# "THE INTERESTS OF THE MANY": THE EXPANSION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA

**An Online Professional Development Seminar from the Florida Virtual School and the National Humanities Center**

## Assigned Readings

**Notes by Reeve Huston**
**Associate Professor of History**
**Duke University**

The following assigned texts are incorporated in the notes below.

- New York voting requirements, 1777
- Petition of citizens of Richmond (VA) to state constitutional convention, 1829-30
- Warren Dutton, standard argument against expanded suffrage, 1820
- New York convention on voting, 1821
- Letter from Edward Patchell to Andrew Jackson
- Letter from Martin Van Buren to Thomas Ritchie, 1827
- Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois*, 1854
- New York Democratic State Committee, "Plan of Organization," 1844
- Cartoon: Rich v. Poor, Satan v. Liberty

**NOTES AND ASSIGNED TEXTS**

## Re-establishing and Extending Partisan Democracy

Nobody had ever seen anything like it. For the entire previous day, people had poured into Washington, D.C., to see their new president, Andrew Jackson, sworn in. By ten in the morning of the inauguration, the streets were jammed. Up to this point, presidential inaugurations had been quiet affairs. Now, according to Margaret Bayard Smith, the wife of a Maryland senator and a leading member of the capital's gentry, the streets were jammed with fancy carriages and farmer's carts, "filled with women and children, some in finery and some in rags." After the new president swore his oath and gave his speech, a long procession of "country men, farmers, gentlemen, . . . boys, women and children, black and white" followed him to the White House and descended upon the presidential reception. The crowd smashed several thousand dollars worth of glass and china in the rush to get at the refreshments. Jackson was nearly crushed as the crowd pressed in on him to shake his hand. Men and boys in muddy boots entered through windows and climbed on the furniture to get a peek at the new president. Everyone agreed that the crowd at the inaugural signaled something radically new in American politics. Mrs. Smith believed that the days in which elites controlled politics were over. "It was the People's day," she wrote, "and the People's President and the People would rule."

Like most conservatives, Mrs. Smith exaggerated. Andrew Jackson's inauguration did not usher in anything like direct popular rule. But it did signal a new political order in which ordinary people played a far more prominent role in politics. This change had been a long time coming. Since the 1790s, ordinary people had fought to secure their rights to speak their views, oppose the actions of their rulers, and participate in electoral politics. Fierce partisanship

erupted, even as political leaders disdained partisanship, and local activists developed new methods of drawing ordinary voters into the political process. In the 1820s and 1830s, this struggle entered a new phase. Poor white men won the vote. Middling-born, self-made political leaders won control over the political parties. These men extended the democratic practices and institutions that had been pioneered before 1815, and they developed new ones. Political leaders preached a new, democratic message that celebrated partisanship and emphasized ordinary white men's capacity to wield political power. American politics would never be the same.

## Creating a White Male Electorate

One of the most important elements of the new political order was expanded suffrage. Since the Revolution, almost all states gave the vote only to adult male owners of land who met certain residency requirements. Voting requirements in New York, established during its constitutional convention in 1777, were typical.

New York Voting Requirement, 1777

Every male inhabitant of full age, who shall have personally resided within one of the counties of this State for six months immediately preceding the day of election, shall, at such election, be entitled to vote for representatives of the said county in assembly; if during the time aforesaid, he shall have been a freeholder, possessing a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, within the said county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to this State . . . . [A "freehold" was ownership of land; a "freeholder" was a person who owned land. A "tenement" was rented real estate.]

By the 1810s, the number of adult men who did not meet property requirements to vote was expanding dramatically. In the cities, a growing number of men worked for wages or salaries but owned no land. In the west, large numbers of recent arrivals were squatters or had mortgaged their land; neither group legally owned their farms. As their numbers grew, these propertyless

men began to challenge their exclusion from the suffrage. Most states were flooded with petitions like this one sent by citizens of Richmond who did not own land to the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830.

