

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEWARK MECHANICS' ASSOCIATION,

JULY 5, 1830.

BY SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD, A. M.

NEWARK :

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1830.

Newark, July 5, 1830.

SIR,

The undersigned, being a Committee of the Newark Mechanics' Association, have it in charge to express to you the great satisfaction with which the Association have heard your Address, delivered before them to-day—and also to request you to favour them with a copy for publication.

With respect, we are,

Yours,

STEPHEN DOD,
ASA TORREY,
JOHN P. JACKSON,
S. BOYDEN,
GEORGE W. GRAY,
GEORGE W. CAMPBELL,
A. DODD,

Committee of the Newark Mechanics' Association

Hon. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD

To STEPHEN DOD, ASA TORREY, JOHN P. JACKSON, S. BOYDEN, GEORGE W. GRAY, GEORGE W. CAMPBELL, and A. DODD, Esquires, Committee of the Newark Mechanics' Association

SIR,

In compliance with the request contained in your note of the 5th of July, I enclose a copy of the Address which I delivered on that day. Although not prepared with a view to publication, I do not feel at liberty to deny the request of the Association.

I am, sirs, very respectfully, &c.

SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD

Preston, July 13, 1830

ADDRESS.

I PRESENT myself before you, to discharge, in my humble measure, the duty assigned to me as one of the members of the Newark Mechanics' Association. This Society declares "the cultivation of the sciences, with their application to the arts," to be the purpose for which it was instituted: and its ordinary meetings are faithfully devoted to its professed object. But as those who love science and cultivate the arts, find, in our political and civil privileges, peculiar causes of gratitude and praise, so are they ever ready, when the National Jubilee arrives, to repeat their expressions of devotion to liberty, and pledge anew their faithfulness to the constitution and to the country. Such is the motive of the present meeting. The members of this Association, feeling the intimate connection between their pursuits and the common liberties of the nation, have chosen, on this day, to assemble as a body, and in unison with their fellow-citizens, to offer to an overruling Providence, the tribute of thankful hearts, for unnumbered blessings. The occasion therefore, has selected for me, not one of the usual subjects of discourse in the Society, but prescribes for my theme, a nation's birth—for my argument, a nation's duty—for my aid in the discussion, a nation's grateful feelings.

At this rejoicing moment, one anthem of praise from all our land, ascends to the skies. From the shores of the Atlantic to the great valley of the Mississippi—from the borders of the Lakes to the waves of the Gulf—every city and every village—every mountain and every plain—gives forth the same glad notes. The proudest and the humblest citizen—he who dwells in the costliest edifice, and he who inhabits the frailest cottage—they who enjoy the luxuries and refinements of wealth, and they who labour for subsistence on the confines of civilization—

are all engaged in swelling the universal psalm. And for what is this sound of joy heard? Has unjust power triumphed on some bloody field? Has ambition conquered a kingdom, and trodden a nation under foot? Do widows' groans and orphans' sighs, extorted by our wrongs, mingle in the sound? Has a conqueror appeared—a prince been born—or a king crowned, on whose virtues or vices, yet unknown and unfelt, the happiness of a nation must depend? Are these our festivities prescribed by government, as the appendages of power and rank, to decorate with smiles the misery of slaves? Such causes produce not our rejoicings. They are the spontaneous effusions of an emancipated people for christian liberty and light diffused—for national independence acquired—for civil rights assured. And although he who addresses you may be unable to give the appearance and the interest of novelty to the theme on which he dwells, still it is our duty and privilege, on this day, to examine together, that rock from which our liberties have been hewn, and from the past, to draw instruction for the present and the future.

At the period when this new world was opened to the avarice and ambition of mankind, Europe had not entirely emerged from the darkness of the middle ages. The trophies which had been erected by hordes of barbarians, on the ruins of literature and religion, science and law, had not yet mouldered and disappeared. Ignorance oppressed the people, depravity and craft characterized the rulers. Ecclesiastical and civil despotism held an uncontrolled dominion.

But the dawn of better intelligence had begun to arouse the spirit of freedom, which, struggling against the pride of power and the contempt of slavery, adventurously sought and achieved a refuge from them, in the wilderness of the west. The annals of those who adventured in that enterprise are unstained by servitude, and fraught with admonitions to us and to all ages. They were guided by ardent love to civil and religious liberty, possessed equal rights, submitted to equal hardships, equally braved danger and peril, and soon grew to the size of a nation, comparatively unnoticed and unoppressed. But augmenting wealth and increasing numbers, offered a temptation too strong for a rapacious government to resist. And that

country which claimed the name and privileges of a parent, prepared to exercise an unjust authority, and to wrest from them the well earned rewards of their labours and sufferings. Forgetting the privileges which were their birthright, she attempted to lay a foundation, broad and firm, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in the principles of freedom. But the approach of usurpation was the signal for resistance. The alternative presented was basely to submit, or boldly to encounter the adversary, and triumph or perish. They understood their common rights too well to yield, and the Declaration of Independence was the result of the alternative. The point in dispute was plain, and could only be disguised by the sophistries of argument, or overlooked in the haughtiness of power. On the one side unlimited authority over property and life was claimed, as the prerogative of government; on the other it was asserted and believed, that taxation without representation, power over property and life without a voice in determining the judgment concerning them, constituted the essence of despotism, and was altogether alien from the common law, and from those principles under which their territory had been settled.

