether pursuing their "ulterior objects" under their various names of "working mens' party," "anti-monopoly party," "equal rights party," or "loco foco party."—That their dangerous designs were held in merited contempt, until some leading portions of their policy were declared governing principles of the federal administration, and some "consanguinity of feeling" was exhibited from high official stations.

12. *Resolved*, That we observed with pain and regret that portion of the late message of the President which refers to the recent elections and attempts to explain the result. That we deem it due to the character of the citizens of this State, and to the great cause of self government to declare that the President has been in that respect grossly mistaken, and in his delusion has cast an unfounded reproach upon the citizens of his native State, and unwarrantably impeached the intelligence and integrity of an enlightened and incorruptible people.

13. *Resolved*, That we highly approve of the firm and independent stand taken by the *Honorable N. P. Tallmadge* and his compatriots in the Senate in defending the rights and prosperity of our citizens against the ruinous experiments of those "new lights" in government finance and political orthodoxy whose brief sway of the party organization has produced such general embarrassment in the business concerns of the people, and involved the administration in pecuniary and political bankruptcy.

14. *Resolved*, That those representatives in Congress who have been officially denounced for daring to vindicate the sanctity of the public faith, and advocate the protection of private property, who deeming absolute acquiescence in the will of the Executive, or of his counsellors, to be a rule of despotic government, and not a portion of the Democratic Republican creed, have preferred the dictates of justice and conscience in coincidence with the manifest interests and plainly expressed will of the people, to the smiles of executive favor and the encomiums of the *Loco-focos*, are entitled to the highest confidence and enduring gratitude of the people.

15. *Resolved*, That we approve the talent, zeal and fidelity which has marked the course of the Madisonian, and recommend it to the support of our republican fellow citizens through the Union.

16. *Resolved*, That the various experiments made during the last few years to improve our currency and enlarge our specie circulation, have ended in the derangement of the one, and the total disappearance of the other. That the present sufferings of the people demand the application of practical sense, and the lessons of experience to our financial legislation, and the retraction of steps hastily taken or which experience has shown to have been unwisely adopted.

17. *Resolved*, That the attempt to stifle discussion, and prevent the heresies of those in power from being exposed to the public view, by excluding the meeting of Democratic Republicans from Tammany Hall, notwithstanding the consent of the proprietor, and the approbation of the officers of the Democratic Republican General Committee was first obtained, is an additional evidence of the audacious and proscriptive spirit which characterises the destructives, and of their determination to prostrate liberty of speech and thought.

18. *Resolved*, That the act of excluding this meeting from a place where most of us have spent our political lives, receives additional and fearful importance from the fact, that it has been produced by the unwarrantable interference of Custom House Officers, in the pay of the Treasury Department, and portrays the dangers which are justly apprehended from a farther extension of Executive patronage, in colors stronger than language can express.

19. *Resolved*, That we call upon our fellow citizens throughout the State, to sever all connection with the *Loco focos*, and to rally under the old banner of Democratic Republican principles.

20. *Resolved*, That a General Committee of vigilance and correspondence, consisting of three members from each Ward, be forthwith appointed, with power to confer with our brethren in the country, to call future meetings, to aid in procuring an organization in the several wards, and to adopt such other measures as may tend most effectually to arrest the progress of radicalism, and maintain the ascendancy, and perpetuate the principles of the Democratic Republican party.

The following persons were appointed to form the said Committee.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

1st Ward—Benjamin C. Gale, Thomas W. Wells, John R. Peters.

2d Ward—Willett Seaman, George C. Baldwin, Henry D. Gale.

3d Ward—John W. Degraw, William Tyack, Wm. Timpson.

4th Ward—Elijah W. Nicholls, Mortimer De Mott, Abraham R. Van Nest.

5th Ward—Joseph Meeks, John G. Rohr, John Harlow.

6th Ward—Oliver Woodruff, Isaac Adriaance, Jacob S. Baker.

7th Ward—Levi Cook, John J. Cisco, James C. Stoneall.

8th Ward—Ezra S. Conner, C. C. Jacobus, Albert G. Stacey.

9th Ward—Richard B. Fosdick, William L. Morris, Garrett Gilbert.

10th Ward—M. M. Quackenbos, William H. Peck, Peter S. Titus.

11th Ward—Jeremiah Dodge, George Willis, John Heeney.

12th Ward—John Harris, Andrew Sitcher, Charles H. Hall.

13th Ward—E. D. Comstock, George W. Youle, Andrew Mills.

14th Ward—Alfred Stontenburg, John R. Rhineland, Edwin Townsend.

15th Ward—Frederick A. Gay, E. H. Warner, Isaac Lucas.

16th Ward—James N. Wells, John Delamater, Jas. Flanagan.

17th Ward—James B. Murray, Edward Sanford, Isaac H. Underhill.