Petition of Citizens of Richmond, 1829-1830

Your memorialists . . . belong to that class of citizens, who not having the good fortune to possess a certain portion of land, are, for that cause only, debarred from the enjoyment of the right of suffrage. Experience has but too clearly evinced . . . by how frail a tenure they hold every other right, who are denied this, the highest prerogative of freedmen . . . Comprising a very large part, probably a majority of male citizens of mature age, they have been passed by, like aliens or slaves, as if destitute of interest, or unworthy of a voice, in measures involving their political destiny . . . .

. . . The existing regulation of suffrage . . . instead of the equality nature ordains, creates an odious distinction between members of the same community; robs of all share, in the enactment of the laws, a large portion of the citizens bound by them, and whose blood and treasure are pledged to maintain them . . . .

. . . The object . . . meant to be obtained [by a property qualification for voting] was . . . to admit the meritorious, and reject the unworthy. But the same qualifications that entitle [the citizen] to assume the management of his private affairs, and to claim all other privileges of citizenship, equally entitle him, in the judgement of your memorialists, to be entrusted with this, the dearest of all his privileges . . . . They cannot discern in the possession of land any evidence of peculiar merit . . . . To ascribe to a landed possession, moral or intellectual endowments, would truly be regarded as ludicrous, were it not for the gravity with which the proposition is maintained, and still more for the grave consequences flowing from it. Such possession no more proves him who has it, wiser or better, than it proves him taller or stronger, than him who has it not. . . .

. . . Virtue, intelligence, are not among the products of the soil. Attachment to property, often a sordid sentiment, is not to be confounded with the sacred flame of patriotism. The love of country . . . is engrafted in our nature. It exists . . . among all classes . . . .

. . . If the landless citizens have been . . . driven from the polls, in time of peace, they have . . . been . . . summoned, in war, to the battle-field. Nor have they disobeyed the summons, or, less profusely than others, poured out their blood in the defense of that country which is asked to disown them. Will it be said they owe allegiance to the Government that gives them protection? Be it so: and . . . if privileges are really extended to them . . . have they not an interest, a deep interest, in perpetuating the blessings they enjoy, and a right, consequently, to guard those blessings, not from foreign aggression merely, but from domestic encroachment?

But, it is said, yield them this right, and they will abuse it: property, that is, landed

property will be rendered insecure, or at least overburthened, by those who possess it not. . . . If we are sincerely republican, we must give our confidence to the principles we profess. We have been taught by our fathers, that all power is vested in, and derived from, the people; not the freeholders; that the majority of the community . . . have . . . the political right of creating and remoulding at their will, their civil institutions. Nor can this right be any where more safely deposited. The generality of mankind, doubtless, desire to become owners of property; left free to reap the fruits of their labors, they will seek to acquire it honestly. It can never be their interest to overburthen, or render precarious, what they themselves desire to enjoy in peace . . . .

. . . The interests of the many deserve at least as much to be guarded as those of the few. . . . What security . . . is there against the injustice of the freeholders? . . . What is there to prevent their imposing upon others undue burthens, and conferring on themselves unjust exemptions? Supplying the public exigencies by a . . . tax exclusively or oppressively operating on the other portions of the community? Exacting from the latter, in common with slaves, menial services? . . . Denying to the children of all other classes admission to the public seminaries of learning?

. . . For obvious reasons, by almost universal consent, women and children, aliens and slaves, are excluded. It were useless to discuss the propriety of a rule that scarcely admits of diversity of opinion. What is concurred in by those who constitute the society, the body politic, must be taken to be right. But the exclusion of these classes for reasons peculiarly applicable to them, is no argument for excluding others to whom no one of those reasons applies. . . .

. . . They alone deserve to be called free . . . who participate in the formation of their political institutions, and in the control of those who make and administer the laws.