The application of those principles, and especially here in New-Jersey, admitted of no doubt or difficulty. Jersey men were not, like many nations of the old world, ignorant of the origin of their people, of the nature of their rights, of the fountains from which their institutions issued, and which have so often, like the sources of the Niger and the Nile, been situated wherever fancy or superstition chose to place them. With us, they were neither concealed in mystery, mantled in tradition, nor decorated with fable or mythology—but clothed with certainty and truth, monuments the most durable marked their commencement and progress. Fancy and superstition had no share in the creation of our records. The only rock on which merely human institutions can ever justly rest, was the foundation of our edifice, and the rising of the floods and the beating of the storms could not shake it. Our territory was peopled by compact. All our institutions arose from the agreement and consent of those upon whom they were to operate, and their

binding obligation was created, and had been continued, by that agreement and consent alone.

When our ancestors essayed the settlement of this country, they encountered the enterprise under the protection of charters, grants and concessions, which formed a solemn compact, clear and well defined as to the privileges and immunities which should be enjoyed by them, and which embraced not the rights of persons and property only, but also the rights of self-government. And when at a subsequent period they chose voluntarily to surrender the powers of government into the hands of the crown, they did not permit the slightest encroachment upon their civil and religious privileges. Their titles widened by acknowledged and recorded conveyances, were almost allodial, and a plain remnant of Saxon liberty. Trial by jury was secured, with all its benefits; while the principles of morality and the worship of God were provided for and supported, it was a fundamental and unchangeable law, that no man on earth had power to rule over men's consciences in religious matters, and that no person, at any time, or under any pretence, should be called in question or hurt for the sake of his opinion, faith or worship towards God. They elected their own legislators, out of their own numbers. They were subjected to no tax, custom, assessment, or other duty, upon any colour or pretence, how specious soever, without their own consent, or the authority of the assembly; and then only in the manner, and for the good ends prescribed in their charters. And these immunities did not depend upon the uncontrolled will of a master; they were not benefits extorted by force from a reluctant monarch, but the terms of a contract founded upon valuable consideration. They were not, like Magna Charta, the proud boast of British liberty, yielded by a debilitated king to the restless and hardy barons of Runnemedc, but freely tendered, as the rewards of enterprise, and purchased for themselves and their children by faithful subjects and virtuous men.

The surrender of the powers of government by the people, and the acceptance by the crown, were accompanied by instruments which explicitly fixed the limits to which those powers should be exercised, and by which their civil rights should be secured. The surrender was voluntary and conditional :

it was the act of freemen, entering into a compact as to the terms on which they should be governed. Like Magna Charta, it prescribed bounds to the power of the throne, but it did not resemble Magna Charta either as to the parties or the inducements which led to it. In the former, acknowledged and rebellious subjects, with arms in their hands, extorted concessions from their rulers; in the latter, a voluntary compact between those who had equal right to contract, created for their mutual benefit the relation of governors and governed, but with strict limits on the exercise of power. The agreement, in its very nature, admitted the pre-existing right of the people to rule themselves; and its terms cautiously preserved their civil rights from encroachment.

The surrender and acceptance, with the instructions for the future government of the colony which accompanied them, formed the written constitution of New-Jersey during the seventy-four years in which she continued to be a colony. These show that we did not cease to be free when we ceased to govern ourselves; that the great principle which created our separate existence as a people—the principle of well-defined and written compact continued through all our progress to be the security of our rights and privileges—that there has not been a moment of our existence up to the hour of the independence which we celebrate, in which our government did not exist by our own consent and by written contract, in which we prescribed the law for ourselves—that at our revolution we did but take back from the crown of England that power which we had given to the crown of England. We rescinded in 1776 the contract which we had made in 1702, for causes and motives which will justify to future ages our conduct in thus rescinding it. The settlers of New-Jersey were from the beginning a free people, who governed themselves and their property by their own laws. Our soil was not planted by despotism—it has never been trodden by despotism.

The claim of the British government would not only have made us slaves in common with others, but it had the additional aggravation, that it violated our voluntary and solemn compact. The power of parliament to tax the colonies without representation and consent, was not with us matter of speculation and of

deep and learned research into the records of British liberty ; it was expressly denied by the original contract under which the territory was peopled, by the surrender which was made of the right of government, and by every act of intercourse between the colony and the crown during the whole period of their connexion. Our history is filled with evidences of our confidence in its honour, and our regard for its glory, and with voluntary tributes both of money and of blood to its wishes and enterprises ; but we nowhere find an admission that one dollar could be taken by taxation, except in conformity with the agreement, and by the consent of the representatives in legislature assembled. This was the drop of blood not to be found within the condition of the bond. When, therefore, the principle was proclaimed which both violated the general liberties of British subjects, and was a direct infraction of their covenanted rights, they did not hesitate to join their fellow-colonists, and peril themselves as others did. In such a case, it was not in the nature of their character and principles to be sluggish in entering into the conflict, or slow and feeble in the blows which they inflicted. None of the colonists, in proportion to their numbers and means, made larger contributions in sustaining the contest—by none were its dangers more bravely met, or its ravages and privations more severely felt, and firmly endured. They bore a part both in action and suffering, in toils and sacrifices, which gave them, at least, an equal claim with their brethren to all the benefits of the final triumph.