Resolved, That the officers of this meeting be a committee to prepare forthwith and publish an Address to the Democratic Republican Electors of the State of New York, in conformity with the resolutions just adopted.

Resolved, That Messrs. Winslow, Sanford, Gay, and Jenkins be a committee to publish the proceedings of this meeting, together with the Address and Resolutions.

The officers of the meeting adopted the following Address.

ADDRESS

TO THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTORS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

On ordinary occasions the Democratic Republican Electors of the City and County of New York would not take the liberty of addressing you upon the deeply interesting questions of our party politics and public government. The events of the last three years have placed the Democratic Republican party, to which we are attached, in a situation highly perilous and critical; involved the commerce, navigation, manufactures, and internal trade of the country, in the deepest embarrassments, and inflicted the most unparalleled suffering and protracted distress throughout our once prosperous and happy land.

In the midst of a profound and universal peace among nations, in the possession of all our former resources, and surrounded by all the elements of our former enjoyment, we have been thrown into convulsions violent and unnatural, precipitated through long suffering into an abyss of ruin, from which issues forth nothing but a long train of evils and misery. In conjunction with these affecting calamities, and deeply connected with them as a primary and aggravating cause, the spirit of radicalism made its open appearance, elevating its voice of destruction over the awful ruin, and demanding sudden and extensive changes of public policy in matters vitally concerning all members of society. The farther manifestations of the same spirit has led to an organization of a *new party*, and the publication of rules of faith and practice, not known to the old Democratic Republican principles and usages, has endangered the Republican principle—threatened the destruction of institutions demanded by the exigencies of civilized society, and alarmed our citizens for the safety of “that state of property, whether equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry, or that of his fathers.” During the early part of the period to which we have referred, these dangerous feelings and sentiments were confined to a comparatively few individuals in the city of New York, who have maintained for several years a species of separate organization, and acted politically with or against the Democratic Republican party, as the means of best subserving their own interests dictated. Previously to the year 1834 they had been known as the workingmen’s party, and in the autumn of that year, through the organization of a Trades’ Union, they procured a partial share in the honors of representation, at the hands of the Democratic Republican party.

Our fellow citizens entertained but little apprehension of the general prevalence of radical and destructive sentiments in the community at large, and the confident belief that these dangerous doctrines could never reach the elevated places in the government of the nation, until individuals distinguished for their hostility to many of our civil institutions and the sacred rites of religion, were chosen and installed as public legislators in our State and National councils. Thus

honored, and receiving character through the errors committed by the Democratic Republican party, and deriving subsequently some countenance for a portion of their sentiments from the State and National administrations, "the equal rights" party openly endeavored to assume the lead and make their dogmas the creed of the Democratic Republican faith. That our fellow citizens may understand whither we are tending, while being drawn into this new vortex of revolution, we deem it our duty to place briefly before them the declared designs of radicalism, that the "ulterior objects" of the present movements may be foreseen, and circumvented by the people. In the year 1829 the radicals of this city, organizing then as "the workingmen's party," declared themselves "against Banks, Auctions, Charters, Exemptions of Church and Priests property from taxation," and, in their published report at that time, call for the abolition of Banks, and furnish a plan which may have been the basis of the sub-treasury scheme of our own day. They declare against the existence of wealth, against the laws of inheritance by which property is to be transmitted to posterity, and demand a *civil revolution*, that no trace may be left of a government which has denied to every human being AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF PROPERTY ON ARRIVING AT THE AGE OF MATURITY, and, *previous* thereto, EQUAL FOOD, CLOTHING AND INSTRUCTION AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE. They call our citizens "ROBBERS and PLUNDERERS," who deny to them the equal enjoyment of the "materials of nature, which," they declare to be "the common and equal right of all." They propose to accomplish this "civil revolution," by electing men, who, from consanguinity of feeling will be disposed to do all they can to afford a remedy."

These were no secret proceedings of a band of conspirators against liberty and happiness, but the open sentiments of a public meeting, composed of many of the men afterwards forming the "equal rights," and now the "loco foco" party, and having entire "consanguinity of feeling," with the loco foco party of the present day!

Fellow citizens! we have maintained a faithful, vigorous and for a time, we hoped, a successful war against these innovations. The Democratic Republicans met them hand to hand, and overthrew them on the memorable occasion of their lighting their torches, and obtaining their distinctive name of loco foco, and triumphed in the election of an unpledged Democratic Republican ticket. Entertaining a generous disposition at all times to conciliate without sacrificing our principles, to promote the success of our political party, we have since at times endeavored to bring the loco focos to the principles and usages of the Democratic republican party, and without surrendering our principles or betraying our cause to maintain its political ascendancy. These various efforts have established the conviction on our minds of the utter and irreconcilable difference between Democratic Republicanism and Loco Focoism! We have uniformly found them acting in bad faith towards us, and our candidates, when professing union and concord, promoting the election of their own candidates, and striking off the names of the Democratic Republicans on the same ticket, and presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a state of war against us, while we were under a treaty of peace with them.

