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Selected Poetry.

ETERNITY.

What high world which lies beyond
Our own, surviving Love anders;
If that the cherished heart be fond,
The ye the same, except in tears—
How welcome those untrodden spheres!
How sweet this very hour to die!
To soar from earth and find all fears
Lest in thy flight—Eternity.

It must be so: 'tis not for self
That we so tremble on the brink;
And striving to o'erleap the gulf,
Yet clinging to being's severing link,
Oh! in that future let us think
To hold each heart the heart that shares,
With them the immortal waters drink,
And soul in soul grow deathless there!

[ORIGINAL.]

WHERE DWELLS THE LOVE OF GOD?

Thine in the heart that throbs
Sunk and gladness round its kindred heart,
And in the every desert path a rose,
And heals all evil's smart.

The gentle hand that gives
A ray of water to the thirsty one,
And makes him feel, the night night to death, he
Lives.

Bring heavenly blessings down.
Life's choicest blessings lie
In the kind hearts that pity other's woe,
Point the despairing soul to yonder sky,
And check the tears that flow.

And when a soul, in love
Sees out the poor, the lowly, and distressed,
And lifts them hope for brighter days above
The love of God there rests.

One gentle, cheering word,
Of life a fountain of sweet memories,
Like the soft notes of summer's warbling bird,
Singing its many lays.

The poor man's lowly cot,
Be angel hands of visited to cheer him on
Life's toilsome journey, whatso'er his lot,
God ever smiles upon.

In every act and word
That's out of kindness done to help the poor,
A still, small voice commending it is heard,
God will reward thee more.

Those who the drunkard's form
Drag from the gutter, warn him of the grave,
One who has ruined life's bright, early morn,
And seek his soul to save,

With those who warm the cold,
And raise the stricken 'neath the chafing
rod,
And bring the wanderer back into the fold,
There dwells the love of God.

SPEECH OF HON. A. H. REEDER.

Mr. Conway moved that Andrew H. Reeder, late Governor of Kansas, be our nominee. The motion was seconded and carried by acclamation. Cheers followed upon cheer the announcement of this result. All order was lost in the confusion, and every person present seemed to join in the cry for Reeder! Reeder!! The late Governor appeared upon the stand in answer to the repeated calls, and at the moment appeared deeply moved with this unexpected outburst of enthusiasm.

Gov. Reeder's Response.

He proceeded to say how much he thanked them for their encouraging and strengthening friendship; that such applause and approval would repay all the injustice that might be heaped upon any man; that every man there would do him the justice to say that this nomination had been given entirely without solicitation by him or by his friends; that to accept it would seriously interfere with private engagements, and that he had continually refused it when urged, until he had been told by men from all parts of the Territory that his name was essential to success. He would

now accept it upon the condition that he be not expected to canvass the Territory in person. To do so would not be consonant to his feelings, as well as that he desired to go into the halls of Congress and say "I come here with clean hands, the spontaneous choice of the sovereign Squatters of Kansas." In giving him this nomination, in this manner, they had strengthened his arms to do their work; and in return he would now pledge to them a steady, unflinching pertinacity of purpose, never-tiring industry, jagged perseverance, and all the abilities with which God had endowed him to the righting of their wrongs, and the final triumph of their cause. He believed from the circumstances which had for the last eight months surrounded him, and which had at the same time placed in his possession many facts, and bound him heart and soul to the oppressed voters of Kansas, that he could do much toward a redress of their grievances.

He said that day by day a crisis was coming upon us; that in after times this would be to posterity a turning point, a marked period, as are to us the opening of the Revolution, the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and the era of the alien and sedition laws; that we should take each step carefully, so that each be a step of progress, and that no violence be done to the ties which binds the American people together. He alluded to the unprecedented tyranny under which we are and have been; and said that if any one supposed that institutions were to be imposed by force upon a free and enlightened people they never knew, or had forgotten the history of our fathers.—American citizens bear in their breasts too much of the spirit of other and trying days, and have lived too long amid the blessings of liberty, to submit to oppression from any quarter; and the man who, having once been free, could tamely submit to tyranny, was fit to be a slave.