In the controversy which succeeded, the people of New-Jersey and of the other colonies exhibited forbearance equal to their valour. With the patience of true courage, they put forth every tender and affectionate, every manly and spirited effort, by argument, supplication, remonstrance, opposition to avert the intended wrong ; but they implored in vain the clemency of the sovereign, the protection of parliament, the sympathy of their fellow-subjects. The indignation of an arrogant government was aroused, and haughtily exclaimed, “ Shall the beings of my creation dare to resist my mandates. I will overturn the fabric which their rebellion is erecting. The thunders of my power shall be heard across the main—the lightnings of my power shall blast their budding hopes.” The form of ty-

ranny was at this period of the world encircled by the mantle of ancient custom which superstition had consecrated, and smiled at the anticipation of vengeance. But Americans dared the hazards of resistance—they burst the ties which bound them to an inexorable parent—trampled on the fetters designed for them—proclaimed their independence, and marched to empire. Their language then was, “Independence now, and independence for ever.”

The act which severed the connexion between the colonies and the mother country, was not the effect of popular ebullition produced by pressing and galling evils, but the cool calculation of a people who had weighed both the causes and the dangers of the contest, and who reasoned and acted for future ages as well as the present. They foresaw the tremendous expenditure of toil and blood and treasure which must ensue, and anticipated the calamities attendant on war with a nation formidable for power, vindictive in resentment, and terrible in her vengeance. But they trembled not at the risks of battle—they dared to measure their weakness with the strength of the foe. They knew the calamities of war could be repaired, but they could not restore, nor did they wish to outlive the lost liberties of their country. That elevated enthusiasm which rises superior to sufferings and to death, which scorns the suggestions of interest and the cowardice of unequal accommodation, impelled them onward. They were entering on a contest almost hopeless to human calculations by human means, in which, want of numbers, wealth, union, power, were opposed by all that tyranny can possess, or ambition court. But they knew that the patriot’s hand was strong when striking for liberty, and his heart firm in the day of trial—that their cause was just—that their deliverance depended on an Almighty arm, and that the God of battles was the God of justice.

The history of the struggle will not now be repeated. It is written upon every memory. They broke the array of oppression—they drove invasion from their shores. Every portion of the land bore witness to their exertions. The echoes of a thousand hills, and the murmurs of a thousand streams reverberated their shouts of battle and of victory. The Heights of Abraham, Eutaw, Saratoga, Princeton, Trenton, York, will

be the themes of poetry, history, and eloquence, until their voice shall be heard no more. "They changed rebellion into revolution." By their sufferings and their swords they sustained their infant liberties, and revealed to us and to every age the passage by which an oppressed people may achieve their independence. Through eight long years of unequalled agony did they "buffet with hearts of controversy" the storms which beat upon them; but at the appointed hour the powers of despotism retired; their independence was acknowledged, and the ark of freedom upon the summit of the mountain rested from the tumult of the waves.

Let us, fellow-citizens, who now enjoy the inheritance purchased and protected by them, go, and in their school learn to defend and to love our country. Their example will teach us patience and submission under sufferings—a generous zeal in defence of our rights—a proud scorn of oppression—a sacred devotion to the public good.

In the peace which succeeded, there was a new and valuable exhibition of the principles by which the actors in the revolutionary struggle had been governed, and which enhanced the glory of the triumph. There was no conflict for exclusive privileges, no servility to men, no contests for arbitrary power. They who had strength did not seek an unworthy victory over the weak. Those who had honest claims submitted them to the justice of an impoverished people, and waited for the time when the ability to discharge them should correspond with the sense of right by which they were admitted. They passed no Rubicon with arms in their hands to enforce them within the walls of the capitol. The soldier covered with his laurels, resumed spontaneously the character and duties of the citizen. "The conqueror of empire deposited his sword beneath the laws which he had covered with his shield." The people freed from the terrors of war, enjoyed their domestic blessings without interruption, and exulted in the advantages of restored peace.