Between the 1810s and the 1850s, every state held at least one convention to revise its constitution. In these conventions, petitioners like the non-freeholders of Richmond found many supporters who adopted their reasoning. They also found opponents. Warren Dutton laid out the standard argument against an expanded suffrage to the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1820.

Warren Dutton, Standard Argument against Expanded Suffrage

Mr. DUTTON said . . . the resolution . . . introduced a new principle into the constitution. It was universal suffrage. There were two ways of considering it. 1st. As a matter of right. 2d. As a matter of expediency. As to the right, he inquired why paupers were excluded at all, if it was a common right; and if it was not, then there was the same right in the community to exclude every man, who was not worth two hundred dollars, as there was to exclude paupers, or persons under twenty-one years. In truth there was no question of right; it was wholly a question of expediency. He thought it

expedient to retain the qualification in the constitution. It was in the nature of a privilege, and as such, it was connected with many virtues, which conduced to the good order of society. It was a distinction to be sought for; it was the reward of good conduct. It encouraged industry, economy, and prudence; it elevated the standard of all our civil institutions, and gave dignity and importance to those who chose, and those who were chosen . . . He maintained that in this country, where the means of subsistence were so abundant, and the demand for labor so great, every man of sound body could acquire the necessary qualification. If he failed to do this, it must be, ordinarily, because he was indolent or vicious . . . He also considered it as unreasonable, that a man who had no property should act indirectly upon the property of others. . . . It was . . . wholly inequitable in its nature, that men without a dollar should, in any way, determine the rights of property, or have any concern in its appropriation. He also contended, that the principle of the resolution was anti-republican. It greatly increased the number of voters, and those of a character most likely to be improperly influenced and corrupted. It enlarged the field of action to every popular favorite, and enabled him to combine greater numbers. The time might come, when he would be able to command, as truly as ever a general commanded an army, sufficient numbers to affect or control the government itself. In that case, the form of a republican constitution might remain, but its life and spirit would have fled. The government would be essentially a democracy, and between that and a despotism there would be but one step.

In every state except Virginia, Louisiana, and Rhode Island, the opponents of a property qualification for the vote triumphed by 1840. But most new state constitutions added more stringent residency requirements and other restrictions on who could vote. All but five states restricted or prohibited voting by African Americans. The result, nation-wide, was the creation of a political community made up of almost all adult white men. The New York convention of 1821 tightened residency requirements for the vote, but their enfranchisement of propertyless white men dramatically expanded the electorate.

New York Convention on Voting, 1821

Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been an inhabitant of this State one year preceding any election, and for the last six months a resident of the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have, within the year next preceding the election, paid a tax to the State or county, assessed upon his real or personal property; or shall by law be exempted from taxation; or being armed and equipped according to law, shall have performed within that year military duty in the militia of this State; or who shall be exempted from performing militia duty in consequence of being a fireman in any city, town, or village in this State; and also, every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been, for

three years preceding such election, an inhabitant of this State; and for the last year a resident in the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have been, within the last year, assessed to labor upon the public highways, and shall have performed the labor, or paid an equivalent therefor, according to law, shall be entitled to vote in the town or ward where he actually resides, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be, elective by the people; but no man of color, unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this State, and for one year next preceding any election shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon, and shall have . . . paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote in any such election. . . .

Laws may be passed excluding from the right of suffrage persons who have been or may be convicted of infamous crimes.

## Re-creating Party Politics

The second great political innovation of the 1820s and 1830s was the creation of powerful political parties and their gradual domination of virtually every aspect of electoral politics. Competition between the Federalist and Republican parties ended after 1815 with the collapse of the Federalists. For the next decade and a half, politics was defined by competition between warring factions of the Republican party. This situation began to change in the 1820s, as political leaders in several states began to work toward a revival of party competition. Their efforts began to bear fruit on a national level in 1828, when Andrew Jackson, a popular military hero, ran for president against the incumbent John Quincy Adams. Jackson had first run for president in 1824, and his candidacy had been greeted with an unprecedented level of grass-roots enthusiasm. In state after state, ordinary voters and outsider political activists surprised political leaders by overwhelming Jackson's opponents and demonstrating widespread popular support for Old Hickory. The **letter of Edward Patchell**, a Pittsburgh artisan, to Jackson provides a rare glimpse into the thinking of one of Jackson's grass-roots supporters during the 1824 election.

