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THE PRINCIPLES

OF

ARISTOCRATIC LEGISLATION,

DEVELOPED IN

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED TO

THE WORKING PEOPLE

OF THE DISTRICT OF SOUTHWARK, AND TOWNSHIPS OF
MOYAMENSING AND PASSYUNK.

IN THE

COMMISSIONERS' HALL, AUGUST 14, 1828.

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BY AN OPERATIVE CITIZEN.
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Philadelphia:

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TO WORKING PEOPLE.

In presenting to the industrious public the following Address, a few explanatory remarks may not be uncalled for. **ARISTOCRATICAL LEGISLATION**, in the sense in which I have used it, is that which emanates from men who are accumulating from the state, in any manner whatever, a larger amount of wealth or property in a given time than would be a fair and just compensation for the actual *personal services* they give to it in an equal time.*

ALL WEALTH is the **PRODUCT** of **HUMAN LABOUR**: he therefore, who *accumulates* in a given time more than can be *produced* in an equal time, *must* accumulate that which has been produced *by others*, and for which they cannot have received an equivalent from him. In every state where circumstances or facts of this nature exist, **THERE EXISTS AN EVIL**, which it is the business of legislation to seek out and remedy. But the legislator who is growing rich and powerful through the existence of this evil, is the man who, of all others, is least likely to search it out or to attempt a remedy; and who, of all others, is under the greatest inducement to increase it; while on the contrary he who feels that he is suffering under this evil, is, with an equal degree of interest, of all men, most likely to seek out both the evil and its remedy. The former, therefore, I have denominated *aristocratic*, and that which should emanate from the latter description of persons, I call *republican* legislation.

It is well known that the recent attempts of the *Working People* to assume the great privilege of **NOMINATING** their candidates for public offices, guaranteed to them by our national and state constitutions, has produced an unusual agitation among the leaders of the two existing parties; and that designing men on both sides have exerted every nerve to direct the strong current of excitement now acting on the Working People, into their different party channels.

To me it appears, that the **REAL aristocracy** of **BOTH PARTIES** have become greatly alarmed that so unexpected and bold an attitude should be assumed by those of whom they had heretofore been accustomed to entertain such indifferent notions; an attitude, which, if successfully maintained, must inevitably divest them of those legislative powers, which they have hitherto wielded at the expense of the multitude, to their own exaltation and enrichment, and place them under the con-

* **Personal services** rendered to the state, as such in times of public danger, form the only exception, I believe, to this rule, and they effect not its general character.

rol and at the disposal of the body of the community, the **INDUSTRI-
OUS AND PRODUCTIVE PARTY**. The former, feeling their long establish-
ed dominion thus powerfully shaken by the first slight exertion of the
Peoples omnipotence, and trembling for the consequences in a few
years to come, appear to have mustered their forces and set all their
tools at work to effect, if possible, a subversion of the general effort.

No sooner had the first experiment made by the *Working People* of
the city at the district court room, on the 11th inst. proved successful,
than a vile attempt was made to gull them into their own ruin by the
wily flatteries of Binns. The knowledge, however, of the true principles
of Republican Legislation, which for two years past has been gradually
diffusing itself among them, was amply sufficient to preserve them from
falling into this snare; but another obstacle to their success immediately
arose in the form of *party feeling*. The *traitorous kisses* of the "*De-
mocratic Press*," were construed by the leaders of the opposition into
congratulations of *real friendship*! When the **ARISTOCRACY** of that
party, seized the favourable moment to give the **FALSE** alarm of "*ad-
ministration plot*," and blowing the sparks of political jealousy into a
flame of mutual rancor, set the Working People to devour each other,
that, if possible, all hopes of success might be uprooted.

Being myself, however, well acquainted with the *origin* and entire
progress of the present efforts of the Working People, which were
originally developed in part, in the fall of 1826, in a *Trade Society* in
this city, and were then, and have ever since been totally independent
of any political **PARTY** whatever, (the *working* party excepted) and
having abundant respectable evidence of this fact, should such evidence
ever become necessary, I have felt perfectly at rest with respect to
any implications of a party nature that may recently have been charged
on me. But to return. I carefully watched all these proceedings,
which, indeed, I had in a considerable degree anticipated, and having
determined that no opportunity should be lost in counteracting the
machinations of aristocracy, should any be manifested, in the public
meetings of this district, and of correcting, if possible, the erroneous
impressions which I knew were so generally diffused among my breth-
ren of the Working People, I prepared the following address, resolved,
should it appear absolutely necessary to lay the principles and senti-
ments it contains, publicly before them. Such a necessity did occur,
and my highest obligations are due the **Mechanics and Working Peo-
ple** then present, for the good order, silence, and deep attention mani-
fested by them during its delivery.