But their duty was not ended—the work was not finished— independence had been acquired—but liberty and the success of free government was not yet confirmed. The confederation of the states which had been bound together by the com-

lined force of interest and of danger, did not contain the principles of self-preservation, nor the energy to protect the general interest, and preserve the public credit. It did not, and could not answer the wants of the nation, and its history teaches us a lesson, which they who have studied it diligently, and with hearts that love their country, and prefer the happiness of Rome to the glory of Cæsar, will not, in this our day, forget, nor will they desire to restore its weakness. It merits our applause, and should receive it; for it carried us successfully through the great conflict; but when external pressure was withdrawn, it put in jeopardy all which that conflict had acquired. It depended on the voluntary action of those whose interests sometimes reluctantly obeyed; at others, openly resisted its demands—on the magnanimity and the justice of the states who were parties to it, and it failed of its objects whenever they misapprehended their duty, or were misled by ambitious and unworthy men. And was there then, or is there now, any security that such cases will not occur? Are states more than individuals always generous, magnanimous, just, and wise? The history of man—the annals of our own country give a melancholy and warning answer to the inquiry. The union, the people as well as the states of the union, felt that another and more vigorous system was indispensable—a government which should ensure its own preservation—guard the public credit—improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—and meet the claims which justice and right presented against it. To form this government, and to protect the prize which had been won, they who had fought now counselled together, and he who had led to victory, and who has no equal in human annals, presided in their deliberations. Led by the pure motives of the revolution—guided by the wisdom, and warned by the follies of other times, they devised and presented to their fellow-citizens a new and beautiful system—a system which arose from, and which consecrates the principles of the Declaration of Independence—a system which forty years of enjoyment has but confirmed and rendered sure to other generations. Shall I attempt its eulogy? The effort is unnecessary. Its effects are imprinted on every foot of our wide dominions—wider than ever before were shadowed by the

wings of liberty—more happy than man ever before saw. Its eulogy is recorded on the hearts, and pronounced by the prosperity of ten millions of freemen, who are at this hour uniting in one common exultation. Shall it be preserved? Who dares to utter the sacrilegious doubt? It must—it will. The people, if not the states, the people who created it will guard and protect it. Let temporary evils excite resentments against it—let ambition see in its weakness the sources of its own advancement—these can cause but partial and local assaults, but the panoply of the whole people will be thrown around it and over it. That benignant providence which led us in the revolution—which exhibited to us the weakness of the confederation—which enabled us to form this union and government as the battlements and watch-tower of liberty for the human race, will not desert, but will sustain it.

The periods of our country's history to which we have briefly adverted, furnish the appropriate subject of contemplation on this anniversary, not for the unworthy purpose of exciting national pride, or gratifying a frivolous vanity, but with the more sober and sedate design of teaching us wisdom and gratitude. They exhibit a course of events, strange, impressive, and sublime. A whole people inspired by one sentiment of virtuous love to their country—impelled by one principle of courage, rising to defend the rights of humanity—a whole continent emancipated, disenthralled from the dominion of despotism—a government of reason and equality, of power without abuse, of liberty without licentiousness established. Events of parallel dignity and interest are to be found neither in ancient story nor the transactions of modern ages. In search of them, we shall fruitlessly traverse the climes of Asia, and wander among the mountains of Europe, or pause upon the banks of her Tiber and her Thames. The exile of Aristides, the murder of Socrates, and the petty factions of Greece; the tumults of the Gracchi, the civil discords and unbalanced fabric of the Roman republic, the oppression of feudal principles and the sway of prerogative in England, and the tremendous agitations of revolutionary France, render the regions and the periods most famed in history, unworthy of the comparison.

Nor are the effects less interesting than the events which

produced them. What should we this day have been but for those events? Dependent upon England—suffering a communion in slavery with other nations. Our return to subjection would have made us suppliants before offended majesty. An oblivion of our rebellion might perhaps have been granted on a surrender of our rights. But we should have become the humble auxiliaries of an ambitious government; and been compelled with exhausted resources and population, to partake in the disasters of European warfare. No calculation can equal the misfortunes of such a connexion and career. Fifty millions of emaciated slaves in India exhibit the love which England has for liberty, and the manner in which she extends it to her colonial subjects. The groans of Ireland for centuries teach us the effect of British connexion. The condition of 'man wherever he is subjected to the destroying influence of despotism, exhibits the value of our escape.

In Asia where human nature was once most perfect, nothing is presented but man's fallen dignity—unvaried impotence, decrepitude and woe. Where Eden smiled all is ruin. Where peace on earth and good will to men was proclaimed, the wretched proselytes of the Koran bow in ignorant submission to imposture, and human sacrifices are offered on the altars of pagan idolatry. In Europe, tyranny consumes the enjoyments of the people. Scarcely one of the governments which witnessed our birth, has escaped dismemberment or overthrow.—France indeed gave a dawn of beautiful light to the hopes of Freedom, but a bloody anarchy speedily succeeded; madly struggling with her chains, and pressed by external enemies, she threw herself for protection on the arm of that fortunate being, who, springing as a prodigious birth from her struggles, created that colossean power, which made all nations dread, and England herself to fear, behind the rampart of a thousand ships. Possessing great, splendid and relentless qualities, he became the wonder of men, the arbiter of kings, the instrument of slaughters and revolutions most unexpected and terrible.—God made him a scourge for the chastisement of nations. But his overthrow and exile did not ensure liberty and happiness to Europe. Submission is still the chief duty of the people.—They have learned something of their rights, but the knowledge