While this contest between the antagonist principles of Democratic Republicanism and Loco Focoism has continued unabated, but by our efforts to conciliate, occasional advantages have been gained by the Loco Focos, and their numbers have become enlarged by the addition of those who are studious of the current of executive favor, from the similarity traced between some executive communications and portions of their declared sentiments.

These occasional coincidences have been greeted by the Loco Focos, as evidences of "consanguinity of feeling" on the part of the distinguished authors, but not credited as such by the great body of our fellow citizens until the past autumn.

When the first message of the President was communicated to Congress, and published through the land, that document was hailed by the Loco Focos as the mirror of their doctrines and feelings, they hastened to assemble at their established place of meeting in this city to express the approbation "of the whole genuine democracy" "of a governmental system of finance founded *exclusively* upon the constitutional currency, gold and silver," and pledged themselves to rally round and uphold the present administration "in the speedy restoration of a gold and silver currency." The journal published in this city which was looked to, as the fountain of ultra loco-focoism recognised in the avowal of principles and recommendation of measures of that message, the principles which that paper had uniformly and zealously asserted, and honored the President by expressing great joy to find them *repeated* from the representative of the American people. And yet this journal claiming to be the original source of the "principles and measures" of the first message had never claimed to be a supporter of, or been recognized by the Democratic Republican party!

Had the President in the first message expressly designed to secure the favor and support of the loco focos, instead of presenting himself "in the attributes which can win the affections of the American people and command the respect of the world," he could not probably have gained more applause from the loco focos, or more surprised the great mass of his fellow citizens!

We have been active and zealous in effecting the advancement of the chief magistrate of the nation to his present elevated station. Many of us have been devoted to his political interests and entertained personal regard and attachment towards him in less prosperous political seasons,

and in early days of little promise.—We entertained the hope and expectation that the President would come to the administration of the general government in a magnanimous spirit; that he would check the tendency to depart from the old established principles and land marks of the republican party, that he would adhere to the republican principles avowed by Jefferson and Madison as the basis of their respective administrations, and in so far as we might have “deviated in concessions to the loco focos would hasten to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.”

We participated in the general surprise and disappointment with which the first message was received. We found measures recommended for the special and immediate action of Congress, which in our judgment were not calculated to aid the country in its distress, but on the contrary to increase the difficulties, and aggravate the existing disorders. Those measures had not been demanded except by the loco focos, these comprising a very small part of the great body of our fellow citizens, and we availed ourselves of the recommendation of the President, and gave the subject a “*full and free discussion.*” At an early period after the publication of the first message, we assembled in public meeting and made known the results of “our dispassionate comparison of opinions.”

In regard to the Sub-Treasury scheme and the national bankrupt law, applicable solely to incorporations and bankers, we could not, as consistent Democratic Republicans, concur in the recommendations of the President, and accordingly published our dissent to the world. Without entering into a particular examination of the merits of these propositions in this place, it will suffice to remark that the Sub-Treasury scheme was originally an opposition project, introduced to the attention of Congress in 1834, and then disapproved of unqualifiedly by General Jackson and his Cabinet, by Vice President Van Buren and all the democratic members of Congress; and the opposition of Senator Van Buren to the bankrupt law in 1826, and his declaring its interference in the regulations of the State governments, “*was an odious exercise of power not granted by the Constitution,*” was one of the most prominent of his acts which secured to him the favor and confidence of the Democratic Republican party.

From the avidity with which the President's first message was received by the Loco Focos, and adopted as a faithful exposition of the views for which they contended, and from a perfect knowledge of the total difference between Democratic Republicanism and Loco Focoism, and a firm belief that “*uncompromising and unqualified hostility*” to Loco Focoism is demanded by “the honor and interests of the country.” We have seen with deep anxiety and deep regret a determination on the part of the National Executive to persist in his course, the tendency of which is to give the predominance to that faction in whose hands, our citizens are convinced there would be neither safety to the public institutions, nor protection to private property and personal freedom.

We have shown to you the designs of some of these deluded men in the year 1829, and we know them personally; and theirs is the general character of the factious, the turbulent and discontented in every free country. They are chiefly idle and unemployed, or filling small offices, and chiefly profligate in their personal lives, having little to lose in property and nothing to hurt in conscience. We cannot better illustrate the insecurity of Republican Institutions, and the danger of individual liberty and property in their hands than by reference to their proceedings at a public meeting held last spring in the Park of this city. They were called together by hand bills, posted in various parts of the city bearing prominent inscription of the catch words used by their party “the friends of equal rights,” “opposed to all monopolies and special legislation,” “in favor of a separation of Bank and State.” After passing a series of resolutions proposing to abolish all laws for the enforcement of contracts, the assemblage proceeded in a body to the vicinity of the large warehouses of domestic produce, and there sacked several stores in open day in defiance of the civil authorities, and exhibited a scene of public riot, lawless violence, and wanton destruction!

