

# THE STAR, AND NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE.

NO. 41

RALEIGH, N. C. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1833

VOL XXIV

**THE STAR,**  
And North Carolina Gazette,  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY  
LAWRENCE & LEMAY.

### TERMS.

Subscription, three dollars per annum—  
half in advance. Subscribers in other States  
cannot be allowed to remain in arrears longer  
than one year, and persons resident without this  
State, who may desire to become subscribers,  
will be strictly required to pay the whole  
amount of the year's subscription in advance.  
Advertisements, not exceeding fifteen lines,  
inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-  
five cents for each continuance.  
Letters to the Editors must be post-paid.

### ADDRESS

Delivered before the Philanthropic and Dia-  
lectic Societies, at Chapel Hill, N. C. June  
26, 1833, by the Hon. GEORGE E. BADGER.

Gentlemen of the Philanthropic and Di-  
alectic Societies:

To impart instruction to the young,  
has, in every age, furnished occupa-  
tion to those of maturer years; and  
every species of writing has been ex-  
hausted in precepts to prepare them  
for the conflict with temptations which  
await their first entrance upon man-  
hood. The eye of friendly solicitude  
has anticipated the scene of life—has  
beheld youth, impetuous with desire,  
confident of strength, and buoyant with  
hope, rushing forward upon a path be-  
set with dangers, of which the greatest  
are unseen, or thoughtlessly despised  
for their apparent insignificance; and  
the lessons of wisdom, taught by expe-  
rience, have been urged with all the  
force of argument, and all the fervor of  
affection—with every variety of illus-  
tration, in every tone of remonstrance,  
which might best serve to arrest atten-  
tion, and fix, even in the most careless,  
a sense of approaching danger. That  
these attempts to prepare others for a  
struggle, of the nature of which they  
are ignorant, are worthy of all commenda-  
tion, we must all concede; but it may  
admit of serious question whether they  
have attained to any great success,  
either to prevent failure, or to facili-  
tate recovery. It is not perhaps possi-  
ble so to epitomise for the young man  
the experience of age, as to send him  
forth in early wisdom prepared for the  
trials of life; and in the art of living, as  
in every branch of knowledge, observa-  
tion will justify the conclusion, that  
"bridgments can only afford hints to  
refresh the recollection of the expert,  
but will never be able to confer wisdom  
upon the ignorant. The heaven in-  
spired promise of perseverance in rec-  
titude, is not made to occasional warn-  
ing and reproof, however eloquent and  
earnest, but to that daily instruction  
which blends knowledge and virtue  
with the earliest thoughts and associa-  
tions of the mind, till, in after life,  
they shall seem instincts of nature ra-  
ther than habits of education. Yet we  
are not justified in supposing these oc-  
casional efforts to have been entirely  
without success. On the contrary, they  
may afford, and probably often have  
afforded, aid to the daily lessons  
of the fireside and the seminary—have  
served by their novelty to awaken an  
attention fatigued by sameness of in-  
struction, and by external authority to  
give strength to domestic admonition.  
But at this day, the difficulties inher-  
ent in every effort thus to speak or thus  
to write, are increased a hundred fold.  
The mind of man is still studious of  
novelty, and pleased with change.—  
But in addresses to the young, where  
is novelty to be found? Of matter, no  
where—and amidst all the diversities  
of illustration, of style, of argument,  
which the poet and the essayist have  
successively employed to give variety  
and impressiveness to lessons of wis-  
dom for youth, where is the man bold  
enough to expect any novelty, even of  
manner, in the delivery or enforcement  
of ancient truths? But something may  
be hoped of attention, of respect, and  
of indulgence, for one who does not  
assume the attitude of a moral dictator,  
but comes at your own bidding to ad-  
dress you—comes, not only aware of  
general deficiency, but sensible that  
circumstances of domestic distraction,  
have denied him the opportunity to de-  
vote entire to your edification. The  
small space of time which the regular  
demands of business had left at his dis-  
posal—who, under these disadvantages,  
is sincerely desirous to be useful  
to you, and to discharge honorably the  
task which your favorable opinion has  
assigned him. At all events, whatever  
difficulties may attend the effort at  
instruction, I cannot feel justified in  
omitting the attempt. That the issue  
of life depends ordinarily upon its com-  
mencement, experience teaches; and  
we know from revelation, that the present  
life, compared (as it aptly is) for  
its shortness and uncertainty, to "a  
vapour which appeareth for a little time,  
and then vanisheth away," yet stretches  
forward its influence into the ex-  
panse of eternal existence. No op-  
portunity, therefore, of rightly influ-  
encing the outset of life, can be inno-  
cently neglected; and we must not for  
a moment imagine, that we are now as-  
sembled for purposes of amusement, or  
that we can pass from our present  
meeting without incurring some respon-  
sibility for one added opportunity of  
improvement.