He urged the Free State men of Kansas to forget all minor issues, and pursue determinedly the one great object, never swerving, but steadily pressing on, as did the wise men who followed the star to the manger, looking back only for fresh encouragement. He counseled that peaceful resistance he made to the tyrannical and unjust laws of the spurious Legislature; that appeals to the Courts, to the ballot-box, and to Congress be made for relief from this oppressive load; that violence should be deprecated so long as a single hope of peaceable redress remained; but if at last all these should fail—if in the proper tribunal there is no hope for our dearest rights, outraged and profaned—if we are still to suffer that corrupt men may reap harvests watered by our tears, then, there is one more chance for justice. God has provided in the eternal frame of things redress for every wrong, and there remains to us still the steady eye and the strong arm, and we must conquer, or mingle the bodies of the oppressors with those of the oppressed upon the soil which the Declaration of Independence no longer protects. But he was not at all apprehensive that such a crisis would ever arrive. He believed that justice might be found far short of so dreadful an extremity; and even should an appeal to arms come, it was his opinion that if we are well prepared, that moment the victory is won. Our invaders will never strike a blow in so unjust a cause.

"Thrice armed is he who has his quarrel just." He then entered into the plan of conducting the campaign, and advised that the proclamation from the people, calling the election, be signed by every voter. Let the legal requirements of an election be strictly observed. Our position is one of asking only that the law be carried out. When Col. Ethan Allen was asked at Ticonderoga by whose authority he demanded the fort, he replied, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." I expect

of you that you so reprove me, that in a similar question I may boldly answer, "The great Jehovah and the sovereign Squatters of Kansas." He spoke long and eloquently upon the importance that no rashness should endanger the Union which we all love and cleave to. He did not consider the correct public sentiment of the South as endorsing the violent wrongs which had been perpetrated by Missourians in our Territory, and that being so, he waited to hear their rebuke. Should it not come, and all hope of moral influence to correct these evils be cut off, and the tribunals of our country fail us, while our wrongs still continue, what then? Will they have grown easier to bear by long custom? God forbid that any lapse of time should accustom freemen to the duties of slaves, and when such fatal danger as that menaced, then is the time to

Strike for our altars and our fires,
Strike for the green graves of our sires,
God and our native land."

As he paused, there was for an instant a deep silence, as when a question of life or death is being considered—every man drew a long breath, but the next instant the air was rent with cries, "Yes, we will strike!" "White men never can be slaves!" "Reeder!" "Reeder!" "Nine cheers for Reeder and Right!" During his speech he had been constantly interrupted by shouts and shaking of hands, but now the enthusiasm was ungovernable; the crowd gathered around him with the warmest greetings. We would rather have the place he holds in the hearts of a generous, daring people, than wear a kingly crown.

From the N. Y. Independent.

JUDGE BLACK'S ENDEAVOUR OF KANE'S USURPATION.

The position assumed by Judge Black and the State Court of Pennsylvania is one of such extraordinary and superogatory degradation as almost defies belief. Tyrants have generally concealed or justified their crimes by some show of necessity.—Expediency, not principle is the tyrant's plea. But the Court of Pennsylvania justifies a tyrannical, revengeful outrage on the person and liberty of an innocent man, and abjures its right and authority to protect the citizens of the State from such tyranny, on principle. And the principle is, not the security of justice, not the establishment of law, not the defence of the community in freedom, and its security from crime, but the protection of supreme despotic authority in the Federal Courts, and the consolidation of governmental power. For this purpose the Court of Pennsylvania degrades itself, abdicates its own independence, and justifies the claims, and rivets the chains of Federal usurpation. And Judge Black not only applauds Judge Kane as a learned and upright judge for consigning Mr. Williamson to prison on a false accusation, without hearing, without a trial, without bail, but himself also descends from the dignity of the bench, in order anew and gratuitously to insult and trample on the victim.

Judge Black bases his decision on antiquated abuses and precedents; not on law, and adopts a course of reasoning destructive of the purpose for which our form of government, with its United and State courts, was established, the security of the people in their lives, liberty and pursuit of happiness. His argument in defence of Judge Kane's injustice is issued in a tone of defiance against freedom and the people's rights, and of unfeeling and almost brutal triumph over the injured sufferer beneath such despotism. He might have assumed the tone of sorrow and sympathy, but he chooses to slander the man whom Kane has imprisoned, and tells him he shall rot in his dungeon until he submits. If these are our judges, and the people find that from such tyranny there is no relief, then we are not far from another revolution, and the sooner the storm comes, the better.