Can we who have witnessed this, be soothed into a state of insensibility to our danger as Republicans and citizens. When we behold the common principles and sentiments of these men “*repeated* from the representative of the American people!” When we behold the current of official confidence and communication addressed to the leaders of these wretched men, and when by the new interpretation of old rules, and new glosses upon exploded doctrines and theories, a systematic and deliberate effort making to create what in practice we believe will be found to be a strong consolidated Anti-Republican and irresistible executive government? In the name of liberty we answer no! We have yet, fellow citizens, our rights and our elective franchise, and we trust that we shall not be deterred from the use of the one for the protection of the other!

In view of this situation of the Democratic Republican party, we feel called upon to express our sentiments with deliberation and fidelity, and to summon those who with us, in embracing the Democratic Republican faith, consecrated themselves to the defence of the rights of the States and of the people, against the invasions of licentiousness, and the encroachments of usurpation, to erect the standard of Jefferson and Madison, and rally on the old land marks of principle. We have chosen and placed in power Democratic Republican rulers, who will not be unfaithful to

their principles, if our political brethren remain true to themselves. In a government founded by the people for their own benefit, and by the Constitution of which the will of the people is the paramount law, with frequent elections and vote by ballot, there is little reason to apprehend that any portion of our rulers will continually disregard the demands of the public interests, or insult the majesty, question the capacity for self-government and intelligence, or impeach the integrity of the people. In other Republics instances have occurred in which the mere creatures of the people's will, raised by their voice to high stations, have, in the plenitude of their power, forgotten the source and foundation of their greatness and swayed an iron sceptre over the people. These innovators gained power by small additions, disclaiming all wish to possess it, while the eager hand was stretched forth to grasp it and endeavoring to show that each new demand was but a shade different from that before acquired until the very shadow of freedom was lost in the increasing gloom of despotism. Kings have "refused their assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary to the public good," and our ancestors threw off the yoke imposed upon their necks by such a grievance; but we have no petty tyrants in the growth of this soil of freedom "to fatigue us into a compliance with their measures" or to prevent our assembling to "oppose with manly firmness all invasions on the rights of the people."

We declare ourselves friends of human liberty to the utmost extent compatible with protection, and friends of the Constitution administered upon Democratic Republican principles, regarding the people as the sole and safe depository of all power, principles, and opinions, which are to direct the government. We proclaim an incessant hostility to despotism, and tyranny in any and every shape, whether ruling with a dictatorial and imperious sway by a single autocrat, or by directing or controlling a strict party organization with bitter and persecuting intolerance. We avow independence of mind, freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, "the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason" as the essential attributes of freedom; and the civil and moral obligation of all citizens to "improve their reason and obey its mandates" as the only safeguard in a Democratic Republican Government.

We have witnessed many evidences that the practice under our government is an invasion of the theory that public sentiment is looked for *from our rulers* instead of *from the people*; that the views of leaders have been made to control *the party*, instead of the views of *the party* having controlled *the leaders*; that, in an appalling crisis, when general alarm and anxiety prevailed and the general inquiry has been from citizen to citizen "what can we do to restore the prostrate honor of the country?" some have delayed an expression of their opinion and said "let us wait until the *message of the President appears, and then we shall know what to do!*" that when considering the means of best promoting the general welfare and advancing the greatest good of the whole, others have inquired what the *President might think*, and not what the *People demanded* or would approve. We have witnessed occasions in which some of the representatives of the people, coming fresh from their constituents, thrilling with their feelings and burning under the sense of their dishonor and the discredit of our beloved country, in the generous fervor of their hearts, have honestly blamed some errors and faithfully disapproved of some measures "their consciences did not sanction;" and we have since seen the columns of a journal claiming to be "distinguished by the present confidence of the Administration," laboriously endeavoring to destroy these individuals and strip from them the confidence and support of the People! Such things were not practised in the name of the Democratic Republican party in the early history of the Republic.

Permit us briefly to advert to the first course of the administration of the general government, and to the origin of the Democratic Republican party of the nation to ascertain the principles upon which they were based, and to enable us to define our political course by the rules of well settled authority and successful experience.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was elected the first President of the United States, and had been the President of the Convention which framed the Constitution. He commenced his administration by declaring to Congress that "the welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed." He early congratulated the representatives of the people upon the fertility of our resources; the increase of national respectability, and credit; and bore honorable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine portion of our citizens, declaring that "the punctuality of the merchants in discharging their engagements had been exemplary." He farther declared that uniformity in the currency of the United States is an object of great importance and ought to be duly attended to, and that agriculture, commerce and manufactures ought to be advanced by all proper means.

