

THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL.

DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, AND THE DISSEMINATION OF MORALITY, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOLUME 6.

COUDERSPORT, POTTER COUNTY, PA., JANUARY 13, 1854.

NUMBER 38.

THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL.
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY MORNING
BY HASKELL & AVERY.

Terms:
One copy per annum, in advance, \$1.00
Village subscribers per annum, in advance, 1.25
Rates of Advertising.—One square, of twelve lines or less, will be inserted three times for one dollar; for every subsequent insertion, twenty-five cents will be charged. Bold and figure work will invariably be charged double these rates.
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Equalization of Power between the Free and Slave States in the U. S. Senate.

A recent number of the *N. Y. Herald*, in an article speculating on the consequences of the election of Beverly Tucker (Hard) over General Armstrong (Soft) as Printer of the United States Senate, accounts for this result on the ground that the Senate is a more independent body than the House, where the administration achieved a victory by the election of Gen. Armstrong. It is intimated that the attitude of the Senate in this matter, foreshadows the downfall of the administration, and a new combination of parties in 1856, in which the South, aided by the political power of the Senate, which contains (aside from the Cabinet) almost all the aspirants for the succession, will receive new accessions of strength.

The writer declares the Senate to be the great conservative balance of power, standing between the administration and the country, between the House and the Cabinet, and between the North and the South; and that the doings of the House and Cabinet and President, must abide by its judgment. The article concludes as follows:

"Mr. Calhoun was right in the general views of the importance of the Senate as the only reliable safe-guard of the Constitutional rights of the South. Hence his policy of maintaining at least an equilibrium of representation between the two sections in that body. And the preponderance which has been given to the North, in the admission of California, should be neutralized as soon as possible, by the admission of another slaveholding State into the Union. We shall come to this issue soon!"

The wish of the *Herald*, that the present majority of two of the free States in the Senate, should be speedily balanced by the admission of another slaveholding State into this Republic, may seem strange to persons unacquainted with the past history of the Slave Power in this country, and its preponderance in almost every department of the Government, but this expression, it will be found, is only a desire for a condition of things in strict accordance with that history, and the *Herald* has at least the merit of frankness in the shameful avowal, not possessed by some of its pro-slavery followers at the North, who cherish the same sentiments, but who conceal their designs, by attempting to persuade the people that all discussion on this subject, and all resistance to the further encroachment of slavery is dangerous to the Union. As it would seem that we are to be called upon to submit to still further exactions on the part of the South, for the benefit of Slavery, it may not be inappropriate at this time to allude briefly to some of the unjust advantages given to the slave States in the past, from which it may be seen that the South may look with confidence for the success of any demand they may make, however audacious, and that the preservation of the rightful majority of the free States, in the Senate, now the point of attack, requires the utmost vigilance and energy of the friends of freedom.

It is a well-known fact that during almost the whole time since the foundation of this Government, in each year when a President *pro tem.* is elected by the Senate, who, upon the contingencies mentioned in the Constitution, might become President of the United States, that office has been invariably given to the South! One of those contingencies has happened by the death of Mr. King, Vice President, and a slaveholding President *pro tem.* now presides in the Senate! Had Gen. Taylor served out his full term, the office of president of the United States would have been filled no less than fifty-two years out of sixty-four by slaveholders!

Of twenty-one Secretaries of State, ap-

pointed, up to the 3d of March, 1849, only six have been taken from the free States!

For thirty-seven years out of sixty, up to 1849, the chair of the House of Representatives was filled, and its committees appointed by Slaveholders, and the present speaker is from the South! During the same time, of the Judges of the Supreme Court appointed, eighteen were taken from the slave States, and but fourteen from the free States! and five of the nine Judges of that Court, are now from the Slave States! In 1842, the United States were represented at foreign courts by nineteen Ministers and Charges d'Affairs; of these five offices no less than thirteen were assigned to slaveholders!