In the first place, then, let me in-  
crease upon you, that your collegiate  
course is but the commencement of ed-  
ucation—is intended not so much to

make you learned, as to enable you to  
become so; and that nothing is or can  
be gained in the few years of residence  
here, but the rudiments of knowledge.  
To obtain such an introduction to sci-  
ence as may be afterwards improved  
into a full acquaintance with her rich-  
es, demands all the diligence of the  
student during a college life; but when  
a college life is over, to permit these  
preliminary acquirements to remain  
unimproved, is at best, voluntarily to  
forego your advantages, and ignobly to  
content yourselves with the lowest sta-  
tion amongst the votaries of science.—  
But this ground even cannot be retain-  
ed; you must press on or recede. As  
by a law applicable to the body, new  
supplies of food and oft repeated appli-  
cation to healthful exercise, are neces-  
sary, not merely to its increase but to  
its existence; so what the mind ac-  
quires can only be retained by dili-  
gence and improvement; and he who  
resolves that he will not advance, has  
already, in effect, taken the first step  
of retrogradation. Fix it then as cer-  
tain, that you cannot stand still; and if  
there be any generous desire of excel-  
lence in your bosoms—any sense of  
duty to your parents or friends—any  
grateful remembrance of Him who is  
the ultimate author of all your advan-  
tages; resolve, that while literature or  
science has any thing to be gained  
without neglecting the duties more im-  
mediately yours in active life, you will  
continue to increase your store.

It has been often remarked by to-  
rainers, and may be easily perceived  
by ourselves, that, in our country, men  
are not in any department of society  
thoroughly made what they assume to  
be. We seek to do too much in a short  
time; and yielding to our wishes, with-  
out consulting the necessities of things,  
we affect to become skilled in learning,  
in science, in the professions, and in  
the mechanic arts, without that patient  
application, by which only any thing  
can be well and thoroughly learned.—  
There are many causes to be found in  
our situation and institutions, to ac-  
count for this, but it certainly exists,  
and as certainly has, in some respects,  
a mischievous tendency. We are not as  
literary a people as we should be. We  
have more smatterers, and fewer a  
depths, than other nations; and as a ne-  
cessary consequence of the want of  
thorough instruction, we are inflated  
with self consequence at what we deem  
our vast attainments. How often, my  
young friends, and how painfully is this  
manifested in the productions of our  
public men! What pompous bombast  
—what unmeaning declamations—what  
artificial subtleties—what gross inver-  
sive—what coarse allusions—what dis-  
gusting self confidence, deform the or-  
atory (as it is called) of Congress! Of  
all the weeks which are yearly devoted  
in that body to the delivery of speeches,  
how few the hours which are not wast-  
ed! Of the thousand newspaper col-  
umns which are filled with reports of  
these speeches, how many can a pa-  
triot without sorrow! Attend our ju-  
dicial tribunals, and see how the gravi-  
ty of jurisprudence is insulted by the  
same frothy, loud, inelegant and un-  
intelligible vociferations—observe how  
often even the most ordinary proprie-  
ties of language, the most common  
rules of grammar, are violated—so of-  
ten and so grossly indeed, as to leave  
no doubt that the violations proceed  
from ignorance rather than inattention  
—yet, scarce a public meeting is held  
(and when & where are they not held?)  
from an assembly at Faneuil Hall, to a  
separate election or a barbecue, which  
is not, according to the printed reports  
of those who heard and acted in them,  
enlightened and electrified by elo-  
quence surpassing that of Tully or De-  
mosthenes! In short, deficient as we  
are, all our people are prodigies—  
learning is to be found in every hamlet,  
literature in every country store, and  
oratory in every debating room. In  
the mean time, there is nothing in the  
public taste and intelligence, to rebuke  
and put to shame, this empty swelling,  
this "sound and fury signifying nothing."  
Those who see and lament the  
evil are not of sufficient number or au-  
thority to control public opinion. The  
people at large are pleased with the  
speakers and writers, who, if intelli-  
gible in nothing else, are sufficiently so  
in this ascriptions of idolatrous wor-  
ship to the intelligence and virtue of  
the people, and in public professions of  
their own disinterested devotion to the  
general welfare. In this state of  
things, it will require no small effort  
in a young man, on his entrance into  
life, to continue a due attention to lit-  
erature, to persevere amidst the plea-  
sures and the engagements which sur-  
round him, in preserving what he has  
already attained, and still, as oppor-  
tunities occur, adding to his stock. He  
sees the highest stations attainable and  
attained, not only without learning,  
but with little sense; and, sickening at  
the irksomeness of study without re-  
ward, is apt to exclaim, why should I not  
content myself with that mediocrity of  
attainment, by which, with confidence  
and vociferation, so many have suc-  
ceeded, and which seems the secret,  
as it is the easiest mode of advance-  
ment? To this inquiry, it may be an-  
swered, that knowledge is of itself de-  
sirable, and should be pursued even  
for its own sake—for the dignity and