He was succeeded by JOHN ADAMS, under whose administration there was a manifest tendency to enlarge the Executive powers of the general government, to encroach upon the rights of the States and the liberties of the people, and to hold up a consolidated and overshadowing central government. In opposition to this course of things, to counteract this tendency of the general government and to maintain and defend the rights of the States and of the People, the Democratic Republicans of '98 united as a political party and elected THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Their designs and desires were to limit the general government to the external relations of the States and foreign nations, and to the *mutual internal relations of the States*, protecting the

rights of the States against consolidation, and through the separate State sovereignties, protecting the persons, reputations and property of the citizens.

The inauguration of Mr. Jefferson took place in 1801, and his address on that occasion embodies forth the great essential principles of our government as contended for by the Democratic Republicans of his time, and which Mr. Jefferson declared "ought to shape its administration." We embraced these principles in early life; we have made them the rule of our faith and the cement of our political union, and we here declare an inflexible determination to maintain them in their purity, and to defend them in their excellence, as "the sum of good government." We inscribe them on the pages of this address, and a just sense of their deep importance and solemn truth will cause them to sink deep into your minds.

Jefferson declares these great "essential principles" to be "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the People, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority the vital principle of republics from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense that labor may be lightly burdened, the honest payment of our debts and the sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid, the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason—freedom of the press, and freedom of the person under the protection of the Habeas Corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. "These principles" says the immortal Jefferson "form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust, and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

Here we have given to us the great land marks of Republicanism "the creed of our political faith, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust," and "he who is not with us is against us," and against the publicly declared principles of Thomas Jefferson.

In the messages of Mr. Jefferson to Congress he declares that agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation are the four great pillars of our prosperity," and states that "protection from casual embarrassments may sometimes be seasonably interposed." Mr. Jefferson was always happy to commit the affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the nation, and pledged himself to carry the legislative judgment into execution, and tendered his cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good. Mr. Jefferson also stated that he "looked to Congress for the measures of wisdom which the great interests of the country committed to them demanded," and "gave them the opportunity of providing the means which he was to execute." He submitted to Congress whether "the great interests of agriculture, commerce, navigation and manufactures could be aided in their relations, and whether any thing could be done to advance the general good as within the limits of the functions of Congress." And he assured the representatives of the people that in "all matters which Congress might propose for the good of our country, they might count on his hearty co-operation and faithful execution." Mr. Jefferson assumed the administration of the Executive (not Legislative and Executive,) department, and promised co-operation with Congress in every measure that might tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety of our fellow citizens. "To their wisdom" Mr. Jefferson "looked for the course he was to pursue," and declared that "he would pursue with sincere zeal that which they should approve."

These, fellow citizens, were the republican practices of Thomas Jefferson in the administration of the government of the nation for eight years. In them we behold a faithful exposition of the great "essential principles" declared at the commencement of his presidential term, a beautiful illustration of the republican principle in his unlimited confidence in, and attachment to, the representative government, and a just sense of the democratic character of our government in his frank, incessant and unqualified devotion to the freedom and happiness of all.

We look in vain to the messages of Mr. Jefferson, for any indications of a fancied superiority, on his part, in devotion to the constitutional and to the performance of the proper functions of his office, over the representatives of the people, or charges implying doubts of the capacity or integrity of the people in the management of their private affairs or public interests, or any alleged superiority in competency and fidelity of the officers of the federal government over their fellow citizens, to keep and disburse the public revenue; or any urging of specific measures, not ema-

uating from the people or their representatives, by the whole weight of executive influence, or any "forcing of blessings upon the people" against their will, and convictions of public benefit.

During the period of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, we had banks, and we had a paper currency, and the government received, and the banks kept the public money in the same currency that the people had always used; and yet we do not find, in the messages of Mr. Jefferson, any suggestion, that had the extension of the banking system been foreseen, it would probably have been guarded against by the framers of the Constitution, or that the same policy which led to the prohibition of bills of credit by the States, *would have also interdicted their issue AS A CURRENCY IN ANY OTHER FORM*, or that it would be an evidence of "intelligence and virtue," on the part of the people to abandon them, or that "the federal government would promote the accomplishment of that important object!"

We do not find in the messages of Mr. Jefferson, any question of the propriety of the government's receiving and using the same money with the people, or of the people's using their money, until it was wanted by the government for their own purposes, or any proposition "to return to the constitutional currency of gold and silver," or any mention made of a separation of "Bank and State," or the necessity of the discrediting bank paper, or any wish manifested to urge on the people to "untried expedients."