Judge Black has deliberately denied justice for the sake of sustaining the jurisdiction of the Courts. His whole argument proceeds on the principle that the courts are not established, for the sake of justice, but for the sake of power. Injustice itself must be defended and sustained, in order not to impair the constitutional vigor of the general government. On these principles the strength of our courts does not consist in their integrity in the administration of justice, but in the impossibility of resisting their tyranny; the safety of the people, the country and the government does not lie in the insurance of right being done, but in the impossibility of wrong being corrected. The courts are established to commit whatever crimes of oppression they may choose, and their power to do this must not be diminished or impaired, but must be made more formidable and unassailable, in order to sustain the constitutional vigor of the government. The courts, the laws, the decisions, are not for the people first, and for their good, but for the government first, and for government power. The impregnability of the Courts, right or wrong, is the first thing of supreme importance; justice afterwards, if consistent with that impregnability. The decisions of the judges are to be sustained at all hazards, though their support may rest on the illegal imprisonment and ruin of the most innocent citizens. The judges must be pronounced upright, though known to be trying causes out of their jurisdiction, and committing men to prison for no crime. The judges right or wrong, go it blind! The Federal Courts right or wrong, go it blind!—And if any man resists,—questions,—affirms his innocence, let him instantly be thrown into prison for contempt, and though there have been neither indictment nor trial for such alleged contempt, Judge Black shall coolly assume both indictment and conviction, on the sentence of the judge.

He has done this in the present case. He endeavors to give the coloring of a form of law and justice to a proceeding of tyranny, for the support of which there is nothing but foreign and despotic precedent. He speaks of the record of conviction, just as if Mr. Williamson had had a trial, and compares it with a conviction for the crime of perjury, and goes on to argue that a person convicted for perjury could not ask the court to deliver him from the penitentiary by showing that the court convicting him had no jurisdiction in the cause. But where or when has Mr. Williamson been convicted of contempt? Where is the proof of it? Where is the record of it? Where was the trial, where the jury, where the verdict? Where the form even of indictment? The thing assumed for conviction was the accusation by the judge, followed by the instant ordering of the alleged criminal to prison; no opportunity, being given of examination or explanation, or defence, neither indictment, nor evidence, nor argument, nor defence, nor form of trial, nor jury, nor conviction, nor verdict at all!

Judge Black says "If a Federal court should convict and sentence a citizen for libel, or if a State court, having no jurisdiction except in civil pleas, should try an indictment for crime, and convict the party,—in these cases the judgments would be wholly void." That is, after trial and conviction the court would have no authority to issue or execute the sentence, and the prisoner might rightfully resist. Yet, according to Judge Black's argument in Williamson's case, if the prisoner should interrupt the Judge in the issuing of the sentence, and deny his jurisdiction, the Judge might instantly arrest the prisoner for contempt of court, and commit him to prison for an unlimited term, without bail, and without possibility of relief or redress. Although the trial and conviction for the crime of libel would be wholly void, and the judgment against the prisoner no judgment at all in the case, yet the assertion of such want of juris-

dition by the prisoner might instantly be punished by the judge, who might fasten his grasp upon him, and visit him more severely for such assertion, under accusation of contempt of court, than the law itself could have done for the actual crime of libel, even if the court had jurisdiction. For the judge, in the punishment of such crime, would be compelled to be definite; if a fine were imposed, it must be of limited amount; if imprisonment were imposed, it must be of definite duration. But in the punishment of contempt for asserting the fact and want of jurisdiction, even though such defect of jurisdiction were undeniable, the judge might imprison without bail and without limit, and according to Judge Black's doctrine, no court of justice, no law, no process or power of government, could interfere to rescue the imprisoned victim of such tyranny, from the continuance of such judicial malice. There is no power, nor law, nor justice, in such a case, but just only for the protection of the court, just only to shield the unjust judge, and prevent his decision from being reversed, just only to establish his unrighteous judgment as unassailable and unmutable. He would have had no power to imprison, or in any way injure, the man accused, and tried and convicted of crime, even though really a criminal; but for alleged contempt of court, (and the assertion of the want of such power might be construed by the judge to be such contempt,) he could incarcerate him without possibility of redemption.

The court itself in such a case is the only Judge of what constitutes contempt, so that whatever word, or deed, or gesture of the prisoner may be construed or asserted as contempt, must be regarded as such, and received as conviction; and without indictment, without trial, without jury, without conviction, the judge may send his enemy to prison, simply for declaring that he has no authority to do so. And this outrage must be sustained for the dignity and authority of the State and its courts; for to them alone can the people look for a competent administration of their domestic concerns. An outrage on their domestic concerns, by the usurpation of the courts and the malice of the Judges must not be resisted, because that would diminish the power and authority of the courts, and if it once be supposed or admitted that the courts can do wrong, there is an end to their assumption of infallibility; there is an exposure to the possibility of contempt.

