EASTON GAZETTE.

WHERE THE PRESS IS FREE--"Literature well or ill-conducted, is the Great Engine by which all Popular States must ultimately be supported or overthrown—RELIGION purifies the Heart and teaches us our Duty—Morality refines the Manners—Agriculture makes us Rich, and Politics provides for the enjoyment of all."

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BUNKER HILL DECLARATION.

SEPTEMBER 10th, 1840.

WHEN men pause from their ordinary occupations, and assemble in great numbers, a proper respect for the judgment of the country, and of the age, require that they should clearly set forth the grave causes which have brought them together, and the purposes which they seek to promote.

Feeling the force of this obligation, more than fifty thousand of the free electors of the New England States, honored also by the presence of like free electors from nearly every other State in the Union, having assembled on Bunker Hill, on this 10th day of September, 1840, proceed to set forth a DECLARATION of their principles, and of the occasion and objects of their meeting.

In the first place, we declare our unalterable attachment to that public liberty, the purchase of so much blood & treasure, in the acquisition of which the field whereon we stand obtained early and imperishable renown. Bunker Hill is not a spot on which we shall forget the principles of our Fathers, or suffer any thing to quench within our own bosoms the love of freedom which we have inherited from them.

In the next place, we declare our warm and hearty devotion to the Constitution of the country, and to that Union of the States which it has happily cemented, and so long and so prosperously preserved. We call ourselves by no local names, we recognise no geographical divisions, while we give utterance to our sentiments on his constitutional and political subjects. We are Americans, citizens of the United States, knowing no other country, and desiring to be distinguished by no other appellation. We believe the Constitution, while administered wisely and in its proper spirit, to be capable of protecting all parts of the country securing all interests, perpetuating a National Brotherhood among all the States. We believe that to foment local jealousies, to attempt to prove the existence of opposite interests between one part of the country and another, and thus to disseminate feelings of distrust and alienation, while it is in contemptuous disregard of the counsels of the great Father of his country, is but one form, in which irregular ambition, destitute of all true patriotism, and a love of power, reckless of the means of its gratification, exhibit their unsubdued and burning desire.

We believe, too, that party spirit, however, natural or unavoidable it may be, in free Republics, yet when it gains such an ascendency in men's minds as leads them to substitute party for country, to seek no ends but party ends, no approbation but party approbation, and to fear no reproach or contumely, so that there be no party dissatisfaction, not only alloys the true enjoyment of such institutions, but weakens, every day, the foundations on which they stand.

We are in favor of the liberty of speech and of the press; we are friends of free discussion; we espouse the cause of popular education; we believe in man's capacity for self-government; we desire to see the freest and widest dissemination of knowledge, and of truth; and we believe, especially, in the benign influence of religious feeling, and moral instruction, on the social as well as on the individual happiness of man.

Holding these general sentiments and opinions, we have come together to declare, that under the present administration of the General Government, a course of measures has been adopted and pursued, in our judgments, disastrous to the best interests of the country, threatening the accumulation of still greater evils, utterly hostile to the true spirit of the Constitution and to the principles of civil liberty, and calling upon all men of honest purpose, disinterested patriotism, and unbiassed intelligence, to put forth their utmost constitutional efforts in order to effect a change.

Gen. Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States, and took the oaths and his seat, on the 4th of March, 1829; and we readily admit, that under his administration, certain portions of the public affairs were conducted with ability. But we have to lament, that he was no proof against the institutions and influences of evil councillors, or perhaps against his own passions, when moved and excited. Hence, in one most important branch of the public interest, in that essential part of commercial regulation, which respects the money, the currency, the circulation, and the internal exchanges of the country, accidental occurrences, acting on his characteristic love of rule, and uneasiness under opposition, led him to depart from all that was expected from him, and to enter upon measures, which plunged both him and the country, in greater & greater difficulties at every step, so that in this respect, his whole course of administration was but a series of ill-fated experiments & of projects framed in disregard of prudence and precedent, and bursting in rapid succession, the final explosion taking place a few months after his retirement from office.

Gen. Jackson was not elected with any desire or expectation, on the part of any of his supporters, that he would interfere with the currency of the country. We affirm this, as the truth of history. It is incapable of refutation or denial. It is as certain as that the American Revolution was not undertaken to destroy the rights of property, or overthrow the obligation of morals.