happiness which it brings to its posses-  
sor; that though many succeed in ac-  
quiring fame and eloquence, without  
classical attainments, yet these offer  
no hindrance to the acquisition of either;  
and it is not recommended that  
they be pursued in exclusion of, but in  
conjunction with, and as auxiliary to,  
the practical employments of life.—In  
these, you should be desirous (as what  
youth of noble aspirations is not) to do  
well whatever you do, so that with the  
applause of those who may be able to  
advance you, you may have in your  
favor the sentence of all whose worth  
and intelligence make their approbation  
a gratifying assurance of kindred ex-  
cellence in yourselves. But we have  
proof by example, that though the high-  
est accomplishments of literature may  
not conduce to a speedy elevation in  
the political world, or win the noisy  
plaudits of the crowd; yet they do lend  
an ultimate and irresistible weight to  
genius and learning, and command for  
their possessor a noble and enduring su-  
periority. Of this, no more conspicu-  
ous instance can be produced than the  
distinguished gentleman\* who address-  
ed you at the last commencement.—  
He, amidst all the occupations of pri-  
vate, professional and public life, has  
ever remembered the pursuits of his  
*alma mater*; has kept bright by constant  
exercise, all the mental armoury which  
early education had bestowed, and, in-  
stead of suffering his classical knowl-  
edge to decay, has been always enlarg-  
ing his acquirements; and he now reaps  
the reward of his early labors and con-  
sistent efforts in a real efficiency, an  
acknowledged superiority—of which, a  
my of us, my friends, might well be  
proud. When, therefore, you shall be  
tempted to self indulgence, and see  
men, by art or fortune, rising into pre-  
eminent elevation without classical  
learning,—when you shall see men of  
great abilities, worth and usefulness,  
justly honored, though without these  
literary embellishments,—be not led to  
conclude them valueless.—While you  
learn to think them not indispensable,  
either to merit or success, at the same  
time remember that literature gives to  
professional talent all its elegance and  
half its efficiency; and that to emulate  
the fame and reach the eminence of the  
gentleman to whom I have just allud-  
ed, you must be not only profound in  
your acquirements, but various, acute  
and graceful.