Jackson led the popular vote in 1824, but none of the four candidates won a majority of electoral votes. The US Constitution provided in such a case that the House of Representatives would choose the next president, and the House chose John Quincy Adams. In the ensuing outrage, Jackson became even more popular. By 1827, Jackson's supporters were clear that the general would run again. Jackson's campaign manager was Martin Van Buren, a New York politician who was the most prominent advocate of reviving partisan competition. In 1827, Van Buren wrote to Thomas Ritchie, leader of the powerful Virginia faction known as the Junto, making his case for using Jackson's candidacy to revive old party divisions.

Letter from Martin Van Buren to Thomas Ritchie, 1827

Dear Sir,

You will have observed an article in the [Albany, NY] *Argus* upon the subject of a national convention. . . . The following may, I think, justly be ranked among its probable advantages. First, it is the best and probably the only practicable mode of concentrating the entire vote of the opposition [To "concentrate" the votes of a party was to focus them on one candidate, rather than allowing them to be split up among several candidates.] and of effecting what is of still greater importance, the substantial reorganization of the old Republican Party. 2nd . . . . I have long been satisfied that we can only get rid of the present, and restore a better state of things, by combining Genl. Jackson's personal popularity with the portion of old party feeling yet remaining. . . . 3rd the call of such a convention, its exclusive Republican character, and the refusal of Mr. Adams and his friends to become parties to it, would draw anew the old Party lines and the subsequent contest would reestablish them . . . .

We must always have party distinctions and the old ones are the best of which the nature of the case admits. Political combinations between the inhabitants of the different states are unavoidable and the most natural and beneficial to the country is that between the planters of the South and the plain Republicans of the North. The country has once flourished under a party thus constituted and may again. It would take longer than our lives (even if it were practicable) to create new party feelings to keep those masses together. If the old ones are suppressed, geographical divisions founded on local interests, or what is worse prejudices between free and slave holding states will inevitably take their place. Party attachment in former times furnished a complete antidote for sectional prejudices by producing counteracting feelings. It was not until that defense had been broken down that the clamour against Southern Influence and African Slavery could be made effectual in the North . . . . Formerly, attacks upon Southern Republicans

were regarded by those in the North as assaults upon their political brethren and resented accordingly. This all powerful sympathy . . . can and ought to be revived and the proposed convention would be eminently serviceable in effecting that object.

Lastly the effect of such a nomination on Genl. Jackson could not fail to be considerable. His election, as the result of his military services without reference to party . . . would be one thing. His election as the result of a combined and concerted effort of a political party, holding in the main, to certain tenets and opposed to certain prevailing principles, might be another and a far different thing.

In the twelve years after the 1828 campaign, Van Buren and his allies were spectacularly successful in reviving party divisions and party loyalties throughout the nation. This process, however, was gradual and was opposed by many. In his 1854 *History of Illinois*, Thomas Ford**,** a former governor of Illinois, described the creation of a party-based political system in his state during the 1820s and 1830s.

Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois*, 1854

. . . Until 1824-25 . . . the people . . . had not . . . become inured to . . . political warfare . . . The contests in those days were of short duration, and were scarcely ever repeated on the same grounds or questions. There were no parties of Whig and Democrat, Federalist and Republican. The contests were mostly personal, and for men. As for principles and measures . . . there were none to contend for. Every election turned upon the fitness and unfitness, the good and bad qualities of the candidates. The only mode of electioneering for a friend then known, was to praise one set of men, and blacken the characters of the other. The candidates were not announced until within a few weeks of the election; the contest was soon over, and then peace and quiet reigned until the next election, two years afterward. . . .