During the whole period of these unjust advantages given to the South, the North has been largely in majority of numbers, wealth and intelligence. Up to 1840, fifty years had given the North an increased preponderance over the slave States of about four and a half millions of free citizens! In the election of 1848 the popular vote in the free States was 2,029,571; the popular vote in the Slave States was only 845,050! By the Constitution, every five slaves are to be counted as the Slave States as three white persons in representation in the lower House of Congress, and the Presidential electors are apportioned among the several States according to this rule. The effects of this concession, will be seen in the disproportion between the votes cast in several of the free and slave States in the election of 1848, and the number of electors to which they were entitled. Now, New York cast 455,701 votes, and had 36 electors; Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina together cast only 243,547, and had 36 electors. Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, altogether, cast only 437,811 votes and had 38 electors! By the Constitution, the South are to render an equivalent for this right of representation for their property. It declares that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to the ratio of representation!" That is, the South shall pay by the way of taxation for every five slaves as for three free persons. We will give an instance of how the South has paid or rather been paid for this privilege. The surplus revenue remaining in the United States treasury on the 1st day of January, 1837, was to be distributed among the several States, and the rule of distribution, became a question. The income, says William Jay, had been derived chiefly from the industry and enterprise of the North—but the South insisted, with her usual success, that instead of dividing the money according to the free population, it should be apportioned among the States according to their electoral votes. By this rule, the Slave States, notwithstanding their inferiority in population, would share alike with the free, so far as regarded the number of Senators; and, with regard to their representatives, they would secure an apportionment of money on account of three-fifths of their two million of slaves. The sum allotted by this gross and monstrous rule, to the State of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, was \$6,754,558; while Pennsylvania with a free population larger than that of all these six States together, was to receive only \$3,823,353; so that in fact, the slaveholders of these States received, man for man, about twice as many dollars from the national treasury as the hard working citizens of Pennsylvania! And thus the South was paid for every five slaves as for three free persons! In spite, however, of all the class legislation of the Federal Government to favor the slave States, and the unfair proportion of officers, of honor, and profit and influence, given to these States, the free States have marched steadily forward, until they now of right and in fact by their superior numbers, wealth, strength, and intelligence, greatly preponderate in the nation over the slave States, and according to the republican maxim that the majority must govern, are entitled to control the Federal Government. As long as

free labor remains protected, in the free States to give them prosperity, and human bondage is allowed to curse the slave States, this rightful power will continue, and constantly augment in the hands of the North, and we should be false to democratic government if we surrendered one iota of that power to increase the influence of a minority which cling to the barbarism and weakness of slavery. We are therefore for maintaining the present majority of the free States in the Senate, and against the further increase of representation from slave States in that body, believing as we do, as all history shows, that in a republic there can be no equilibrium between slavery and freedom, but an eternal antagonism. Our safety as a people is in the unalterable resolution, "NO MORE SLAVE STATES AND NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORY."—*Lockport Journal.*

The New Congressmen from New York.

It is natural that the friends of freedom should be proud of the detail of such a man as Gerrit Smith in Congress. Known and beloved by them for years, as eminently worthy yet widely misunderstood; it surpassed their fondest expectations to see the people of his district rise in their might, without distinction of party, and place him where he stands to-day. The effects of his lofty and chivalrous bearing, his meek of purity and high purpose, causing the corrupt minions of party themselves, practised as they are in blackening the fairest reputations, to shrink away from his rebuking presence, was only precisely what his friends expected would attend his appearance in Congress. They knew it would be a lesson to that gathering, and through them to the whole country, for the long-winded Arch-Abolitionist of Central New York just to stand up on that floor and be looked at—even though he opened not his mouth. Therefore they are proud and happy, to day, and are quite content, with such men as Solomon P. Chase and Charles Sumner in the Senate, and Joshua R. Giddings and Gerrit Smith in the House, to let the cause of Freedom go to the judgement of the world, whether that judgement be made up from a comparison of the sentiments uttered by the opposing parties, or by a contrast of the parties themselves.