It is matter of no small rejoicing to all who desire the improvement
of the human race, that, although this good cause has, under the cloak
of proffered friendship, received a stab from the designing politicians
of one party, and the wound been lacerated and widened by those of
the other; yet it has not proved mortal. The jealousies and mutual
suspicions which at first arose among the **People** are now subsiding;
they have generally discovered the real truth, that the present effort

made among them to effect a nomination of their STATE AND CITY Legislators is perfectly distinct from, and unconnected with every thing relating to the presidential question, and, as a consequence, a marked diminution of party feeling and rancor, with an increased unanimity of sentiment and fellow-feeling, and a decided disposition to UNION OF OPERATIONS among the Working People of both parties, for the solid establishment of their STATE rights, is every where becoming more and more manifest. They are beginning to discover, that FROM THEMSELVES ALONE, ALL their help must come; that while, in *state politics*, one portion attach themselves to the cunning, and rich, and powerful aristocracy of one party, and another to those of the other party, their political existence is necessarily absorbed by the union of wealth and power; rulers will continue to be SELECTED FOR THEM by the *aristocracy* of both parties, and, *Aristocratic Legislation*, the root of oppression and the *curse of the people*, be a necessary and perpetual consequence. They are beginning to know that all who are NOT OF THEM, must of necessity, be *practically* AGAINST THEM. Revelling like useless drones in the hive of national industry, and with this knowledge once universally diffused and generally appreciated, I defy all the powers upon earth to retard the rapid and irresistible march of THE PEOPLE towards the highest condition of human prosperity, general intelligence, and happiness.

THE AUTHOR,

Philadelphia, August 18, 1828.

The following is an extract from the Minutes of the Public Meeting of the WORKING PEOPLE of the District of Southwark and Townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, held on the 14th inst.

On motion it was unanimously *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to procure the publication of the *Address* delivered this evening.

The following gentlemen were duly appointed.

Messrs. JOSEPH C. MOLLOY, JOHN ARDIS, GEORGE SMITH, DANIEL BUZZEL, and JOHN DUBOIS, Senior.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

WORKING PEOPLE

OF THE DISTRICT OF SOUTHWARK, AND TOWNSHIPS OF
MOYAMENSING AND PASSYUNK.



FELLOW WORKMEN,

You will all, no doubt, admit, that the foundation of American Independence, which was laid during the struggles of our revolutionary forefathers, consists in the right of **UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE**; or, in other words, in the eligibility of **THE PEOPLE** to place, as representatives, in our legislative assemblies, *whomsoever they will!*

It is this sacred, this inviolable right, that constitutes the basis of that noble edifice of **REAL Liberty** and **REAL Equality** which the swelling minds of philosophers have contemplated with rapture, as the greatest of all human good; which heroes have bled for; and which the spirit of philanthropy, now every where diffusing itself, is, I trust, successfully endeavouring to erect.

But, although, we all acknowledge, that the *foundation* of our independence was laid in the establishment, by our forefathers, of this inestimable right, and that in *it* we possess *the means* of humbling the lofty and elevating the low, and ultimately of attaining that happy state of real liberty and universal independence which the wise and the good, in all ages, have anticipated with delight, yet who will tell us, that the superstructure *itself* is yet, more than an **IDEAL** one? Who that is acquainted with the actual condition of society, that has visited the Plantation, the Quarry, the Workshop, the Forge and the Factory; that has seen the multitudes employed at them incessantly toiling, from the *first* blush of morning to the *last* ray of evening twilight; that has followed them

to their homes, and marked their small, delapidated, half furnished dwellings, their wretchedly clad children, and their coarse, if not scanty, supply of human subsistence;—and who, on the other hand, has viewed the richly canopied and lofty halls of the great; the splendid furniture; the sumptuous and superabundant provision; the trains of domestics; the rolling chariot and the gilded equipage; who, I say, that has seen these things, will yet tell us, that the sacred sounds of LIBERTY and EQUALITY have any *actual* existence among us, or are, in reality, more than *mere empty sounds*?