. . . Governor Edwards, Daniel P. Cook, and Judge Pope, had constituted the heads of one party; whilst Governor Bond, Elias K. Kane, John McLean, Judge Thomas, and Judge Smith, constituted the heads of the other. The parties . . . were merely personal . . . measures and principles of national politics had nothing to do with them. . . .

The defeat of Mr. Cook, in 1826, by Gov. Duncan, makes a kind of turning point in the politics of Illinois. . . . It is the point where the old system of electing public officers upon merit and personal preference was about to terminate, and the new principle of "measures, not men," was about to begin . . . . Gen. Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay, were candidates for President of the United States at the election of 1824. No one of the

candidates received a majority of the electoral votes. The election, therefore, came into the House of Representatives in Congress. Mr. Cook gave the vote of Illinois to Mr. Adams, by which he was elected. Gen. Jackson had received more of the electoral votes than any other candidate. He had received two in Illinois, and Mr. Adams had received but one. The people believed that Gen. Jackson had been cheated out of his election by bargain, intrigue, and corruption; and whether their belief was well or ill-founded, they resented his defeat with a generous indignation which consumed all opposition, and which has continued to burn and consume until this day. The old opposition to the Cook and Edwards party, and all the Crawford men, now rallied in favor of Gen. Jackson. They brought out the late Gov. Duncan as a candidate against Mr. Cook, and by means of Gen. Jackson's great popularity, and the resentment of the people against the vote for Mr. Adams, he was elected by a small majority.

. . . . There was no question of principle . . . involved in the first election of Gen. Jackson . . . . But as the measures of Gen. Jackson's administration were unfolded, it was discovered that he favored the doctrines of the old republican party. His attack upon the United States Bank, his veto of its charter in 1832, removal of the deposits of 1833, the expunging resolutions, and the specie circular, rallied all to his party who were of a nature to be hostile to the power of wealth. This is not to say that all wealthy men were excluded from, or all poor ones included in the democratic party. Many wealthy persons still remained democrats from principle, interest, or ambition; and many poor men attached themselves to the opposite party for like reasons . . . . The Jackson party had long called themselves democrats . . . [and] began to call their opponents federalists; and these opponents, in 1833 or '4, began to call themselves whigs, a popular name of the revolution. The whigs . . . gave the the democrats the name of locofocos . . . .

Our old way of conducting elections required each aspirant for office to announce himself as a candidate. The more prudent, however, always first consulted a little caucus of select, influential friends. The candidates then travelled around the county or State, . . . making speeches, conversing with the people, soliciting votes, whispering slanders against their opponents, and defending themselves against the attacks of their adversaries . . . . As the candidate did not offer himself as the champion of any party, he usually agreed with all opinions, and promised everything demanded by the people . . . .

After party spirit arose so as to require candidates to come out on party grounds, there was for a time no mode of concentrating the action of a party. A number of candidates would come out for the same office, on the same side. Their party would be split up and divided between them. In such a case, the minority party was almost sure of success . . . . As party spirit increased more and more, the necessity of some mode of concentrating party strength became more and more apparent. The large emigration from the old States, bringing with it the zeal and party organization in which it had been trained from infancy, gave a new impulse to the consolidation of the strength of party. An attempt at this was early made by the New England and New York people living in the north part of the State, by introducing the convention system of nominating candidates.

At first, the system encountered the furious opposition of the whigs, who, being in the

minority, were vitally interested to prevent the concentration of the democratic strength. The western democrats looked upon it with a good deal of suspicion. It was considered a Yankee contrivance, intended to abridge the liberties of the people, by depriving individuals, on their own mere motion, of the privilege of becoming candidates, and depriving each man the right to vote for a candidate of his own selection and choice. . . .