is criminal. They have gained something in civil privileges, but they are still helots under the control of masters. When they murmur, their complaints are unheard. They would seek for free government, but their efforts are punished as rebellious.— That usurpation which calls itself legitimate government, frowns upon every prospect of freedom, and issues its mandate to destroy it. Whenever a momentary hope is lighted up, the cause of kings must be avenged, and a new lesson of submission taught to subjects. Italy and Greece recently recalled our recollection of the best periods of Rome, of Sparta, and Athens; of the days of Solon and Epaninondas and Brutus; but men, who happened to be born kings, and whose ancestors for generations have lived upon the spoils of the people, with detestable hypocrisy, assumed the mantle of christian monarchs and protectors of freedom, and forbade alike the reformation of abuses, and the establishment of free governments. The principle sacred in our Declaration and in the maxims of all just government, that the people have a right to organize its powers in such form as shall, to them, seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness, has been denounced, and the whole armed force from the Adriatic to the Frozen Ocean summoned to destroy it wherever it has appeared. The people, there, are yet destined to find their rights, by teaching their rulers moderation, through scenes of confusion and horror.

On our own continent, the emancipation from Spanish authority has not been succeeded by the reign of equal and just laws. The conflict between despotism and liberal principles still rages and with doubtful results; and too often exhibits the treason of professed friends of liberty, to its cause. Philanthropy finds too little in that region, to distinguish it from the communion in misery and servitude, to which man is elsewhere subjected, and from which we have been saved by our Revolution. Our situation then calls for gratitude. Our country demands our love. It comprises every thing dear to the human heart within itself. And over all our blessings, preside our free institutions, which guard alike the public safety and honour, and the rights of individuals; and protect with the unseen energy of the law, the enjoyments of the fortunate, and the humblest sheds of poverty and misfortune. Our growth has been with-

out a parallel. We have lived but a single day in the age of nations ; yet observe the contrast. But yesterday, our settlements were confined to a narrow strip upon the shores of the Atlantic ; to-day the Mississippi no longer bounds the tide of our population, but it has rolled far westward, and carried the lights of civilization to the darkest recesses of the forest. But yesterday, a savage foe pressed upon all our frontiers, and the shout of civilized man encouraged his savage ally in the work of desolation ; to-day, the acquisition of new territory and the advancing strength of our population and defences, have given us peace in all our borders, and furnished the best securities for national friendship—interest and fear. But yesterday, our flag was insulted, our countrymen oppressed ; to-day, that flag waves the guardian and protector of every citizen. But yesterday, we were unknown and neglected ; to-day, American is a proud name, the object of admiration and envy. The career of our infant nation has condensed the improvements of ages into years, and already embraced the arts which accompany the maturity of refinement ; and if we cast our eyes forward, our destinies expand into the richest prospect which ever opened to the rising fame of a nation.

Let us then rejoice ; and may we not add, let the enslaved of every nation rejoice with us. Our acquisition of national independence has taught them the avenue to freedom. Our free institutions have exhibited, in peace and war, their capacity to protect us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty ; and given evidence to a doubting world that there may be, that there is, a safe and legitimate species of government, not composed of kings and nobles ; that human happiness does not necessarily depend on the virtues or vices of one or of a few, who may make it the sport of their passions, the victim of their crimes ; that power may be safely administered where rank and titles are unknown ; and these institutions will remain, the reproach of arbitrary governments ; and should ignorance and superstition prevail, and traitors to the cause of freedom triumph in the southern continent, and the last lights of liberty be extinguished in Europe, still they will preserve the sacred fire, until it shall be enkindled in future republics, and consume the last monuments of despotism.

These, fellow-citizens, are the results of our revolutionary struggles—these the fruits of our father's toil—this an anticipated destiny fit for a great and virtuous people. But we must not forget that they require in us a corresponding conduct—that this destiny under heaven depends upon ourselves. We are the guardians to whom our institutions are entrusted. We have each high and solemn duties to discharge, around which are entwined every feeling which can interest, every passion which can agitate, every emotion which can delight. And if we fail to discharge them faithfully, the handwriting upon the wall will inscribe the irreversible decree, “the days of thy liberty, oh people, are numbered—thou hast been weighed in the balance, and art found wanting.”

Let us dwell for a moment upon a few of these duties.—They are as clear as our obligations to perform them are imperative. We must preserve the wholesome operations of our institutions, enlarge our sphere of intelligence, that we may understand our rights and duties, cultivate the means of protection and the advantages of our position, for the general interest and regard in all our actions as a people, the dictates of justice and humanity.