I need not attempt to convince *you*, my Fellow Workmen, that the great object of all uncorrupt legislation, that is, real *liberty* and *equality*, have never yet been attained, even by American citizens; the fact itself is so clear, you see it, *you feel it*, and the only rational course for us now to pursue is, to ascertain *why* this great object is still unaccomplished, and the means by which it may yet be secured.

The reason for this, though above all things important, we shall find to be simple and easy of explanation.

The truth is, the Working People of this country have never yet been *faithfully* represented in their legislative councils, by those to whom they have given *their* suffrages. We have, either ignorantly or criminally neglected our dearest interests. We have left *our part* of the great duty of election, more than half unaccomplished. We have permitted the wealthy and the proud, whose INTEREST it has been, and is, to render us poor and degraded, to NOMINATE, as candidates for public offices individuals of their own stamp; enlisted into their service and bound by the ties of a common interest and mutual understanding to support their unrighteous claims. To such candidates, without any pledge, without any mutual understanding, or the existence of any reciprocal and uniting interests, we have yielded our suffrages, and placed all our dearest destinies in their keeping.

From legislators, *selected* for us, as *these* have been, by the wealthy and the powerful; the chosen instruments of a rich and proud, and growing aristocracy, what advantages have the Working People ever yet received? Where is the PARTY, that when raised to legislative dignity, have exerted their powers and their talents in the promotion of our prosperity; whose voices have echoed in our halls of legislation in support of the Poor Man's Rights? Where are the laws and enactments which provide, either directly or indirectly, for the advance

ment of the prosperity of the industrious classes? No, my Fellow Workmen, however violent may be our feelings and efforts in support of our favourite parties, and however far we may allow these to carry us towards mutual hatred, malignancy and outrage, yet the very men, for whose elevation we struggle with such mutual ferocity, when raised on our shoulders to their respective stations, smile in their sleeves at our maddening folly, and leave us to languish in ignorance and poverty, the unprotected victims of speculating avarice and Legalized Extortion. The federalist and the democrat, the administration and the opposition man when in legislative council, urged by one interest, ARE ALL COMBINED IN ONE PARTY, to elevate the lofty and humble the low, to enrich and aggrandise the few wealthy and powerful, and to depress and impoverish the multitude. Thus while *our* interests and welfare are passed by unnoticed, we see charters, statutes and enactments, passed from session to session, for the exclusive advancement and benefit of Banking, Insurance and Mercantile, *master* Manufacturing, Landed, and other monied, monopolizing and speculating institutions and interests: all of which, under the fostering wing of legislative protection, are accumulating their annual millions from the toils and the labours of the Operative classes.

It is probable, however, that we do not all see clearly the manner in which these evils can be the legitimate offspring of corrupt legislation. But if for a short time we reflect on what is now passing within our own district, we may, I think, acquaint ourselves with an evil so much in point, and so exactly parallel to the numerous methods for filching the Working People, pursued in all legislative assemblies, that every one of us will be furnished with a tolerable clue to unravel the intricacies of legislative injustice.

The subject I am about to lay before you, as an illustration of the aristocratical principles of existing legislation, and of its injurious consequences to the mass of the people, is not chosen with a view to create any local ill feelings or unfounded prejudices against the powers that be; but because I think it will afford us a more simple and clear insight into the nature and vast importance of NOMINATIONS, and show us more fully than any other subject which could be selected, that no individual ought to be a representative of any body of people who does not possess an interest *decidedly in unison with the interests of those whom he represents.*

We all know, that many improvements have recently been made, and are now making in this district, and among others, not the least, is the introduction of the Schuylkill water.— Now this, we know, is as much a legislative transaction as if it had been done by the highest councils in the state. We likewise all know, or ought to know, that every legislative act should be passed solely with a view to the public good, or in other words, it ought to promote, in all cases, the manifest welfare of a *Majority* of the individuals residing within the limits of its operations; and every legislative act that falls short of this equitable standard, is a violation of the spirit of our Constitution, and an exertion of tyrannical injustice and public oppression.