The evils of an imperfect education  
to a professional man, none can know  
but he who has felt them. In the legal  
profession, how often is the care-  
less student reminded of his deficiencies?  
How much gracefulness of allusion—  
how much felicity of illustration are  
lost to him! how he longs to be able to  
call up and give distinctness to recol-  
lections which yet elude him, and how  
bitterly he laments over the early in-  
dulgence which condemns him to medi-  
ocrity, and feels that his powers have  
never been developed, and that he will  
never be what he might & ought to have  
been, either in reputation or desert!—  
Let not these repinings ever be yours.  
Now, you hold your own destiny—  
now, the opportunities of excellence  
are all in possession or in prospect.—  
You may either improve or neglect  
them—make them means of usefulness,  
or memorials of criminal indifference  
and neglect. Do not hesitate; much  
often depends upon the resolutions of a  
moment: resolve, now, that you will be  
learned, accomplished, literary—that  
you will not be content while you still  
have something useful to acquire, and  
that no allucements of pleasure, no love  
of ease, no indulgence, shall ever induce  
you to lose the advantage of your op-  
portunities, either by negligence of  
study now, or inattention to learning  
hereafter. There is another considera-  
tion which should urge upon you this  
resolution. If the day of florid bom-  
bast and coarse abuse is ever to give  
way to the reign of chaste and dignified  
eloquence—if the literary taste of the  
country generally is ever to be im-  
proved, this must be accomplished by  
the united influence of the educated  
classes; and by them it can only be ac-  
complished by the study of classical  
antiquity, and the best specimens of  
modern literature—by diligence to  
gain, and care to retain knowledge—by  
assiduous efforts to do every thing in  
the best manner, and a steady resolu-  
tion to discountenance empty preten-  
sions, and to encourage real merit.—  
By these means, an influence may go  
forth upon the people which shall ele-  
vate the national taste, and by estab-  
lishing a higher standard of excellence,  
dismiss to obscurity those who have  
not ability to be useful, and compel to  
its improvement those who have.—  
You, gentlemen, form a portion of that  
literary class, and your efforts may be  
felt throughout the union, if met by  
corresponding efforts from other quar-  
ters, and upon this State may have a  
most salutary effect, even without such  
co operation. Let me, then, entreat  
you, by all these considerations united,  
to resolve upon a thorough education;  
to believe and feel, that to neglect here  
any one opportunity of gaining knowl-  
edge, is an injury against yourselves and  
your country; and that after you shall  
have left this seminary, to sit down in  
contented mediocrity—o make no im-

provement of your modicum of learn-  
ing—to be at the beginning of life but  
half scholars, and daily to become less,  
will be, at once, a mean desertion of  
duty, and a voluntary indifference to  
true glory.