We have a system of peculiar and singular organization, complex in appearance, yet perfectly simple in the single principle which pervades, and gives authority and action to every part, divided into twenty-four distinct portions, yet combined in one whole; of separate independent authorities, yet forming one government. The federal union is not alone, and of itself, the government of this nation, but a part only of that government. The state authorities are portions of it, essential to its existence and its action. Our errors respecting it not unfrequently arise from regarding it as possessing certain inherent powers as a government independent of the authority and commission by which it was created; a doctrine fitted for the systems of Europe and the atmosphere of monarchies, but utterly to be discarded here. The people of this nation, in determining what powers should be entrusted to their rulers, chose to prescribe that the portion of them which related to the ordinary administration of justice, the protection of civil rights, and the regulation of the intercourse between man and man, should be vest-

ed in one class of agents, and they called them the state governments: that another portion, which relates to the good of the whole nation, and to an intercourse with the rest of the world, should be vested in another class of agents, and they called them the general-government. But both classes are alike and equally agents of the same people, employed in different objects, under the control of those who created them, and not under the control or dominion of each other. The state legislature are but agents of the same people for one purpose, and congress are the agents of the same people for another; both acting by their warrant of attorney, and neither having the authority to revoke and disannul the acts of the other, unless authority for it be found within their written warrant. The union was voluntary, the creation of the powers was unanimous, and while they exist, they must be exercised in conformity to the will and opinion of the majority. A single state, or the people of a single state, a small minority of those who gave the power, may perhaps withdraw from the compact, and thereby commence the horrors of civil war and create revolution, but until this be done, the acts performed by the agents of the whole and approved by the majority, cannot be nullified and rendered invalid. These principles are radical and essential to the existence of the union. To deny them is moral treason against its peace and integrity. In the energy and strength of the general government the feebler members have a deep and abiding interest. It is their protection against the injuries and oppressions of the strong, and no where can the protection be more dear than in our own little state, feeble as yet in numbers and in wealth, and hazardous in its position. And this is not an unfit occasion on which to urge upon Jersey men that duty which is binding on every citizen of the republic, but doubly obligatory upon us, to watch with zealous care the movements of our system, as well in its combination as its separate members, and render our aid in sustaining its powers in all their usefulness and vigour.

The great object of the formation of all just government is the benefit and happiness of the whole people. Our government, in all its parts, was designed to accomplish that great object. The spirit of despotism is to riot in the spoils of the peo-

ple. The spirit of just government is to exert all its energies for their benefit and the advancement of their prosperity. Such was the avowed purpose of that under which we live. To execute this purpose, all its powers were given, and all its powers should be exercised, and in that exercise sustained and supported by us. It should not be permitted to perform an act, however beneficent, which is not authorised by the constitution; but when the action of a given power was one object of its establishment; when that power has been declared by its framers and expounders to exist, and its exercise has long been acquiesced in, and found salutary to the national interests and the prosperity of the citizen, no party cavils nor party feelings should mislead us from its support. Such is unequivocally the protection of our domestic industry, and the expenditure of the national treasure to improve the condition and resources of the country. From the organization of the government, this power has been exercised; the fathers of the constitution have affirmed its propriety, and blessings without number have followed in its train. The patriot cannot cast his eyes over our immense territory, look back upon our past history, and forward to coming events, without rejoicing that such is the fact. Half a century ago, our fathers fought for independence—not alone that they might be free from the control of a foreign nation. We have erected defences from hostile assaults, and that navy which floats on every ocean, the pride of every heart, and those bulwarks which are scattered along our borders, and studded upon our coasts, have been created to ensure and protect it. But that independence is only half assured until within ourselves we are capable of providing for our own wants, and furnishing the means of our own comfort and protection. It is not enough to guard the outer walls of the city, unless the storehouse and arsenal be filled. We have means of internal wealth and prosperity equal to any portion of the globe; these must be drawn forth by our own industry and the beneficent action of the government. We have a territory equal to civilized Europe, with all its mighty kingdoms. It must be bound together by the ties of interest and convenience. The mountains which divide it, must be levelled by the gigantic means which modern improve-

ment has devised. Communications by land and water must be facilitated, that the extremes may be brought nigh to each other, and made to feel that they are neither aliens in rights nor interests.

In the just and liberal movements of the union on this subject, we, as Jersey men, have more than common concern. Our territory is small, and we have no new and unsettled lands to partition among our people. Our population can never equal the numbers of our sister republics. Our commercial wealth cannot sustain a successful competition with others. We are hemmed in and pressed by powerful and enterprising neighbours. But our local position, our capacity for internal improvement in various forms, and our growing manufactures, constitute our wealth and our strength. In these we are strong, and by these we can add our full portion of wealth and strength to the union. No territory of the same extent on which the sun shines, offers richer rewards to enterprise and industry, or can give to its possessors more enviable prosperity and influence. Let us then beware, that by our political principles and conduct, we do not sport with our inheritance, and sell our birthright.