But there are people of other ways of thinking, who are rejoicing, as well as we, in the appearance of new champions in the Congressional lists. We have no unfair purpose in introducing Mr. Michael Walsh, as the high Hunter representative, to be placed side by side with Mr. Smith, as exponents of the causes which they severally espouse. But Mr. Walsh has put himself forward in that position, and denied to Mr. Barnburner Dean the right of replying to the New York Free Soiler, and being himself sufficiently pure. And the Harts have recognized the claims of the immortal Mike. Our Adamantine neighbor thought so much of his maiden effort, that it elevated to the post of a leading article in its columns what it dignified as "the remarks of Mr. Walsh." The Adamantine Corypheus being so endorsed, we rejoice to call the attention of the country to the two men, placed thus by the election of our opponents side by side. There stands Gerrit Smith. If you take one look at him, we may henceforth and forever forego all description. And there Mike, whom, in accordance with what is probably expected of editorial courtesy, we hereby characterize as the eminently pure-minded, upright, and—to the fourth proof—spiritual Mr. Walsh. If anybody hereafter makes bold to call him a miserable bloater, remember that it is not we. And as there they stand, we may next ask how do they appear—and what do they say? The New York Abolitionist, with a calmness and dignity, which commands the admiring attention of all beholders, and sets at utter defiance the ordinary expedients by which the blackguards of the House are wont to discountenance and discourage the pro-

* Abashed the devil stood
And felt how awful goodness, and saw
Virtue in shape how lovely.—*Milton.*

founders of unwelcome truth, preaching in the very presence (hitherto esteemed awful) of Slavery, before the Administration, the country and the world, the universal Gospel of Freedom in its most uncompromising phrase. He extorts praise from the unwilling Balaams that would fain curse him. The murmured *bravissimas* of the very men whom he denounces greet on every hand his Christian intrepidity. The tall chieftains of the Slavery exchange courtesies with him, as high-mined men do only with their peers. In the midst of his address, some one of the infinitesimal boulevards of party, rallying a moment from his trepidation, squeaks out a call to order, and insists that "the gentleman is making an abolition speech!" "I AM"—replies the speaker, with compressed lip and clear, undaunted glance. "The gentleman will proceed," responds the Chairman; and the small kind of conservatism flashes in the pan.

So much for the bearing of the poor fanatic. How is it with the true patriot, the great-hearted despiser of isms, the supporter of the Constitution and the Union! He forces himself in between two gentlemen, who are making personal explanations, and when asked to give way, for a moment, to furnish opportunity to bring those explanations to a satisfactory close, he refuses, saying "I believe I will shut pan on that." We would not like to be certified that he did not say "I'll be damned if I don't shut pan on that." It would be so completely in Mr. Walsh's fine and forcible style of eloquence. To all the vast issues which called out from Mr. Preston the most earnest defence of slavery he was capable of making, this "glorious son of York" has only a chuckle and a jibe at Mr. Dean, as an ineffectual abolitionist, for reply, and as a climax; this sublime peroration:

"I tell the House, the administration, and the world, that when the time arrives for the true Democrats of New York to speak and express what they think of them, they will speak a language which will admit of no two interpretations. Nobody will misunderstand. Until that happy day arrives, I return to my quiet and orderly position."

That is to say: You may all think yourselves a very fine set of chaps, with your speeches, your debates, your abolition and stuff, but you will see when it comes to the election, the hard whip the whole scrape of you. This is about the sum of the matter, to Mr. Walsh's apprehension, and this is too much the spirit of the Adamantineism, nay, of Locofocoism as a whole, in the State of New York. To many of these fellows the result of an election is an end of all controversy, until the next election; and then the reviving contest is only one of treating, fist-cuffing, pipe-laying, and cat-hauling generally, for the temporary victory.

Well, let our conservative friends glory in their champion, as we shall certainly in ours. Meanwhile, pretty much all Congress is reported to be gathering itself up to have its say on the Kosza question, and to answer Mr. Smith. Agitation never was in a fairer way to be "discountenanced," "resisted," and "brushed out," both "in and out of Congress." Let the friends of Liberty sit down and ponder one pregnant query: How much may be involved?

From correspondence of the "Daily Wreath," read at the Coudersport Academy.

GREAT WAYS OFF, Dec. 21, 1853.
Dear Wreath:—I conclude, on opening the latest number of your inestimable periodical, that there are some pretty sensible people in Coudersport. The article that pleased me most, was one headed—"Things that I Love to See at School." If we could find out the author, I think the Trustees of our Academy would write to him immediately and try to engage his services as Preceptor. He would make a good teacher, for he loves to see people take comfort. It is very difficult to get good teachers here—they are all so strict the children do not like them; and you know it does not do a child any good to send him to school if he does not like to go.