But, unhappily, he became involved in a controversy with the then existing Bank of the United States. He manifested a desire, how originating, or by whom inspired, is immaterial, to exercise a political influence over that institution, and to cause that institution to exercise in turn a political influence over the community. Published documents prove this as plainly as they prove any other act of his administration. In this desire he was resisted, thwarted, & finally defeated. But what he could not govern, he supposed he could destroy; and the event showed that he did not overrate his popularity and his power. He pursued the bank to the death, and achieved his triumph by the Veto of 1832. The accustomed means of maintaining a sound and uniform currency, for the use of the whole country, having been thus trampled down and destroyed, recourse was had to these new modes of experimental administration, to which we have already adverted and which terminated so disastrously, both for the reputation of his administration, and for the welfare of the country.

But Gen. Jackson did not deny his constitutional obligations, nor seek to escape from their force. He never professedly abandoned all care over the general currency. His whole conduct shows that he admitted throughout, the duty of the General Government to maintain a supervision over the currency of the country, both metalic and paper, for the general good and use of the people: and he congratulated both himself and the nation, that by the measures adopted by him, the currency and the exchanges of the country were placed on a better footing than they ever had been under the operation of a Bank of the United States. This confidence in his own experiments we know, proved most illusory. But the frequency with which he repeated this and similar declarations, establishes incontestably, his own sense of the duty of the Government.

In all the measures of Gen. Jackson upon the currency, the present Chief Magistrate is known to have concurred. Like him, he was opposed to the Bank of the United States; like him he was in favor of the State Deposite Banks; and like him, he insisted, that by the aid of such Banks, the administration had accomplished all that could be desired; on the great subjects of the currency and the exchange.

But the catastrophe of May, 1837, produced a new crisis, by overthrowing the last in a series of experiments, and creating an absolute necessity, either of returning to that policy of the Government which Gen. Jackson had repudiated, or of renouncing altogether the constitutional duty which it had been the object of that policy to perform. The latter branch of the alternative was adopted. Refuge was sought in escape. A duty, up to that moment admitted by all, was suddenly denied, and the fearful resolution announced, that Government should hereafter provide, for its own revenues, and that for the rest, the People must take care of themselves.

Assembled here, to day, and feeling in common with the whole country the evil consequences of these principles and these measures, we utter against them all, from first to last, our deep and solemn disapprobation and remonstrance. We condemn the early departure of Gen Jackson from that line of policy which he was expected to pursue. We deplore the temper which led him to his original quarrel with the Bank. We deplore the headstrong spirit which instigated him to pursue that institution to its destruction. We deplore the timidity of some, the acquiescence of others, and the subserviency of all his party, which enabled him to carry its whole, unbroken phalanx to the support of measures, and the accomplishment of purposes, which we know to have been against the wishes, the remonstrances, and the consciencies of many of the most respectable and intelligent. We deplore his abandonment of measures that had been pursued for forty years; his rash experiments with great interests; and the perseverance with which he persisted in them, when men of different temperament must have been satisfied of their uselessness and impotence.

But Gen. Jackson's administration, authority and influence, are now historical. They belong to the past, while we have to do, to day, with the serious evils, and the still more alarming portents of the present. We, remonstrate, therefore, most earnestly and emphatically, against the policy upon this subject of the present administration. We protest against the truth of its principles. We deny the propriety and justice of its measures.—We are constrained to have too little respect for its objects, and we desire to rouse the country, so far as we can, to the evils which oppress and the dangers that surround us.

We insist, that the present administration has consulted its own party ends, and the preservation of its own power, to the manifest neglect of great objects of public interest. We think there is no liberality, no political comprehension, no just policy in its leading measures. We look upon its abandonment of the currency as fatal, and we regard its system of sub-treasury as but a poor device to avoid a high obligation, or as the first in a new series of ruthless experiments.—We believe its professions in favour of a hard money currency to be insincere: because we do not believe that any person of common information and ordinary understanding, can suppose that the use of paper, as a circulating medium, will be discontinued even if such discontinuance were desirable unless the government shall break down the acknowledged authority of the State Governments to establish Banks. We believe the clamor against State Banks, State Bonds and State Credits, to have been raised by the friends of the Administration to divert public attention from its own mismanagement, and to throw on others the consequence of its own misconduct. We heard nothing of all this in the early part of General Jackson's administration, nor until his measures had brought the currency of the country into the utmost disorder. We know that in times past, the present Chief Magistrate has, of all men, had most to do with the systems of the State Banks, the most faith in their usefulness, and no very severely chastened desire to profit by their influence.