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to premise, that the very existence of Schuylkill water, as an article of general use in this city, has its origin exclusively in *Human Labour*; that there is no part of that surprising work at FAIRMOUNT, or of the materials used in accomplishing it, from the powder that blew up the rocks, to the laying of the iron pipes for its reception into this district, but was all accomplished by the industry of the labourers employed; that these obtained only a bare pittance for their families to subsist on, while in the act of accomplishing that work, and were all, at the termination of it discharged, to procure, if they could, a like scanty subsistence elsewhere, while the work itself, sole product of their labour, has been wholly monopolized by the possessors of capital, and converted into a rich and perpetual source of accumulation. We will pass over these considerations, and fix our attention exclusively on the effects produced by its introduction into this district.

The advantages which the rich Property Holder and Monied Capitalist derive from this public improvement, together with other improvements of a like nature now progressing in the district, are these: First, he is furnished with a safe, convenient and profitable mode of investing his surplus capital, and is enabled to draw out of the pockets of the community, an annual interest of six per cent. upon thousands of dollars which otherwise must have lain idle. Second, he is, in a large majority of cases, if not immediately, yet at no distant period, enabled to effect an *advance* of rent upon all property within the limits of the improvements, at a ratio of from twenty to fifty per cent. upon the amount of costs charged to such property. An example will make this plain. Suppose the

cost of public improvements passing by a dwelling of fifteen feet front, to be twenty-five dollars, the proprietor of such dwellings immediately calculates on levying an advance of rent, of from five to ten, or perhaps fifteen dollars annually on each; and the rich owner of a hundred houses, whose portion of expenses for the public improvements, added to his property, amounts to \$2,500, is actually enabled to extort from his tenants the enormous interest of from twenty to fifty per cent. annually upon this amount of capital, and this too is in addition to the six per cent interest derivable from stock which he may have invested in the public funds!

Third. The rich man is enabled to supply himself with the water thus introduced, merely out of the *gain* which he makes by this legislative speculation; and after supplying himself, he still remains an annual gainer in a ratio proportioned to the extent of his property.

And last, but not least, all these advantages are acquired by the rich man without any labour or toil; without any struggling from day dawn till dark to *create* them, or wearing out his life and his energies to procure a subsistence for his family. No, they are all a gratuitous legacy made by rich rulers to *themselves and their wealthy friends*, for the promotion of their *own* aggrandisement, and the especial encouragement and *increase of luxury, dissipation, and purse proud idleness.*

Having now exhibited to you the interests of the great and the mighty, as advanced and supported in due proportion with their respective standings by the direct sanction and influence of legislative provisions, let us now change the picture. Our attention thus far has only been directed to THE FEW, let us now look at THE MULTITUDE. We see the effects produced, by this legislative regulation, to the idle and rich monopoliser, let us now trace the consequences resulting from it, to those who are permitted to possess—nothing!!!

The time has now passed away in which men were deceived into a belief that *effects* could exist without *causes*; and, I trust, there are but few among us so uninformed as to suppose that the streams of wealth we have just been contemplating, could be perpetually flowing into the coffers of the great, unless they were supplied and replenished from some FOUNTAIN. That fountain, need I tell you, consists of the *marrow and the bones, the blood and the muscles of the Industrious classes, the ONLY authors, and producers of all the luxuries and wealth*

which the rich are enabled to accumulate, or the community is permitted to enjoy.

As, however, I need not explain to you the fact, that the public improvements now in progress in this district, from the laying out of the plan; the quarrying of stone; and preparing the different metallic substances and other materials that are used to the entire completion of them, are all the exclusive result of human exertion and labour, either mental or physical, but principally of physical labour; and that therefore the labourers employed (both kinds included) are the sole Authors and Makers of these improvements; as, I say, I need not now dwell upon a Truth so Evident, I shall proceed to exhibit the pernicious consequences which, through corrupt legislation, are made to result from them to the Productive and Working People.

First, then, it is a demonstrable fact, that the Working People of the district must pay, either directly or indirectly, nearly *the whole amount of taxes*, levied for the purpose of liquidation, BOTH PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST of the public debt incurred by these improvements! What! say you, Working People, who possess no taxable property, pay, nevertheless, *nearly ALL* the taxes? Yes, my Fellow Workmen, and would to heaven it were the ONLY, or even the *heaviest* item that were charged upon us. But have patience, while I exhibit the Naked Truth; while I drag the Monster, ARISTOCRATIC LEGISLATION, from its den; unshroud the dark mysteries in which it has hitherto been folded, and exhibit it to you in all its hideous deformity.