. . . The system won its way slowly, and now all candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and members of Congress, are brought before the people by conventions, and it pervades two-thirds of the State in nominating candidates for the legislature.

The system has some advantages and disadvantages . . . . Those in favor of it say that it furnishes the only mode of concentrating the action of a party, and giving effect to the will of the majority. . . . Without a nomination, a party may be greatly in the majority, but by being divided on men, the minority may succeed in the elections, and actually govern the majority. To remedy this evil, it was proposed by conventions of delegates, previously elected by the people, to provide but a single set of candidates for the same party. It was also urged by some, that these bodies would be composed of the best-informed and principal men of a party, and would be more competent than the people at large, to select good men for candidates . . . . The convention system was said to be a salutary restraint upon universal suffrage, compelling the people to elect men of standing, who alone could be nominated by conventions.

On the other side, it was urged, that the whole convention system was a fraud upon the people; that it was a mere fungus growth engrafted upon the constitution; that conventions themselves were got up and packed by cunning, active, intriguing politicians, to suit the wishes of a few. The mode of getting them up, was for some active man to procure a few friends in each precinct of a county, to hold primary meetings, where delegates were elected to county conventions, who met at the county seats, and nominated candidates for the legislature and for county offices; and appointed other delegates to district and State conventions, to nominate candidates for Congress and for governor. The great difficulty was in the primary meetings in the precincts. . . . The people did not attend the primary meetings; a few only assembled, and these were too often mere professional politicians, the loafers about the towns, who having but little business of their own, were ever ready to attend to the affairs of the public. This threw the political power out of the hands of the people . . . into the hands of idlers . . . If any one desired an office, he never thought of applying to the people for it; but passed them by, and applied himself to conciliate the managers and idlers about the towns, many of whom could only be conciliated at an immense sacrifice of the public interest. It is true that a party had the reserved right of rebellion against all this machinery; no one could be punished for treason in so doing, otherwise than by losing the favor of his party, and being denounced as a traitor; which was almost as efficacious in restraining the refractory as the pains and penalties of treason, the hanging and embowelling of former times. . . .

By means of the convention system, and many exciting contests, the two parties of whigs and democrats were thoroughly organized and disciplined by the year 1840. No regular army could have excelled them in discipline. . . .

One of the differences between Jacksonian-era politics and earlier competition was the sheer level of party organization. Antebellum party leaders were master organizers, capable of mobilizing millions of voters on election day. One key to that success was grass-roots organizing. Jacksonian party activists built upon the organizing tactics of Jeffersonian Republican activists, who had organized ordinary people in support of their party from 1795 to 1815. They extended these earlier activists' techniques to the majority of localities in the country and backed them up with larger, more disciplined party organizations. A "Plan of Organization" sent by the New York Democratic State Committee to the state's Democratic County Committees in 1844 describes the structure of the state's Democratic organization and shows how party activists mobilized popular support.

New York Democratic State Committee, Plan of Organization

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

I. *A State Committee of Organization*, whose duty will be to cause the establishment of County Committees, to correspond frequently with them, and to supervise and stimulate the general working of the organization. . . .

II. *A County Committee of Organization*, of three or five young and active men, who will agree to perform the duties assigned to them. These duties will be:--

> 1. To see that Democratic Associations are promptly formed in every town, and to send or go personally for that purpose in each town. . . .
> 3. To make provision for furnishing these Associations with tracts, documents, &c., for gratuitous distribution, besides stimulating them to active efforts to supply themselves as copiously as possible.
> 4. To make arrangements for furnishing each town with efficient public speakers as often as convenient, and at least twice within the two months before the election.
> 5. To correspond frequently with the town associations or committees, for the purpose of promoting concert of action, and urging upon them the importance of carrying out efficiently the local organization, and also to correspond with the State Committee.