The courts are established by the people, and the judges appointed to take care that the laws for the protection of the people be justly administered. The courts are for the people, and not the people for the courts.—The courts and judges are guardians in trust for the sake of the people.—Judge Black and Judge Kane are insolently reversing the case, and have entered into a conspiracy to make the courts a despotism, and the people their slaves. Their whole care is devoted to the increase of their own power. It is as if a guardian were entrusted with the fortune of a minor, and should appropriate a great portion of it to build himself a place, and devote the remaining income to the support of his own expensive style of living. Meantime the minor passing his minority, is thrown into prison for debt, and on demanding money from his estate to let him out, he is told that the style and dignity of his guardian require to be supported, but would be in danger of being essentially impaired if the estate was burdened with the payment of that debt. The heir and owner of the estate must be left to rot in prison, rather than, by taking him out, run the hazard of bringing straits or contempt upon the guardian. Nothing must be done to impair the constitutional vigor of the guardian's position and establishment, for to him alone can the young man look for a competent administration of his estate, and it were better that

the ward remain in prison than the power of the guardian be crippled, or his reputation made to suffer.

This is the gist of Judge Black's argument for sustaining Judge Kane's imprisonment of Mr. Williamson. Even admitting that the whole proceeding against him in Judge Kane's Court was beyond that Court's jurisdiction, he was in Judge Kane's power, and contempt of that power goes against the life of the Court; and though the prisoner was guilty of no crime, yet being accused by Judge Kane of contempt, he is to be held and considered as having been tried, and found guilty of that crime. The commitment shows it. The fact of Judge Kane having made out a warrant for his commitment to prison is to be taken by the Pennsylvania Judge as proof of trial and conviction. The commitment shows that he was tried, found guilty, and sentenced, "for a distinct and substantive offence against the authority and government of the United States." Yet there was neither evidence, trial, jury, nor conviction; there was nothing but a submissive return and answer of Mr. Williamson to the court, and following thereupon an instant accusation and decision against him by the Judge for alleged contempt; and that decision of Judge Kane, Judge Black says, though he fully believed Williamson to be innocent and the court wrong, he could not question, but must consider and act upon it as evidence, trial and conviction, because we must maintain the rights of the State in its courts, and the constitutional vigor of the general government. "There may be cases," Judge Black admits, "in which we ought to check usurpation of power by the Federal Courts." And what are such cases? Is it when a Star Chamber jurisdiction is set up, and citizens of the State are arrested and imprisoned for alleged crimes not punishable by the United States courts? Is it when the Federal Courts drag the citizens of the State before them, and prosecute and injure those whom the State Court ought to protect? Not at all! For no such purposes of protection of the citizens are the State Courts established, but for the protection of themselves! The State Courts and the State Judges exist but for their own dignity, "and if the Federal Courts should presume to take out of their hands a prisoner convicted of contempt, they would resist it by all proper and legal means." But any usurpation against the people by the Federal Courts, any trampling on the life, liberty, and rights of the citizens, would be beyond the province of the State Courts to correct. The State Courts must look out only for their own power; their object, their essence, their final cause, is to preserve their own judges and decisions from contempt, and to keep the Federal Courts from rescuing prisoners convicted of contempt. There may be such cases, in which we ought to check usurpation of power by the Federal Courts; but the protection of an innocent citizen of the State from an unjust sentence, or from oppression by the Federal Courts, is not worthy of such interposition. We should be in danger, in such a case, of impairing the constitutional vigor of the general government, which is the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and our safety abroad. The power of the Courts must be sustained though justice fall. Judge Kane's uprightness and authority must be upheld at all hazards, or our own decisions may next be called in question. We ourselves, the State Courts and Judges, may possibly make a wrong decision, and then the Federal Courts may interpose to take from us the victim of our own usurpation; therefore, court must help court, as against the citizens, with the understanding that court shall never help the citizens against court.

That the Court's authority, *rat justitia* Judge Black, having taken Judge Kane's commitment of Mr. Williamson to prison as evidence, trial, and conviction of crime, affirms that he cannot go behind that decision. "We

cannot go behind that decision. "We