Every one knows that the great property holder, being a Non-Working, or Unproductive member of society, has no means of liquidating his taxes but that which he derives from his tenants in the form of rent; that the property owner invariably calculates the taxes upon his property as one item of the various contingent expenses* which it will be necessary for him to charge upon his tenant; and that the rent which he receives, *after deducting from it* all extrinsic costs and charges, forms one of his principal sources of accumulation. Let us not deceive ourselves then, or rather, let us not be deceived

* The expenses alluded to here include *interest on the capital expended in the building, insurance, taxes, and necessary repairs*, and all contingent expenses of a similar nature, which are in all cases charged upon a tenant as part of the rent.

by those who feel deeply interested in blindfolding our reason. The property holder in reality, PAYS NO TAXES but for the single dwelling that he occupies; it is HIS TENANTS, who, *in fact*, and in the form of rent pay all the taxes on his other property.

Thus are the rich aristocracy, who constitute, probably, *less* than a fiftieth part of our population, and who have monopolised, or are monopolising the greater part of that property which has been created in this district by the unceasing toils of the Mechanics and Labouring People, thus I say, are the rich and privileged aristocracy, enabled to throw off from their shoulders nearly the whole burden of taxation; which immediately falls on two other divisions of the community, that is, the middle and the lower, or the *trading* and the Working People. But mark; the Trading class, like the former, are UNPRODUCERS; with their *own* hands they *shape* no materials, *erect* no property, *create* no wealth. Their only business, (*as traders*) is simply to exchange and distribute the various articles of use, convenience and comfort, which, in order to their being so distributed, must *previously* be created by Human Industry.— Where, then, must these derive the means of liquidating that portion of the public taxes, which are in part, directly levied on them by our constituted authorities, and part of which are indirectly levied on them by the capitalist in the form of rent; I answer, they are enabled to do this only by charging a PROFIT on all the various articles they exchange or distribute. It is only by the *profits* they derive from the articles they sell, that they are enabled to liquidate either rent or taxes; and the two higher classes, that is, capitalists and traders, being nearly exempted from the burden of PROFIT by effecting most of their purchases either at or near the original or *labour cost*,* the whole weight of taxation is thrown ON THE PRODUCTIVE AND WORKING PEOPLE, who from our very superior numbers consume the greatest portion of articles, and who alone, after having sold our labour upon those articles for a mere trifle in money, are compelled to pay the very highest and most exorbitant *profits* on every thing we consume.

Here then we stand, my fellow-workmen, with the whole burden of taxation (and I might add, with every other item of expense or accumulation enjoyed by the classes above us,) resting on our shoulders. But let us inquire what just, what

* Commonly denominated *prime*, or *wholesale cost*.

merciful provisions has LEGISLATION, (which, if *honestly* administered, would always embrace the PUBLIC good; the welfare and prosperity of the MAJORITY of the people,) what just provisions, we ask, has *Legislation* made to ease US of the accumulating burden? What friendly power, or boundless source of wealth have our legislators provided for us in *our* turn to tax? Ah! fellow-labourers, full well they know that LABOUR is the root of all their physical enjoyments; and but for which, man likewise must be destitute of nearly all his intellectual and scientific pleasures, and hence as cunning, but ungrateful leaders of the blind, they drain us of our wealth, then push us in the ditch of poverty, and, *gaining* by our loss of intellectual light and civil liberty, leave us to struggle there, and TAX IN VAIN our strength, and bones and muscles to get clear.

I think it is evident, that THE WORKING PEOPLE of this (and every other) district must and *do* pay, either directly or indirectly, nearly ALL the public taxes, and of course those which are levied for the purpose of liquidating both THE PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST of the debt incurred by our public improvements. Far more than the mere imposition of public taxes, however, may *be demonstrated*, by a proper application of the process of reasoning, adopted for the illustration of the above position, but this is sufficient for our present purpose.