We believe that the purpose of exercising a money influence over the community has never departed from the Administration. What it could not accomplish by an attempt to bend the Bank of the United States to its purposes, we believe it has sought, and now seeks, to effect by its project of the Sub-Treasury. We believe, that in order to maintain the the principles upon which the system of the Sub-Treasury is founded, the friends of the Administration have been led to espouse opinions destructive of the internal commerce of the country paralyzing to it's whole industry, tending to sink its labor, both in price and in character, to the degraded standard of the uninformed, the ignorant, the suffering labor of the worst parts of Europe. Led by the same necessity, or pushing the same principle still further, and with a kind of revolutionary rapidity, we have seen the rights of property not only assailed, but denied—the boldest agrarian notions put forth—the power of transmission from father to son openly denounced—the right of one to participate in the earnings of another, to the rejection of the moral claims of his own children, asserted as a fundamental principle of the new Democracy; and all this by those who are in the pay of Government, receiving large salaries, and whose offices would be nearly sinecures but for the labor performed in the attempt to give currency to these principles and these opinions. We believe that the general tone of the measures of the Administration, the manner in which it confers favors, its apparent preference for partizans of extreme opinions, and the readiness with which it bestows its confidence on the boldest and most violent, are producing serious injuries upon the political morals and general sentiments of the country.—We believe that to this cause is fairly to be attributed the most lamentable change which has taken place in the temper, the sobriety, and the wisdom with which the high public councils have been hitherto conducted. We look with alarm to the existing state of things, in this aspect; and we would most earnestly, and with all our hearts, as well for the honor of the country as for its interests, beseech all good men to unite with us in an attempt to bring back the deliberate age of the Government, to restore to the collected bodies of the people's Representatives that self respect, decorum, and dignity, without which the business of legislation can make no regular progress, and is always in danger either of accomplishing nothing, or of reaching its ends by unjust and violent means.

We believe the conduct of the Administration respecting the public revenue to be highly reprehensible. It has expended twenty millions, previously accumulated, besides all the accruing income, since it came into power; and there seems at this moment to be no doubt, but that it will leave to its successors a public debt of from five to ten millions of dollars. It has shrunk from its proper responsibilities. With the immediate prospect of an empty treasury, it has yet not had manliness to recommend to Congress any adequate provision. It has constantly spoken of the excess of receipts over expenditures, until this excess has finally manifested itself in an absolute necessity for loans, and in a power conferred on the President, altogether new, and in our judgment hostile to the whole spirit of the Constitution, to meet the event of want of resources by withholding, out of certain classes of appropriations made by Congress, such as he chooses to think may be best spared. It lives by shifts and contrivances, by shallow artifices and delusive names, by what is called 'facilities,' and the 'exchange of Treasury notes for specie;' while in truth it has been fast contracting a public debt, in the midst of all its boasting, without daring to lay the plain and naked truth of the case before the people.

We protest against the conduct of the House of Representatives in the case of the New Jersey election. This is not a local, but a general question. In the Union of the States, on whatever link the blow of injustice or usurpation falls, it is felt, and ought to be felt through the whole chain. The cause of New Jersey is the cause of every State, and every State is therefore bound to vindicate it.

That the regular commission, or certificate of return, signed by the chief magistrate of the State, according to the provisions of law, entitles those who produce it to be sworn in as members of Congress, to vote in the organization of the House, and to hold their seats until their right be disturbed by regular petition and proof, is a proposition of constitutional law, of such universal extent, and universal acknowledgment, that it cannot be strengthened by argument, or by analogy. There is nothing clearer, and nothing better settled. No legislative body could ever be organized without the adoption of this principle. Yet, in the case of the New Jersey members, it was entirely disregarded. And it is of awful portent that on such a question, a question in its nature strictly judicial, the dominant of party should lead men thus flagrantly to violate first principles. It is the first step that costs. After this open disregard of the elementary rules of law and justice, it would create no surprise, that pending the labors of a Committee especially appointed to ascertain who were duly elected, a set of men calling themselves Representatives of the people of New Jersey, who had no certificates from the Chief Magistrate of the State, or according to the laws of the State, were voted into their seats, under silence imposed by the previous question, and afterwards gave their votes for the passage of the Sub Treasury law. We call most solemnly upon all who, with us, believe that these proceedings alike invade the rights of the States, and dishonor the cause of popular government and free institutions, to supply an efficient and decisive remedy, by the unsparing application of the elective franchise.

We protest against the plan of the Administration *respecting the, training and disciplining* of the militia. The President now admits it to be unconstitutional; and it is plainly so, on the face of it, for the training of the militia is by the Constitution expressly reserved to the States. If it were not unconstitutional, it would yet be unnecessary, burdensome, enailing enormous expense, and placing dangerous powers in Executive hands. It belongs to the prolific family of Executive projects, and it is a consolation to find that at least one of its projects has been so scorched by public rebuke and reprobation, that no man raises his hand, or opens his mouth in its favor.