The teacher we have now is very severe with the children—indeed, he is absolutely cruel. I don't think I shall send my boys another day.

Now, I don't believe in finding fault with school teachers; and it is a thing I never do, unless driven to it. But I must tell you some things I have seen with my own eyes, the recital of which cannot fail to make your blood boil with indignation. I have been in the habit of visiting the school quite frequently, and was present on one occasion to hear a class parse. I very much admired the manner of one lad, who parsed very fluently. He talked off his lesson as though he understood it like a book. His attitude, too, was purely classic—no studied primness about it; he bent over his book as graceful as the willow bows above the grave that it shelters. Judge, then, of my surprise, when, in the midst of the recitation, down came Dominic's ruler upon the desk, with

noise enough to frighten the poor children half out of their wits; and he spoke up as cross as fury—"Sit up straight, you lazy thing!" The poor boy was so confused I could not help feeling very sorry for him. But that is not all—he scolded at him because he could not say "nom-na-tee," and actually made him repeat the word three or four times! I thought he was downright cruel; for the child was only sixteen years old, and had not been to the Academy but five or six terms, and never studied anything harder than Greek and Hebrew; and he ought not to expect him to call it anything but "nomtee." But, then, some people are just so unreasonable as to think because they can do a thing, anybody else can if they will.

One young lady, who is subject to weak lungs, had to parse one word over three or four times, and then he could not, or would not, hear what she said, though she spoke as loud as she could. "Next parse it," says Dominic, "I can't hear." This amiable young lady looked nicely up to him, and said, as civilly as she could—"Well, you must be deaf!" Of course, she did not speak any louder than she could; but he heard her, and right then and there called her impertinent. I thought he might have considered her feelings a little, and not reproved her before company; but that is all he knows. And then the way he boxes the little boys' ears and pulls their hair just for nothing, only because they happen to whisper a little, or whistle the desk, or touch their looks, or some such little thing, just as though it is any of his business if they do tear their books! He don't have them to pay for.

But the worst is not yet told. The other day he came round to where little Bobby sat, and boxed his ears, though the dear child was not doing anything at all! Then he kept him after school, and made him get a long lesson. It was almost dark when the poor fellow came home, and I felt so very sorry for him that I told him he might go side down hill with the other boys, and I would do his chores for him. About ten o'clock he came in crying with the ear-ache, and I did not get a wink of sleep with him that night. I am sure it was nothing else but having his ears boxed that made them so bad. He is a very delicate child, and I have always been careful never to strike a blow, or cross him in anything, for fear of making him sick. And to have that cruel man strike him, when he had not done anything—not even got his lesson—was n't it too bad?

My letter is already longer than I intended it to be; so I bid you good night, and wish you and your patrons a Merry Christmas, and a happy New Year.

Yours, for the cause of Education,
SOPHIA.

Presidential Fraud.

If there is one virtue above another, ascribed to the President by his admirers and supporters, it is his zealous watch care of the Treasury. And doubtless small-potato encroachers upon the big chest, especially if their political stripe runs in the wrong direction, would find a wary and unflinching sentinel to deal with. In reference to this, the President in his Message to Congress recommends:

"That wise economy, which is as far removed from parsimony as from extravagance, and that single regard for the public good, which will throw upon all attempts to approach the treasury with insidious projects of private interests clouded under the public pretences,—that sound fiscal administration, which, in the legislative department, guards against the dangerous temptations incident to overflowing revenue, and, in the executive, maintains an unsleeping watchfulness against the tendency of all national expenditure to extravagance,—while they are admitted elementary political duties, may, I trust, be deemed as properly adverted to and urged, in view of the more expressive sense of that necessity, which is directly suggested by the considerations now presented."

"Surely," you say, "this is the language of frugality and integrity, not of fraud." Even so; but for a moment compare it with the following:

"For several years Spain has been calling the attention of this government to a claim for losses by some of her subjects, in case of the schooner *Amistad*. This claim is believed to rest on the obligations imposed by our existing treaty with that country. Its justice was admitted, in our diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish government, as early as March, 1847; and one of my predecessors, in his annual message of that year, recommended that provision should be made for its payment. In January last it was submitted to Congress by the executive. It has received a favorable consideration by committees of both branches, but as yet there has been no final action upon it. I conceive that good faith requires its prompt adjustment, and I present it to your early and favorable consideration."