The next unjust and injurious consequence experienced by us is this: that the capital invested in these improvements, as bona fide payments made for by the owners of improved property, for the costs incurred, will be, (so far as the property is occupied by Working People,) repaid by them to the capitalists, together with a perpetual and most extortionate interest!!

Many individuals are already charged with an advance of rent, in consequence of improvements passing the property they occupy, amounting as I have before stated, to from 20 to 50 per cent. upon the costs expended in such improvements, and many more of us have been already notified that we must soon be saddled with this advance, and which, I need hardly repeat, is generally in a ratio of from five to ten or fifteen dollars per annum on each dwelling that has incurred a charge of \$25 for improvements.

Now, admitting that when the public improvements in progress shall be finished; and the rents, as is confidently anticipated by all parties, shall be generally raised, the advance

thereby effected shall amount upon an average to only twenty-five per cent. on the capital invested in the improvements; yet this would, in five years, repay all the capital originally advanced by the property holders, besides affording an interest of five per cent. per annum during that time, and twenty-five per cent. annually ever after!! This is an ingenious method, certainly, for rich accumulating legislators to saddle THE PEOPLE with the expense of public improvements, in order to afford themselves and their wealthy colleagues an opportunity to make profitable investments of their surplus funds, and grow richer, and prouder, and haughtier, at the public expense.

Behold, too, the reward that the Productive classes meet with from the hands of the legislative oppressors OF EVERY NAME AND EVERY PARTY, in return for their unwearied services. Mark the industrious mechanic, who after years of privation and assiduous application to labour, has acquired to himself a small ground plot and built him a cabin; this man, after having expended his money, and being rendered notwithstanding his industry and prudence, too poor to avail himself of the benefits of the public improvements, must, nevertheless, be saddled with as large an expense as his rich neighbour, whose splendid brick dwelling brings in two or three hundred dollars per annum!!

Again, mark the consequence of legislative oppression, wielded in opposition to the public welfare, when *the People*, in their delusion, permit rulers to be *Selected* for them, by the rich and the powerful, whose *interests* are in direct opposition to their own. It is not enough that we toil incessantly in creating improvements to pamper the rich man in idleness and luxury; it is not enough that the greedy speculating capitalist should be enabled (by legislative enactments instituting public expenses for his convenience) to force his iron grasp upon our almost empty purses, and filch from us a part of the pittance which previous oppressions had not yet robbed us of. No; the love of exclusive privileges and individual aggrandisement, so prevalent with proud and powerful rulers, and those by whose influence they are controlled, has ordained, that the Working People shall be excluded, if possible, from all participation in what *just* legislation would have constituted a *General Benefit*. Lest the grasp of speculating avarice should be limited, the spirit of aristocratic legislation ordains that the receptacles of filth shall be deepened, and the wells of *pure water*, which Nature had destined for the *common good*, be

defiled. It tears up the hydrants from the confines of the district, and drives the infirm and aged widow, who supported her trembling existence by labouring at the wash tub, to the hard alternative of dragging her loaded pail from the water's edge, or, by *purchasing* the needful element, to relinquish a part of that pittance which is essential to her support and comfort.

“Do not rich men oppress you?” says a writer in the New Testament, “yes, give legislative authority and power to the monopoliser and the capitalist, and there is no human blessing, however precious, however valuable, but *has* been sacrificed, and will again be sacrificed to the avarice and the caprices of insatiable accumulation.

The facts, my fellow-workmen, which I have endeavoured to expose, constitute but an epitome of the whole process of legislation, as the ignorance of the people in all nations have hitherto suffered it to be conducted. What has all legislation been but a tissue of conspiracies formed by the rich, the cunning and the powerful, to concentrate into their own hands the wealth and strength, and talents of a nation, and to enrich and aggrandise the few at the expense of the millions?

So long as we continue to abuse the spirit of our free constitution, which places our destinies in our own keeping, and meanly give our suffrages to tools selected by our oppressors to work out their own evil purposes; so long as we place men in our councils who revel in luxuries through the medium of *USURY* and *RENTS*, and whose *interest* it is to keep us in ignorance and crush us to poverty, so long must the Productive and Working People be the slaves of a nation, “the hewers of wood and the drawers of water,” for the benefit of oppressors and not of themselves; so long will it be their helpless and hopeless destiny to labour from “*day-dawn until dark;*” and although the sole authors and makers of *ALL real wealth and property*, be still doomed to drag on a miserable existence of abject and increasing poverty.