It was during the progress of the late Administration, an Indian like well known auspices of the present Chief Magistrate, that the declaration was made in the Senate, that in regard to public office, the spoils of victory belonged to the conquerors; thus boldly proclaiming, as the creed of the party, that political contests are rightfully struggles for office and emolument. We protest against doctrines which thus regard offices as created for the sake of incumbents, and stimulate the basest passions to the pursuit of high public trusts.

We protest against the repeated instances of disregarding judicial decisions by officers of Government, and others enjoying its countenance; thus setting up executive interpretation over the solemn adjudications of courts and juries; and showing marked disrespect for the usual and constitutional interpretation and execution of the laws.

This misgovernment and maladministration, would have been the more tolerable, if they had not been committed, in most instances, in direct contradiction to the warmest professions and the most solemn assurances. Promises of a better currency for example, have ended in the destruction of all national and uniform currency, assurances of the strictest economy have been but preludes to the most wasteful excess; even the Florida war has been conducted under loud pretences of severe frugality; and the most open, unblushing and notorious interference with State elections, has been systematically practised by the paid agents of an administration, which in the full freshness of its oath of office, declared that one of its leading objects should be to accomplish the task of reform, which particularly required the correction of those abuses, which brought the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of election.

In the teeth of this solemn assurance, it has been proved that the United States' officers have been assessed, in sums bearing proportion to the whole amount they receive from the Treasury, for the purpose of supporting their partizans even in State and municipal elections. Whatever, in short, has been most professed, has been least practised; and it seems to have been taken for granted that the American people would be satisfied with pretence, and a full toned assurance of patriotic purpose. The history of the last twelve years has been but the history of broken promises and disappointed hopes. At every successive period of this history an enchanting, rose colored futurity has been spread out before the people, especially in regard to the great concerns of revenue, finance and currency. But these colors have faded as the object has been approached. Prospects of abundant revenue have resulted in the necessity of borrowing; the brilliant hopes of a better currency end in general derangement, stagnation and distress; and while the whole country is roused to an unprecedented excitement by the pressure of the times, every state paper from the Cabinet at Washington, comes forth fraught with congratulations on that happy state of things, which the wise policy of the administration is alleged to have brought about! Judged by the tone of these papers, every present movement of the people is quite unreasonable; and all attempts at change, only so many ungrateful returns for the wise and successful administration of public affairs!

There is yet another subject of complaint to which we feel bound to advert, by our veneration for the illustrious dead, by our respect for truth, by our love for the honor of our country, and by our own wounded pride as American citizens. We feel that the country has been dishonored, and we desire to free ourselves from all imputation of acquiescence in the parricidal act. The late President, in a communication to Congress, more than intimates, that some of the earliest and most important measures of Washington's administration were the offspring of personal motives and private interests. His successor has repeated and extended this accusation, and given to it, we are compelled to say, a greater degree of offensiveness and grossness. No man with an American heart in his bosom can endure this without feeling the deepest humiliation as well as the utmost scorn. The fame of Washington, and his immediate associates, is of the richest treasures of the country. His is that name which an American may utter with pride in every part of the world, and which, wherever uttered, is shouted to the skies by the voices of all true lovers of human liberty. Imputations which assail his measures so rudely, while they are abominable violations of the truth of *history, are an insult* to the country, and an offence against the moral sentiments of civilized mankind. Miserable, miserable indeed, must be that cause which cannot support its party predominance, its ruinous schemes and senseless experiments, without thus attempting to poison the fountains of truth, and to prove the government of our country disgracefully corrupt, even in its very cradle. Our hearts would sink within us, if we believed that such an effort could succeed: but they must be impotent. Neither the recent, nor the present President, was born to cast a shade on the character of Washington or his associates. The destiny of both has been, rather, to illustrate by contrast, that wisdom and those virtues which they have not imitated, and to hurl blows, which the affectionate veneration of American citizens, and the general justice of the civilized world, will render harmless to others, and powerful only in their recoil upon themselves. If this language be strong, so also is that feeling of indignation which has suggested it: and on an occasion like this, we could not leave this consecrated spot, without the consciousness of having omitted an indispensable duty had we not thus given utterance to the fulness of our hearts, and marked with our severest rebuke, and most thorough reprobation and scorn, a labored effort to fix a deep and enduring stain on the early history of the government.