Mr. Jefferson needs no eulogy at our hands, as the bold and eloquent supporter of human liberty, and the rights of man. The author of the Declaration of Independence has not yet been cast so far into the shade, by the discoveries of his successors in the great science of political freedom, as to require us to brush away any mists before the resplendent glory of his political life and public sentiments.

Mr. Jefferson viewed the government of the United States as belonging to the people, and not the people as belonging to the government. He viewed the office of President as an EXECUTIVE OFFICE, to carry the *legislative judgment* into execution, that Congress were to *propose matters for the good of our country*, and that he was to faithfully *execute* them.

Under this Jeffersonian form of administering the government, the great measures of the people's interests, the people's wants, and the people's wishes, were placed in the hands of their immediate representatives in Congress chosen by them for that purpose, being among them, feeling and enjoying their prosperity, or suffering their adversity, subject to their instructions, and accountable to them for their public acts. To this body, thus happily formed to accomplish the great ends of a good government, the constitution has secured to our citizens the sacred right of petition and of application for redress and relief.

During the administration of Mr. Jefferson, there were calamities suffered by the country, bearing heavily upon the industry, the interests, and happiness of large classes of citizens. Applications were made to the Executive and Congress of the nation for relief, the difficulties and embarrassments under which our citizens labored, and the measures of the general government, capable of bearing upon them and promoting the public welfare, were freely and publicly discussed by our citizens, without any consideration of how far the will of the people might or might not accord with the will of their executive servants; the people spoke their sentiments without "waiting for messages of the President," and if the people happened to differ with their executive officer, there was no official journal to denounce them as corrupt, and no longer democratic republicans.

Hence, we do not find in the administration of Mr. Jefferson, any indications that the complaints of the people are offensive to the Executive; or that the people are too restive under their burthens; or any executive admonition, that "*communities are apt to look to government too much*," or any special reprimand to the people of our own country declaring them especially "*prone to do so*."

Mr. Jefferson entertained great doubts whether our organization was not too complicated and too expensive; whether officers and offices had not been multiplied unnecessarily and injuriously, and he began the reduction, "that it might never be seen here that after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government itself shall consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard." And we hear of no applications from Mr. Jefferson to create a multitude of new offices, and to quarter upon us large bodies of office holders to "take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

During the administration of Mr. Jefferson the State sovereignties created banks and passed such acts of special legislation as appeared to them best calculated to promote the public welfare, and we do not find any assaults, or any open or covert efforts to destroy, or assume the control ("through the liberal supervisory powers of the Secretary of the Treasury" and Bankrupt laws) of the State institutions. Mr. Jefferson's views of "equal rights, equal laws, and equal justice," were not so far affected by these acts of the people, through their representatives, as to induce him to make mention in his messages of the existence or tendency of this state of things; and the discovery of these alleged violations, has been made by later patriots and philanthropists who claim a more "genuine democracy" than that of Mr. Jefferson and the Republicans of '98. Mr. Jefferson regarded the Union and Constitution of government of the United States as a Federal Republic, and claimed to be a REPUBLICAN; and in his message we find the sound and just views of a federal republican recognizing and giving just effect to

the democratic principle, but not the "doctrines of democracy in the broadest sense of the word."

We have thus called your attention to what was and what was not Democratic Republicanism in the days of Thomas Jefferson's administration and of the foundation of our political party.

Mr. Madison succeeded to the Presidential chair, and throughout all his messages we find the same republican views of the executive character of his situation, and of the power and duty of Congress to provide the means, and of his constant wish to be instrumental in promoting the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the country that characterized the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and his public acts and writings form a monument of what constituted Democratic Republicanism in the day after independence and glorious.

These principles and practices, avowed and executed by Jefferson and Madison form the essential principles of democratic republicanism to which we have ever been, and still are, firmly attached. They have given force to faith and patience to hope in seasons of adversity, and *ensuring* success to our political efforts. But the factors to which we have called your attention are ambitious of power and hope to accomplish their objects by inframing the desires of the people for change. The struggles of these members of society would but little affect the great social compact unshaken by other causes; but our citizens suffer a misfortune at the same time, in the agitations caused by the government of the nation. Our Republic having been founded in compromises, contains some exceptional features, when separately compared with abstract standards, and these assumed patriots and would be exclusive friends of the people, seize on these points, and would rouse them from the structure even though they should bring down the temple of liberty on their heads. We would stay their mad, destructive, and ruinous efforts. We feel as democratic republicans and citizens, that the sacred fire of freedom and the last hope of Republican institutions are deep and finally committed to the American people. We were organized as a political party in support of what Jefferson termed "the essential principles" of our government.

If we falter in their support, if we suffer ourselves to be drawn from the ground which we originally occupied, we peril our sacred trust and jeopard the holy cause of freedom and self-government. We ought not, we will not be guilty of such acts of perfidy!