The resolute pursuit of study which  
I have thus recommended, will strongly  
tend to repress that self conceit, which  
upon small attainments is apt to rise in  
the mind, and to substitute that true  
modesty which is generally the compan-  
ion of large acquirements in solid  
learning. It has been sometimes made  
a question, whether to think too little or  
too much of ourselves, be the preferable  
error; and it has been determined, I  
think upon just grounds, that vanity is  
to be preferred to despondency. By  
study, both these errors will be prevent-  
ed or overcome, and we shall soon be  
enabled (which all admit to be best) to  
think of ourselves justly. It is the sense  
of vast present possessions that tends to  
vanity; it is the fear of want of capaci-  
ty for acquiring, that produces despon-  
dency: You will be guarded against  
both, by a just estimate of yourselves.  
Your actual, will always be small in  
comparison with your possible, attain-  
ments; you will always, in fact, know  
less than you might and ought to know;  
less than many others have attained  
without your advantages; and this duly  
considered, will make you modest. On  
the other hand, the more you try your  
powers, the more you will be assured  
that nature deals liberally with men;  
that, in general, aside from some pecu-  
liar developments for which a natural  
aptitude or tact is demanded, all in it  
self desirable, may be attained by indus-  
try. Your approach to men of emi-  
nence whom you may have regarded at  
a distance with awe, will show you the  
original equality; add, though you may  
be at times oppressed at an amount of  
acquisition, which will to you appear  
great, you will soon find it to be an ac-  
quisition arising from no innate superi-  
ority, but carefully collected by little  
and little, and by the same process eq-  
ually attainable by yourselves.—When  
we see a young man inflated with a  
sense of his great attainments, or pre-  
suming upon a genius which renders ef-  
fort to him unnecessary—urging himself  
forward with placid self complacency—  
imagining himself the object of univer-  
sal approbation, while in truth, he is  
provoking the scorn of the wise, and  
touching the pity of the good—we have  
no difficulty in assigning his vanity to  
self-ignorance. And so, when a young  
man is appalled at what is before him,  
and despairs of ever attaining to excel-  
lence or distinction, we may with equal  
certainty trace his want of confidence to  
want of knowledge of himself. By a  
correct estimate of yourselves, you will  
learn a modesty which must keep you  
from presumption, and a confidence  
which will ever preserve you from des-  
pair. Believe that by industry and  
perseverance you can do all things, and  
you will accomplish much; but feel not  
elated at what you can do—for the cap-  
acity is a gift, and can in no sort be  
meritorious; its improvement only, is a  
just foundation of self complacency.—  
To be able to do, is to this purpose  
nothing; to do, is every thing. Deficien-  
cy in itself is misfortune only, but ac-  
companied with genius, becomes crime;  
and yet, nothing is more common, than  
to find the mind inflated with self con-  
sequence at the possession of powers  
unimproved, and though voluntarily  
condemned to obscurity and useless-  
ness, yet filled with visions of possible  
importance and imaginary glory. Dis-  
tinction founded on worth, must ever  
be the result of exertions; and by a pro-  
cess, beautiful as it is useful, distinction  
thus acquired, fills the possessor with  
modest conceptions of himself. Of this,  
the most instructive and illustrious ex-  
ample is found in the great Newton.—  
After all those mighty discoveries, which  
enlightened and astonished man-  
kind, and while to others he appeared  
the intellectual prodigy of the universe,  
to himself he seemed but to have sported  
on the shore of knowledge, and to have  
left the boundless ocean itself not  
only unexplored, but unattempted.—  
Such must ever be the result of genuine  
devotion to science; and if, my young  
friends, you shall find, during your col-  
legiate course, or in after life, any ris-  
ings of vanity at your powers and at-  
tainments, let the remembrance of New-  
ton rebuke into just insignificance every  
effort of self-exaltation.

But you are under yet higher obliga-  
tions to preserve and enlarge your liter-  
ary acquirements—to learn every thing  
which may add strength to the reason-  
ing powers, and grace and attractive-  
ness to style and delivery. The present  
is, every where, and no where  
more than in our own country, a pecu-  
liar era. The press is just beginning  
fully to develop its mighty influence  
on our nation. Science, no longer con-  
fined in solid volumes to well stored li-  
braries, or making quarterly visits in  
the thick pamphlets of learned criticism,  
now condescends to speak in weekly  
and even daily sheets; and thus ad-  
dresses herself to large masses of men  
heretofore beyond her reach. Litera-  
ture, religion, science, have now, like  
politics, seized upon the daily press;  
and taste, doctrine and knowledge, are  
urged upon the world in ever multiply-  
ing periodicals.—What is to be the ul-  
timate effect of this new direction giv-  
ing to the march of mind—whether this