It is not, however, to be expected, that such legislation will result from the united experience and wisdom of the Working People, when once they shall be awakened to their real interests, and shall acquire sufficient talent and moral courage, to arise in their greatness and legislate for themselves. Would a council, formed of Working Men of ordinary talent and good common sense, who lived on the proceeds of their own honest labour, having no surplus capital to invest upon six or twenty-

five per cent. interest in public improvements, and who had no desire to enable others to speculate upon their industry, would such men, I ask, have burdened this district with useless expenses in exalting the few to the manifest injury and oppression of the majority of its most valuable inhabitants? The bare idea is an absurdity; it is an insult upon the common sense of the Working People, to suppose that such insanity could be found among them.

But the period is approaching when we shall no longer suffer our maddening and brutal passions to urge us on to mutual hate and rancour, or tear each other to pieces in our mad attempts to elevate our party favourites, who, when exalted, look down upon us with ineffable contempt, and rule us as they would the wildest savages, with rods of iron. A new distinction of parties is about to originate, and a new standard in politics to be erected; involving, on the one side, the *Industrious Classes*, and on the other, the *Idle and Unproductive*. This, the wealth-accumulating and monied aristocracy of all political parties are now aware of; and, knowing our superiority in numbers, are already trembling lest we should also discover it. In their political juntas, they are beginning to throw off the mask of political partizanship, and are combining their forces into one solid phalanx, to meet the dreadful political conflict which in a few years must take place.

At a political meeting, consisting of about *twenty* persons, recently held in one of the city wards, at which Mathew Carey presided, the following expression, in substance, was uttered by a celebrated lawyer, while delivering a speech:—
 “‘To me,” says he, “it appears of but little importance which of the parties are placed in our city councils, so they be *persons of property!*” Shut out the honest poor man, cries the son of ambition and intrigue; he will *taint* us with his integrity; he will expose our proceedings to his “*swinish multitude,*” and shame us into some degree of honesty. This individual, however, has shown us, that the aristocracy are aware of the circumstance that forms the only *real* line of just political distinction. He has marked out, with the clearest precision, the two grand political parties, consisting of the industrious producer on the one side, and the idle accumulator on the other. Hitherto, the latter has ruled, and we have lain prostrate at the feet of intrigue, ambition, and insatiable avarice. But the period, I trust, is at hand, in which a new and more exalted state of political existence than we have yet enjoyed, is about

to descend upon us. "The spirit of improvement is abroad in the earth"—the eyes of the people are opening to a correct view of those high and important constitutional privileges which they have hitherto overlooked. The tongue of inquiry is unloosening, and the voice of the producer, in defending the rights of the human race, is lifted on high, *never* again to be silent.

Let us, now we are about entering on our new state of political existence, and are asserting and establishing our right of *nominating candidates for ourselves*, endeavour to avoid the snares which the enemies of our liberties will lay for us.—They cannot remain inactive, when they see the efforts we are openly making to free ourselves from their iron grasp. No, all that insatiable avarice, and the lust of ambition, combined with the deepest artifice, can do; will be done to cripple us in our operations, and render our plans abortive. Already are the myrmidons of pride and power, endeavouring to sow among us the seeds of dissention and discord; already are the tools of a corrupt aristocracy striving to sever the new bonds of union, by which we are combining ourselves, for the mutual support of our just and natural claims. Let us not yield ourselves up the weak and willing victims of political intrigue and party prejudice. Neither let it be vaunted, that there is not intelligence and virtue sufficient, in the honest and industrious mechanics of this district, to preserve them from furnishing, in their conventions, new occasions for triumph to those who have so long held them in servitude. Our oppressors know, that if they baffle us in our present attempt, our hopes, and our liberties, as Working People, will remain prostrated; and our efforts for the establishment of justice and truth, be crushed perhaps for ages.

Remember, it is only by manifesting our love of peace and public order, and by a fixed determination to hold ourselves firm and united, while endeavouring to establish our claims to a fair and true representation in our public councils and legislative assemblies, that we can hope to triumph over every opposition, and ultimately bring on, through *just legislation*, that happy period of REAL LIBERTY and EQUALITY, which ALL good men have longed, and thousands died for, and which the whole human race will hail with universal joy.