We have read the second message of the President, and are free to declare, that we do not find in his perseverance and additional suggestions in relation to the Sub-treasury scheme, anything to remove the weighty objections and evading danger which destroyed it with the Republican party in 1834, when it was brought forward as an opposition measure. We cannot discover in it any more friendly or less dangerous features because it is now brought forward by a man whom we have supported. It was the *principle*, and not the *source* of the project that caused the Democratic Republicans to repudiate it, and we cannot now support the unchanged principle because it comes from a different set of men. Principles are in their nature immutable, and as the Sub-treasury scheme was an *opposition principle* in 1834, we cannot admit or believe it to be Democratic Republicanism in 1836.

We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme either generally, or in the special deposit form suggested as a substitute, not only from the many objections in principle to be urged against each, as shifting the balance of the Constitution, but also because it is brought forward as the great antagonist of the credit system, and its effects contemplate the destruction of the credit system.

We are in favor of the credit system because it is the peculiar offspring of liberty, and we oppose the Sub-treasury hard money scheme, because hard money is "the constitutional currency" of all despotic governments. We support the credit system because it is essentially democratic, equal and universal, we oppose the hard money Sub-treasury scheme because solid wealth is exclusive in its character and never circulates among masses. We support the credit system because it is genial to liberty, we oppose the hard money Sub-treasury project because it is aristocratic in its tendency.—We support the credit system because it gives to activity, enterprise and merit, an equal footing and chance of success with realized wealth, and we oppose the hard money Sub-treasury scheme because it would check competition, build up strong, enduring, and overshadowing business houses, and destroy the republican features of our government. We support the credit system because the people have framed it, and are identified with it, and we oppose the hard money Sub-treasury scheme because it is hostile to the interests and against the expressed wishes of the people.

We are in favor of the credit system, because it is friendly to the laborer and producer, and scatters its blessings upon the poor man as well as the rich. We oppose the hard money Sub-treasury scheme, because it would make large and princely fortunes for the now wealthy, and degrade the middle and laboring citizens to the condition of their slaves. We are in favor of the credit system, because by it the poor farmer is enabled to obtain his lands and implements of husbandry, the poor mechanic his instruments of art and stock in trade, the laboring man his daily wages and constant employment, and every man who bears a tolerable character, coupled with industry, has a certain means of bettering his condition. We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme, because it will cramp the energies and blast the happiness of our people. We support the credit system, because it has been the great lever of our advancement as individuals, and as

a nation in wealth and prosperity. It has enabled us to pay off an immense national debt, covered our lands with fertile fields, thriving villages, towns and cities; constructed canals, rail roads and manufactories; increased commerce and navigation, and in the short space of half a century, elevated our youthful nation to an equal station with the Kingdoms of ages in the old world.

We oppose the hard money scheme, because examples derived from Monarchies are not models for Republican imitation, and while we look upon the splendor of Kings, Princes, and Nobles of Europe, and the "gold glittering through the silken meshes of their purses" we behold the chains of slavery upon their poor degraded people. We support the credit system, because it is a part of the great legacy of freedom and happiness transmitted to us, with our political rights by our ancestors, and we oppose the Sub-treasury scheme because it is "disorganizing and revolutionary, subversive of the principles of our government, and of its entire practice from 1789 to this day." We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme because it will plant a new phalanx of tax gatherers among the people, drawing from them by the strong arm of Executive power, their hard earnings and hard money, leaving to the people on whom they fatten, a naked subsistence, and a broken currency. We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme, because it will add another cohort to that army of officers of the general government now quartered upon the people, disturbing their deliberations in public assemblies, interfering with and destroying the purity of their elections, and attempting to overawe all expressions of dissatisfaction with the measures of the federal government. We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme because it will incalculably "enlarge the powers of the Executive," unite the sword and purse in his hands contrary to the intent and spirit of the Constitution, endanger the safety of the public money, and "expose it to be plundered by an hundred hands where one cannot now reach it." We oppose the Sub-treasury scheme because it is destructive of the industry, enterprise; prosperity, happiness and independence of the people!

Since this scheme has received an official and executive countenance from departments of the General Government, elections have been held in several of the States of the Union, at which the candidates were supported on the grounds of favor or opposition to this dangerous project, and the ballot boxes have proclaimed with a decisiveness unexampled in our history the attachment of the people to their own institutions, and their settled convictions against the measure. "Absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority is the vital principle of republics," and the sub-treasury scheme has been submitted to this Jeffersonian touch-stone and found wanting.