Nor must we rest satisfied with the physical growth and advancement of the country. The mental improvement of its citizens, presents a higher obligation, and more elevated employment. Our institutions rest on the intelligence and virtue of *all* the people, and can remain valuable and permanent only so long as they are equal to the discharge of their high duties. In the exercise of the elective franchise, and in the performance of official functions, every citizen acts upon and controls the government, for good or for evil. He must understand the nature of that government, and the interests of the people and of the nation, or, like the madman, he will scatter arrows, firebrands, and death through all our blessings, or will blindly follow the dictates of others, as a servile instrument in their hands. He is one of the governors of a mighty empire, and by his wisdom its growth and its destiny must be affected. In no free government could he discharge his duties if unlettered, untaught, inexperienced, and ignorant. History is eloquent upon this theme; the fickleness and insolence of an Athenian

assembly ; a Roman election in the Campus Martius ; the bloody streets of revolutionary Paris—exhibit warnings which alarm the patriot when he contemplates the results of ignorance and depravity upon free institutions. All our interest as men, all our hopes as patriots, all our pride as Americans, are centred in the duty of extending and enlarging the sphere of education. General instruction, universal education, is the only safeguard and protection of liberty, where general suffrage exists.

On this topic, I need scarcely make a particular appeal to you my brother members of the Mechanics' Association. You have manifested your enlarged and liberal views of this imposing duty. You know that in the mass of the community, the bone and sinews of the nation, from whose labours arise the wealth and conveniences of society, are to be found its pride and defence. And you have sought, by the cultivation of the mind, to insure the intelligent, virtuous, and faithful discharge of all your obligations as citizens and men. Onward, onward, in your career, is the urgent and affectionate call which your country directs to you. That call will be obeyed ; the motives to obey it are imperative and irresistible ; they are found in the most selfish, as well as the noblest principles of our nature ; in our private interests, as well as in the proud origin and still prouder progress of our people ; in the illimitable materials of augmenting happiness and prosperity in the nation ; in those religious privileges and enjoyments which elevate and expand the intellect, and enforce upon the conscience the performance of duty ; in those broad and equal principles of our institutions, which place every man, according to his virtues and his merits, on the same level of civil rights ; and in that controlling influence which our progress and destinies must continue to have on the freedom of the whole human family.

But popular instruction should be combined with temperance and personal morality ; with strict obedience to the laws ; with ardent attachment to the union. The moral energy of the citizen, arising from these qualities, must be cultivated and builded up, as constituting the strength of the nation, both in prosperity and in adversity : in its triumphal march to future renown, and in its combats with every calamity which may await it.

Nor must we rest satisfied with the cultivation of such principles among the people. We should require, as we have a right to require, that truth and justice be the characteristics of the government in all its actions, both within our own limits, and in its intercourse with other nations. No hope of splendid success, no temporary advantages, should be permitted to tempt it to unrighteous legislation, nor to the adoption of any selfish or criminal policy which virtue condemns. Our national honour should be preserved unsullied. The escutcheon of our fame should be without a stain. Our flag, as it rests on every ocean and on every shore, and floats on every breeze beneath the skies, should be regarded as the unquestioned ensign of uncorrupted liberty and union; of untainted honour and faith; of unimpeached justice and humanity.

Thus far in our career, our intercourse with civilized and equal nations, justifies unmingled congratulations. But is there no danger that another record will, one day, be made against us in reference to our conduct, where we have dealt with those who are not our equals, and where our power has been unrestrained by a misjudging interest? In the history of the aborigines of this continent, and of the children of Africa, there is much to awaken inquiry and excite solicitude.

It is but a short period since the Indian was the undisputed master of this wide hemisphere, with all its rivers and lakes, its mountains and valleys. The God of nature had planted him upon them, and granted them to him as a possession and enjoyment. His title was without defect.—We found him here our brother man: he was powerful, and we warred with him as a foe, and felt the terror of his arm. In peace we profited of his kindness: when we were feeble we sought his friendship; when we were strong we plighted our faith with his. In all the forms of civilized intercourse we bound ourselves to be just and faithful to him. We took his lands and have cultivated them, and grown upon them. He was rude and savage and heathen, and we professed to give him the lights of civilization, and teach him the worship of the christian God. And where is he now? He learned our vices, and sunk to feebleness and insignificance. We wrested from him his possessions, and he retired from our presence. We often wronged him, and then

inflicted vengeance upon him; and nation after nation, to the north, to the south, to the east and to the west, have disappeared. The fame of their warriors has been forgotten in their forests: the soil which was pressed by their footsteps has closed upon them. But a remnant yet remains. To them, in their hour of strength, in the face of the civilized world, we promised protection, security, education, christianity. Have we redeemed—will we redeem the pledge? And if we do not, where will be our honour? Where our appeal to a just and overruling Providence? That unfortunate race has drank long and deep enough of the cup of affliction. The calamities which have borne them down, should be stayed. How this may be effected, with proper acknowledgment of the rights of the States in which they are found, and a due regard to their interests, is not now to be discussed here. But none will—none can deny, that an effort should be earnestly made to understand those rights and to reconcile them with the exercise of mercy and clemency. Inquiry and efforts on this subject, are obligatory on every citizen; and by whom shall they be made, if not by you? Your history permits you to approach that duty without rebuke. It contains no accusations of the white man's fraud and violence, or the red man's dissatisfaction and wrongs. Your land was obtained by fair and open purchase. Not one foot of it was taken by force. With the law which regulated your own rights, you protected their rights and persons. You secured Indian friendship and truth by kindness and justice. You did not act upon the guilty plea so often proclaimed throughout all christendom, that civilized man has a right, without purchase, to the possessions of his savage brother. No Indian battles, no sanguinary conflicts, followed your encroachments. You cannot exultingly point to hills and valleys where the warwhoop and the drum, the musket and the tomahawk were mingled, and where the victors left, for future times, their trophies over justice and humanity. Your soil has not been drenched with Indian blood, shed by avarice and ambition. Thanks to the spirit of our fathers, when the last exterminating day of Indian sufferings shall approach, you can appeal to your statute books, and to your history, to prove that here neither private cupidity nor sovereign power has glutted