fecundity of the press, this stripping  
off the dignity of learning, and letting  
down science to the level of a penny  
paper, will not issue in a serious injury  
to society—it is not necessary to in-  
quire. It has been thought by intelli-  
gent and observing men, that the cer-  
tain, if not the first effect of this state  
of things, will be, to lessen the stand-  
ard of writing abilities—to put in re-  
quest a tact for writing acceptably, ra-  
ther than writing well,—for the plea-  
sant and superficial, rather than the  
laborious and profound; and thus, in  
the next generation, to fill the world  
with ignorant pretenders, who will sip  
from the surface, but drink not from  
the fountain of knowledge: that deep  
learning, being no longer in demand,  
will shrink into obscurity. There are  
others, however, who seem to think,  
that provided many read, it is no mat-  
ter what—that if all know many things,  
it is an important gain, though none  
know any thing well; and they are  
pleased, of course, with the prospect  
of a general diffusion, even of horn-  
book science. But, whatever may be  
the effect of this rage for books in the  
literary departments, no man of even  
moderate intelligence, can doubt as to  
the mischievous effects already pro-  
duced, now producing, and in fearful  
prospect of being produced, by the po-  
litical press. In the party conflicts of  
the day, a spirit of falsehood, of defama-  
tion of innocent scurrility, and of  
shameful corruption has gone forth up-  
on the editorial corps. Once, men  
were divided on matters of principle,  
or what were supposed matters of prin-  
ciple; papers on different sides might  
be relied upon, as presenting the views  
of intelligent portions of our public  
men; and if facts were disputed, there  
was an attempt to reach the truth, or  
at least a decent pretension to it.—  
But now, every thing seems reduced  
to a mere scramble for emolument; the  
credulity of the people has been so of-  
ten practised upon with success, that  
scarce any care is used to conceal the  
artifice of deception from the public-  
ness of the public; and it is lamenta-  
ble to remark, that even the moral  
sense of the community has become  
corrupt and vitiated, and defamation  
the most atrocious, is sure to obtain  
toleration, if not approval.—Meaning  
a spirit of insubordination is by some  
openly taught and recommended; and  
passion, and interest, and prejudice, are  
appealed to, in order to raise discon-  
tent, and produce opposition against the  
laws. It is not necessary to be more spe-  
cific; facts are too recent and too ap-  
palling. But, does not this state of things  
call upon you for increased diligence to  
qualify yourselves for rendering effec-  
tive service to your country? If pub-  
lic taste, much more public morals, re-  
quire for their reformation, the exer-  
tions of the enlightened and virtuous,  
the delusions that have gone abroad  
must be met and dissipated; the  
press must be corrected; it must be  
transferred to the direction of able and  
upright men; and the people (though  
well meaning, yet easily misled) must  
be guarded against those artifices, by  
which it is sought to array them against  
their own peace and happiness, and to  
involve them in the stupendous guilt  
and folly of prostrating the last struc-  
ture, which can be raised by man for  
the preservation of equal rights by re-  
publican institutions. But to do this,  
you must yourselves be enlightened;  
you must be no novices: your reason-  
ing powers must be perfected in  
strength and dexterity, by constant and  
healthful exercise: your minds must be  
stored with every variety of knowledge,  
to instruct or to please. And thus  
prepared, you must bear in mind your  
high duties, and the large destinies  
which may be influenced by your exer-  
tions; you must be the true friends  
of the people; teaching them to see and  
despise the efforts of those who would  
mislead them—you must be prepared,  
should circumstances require, to strip  
the mask of patriotism from ambition,  
and show his horrid features to the de-  
testation of mankind; and to teach,  
both by your example and your pre-  
cepts, a voluntary, steady, and univer-  
sal submission to the laws. It is cer-  
tain, that the talents of a country, if  
generally united in one purpose, will  
bend public opinion to it, be it good  
or evil; that through the press, talents must  
operate on public opinion; and that,  
therefore, society has a deep interest  
in the maintenance of a body of intelli-  
gent and honest writers. They stand,  
in truth, as sentinels on the walls of  
liberty, and give an alarm at the ap-  
proach of danger, and only at its ap-  
proach. The profligacy or inadequacy  
of a large majority of the conductors of  
the press, is evident to all who look  
into the daily news; and it cannot ad-  
mit of doubt, that much of public evil  
may be traced to this cause. Until  
men of standing and literature, in con-  
siderable numbers, shall devote them-  
selves to the press, and all shall become,  
as emergency requires, occasional con-  
tributors, the evil must be endured.  
But why should it be so? The press is  
the most important means of influenc-  
ing opinion in a country where opinion  
is irresistible: why, then, should this  
mighty power be allowed, without a  
struggle, to fall into hands generally in-  
adequate in ability, or disqualified by  
corruption? Let these things have  
their due weight, and the next genera-

tion may see a mighty change accom-  
plished.