Finally, on this spot, the fame of which began with our liberty, and can only end with it, in the presence of these multitudes of the whole country, and of the world, we declare our conscientious convictions, that the present Administration has proved itself incapable of conducting the public affairs of the nation in such a manner as shall preserve the Constitution, maintain the public liberty, & secure general prosperity. We declare with the utmost sincerity, that we believe its main purpose to have been to continue its own purpose, influence, and popularity; that to this end, it has abandoned indispensable but highly responsible Constitutional duties; that it has trifled with the great concerns of finance and currency; that it has used the most reprehensible means for influencing public opinion, that it has countenanced the application of public money to party purposes; that it seeks to consolidate and strengthen party by every form of public patronage; that it laboriously seeks to conceal the truth from the people on subjects of great interests; that it has shown itself to be selfish in its ends and corrupt in its means; and that if it should be able to maintain itself in power through another term, there is the most imminent danger that it will plunge the country in still farther difficulty, bring on still greater disorder and distress, and undermine at once the foundation of the public prosperity and the institutions of the country.

Men thus false to their own professions, false to the principles of the constitution, false to the interests of the people, and false to the highest honor of their country, are unfit to be the rulers of this Republic.

The people of the United States have a right to good government. They have a right to an honest and faithful exercise of all the powers of the Constitution as understood and practised in the best days of the Republic for the general good. They have an inalienable right to all the blessings of that *liberty* which their fathers achieved, and all the benefits of that *Union* which their fathers established.

And standing here, this day, with the memory of those Fathers fresh on our hearts and with the field of their glory and the monuments of their fame full in our own view,—with Bunker Hill beneath us, and Concord and Lexington, and Dorchester Heights, and Faneuil Hall around us,—we here as a part of the people, pledge ourselves to each other and to our Country, to spare no lawful and honorable efforts to vindicate and maintain these rights and to remove from the high places of the nation men who have thus contemned and violated them.

And we earnestly and solemnly invoke all good men and true patriots throughout the Union, forgoing all considerations of party, and forgetting all distinction of State or Section, to rally more, as our Fathers did in '75 against the common oppressors of our country, and to unite with us in restoring our glorious Constitution to its true interpretation, its practical administration, and its just supremacy.

In such a cause, principles are every thing; individuals nothing. Yet we cannot forget that we have worthy, honest, capable candidates for the offices from which we hope to remove the present incumbents.

Those who desire a change, throughout the whole country, have agreed with extraordinary unanimity to support General William Henry Harrison for the office of President. We believe him to be an honest and faithful citizen, who has served his country successfully, in divers civil trusts; and we believe him a veteran soldier, whose honor and bravery cannot be questioned. We give him our unhesitating confidence; and in that confidence we shall support him, and the distinguished citizen of Virginia, who has been nominated for the Vice Presidency, with all our efforts and all our hearts, through the present contest, convinced by their election the true spirit of the Constitution will be restored, the prosperity of the people revived, the stability of our free institutions reassured, and the blessings of Union and Liberty secured to ourselves and our posterity.

From the Cincinnati Republican.

GENERAL HARRISON'S SPEECH AT CARTHAGE.

We insert, according to promise, so much of General Harrison's speech at Carthage, on the 20th instant, as related to the subject of abolition:

"Having recently received a letter from a personal friend, who is a member of an abolition society, proposing to me two questions, which he requested me to answer; but having from necessity, arising from the absolute impossibility of my answering the numerous letters I receive, requiring my opinion upon political subjects; declined to answer any from individuals, I willingly embrace the opportunity of answering them, which this occasion has given me, without violating the rule I had found myself under the necessity of adopting.

The questions are the following, viz:

1st—Do you believe the people of the United States possess an unrestricted right to discuss any subject that to them may seem worthy of consideration?

2nd—Do you believe the people of the United States have the right to petition their Legislature for the redress of whatever they may deem a grievance, and for the adoption of such measures as the petitioners may think conducive to the welfare of the nation?

I do not hesitate to answer both of these questions in the affirmative. The Constitution of the United States, and that of our own State, have secured to the people the enjoyment of the rights referred to in both questions, entirely unrestricted but by their own sense of propriety, and the legal rules which protect the rights of others. The freedom of speech and of the press, are the distinguishing characteristics of free government. Without them, we might call our country a Republic, but it would be so only in name, like that of Rome, under the emperors, it might be a mask to cover the most horrid despotism. The right of the people to write and to speak openly and freely upon all matters of public policy, "is the palladium of all civil and religious liberty." The authors of our Constitution must have known, that it would be subject to abuses, to be used for improper and indeed sometimes for criminal purposes; yet they declared it without restriction. More than half a century has passed away since it came into operation, and although upon one memorable occasion it was resorted to for the purpose of giving effect to councils tending to paralyze the efforts of the nation, in the midst of a dangerous war, and to ca-

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