itself with their destruction. And thanks too to that fervid and christian eloquence, which has pronounced before a listening nation, that justice is our law and humanity our pride. As the last broken and fainting remnants of the once proud and mighty masters of our forests shall recite the traditions of their fathers over the graves of their nations, there will be heard no passages of crimsoned wrongs to blast the fame of Jersey men. I would not tear this single fact from the history of my native State, to give her all the lands which tyranny ever wrested from the enfeebled grasp of the savage.

There is still another debt which we owe—another duty which should not be forgotten on this day. The wrongs of Africa, and the slavery of her children, always rise before the mind, when we announce the solemn truth, that all men are by nature equal, and have equal rights. That blighted region has been for centuries the common sport of nations—the sport of criminal avarice—the opprobrium of the Christian world.—More than a hundred thousand of her children have been annually torn from her—millions of them are now held in hopeless and cruel bondage. Her injuries from us have been neither few nor small. In this land, favoured of heaven above every land, with exalted privileges, and boasting of its freedom, there are nearly two millions of these exiled and wretched outcasts from the home of their nation. But we may not—we cannot—we dare not attempt to relieve them at once by one decisive effort from their servitude. The curse was entailed upon us before we became a nation. It is fastened upon us by chains which cannot at once be sundered by any efforts of philanthropy. The rights and the safety of a portion of the union demand, that national legislation should not touch it. Our constitution and our laws have wisely and humanely thrown around it a protection which the good man and the patriot will not assail. Is it then an evil without hope and without end? Humanity and justice exult in the belief, that the gradual emancipation of the slave, and the restoration of the free to the land of their fathers, may yet afford a remedy. On the western coast of Africa, the standard of the cross and the ensign of free and equal laws have been erected, and we are invited to aid those who will come unto them. The scheme of African colonization

addresses itself to our humanity, our justice, our interest, and our duty. It will in no wise interfere with the safety or the rights of our southern brethren. It will relieve us from a great and increasing calamity; it will restore the descendants of Cush to happiness, and the enjoyments of human rights. They cannot here possess the privileges of freedom; nature has placed a barrier between them and us which will not—which ought not to be overthrown. Let us then unite in restoring them to their country. The benedictions of providence already rest upon the undertaking. Feeble as have been the means employed—portentous as were the difficulties to be encountered, unparalleled success has crowned the undertaking. Already does this colony possess strength for defence against surrounding enemies. Already does it number more than a thousand free, equal, and happy citizens. Already do commerce, agriculture, and the arts flourish. Already are the blessings of education and gospel light enjoyed. Come then, and on this our jubilee, let us resolve to manifest our gratitude by urging on this glorious enterprise. Let us make atonement to bleeding Africa, and she too will have her jubilee. That people renowned in the early ages of the world for their wisdom, and celebrated for science—the inventors of Egyptian arts and Grecian letters—who formed the first kingdom and instituted the first police, will rise from the degradation of centuries—their chains will be broken—their deserts converted into fruitful fields—their idols be thrown down, and temples for the worship of the living God erected. “Ethiopia will stretch forth her hands,” and “the daughters of the dispersed bring their offerings from beyond her rivers.”

But I forbear to trespass longer in urging the obligations which our position creates. They multiply with our blessings and enlarge as our privileges advance. They warn us to tremble while we rejoice, and to remember, that neglect of them is national crime; and that however the punishment of individuals may often be reserved for the retributions of eternity, the retributions of nations are always those of time. Let us not forget that it is for our country we act—for principles that we should contend. Under our system, parties will arise, conflicts of opinion will be waged. Let them be parties founded

upon principle, not on names ; let them be conflicts for right, not for place or power ; let us not bear upon our foreheads the names we follow, and be the advocates of Pompey or the satellites of Caesar, and thus wear the livery of slaves. I speak as unto wise men and patriots. Let us act, knowing that all that is dear to us and our country, hangs upon the experiment which we are now making ; that in our wives and children we have given hostages to futurity, who can only be redeemed by our own faithfulness ; let us not then madly struggle on the giddy heights of that national prosperity to which we have ascended, forgetful of the gulf which lies beneath us, and unto which we may fall, the self-destroyed victims of our own passions and folly. Why, why shall we forget, that he who governs empires as he governs men, has proclaimed to every age, not only by the dispensations of his providence, but by the mouths of his servants, " Righteousness exalteth a nation." " The people that will not serve him shall perish."