III. *A Democratic Association* in every town or election district, into which efforts should be

made to bring every democratic voter. . . . The practical work of the organization to be mainly conducted by their *Executive Committees*, who will also constitute the *Town Committees of Organization* . . . . The duties of the *Town Executive Committee* to be:--

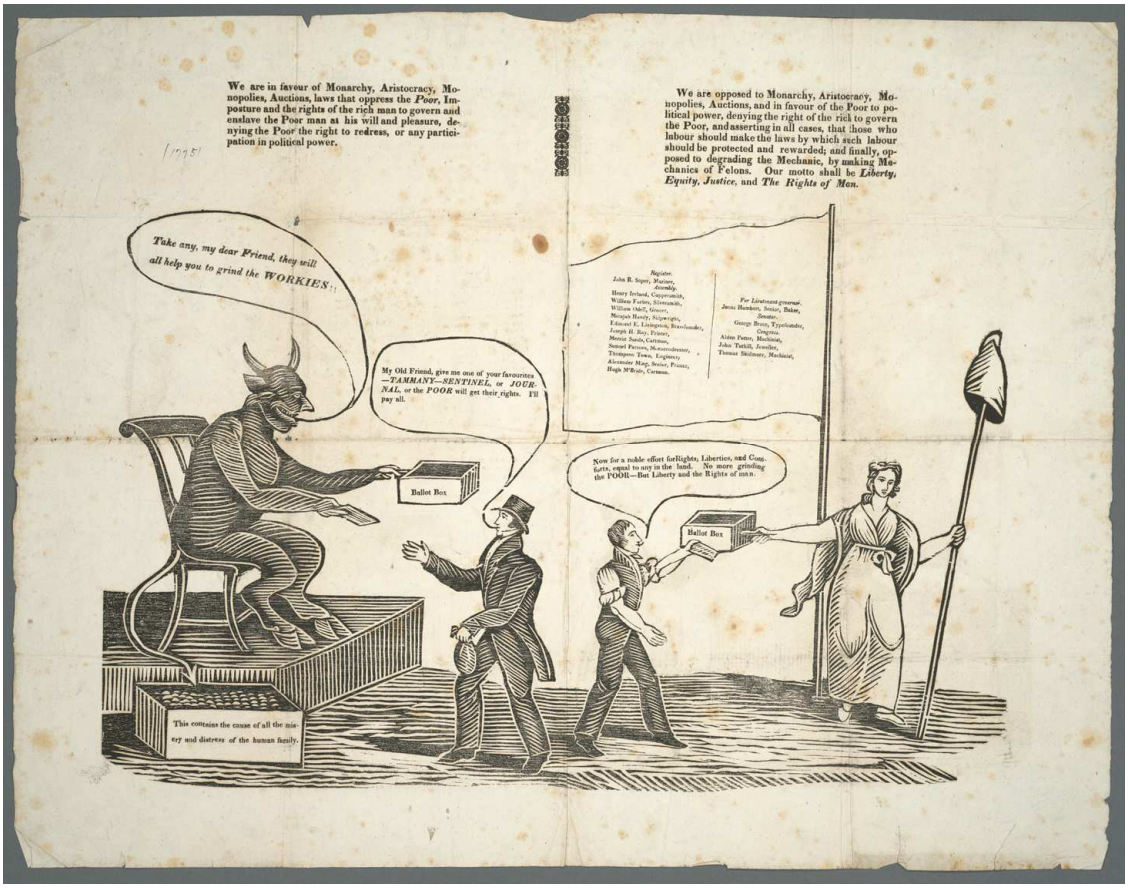
1. To establish a Committee of Three in every School District, consisting of young, active and zealous men, who will agree and be reliable for the thorough and effective performance of their duty . . . .
2. To receive the district lists, and form a town list, reporting the result, with corrections from time to time, to the County Committee.
3. On the day of the election to station one of their number at each poll, with an accurate list of the voters at that poll, *checking the names of the democratic electors as they arrive and vote*, and causing prompt measures to be taken to bring out those who do not come early in the day.
4. To exert themselves actively for the distribution of useful tracts, documents, newspapers and handbills among the people, both in person and through the district committees.
5. To call special meetings of the district committees, and supervise and stimulate them to the performance of their duties.
6. To station proper challengers at the polls, and to be vigilant in adopting all means that may be necessary to ensure the purity of the election.
7. To report at least on the 1st of every month to the County Committee.