We have referred to the origin of the sub-treasury scheme to show that it was never a measure of the Democratic Republican party, and to include this forlorn hope of the opposition in the articles of Republican faith, it has been lately for the first time contended that whatever shall be recommended by the executive chosen by one party must be supported by the Democratic Republicans as a part of their political creed! We warn you fellow citizens against this dangerous attempt upon your own liberty and the freedom of your own country! To submit to this is to sacrifice independence of mind, freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, freedom of conscience, and liberty of the will! to sacrifice all the great principles of freedom for which the pilgrims braved the perils of the ocean and sought an asylum in the savage wilderness; to yield up all the manly attributes for which our ancestors declared their independence and waded through the blood of the revolution, and surrender a glorious birthright, without receiving even a "mess of pottage." But, we thank Heaven, fellow citizens, that it has not yet come to this; we can yet hold our servants accountable for their political opinions and public conduct to the sovereign people, and the people are not yet subjected to arraignments for their sentiments and conduct at the charge of their public servants.

Fellow-Citizens:—Is it not time that these agitating and absorbing questions should be quieted and composed? Cannot the people purchase their peace, and stay the agitating arm of Government, which rocks and shakes the social fabric and business affairs of our country to their foundations, without surrendering their liberties and institutions? It was generally supposed before the meeting of Congress at the present session, that the recent elections had settled the sub-treasury scheme, on the Jeffersonian rule of acquiescence, in the will of the majority. The President, in his last message, has deemed it proper to look behind the ballot-box, and to judge of the causes which brought the people to the polls, and the motives and inducements which gave or withheld the votes, and to decide that the people have not really spoken. However eager we may suppose the advocates of the Sub-treasury scheme to be, to escape the conviction of having totally mistaken the character of the people, we were not prepared by any previous republican example, for any attempt to overrule or adjust the decision of the people through the ballot-box. Much less did we anticipate that the patriotism and integrity of our citizens were to be impeached, their purity and intelligence questioned, or the sentiment proclaimed that the executive servants and representatives in the councils of the nation, were not to be influenced by the suffrages of a majority of the voters of the State of New York! It is due to the character of the citizens of this State, and not less to the republican institutions of our country, to declare that the President in his last message, in respect to our late election, and the cause assigned by him for the result, has adopted a most unfounded and wanton libel upon our citizens of all political parties, only worthy of its original source in the official paper. We regretted this

to receive and use as the common medium of circulation, the small bills issued by foreign corporations, while the banks of our own State are prohibited by law from supplying our citizens with this essential part of the currency at the present period. The exclusion of the small notes of our own State operates injuriously upon all, and subjects us, to taxation in the interest upon the circulation to our sister States. We are in favor of a suspension of the act prohibiting our Banks from issuing bills under the denomination of five dollars, that they may meet the wants and convenience of our citizens, and expel the foreign circulation.

On the important subject of our State internal improvements we beg leave to call your attention to its former grandeur and glory, and its present condition within our borders.—During the administration of Dewitt Clinton, our State acquired a standing for the extent of its public works, the boldness of its plans for improvements and the sudden and successful completion of their important details, worthy of its population and resources, and placing it in the front rank of the Confederacy.

The noble example, and proud results of this great employment of our ample means and credit, have stimulated our sister States to improve their territories and the means of inter-communication, and emulate us in the honorable career of advancement. But in the mean time the mighty and once active energies of our State seemed to become paralyzed; the works lately undertaken although of an important local, are wanting in a general character; and our neighboring State, Pennsylvania, has continued her gigantic efforts, undaunted by the obstacles of nature, unmindful of the doubts of the timid, and regardless of the sneers and reproaches of the envious and misjudging, until she has become a powerful rival and dangerous competitor for the trade of the great West. Her statesmen have most justly estimated her resources, and the rapid development of her wealth and revenues; and they have not paused in the discharge of their high and patriotic duties, to conciliate or appease the factions or the designing: no petty jealousies or distrust of her citizens or her strength has relaxed, her devotion to the public welfare and her rapid progress, now calls upon the citizens of New York to decide whether the "Empire State" shall take a second rank in the confederacy—we feel proudly confident of the response our fellow citizens will make on this subject.

We cannot suppose that the Sub-Treasury scheme is to be recommended within our own State, although we have seen some Resolutions of the Loco-Foco's calling for it here.—We cannot view but with abhorrence, the proposition to collect the taxes from our farmers, the Canal Revenues, Auction and Salt duties, and interest on the Bonds and Mortgages, constituting the State funds, in gold and silver only, and to withdraw it from the people and hoard it in strong boxes.

We conclude this address by again recurring to the distinctive principles of the Democratic Republican party as derived from its early organization and practices, and the necessity of proclaiming and adhering to those principles from which the loco-foco's would have drawn us. In repeating our unwavering determination to maintain and defend these great "Essential principles" of our Government, we may say in the language of James Madison:—"It is a contest which appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people, to the love of Country, to the pride of Liberty, to an emulation of the glorious founders of independence, by a successful vindication of its violated attributes, and to the sacred obligation of transmitting entire to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence which is held in trust by the present, from the goodness of *Divine Providence*."

THE END.

176

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 896 382 9