Here he recommends to the "early and favorable consideration" of Congress one of the most stupendous, outrageous, and revolting swindles ever attempted upon this nation, and we were about to say, any nation, inasmuch as it is directed, not only against the Treasury, but also the honor and self-respect of the nation, as will be seen by adhering to the facts in the case:—The captives of the schooner *Amistad* were stolen from Africa in April, 1839, and brought to Havana and lodged in Barracoon, or slave pens, for sale. Joseph Ruiz and Pedro Montes purchased them, (about 50 in number), put them on board the *Amistad*, a coaster, and started for Puerto Principe, in Cuba. Two or three days out, one of the captives, by the name of Cinques, whose wife was grossly insulted by these gentlemen Buccaniers, fired with indignation, and the noble sentiment of "GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH," led his captive comrades in a bold and successful effort for liberty. The cook and captain were killed, and two of the sailors fled in a boat. Cinques established a strict government over his companions, and ordered Ruiz and Montes to steer the boat toward the rising sun. These orders they complied with by day, and by night secured for the United States, where they finally arrived off Culloden Point, Long Island. Here the vessel and negroes were taken into custody by Lieut. Gidney, of the U. S. Brig *Washington*, and carried into New-London, Conn., where they were bound over for trial on the charge of murder, by Judge Judson. Judge Thompson decided that our courts have no cognizance of offenses committed on a Spanish vessel on the high seas; however, it was decided that a trial must take place in the District Court, as the vessel and cargo had been labelled for salvage. The trial came off in January, 1840, when Judge Judson decided that the prisoners were native Africans, and had never been slaves legally. He dismissed the libel with costs, and decreed that the Africans should be delivered to the President of the United States, to be sent back to Africa. The Spanish Minister appealed to the Circuit Court, which was held in April, 1840, when Judge Thompson sustained the appeal, and the case went up to the Supreme Court of the United States, for decision, in 1841. At this final trial, before the Supreme Court, who, in addition to the facts in the case, had before them our treaty with Spain, (to which Gen. Pierce refers), the Africans were again declared free, and afterwards returned to Africa, accompanied by the Missionaries of the "Mendi Mission." In 1843, John Tyler, of precious memory, informed the House that the Spanish Minister was dissatisfied with the decision of the Supreme Court, and recommended an allowance for salvage for "cargo." In 1844, one of the House committees reported a bill appropriating \$70,000 as indemnity to the owners of the schooner. In reality, no doubt this was designed for Messrs. Ruiz and Montes, who had not a dollar invested in the schooner. The bill was voted down. In 1847, the claim, then \$50,000, was resurrected, when Hon. A. Adams remarked as follows:

"The indemnity asked for was for property when there was no property. The persons claimed as such were free men—men declared free by our courts. The Spanish government has made no demand for these men as property, but demanded them as assassins, and not as slaves. If assassins they could not be property, having forfeited their lives by their crimes; and had they been declared up, they would have been sent to Cuba to have been executed. There never had been a more groundless claim. God forbid that such a demand should ever be allowed." It was rejected.

And this is the claim which our famous Treasury-guarding President recommends to the "EARLY AND FAVORABLE" notice of Congress. It is to reward these Spanish renegades for a crime which our laws denounced as PIRACY, that from \$50,000 to a \$100,000 of the people's hard-earned money is to be appropriated.

Is President Pierce aware that there are any rights or interests to protect, or care for, except the interests of slavery? It does seem as though the present Administration deemed it the great mission of Democracy to bolster up, catch over, and prevent that bone of American Politics and Prosperity, HUMAN SLAVERY.

With conscientious (!) scruples, the President holds tight upon the Nation's purse, when the commercial interests of our own free people call for a pitance to improve our rivers and harbors, and protect the lives of American seamen; but when Spanish Pirates—Pirates according to our own law—knock at the Treasury door, he has an open hand, an easy conscience, and ready recom-

Can American honor be worse insulted, or Democracy be worse MISREPRESENTED!—*American Banner.*