IV. *The School District Committees*. Their duties will be:--

1. To prepare an accurate list of all the voters in their school district, classifying them in separate columns as *Democratic*, *Whig*, or *Doubtful*, with remarks as to the latter class. The utmost effort should be made to get every name upon the list, and count none as democrats but those fully reliable. . . .
2. To receive from the committees above, and to procure for themselves whenever they can . . . useful tracts, documents, newspapers and handbills for circulation. These should be distributed especially among the doubtful, the more moderate and reasonable whigs, and those of the democratic party supposed to incline to apathy. The more and the oftener they are thus served, the better.
3. To act as a Committee of Vigilance for the district, to procure the attendance of the people at public meetings, to endeavor, by reason and argument, to convince the doubting and animate the apathetic.
4. To procure the attendance of the democratic electors at the polls. Before the election, the committees should personally see every democrat in the district, provide means of conveyance for the infirm and aged, and engage all to go early to the polls. Unless the mind has been previously prepared, and calculations for the purpose been made, many individuals will be found who, on the day of election, can not be induced or will be prevented from attending. It is especially important, too, that all who can should be induced to go *early*, in order to give opportunity to get out those who may fail; for if it be not ascertained until afternoon who are behind, it will then be too late to send for them.

And, on the day of election, where there is the least doubt of a voter's attending . . . , he should be sent for at once. . . .

Texts continue on next page.




Captions:

Upper left: "We are in favor of Monarchy, Aristocracy, Monopolies, Auctions, laws that oppress the *Poor*, Imposture and the rights of the rich man to govern and enslave the Poor man at his will and pleasure, denying the Poor the right to redress, or any participation in political power."

Satan: "Take any, my dear Friend, they will all help you to grind the WORKERS."

Box in Satan's hand: "Ballot Box"

Man in top hat: "My Old Friend, give me one of your favourites—TAMMANY—SENTINEL, or JOURNAL, or the POOR will get their rights. I'll pay you."

Box in lower left foreground: "This contains the cause of all the misery and distress of the human family."

Upper right: "We are opposed to Monarchy, Aristocracy, Monopolies, Auctions, and in favor of the Poor to political power, denying the right of the rich to govern the Poor, and asserting in all cases, that those who labor should make the laws by which such labor should be protected and rewarded and finally, opposed to degrading the Mechanic, by making Mechanics of Felons. Our motto shall be *Liberty*, *Equality*, *Justice*, and *The Rights of Man*.

Liberty's banner:

Register
John R. Soper, Mariner,
Assembly
Henry Ireland, Coppersmith,
William Forbes, Silversmith,
William Odell, Grocer,
Micajah Handy, Shipwright,
Edmund L. Livingston, Brassfounder,
Joseph H. Ray, Printer,
Merritt Sands, Cartman,
Samuel Parsons, Moroccodresser,
Thompson Town, Engineer,
Alexander Ming, Senior, Printer,
Hugh M'Bride, Cartman

For Lieutenant-governor
Jonas Humbert, Senior, Baker
Senator,
George Bruce, Typefounder,
Congress,
Alden Potter, Machinist,
John Tuthill, Jeweller,
Thomas Skidmore, Machinist

Worker: "Now for a noble effort for Rights, Liberties, and Comforts, equal to any in the land. No more grinding the POOR—But Liberty and the Rights of man."

Box in Liberty's hand: "Ballot Box"