But, in order to this result, each  
one must realize that he has some-  
thing himself to do, and must resolve  
to do it. He must feel, that upon him  
individually, rests a portion of the du-  
ty of arresting false opinions, and  
counteracting practices injurious in  
their tendency, whether they be result  
of wicked or of mistaken designs.  
He must be prepared at all times, and  
in all situations, to maintain the cause  
of truth, order and happiness, against  
every opposer. He will find, in the  
same ranks, men of genius urging on  
the cause of disaffection; some care-  
less, and some mistaken, in respect to  
their country's good; and some, alas!  
desperately bent upon commotion, and  
resolute for mischief: he will find men  
of the most amiable tempers and  
sound morals, seduced from their nat-  
ural station on the side of true liberty  
and glory, and pursuing some deceitful  
phantom in their stead: intimate  
friends, the associates of youthful  
days or early manhood, may thus sepa-  
rate between his soul and themselves.  
What is to be done? Shall he hesitate  
in his course, while he sees them urg-  
ing (from whatever motives) a cause  
adverse to all government? a cause  
which resolves itself, despite of all its  
nice and unintelligible distinctions, in-  
to a complete overthrow of the public  
will; and the substitution of the very  
elements of confusion and anarchy.  
While he sees these things, can a  
friend to his country and to truth hesi-  
tate in his course? He cannot.  
When genius, by its fascinations, mis-  
leads even good sense and sound mor-  
als into disorganization, the danger  
becomes urgent, and demands the  
more vigorous interference for public  
preservation. You must feel your-  
selves, gentlemen, by your position  
and political privileges, called always  
to battle for sound doctrine. Your  
good sense, if plainly exercised, will  
teach you that no doctrine can be  
sound, which does not lead to whole-  
some practice; no government free,  
which is liable to dictation; and no  
people long happy, who are led by dem-  
agogues. And you will have no great  
difficulty in determining, that those,  
whose declared and written opinions,  
uttered with all the fire of eloquence,  
and the solemnity of apparent sincerity,  
may be found on every side of  
most important questions, who have  
acted as if all power in their own  
hands was rightful—in the hands of  
others, usurpation; who, in the  
midst of these suspicious contradic-  
tions in conduct and opinion, have  
ever confidently demanded the sup-  
port of the nation, and have not hesi-  
tated to-day to ask assent to positions  
directly opposite to others as strenu-  
ously maintained yesterday: you will,  
I say, easily determine, that such  
men, if not very unfaithful, are at  
least very incompetent guides, and  
deny them your confidence. You will  
readily understand, when questions  
arise upon the meaning of the funda-  
mental law, that the sense put upon it  
from the commencement of its opera-  
tion—a sense for years unquestioned  
—never questioned but by excited or  
interested portions of the people—and  
urging in its support the clear and  
concurring judgment of the legisla-  
ture, the executive, and the judiciary  
of the union—you will readily per-  
ceive, that this exposition (whatever it  
be) so sanctioned by opinion and prac-  
tice, must be the true one or else that  
all attempts at exposition are vain,  
and society must be dissolved. Nor  
will you be misled by subtle doctrines,  
couched in language unusual and un-  
intelligible to plain men—which no  
one can explain, however he may af-  
fect to understand; and you will firm-  
ly repel every effort to arm you, upon  
no better foundation than vociferation  
and paradox, against the ordinary laws  
and judges of property. Despite of  
these and other arts, you will hold  
fast your integrity; you will realize,  
that peace, domestic tranquility, and  
regular tribunals to administer laws,  
are objects of great value, however un-  
derated they may be,—that it is  
quite possible for a people not to be  
prosperous and happy, though blessed  
with ceaseless agitation; that mobs  
may err in opinion and in practice;  
and that those who most loudly urge  
internal dissensions, are often men to  
whom any change will be desirable;  
and therefore, you will be always found  
on the side of the laws and the con-  
stitution. The jargon, indeed, by  
which it is attempted to transfer to  
politics the impracticable speculations  
of the most abstruse portions of meta-  
physics, can be only exceeded in folly,  
by the pompous political declamations,  
the solemn processions, and the ora-  
tory of the human race, which mark-  
ed the first French revolution: and  
from considering that era, you may  
learn a useful lesson—that, when the  
order of society is broken up, and  
men are forced out of that sphere of  
daily duties for which providence de-  
signed them, sententious morality,  
however lofty, is no security against  
crime; and that there is but one step,  
and that a short one, between theoret-  
ical absurdity, and the practical cruel-  
ty of the mob.

\* William Gaston, Esquire, of Newbern.